

Memory and Neoliberal Discourses in Chile

Caroline Nicole Ickes

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Timothy Luke, Co-Chair  
Rupa Thadhani, Co-Chair  
Laura Zanotti

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### ABSTRACT

Deemed “The Chilean Miracle,” President Pinochet under a campaign of violence and terror effectively transitioned the socialist Chilean economy to one of South America’s most prosperous capitalist economies. Most recently, Chilean entrepreneur, Sebastián Piñera, won the country’s executive office on a campaign of neoliberal expansion in hopes of economic growth and the elimination of poverty. If this election is an indication of Chile’s acceptance of aggressive neoliberal policies, then how has the memory of neoliberalism become detached from its violent beginning? Has Pinochet’s legacy been (re)constructed in Chilean collective memory? This paper aims to explore this question in two ways. First, it examines ideological formations in Chilean political rhetoric that serve to conceal and transform political memory through discursive structures. Second, it investigates how political rhetoric transformed state violence through a re-narrativization of neoliberalism, which effectively detached neoliberalism from its violent initiation and (re)constructed it as a means of reconciliation and recovery. The findings of this paper suggest that Chilean memory *has* been (re)constructed for political and economic purposes, which conceal reality and deny alterity.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Deemed “The Chilean Miracle,” President Pinochet under a campaign of violence and terror effectively transformed the socialist Chilean economy into one of South America’s most prosperous capitalist economies. After President Pinochet was removed from office in 1988 under an electoral plebiscite, a series of politically liberal presidents were elected, including former President Michele Bachelet, a Pinochet torture survivor. As Chile ushered in a socially responsible phase of neoliberalism, the ‘Third Way’, it appeared as though the country was beginning a process of social reconciliation; however, in 2010 the first conservative president since Pinochet and a strong capital accumulation, neoliberal advocate was elected. Sebastián Piñera, a successful businessman and third wealthiest person in Chile, received a Ph.D. in Economics from the Harvard School of Business.<sup>1</sup> Before elected as President, Piñera owned substantial portion of many of Chile’s most profitable private corporations. José Piñera, Sebastián’s older brother, was the Minister of Labor for President Pinochet. José now serves as a distinguished senior fellow at the Cato Institute. José Piñera and President Piñera are well-known supporters of General Pinochet.<sup>2</sup> In 2010, Sebastián Piñera ran and won the presidential election with a campaign that promised neoliberal expansion in hopes of accelerated economic prosperity and growth, which echoes President Pinochet’s rhetoric during the neoliberal transition. The current political affairs in Chile beg the question- has neoliberalism in Chile been detached from its violent initiation and, if so, how?

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<sup>1</sup> Biography of the President of the Republic. <http://www.gobiernodechile.cl/presidente/en/>

<sup>2</sup> “El día que Sebastián Piñera apoyo a Pinochet en 1998,” You Tube , accessed September 26, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TV-Ulfo09Bs>.

By looking at how political rhetoric, through discursive structures, produces ideological “truth,” this analysis speaks to the larger issue of political memory, or constructed reality, which is shaped by political rhetoric. More specifically, how is truth or memory cultivated in society by the political authority? My theoretically informed, comparative discourse analysis is significant both domestically and internationally to achieve greater understanding of how discourses are produced through political rhetoric to construct and (re)construct political memory and reality. Chile was the testing ground for Milton Friedman’s theories of “shock therapy”. Observing moderate success in Chile, the neoliberal theories of the Chicago School were applied in Argentina, Great Britain and the United States. In addition to a greater understanding of political rhetoric, this analysis is significant to understand the trajectory of neoliberalism from its initiation to its modern application post-financial crisis of 2008. Neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatization and labor restructuring are being undertaken by conservative politicians under the guise of financial austerity and budget reconciliation. The financial crisis is another exigency in the application of shock therapy in order to deepen and extend neoliberal policies in the global market. It appears that Chile is not an exception, but rather the rule.

During the summer of 2010, I worked as an Assistant English Teacher for the Chilean government and the UNDP program, English Opens Doors. Started in 2004, this social program attempts to target the public education system in Chile, giving lower income students the opportunity to learn and practice English, which will improve their future job placement prospects.<sup>3</sup> As the Chilean economy continues to integrate employees in the global market, it is becoming increasingly important for the working class to become fluent in English. The program addresses the bifurcation of English fluency between the private and public schools, increasing the life chances of students in the public school system. With the election of President Piñera,

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<sup>3</sup> “English Opens Doors,” Chilean Government, accessed September 26, 2010, <http://www.ingles.mineduc.cl/>.

due to ideological differences of his conservative administration with the founding socialist administrations, this program has come under attack.

As a volunteer in the English Opens Doors program, I spent the summer living with a Chilean family and working in a Chilean school. This experience gave me a distinct insight into the current social and political situation many Chileans are now facing. As a participant observer, I took careful field notes and made observations of the Chilean family, society and education system. As exploratory research for my thesis, I gained greater insight into future areas of research and how this study may more fully address the discursive formation of neoliberalism in Chile.

