Introduction

1. The concept of cognitive frameworks developed in this book draws to some degree from the work of Erik Erikson and from Kristen Renwick Monroe, Michael C. Barton, and Ute Klingemann, "Altruism and the Theory of Rational Action: An Analysis of Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe," in Kristen Renwick Monroe, ed., *The Economic Approach to Politics: A Critical Reassessment of the Theory of Rational Action* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), pp. 325–330. As Erikson has emphasized, identity is intimately tied to the perceptions of one's self in relation to others. See "The Problem of Ego Identity," in *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: Norton, 1980), p. 109.

2. The term *embeddedness* is used predominantly by sociologists to counter a dominant tendency in the social sciences that views individual behavior as somehow autonomous or as analytically separate from the social relations of which individuals form a part. As Mark Granovetter argues, embeddedness emphasizes the notion that individual behavior and individual social institutions "are so constrained by ongoing social relations that to construe them as independent is a grievous misunderstanding." See Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 3 (November 1985): 482.

3. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), p. 36.

4. While Erikson's classic studies *Young Man Luther* (New York: Norton, 1958) and *Ghandi's Truth* (New York: Norton, 1969) are the most recognized of his studies on identity, see also "The Problem of Ego Identity," in *Identity and the Life Cycle*, pp. 109–174.

5. Clifford Geertz's essays from the 1960s were gathered in what has now become a classic for those studying the broad questions of meaning and identity: *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). A rational actor–oriented challenge to Geertz's assertion is Abner Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). Political scientist David Laitin provides a useful synopsis of these distinct approaches in his influential *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Reli-*

gious Change Among the Yoruba (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). An-
thropologist Kay Warren's *The Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a
Guatemalan Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978) is largely inspired by
Geertz and has become an important reference. Virginia Domínguez's *People as
Subject, People as Object: Selfhood and Peoplehood in Contemporary Israel* (Madison:
University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), brings the dimension of power firmly into
identity debates. James Scott's *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1976) and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resis-
tance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) are also essential political science
references on identity construction.

6. See, for example, David Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture*, and Juan Linz and Al-
fred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union,
and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus* 121 (Spring 1992): 123–139, in which the authors signal
the importance of state crafting, particularly the choice of all-union versus region-
al elections, in regime transition. For an altogether distinct model linking individ-
ual identity to nation building and national identity, see William Bloom, *Personal
Identity, National Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-
versity Press, 1990).

7. The groundbreaking work in this vein was Benedict Anderson's *Imagined
Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso,
1983). See also Robert Smith, "Los Ausentes Siempre Presentes: The Imagining,
Making, and Politics of a Transnational Community Between Ticuani, Puebla, Mex-
ico, and New York City" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1994). The concept of
identity has also formed the basis for leading area-studies programs throughout the
United States that have sponsored important scholarship in such areas as Chicano
studies, Puerto Rican studies, and Hispanic studies. These and other literatures on
identity use interdisciplinary approaches.

8. See, for example, Lewis Coser, *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View* (New York:
Free Press, 1965); Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democrat-
ic Regimes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979). For a more recent
example arguing the importance of the study (and bitter condemnation) of intel-
lectuals because of their powerful influence on society and culture, see Tony Judt,
Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956 (Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1992).

9. Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes
What He Does* (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 1–11.

10. Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair? American Beliefs About Distributive Justice*
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 1–26.

11. Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the
Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 8.

12. Hochschild develops this argument in *What's Fair?*, p. 24, as does Stanley
Renshon, "Psychological Perspectives on Theories of Adult Development and the

Political Socialization of Leaders," in Roberta S. Sigel, ed., *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 203–264.

13. Luisa Passerini, "Memory: Resume of the Final Session of the International Conference on Oral History, Aix-en-Provence, September 26, 1982," reprinted in *History Workshop* 15 (Spring 1983): 195–196. See also Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

1. Interpreting Political Identity

1. Mostafa Rejai and Kay Phillips provide a useful overview of such literature in *Loyalists and Revolutionaries: Political Leaders Compared* (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 3–14. See also Maureen Mancuso, "The Ethical Attitudes of British MPs: A Typology," *Parliamentary Affairs* 46 (April 1993): 179–191.

2. In a recent study of Latin American revolutions, Eric Selbin criticizes political leadership studies for their failure to link leadership types and actions to revolutionary ideology, and he develops leadership categories that examine revolutionary vision and its implementation. See Selbin, *Modern Latin American Revolutions* (Boulder: Westview, 1993), pp. 74–92. A number of individual biographies of political leaders do, in fact, discuss the relationship among leaders' personalities, motivations, and political beliefs and ideals; see, for example, such classics as Erik Erikson's *Young Man Luther* (New York: Norton, 1962) and *Ghandi's Truth* (New York: Norton, 1969) and Alexander and Juliet George's *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964). These, however, are intensely psychological treatments that miss important contextual elements, such as the links of individuals to class interests, groups, and political institutions. Such contextual elements are crucial to the political identity orientations presented here.

3. Erik Erikson, *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975), p. 173.

4. For a useful discussion of individual altruism and for an inspiring general read, see Kristen Renwick Monroe, *The Heart of Altruism: Perceptions of a Common Humanity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996). In this book Monroe also suggests individual cognitive frameworks for explaining behavior on behalf of the common good, and though our definitions and methods differ, Monroe's earlier work was an important influence on my own.

5. Kristen Renwick Monroe, ed., *The Economic Approach to Politics: A Critical Reassessment of the Theory of Rational Action* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), p. x.

6. Norman Frohlich, "Self-Interest or Altruism: What Difference?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18, no. 1 (March 1974): 57.

7. Ibid., 58.

8. For a useful overview of the influence of Olson over the past two decades, as

well as of recent challenges to concepts deeply influenced by Olson's work, see Carol McClurg Mueller, "Building Social Movement Theory," in Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 3–25. See also Jean Cohen, "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements," *Social Research* 52 (1985): 663–716.

9. See Kristen Renwick Monroe, Michael C. Barton, and Ute Klingemann, "Altruism and the Theory of Rational Action: An Analysis of Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe," in Monroe, *The Economic Approach to Politics*, pp. 325–330. For examples of rational actor theorists' approaches to altruism, see Kenneth Arrow, "Gifts and Exchanges," in E. Phelps, ed., *Altruism, Morality, and Economic Theory* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975)pp. 13–28; Gordon Becker, *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); and R. Wintrobe, "It Pays to Do Good. But Not More Good Than It Pays," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 2, no. 3 (1981): 201–213.

10. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity," p. 688.

11. Ibid., p. 677.

12. Bert Klandermans, "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields," in Morris and Mueller, *Frontiers*, p. 77.

13. Cited in Morris and Mueller, *Frontiers*, p. 9.

14. William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 47. Bloom provides an extremely useful summary of Habermas's contribution to identity theories.

15. Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon, 1973), p. 69.

16. Bloom, *Personal Identity*, p. 47.

17. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, pp. 3–4.

18. David Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

19. Ibid., pp. 19–20. See also ibid., ch. 7, "Rational Choice and Hegemony," pp. 136–169.

20. Laitin provides a detailed appendix regarding his research methodology in *Hegemony and Culture*, pp. 185–205.

21. Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus* 121 (Spring 1992): 123–139.

