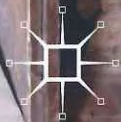




# **THE NEW CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGY**

**Lessons from Post-Pinochet Chile**

**RICARDO CAMARGO**



99100137 9903703936

320.50983  
C172 rc  
2013  
c.1

# The New Critique of Ideology

Lessons from Post-Pinochet Chile

Ricardo Camargo

*Faculty of Law, University of Chile, Chile*

palgrave  
macmillan



© Ricardo Camargo  
28/8/2012



© Ricardo Camargo 2013

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2013 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-137-32966-0

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

*For Andrea and our son Clemente,  
with thanks for everything*

# Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
What is the problem with ideology?	1
The methodological framework	7
Outline of the book	9
<b>Part I Toward a New Model of Ideology Critique</b>	
<b>1 The Classic Debate on the Theory of Ideology</b>	<b>15</b>
Marx's notion of ideology revisited	17
Three approaches of research on ideology	22
Ideology in the descriptive sense	25
Ideology in the positive sense	28
Ideology in the negative sense	31
Althusser's theory of ideology revisited	37
Summary	40
<b>2 The Contemporary Debate on the Theory of Ideology</b>	<b>41</b>
The 'Archimedean true point' problem	43
Freeden's methodological approach to ideology	46
Laclau's non-essentialist notion of ideology	55
Summary	66
<b>3 A Universal Notion of Truth: Habermas <i>avec</i> Žižek</b>	<b>67</b>
Habermas's inter-subjective approach to the truth	68
The 'ideal versus the real world'	71
A Žižekian critique of Habermas's theory of truth	74
Cynicism and fantasy in Žižek's theory	76
A critique of Habermas's constitutional patriotism	81
Toward a universal notion of truth	84
The fictional 'Real' as a universal truth	85
Summary	90
<b>4 The Methodological Framework of the Case Study</b>	<b>92</b>
First phase: the socio-historical analysis	93
Second phase: formal or discursive analysis	94
Third phase: a symptomatic (re)interpretation	95
Research design of the case study	95

Conceptual framework	96
Justification of the case study	97
Definitions and assumptions	99
Empirical research question (ERQ)	99
Discourse	100
Consensus	100
Recognition of success	101
The political economy model	101
Post-Pinochet Chile (1990–2006)	102
Chilean political elites	102
Discursive strategies	103
Class struggle	103
The (operative) discourse of class struggle	105
Class struggle as the fictional Real	106
The denial of class struggle	108
The denial of the fictional Real	109
Summary	110
<b>Part II Post-Pinochet Chile: A Case Study</b>	
<b>5 The Transformation of Power in Pinochet's Era</b>	<b>113</b>
The power structure in Chile pre-Pinochet	113
The power structure in Allende's government	114
First phase: the great transformation (1973–81)	119
The changes in the productive structure	120
The formation of new economic groups	123
The transformation of social classes	124
The second phase: the crisis and the recovery	130
The deepening of the productive structure	130
The reshaping of power within the economic groups	135
The legacy of Pinochet's regime	140
Summary	152
<b>6 The Discourse of Class Struggle</b>	<b>153</b>
The discourse of class struggle in Chile pre-1973	153
The socialists: the 'most revolutionary' party	157
The communists: a conservative proletarian party	159
The dilemma of the Christian Democrat Party	163
The radicalization of the oligarchical parties	167
The military coup and the renovation of politics	171
The socialist renovation	173
The 'isolationism' of communists	182
The 'pragmatization' of the Center	190
The emergence of a neo-liberal Right	196
Summary	204

## 7 The Ideological Discourse in Post-Pinochet Chile

Traumas and fantasies of ChPEs

The 'two fears' of ChPEs

One or two models?

Income inequality in a 'successful' economy?

The strategy of naturalization/eternalization

From the 'two souls' to the 'test of governance'

Quality of education *ergo* income equality?

Conclusion

What about class struggle?

The denial of the Real: toward a new ideology

Summary

### Conclusion

Lessons for a new ideology critique

Final reflections

*Notes*

*Bibliography*

*Index*