### **1.1 Problem Statement**

In my thesis, I use a discourse analysis method to examine ideological formations in Chilean political rhetoric that serve to conceal and transform political memory through discursive structures. Specifically looking at neoliberalism, both as ideology and behavior normalization, I explore how discursive structures produced through the political rhetoric of President Pinochet constructed an ideological narrative that conceal reality and effectively transformed the political memory of state violence through a re-narrativization of neoliberalism. Under Pinochet, the urgency for transformation is the military coup d'état and the national recovery: for Piñera, the earthquake and national recovery. With a comparative discourse analysis of the political rhetoric of Presidents Pinochet and Piñera, I explore how Pinochet utilized the systemic shocks in his political rhetoric to veil raw memory and construct a political memory or sanctioned reality, which effectively detached neoliberalism from its violent initiation.

## 1.2 Background

In September 1973, in a torrent of civil unrest, President Pinochet seized executive power in Chile in a military coup d'état ousting the democratically elected socialist, President Salvador Allende. The bifurcation of the civil society prior to the coup d'état between nationalists and socialists pre-empted the ousting of President Allende, who had initiated a series of contentious, progressive social policies. With the direction of the CIA and economists of the Chicago School, Pinochet took over political rule of the Chilean state with a shocking full military blow. Immediately capitalizing on the shock of the new administration, Pinochet began a series of neoliberal transitions including the privatization of state holdings and the liberalization of trade markets, according to the theories of Chicago School economist Milton Friedman.<sup>4</sup>

During authoritarian rule and with the consultation of prominent economists of the Chicago School, Chile transitioned from a socialist economy to a neoliberal capitalist economy. Previously in the midst of heated debate between socialism and capitalism, under authoritarian rule, disagreement was silenced.<sup>5</sup> Those who opposed the new national initiatives, specifically the poor, activist and academics, were tortured into submission or permanently disappeared. Implementing the un-tested theories of Milton Friedman and other economists, Pinochet produced a scapegoat. Socialism and its supporters were produced as the enemy to Pinochet's neoliberal policies.<sup>6</sup> While official statistics of those tortured, murdered and disappeared remain elusive, over 3,000 are believed to have been murdered, and over 35,000 tortured or injured.<sup>7</sup> Societal consensus was established through mechanisms of fear and torture preserved through the discursive ideological formation of neoliberalism as a normative structure.

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<sup>4</sup> Klein, Naomi. *The Shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Paley, Julia. "Accountable democracy: Citizens' impact of public decision making in post dictatorship Chile." *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 4 (2004): 497-513.

<sup>6</sup> Klein, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Franklin, Jonathan. "Chile identifies 35,000 victims of Pinochet," *The Guardian*, November 15, 2004, online.

The neoliberal theories of Milton Friedman were pursued by Pinochet to aid in the social transformation of Chile. Marcus Taylor argues that neoliberalism is a fundamental restructuring of social relations, as it eliminates the social institutions of national developmentalism simultaneously eliminating the root cause of Chile's societal polarization. The "Creative Destruction",<sup>8</sup> caused by the jolting liberalization and privatization, encouraged a recession that eliminated all institutions not integrated into the neoliberal model. The working class faced decreased wages and unstable employment structures. Pinochet also created a bi-furcated system of private/public education, health care and pension depoliticizing crucial institutions. The market provided service in an apolitical manner, however the majority of Chileans were unable to participate in the profit-driven service provider model leaving the public system burdened and under-funded. Economic growth occurred with a boom to Chile's exports in the late 70s, however following the debt crisis of 1982, state interventions were necessary in order to sustain growth.<sup>9</sup>

In 1998, President Pinochet left the executive office by electoral plebiscite. Prior to exiting office, he extended executive immunity to himself, making it nearly impossible for Chileans to seek judicial punishment for his actions. The end of authoritarianism did not significantly alter discourse in the Chilean society, as a result of the implemented normative behaviors integrated into the neoliberal economic model. Public opinion remains largely restricted in the discursive framework of the neoliberal traditions. Additionally, a new era of neoliberalism emerged with the return to democracy that attempted to integrate neoliberal structures with social justice initiatives. The following administrations were unable to escape the neoliberal structure, as their social initiatives were directly tied to the success of the market and

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<sup>8</sup> Taylor, Marcus. From Pinochet to 'Third Way': Neoliberalism and Social Transformation in Chile. (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Taylor, 2006.

the lack of long-term funding to public institutions retarded any desired reforms. Consequently, the new parties focused on the strengthening of welfare institutions within the neoliberal structure. Additionally, a weak, cheap and disciplined labor force was no match to a powerful, centralized corporate class.<sup>10</sup>

### **1.3 Theoretical Framework**

Constructing a theoretical framework, I base my argument on the Agambenian strand of theory, including the concepts of Naomi Klein, Dillon & Reid and Mark Duffield, as each speak tangentially to the notion of “bare life” and the violation of the vulnerable subject. Agamben argues that in a state of exception, such as the suspension of law during the military takeover led by General Pinochet, the subject is exposed to the decision of the sovereign authority.