22. Ibid., p. 124.

23. Ibid.

24. Bloom, *Personal Identity*, p. 22.

25. Ibid., pp. 23, 25–53.

26. Ibid., p. 23.

27. Monroe, Barton, and Klingemann, "Altruism," pp. 326–328.

28. Ibid., p. 318.

29. Jane Mansbridge, "The Rise and Fall of Self-Interest in the Explanation of

Political Life," in Jane Mansbridge, ed., *Beyond Self-Interest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 20.

30. David Johnston, "Human Agency and Rational Action," in Monroe, *The Economic Approach to Politics*, p. 95.

31. Erikson's two general theoretical works on identity are *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: Norton, 1980) and *Identity, Youth, and Crisis* (New York, Norton, 1968). His two classic case studies of ego identity are *Young Man Luther* and *Ghandi's Truth*. For a fairly succinct explanation of identity, see Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," in *Identity and the Life Cycle*, pp. 109–174. For a brief and useful analysis of Erikson's work on identity and its potential significance for theories of international relations, see Bloom, *Personal Identity*, pp. 35–40.

32. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*, cited in Bloom, *Personal Identity*, p. 37.

33. Erik Erikson, *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 19–20. For a useful exploration of the self-other identification process within the field of sociology, see Orville Brim Jr. and Stanton Wheeler, *Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays* (New York: Wiley, 1966).

34. See, for example, David Snow, Louis Zurcher Jr., and Sheldon Ekland-Olson, "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment," *American Sociological Review* 45 (1980): 787–801. See also Debra Friedman and Doug McAdam, "Collective Identity and Activism: Networks, Choices, and the Life of a Social Movement," in Morris and Mueller, *Frontiers*, pp. 156–173. For a useful overview of network theory approaches, see Barry Wellman and S. D. Berkowitz, eds., *Social Structures: A Network Approach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ch. 1. For an extremely useful social network theory application to the study of intellectuals, see Robert J. Brym, *Intellectuals and Politics* (London: Allen and Unwin), 1980.

35. Carole Pateman, "The Civic Culture: A Philosophic Critique," in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, eds., *The Civic Culture Revisited* (New York: Sage, 1989), pp. 57–102. See also Wayne Cornelius and Ann Craig, "Political Culture in Mexico: Continuities and Revisionist Interpretations," in ibid., pp. 335–337.

36. Pateman, "The Civic Culture," p. 60. Works on the relationship between class status and political views are far too numerous to cite. Perhaps the best-known political socialization texts in this regard are Seymour Lipset, *Political Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1960), and Sidney Verba and N. H. Nie, *Participation in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

37. Markos J. Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy: From Independence to Allende* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 215. See also Helio Varela Carmona, "Estratificación Social de la Población Trabajadora en Chile y Su Participación en el Ingreso Nacional, 1940–1954," in *Memoria en ciencias económicas* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, Escuela de Economía, 1958); Ricardo Lagos Escobar, *La concentración del poder económico* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1961); ECLA, *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1964* (New York: United Nations,

ECLA, 1965), p. 32; and Sergio Molina, *El proceso de cambio en Chile* (Santiago, 1972), p. 85.

38. Mamalakis, *Growth and Structure*, p. 217.

39. Indeed, it is no small coincidence that in the December 1993 presidential elections, the leading contestants were Eduardo Frei Jr. and Arturo Alessandri, the son and nephew, respectively, of former Chilean presidents.

40. For a useful historical and analytical lens on the politicization of the university, see Iván Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989). See also Patricia Weiss Fagen, *Chilean Universities: Problems of Autonomy and Dependence* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973). For accounts of this relationship during the late 1960s and 1970s, see Manuel Antonio Garretón, "Universidad y política en los procesos de transformación y reversión en Chile, 1967–1977," *Estudios Sociales* 26, no. 4 (1980): 83–109.

41. For a classic conceptualization of a generational analysis to understanding history and social change, see Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations" (1928), in Philip Altbach and Robert Laufer, eds., *The New Pilgrims: Youth Protest in Transition* (New York: McKay, 1972), pp. 101–138. This anthology includes several analyses of the sixties generation as a unique twentieth-century cohort. For an overview of the generational debate, see Michael Delli Carpini, "Age and History: Generations and Sociopolitical Change," in Roberta S. Sigel, ed., *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 11–55. See also Vern Bengston, Michael Furlong, and Robert Laufer, "Time, Aging, and the Continuity of Social Structure: Themes and Issues in Generational Analysis," *Journal of Social Issues* 30, no. 2 (1974): 1–30.

42. Examples of the former include Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), and M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974). Examples of the latter are Karl Mannheim's classic "The Problem of Generations," and Richard Braungart and Margaret Braungart, "Political Career Patterns of Radical Activists in the 1960s and 1970s: Some Historical Comparisons," *Sociological Focus* 13 (1980): 237–254.

43. José Antonio Viera-Gallo, *Chile: Un nuevo camino* (Santiago: CESOC, 1989), p. 21.

44. Ibid., pp. 29–30.

45. On Vietnam veterans, see Robert Laufer, "The Aftermath of War: Adult Socialization and Political Development," in Sigel, *Political Learning*, pp. 415–457. On Holocaust victims, see Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Texture of Terrorism: Socialization, Routinization, and Integration," in Sigel, *Political Learning*, pp. 386–414. Sigel's edited volume provides a series of excellent critiques of the limits to standard political socialization arguments, whose conventional wisdom holds that individuals' political worldviews tend to be formed and fixed by adolescence. The authors assume that "political attitudes, preferences, interest and involvement in

politics" depend less "on a person's cognitive maturity than on his or her life experiences—education, occupation, reference group, and the times in which the person lives. Here is where we can anticipate considerable change with chronological age and change in life circumstances" (Sigel, *Political Learning*, p. 1).

46. One of the chief initiators of these inquiries was Salvadoran social psychologist and former academic vice rector of the José Simeón Canas University Ignacio Martín Baró, who was one of several Jesuit priests murdered in their residency in 1989. His most influential works included *Guerra y salúd mental* (San Salvador: UCA, 1984) and *Acción e ideología* (San Salvador: UCA, 1985). Chilean pioneers in this field include social psychologists Elizabeth Lira, María Isabel Castillo, David Becker, Valentina Arcos, Julia Cienfuegos, and Cristina Monelli. Important compilations of their work can be found in David Becker and Elizabeth Lira, eds., *Derechos humanos: Todo es según el dolor con que se mira* (Santiago, ILAS: 1990); Elizabeth Lira and María Isabel Castillo, *Psicología de la amenaza política y del miedo* (Santiago: ILAS, 1991); and the Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas, *Escritos sobre exilio y retorno (1978–1984)* (Santiago: FASIC, 1984).

47. An important note of clarification is in order here. While I have termed a select group of individuals in this study the "thinkers," this is in no way meant to imply that those in other categories of my typology do not think. Indeed, all of the participants of this study are extremely intelligent and reflective individuals.

48. The term *irruption* has been coined by political scientist Alexander Wilde. See his "Irruptions of Memory: Expressive Politics in Chile's Transition to Democracy" (paper presented to the Authoritarian Legacies Working Group of the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Columbia University, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 27–29, 1998).

49. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), p. 236.

2. Chile's Revolutionary Generation

1. For an excellent account and analysis of the post-1973 trajectories of the two dominant parties of the Popular Unity coalition, the Chilean Socialist and Communist parties, see Kenneth Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity: Dictatorship, Democracy, and the Evolution of the Left in Chile and Peru" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1992).

