Report on Chile Projects Funding: July – November 2007
Christian Democracy and Popular Participation in Chile, 1964 – 2000
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Research Project and Progress

In May 2007, I received funding from the Centre for Latin American Studies’ ‘Chile Projects’ fund, in order to undertake research in Chile for four months, from July to November of that year. My PhD research considers the history of Chile’s Christian Democratic Party (PDC) between 1964 and 2000, and the changing ways in which the party has approached the question of political participation and the role of civil society in the political process. The PDC played a critical role in Chile’s political system for the last forty years of the twentieth century, three of the country’s four democratically elected presidents since 1964 came from the party’s ranks, and its size and position in the centre of the political spectrum ensured that changes within the party had an impact on Chilean politics more generally. In Chile’s recent political history, particularly until the military coup of 1973, the issue of political participation was central to understanding relations between state and society. In no other party was this more apparent than in the PDC, which made the incorporation of marginalised sectors a central goal of its ‘Revolution in Liberty’ from 1964 to 1970, and which was the leading party of the Concertación for the ten years following Chile’s return to democracy. For this reason, a focus on Christian Democracy offers an excellent basis from which to examine broader questions concerning shifting state-society relations in Chile, and the role of political parties in the social sphere.

During my first two months in Chile, I was based in the Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos (ICHEH). The library at ICHEH, although small, houses the majority of key documents relating to the PDC, dating back to the late 1950s, and also includes the personal documents of several key PDC figures. The library also has a complete collection of the magazine Política y Espíritu which will be a key source for my thesis. Both the librarian and the Institute’s director were a great help to me in finding material and securing interviews. In my initial months in Santiago, I also spent a lot of time at the library of Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), which contains much of the social science research published during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. In the second half of my time in Santiago, I sought to read more widely around my research topic, and therefore spent more time in Santiago’s National Library. During this time, I also conducted several interviews and used government archives, particularly those in the Ministerio de Planificación (MIDEPLAN). I conducted interviews with both politicians and academics (listed below), and although the process required some preparation, I believe that the interviews will ultimately enrich my thesis.

It is difficult to underestimate the importance of my time in Chile last year to the progress I have made in my PhD research. The chance to focus solely on my research for four months allowed me to establish the central arguments and structure of my thesis, whilst the archives and document collections I was able to access have provided the majority of my primary material. Finally, the help I received from librarians, academics, and politicians in directing my research, suggesting new avenues for consideration, and establishing further contacts made working in Chile a thoroughly enjoyable experience, both professionally and personally. I have included below a list of the main primary material I consulted during my time in Santiago, and also a list of interviews conducted.
Material Gathered in Chile

- **Periodicals**
  Política y Espíritu (1957 – 2000)
  Main publication of Christian Democratic Party, articles mostly written by party militants, and in periods 1964 – 1970, and 1990 – 2000, by members of government, deputies and senators. Important source of key documents, for example election manifestos, party conference proceedings and final documents, and (particularly from 1968-1973), documents from competing factions within the PDC. Sporadic publication during dictatorship: closed in 1974, republished briefly in 1982-83, then republished monthly from 1987 onwards. Most useful for 1962-1973 and 1987 – 1990 period: has had a less visible role in the years since the return to democracy

  Chile América (1974 – 1984)
  Monthly publication established in exile by Bernardo Leighton (PDC), Rafael Gumucio and Julio Silva Solar (former PDC, subsequently MAPU, and part of UP). Key source of opposition documents: meetings taking place in exile, speeches made by political opposition leaders. Also valuable as the earliest example of PDC-UP cooperation: important precursor to the Alianza Democrática, which would subsequently lead to the formation of the Concertación. Most useful in period from 1978 onwards, as political opposition to the dictatorship became more vocal.

  Mensaje (1959 – 2000)
  Published by the Jesuit Centro Bellarmino in Santiago, and representing a progressive Catholic perspective, centred on current events and politics. Particularly relevant during the 1960s, when the Centro Bellarmino (also known as DESAL) was closely tied to the Christian Democrat Party, and was the principal source of the party’s ‘Promoción Popular’ policy, and its understanding of the problem of marginality. Closed for the majority of the dictatorship. Published some interesting articles in the 1990s, particularly relating to social policy.

  Punto Final (1965 – 1970)
  Main left-wing periodical, established in 1965, particularly useful in the period up to 1970 for it’s criticism of the Frei Montalva government.

- **Newspapers**
  El Mercurio
  La Tercera
  Ercilla

- **Documents**


- Interviews
  
  Otto Boye 3 October 2007
  Director of the Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos (ICHEH), the main research institute of the Christian Democratic party.

  Patricio Dooner 29 October 2007
  Former director of ICHEH, author of ‘Democracia Cansada’: best work on PDC during the Allende years.

  Carlos Huneeus 15 November 2007
  Director of CERC (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporanea), political scientist, member of PDC.

  Cristian Gazmuri 25 October 2007
  Historian at Universidad de Chile, author of most comprehensive biography of Eduardo Frei Montalva (Frei y su época), and other works on dictatorship.

  Oscar Godoy 30 October 2007
  Political scientist and lawyer, key figure in constitutional reforms of 1988-89, author of two key articles on democratic transition.

  Ricardo Hormazábal 22 October 2007
  Professor of Political Science at Universidad de Chile, member of PDC. Author of memoir of Allende years.

  Gutenberg Martinez 21 November 2007
  President of PDC 1993 – 1997, Director of Frei Ruiz-Tagle’s presidential campaign, President of Chamber of Deputies 1998 – present.

  Sergio Molina 13 November 2007

  Rafael Moreno 10 July 2007

  Bernardo Navarrete 4 October 2007
  Professor of Political Science in Universidad de Chile, author of article of on PDC.

  Eduardo Palma 15 November 2007
  Minister for Planning in Eduardo Frei Montalva government, key figure in opposition to dictatorship. Former director of ICHEH.

  Eduardo Saffirio 29 October 2007
  Current Christian Democrat Deputy for Temuco. Author of a number of books and articles on PDC.