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OUR DISCIPLINE AND ITS POLITICS. AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE: CHILE 1979-1989*

Nuestra disciplina y su política. Ciencia política autoritaria: Chile 1979-1989

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ABSTRACT

In most accounts Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship is understood to have impeded the development of political science in Chile. This article seeks to destabilize this understanding by showing that important elements of the infrastructure of the discipline were created during, *and sometimes by* this authoritarian regime. More concretely, through an in-depth and extensive examination of the political science produced during the Chilean dictatorship, I identify and characterize an institutional and intellectual space that I will call Authoritarian Political Science (APS). The findings challenge the dominant narrative that links the institutionalization of our discipline in Latin America to liberal democracy in a linear fashion, and suggest the need for a nuanced, empirically informed and theoretically dense understanding of political science's *multiple* historical trajectories.

Key words: The politics of political science, authoritarian political science, knowledge and power, chilean dictatorship, Chile.

RESUMEN

La mayoría de los análisis académicos de la historia de la ciencia política en América Latina sostiene que la dictadura pinochetista constituyó un obstáculo para el desarrollo de la disciplina en Chile. El presente artículo desestabiliza esta idea, mostrando que varios elementos importantes de la infraestructura disciplinar fueron creados durante, y a veces por, dicho régimen autoritario. Más concretamente, por medio de un análisis profundo y exhaustivo de la ciencia política producida en este período, identifico y caracterizo un espacio institucional e intelectual al que llamaré Ciencia Política Autoritaria (APS, en su sigla en inglés). Los hallazgos presentados desafían la narrativa dominante que vincula linealmente la institucionalización de la disciplina a la democracia liberal, y sugieren la necesidad de un examen complejo, empíricamente informado y teóricamente denso de las múltiples trayectorias históricas de la ciencia política en la región y más allá.

Palabras clave: La política de la ciencia política, ciencia política autoritaria, saber y poder, dictadura chilena, Chile.

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In most accounts, Augusto Pinochet's authoritarian regime is understood to have impeded the development of political science (PS) in Chile (Altman, 2005, 2006; Barrientos Del Monte, 2012; Buquet, 2012; Fortou et al., 2013; Huneeus, 2006; Viacava, 2012, among others). In line with my previous work (Ravecca, 2014), this article seeks to destabilize this understanding by showing that important elements of the infrastructure of the discipline were created during, *and sometimes by* this authoritarian regime. This challenges the dominant narrative that links the institutionalization of PS in Latin America to liberal democracy in a linear fashion, and suggests the need for a nuanced, empirically informed and theoretically dense understanding of PS' multiple historical trajectories.

In previous efforts, I proposed The Politics of Political Science (PPS) as an alternative conceptual framework to mainstream accounts of the history of Political Science (PS) in Latin America (Ravecca, 2010; 2014). PPS is informed by critical theory and aims to unpack the linkages between the discipline, its political context, and power relations. In other words, PPS attempts to shift from the question of institutionalization to the problem of *what* is institutionalized and its *political* implications. This article offers a new step in such an exploration. Through an in-depth and extensive examination of the PS produced during the Chilean dictatorship, I identify and characterize an institutional and intellectual space that I will call Authoritarian Political Science (APS).

The notions of discourse (Foucault, 1991; Said, 1979), hegemony (Cox, 1987; Gramsci, 2008; Laclau and Mouffe, 2004) and even the more mainstream concept of Weberian legitimacy are attempts to grasp the epistemological and cultural dimensions of politics and power. Thinking and knowledge are entrenched in power structures and dynamics, and thus academia and the knowledge that it produces are not 'outside power' and the political struggles that they analyze. In other words, there is no exteriority between academia, power, and political economy (Alexander, 2005; Marcuse, 1991).¹ Furthermore, through multiple vocabularies, critical theories have argued that powers that 'think and talk' are more vigorous and effective than a culturally naked power. From these theoretical perspectives, the outstanding effectiveness of the dictatorship in reshaping the fabric of Chilean society (see Lechner, 1990; Mayol, 2012; Moulián, 2009) may be better understood by paying attention to the regime's engagement with knowledge and academia (Mella, 2011). Here, I will show that such an engagement included PS and the mobilization of the liberal democratic idiom.² I thus propose to study PS' political history, or in other words, the political role of the development of PS during this dictatorship.

PPS treats PS as an object of political enquiry. The main purpose of this article is to present APS' main features, emphasizing their implications for how we understand the linkage between the discipline and power. What follows is a systematic and in-depth analysis of *all* the articles published during the dictatorship by the two main PS journals in Chile, *Política* (188 pieces, 1982-1989) and *Revista de Ciencia Política* (RCP, 122 pieces, 1979-1989),

¹ Marcuse (1991) is one of the very few texts that address American political science from the perspective of critical theory.

² The Pinochet's regime's mobilization of neoclassical economics has been already explored (Markoff and Montecinos, 1994)

along with other relevant historical records.³ In order to locate APS within the broader chronological context, and especially to compare with the PS that would come after the transition, a larger data set was used that includes the 487 articles published by *Política* (1982-2012) and the 544 articles published by *RCP* (1979-2012).

The analysis focuses on what is perhaps the most delicate issue for any political scientist and for politics as such: the democratic question. The argument will proceed in five parts. In the first section, the framework of APS will be unpacked by analyzing its discourse (Foucault, 1991) around the transition to democracy, the Cold War (the perception of the US, the Soviet Union, communism and Marxism), the notion of 'protected democracy', as well as by exploring the explicit conception of democracy when available in the articles. Given that this is an exploration of how meanings are regulated (Geertz, 1997), the second section will address significant "silence(s)". The third section will look at the location of neoliberalism and the State's role in the economy within APS' theorizing on democracy. The cultural dimension of politics in general, and the weight that APS assigns to Christianity and the East-West divide in particular, are addressed in section four. Throughout, but specifically in the last two sections, I will prove that APS was indeed "academic" and highly internationalized. Both aggregated data and specific illustrative cases are provided as evidence.⁴ At all times, I will pay careful attention to the sharp academic and political differences between *Política* and *RCP* and their home institutions, while theorizing about the different materials they provided to assemble APS.

A tormenting and fascinating question pushes me to write this piece. The dictatorship meant for Chile systematic torture, killing and forced disappearances. However, *at the same time*, Chilean APS *was thinking* and publishing on issues ranging from the nature of Marxism to the pros and cons of different electoral systems. What does the overlap of these contrasting realities –killing and thinking– reveal about the relationship between knowledge and power? Section five addresses this complexity from an empirical standpoint. Finally, I will conclude by proposing a definition of APS, and will advance some reflections about its theoretical implications. My expectation is that the interrogation of APS' concrete historical experience will broaden and enrich the kind of questions that we, Latin American political scientists, ask about our discipline and its politics.

³ These numbers do not include institutional memorandums published by the journals (7 pieces by *Política* and 6 by *RCP*), book reviews and "Special Issues without volume number". This material was carefully analyzed but not included in the SPSS database used to process the information that follows. For these Special Issues another database was created, and the results did not significantly change once they were included in the analysis.

⁴ The procedure was two-fold. Each article was read at least 4 times (twice by a research assistant, once by me and a last time together). The pieces were assigned values using a SPSS database with 89 descriptive and conceptual variables that operationalize the dimensions of analysis already mentioned in this introduction. The articles were also analyzed in an interpretative fashion (Geertz 1997) by reconstructing the main conceptual and political features of APS. I conducted 35 interviews with Chilean political scientists, and while they have not been systematically integrated into this article, the arguments proposed here were cross-checked and enriched with the evidence provided by them.

I. INSTITUTIONALIZED TRANSITION: TOWARDS A PROTECTED DEMOCRACY

Figure 1. Photography extracted from “Memory of Activities 1983”, IPS-UCH.



In this ceremony depicted above and held in 1983, Augusto Pinochet received the first copy of a special issue of *Política*, the official journal of Universidad de Chile's Institute of Political Science (IPS-UCH, 1982-2001). Titled “Chile 1973-1983: Perspectives for a Decade,” the publication analyzes the first decade of “military government” (as non-detractors call it) (see Figure 2). IPS-UCH was formally founded on November 16, 1981 through ‘legal act’ 14.251, signed by Brigadier General Alejandro Medina Lois, then the university's president (see Figure 3). *Política* was launched in 1982, the same year as the creation of IPS-UCH's MA Program in PS with majors in Government and Political Theory. Meanwhile, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUC)'s Institute of Political Science (IPS-UC), founded in 1969, had launched *Revista de Ciencia Política (RCP)* in 1979. The international reader should be warned that Universidad de Chile and PUC are considered the “traditional universities” and the most prestigious institutions for higher education in the country. In other words, these institutional developments and expansion happened in Chile's academic epicentre. Interestingly, *Política* published more articles in the period 1982-1990 (47%) than between 1991 and 2000 (30%). *RCP* published 24% of its articles in the period 1979-1990 and 18% between 1991 and 2000. By showing Chilean PS' development during Pinochet's rule, this ‘hard data’ goes against common sense and the narrative that directly links the expansion of political science to democracy (Ravecca, 2014).

