

WHEN THE ROMANCE
ENDED

WHEN THE ROMANCE

ENDED:

**LEADERS OF THE
CHILEAN LEFT, 1968–1998**

**KATHERINE
HITE**

Columbia University Press / New York

Columbia University Press
Publishers Since 1893
New York Chichester, West Sussex

Copyright © 2000 Columbia University Press
All rights reserved

An earlier version of chapter 1 appeared as "The Formation and Transformation of Political Identity: Leaders of the Chilean Left, 1968–1990," in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, pt. 2 (May 1996): 299–328. Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

Photo of Patricio Rivas courtesy of Rivas.
All other photos courtesy of COPESA.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Hite, Katherine.

When the romance ended : leaders of the Chilean left, 1968–1998 /
Katherine Hite.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-231-11016-2 (alk. paper). — ISBN 0-231-11017-0 (pbk. :
alk. paper)

1. Political psychology—Chile. 2. Politicians—Chile—
Psychology. 3. Right and left (Political science)—Psychological
aspects. 4. Political culture—Chile. I. Title.

JA74.5.H58 2000

324.2'2'092283—dc21

99-38567



Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books are printed on
permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

p 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
INTRODUCTION	xiii
<i>Chapter 1:</i> Interpreting Political Identity	1
<i>Chapter 2:</i> Chile's Revolutionary Generation	27
<i>Chapter 3:</i> The Binds and Bonds of Party Loyalty	59
<i>Chapter 4:</i> Personal Loyalists and the Meaning of Allendismo	101
<i>Chapter 5:</i> Exile and the Thinkers	127
<i>Chapter 6:</i> The Return: Political Entrepreneurs and the Chilean Transition	153
<i>Conclusion:</i> Political Identity, Postauthoritarianism in the 1990s, and the Politics of the Possible	187
NOTES	201
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	227
INDEX	241

For Rob

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

■ Over the many years that I have been engaged in this book, I have benefited from an enormously rich and diverse range of intellectual, personal, and institutional support.

In 1983, Arturo Valenzuela, my professor when I was an undergraduate at Duke University, convinced me that I should join his three-month academic exchange program in Santiago. He offered me a Duke fellowship to participate, and I reluctantly agreed. That period deeply influenced my subsequent professional interests and direction. The program gathered a group of undergraduate and graduate students from around the United States to study with professors who were prohibited from teaching in Chilean universities, including Manuel Antonio Garretón, Norbert Lechner, and Tomás Moulián of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales–Chile (FLACSO–Chile), all of whom would later assist my graduate research.

When the program ended, I returned to Washington, D.C., where I worked with the U.S.-based human rights community for the next several years. Human rights and feminist activist Isabel Morel Letelier became a central teacher of my life. I also enjoyed the professional guidance and friendship of Eliana Loveluck, and I learned a good deal from working with such people as Joe Eldridge, Virginia Bouvier, and Cynthia Brown, and from my colleagues at the Institute for Policy Studies, including Robert Borosage, John Cavanagh, Peter Kornbluh, Saul Landau, and Nancy Lewis.

I was able to return to Chile several times, and in 1991, I began extensive dissertation research with support from the Fulbright Foundation. SUR Profesionales and its director, Carlos Vergara, gave me an institutional home in Santiago, where I benefited from the collegueship of Carmen Barrera, Alvaro Boehme, Alvaro Díaz, Javier Martínez, and Darío Vergara.

In addition to those listed above and the central members presented in detail in this study, I am particularly indebted to the Chilean academics, activists, and officials who over the years discussed crucial aspects of my

work with me: Felipe Agüero, John Biehl, Josefina Bilbao, Sergio Bitar, José Joaquín Brunner, María Isabel Castillo, Ernesto Galáz, Josefina Guzmán, Carlos Huneeus, Iván Jaksic, Marta Lagos, Juan Pablo Letelier, Elizabeth Lira, Cecilia Medina, Juan Enrique Miquel, Roberto Moreno, Gabriel Palma, Osvaldo Puccio, Martín Rodríguez, Juan Somavía, Cecilia Valdés and Teresa Valdés.

During my growing family's stay in Chile, two individuals were a constant source of intellectual and personal companionship: Sergio Baeza, a steadfast friend who has continued to joust with me over Chilean politics, and Cynthia Sanborn, who arrived in Chile and underwent the "immersion-into-Chile" process with me. I am also deeply appreciative to the Letelier family for taking our family under their wing during its expansion, and to the Guzmán-Bilbao family for adopting us as well.

For my writing I found a welcome home at the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies (ILAIS) of Columbia University, and to ILAIS I am especially thankful for all of the personal as well as professional support. Douglas Chalmers was enormously supportive in his roles as my academic adviser and my boss. Andrea Hetling and Judy Rein were also supportive colleagues. I took full advantage of the ILAIS community of visiting faculty and associates, including Robert Kaufman, Peter Winn, Susan Eckstein, Nora Hamilton, and Eric Hershberg. Above all else, I thank ILAIS visiting faculty member Margaret Crahan for her mentoring, patience and friendship. I also received invaluable suggestions from the institute's visiting Tinker professors, including Atilio Borón, Maria do Carmen Campello de Souza, Carlos Iván Degregori, María del Carmen Feijoo, José María Maravall, Gonzalo Portocarrero, and Carlos Vilas. And last, but certainly not least, I gained a great deal from ILAIS's Ph.D. group, in particular from past members Jo-Marie Burt, Brian Ford, Martín Gargiulo, José María Ghio, Ed Gibson, Blanca Heredia, Scott Martin, Kerianne Piester, Hector Schamis, Rob Smith, and especially Monique Segarra. I also wish to thank Claire Ullman for her collegueship and her friendship through our graduate school careers.

Regarding the larger Columbia community, I especially thank Alfred Stepan for his intellectual challenge, support, and mentoring, and Lisa Anderson, Michael Delli Carpini, Mark Kesselman, Anthony Marx, and Kelly Moore. Others who have given their time to help me think pieces of this project through include Nancy Bermeo, Terry Lynn Karl, Ron Kassimir, Kenneth Roberts, Philippe Schmitter, Eric Selbin, Yossi Shain, Michael Shifter, and Alexander Wilde. I also thank the staff of Columbia Universi-

ty Press, including editor John Michel for his early support, and Alexander Thorp and Jan McInroy for helping to see this through.

Vassar College has proved to be a supportive environment for finishing this work, and I am grateful to my colleagues in the political science department, to the Vassar Faculty Research Committee for funding my 1998 return to Chile, and to Caleb Elfenbeim for taking on the index.

Finally, I thank my family. Richard Roberts came through for me as a brilliant intellectual and a loving father, and I cannot thank him enough. My grandfather Clifford Carpenter challenged me and continued to remind me of the humanity and bravery of my subjects. My mother, Deborah Fields, is a powerful presence in this work and in my life. I realized, particularly after her death, how much my parents' and grandparents' examples were the inspiration for this study.

I do not know how to begin to thank Robert Hite. His friendship, humor, and love as my husband and the father of our amazing children, Aidan Carpenter Hite and Adeline Roberts Hite, are a constant marvel. To Rob I dedicate this book.