Sovereignty is the decision of what constitutes life; it protects and secures the exposed subject from death, therefore deciding which life deserves to live. However, in a state of exception during a suspension of law, the sovereign can violate the “bare life” of the subject in the decision.<sup>11</sup> The subject is bound within a relationship of power with the sovereign authority, and therefore depends on the security provided by the sovereign to preserve his or her life. When the security of the political subject is violated, the subject is exposed to the truth that any security in the political is a myth.

In The Shock Doctrine,<sup>12</sup> Klein explores the linkages between the electroshock therapies conducted in the 1950s and the “shock therapies” of the Chicago School economists. She argues that “shock therapy” prescribed by Milton Friedman effectively wipes away political memory, preparing a clean slate for the implementation of neoliberal policies. The shock erases memory

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

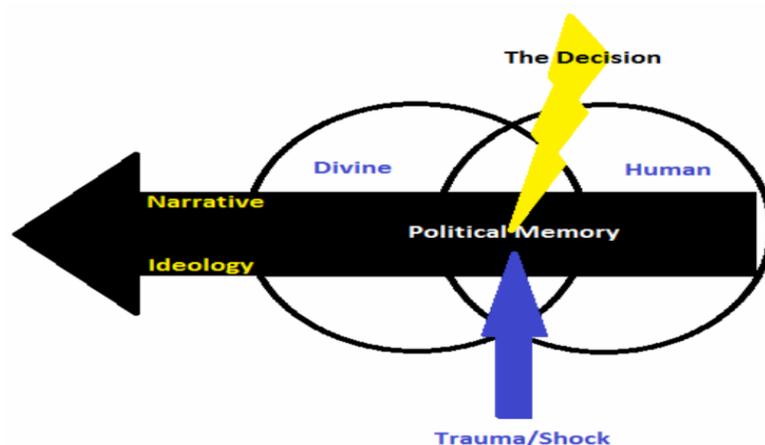
<sup>11</sup> Agamben, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Klein, 2007.

of the shock. Friedman’s economic shock therapy calls for the swift and systemic transition to neoliberalism following either a manufactured, natural or perceived societal shock. The military coup led by General Pinochet and the subsequent campaign of terror shocked the Chilean society through a violation of the “bare life” of the political subject, who was to be protected under sovereign authority.

The confrontation with the reality of the political is Jenny Edkins’ trauma<sup>13</sup>. Here reality is to be understood as the subjectivity of the political subject—the reality that the subject is constantly suspended in a state of vulnerability. In trauma, the veil is momentarily lifted, which exposes the absence of security or protection from death by the sovereign. Political ideology is the narrative that conceals subjectivity and perpetuates the social fantasy of security by the sovereign. The trauma of shock permits both Pinochet and Piñera to implement the neoliberal policies, which detaches government social responsibility in favor of a policy of self-reliance and actualization through economic achievement and prosperity. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of the constitution of the political subject and the re-narrativization of the political to sustain the myth of security.

Figure 1.



<sup>13</sup> Edkins, Jenny. *Trauma and the memory of politics*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Rather than providing greater government protection and social security following the military takeover and the earthquake, both Pinochet and Piñera construct a narrative of subjectivity, which normalizes and institutionalizes a neoliberal trajectory of individual development. The ideological formation produced through the political rhetoric of Pinochet provides Piñera the opportunity to reinvigorate neoliberal policies, because of the earthquake, completely detached from association with the terror of Pinochet.

The discourse produces a narrative which re-engages “normal time”<sup>14</sup> in society. The production is the veil and the narrative constructs political memory and sanctioned reality. Political memory is the collective memory co-produced through discourse. Trauma is the confrontation with that which cannot be described by language and whose presence is only realized in the discovery of its absence. Because trauma, or the confrontation with the lack of political security, cannot be spoken of, it is left vulnerable to the production of a political narrative, which conceals truth and perpetuates the political myth of security. The ideological formation of neoliberalism, through discourse, reaches to the future in an attempt to reclaim the past.

Duffield and Dillon & Reid explore the notion of security in the political in their analysis of Agamben’s “bare life”. In Development, Security and Unending War, Duffield argues that liberalism is a mechanism perpetuated by the government under the guise of freedom that actually serves to govern society through the “economic processes that together sustain life.”<sup>15</sup> Liberalism has separated human life into the insured and non-insured populations. The non-

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<sup>14</sup> Edkins, 2003.

<sup>15</sup> Duffield, 6.

insured populations are reduced to a state of self-reliance grounded in classical liberalism where each must work to insure themselves. Neoliberalism is a means to achieve self-insurance.