A conceptual examination of the articles published in this period reveals a constellation of discourses that gravitated around this institutional expansion that I will call Authoritarian Political Science (APS). A clarification should be made from the outset. I do not claim that all the authors who published during this period had “authoritarian” values (in fact many of them did not), nor that each analyzed piece fits all of the characteristics attributed

Figure 2. Cover of Special Edition of *Política*, Chile 1973-1983. *Perspectives for a decade*, Nov. 1983



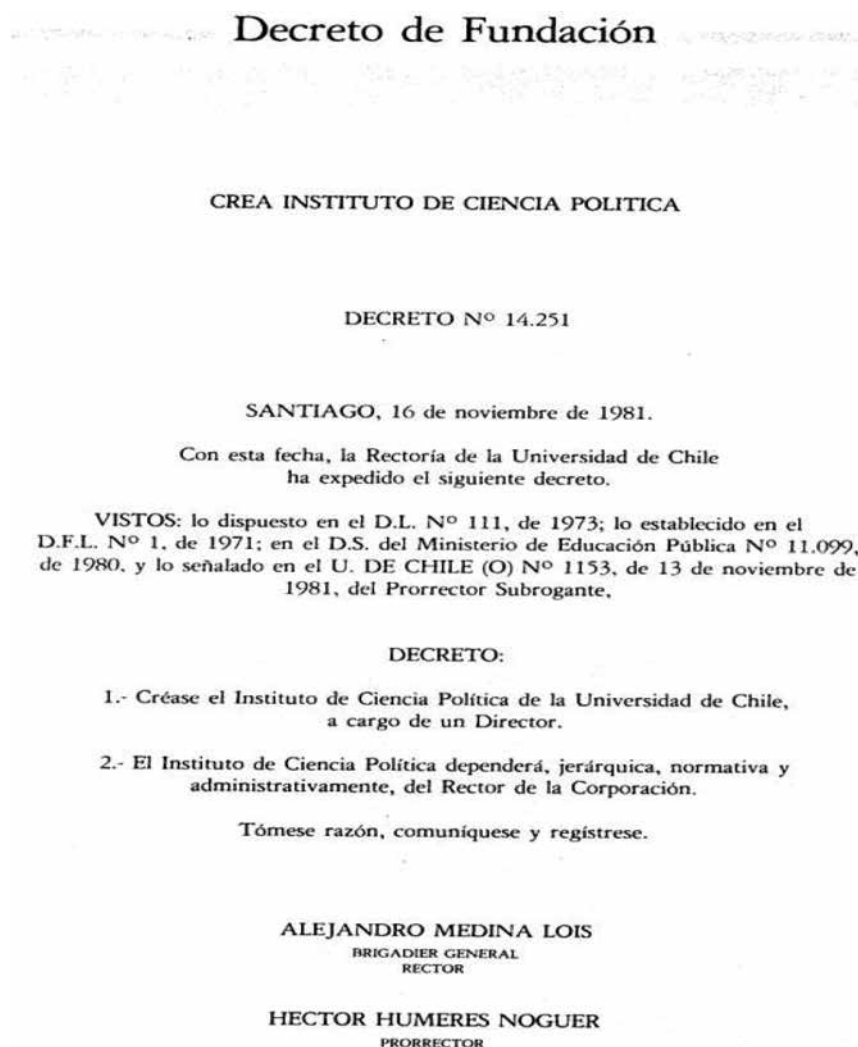
to APS. What I do here, instead, is an *empirically grounded interpretative reconstruction* (Geertz, 1997) or *problematizing redescription* (Shapiro, 2005) of a set of ideas and views that were prominent within our discipline in the period under analysis. In other words, I trace APS through a set of dimensions that capture the ideological features of the PS of the time. Both aggregated data and specific illustrative cases are provided as evidence. I focus on the democratic question – how was democracy discussed by APS? At the end of the article I come back to the very notion of APS.

One of the key topics addressed by APS is the importance of strong and durable *institutions building* (Cuevas Farren, 1979a; 1979b; Cea Egaña, 1982b) for the country –and for the discipline itself.⁵ The language employed, centered on the notion of institutions, is familiar to any political scientist because it is *our own, liberal* language– which, from the outset of this analysis, opens the question of the potential continuities between APS and liberal PS. Although some authors reject political parties and liberal democracy (Rodríguez Grez, 1986: 136; Ibáñez, 1985: 161), most of them reflect on a possible and even desirable transition to democracy. The transition was indeed a salient topic in the agenda of both journals and their home institutions, and it was addressed both domestically and internationally.⁶ A main concern is that this process be stable, peaceful and well organized. In some cases, this concern crystalizes in a concrete conceptual category,

⁵ Note that Cuevas Farren served as Director of both IPS-UC (1975-1982) and IPS-UCH (1982-1994). Therefore, his “voice” is particularly relevant. In different occasions he states that the development of PS is his main aim and that the discipline is called to make a crucial contribution to the institutional development of Chile (Cuevas Farren 1979b: 1; 1991: 114).

⁶ For instance, Mujal-León (1982) explores the Spanish transition and Gajardo Lagomarsino (1989a) studies the Mexican one.

Figure 3. Decree of IPS-UCH's creation, from "Memory of Activities 1982"



"institutionalized transition" (IT) (Benavente Urbina, 1985, 1989; Cuevas Farren, 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b; Carmona, 1983), which denotes the control that the military government needs to exercise over the process of regime change. For this purpose a set of institutional tools, provided by the 1980 Constitution, were mobilized (Yrarrázaval, 1982: 116-117).

Thus, in *Política* and RCP's extensive reflections on the production of a "stable democracy" a sort of 'double movement' is at work: the coming back of democracy is welcomed as long as the new system has some crucial differences with the pre-1973 political regime that allowed Unidad Popular and President Allende to polarize Chilean society, eroding

governability to a point that the Army had to intervene (Cuevas Farren, 1979a). Thus, a 1985 article argues that IT “corresponds to non-traditional governments that, because of powerful reasons, have disrupted the institutional continuity of a country and are now compelled to establish a new and permanent political order so that the institutional crisis that obliged them to intervene does not occur again” (Benavente Urbina, 1985: 46; translation mine). This aspect of APS’ discourse is significant in *both* journals even though it is clearly prominent in *Política* and less so in *RCP* where, as it will be shown, a ‘right-wing’ but polyarchic tone prevails before the transition.

What kind of democracy should Chile become through IT? And why is IT –an under-control transition– necessary at all? APS defines this democracy through a number of components that I explore in the following pages. The traumatic experience of Unidad Popular’s government and the Cold War framework determine an important part of these elements: the overriding need for “protection” (Cuevas Farren, 1979a: 6; Ribera Neumann, 1986: 67). The new democracy is going to need protection from its enemies –namely, communism and other radical political projects (Yrarrázaval, 1979; 1982). In this view, democracy and communism are incompatible. The problem is that communism mobilizes the means offered by democracy to destroy it from the inside. Indeed, 70% of *Política*’s articles and 48% of *RCP*’s hold strong anti-communist views (see Graphs 1 and 2).

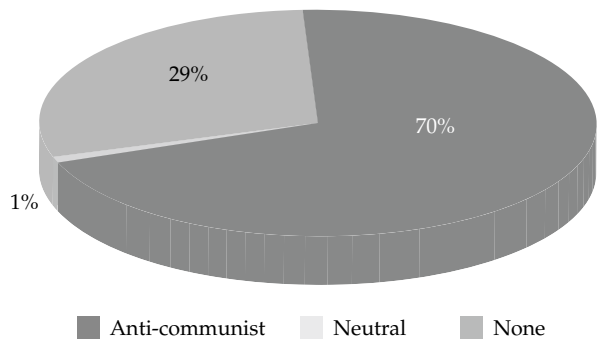
APS’ anticommunist framework was fairly international. Indeed, the Soviet Union and the US have an intense presence in the conversation: 56% of *Política* and 40% of *RCP* articles depict the USSR in negative terms while 23% and 20% are aligned with the US. Given that there are no articles aligned with the USSR, almost none that criticizes the US and that many of them simply do not address international politics, these numbers are significant (see Graphs 3 and 4).

Furthermore, the institutional-intellectual collaboration between Chilean and American anti-communism is illustrated by American contributions to *RCP* (Theberge, 1979) and *Política* (Tambs and Aker, 1982), the latter being particularly brutal in its language about how to deal with (in fact destroy) the Marxist forces in El Salvador (Ravecca, 2014). James Theberge published in both *Política* (1984; 1988) and *RCP* (1979; 1983) before, during, and after he served as Reagan’s ambassador in Chile.⁷ He critiqued US pro-human rights policies and what he called the Carter administration’s “moralism” (Theberge, 1979: 66). In 1988, he received a posthumous tribute by the IPS-UCH (Cuevas Farren, Mac Hale, and Trucco, 1988). Other *RCP* articles that target Carter’s administration because of its pro-human rights policies and discourse in South America and Africa are, respectively, Wiarda (1985) and Kunert (1979).⁸ Furthermore, Roger Fontaine, Reagan’s advisor on Latin American issues and Director of Latin American Studies at Georgetown University’s Center for Strategic and International Studies, subtly supported Pinochet’s regime while

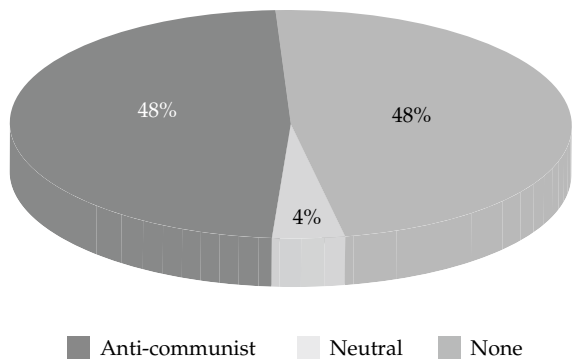
⁷ In August 1983 an international seminar on “Regional, Hemispheric and Global Tendencies of International Relations” took place at the IPS-UC. Theberge was a guest speaker as well as David Singer (Singer, 1984), a Michigan University professor whose complex and mathematically formalized contribution explores the possibility of identifying “cycles of war”. *Anti-communism and complex science shared the stage*.