2. For a description of the process of "renovation" of important sectors of the Chilean Socialist Party from 1973 to the mid-1980s, see Ignacio Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago: CIEPLAN-HACHETTE, 1990). There are also several published memoirs, as well as personal interview and essay collections, that recount this process and their roles in it, including Jorge Arrate, *El retorno verdadero: Textos políticos, 1987–1991* (Santiago: Ediciones Ornitorrinco, 1991); Alexis Guardia, *Chile, país centauro: Perfíl del socialismo renovado* (Santiago: Ediciones BAT, 1990); Ricardo Lagos, *Democracia*

para Chile: Proposiciones de un Socialista (Santiago: Puhuén Editores, 1985); José Antonio Viera-Gallo, *Chile: Un nuevo camino* (Santiago: CESOC, 1990); and Hernán Vodanovic, *Un socialismo renovado para Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Andante, 1988).

3. Among the most path-breaking works in this vein are Norbert Lechner, *Los patios interiores de la democracia: Subjetividad y política* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1988); José Joaquín Brunner, *La cultura autoritaria en Chile* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1981); Pilar Vergara, "Las transformaciones del estado chileno bajo el régimen militar," in FLACSO, eds., *Chile: 1973–198?* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1983), pp. 65–104; Brunner, "La cultura política del autoritarianismo," in *Chile: 1973–198?*, pp. 211–228; and Eugenio Tironi, *Autoritarismo, modernización, y marginalidad* (Santiago: Ediciones SUR, 1990).

In addition, several Chilean social psychiatrists have been among the pioneers in work on the effects of political repression on Latin American culture and society. See, among others, Elizabeth Lira, "Consecuencias psicosociales de la represion en Chile," *Revista de psicología de El Salvador* 7, no. 28 (1988): 143–159; Elizabeth Lira, David Becker, Juana Kovalskys, Elena Gómez, and María Isabel Castillo, "Daño social y memoria colectiva: Perspectivas de reparación," in David Becker and Elizabeth Lira, eds., *Derechos humanos: Tódo es según el dolor con que se mira* (Santiago: ILAS, 1989), pp. 195–213; and Elizabeth Lira and María Isabel Castillo, *Psicología de la amenaza política y del miedo* (Santiago: ILAS-CESOC, 1991).

4. I am grateful to Tomás Moulián for his clarification of this point with me in an interview in November 1993.

5. Until quite recently, it was difficult not to note the irony in much of the left's uncritical use of the term *modernization* in light of the resounding debates around the question of modernization in the late 1960s and 1970s. Chilean sociologist Manuel Antonio Garretón raised this point in an opinion editorial, "Actores sociales y gobierno: La cara oculta del problema," *Apsi* 492 (March 1995): 23. Nevertheless, over the past year, debates regarding the relationships among modernization, quality-of-life issues, and politics have begun to emerge; they will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

6. Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 20. For an understanding of Chile's historic dependence upon copper and its relation to the international economy, see Theodore Moran, *Multinational Corporations and the Politics of Dependence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

7. On the state-led industrialization process in Chile, see Marcelo Cavarozzi, "The Government and the Industrial Bourgeoisie in Chile, 1938–1964" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1975).

8. The Jorge Alessandri government (1958–1964) proclaimed a "technocratic revolution" to free the economy of state control. Eduardo Frei pronounced his administration (1964–1970) a "Revolution in Liberty." One of the popular slogans of

the Allende government was the "*vía chilena*" toward revolutionary socialism. The Augusto Pinochet regime was responsible for the "*revolución silenciosa.*" See Eugenio Tironi, *Los silencios de la revolución: Chile—La otra cara de la modernización* (Santiago: Editorial La Puerta Abierta, 1988), p. 11.

9. The classic study of the Chilean political party system in the pre-1970 period is Federico Gil, *The Political System of Chile* (Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1966). For analyses of the Chilean political party system of the pre-1973 period, see Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Adolfo Aldunate, Angel Flisfisch, and Tomás Moulián, *Estudios sobre sistemas de partidos en Chile* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1985); and Manuel Antonio Garretón, *El proceso político chileno* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1983).

10. Loveman, *Chile*, p. 265.

11. Excellent accounts of this history can be found in Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); and Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Chile* (London: Oxford, 1972).

12. Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America*, pp. 47–48. For a forceful analysis of the critical juncture marking this shift in Chilean labor-capital-state relations, see Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

13. Regis Debray in NACLA, eds., *New Chile* (New York: Waller Press, 1972), p. 9.

14. For a synthetic history of the PCCh, see Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London: ZED Books, 1984). For the official account of the early years of the PCCh, see Hernán Ramírez-Necochea, *Orígen y formación del Partido Comunista de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Austral, 1965). On Recabarren's thought, see Augusto Varas, "Ideal socialista y teoría Marxista en Chile: Recabarren y el Komintern," in Augusto Varas, ed., *El Partido Comunista en Chile* (Santiago: CESOC-FLACSO, 1988), pp. 17–63.

15. For a detailed account of the transition from the Frente Unico position of a worker-peasant alliance leading to revolutionary struggle to the Popular Front position of broader alliances and the necessity of a bourgeois democratic phase, see María Soledad Gómez, "Factores nacionales e internacionales de la política interna del Partido Comunista de Chile (1922–1952)," in Varas, *El Partido Comunista en Chile*, pp. 66–73. See also Kenneth Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," pp. 196–207; and Tomás Moulián, *Democracia y socialismo en Chile* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1983), pp. 75–84.

16. This is a conservative estimate based on interviews with PCCh leaders and former leaders, as well as with Socialist Party leaders. Several referred to the Young Communists (la Jota) as the fourth-largest political party of the times, behind the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, and the Communists.

17. For a detailed account of the 1932 Socialist Republic and the birth of Chilean socialism, see Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1978), pp. 71–98. For a discussion of the influences of this period based on in-depth oral interviews with socialist leaders and activists, see Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 55–57.

18. Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," pp. 125–126. For an official history and analysis of the pre-1970 Chilean Socialist Party, see Julio Cesar Jobet, *Historia del Partido Socialista de Chile*, 2nd ed. (Santiago: Ediciones Documentas, 1987). For an excellent analysis of the PSCh until 1952, see Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile*. For an additional study of the PSCh, see Benny Pollack and Hernán Rosenkranz, *Revolutionary Social Democracy: The Chilean Socialist Party* (London: Pinter, 1986).

19. On the appeal of such figures in Chile, see Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile*.

20. Interestingly enough, this period in the PSCh's history was drawn upon as an important source of strength for the reunifying efforts under a far less radical program in the mid- to late 1980s. See Jorge Arrate, *El socialismo chileno: Rescate y renovación* (Barcelona and Rotterdam: Instituto Para el Nuevo Chile, 1983); and Jorge Arrate and Paulo Hidalgo, *Pasión y razón del socialismo chileno* (Santiago: Ediciones Ornitorrinco, 1989).