Similar to Duffield, Dillon & Reid<sup>16</sup> critique the liberal “secure” species arguing that the liberal way of war is a mechanism for identifying and securing the liberal species. The “human” liberal species is only secure until the point of decision, in which the “non-human” posing a threat to the survivability of the liberal species is identified. While The Liberal Way of War takes a biological analysis of the mechanisms of power and control that secure the liberal species and the liberal way of life by eliminating anything that poses a threat to its survivability. Neoliberalism as a mechanism of governance eliminates any thing or person that poses a threat to its survivability. Neoliberalism is “governance as government without Government, and complexity as complex adaptive emergence characteristics of how control exists after decentralization through the application of governmental and other self-applicating social and economic protocols.”<sup>17</sup>

Neoliberalism, as a global liberal governance, uses the invisible hand of the market, in order to identify and eliminate any threats to the neoliberal political order. The narrative of self-reliance and free choice, within neoliberalism, is used to engage normalcy in the political economic community. The ideology of neoliberalism is produced through political rhetoric, which constructs political memory and sanctioned narratives of reality. Like memorialization, it re-engages normalcy in the social fantasy of the political. Neoliberalism is both an ideological construction and a normative structure that produces the political subject in a two-fold process. The ideology of neoliberalism formed in the discursive structure by political rhetoric, veils trauma and produces political memory. Through the normalizing structure of neoliberalism, the

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<sup>16</sup> Dillon, Michael and Jonathan Reid. *The liberal way of war: killing to make life live*. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Dillon & Reid, 71.

political subject internalizes the discursive mechanism and becomes the agent of his or her own subjugation.

#### **1.4 Methodology**

Discourse Analysis (DA) is a content-based method, which observes and interprets socio-linguistic mechanisms of knowledge production. The method originates from a Foucauldian Discourse Theory, as elaborated in his book *The Archeology of Knowledge* and essay *The Origin of Discourse*. In my analysis, I will employ a technique of discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as represented by discourse analyst Norman Fairclough. First, because CDA is a derivative of Foucault, I will begin by addressing key concepts and arguments of Foucault's Discourse Theory. Second, I will address CDA as one of the methods of my analysis describing the materials and procedure for analysis, as well as the limitations, assumptions and range of validity of CDA as a technique of DA.

Discourse is an externally and internally regulated linguistic mechanism which shapes knowledge production and subject constitution through sanctioned groupings of statements or utterances. Gillian Rose defined discourse as “ a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it.”<sup>18</sup> Discourse, while initially concerned with the linguistic construction of truth, extends beyond the sentence and produces knowledge and truth in society through a (co)construction of meaning.

Critical Discourse Analysis is chiefly concerned with power, as Foucault was concerned with relationships of power—specifically problematizing the construction of power and domination through the production of truth and meaning by authority. His reconceptualization of

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<sup>18</sup> Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Methodologies*. (London: SAGE, 2002).

power allowed for a greater understanding of language, power and knowledge in relation to the (co)construction of subjectivity within discursive constraints. Rather than a top-down understanding of power possession and dominance, he argued that power existed in relationships and that total domination is impossible as resistance is inherent in all relationships of power. Subjectivity is constructed through discourse and within existing relationships of power.

In terms of ideological formation through political rhetoric, I argue that ideology, rather than strictly an Althusserian “calling into being”, is (re)produced through discourses. I do not, as some do, see ideology and discourse as separate. Rhetorical mechanisms, which call out to the subject in a constitution of the subject’s false consciousness or ideology are not separate, but a part of discursive formation. The “real” or truth that ideological formation presupposes is not extraneous or contradictory to Foucault’s discourse, rather another type of discourse. Discourse produces knowledge through language constructions. Ideology produces a sanctioned knowledge through socio-linguistic constructions or as Žižek states a “social fantasy”. Ideology presupposes a real, which through discursive formation constructs the symbolic. For this analysis, I maintain that ideology is a type of discourse that produces knowledge/truth.

Discourse, groupings of statements, can be broken down into several discursive structures- the first of which are discourses or “regulated discourses.”<sup>19</sup> Discourses are internally and externally regulated through discursive mechanisms, which are themselves shaped through discourse. Discourse Analysis is chiefly concerned with uncovering the mechanisms of discourse. Mechanisms exist within the statement and without, such as in society. Statements form a discursive framework, which structures discourse’s meaning. Foucault argues that what we perceive as real and give meaning and significance to is determined by discursive structures

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<sup>19</sup> Mills, Sara. *Discourse*. (London; New York: Routledge, 2004) 44.

and bound by discursive constraints. Foucault states that discourse is characterized by a “delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories.”<sup>20</sup> Through statements, discourse constructs meaning from events or texts by constructing a sanctioned narrative, which produces truth. The sanctioned narrative limits alternative understanding through the creation of linguistic constraints.