⁸ Howard J. Wiarda, Massachusetts University Political Science Professor, was the director of the conservative American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. His academic career is impressive.

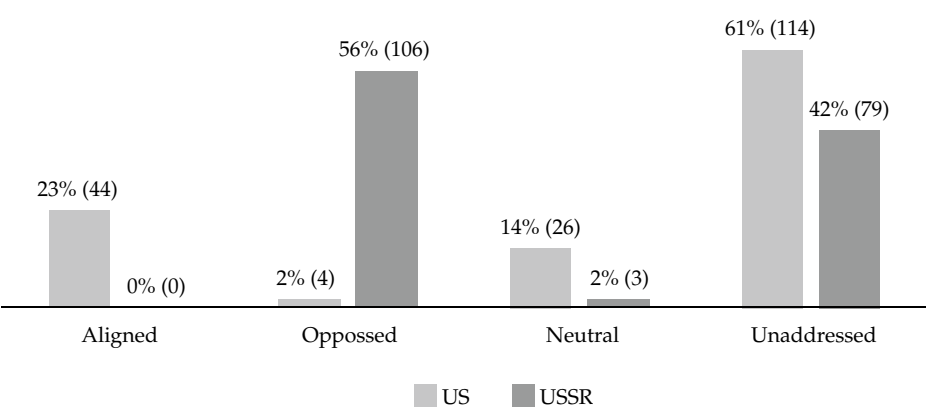
Graph 1. View on communism. *Política* 1982-1989



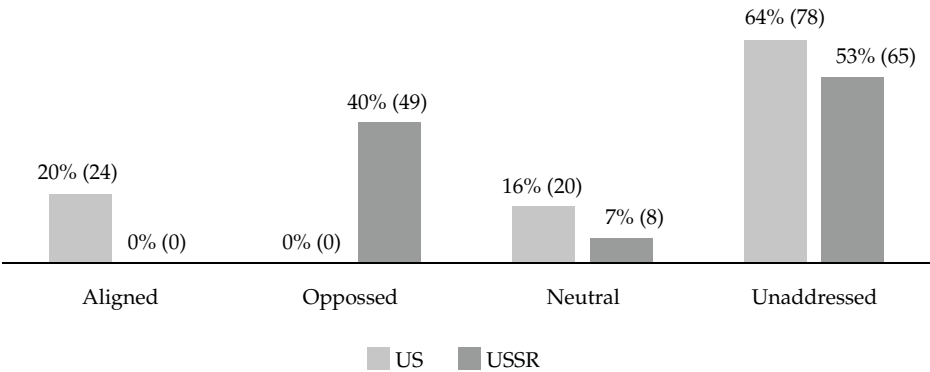
Graph 2. View on communism. *RCP* 1979-1989



Graph 3. Position toward the US and the USSR. *Política* 1982-1989



Graph 4. Position toward the US and the USSR. RCP 1979-1989



criticizing Carter’s lack of hemispheric perspective (Fontaine, 1980). Finally, the figure of Howard T. Pittman (1981), introduced as an American “Ex-Colonel” who holds a PhD in social sciences, is revealing of the interpenetration between academia, power and international politics.

Numerous conversations and interviews with academic and administrative staff of those years confirmed the intense relationship of *both* IPS-UC and IPS-UCH with the American Embassy and with American universities. A very concrete example of this is the IPS-UCH’s publication on North American Studies *supported by the US government and printed by Carabineros, the security forces*. It is even more remarkable that some issues of *Política* were also printed by the police (see Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 4. *North American Studies*, IPS-UCH, 1986.

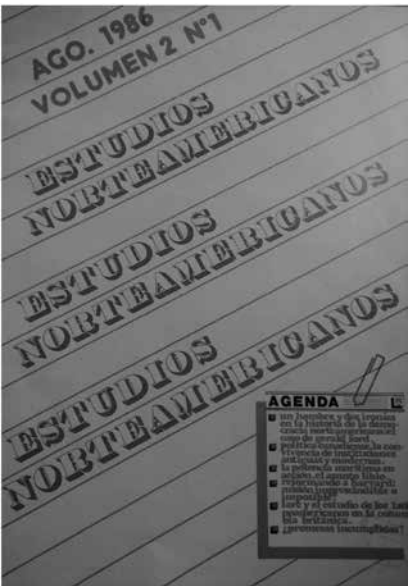
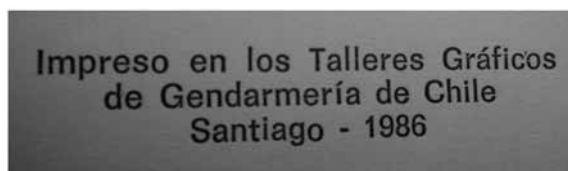


Figure 5. Printed by the Police.



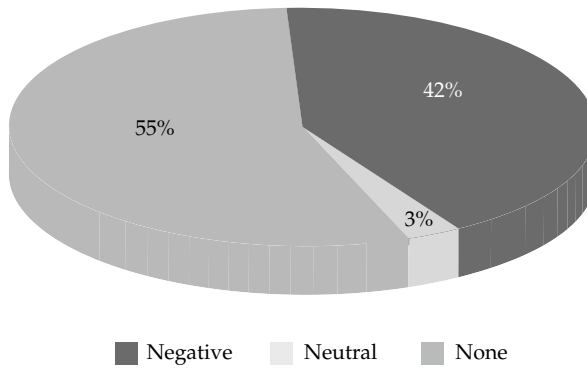
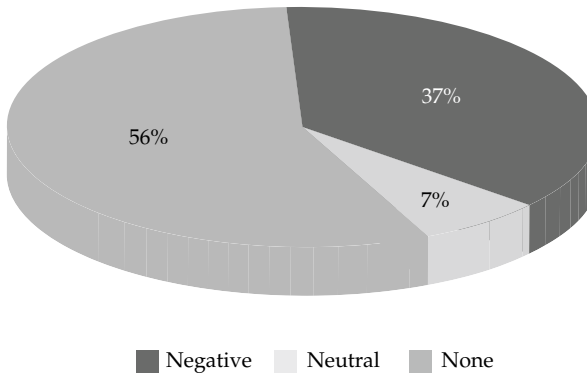
Marxism, the theoretical arm of communism, was understood by APS as an adversary that should be seriously dealt with in academia and in all sorts of public forums, including the media. In contrast to the relative silence and indifference that would predominate in the later years, APS produced articles, papers, theses and books that dealt with Marxism as an intellectual enemy. The articles are numerous – 79 in *Política* and 45 in *RCP* – but illustrative examples of this trend are Yrarrázaval (1979; 1982). Thus, 42% of *Política*'s and 37% of *RCP*'s articles published in the authoritarian period had a negative view of Marxism (see Graphs 5 and 6). Given that there are no articles that embrace any form of Marxism or neo-Marxism and that many of the pieces explore topics unrelated to any ideological debate, these are very high numbers. Yet aggregated data cannot compete with the interpretative power of a detail. The first issue of *Política* published an article titled “Partisan programs, ideologies and preferences: Anthony Downs’ model” (Wilhelmy, 1982). The topic of the piece decidedly belongs to the ‘mainstream’ repertoire of our discipline. Therefore, the only mention of Marxism-Leninism in a footnote reveals to what extent its presence was conspicuous in APS’ conceptual universe.

Marx is confronted in philosophical, theological, ethical and political grounds. While the engagement with classical liberal authors such as Thomas Hobbes (Miranda, 1984; 1986; Godoy, 1987-1988), Immanuel Kant (Miranda, 1986), Adam Smith (Mertz, 1984) and Tocqueville (Godoy, 1983) has an empathetic tone, Marx’s views are systematically dismissed.⁹ The following quote is quite representative: “Marxism is an ideological model that simulates the real” (Yrarrázaval, 1979: 8). APS insisted on the power of ideas and ideology. Marxism had concrete political incarnations and implications, and therefore, the academic battle was a political one. This results in an interesting form of political analysis that cares about the cultural dimension of politics and academia itself. ‘Communism’ and ‘Marxism’ will consistently diminish their presence after the transition, to the point that they practically disappear in the period 2001-2012.

I will now delineate in more detail the notion of ‘protected democracy’ forged by right-wing Chilean forces, including APS.¹⁰ “Protection” relates to the necessary restriction of political pluralism and to the active role that the Military needs to perform in the new democracy. A form of tutelage is thus needed in order to make sure that democracy does not destroy itself. In this logic, the political act of limiting the powers of democracy is

⁹ Raymond Aron also received attention (Aron, 1984; Durán, 1984; Godoy, 1984; Lapouge, 1988).

¹⁰ Rubio ApioIaza (2011) explores the legacy of Jaime Guzmán, a relevant right-wing intellectual of the period who showcases the important political role performed by *part* of the Chilean academia during the dictatorship.

Graph 5. View on Marxism. *Política* 1982-1989Graph 6. View on Marxism. *RCP* 1979-1989

a genuinely democratic procedure. Ribera Neumann (1986: 33), following Justo López, calls this 'dialectical suicide' in opposition to 'factual suicide' –when democracy, in order to avoid the destruction of its essential principle (i.e. freedom), limits the scope of its application–. For proponents of protected democracy, 'naïve democracy', 'artless liberalism', and 'ahistorical rationalism' should be avoided. In the same vein, a 1985 article argues that "the democratic system allows an unrestrictive pluralism and thus propitiates its own destruction. These are the reasons why the legislators determined some basic limits to political pluralism. This new conception has been called 'Protected Democracy'" (Zepeda Hernández, 1985: 161). Only in this way will Chile be a well-organized and rational democracy (Yrarrázaval, 1979: 9).

