

Reagan and Pinochet

The Struggle over U.S. Policy toward Chile

This book is the first comprehensive study of the Reagan administration's policy toward the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet in Chile. On the basis of new primary and archival materials and original interviews with former U.S. and Chilean officials, it traces the evolution of Reagan policy from an initial "close embrace" of the junta to a reevaluation of whether Pinochet was a risk to long-term U.S. interests in Chile and, finally, to an acceptance in Washington of the need to push for a return to democracy. It provides fresh insights into the bureaucratic conflicts that were a key part of the Reagan administration's decision-making process and reveals not only the successes but also the limits of U.S. influence on Pinochet's regime – centered on the challenge of creating a viable civilian alternative that was acceptable to both the junta and Washington. Finally, it contributes to the ongoing debate about the U.S. approach toward democracy promotion in the Third World over the past half-century.

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-107-45809-3 — Reagan and Pinochet: The Struggle over US Policy toward Chile

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Frontmatter

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107458093

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First published 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-08763-7 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-45809-3 Paperback

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When the [Chilean] Ambassador walked into the Oval Office [in late 1983] to deliver [a] letter [from Pinochet], and sees all of the key cabinet ministers there for an early morning staff meeting waiting to receive him, he almost passes out. Reagan jumps up, greets him and says he has a question that has always puzzled him. The Ambassador starts quaking, thinking he's going to declare war or something but Reagan asks "How do you pronounce your President's name?"

– *Senior Department of State Latin American Affairs official,*
1983–1988

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Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Deborah Gershenowitz at Cambridge University Press in New York for her encouragement and advice in guiding our manuscript through to its completed form; the two anonymous readers who provided detailed and thoughtful comments on the original draft; the archivists at the Reagan Presidential Library who facilitated a crucial part of our research; and those former U.S. government officials and Chilean political leaders privy to the events described in this study, whom we interviewed. This study was partly funded by a grant from the Australian Research Council.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AC	Asamblea de la Civilidad (Civic Assembly)
AD	Alianza Democrática (Democratic Alliance)
AFL-CIO	American Confederation of Labor and the Congress of International Organizations
AID	Agency for International Development
AIFLD	American Institute of Free Labor Development
AmEmb	American Embassy
AP	Associated Press
ARA	Bureau of Inter-American Affairs
BDOHP	British Diplomatic Oral History Program
BG	<i>Boston Globe</i>
BHN	basic human needs
CCC	Commodity Credit Corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIA/FOIAe, III	U.S. Department of State Collections, Chile Declassification Project, Electronic, CIA Creation Documents
CNT	Comando Nacional Trabajadores (National Workers Command)
CQWR	<i>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</i>
CSM	<i>Christian Science Monitor</i>
CT	<i>Chicago Times</i>
CTC	Confederación de Trabajadores del Cobre (Copper Workers Confederation)
CUT	Central Unica de Trabajadores (Central Workers Confederation)

DCM	Deputy Chief of Mission
DDRS	Declassified Documents Reference System
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
DINA	Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (Directorate of National Intelligence)
DJ	Dow Jones
DMN	<i>Dallas Morning News</i>
DOS	Department of State
DOS/FOIAe, III	U.S. Department of State Collections, Chile Declassification Project, Electronic, State Chile, Tranche III
DOSB	Department of State Bulletin
DOT	Department of the Treasury
EB	Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act
FAOHC	Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection
<i>FBIS: DR: LA</i>	Foreign Broadcast Information Service: Daily Report: Latin America
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FMS	foreign military sales
FPMR	Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front)
FT	<i>Financial Times</i>
GDP	gross domestic product
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
HA	Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMFA	International Monetary Fund Archives
INR	Bureau of Intelligence and Research
IO	Bureau of International Organizations
JC	<i>Journal of Commerce</i>
JDT	James D. Theberge Papers
LARR: SC	<i>Latin American Regional Reports: Southern Cone</i>
LAT	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>
LAWR	<i>Latin America Weekly Report</i>
MDB	Multilateral development bank
MDP	Movimiento Democrática Popular (Popular Democratic Movement)

Abbreviations and Acronyms

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MH	<i>Miami Herald</i>
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left)
NA	U.S. National Archives
NARA/FOIAe, III.	U.S. Department of State Collections, Chile Declassification Project, Electronic, NARA Chile III
NCN	National Command of the No
NCR	<i>National Catholic Reporter</i>
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NSA	National Security Archive
NSC	National Security Council
NSDD	National Security Decision Directive
NSSD	National Security Study Directive
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
OAS	Organization of American States
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PCC	Policy Coordination Committee
PCCH	Communist Party (Partido Comunista)
PDC	Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano)
RNS	Reuters News Service
RRL	Ronald Reagan Library
SAL	structural adjustment loan
SCA	Southern Cone Affairs
SFRC	Senate Foreign Relations Committee
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
TGM	<i>Toronto Globe and Mail</i>
TPRG	Trade Policy Review Group
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Commission
UPI	United Press International
WBGA	World Bank Group Archives
WP	<i>Washington Post</i>
WSJ	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>
WT	<i>Washington Times</i>