The total set of a society’s discourses, which produce a culture’s “way of knowing” is an episteme. It is the total sum of all discursive structures that are authorized by a particular society or culture. Episteme’s consist of discourses and discursive frameworks. Each of these is constructed from a grouping of statements, which together produce meaning. Statements are utterances that contain institutional force and govern how a society acts and thinks. A system of support, mechanisms and rules, regulate the statements as to produced sanctioned meaning. Mills defines discourse as “a whole which is the set of rules and procedures for the production of particular discourses, and discourses or groups of statements themselves.”<sup>21</sup> Discursive mechanisms arrange statements into discourses and discursive formations to constrain meaning and knowledge.

The archive, a discursive structure, is the set of discursive mechanisms which limits and forms expressibility, conservation, memory and reactivation.<sup>22</sup> The process of exclusion is an important discursive mechanism. It limits “what can be said and what can be counted as knowledge.”<sup>23</sup> The procedures include: taboo, the insane and the ‘will to truth’.<sup>24</sup> Taboo or prohibition limits what can be known or expressed. The insane determines who or what is

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<sup>20</sup> Foucault, Michel. *The archaeology of knowledge & discourse on language*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972) 199.

<sup>21</sup> Mills, Sara. *Discourse*. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> Foucault, 14.

<sup>23</sup> Mills, 57.

<sup>24</sup> Mills, 58.

irrational and therefore to be silenced in society. Lastly, the ‘will to truth’ defines what knowledge is truth and false limiting alternative explanations of history or occurrences. The ‘will to truth’ institutionalizes a certain truth or way of seeing.

Discursive mechanisms regulate and produce a certain type of meaning in society, whose normalizing effect, creates and (re)produces truth and reality. The particular perspective produced through discursive formation creates discursive constraints, which (re)produce and regulate subjectivity.

#### **1.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis, as technique, addresses issues of power and dominance through a socio-linguistic lens. CDA specifically seeks to understand “social inequality and injustice.”<sup>25</sup> The systematic analysis of language in text elucidates the relationship between discourse and ideology, particularly how people are oppressed within social structures. In my analysis, I will employ a Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough and defined by Teun Van Dijk.

Language is a social practice whose dialectic relationship is socially shaped and constitutive.<sup>26</sup> It has two sides- socially shaping and socially constituted.<sup>27</sup> Language constitutes society reproductively and transformative.<sup>28</sup> CDA is to “systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, texts and wider cultural and social structures.”<sup>29</sup> Operationalizing CDA, Fairclough outlines the three

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<sup>25</sup> Van Dijk, Teun. “Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis.” In *Discourse Theory and Practice*, 300-317. (London: Sage Publications, 2008) 280.

<sup>26</sup> Fairclough, Norman. “Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: the universities.” *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 2.

<sup>27</sup> Fairclough, 2

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 2

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

dimensions of each discursive event- an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text, a spoken or written text and a piece of social practice.<sup>30</sup> The text and social practices are mediated by discourse and the discourse shapes interpersonal functions of identity and relationships.

The discourse practice is the setting, genre, medium and audience of the discursive event. Event establishes the text in a social context, for what purpose and for which audience.

Second, the text is analyzed for themes, narratives and syntactical implications. Discourses are constructed from discursive elements and chains of connotation. Concepts and signs are important for their multi-accentual reference, as they attempt to define truth and produce meaning. Mills argues that CDA “make[s] explicit those implicit norms and rules for the production of language, and is particularly interested in the way that discourse consists of sets of structured hierarchical units.”<sup>31</sup>

Finally, rhetorical strategies, argument and social implications and role of the audience are examined as the social practice. The institutional power of language as a social signifier, which produces social relations and reality is explored. How power/knowledge relations are naturalized in relations of power and the ideological effects of normalization in society, within the constraints of discourse. Particularly, an analysis of the social practice involves the role of the audience in the discursive structure and how is authorized or invalidated within the discursive formation.<sup>32</sup>

Fairclough argues CDA offers two major insights: the constitutive nature of discourse and the primacy inter-discursivity and intertextuality. The constitutive nature of discourse is explored through the three elements of the discursive event, whereas interdiscursivity and

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 136

<sup>31</sup> Mill, 124.

<sup>32</sup> Mills, 133.

intertextuality can be explored through the discursive structures in and throughout several discourses that construct and produce a particular discursive framework. It is the relations between and within discourse structures.<sup>33</sup> For my analysis, I only employ inter-discursivity when conducting a comparative discourse analysis among the rhetoric of the Pinochet Regime and the Piñera Administration. Intertextuality is a cross-medium analysis, which explores the salience of produced discourses in society, and is beyond the scope of my analysis. A intertextual analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, however it is an area for further research into a deeper analysis of the salience of public discourse. Particularly in the texts produced by the Piñera administration, the interdiscursivity of discourses, discursive structures and discursive mechanisms support the argument of continued discursive formation. The salience of continued discourse represents the limiting power or constraining hegemonies of the political authority.