In this narrative, the military government is apolitical and non-partisan. It has obediently followed the mandate –given by diverse social groups and sectors– of transcending particular interests and putting the Chilean nation first. That is why the presidential succession process should avoid "the reappearance of the kind of divisions and sectarian behaviours that *forced* the military pronouncement of 1973" (Núñez Tome, 1988: 75, emphasis mine). The language with which APS names the coup d'état is revealing in

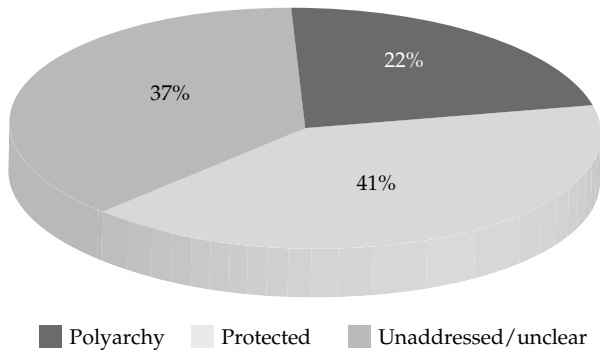
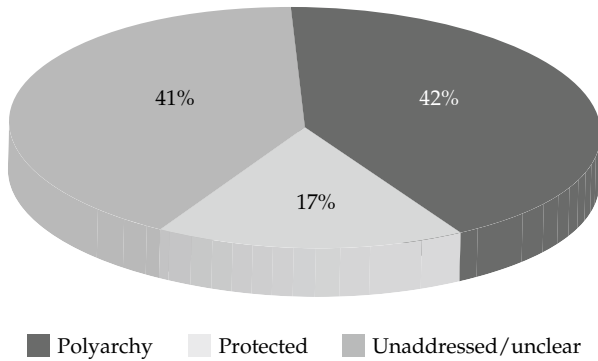
itself. The violent overthrow of President Salvador Allende that ended his life is in numerous occasions conveniently called a “pronouncement,” while the limitation to the majority rule is discussed as academic considerations about the trade-off between pluralism and order—a language that is not foreign to mainstream PS and contemporary liberalism. Thus, the way of understanding the experience of Unidad Popular and the coup frames the engagement with the transition and the new democracy.

A strong nationalist language is linked to a sort of right-wing international project. Democracy is said to have internal and external allies as well as internal and external enemies such as the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). Both cases reveal the coordination between external and internal anti-democratic projects and thus the need for ‘protecting democracy’. According to Benavente Urbina (1987), the MIR’s dramatic situation is one of young people who were and are incapable of perceiving their own reality – recall that Yrarrázaval (1979) conceptualizes Marxism as a ‘simulation of reality’. They are always ready to imitate foreign ideas, attracted by a “*strange seduction for violence and blood and that is why they cannot understand Chile, its past, and its vocation for integration. They give their backs to History and reality, so their country has ended up looking at them with disdain, as strangers*” (Benavente Urbina, 1987: 155). Here, Marxism and Communism are alien-and-alienating insidious enemies that undermine the strength of the Chilean nation.

In this logic, it was the military that defeated the enemies of Chile. Democracy should not betray its saviours. Thus, the protection of democracy by the military was also about protecting the military. The fear of judicial retaliation seems to be an important component of how APS frames the transition. In this regard “*it is desirable that in the immediate future the military-civilian relationship develops in a friendly and harmonious manner according to the framework that follows from the new institutional political framework*” (Cuevas Farren, 1989a: 56).

I want to highlight a very important point. *Mainstream PS’ expertise is a fundamental component of APS.* Marín Vicuña (1986) worked on electoral systems from the point of view of ‘institutionalized transition’ and ‘protected democracy’. The argument goes as follows: between 1963 and 1973, the partisan competition pushed the political system towards the left and weakened the right (139). The policy implication was to strengthen the center by applying the electoral binomial system combined with the political presence of the military.

Between 1982 and 1989 41% of the articles in *Política* held a “protected” conception of democracy while 22% were polyarchic. In this respect, RCP’s situation is almost the inverse of *Política*’s: 17% of its articles promoted a ‘protected’ democracy and 42% were polyarchic (see Graphs 7 and 8). Clearly, polyarchy prevailed in RCP and this speaks of a sharp and important difference between the two journals. And yet, besides the fact that aggregated data cannot represent well the intensity of a discourse, that almost one in five articles promotes a limited type of democracy is still outstanding. The authoritarian framing of democracy is present in both journals. This conception of democracy literally *disappears* from RCP in the 90s while in *Política* it abruptly drops in the same period. By the 2000s, ‘protected democracy’ is gone from Chilean PS.

Graph 7. Type of democracy promoted. *Política* 1982-1989Graph 8. Type of democracy promoted. *RCP* 1979-1989

IPS-UCH was very active in mobilizing international networks and in organizing thematic seminars and numerous academic activities (Ravecca, 2014). These can be traced thanks to the Institutional Memories published in this period (1982-1992), Cuevas Farren's speeches, *Política* itself and other historical records. In the second half of the 80s, many articles elaborated on the transition. Indeed, an entire 1986 seminar supported by the conservative German *Hanns Seidel Foundation* was dedicated to the fundamentals of democracy at the institutional, geographical-territorial, economic and even 'spiritual' level. The interventions were published in two special editions of *Política*. The notion of a protected democracy appeared in these conversations as well as in the seminars about "the Subsidiary State" and on "social communication and politics" published in volume 13 of *Política* in 1987, among others (see Figure 6). However, APS did allow for dissent. Protected democracy was indeed contested in these spaces. Thus, Article 8 of the 1980 Constitution that proscribed political groups that threatened the 'family' or promoted class struggle was called a "legal aberration" by Cumplido Cereceda (Rojas Sánchez, Ribera Neumann and Cumplido Cereceda, 1987: 151).

II. RCP, OR THE MEANING(S) OF SILENCE

RCP's location and status within APS is more complex than *Política's*. We already saw that the discourse on 'protected democracy' is not at all dominant on its pages and, indeed, many of its articles speak the standard and supposedly objective academic idiom. Yet I want to argue that from an interpretative point of view, there is a strong case for locating many RCP discourses within the space of APS. The RCP spectrum starts with Cuevas Farren (1979a), who supports the coup and the military regime, and ends with Myers (1989), who addresses in a rather obscure but critical way forced disappearances.¹¹ In the middle, there is a mixture of polyarchic, conservative, and authoritarian discourses along with significant silence(s).

Reading silences is always a challenge (Butalia, 2000; Spivak, 1988). The problem with aggregated data and numbers is precisely that the subtlety of discourses, powerful details and relevant silences get lost. Let me explain what I concretely mean by "significant silences" with a few examples. Durán (1980) and Infante (1980) approach international relations issues from a theoretical and public policy perspective respectively. One could not guess that these texts were written in the midst of a dictatorship. RCP's IR orientation allows for this kind of disconnection with the local political context. However, in the same issue, "The subversive war as a method on International Relations" (Sasse, 1980) and "Elements of a totalitarian conception" (Rojas Sánchez, 1980) break such a silence from a clear-cut right-wing perspective.

Miranda (1982) analyzes the Chilean electoral system and its effects. Its updated bibliography, as well as its narrative, belongs to mainstream Anglo-Saxon political science. The piece mentions "the fall of Allende's government" (1982: 59) *en passant* and then it simply continues its conversation with Duverger and Douglas Rae. Tuteleers (1982) argues that checks and balances and the separation of state powers is "one of the main guarantees offered by the democratic system to men in order to defend themselves against an arbitrary government and, therefore, to be able to live in freedom" (97). In this piece, written by a Chilean scholar, the situation in Chile is again ignored. Furthermore, the quintessentially democratic components of "democracy" such as universal suffrage and political equality are not mentioned.

The presence of a very 'professional' form of geopolitical analysis, which extends the silence about the democratic issue, is also remarkable: Pinochet de la Barra (1985) and Riesco (1985), for instance, were originally interventions in a 1984 IPS-UC seminar on the Chile-Argentina territorial controversies. There are many others of this kind, such as Meneses (1979). Durán (1981) documents a 1980 seminar on the relationship between geopolitics and IR and offers some interesting theoretical reflections on the topic. The framework is clearly academic. He cites American military official and scholar John Child's contribution to the Latin American Research Review (Child 1979)¹² and in

¹¹ It is the first time that the *desaparecidos* are mentioned. Interestingly, the article does not refer to Chile but to Argentina. Myers conceptualizes them as a travesty of death and murder (29).

¹² Child's work is also published by RCP (Child, 1981).

endnote 17 acknowledges military official Juan Emilio Cheyre's intervention at the seminar (Durán 1981: 25).¹³

Besides RCP's neoliberal (Hayek, 1982; Nishiyama, 1982; Novak, 1983) and hardcore right-wing discourses (Bravo Lira, 1987-1988; Cea Egaña, 1982b; Sasse, 1980), sometimes framed in religious terms as we will see later, the cases of significant silence are numerous. The dynamics of passive acceptance and discrete resistance within RCP *vis a vis* the military government are complex and ambiguous. Clearly, the two institutions under study are different. While IPS-UCH performed the role of an intellectual arm of the dictatorship, within IPS-UC divergent logics coexist.