21. Jobet, *Historia del Partido Socialista de Chile*, pp. 292–293.

22. Second resolution of XXII Congreso General, reprinted in ibid., p. 313.

23. See ibid., pp. 386–398.

24. For a synopsis of this process, see Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," pp. 129–133.

25. See Jobet, *Historia del Partido Socialista de Chile*, pp. 288–289.

26. Loveman argues, for example, that the breakdown of democracy in Chile can be attributed largely to attempts to bring an end to landowner hegemony in the Chilean countryside. See his *Chile*, particularly pp. 265–288.

27. Discussion of the ideological meaning of "*lo popular*," "the popular sector," will be developed in chapter 5.

28. Tomás Moulián, "Evolución histórica de la izquierda chilena: La influencia del Marxismo," in *Democracia y socialismo en Chile*, p. 73.

29. Ibid., p. 74.

30. Tomás Moulián, *La forja de ilusiones: El sistema de partidos, 1932–1973* (Santiago: ARCIS/FLACSO, 1993), pp. 238–240.

31. Ibid., p. 252.

32. This point has been made most forcefully by Arturo Valenzuela in *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*.

33. Moulián, *La forja de ilusiones*, p. 268.

34. For a clear outline and critique of the objectives of the Popular Unity pro-

gram, see Sergo Bitar, *Transición, socialismo, y democracia* (Mexico City: Siglo Ven-tiuno Editores, 1979), pp. 53–66. Bitar's work provides a detailed chronology and analysis of the political economy of the UP period. An English translation of the "UP Program of Government" appeared in the *North American Congress on Latin America Newsletter* in March 1971.

35. I am grateful to Peter Winn for his signaling of this point, as well as for his close read and critique of this chapter.

36. From the *NACLA Newsletter*, 1971.

37. Until recently, one of the most widely read accounts of the final days of the Popular Unity government, including a blow-by-blow account of the coup itself, was Ignacio González Camus, *El día en que murió Allende* (Santiago: Editorial CESOC, 1988). Over the past year, however, several firsthand or journalistic accounts have been released, including the very powerful *Interferencia secreta* (September 1998) by journalist Patricia Verdugo. The book comes accompanied with a compact disc of taped orders by the coup leaders, including Pinochet's order to put Allende and his chief advisers on a plane and, later, to "throw them from the plane."

38. There are several journalistic accounts of the escape of the Chilean left lead-ership. For a fascinating account of the flight of Chilean Socialist Party leader Car-los Altamirano, see Patricia Politzer, *Altamirano* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Melquí-ades, 1989). For an account of the experiences of approximately thirty of the top leaders, see Faride Zerán, *O el asilo contra la opresión: 23 historias para recordar* (San-tiago: Editores Paradox, 1991). See also Mili Rodríguez, *Nunca me verás como me vieras* (Santiago: Ediciones Ornitorrinco, 1990).

39. See *Summary of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report*, published by the National Education Campaign for Truth and Human Rights, Ministry of For-eign Affairs, Santiago, Chile (July 1991), and Human Rights Watch/Americas, "Chile: Unsettled Business: Human Rights in Chile at the Start of the Frei Presi-dency," *Human Rights Watch* 6, no. 6 (May 1994).

40. Americas Watch, *Chile Since the Coup: Ten Years of Repression* (New York: Americas Watch, 1983), p. 3. The human rights record of the Pinochet regime was carefully documented by the Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. The com-mission's report focuses on deaths and disappearances under the dictatorship and has been criticized for its failure to release publicly the names of the perpetrators of human rights violations. Nevertheless, the report provides a penetrating analysis of the systematic violation of human rights under Pinochet, and it calls for a series of reparations, which have been heeded by the Aylwin and Frei administrations.

41. Manuel Antonio Garretón, "The Political Evolution of the Chilean Military Regime and Problems in the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, eds., *Transitions from Military Rule: Latin America* (Balti-more: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 95–111. For an elaborated ver-sion of this argument, see his *El proceso político chileno*. See also Augusto Varas and Felipe Aguero, *El proyecto político militar* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1984).

42. Garretón, "The Political Evolution," p. 103.

43. See Hector Schamis, "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism," *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 2 (January 1991): 201–220.

44. For a useful analysis of the evolution of Chile's neoliberal model, see Eduardo Silva, "The Political Economy of Chile's Regime Transition: From Radical to 'Pragmatic' Neo-Liberal Policies," in Paul Drake and Iván Jaksic, eds., *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile, 1982–1990*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 98–127. On the weakening of the working class, see Alan Angell, "Unions and Workers in Chile During the 1980s," in Drake and Jaksic, *The Struggle for Democracy*, pp. 188–210.

45. On the effects of Pinochet's neoliberal model on the Chilean financial sector in the early years of the regime, see Fernando Dahse, *El mapa de la extrema riqueza*. See also Eduardo Silva, "Capitalist Coalitions and Economic Policymaking in Authoritarian Chile" (Ph.D. diss., University of California–San Diego, 1991).

46. For an overview of the political institutionalization process of the military regime, see Garretón, *El proceso político chileno*, pp. 151–163. For a study of the 1980 constitution, see Luís Maira, *La constitución de 1980 y la ruptura democrática* (Santiago; Editorial Emisión, 1988).

47. Pilar Vergara, "Las transformaciones del estado," p. 100.

48. Brunner, "La cultura política del autoritarianismo," p. 217.

49. Vergara, "Las transformaciones del estado," pp. 95–100. See also José Joaquín Brunner, "La cultura política del autoritarianismo," pp. 217–221.

50. Vergara, "Las transformaciones del estado," p. 96. It is interesting to note that analyses of Pinochet's project in terms of its long-term influences on redefining Chilean political culture were produced in large part by intellectuals sheltered in small think tanks inside the country. For an overview of this phenomenon, see Jeffrey Puryear, *Thinking Politics: Intellectuals and Democracy in Chile, 1973–1988* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). By the early 1980s, private centers such as the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO) and CIEPLAN—homes to important Chilean left and moderate thinkers—had perceptibly grasped both the direct and the latent meanings for any transition from authoritarian rule. Those based at FLACSO alone included José Joaquín Brunner, Alicia Frohman, Manuel Antonio Garretón, Norbert Lechner, Tomás Moulián, Teresa Valdés, Augusto Varas, and Pilar Vergara, all of whom produced seminal studies of the political, economic, and social aspects of the dictatorship as well as their implications for the country's future.

51. Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," pp. 207–208.

52. Partido Comunista de Chile, "Al partido y al pueblo de Chile" (mimeographed; December 1974).

53. Ana Vásquez and Ana María Araujo, *La maldición de Ulises: Repercusiones psicológicas del exilio* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990), p. 11.

54. For an excellent discussion concerning the nature of political exile and political exiles, see Yossi Shain, *The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989). My definition of political exiles comes from his conceptualization.

55. Alan Angell and Susan Carstairs, "The Exile Question in Chilean Politics," *Third World Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (January 1987): 151–152.

56. I base this figure upon interviews with a range of former exiled political leaders and activists who belonged to distinct parties and lived in different regions of the world. During the interviews I asked each of them to estimate the number of key political leaders in exile. Interestingly enough, they all gave about the same figure.

57. These debates are presented and analyzed in detail by Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity."

58. *Documento del Comité Central del Partido Socialista de Chile*, Santiago, March 1974, p. 12. Cited in Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," p. 137.