Finally, Van Dijk argues that CDA is a sociopolitical discourse analysis which is interested in the “role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance.”<sup>34</sup> The reproduction of dominance is exercised through modes of discourse. Subjectivity is naturalized through discourse. Power is central to CDA. Van Dijk argues that power is “control of one group over other groups”<sup>35</sup> in order to limit their freedom and influence their minds, s discourse is socially constituting and transforming. CDA examines the discursive strategies that legitimize control and naturalize social order. CDA is specifically interested in power abuse by the dominant group through discursive strategies to manipulate consent, as “power and dominance are organized and institutionalized through a hierarchy of power.”<sup>36</sup> Discourse is a function of power, as it enacts relationships of power and produces subjectivities. Power and dominance is

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>34</sup> Van Dijk, 249.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 257.

exercised through the manipulation of discursive formations, which legitimate power. CDA explores the structural analysis of power, as it is manifested in hierarchies of control and dominance.

### **1.4.2 Sampling**

Comparing the construction of political ideology through political rhetoric, I chose to isolate the themes of women, education, human rights, inaugural agendas and commemoration addresses. The themes and subject construction in each address parallels that of its presidential counterpart, allowing for a deeper analysis of the discursive structures, mechanisms and narratives that produce a preserved political ideology reconnected in the rhetoric of President Piñera. The first set of speeches are inaugural addresses- one upon taking office, the other upon initiating a new policy: “Inervención por Cadena Nacional de Radio y Televisión el 18 de Marzo 1977,” and “Discursos de S.E. El Presidente de la República.” The second set is a series of commemoration addresses upon the six-month anniversary: “A Seis Meses de la Liberación Nacional,” and “Conmemoración a Seis Meses del Terremoto.” The third set addresses the youth: “La juventud y el nacionalismo” and “Cadena nacional La gran Reforma Educacional.” The fourth set, women in Chile: “Mensaje a la mujer chilena,” and “Plan ‘Mujer Levántate.’” The fifth and final set, human rights: “El Presidente Pinochet responde a Naciones Unidas,” and “Declaraciones sobre Derechos Humanos.” Figure 2 illustrates the interdiscursive analysis of the texts by Pinochet and Piñera, highlighting selected themes.

Figure 2.



### 1.5 Literature Review

Exploring the intersections of trauma, memory and ideology, I reviewed the works of Macarena Gomez-Barris, Kristen Sorensen, Marcus Taylor and Naomi Klein. No one work or thread of works fully encompasses my particular research, therefore each piece was chosen for its contribution to the discussion of neoliberalism and memory in Chile. Where Memory Dwells<sup>37</sup> speaks to the notion of memory and sites of memorialization in Chile. This piece is important in demonstrating the way in which human rights violations are memorialized, or not, in Chile laying the foundation for a discussion of memory and representation of Pinochet in Chile's current economic policies.

<sup>37</sup> Gómez-Barris, Macarena. *Where memory dwells : culture and state violence in Chile*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

In Where Memory Dwells, Macarena Gomez- Barris elaborates on the gruesome mechanisms and methods of torture performed by the DINA on the prisoners and their effects in collective state memory. She states in the chapter, “Searching for Villa Grimaldi” that “torture was employed as a means to erase the memory of the mass social movements.”<sup>38</sup> Torture, as specific technique of the political, silences deviant subjects by stripping them of their agency. Survivor testimony is caught in the border between silence and voice; as survivors struggle to put into words their traumatic experience, the act of speaking out can reinforce traumatic experiences and solidify political subjection.<sup>39</sup> Unsure of how to confront the memory of torture and trauma, survivors seek out alternative ways to express their experience. Gomez-Barris analyzes the ways in which the memory of torture is present in Chilean public memorials, art and culture.

The mechanisms of power employed by Pinochet and the DINA have altered the Chilean collective memory by repressing dissent and the expression of collective mourning. This expression, Gomez-Barris notes, is manifested in public memorials and artistic interpretations of collectivity. Gomez-Barris argues that memorials as sites of public memory allow for the expression of trauma and violence by the grieving community. What is lacking from Gomez-Barris’s analysis is any mention of political intentionality in the creation of these public sites of memory. Memorials are “locations of dislocation” and bring the grieving collective as close to the sight of the trauma as possible, but can never fully convey the totality of the trauma or lack of security in the political construct. Gomez- Barris offers memorials as an answer to trauma; however, memorials are in themselves a form of narrativization attempting to re-engage the normal. It is an insufficient description of the raw political memory in opposition to the co-opting of narration.

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<sup>38</sup> Gomez-Barris, 48.

<sup>39</sup> Edkins, 2003

Moving from the material memorialization of torture in Chile, Media, Memory and Human Rights in Chile<sup>40</sup> speaks to the silence or muffled representation of human rights in Chilean media. This piece was chosen for its relevance to the discussion of political rhetoric. Human rights is a uniquely treaded topic in Chilean media. This analysis demonstrates the delicate balance needed in public rhetoric in Chile. Media, Memory and Human Rights in Chile is a discourse analysis of collective memory, focusing on the prevalence of human rights discourses in Chilean media- TV, radio, print, film, and non-linguistic protests. This book observes the way human rights discourses have functioned in the various media, and how these dialogues connect and speak with audiences. Kristin Sorensen is an assistant professor at Bentley University concentrating on human rights in global media. While not a Chilean, she states that the topic is of great interest to her due to her many friendships and relationships with Chilean citizens. Additionally, as an outsider, she argues that she is able to view these discourses with a fresh perspective. Sorensen in this analysis looks specifically at human rights discourses in Chilean forms of media, grounded in an understanding of memory politics. While some of the texts she analyzed were forms of news reporting, several functioned as preservation media- film and documentary.