A note on complexity is needed here. In RCP the polyarchic discourse is preminent,¹⁴ but *Política*, as aligned with the military government as it was, should not be simplified either. *Política* also contains democratic discourses and it was a diverse space. On its pages Uruguayan scholar Gros Espiell (1983) argues early on for the restoration of the rule of law and pluralism in Uruguay while Pezoa Bissieres (1989) explores O'Donnell's *oeuvre* in analytical and academic terms. Even more interestingly, a few pages away from Tambs and Aker (1982), which engages with the situation in El Salvador from an extreme right-wing perspective, there is a book review of Edward Said's *Orientalism*.¹⁵ Zipper (1982) not only acknowledges Said's main contribution to contemporary critical thinking but also appropriates the book to advance some reflections about knowledge-power dynamics within Area Studies. Applying the logic and argument of *Orientalism* to Latin American Studies, the author argues that sometimes American scholars easily become the academic authority on a country or region after spending a few weeks in the place. Their perspective is frequently simplistic and superficial. Zipper also refers to academic dependency and to how many Latin American scholars learn about their own reality at institutions in Europe or the US. As a result, they end up reproducing problematic accounts of their own political and social reality. The tone of the author is careful and he does clarify that this is a general tendency with many exceptions. This is the kind of relevant, self-reflective epistemological conversation about the geopolitics of academia and knowledge production that mainstream political science seems reluctant to have today.

¹³ Cheyre would become Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army from 2002 to 2006 and would distance the military from Pinochet's dictatorship. However, he was also involved in human rights controversies.

¹⁴ In fact Robert Dahl lectured on "Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Democracy versus Guardianship" in the launch of the 1985 academic year of the MA program of the IPS-UC. The title of his paper was translated in a way that affects the meaning: "Nuclear Weapons: Democracy and Protection. Why the guardians fail" (Dahl, 1985).

¹⁵ Lewis Tambs is a conspicuous member of the American right. His trajectory is analyzed in "Lewis Tambs, Latin American Geopolitics and the American New Right", by Prof. Leslie W. Hepple. The piece is available at <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/geography/migrated/documents/lewis.pdf>

III. A RE-FOUNDING TRILOGY: PROTECTED DEMOCRACY, MARKET ECONOMY AND PRIVATE PROPERTY

In the already mentioned IPS-UCH 1986 seminar on the “Fundamentals of a democratic regime,” documented by a special issue of *Política*, the first featured article in the economic section is significantly titled “Private property rights: The basis for democratic stability” (Urenda Zegers and Eyzaguirre García de la Huerta, 1987). The article collects two interventions with no disagreement on a crucial point: private property rights are fundamental for democratic stability. Urenda Zegers clarifies that he is particularly referring to private ownership over “the means of production” (16). The author defends the “Christian and Western democratic system” where this right guarantees the dispersion of power within society. The intervention closes with references to Tocqueville and Kant. Meanwhile, Eyzaguirre García de la Huerta mentions Locke, Montesquieu and (quite paradoxically) Rousseau. His argument is framed in terms of possessive individualism. The link between the natural right of private property and democracy is freedom. Among the legal and constitutional provisions that are necessary for the protection of private property and democracy the author mentions the ‘subsidiary state’. In other words, the welfare state undermines democracy. There should also be cultural consensus about the necessity of a private property regime and an ethical framework for the exercise of such a right. The author warns the reader that future governments should not make the same mistakes of Unidad Popular if Chilean society is going to avoid the collapse of its new democracy.

The two previous examples are crystal clear: a key component of APS’ conceptualization of democracy was the mutually indispensable relationship between the (protected) democratic system, the market economy and private property rights. In this schema, the state’s limited role in the country’s economy is a prerequisite for freedom (Cuevas Farren, 1979a; Nishiyama, 1982; Pazos, 1987). This conflation of democracy and neoliberal capitalism is a fundamental conceptual move with radical material implications.

An entire seminar published in volume 13 of *Política* was dedicated to ‘the entrepreneurial state’ and to a draft of the Constitutional Organic Law that, by a reinterpretation of the 1980 Constitution, improved the protection of the subsidiary principle (see Figure 6). The introduction to the seminar was meaningfully titled “The subsidiary principle and the Chilean political regime” (Cuevas Farren, 1987). The opposition between the subsidiary state and ‘an absorbent state’ (17) was discussed in political terms. The subsidiary state corresponded to a modern, efficient and ‘free’ institutional framework. Neoliberalism was the best development strategy.

Again, the notion of protection is mobilized to refer to the threat that anti-market parties pose to the political regime of the country. Indeed, there was an intervention by the Minister of Interior that argued that a private sector-based economy was the path to a free and developed society (García Rodríguez, 1987). His presence in the seminar speaks of the priority given by the government to the principle of subsidiarity. García Rodríguez observed that the fact that this gathering was being held in the Universidad

de Chile was meaningful given the university's role in the shaping of the nation's future. Furthermore, a member of the Constitutional Organic Laws Study Commission appointed by the Pinochet government was invited to speak about the technicalities of the law, and of course, the capitalists' voice was also invited to the table. Manuel Feliú Justiniano, President of the Production and Commerce Confederation, celebrated corporations and proclaimed the importance of keeping social policies focused on the poor. A Professor of PUC and also a member of the Commission proclaimed:

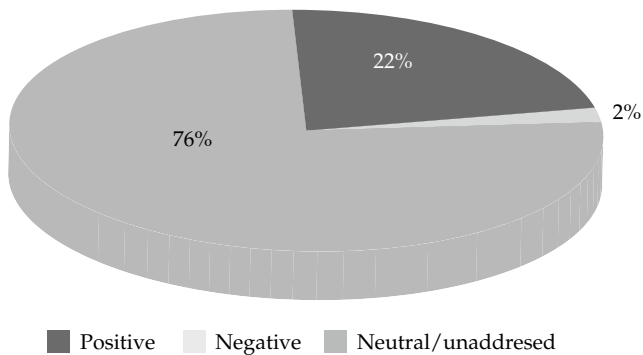
Fortunately, knowledge about the relationship between personal freedom and private property has recently spread [...] In the new scheme that has emerged after 1973, freedom has become the symbol and aim of the country's new institutional arrangements. Freedom is guaranteed by private property, free economic initiative and by the full adoption of the concept of the subsidiary state. An abundance of social market economy and neoconservative thinkers nurture the government officials who are creating a new Constitution in order to put the State into man's service (Bruna Contreras, 1987: 59, 68; translation mine).

Note the explicit linkage between knowledge production ("an abundance of social market economy and neoconservative thinkers") and Pinochet's government. The seminar concludes with the words of an "ex-Minister of State" who calls *en passant* Manuel Feliú (the big entrepreneur) his "great friend" (Collados Núñez, 1987: 79) and quotes Locke and Hobbes to argue that the Chilean State is still a Leviathan that should be reduced as soon as possible. His final thoughts are framed in terms of Chile's belonging to Western culture and ethics.

The idea that the pursuit of a free society implies the affirmation of the "private property system" is elaborated by many other articles published in the period (Yrarrázaval, 1982; Novak, 1983; Sandoz, 1983; Cuevas Farren, 1979a; Pazos, 1987), as is the idea that both the reduction of the state and the enforcement of private property is key to achieving development (Pazos, 1987: 191). In this light, the Pinochet regime's main aim is to expand freedom (Cuevas Farren 1979a: 17). APS conceptualizes development and freedom in strictly possessive individualist and liberal terms, excluding the egalitarian dimension of democracy. Indeed, 22% of *Política* and 18% of *RCP* articles promote neoliberal reforms. This is not a low number taking into account that a) political science journals do not have economic reforms at the center of the conversation and b) only pieces that in *very* explicit terms support neoliberalism were computed under this category (see Graphs 9 and 10).

The "abundance" of neoliberal and neoconservative thinkers referred to by the quote above are not Chilean citizens, for the most part. The neoliberal component of APS was embedded in an international (mostly British and American) project that successfully reshaped power relations during the 70s and 80s. This international dimension affected not only Chile, but was in fact a product of US hegemony in the region. Bruna Contreras (1987) was not the only one to assert that international (neoconservative) academia nurtured the military government. Many APS authors argued that ideas shaped policy and that concepts and theories were powerful political weapons at the national and international level. The following quote capitalizes on a well-known US academic,

Graph 9. View on neoliberal reforms. *Política* 1982-1989



Graph 10. View on neoliberal reforms. *RCP* 1979-1989

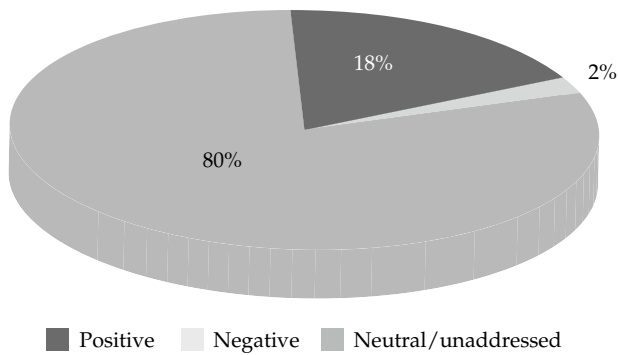


Figure 6. Cover of Special Issue of *Política* on “The entrepreneurial role of the State” and “Politics and Social Communication”, N° 13, 1987



Samuel Huntington, to defend the neoliberal and neoconservative agenda and justify neoliberalism:

The democratic system should allow and foment individual economic progress, not only for economic reasons but also, as Samuel Huntington has shown, for political ones: a market economy always demands the dispersion of economic power. This dispersion creates alternatives to the power of the State. [...] In this regard, an interesting phenomenon took place in a country like Chile where political and economic thinking used to have the aim of pointing out how wrong those with a different ideology were. Today, perspectives have changed and this allows having hope about the future. (Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b: 58; translation mine).