59. Ibid.

60. Partido Comunista de Chile, "Patriotas: Sólo unidos derrotaremos el fascismo" (mimeographed; September 1976), p. 4.

61. For a useful analysis of the PCCh that attributes its change to a popular rebellion position to party organizational dynamics, see Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity." See also Tomás Moulián and Isabel Torres, "Continuidad o cambio en la linea política del Partido Comunista de Chile," in Varas, *El Partido Comunista en Chile*, pp. 453–485.

62. Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity," pp. 154–155. For elaborated discussions of renovation from two of its chief protagonists, see Tomás Moulián, *Democracia y socialismo en Chile*, and Jorge Arrate, *El socialismo chileno: Rescate y renovación* (Rotterdam: Instituto para el Nuevo Chile, 1983).

63. Moulián, "Evolución histórica de la izquierda chilena: la influencia del marxismo," in *Democracia y socialismo en Chile*.

64. Moulián, "Democracia, socialismo, y proyecto nacional popular," in *Democracia y socialismo en Chile*.

65. Silva, "The Political Economy of Chile's Regime Transition," p. 110.

66. See Gonzalo de la Maza and Mario Garcés, *La explosión de las mayorías: Protesta nacional, 1983–1984* (Santiago: Educación y Comunicaciones, 1985).

67. Manuel Antonio Garretón, "The Political Opposition and the Party System Under the Military Regime," in Drake and Jaksic, *The Struggle for Democracy*, p. 221.

68. Ibid., p. 222.

69. For an insightful analysis of the Pinochet regime's "carrots and sticks" approach to social unrest, see Carlos Huneeus, "La dinámica de los 'nuevos autoritarismos': Chile en una perspectiva comparada," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 54 (1986): 105–158.

70. For a detailed and well-written account of the opposition's strategic shifts

from a mass protest to a strategy of accepting the dictatorship's timetable, see Jeffrey Puryear, *Thinking Politics*, 123–159.

71. Brian Loveman, "The Transition to Civilian Government in Chile, 1990–1994," in Drake and Jaksic, *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile*, p. 308.

72. Minister of the Economy Carlos Ominami, cited in the *Latin American Monitor*, February 1990. A member of the MIR until 1973, Ominami today is a Chilean Socialist Party senator.

73. For an analysis of the 1997 election, see Felipe Aguero, "Chile's Lingering Authoritarian Legacy," *Current History* 97, no. 616 (February 1998): 66–70.

74. See "Obispos: Iglesia debe recabar datos sobre paradero de desaparecidos," *La Hora*, September 9, 1998, p. 10.

3. The Binds and Bonds of Party Loyalty

1. In fact, after a long period of dormancy, "generational analyses" reemerged with fervor in the late 1960s as scholars examined 1960s social conflict. Analysts returned to such thinkers as Karl Mannheim and José Ortega y Gasset for explanations of the role of youth in moments of rapid social change. Generational analyses became a major focus of political socialization studies, as both an independent variable and a dependent variable in studies of political and social systems. Such analyses challenged the conventional wisdom of political socialization literature of the period for its emphasis on change rather than continuity. "The biggest distinction between the study of political socialization in general and the particular study of generations," wrote Michael Delli Carpini, "is that the former emphasizes *continuity* in attitudes, opinions, and behaviors between socializer and socialized, while the latter focuses on *discontinuity*." See "Age and History: Generations and Sociopolitical Change," in Roberta Sigel, ed., *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research*, p. 13 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

2. All of my interviews used a primarily open-ended questionnaire to guide but not to control the interview sessions. The interviewees themselves tended to determine how much time was spent on particular issues or periods of their lives.

3. On Socialist Party culture, see Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1978), and Benny Pollack and Hernán Rosenkranz, *Revolutionary Social Democracy: The Chilean Socialist Party* (London: Pinter, 1986). On the Chilean Communist Party, see Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London: ZED, 1984). To my knowledge there are no in-depth studies of the Izquierda Cristiana or the MAPU, parties that were historically short-lived yet whose members were key thinkers in the process of socialist renovation. A history of the formation and evolution of the MAPU would make for an interesting study.

4. I interviewed Jorge Insunza on January 22 and 29, 1992, and June 10, 1998.

5. My interviews with Isabel Allende were conducted on December 3, 1991, January 9, 1992, and June 12, 1998.

6. In a June 8, 1998, meeting with fellow Christian Democratic Party leaders and organizers, presidential hopeful Andrés Zaldívar discussed the 1999 presidential elections and his rival for the presidential nomination, Socialist Party–Party for Democracy leader Ricardo Lagos. Zaldívar was reported to have stated that the Socialist Party might not be capable of governance based on its past. His remarks were covered by the major media, and leaders of the Socialist Party responded with harsh condemnation of Zaldívar.

7. My interviews with Adriana Muñoz took place on December 2, 1991, January 24, 1992, and June 9, 1998.

8. In a press interview, Allende criticized feminists for complaining about the lack of Socialist Party nominees for cabinet positions and for pushing too forcefully regarding the legalization of divorce. Regarding Socialist Party–picked candidates for the 1994 Frei cabinet, she defended the Socialist Party's position that there were not appropriate Socialist women for the jobs. Regarding divorce, she said, "Frankly, it seems to me that there are far more urgent social problems, and in my campaign for congress, it would not have occurred to me to choose divorce as a number one theme. It would have been absurd. When you see people without work, or services or hospitals, frankly divorce is not a priority issue" (*La Epoca*, January 2, 1994, p. 5).

9. Individuals' basic proclivities toward progressive social and political values, such as the defense of the poor and underprivileged, or equality under the law, are rooted in the predominant cultural, religious, and socioeconomic traditions of their families and communities. Class, urban-rural, religious-secular, and politicized-apolitical cleavages in the home and neighborhood combine in complex ways to influence how individuals perceive themselves in relation to others. Such cleavages undergird individuals' basic values, values that provide the foundations for subsequent political militancy and political commitment.

10. In several informal discussions with such Chilean feminists as Teresa Valdés, and others, the author was exposed to a widespread frustration and disappointment with the pervasive machismo of the Chilean political class. There are notably fewer women in public office today than before 1973, an interesting paradox given the high visibility of Chilean women in the struggle against the dictatorship. The visible retreat from politics on the part of Chilean women intellectuals in the post-1990 period would make for a fascinating study.

11. The relationship between the Chilean Socialist Party and the Party for Democracy is a complicated one, as many of the PPD leaders are also closely associated with the PSCh leadership. Since 1989, when the PSCh first created the PPD as an instrumentalist party to accede to the confines of the 1980 Chilean constitution, the PPD has increasingly differentiated itself from the PSCh as a more "modern" left party. The PPD continues to struggle to define itself, though in the area of gender and politics, it has taken the lead over the PSCh in advancing greater participation of women in politics.

12. My interviews with Patricio Rivas took place on November 19 and 21, 1991, and June 12, 1998.

13. Such former Miristas include Carlos Ominami, Aylwin's planning minister, who was recently elected senator; Osvaldo Puccio, currently ambassador to Austria; and Alvaro Díaz, a senior adviser to the Ministry of Planning.

4. Personal Loyalists and the Meaning of Allendismo

1. From interview with Patricio Rivas, June 12, 1998.

2. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), p. 52.

3. Luisa Passerini, "Memory: Resume of the Final Session of the International Conference on Oral History, Aix-en-Provence, September 26, 1982," reprinted in *History Workshop* 15 (Spring 1983): 195; and Passerini, "Work Ideology and Consensus," in *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 85.

4. Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Anne Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 153.

5. For a valuable discussion of the historic roots of populist leadership within the Chilean Socialist Party, see Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1978).

6. Carlos Huneeus, *Los chilenos y la política: Cambio y continuidad en el autoritarianismo* (Santiago: CERC, 1987), p. 85.

7. See, for example, Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Manuel Antonio Garretón and Tomás Moulián, *La Unidad Popular y el conflicto político en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Minga, 1983); and Sergio Bitar, *Transición, socialismo, y democracia: La experiencia chilena* (Mexico City: Siglo Ventiuno Editores, 1979).

8. See, for example, Jorge Arrate, *La fuerza demócratica de la idea socialista* (Santiago: Ediciones Ornitorrinco, 1986), pp. 69–77; Gonzalo Martner, "La unidad de la izquierda: Una perspectiva," *Convergencia*, no. 11 (April–June 1987): 39–43; and Aniceto Rodríguez, *Unidad y renovación: Dialéctica para la victoria* (Santiago: CESOC, 1990), pp. 63–66.

9. Cited in "Miedo y amenaza en la propaganda política televisa del plebiscito del 1988," in Elizabeth Lira and María Isabel Castillo, *Psicología de la amenaza política y del miedo*, p. 163.

10. In fact, it is difficult to come across any positive public imagery from those years. For the authoritarian regime's manipulation of societal fear and its quest for stability, see Norbert Lechner, "Hay gente que muere del miedo," in his collection of essays, *Los patios interiores de la democracia: Subjetividad y politica* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1988), pp. 95–109. This article appears in a translated version in a very strong anthology edited by Juan Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen, and Manuel Anto-

nio Garretón; see *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

11. Patricia Politzer, *Altamirano* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Melquíades, 1989), p. 11.

12. Cited in ibid., pp. 194–195.

13. Ibid., p. 17.

14. Ibid., p. 9.

15. This is also in stark contrast to Altamirano, who, aided by the Chilean Communist Party, managed to flee the country within days after the coup.

16. Martner, "La unidad de la izquierda," p. 39.

17. In 1991 the Allende family established the Fundación Allende, which houses a range of archival material. According to the socialist magazine *Convergencia*, the Centro de Estudios Salvador Allende in Puebla, Mexico, has begun to publish the fifteen-volume *Archivo Salvador Allende*, complete with illustrations, chronologies, and analysis by leading socialist thinkers. Each volume is dedicated to a specific theme: "Latin America, youth, democracy and socialism, the party, the Chilean road to socialism, workers, the international context, man's daily existence." See *Convergencia*, no. 11 (April–June 1987): 45.

18. Remarks by Jorge Arrate in Jorge Arrate, Oscar G. Garretón, Osvaldo Puccio, and Ignacio Walker, "Salvador Allende y la renovación socialista," *Convergencia*, no. 13 (July 1988): 18–19.

19. Remarks by Puccio in ibid., p. 18. Together with Manuel Antonio Garretón and Luis Maira, Puccio was responsible for drafting a new PSCh program, a task that had not been undertaken since 1957.

20. Ibid., p. 21. See also Garretón's opinion editorial, "Qué dignidad, Presidente! Qué dignidad!" *La Hora*, September 8, 1998.

21. Ricardo Nuñez, "La difícil tarea de los socialistas hoy" (speech reprinted in *Convergencia*, no. 18 [May–June 1990], p. 17).

22. See, for example, "El fantasma de Lagos," in the weekly Chilean magazine *Que Pasa*, August 15, 1998, p. 28.

23. My interviews with Hernán Del Canto were conducted on October 31 and November 11, 1991.

24. Javier Martínez and Eugenio Tironi, *Las clases sociales en Chile: Cambio y estratificación, 1970–1980* (Santiago: SUR, 1985); and Jean Blondel, "The Social Backgrounds of Ministers," in *Government Ministers in the Contemporary World* (London: Sage, 1985), pp. 29–54, esp. his table documenting "manual workers, employees, trade union organizers and farmers" holding government ministries since 1945 (table 2–4. p. 43).

25. Public announcements issued by the military junta seeking the whereabouts of high-level officials of the Popular Unity government.

26. Ignacio González Camus, *El día en que murió Allende* (Santiago: Editorial CESOC, 1989), pp. 211–213.

27. Erik Erikson, "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence," in *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 123–124.

28. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 19.

29. Ibid., p. 50.

30. Ana Vásquez and Ana María Araujo use this term in their study of Southern Cone exiles in France. See *La maldición de Ulises: Repercusiones psicológicas del exilio* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990), p. 6.

31. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli,* p. 53.

32. My interviews with Aníbal Palma took place on October 29, November 5, and November 8, 1991.

33. For a description and analysis of the historical role of the Radical Party, see Timothy Scully, *Rethinking the Center: Party Politics in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chile* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); and Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes.*

34. Aníbal Palma, "La verdad sobre la ENU," *Un sólo norte* (Santiago: A.T.G., 1989), p. 131.

35. *Momio* is a derogatory term for members of the right, and it also implied members of the middle to upper classes.

36. My interviews with Eduardo Reyes were conducted on November 5 and 6, 1991, and June 10, 1998.

37. For an excellent source on the politics of voting in the rural areas, see Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 229–270.

38. The Tupamaros were a 1960s Uruguayan urban guerrilla movement.

39. Exemplified by Che Guevara's expedition into Bolivia, guerrilla *focos* were small groups of armed militants whose purpose was to live among and recruit the peasantry into support for socialist revolution.

40. The notion of the immediacy of traumatic political moments in national history is developed in Henri Rousso's study of Vichy France. See Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France Since 1944* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

41. This is not the case for all former Allende cabinet ministers. Former minister of mines Sergio Bitar, for example, is now a Chilean senator. Though he was not a participant in this study, I did interview him briefly and am familiar with his thinking and work. Were I to take a guess as to what ideal-type Bitar would be, I would place him as a political entrepreneur, the subject of chapter 6.

5. Exile and the Thinkers

1. Hans Speier, "The Social Conditions of the Intellectual Exile," in Hans Speier, *Social Order and the Risks of War: Papers in Political Sociology* (New York: Stewart, 1952), p. 94.

2. As Bryan Turner has suggested in his preface to Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and*

Utopia, Mannheim's own concepts, most clearly demonstrated in his "free-floating intellectual," are a product of his biographical experience, first as a Hungarian refugee fleeing the White Terror and later as a refugee from fascist Germany. Turner includes among the "floating Jewish intelligentsia" Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Emile Durkheim, the whole of the Frankfurt School—all of whom, it might be argued, were directly influenced theoretically by their uprootedness. See Turner's preface to Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), p. xliii. In Erik Erikson's work on identity and identity crisis, he discusses how the identity crisis of immigrants, including his own experience, opened his eyes to the question of "what world image they were sharing, where they were going, from where they were, and who was going with them." See Erikson, *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975), p. 4. In his reflections in *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), Albert Hirschman has also alluded to his refugee experience as influential in his formulation of the concepts of exit and voice.