Sorensen states that “memory and forgetting are inexorably linked to one’s particular life experiences” in any historic context, “as you remember what makes us comfortable and forget what doesn’t.”<sup>41</sup> Human rights discourses in Chile must balance this difficult tension of engaging the collective in the discourse while not pushing them towards repression.

Sorensen provides a thorough analysis of how concerns raised and the language used by media produces and media consumers lead to discourses and discursive formations of human

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<sup>40</sup> Sorensen, Kristin. *Media, memory, and human rights in Chile*. 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Sorensen, 102.

rights. Additionally, she highlights areas in which resistance to the limitations of neoliberalism and self-censorship can take place. Her work on Chilean media provides a practical application and analysis of memory politics in a post-state violence society.

Additionally, The Shock Doctrine<sup>42</sup> speaks to this notion of trauma or shock, represented in the theories of Agamben and Edkins. The trauma, torture and terror conducted by the Pinochet administration goes well beyond its societal ramifications into its political and economic implications. This is an important element to my analysis. The Shock Doctrine by Naomi Klein compares the shock therapy research conducted by the CIA in the 1950s and what is today used as a means of torture and information gathering to the shock doctrine of Milton Friedman and the “Chicago Boys” that is used to initiate neoliberal transitions. She begins by exploring the work of prominent McGill University researcher Dr. Ewan Cameron and his research funded by the CIA in which he theorized electroshock therapy could erase the memory of a social deviant and through a series of coercive practice could rebuild the broken individual. The electroshock therapy was used to begin a “cerebral clean slate.” Klein argues that it is this same practice that Milton Friedman championed in the initiation of neoliberal policies. The political community needed to suffer a shock, either serendipitous or constructed, and then from the clean slate immediately rebuild economic personalities. It is the combination of the shock and shift that erases the political memory and stuns the society until the appropriate neoliberal policy changes can be made.

Klein argues that just as Dr. Cameron administered a series of electroshocks to his patients in order to clear their memory, the shock of the military takeover by Pinochet combined with the swift economic transitions cleared the Chilean political memory. While lacking in theoretical framework, Klein’s concept of “shock” is particularly pertinent to my analysis.

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<sup>42</sup> Klein, 2007

Finally, From Pinochet to a Third Way: Social Transformation in Chile addresses the economic implications of Pinochet's neoliberal transition.<sup>43</sup> Focusing on the societal transformation that led to the "Third Way" in Chile, Taylor addresses the ways in which economic models, specifically neoliberalism, shape and produce a societal construction. This piece speaks to my notion of the discursive mechanisms of neoliberalism and how the ideology and mechanism of neoliberalism effectively produced an economic citizen in Chile. Chile was the first country to initiate a thorough program of neoliberal restructuring. Taylor argues that three distinct periods of neoliberalism emerged in Chile to compensate for the expansion of state institutions and social programs during the Allende era. In 1973, after the coup, Pinochet restructured the social institutions of Chile in order to strengthen the regulatory forces of the market.

Taylor argues that a period of 'Creative Destruction' used coercive economic policies to produce a recession, largely due to the traumatic initiation of neoliberal policies. The recession destroyed social and material relations re-introducing them as economic relations. Only the institutions integrated into the neoliberal structure remained. By pursuing a capitalist accumulation form of national development, the market was to provide human freedom and social harmony. The high levels of economic growth in the late 70s were due to an export boom, however the period of success legitimized the ideological shifts of the IMF and World Bank by 1982. The debt crisis of 1982 caused Chile to enter into a period of state interventions, but by that time, Chile had already been heralded as "The Chilean Miracle." The true miracle was the social restructuring that resulted from the economic transition. Returning to democracy in 1988, Chile argued that sustained growth could be maintained in a liberal democratic framework. The

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<sup>43</sup> Taylor, 2006.

neoliberal policies of the liberal democracy were known as the “Third Way”, which is a mixture of neoliberal policies and social justice initiatives.

The post-1990s reformed neoliberalism known as the “Third Way” gave increased social spending on social programs in a neoliberal manner relying heavily on the success of the export industry and the suppression of wages. Taylor argues that neoliberalism was “a state-led project of social engineering that [sought] to reformulate the institutional forms of state-society relations.”<sup>44</sup> Pinochet’s neoliberalism was used as a social transformation by depoliticizing society and transforming the way power is manifested in society by strengthening the disciplinary power of the market through commodified social relations. The ‘Third Way’ post-Pinochet combines economic efficiency with social justice in an attempt to mediate the contradictions of neoliberalism without undermining the new institutionalism of neoliberalism.