In this view, democracy has intrinsic limits based on the absolute principle of private property. In other words, democracy cannot decide about everything: protected democracy is meant to protect the market economy. It is revealing that the contours chosen to delineate the limits to democratic power are not the notion of human rights (the *demos* cannot decide to violate fundamental rights) but the sacred principle of private property (democracy shall respect capitalism). The 'change of perspective' alluded to by the quote means that Pinochet's regime and its intellectual and social allies are winning the battle not only in the institutional realm but especially in the cultural terrain. In other words, for them, Chilean culture has changed for the better – neoliberalism has been successfully imposed. Many Chilean critical intellectuals would agree with Gajardo Lagomarsino in that the subordination of politics to the market economy is one of the most remarkable achievements of Pinochet's regime that has persisted after the transition. *In this period, neoclassical economics colonizes politics* (Lechner, 1990; Mella, 2011; Mayol, 2012; Moulián, 2002).

IV. SAVING THE WEST. CULTURE, CHRISTIANITY AND INTERNATIONALIZATION

Ideology and the world of culture (Geertz, 1997) are taken seriously by APS. In this regard, there is overlap between APS, Gramscian and Foucauldian approaches to power and politics. Indeed, there are numerous references to Gramsci in *Política*. Volume 14, for example, alludes to an entire Universidad Metropolitana seminar on the Italian author, with an intervention by *Política* editor Jaime Antúnez Aldunate (1987: 245).

Protected democracy is indeed *also* a cultural (and 'discursive') project. In Rojas Sánchez, Ribera Neumann and Cumplido Cereceda (1987), titled "Defending Democracy," Rojas Sánchez argues that democracy should be circumscribed to a form of government. In other words, the meaning of democracy should not be stretched to the point that it includes an entire way of life and should not be extended to other realms such as the family and the institutions for education. In this sense, democracy is *not* a cultural project. However, the argument is precisely that fundamental values that *transcend* and sustain democracy are taught in non-democratic institutions that should be kept that way. It is interesting that the first thing that a piece on "defending democracy" does

is assert the centrality of non-democratic institutions and hierarchy as the substratum of modern democracy (and 'civilization'). The ontological 'density' of both the family and the Church transcend any form of government, including the democratic one. In this regard, they are more fundamental because they incarnate Western civilization, Christianity and humanism. The author explores the role of the university along with the importance of keeping the 'purity' of political language to capture 'the truth'. In this context, Rojas Sánchez is critical of the idealization of the ideological 'center' and argues that there can be extremism 'there' too.

In a 1987 seminar on "Politics and Social Communication" (see Figure 6 above), Cumplido Cereceda and Bruna Contreras (1987) and Díaz Gronow (1987) discussed Articles 8 and 9 of the 1980 Constitution that forbade proselytism of destabilizing theories that promote class struggle, violence and/or attack "the family". In these interventions, there is a clear awareness about the role of journalism in particular and culture in general in power struggles. Pulido and Santibañez (1987) and Otero (1987) debated the notion of personal and public honour protected by Article 19 of the 1980 Constitution (Pulido and Santibañez, 1987: 175). Hamilton and Eluchans (1987) engaged in a debate about the regulation of television. They disagreed on how much freedom the mass media should enjoy. The clashes between the seminar participants show the complexity of APS. As I discuss elsewhere, this neoconservative formation allowed space for dissent, which was a 'smart' way of navigating the transition (Ravecca, 2014). The clashes in these seminars indicate that we need to understand APS as a space rather than a monolithic discourse. These debates may well be considered more interesting than those propitiated by liberal political science later, because they include power and culture in the conversation. They go far beyond a narrowly conceptualized notion of politics.

Labin (1983: 149) proclaims: "we should not forget this capital lesson of history: powers that philosophize are frequently more evil than those that just administrate." According to APS, the international left operated in the cultural and academic realm; therefore, the reaction should also be cultural and academic. In an international conference on Neoconservative Thinking organized by IPS-UCH (see Figure 7), the editor-in-chief of the most circulated newspaper in Chile, *El Mercurio*, quoted Julien Freund (referring to a talk that he gave in the same room 5 years before, see Figure 8), Bobbio, Schmitt and Antonio Gramsci, who represented a cultural project of destruction of Christian and Western civilization (Antúnez Aldunate, 1987).¹⁶ Antúnez Aldunate, *who was also an IPS-UCH professor*, argued that right-wing politics were still too focused on the 'infrastructure', and that while they may have been good at fighting Leninism, they had not noticed the transformations within Marxist theory and practice that Gramsci had performed.

Some of the repeated theoretical references speak a lot about APS ideology: Huntington (Cea Egaña, 1982a; Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989a; Reichley, 1982; Barria, 1989), Hayek (Hayek, 1982; Nishiyama, 1982), Carl Schmitt (Rojas Sánchez, 1980) and Schumpeter

¹⁶ The re-appearance of names, institutions and activities matter because they reveal that APS operated as a discursive and institutional (neoconservative) space.

Figure 7. Cover of Special Issue of *Política* on “Neoconservative Thinking”, N° 11, 1987



Figure 8. *Política* 1 features an article by Julien Freund, a Strasburg University philosopher, Raymond Aron student and well known scholar of Max Weber. The picture registers his talk on “Fundamental questions of contemporary politics” (Jun, 1982, IPS-UCH). Memory of activities, 1982



(Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989a; Nishiyama, 1982; Mertz, 1982). APS operated in an internationalized ideological framework where (economic) liberalism and (cultural and political) conservatism intersected and reinforced each other.

Consequently, the enemies of capitalism and Western civilization were discussed in both political and cultural terms. While Marx's presence within APS' conversations was consistent, Nietzsche and Freud, along with some spiritual 'deviations' such as Liberation Theology, were also identified as corrosive voices of the international (cultural) "left" that undermined the fundamentals of Western society *from the inside*. The same logic of *protected democracy's international awareness and internal policing* was applied to culture and society. In this view, Marxism, psychoanalysis, relativism, nihilism, among others, had formed a common cultural offensive:

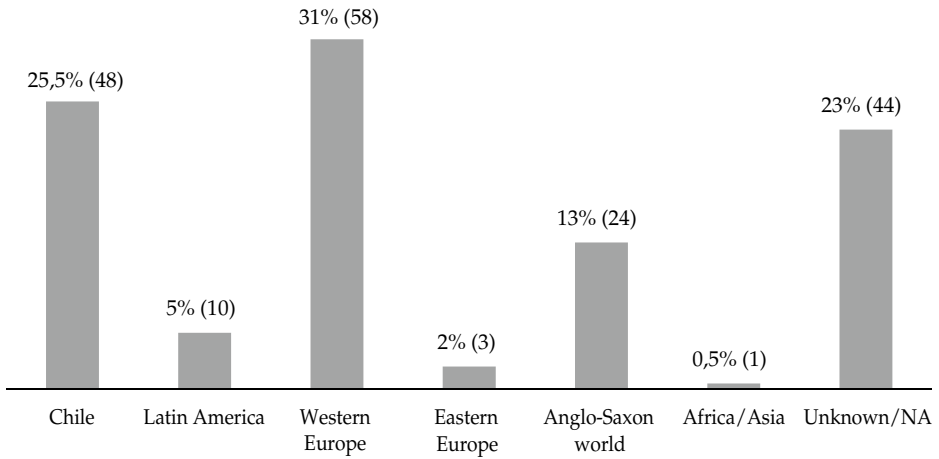
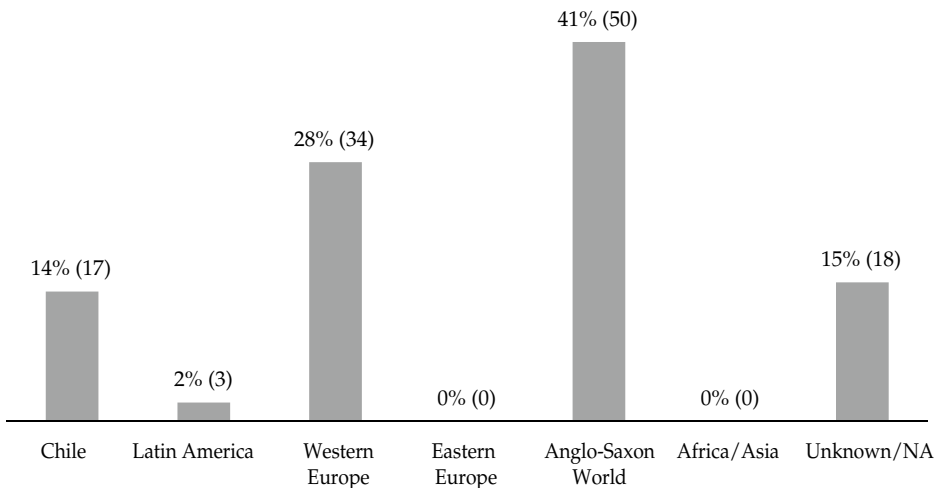
...the emancipatory scheme proposed by Marx, Nietzsche's instinctual vitalism and Freud's sexualism, have successfully merged in a common front to attack the traditional-Christian culture, without carrying the dead weight of soviet style bureaucratic collectivism and taking advantage of the political and economic structures of Western culture. (Massini-Correas, 1988: 46)

This ideological battle occurs at the intersection between the national and the global, which means that the academic conversation cannot be narrowly local. The common sense depicts the Chilean dictatorship as a regime isolated from the international intellectual arena. However, APS was highly internationalized. I was able to trace the academic itinerary of most authors published in the period. In *Política*, 46% of the authors obtained their degrees in the US and Europe while in *RCP* this was the case for 69% of the contributors. Even taking into account that I could not find information for 23% and 15% of *Política* and *RCP*'s authors respectively, 85 in 188 and 84 in 122 are still high numbers for the Latin American context (see Graphs 11 and 12).