3. There is a rich literature on the phenomenon of exile, particularly in the fields of history, psychology, sociology, and literary criticism. There are, however, few explicitly theoretical studies of the importance of exiles' thinking and activity upon their countries' politics. What theoretical studies do exist focus upon the impact of political exiles' activities in their *adopted* countries. Classics in this vein include Edward Carr, *The Romantic Exiles: A Nineteenth-Century Portrait Gallery* (Harmonsworth: Penguin, 1949); and Lewis Coser's *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and Their Experiences* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). Others of interest that examine specific national diasporas include R. C. Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigres in Germany, 1881–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972). Generally these examine how political exiles, defined as those who flee their country as a result of political persecution, become refugees. They are studies of those who seek new lives abroad and eventually become less and less involved in political activity focused on their home countries, and they do not return. These studies are based largely on the cases of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and have thus treated exile as an implicitly permanent phenomenon. They do not address the theoretical implications for exile repatriation. Important works on the Spanish exiled communities are Louis Stein's *Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939–1955* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); and Patricia Weiss Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973). Studies that conceptually include a vast range of diaspora communities are Yossi Shain's *The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); and Paul Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: Habrap, 1972).

4. The centrality of a "sense of place" in the lives of many individuals is suggested by Jerome Bruner in his study of culture and autobiography. It is the dis-

covery that one's home or sense of place, of all the subjective phenomena and sentiments attached with that sense of place, is a constant referent in everyday discourse, as in life. See Bruner, "Life as Narrative," *Social Research* 54, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 24–27.

5. Diane Kay, *Chileans in Exile: Private Struggles, Public Lives* (London: Macmillan, 1987). For an additional study of the public/private dimension in exile and its differential impact on gender, see Valentina da Rocha Lima, "Women in Exile: Becoming Feminist," *International Journal of Oral History* 5, no. 2 (June 1984): 81–99.

6. For an important institutionalist perspective on the realm and flow of ideas across nations, see Peter Hall, *The Political Power of Economic Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

7. Robert Brym, *Intellectuals and Politics* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), p. 13.

8. In Yossi Shain's study of political exiles, he distinguishes between two broad segments in the international arena that serve as support institutions for exiles: "1) Governments, including the intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States . . . ; and 2) Civil society, including: a) transnational nongovernmental organizations such as the Socialist International, the World Council of Churches . . . b) national organizations such as political parties, labor unions, student movements, or even exile groups of other nationalities; c) public opinion and the media; and d) private individuals and organizations" (*The Frontier of Loyalty*, p. 111).

9. My interviews with Luis Maira took place on October 22 and November 19, 1991, and November 14, 1993.

10. Cited in Reinhard Friedman, *La política chilena de la A a la Z* (Santiago: Melquíades, 1988), p. 68.

11. Faride Zerán, *O el asilo contra la opresión* (Santiago: Editores Paradox, 1991), p. 91.

12. For a history of the contribution of Spanish Republicans to intellectual and professional life in Mexico, see Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens.*

13. As the secretary-general of Chile's solidarity office for the Americas, Maira traveled extensively to the United States as well as to other countries of Latin America. He visited Washington, D.C., as many as six times per year, focusing a good deal on U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America. In his reflections on intellectuals who had most influenced and challenged his thinking, Maira noted, in addition to prominent Christian and Marxist theorists, social scientist Samuel Huntington, who gave him a dose of "realpolitik": "I want to point out a final current that influenced me from among the social sciences, authors one reads without feeling any great affinity toward them, but who illuminate very concrete questions, nevertheless—who have an important influence on you for their conceptual sharpness, such as Samuel Huntington, whose thoughts are rich and when you must confront them it affects your own thinking, you find yourself accommodating their thinking. So

people from the most varied currents in the field of international relations have had a tremendous influence on my intellectual formulation."

14. In an article he wrote for the socialist magazine *Convergencia*, for example, Maira urged fellow socialists to learn from the Latin American transitions of the 1980s (rather than the Spanish one) as they prepared for the Chilean transition from authoritarian rule. By this he meant more attention to Latin American economic dependency, to fragile political coalitions, and to the primacy of populist leaders. Luis Maira, "La transición chilena: Desafíos y capacidades," *Convergencia* 18 (May–June 1990): 11.

15. Maira, "La Izquierda Cristiana, una mayoría que nace," cited in Friedman, *La política chilena de la A a la Z*, p. 67.

16. My interviews with Antonio Leal were conducted on November 12 and 17, 1991, and June 9, 1998.

17. There is a rich literature on the meaning of "*lo popular*" in Latin America. While today, the "popular sector" tends to be used in purely sociological terms to connote broad sectors of the poor, from those in the working-class sector to the informal sector, in the 1960s and 1970s the term tended to carry a definitively political and ideological content. The popular classes or sectors were agents for protest, for change, for mobilization and demand-making of the state. For a sociological conceptualization that treats the popular sectors as the working and lower middle class, see David Collier, introduction to Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 3–20. For an alternative sociological treatment, which essentially views the popular sector as all those who oppose the elites, see Susan Eckstein, "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America," in Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 1–60. For a politico-ideological conceptualization, see Guillermo O'Donnell, "Tensions in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State and the Question of Democracy," in Collier, *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, pp. 285–318.

18. "*Yo no soy ni allí*," means "I couldn't care less," while "*en todo*" means "in everything."

19. Enrico Berlinguer, "Reflections After Events in Chile," *Italian Communists* 5–6 (September–December 1973).

20. For a discussion of the PCI's increased prominence during this period, see Ignacio Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago: CIEPLAN-HACHETTE, 1990), pp. 106–112.

21. This is reminiscent of Alvin Gouldner's argument regarding contradictions between the vanguard organization and the nature of the intellectual: "The vanguard organization has and develops its own logic, and this comes into contradiction with the grammar of the intelligentsia. . . . In short, the common culture of intellectuals places a central value on talk, particularly self-reflective discourse. But a vanguard structure is an instrument of social combat. Its military exigencies and

dangerous position compel it to insist on disciplined obedience. . . . In bringing the vanguard party into being, the intellectuals also bring the seeds of their own political disillusionment and displacement." Alvin W. Gouldner, "Prologue to a Theory of Revolutionary Intellectuals," *Telos* 26 (Winter 1975–76), p. 17.

22. My interviews with Fernando Contreras took place on November 26 and 29, 1991, and April 20, 1992.

23. Ana Vásquez and Ana María Araujo, *La maldición de Ulises: Repercusiones psicológicas del exilio* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990). See also Juana Kovalskys and Elizabeth Lira, "Exilio y retorno: una aproximación psicosocial," in FASIC, *Exilio: 1978–1986,* pp. 139–145.

24. For a useful discussion of the individual militant-party dynamic in exile, see Eugenia Neves and Ana Vásquez, "La militancia política y los exiliados," *Chile-América* 76–77 (January–March 1982): 53.

25. The Leipzig Group earned its name from a 1979 meeting held among them in Leipzig, although their place of residence was East Berlin.

26. In addition to Contreras, I discussed the Leipzig Group with Alvaro Palacios, another member of the group, as well as with former Communists Raúl Oliva and Antonio Leal. Written analyses include Kenneth Roberts, "In Search of a New Identity: Dictatorship, Democracy, and the Evolution of the Chilean Left in Chile and Peru" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1992); Boris Yopo, "Las relaciones internacionales del Partido Comunista," in Augusto Varas, ed., *El Partido Comunista en Chile* (Santiago: CESOC-FLACSO, 1988), esp. pp. 389–393; Osvaldo Puccio, "La política del Partido Comunista de Chile: Elementos de su evolución y permanencia en el último período," in Varas, *El Partido Comunista Chileno,* pp. 403–437; Luis Corvalán, "Rebelión popular: Política de nuestro partido," in "Rebelión popular: Camino de la victoria" (mimeographed; 1982), pp. 73–80; and a presentation and discussion session led by Contreras and reprinted in ICAL, eds., *Crisis y renovación* (Santiago: Ediciones Medusa/ICAL, 1990), pp. 265–277.