At least 67 contributors to *Política* between 1982 and 1989 and 39 to *RCP* between 1979 and 1989 were foreigners. The presence of European scholars is remarkable in *Política* (34 from Western Europe and 8 from Eastern Europe) and the presence of Anglo-Saxon scholars (24) is prominent in *RCP*. Note that among the 103 confirmed Chilean authors in *Política*, 42 received foreign academic training, while the same holds for 39 of the 58 *RCP* Chilean contributors. Furthermore, both journals, along with the "Memories of Activities" and many other historical records show extensive academic connections with Latin America, Europe, the United States and, interestingly, South Africa.¹⁷ In the case of *Política* we have the curious presence of Eastern European authors associated with Soviet dissidence, who in some cases were actually invited to Chile.¹⁸ APS was not alone in the world: its protagonists and therefore its narratives and conversations were fairly international. Indeed, around 30% of *RCP* and 20% of *Política* articles of the period correspond to research on IR and geopolitics.

¹⁷ Kunert (1979) in *RCP* and Petrus Putter (1983) in *Política* develop pro-Apartheid South Africa discourses within an anticommunist framework.

¹⁸ Interestingly, in 1988 the ICP-CHU hosted Nicolai Tolstoi, descendant of Leo Tolstoi, to give a talk on his book *Victims of Yalta* and on human rights in Eastern Europe.

Graph 11. Country of academic training. *Política* 1982-1989Graph 12. Country of academic training. *RCP* 1979-1989

RCP and *IPS-UC*'s external orientation is also expressed by their numerous international guest speakers (Dahl, 1985; Gershman, 1985; Novak, 1983, to name just a few) and by the translation of articles published in main international journals such as *Government and Opposition*, *Hispanic Historical Review*, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, *Philosophical Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Revue Française de Science Politique*, *The American Political Science Review*, and *The Washington Quarterly*. *Política*, with a European orientation, only reproduced a couple of pieces from journals such as *Epoche* and *L'Altra Europa*.

However, *IPS-UCH* and *Política* did also have intense connections with the United States. American conservative intellectual Paul Gottfried was one of its many international guests.

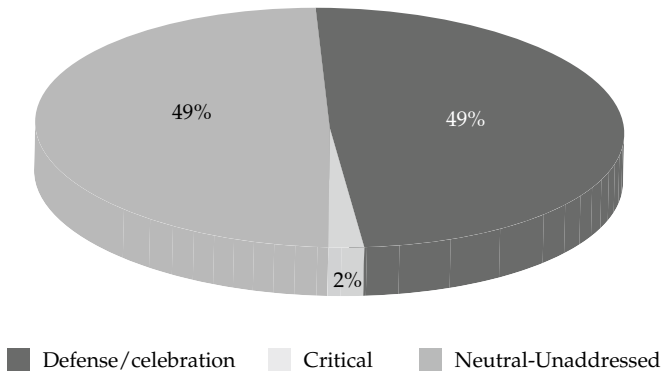
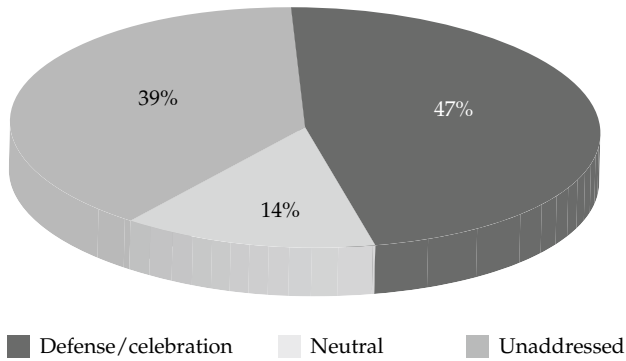
He participated in the 1986 seminar on “Neoconservative Thinking” which also had speakers from England, Portugal, Italy, Spain and France. In his talk, Gottfried argued that American culture and the arts had been captured by the left. He asked if it was possible to push a leftist, and sometimes nihilist, culture to support conservative writers, artists and academics, thus breaking with the leftist rule over knowledge and the arts (Gottfried, 1987: 106). Interestingly, the piece refers to the need for conservative poetry and theatre, and talks about power in ways that neo-marxists and post-structuralists would agree with. Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, as the discussant of Gottfried’s intervention, was not a passive recipient of what the American intellectual forwarded. After a joke about how misleading it was to call the United States by the single word “America” (given that Chile is also America), Silva Bascuñán talked about an inescapable paradox: on the one hand, the uniqueness of nations and peoples should be acknowledged, and therefore, whole cultural models should not be simply transplanted from one place to the other. On the other hand, we need to learn from international experiences (Silva Bascuñán, 1987).

Protected democracy is a local expression of the clash between two incompatible global projects. At a world scale, it is Western civilization itself that has to be defended. The East/West dichotomy is framed in ‘cold war,’ civilizational and religious terms. The numbers in this case are strikingly similar: 49% of *Política* articles and 47% of RCP’s “defended” or “celebrated” the West and/or Christianity (see Graphs 13 and 14). Sometimes the argument meshes anti-communist with civilizational arguments and Christian views.

Within this group, I identified and analyzed the articles that specifically focus on religion. They invariably do so by framing Christianity in ‘anti-Marxist’ and frequently neoliberal terms. It is indeed fascinating to see how APS assembled Catholic and pro-market discourses, given the emphasis of Catholicism on the spiritually purifying powers of poverty. Pope Juan Pablo II visited Chile in 1987. This event was talked about by Domic (1987), Valdivieso Ariztía (1987), Hasbun (1987) –a priest himself– and Mac Hale (1987); these were all *Política* articles originally published in the press to confront the ‘communist’ campaign of misinformation against Chile that had human rights violations claims at its core. The issue closes with the transcription of a reflection by the Pope. Moreno (1987) also refers to this visit in RCP but in more theological and academic terms.

There were also highly conceptual theological interventions (Poradowski 1984, 1986; Novak, 1983; Cottier, 1985; Francou, 1986; Bentué, 1986). Widow (1979), published by RCP, offered a radical critique of modern democracy and modernity from a religious perspective, and Joseph Ratzinger, who would become Pope in the future, published in both RCP (1984) and *Política* (1986; 1987).¹⁹ Michael Novak, from the conservative American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, was invited to a political theory

¹⁹ Juan Antonio Widow obtained his PhD in Philosophy in Spain. As a committed far-right figure, he supported the dictatorship. In June 2010, Widow was harassed by human rights activists after he attended a documentary exhibition and tribute ceremony for Augusto Pinochet. Fascist websites described the attack as a manifestation of the “Demo-Marxist Hatred.” This was an intervention on “Faith and Reason” at a course on Catholic culture (Gabriela Mistral University, 2013): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poqBDeGu5iQ>. The professor concludes by saying that in our times, the main social and cultural discourses exclude the Truth, which means to exclude God.

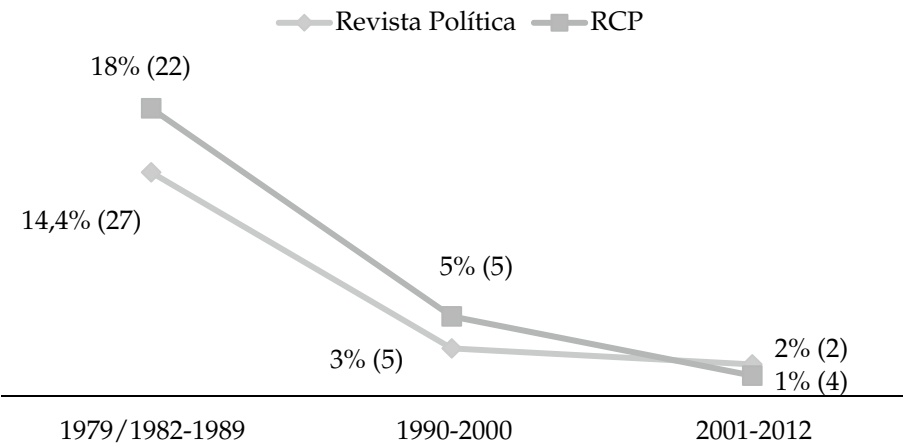
Graph 13. The West and Christianity. *Política* 1982-1989Graph 14. The West and Christianity. *RCP* 1979-1989

seminar in 1983 hosted by the IPS-UC. His talk combined a Catholic framework with pro-capitalist advocacy –Adam Smith and the Gospel.

In November 1984, IPS-UC hosted a seminar on “The Gospel, Ethics and Politics” which was published by *RCP* in 1985. The six interventions (Mifsud, 1985; Gaete, 1985; Flisfisch, 1985; Moreno Valencia, 1985; Ibáñez, 1985; Cumplido Cereceda, 1985) covered radically different views of the political role of the Gospel and a “Working Paper” published by the Chilean Church at the time. On the right side of the ideological spectrum, Ibáñez (1985) challenged the ‘democratic dogma’ that links democracy to human rights and assumes that any other regime is immoral.

In the period 1979-1989, a significant number of *RCP* articles had religion as a main topic (22 in total, or 18%). One could assume that the institutional location of the journal within a Catholic university could be a factor explaining this remarkable presence of religion in a political science publication. I thus extended the analysis to all the articles published until today (487 for *Política* and 544 for *RCP*): in both journals, religion dramatically drops to the point that in the 2001-2012 period it practically vanishes (see Graph 15).

Graph 15. Religion as a main topic. *Política* and RCP

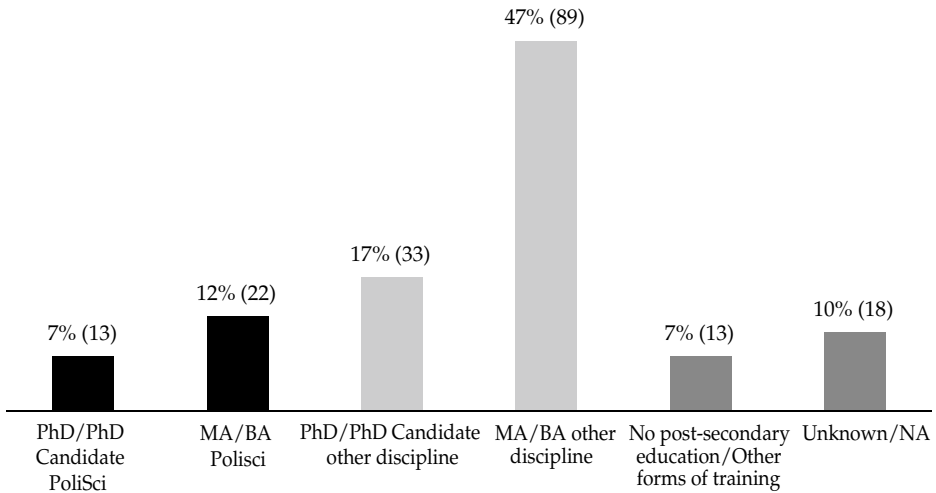
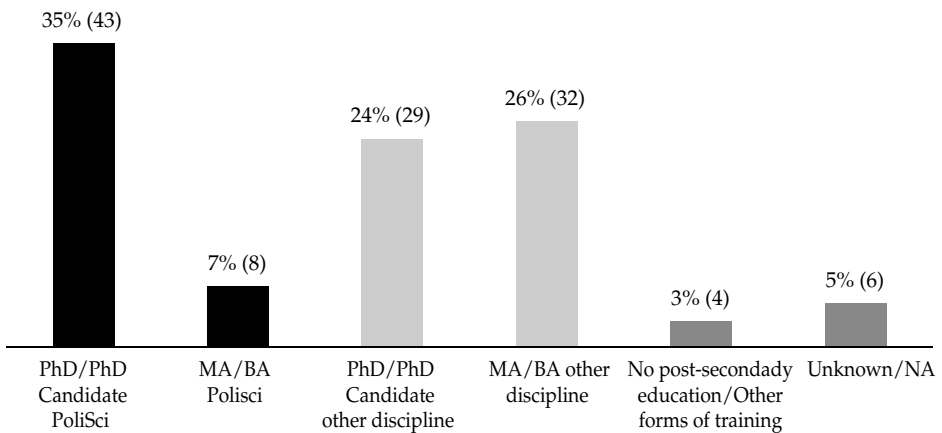


V. ACADEMIC TRAINING, LAWYERS, TERROR

APS was an academic space and many of its protagonists were indeed highly qualified scholars. Most of *Política*'s and RCP's contributors had university-level education. This challenges the commonsensical idea that what happened during those years "was not really academic", as some of my interviewees and many colleagues argue in different spaces. *Política* had a more interdisciplinary orientation and was more open to non-academic contributors while RCP had a clear political science and strictly academic orientation –around 60% of its contributors were PhDs (see Graphs 16 and 17). This contrast between the journals is also shown by the institutional adscription of their authors: 30% of *Política* contributors worked in non-academic places, specially governments (the Chilean and others), the military and others. This is only the case for 16% in RCP. This speaks about the different institutional and discursive location of these journals within APS.

It is well-known that law and lawyers had an important role in incompletely consolidated Political Science academies in Latin America. The difference between the two journals in this regard is striking: at least 70 (37%) of *Política*'s contributors between 1982 and 1989 were lawyers, while this was the case for only 18 (15%) in RCP. The numbers fall dramatically in the following periods, which speaks to the professionalization of political science, a process for which RCP is an extreme example ("the guiding light", as one interviewee declared) (see Graph18). It is quite interesting that it was the law-oriented journal that was the most aligned with the dictatorship. However, this may not be paradoxical given that *Política* developed a politically relevant knowledge and lawyers' expertise had been particularly relevant for policy making processes in the region.

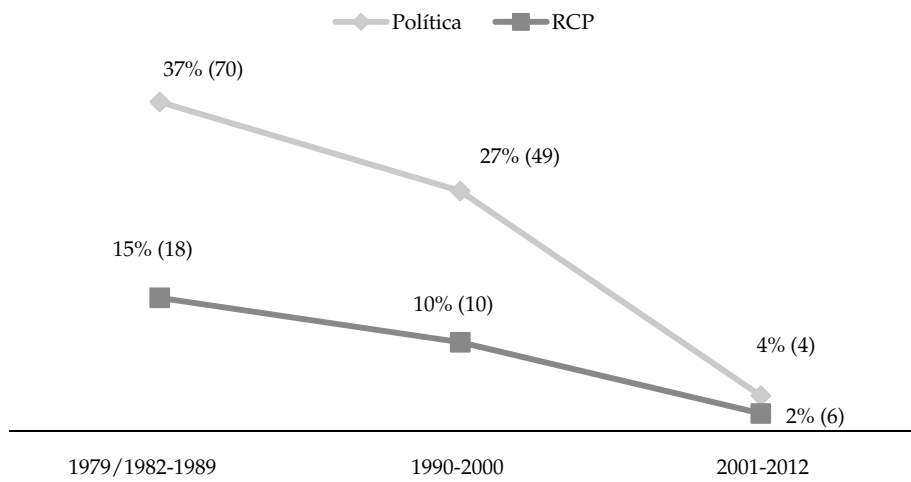
The presence of the regime and the right-wing project that it incarnated, then, was performed *also* by political science. The dictatorship *was in academia*, in both RCP and *Política*, though in different ways. This regime 'killed and thought' at the same time, and this, from the point of view of critical theory, especially that of the power and knowledge

Graph 16. Academic training. *Política* 1982-1989Graph 17. Academic training. *RCP* 1979-1989

literature (Foucault, 1991; Gramsci, 2008), may help to explain the capacity of such a regime of reshaping Chilean politics, culture and political economy.

Sometimes killing and thinking were done by the same people. Jaime García Covarrubias was a high-ranking military member and head of the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) who had three contributions to *Política* (1987; 1988; 1989). The 1987 article is based on his MA thesis. Covarrubias was a member of the 1985 cohort of the MA program at IPS-UCH and defended his thesis in 1987. In the MA programs of both IPS-UCH and IPS-UC, and especially in the former, the presence of military members was significant in this period (Ravecca, 2014).

Graph 18. Lawyers in *Política* and *RCP*



Prof. Emilio Meneses published in *RCP* (1979; 1981a; 1981b; 1982; 1992; 1995; 1998) and *Política* (1983). In 1998, a scholar by the name of Felipe Agüero published in the same *RCP* issue as him (Agüero, Tironi, Valenzuela and Sunkel, 1998). This would be an unexceptional situation had Agüero not emailed some IPS-CU scholars two years later claiming that Emilio Meneses, faculty member of the institution, had participated in the interrogation team that tortured him at the National Stadium of Chile, which was used as a prison after the coup of 1973. He also made this public in a widely read Chilean newspaper. We have to read silence(s), again. Meneses’ voice is highly professional and academic. Even though some of his pieces are framed in Cold War terms, in only one of them does he refer to Marxism. And even then, he does so in a rather neutral way. He explores very ‘scholarly’ issues such as Chilean foreign policy in the first half of the XX century (Meneses, Tagle and Guevara, 1982). He was a professor in the War Academy of the Chilean Army, where Pinochet taught too. But he also holds a PhD from Oxford University... That tortured and (alleged) torturer write in the same journal constitutes a crude manifestation of the interpenetration between academia and political context.²⁰

VI. CONCLUSION: THE BANALITY OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

I would like to propose the category of Authoritarian Political Science. APS was a space inhabited by academics, military members, businessmen and religious authorities. It was cosmopolitan: Chilean, European, North American and even Russian dissidents were its protagonists. Chilean *APS was political science*: it mobilized ‘typical’ categories and notions of the discipline such as political regime, democracy, electoral systems, competition, civic participation, transition, government, political stability, among numerous

²⁰ For more detailed information about this case see Verdugo (2004).

others. APS promoted a democracy “protected” from communism and Marxism that in its turn should protect the market economy. At the socio-cultural level, it embraced the neoconservative agenda, building from the East-West cleavage and “Christian values”. This institutional and discursive space was radically implicated in concrete power dynamics and mechanisms such as the 1980 Constitution, the crafting of the binominal electoral system and a well-known set of neoliberal reforms. The analyzed journals *are not* APS but sites where this set of discourses circulated. A way of phrasing this is that RCP in particular was both inside and outside the space of APS.

APS mobilized the language of democracy and liberalism within an authoritarian project. It shares with many liberal thinkers and discourses the emphasis on stability and order as well as the naturalization of the market economy (i.e. capitalism, and *sometimes*, neoliberalism). Such an emphasis did not go away after the transition and in fact it became part of the common sense of the political system and academia in Chile and beyond. This opens up the questions about the ruptures and continuities between APS and ‘standard’ political science. Granted, *power does not disappear from knowledge when ‘democracy’ arrives*.

The exploration of the institutionalization of political science becomes purposeless or –even worse– *banal* without the analysis of the content and the socio-political role of the discipline. Knowledge is structurally implicated in power relations. Therefore, exploring academic discourses is just another way of studying politics (Ravecca, 2014). By expanding the awareness of the impact that context has had on ‘our’ science, this kind of epistemological exercise of self-clarification helps to prevent our academic practice from becoming a mere reflection of the dominant powers of our times, whether they be authoritarian or liberal-democratic.

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