27. This description of revolutionary man was provided by Contreras in our interview.

28. Yopo, "Las relaciones internacionales," pp. 373–388.

29. Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 110.

30. See, for example, Manuel Fernando Contreras, "Bases para debatir la renovación revolucionaria de nuestro partido" (unpublished manuscript, 1990); Contreras, "Opiniones en torno a la renovación del Partido Comunista de Chile" (unpublished manuscript, 1990); and Contreras, "La renovación del PC de Chile," in ICAL, *Crisis y renovación,* esp. pp. 277–280.

6. The Return: Political Entrepreneurs and the Chilean Transition

1. It would be difficult to underestimate the importance of the national university reform movement on the political lives of 1960s generation university leaders

and activists. The university reform movement is beyond the scope of this study, but it would make a very strong research contribution to understanding the evolution of the Chilean New Left.

2. My interviews with Raúl Oliva were conducted on October 18, 24, and 31, 1991.

3. Valentina da Rocha Lima, "Women in Exile: Becoming Feminist," *International Journal of Oral History* 5, no. 2 (June 1984): 94.

4. My interviews with Clarisa Hardy took place on February 5 and 7, 1992, and June 12, 1998.

5. My interviews with Enrique Correa took place in New York City on October 27 and November 6, 1993.

6. Interview with UDI congressman Andrés Chadwick, cited in Alicia De la Cruz and Luisa García, "El poder del ministro Correa, para muchos el hombre político de 1990," *La Segunda*, December 21, 1990, p. 16. In this article, National Party senator Sebastián Piñera said, "Correa doesn't have enemies in the opposition. If he has any, they are in the Concertación." Typical also was rightist magazine *Qué Pasa*'s laudatory article on Correa, titled "Eighty-five Kilos of Talent" (June 19, 1993).

7. Cited in María Angélica de Luigi, "Ministro: Cambió Usted o Cambió el País?" *El Mercurio*, May 12, 1991, p. D12.

8. Ibid.

9. Oscar Guillermo Garretón is a former MAPU leader and under President Aylwin headed Chile's metro system for the transportation ministry.

10. A key contributor to the new bond between Aylwin and Correa was a close mutual friend, the Archbishop Carlos González, an early mentor of Correa's and the archbishop of the diocese that encompassed Aylwin's 1960s senatorial district. During the transition, the Catholic Church provided an extremely important facilitating network between the Christian Democratic Party and sectors of the Christian left.

11. Edgardo Boeninger was Aylwin's minister of the presidency and is today a designated senator. Alejandro Foxley was Aylwin's minister of finance and is today an elected senator. Rene Cortázar has been a high-level government official and consultant.

12. Interview with senior fellows of FLACSO. In contrast to FLACSO-Mexico, FLACSO-Argentina, and FLACSO-Quito, FLACSO-Chile is the one branch that does not receive financial support from its government.

13. My interviews with José Antonio Viera-Gallo were conducted on November 18, 1991, January 13, 1992, and June 8, 1998.

14. Interview with the author, October 27, 1993.

15. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), p. 53.

16. Faride Zerán, "José Antonio Viera-Gallo: 'Soy como el Arlequín,'" *Análisis*, July 8–14, 1991, p. 6.

17. My interviews with José Miguel Insulza took place on November 18 and 29, 1991, and November 13, 1993.

18. January 1999 release of a poll conducted by the reputable CERC (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea), Santiago, Chile.

19. Paper presented at panel on "The Crisis of the Socialist Countries," printed in ICAL, eds., *Crisis y renovación* (Santiago: Ediciones Medusa/ICAL, 1990), p. 20.

20. "El pulpo imperialista," *El Mercurio*, June 11, 1995, p. D36.

21. Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 461.

22. Lucy Dávila, "Lagos, el PPD y el gobierno," *Hoy*, no. 932 (May 29–June 4, 1995): 19; "Socialistas rechazan juicios de Ominami: Defendieron los símbolos socialistas," *El Mercurio*, April 20, 1995, p. B3; "Escalona Afirmó que el socialismo es la mejor alternativa democrática," *El Mercurio*, April 20, 1995, p. B3; "Critican fórmulas de la oposición para solucionar tema de derechos humanos," *El Mercurio*, July 16, 1995, p. C3.

23. Antonio Cortés T., "Hegemonia gubernamental y socialismo," *La Epoca*, October 13, 1994, p. 9.

Conclusion: Political Identity, Postauthoritarianism in the 1990s, and the Politics of the Possible

1. It is interesting to note that the terms *spot*, *focus group*, *mass media*, and *spin* have become incorporated in their original English into the Chilean language.

2. Words used by Enrique Correa in an interview with the author in November 1993.

3. Interview with the author, November 1993.

4. For a useful analysis of one such type of consensus-based politics, see Terry Lynn Karl, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 196–219.

5. For an important discussion of the need to examine the effects of authoritarian political legacies on the postauthoritarian period, see Frances Hagopian, "After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America," *World Politics* 45 (April 1993): 464–500. For a leading Chilean psychiatrist's perspectives on her society's continued fear and fragmentation, see Faride Zerán's interview with Sofía Salamovich, "El alma de Chile," *La Epoca*, July 2, 1995, pp. 14–15.

6. My assertion is based on personal interviews with former revolutionary intellectuals and activists both in Chile and abroad (including those former exiles who did not return to Chile), who are working in a range of capacities, from academic posts to nongovernmental service and development organizations.

7. See John Beverley, José Oviedo, and Michael Aronna, eds., *The Post-Modernism Debate in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

8. Enrique Correa, "Exportar inteligencia," *Qué Pasa*, p. 12.

9. Ibid.

10. Manuel Antonio Garretón, "La cara oculta del problema," *Hoy*, p. 23.

11. I conducted a series of intensive interviews with Osvaldo Puccio on October 15, 23, and 31, 1991.

12. Antonio Leal, "Debate socialista," *La Epoca*, October 8, 1994, p. 10.

13. Remarks taken from June 9, 1998, interview and from opinion editorial, "Ni autocomplacientes ni autoflagelantes," published in *La Epoca*, June 12, 1998, p. 8.

14. "Revista de Libros," *El Mercurio*, September 12, 1998, p. 7. See, for example: Tomás Moulián, *Conversación interrumpida con Allende* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1998); Patricia Verdugo, *Interferencia secreta: 11 de septiembre de 1973* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericano, 1998); Marco Antonio de la Parra, *Carta abierta a Pinochet* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1998); Armando Uribe, *Carta abierta a Patricio Aylwin* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1998); Tomás Moulián, *El consumo me consume* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1998); Marco Antonio de la Parra, *La mala memoria: Historia personal de Chile contemporáneo* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1997).

15. January 4, 1999, CERC poll, a national survey of twelve hundred Chileans in twenty-nine cities throughout the country.