Taylor’s analysis speaks to the productive power of neoliberalism as a discursive mechanism. His historical economic analysis explores the particular mechanisms within neoliberalism that served to depoliticize the Chilean society. While the analysis does not include the administration of President Piñera, I believe his analysis would provide a similar conclusion of President Piñera. It is less about the political ideology, but more importantly the social transformation of neoliberalism that constrains societal behavior. Rather than weakly attempting to mitigate the negative effects of neoliberalism through a “Growth with Equity” program, Piñera unabashedly pursues a neoliberal economic policy of expansion and growth reminiscent of Pinochet’s adaptation of Friedman’s theories. Taylor would argue acceptance of Piñera’s policies is a reflection of the social engineering of neoliberalism.

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<sup>44</sup> Taylor, 7

## 1.6 Definition of Terms

- Discourse- a set of practices, structures and mechanisms that construct subjectivities through the production of knowledge and meaning in a political community.
- Sovereignty- the ability to determine the life that is not worth living. Bound within relationships of power, the sovereign is to secure the life of the political, thus decided what is life should be considered a threat to the survivability of the political and thus eliminated.
- Political- series of processes and productions that together constitute, in collective live, that which is life.
- Political subject- socially constituted decision of the life that is worth living, i.e. human, as exercised by the sovereign authority.
- Neoliberalism- an economic system based on the rational, autonomous individual who in an environment of maximized liberty, under policies of trade liberalization and privatization, co-produces the ideology, which secures the survivability of the economic subject.
- Political Memory- narrative co-produced by political authority to re-narrativize the destruction of the political myth of security that had been exposed in the trauma.

## 1.7 Scope and Limitations

As the analysis cannot be a complete unabridged archeology of Chilean discourse, this research will select and exclude primary textual documents. Although I am an outsider to the Chilean community and may not have complete access to the range of discourses present in the political community, my role as an outsider allows for an independent analysis of prominent political discourses. As the instrument of analysis, I am limited in my holistic understanding of the language, culture, and history of Chile. Hopefully, my summer in Chile is just the beginning of my field research in South America. With every visit, the nuances of the Chilean dialect and culture will become more apparent. Until then, my limitations should be noted. Additionally, a significant limitation to the study is the narrow analysis of political rhetoric. Due to the scope of this analysis, it is not feasible to survey the complete intertextuality of discourses in Chile; however, I believe an analysis of political rhetoric has great value to the study of discursive formations in the society. Given the resources, this study could easily be expanded to survey the intertextuality of discourses within Chilean art, film and memorials; this would, however, require additional selection criteria and a different method of visual discourse analysis. As an area for

further research, my thesis could serve as the foundation for a larger analysis of the political rhetoric and discourses of neoliberalism, extending beyond South American to include the United States and Great Britain.

## **Chapter 2: Pinochet Discourse Analysis**

The five selections occur within the first few years of the Junta from 1974 to 1975, during which Pinochet took over supreme leadership. The main feature of the speeches is the construction of the enemy- both external and internal. Each of the speeches further refines the necessary characteristics of the protected Chilean community. By doing so, the enemy is constructed. Protection is primarily the responsibility of the military, through force. However as the neoliberal policies are being establish, protection begins to be transferred from government to economic individual.

### **2.1 Intervención por cadena nacional de radio y television el 18 de marzo de 1977. (taken from Nueva Institucionalidad en Chile: Discursos de S.E. el Presidente de la República General de Ejército D. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, 1977.)**

#### **2.1.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Intervención por cadena nacional de radio y television el 18 de marzo de 1977.

Speech Event: Radio and television interruption to address economic concerns in Chile.

Genre: Presidential Address

Medium: Radio and Television

Audience: Chilean Public

Summary:

The President addressed the Chilean public, specifically public opinion, regarding the dissemination of vicious lies about the Chilean economy. The falsity of the statements can be seen in the present state of the economy. As promised a year ago, the economy is doing very well. The administration has addressed the national debt, reduced inflation, reduced unemployment and increased industrial production. In time, these improvements will improve the wellbeing of every Chilean.

Given the overall improvement of the economy, it is absurd that some continue to focus on the small, localized crisis in the national financial markets. The government has addressed this issue, and it has had no effect on the current economic conditions in Chile.

A secure and confident political economy is necessary to restore Chile to the economic and social status it desires and deserves. However, the restoration of Chile continues and will continue to be a difficult task. Due to the historic legalistic character of Chile, the administration has always been committed to creating a new institutionalism in Chile. New institutionalism is imperative for creating a new democracy in Chile.

The administration was founded on humanitarian, patriotic and Christian ideals. All government policies and actions emanate for this commitment. Several government agencies have been created to address legal and human right concerns in the country that originated during a state of emergency. The suspension of protection was necessary to enact new law during the creation of the current administration. The administration has completely returned to a state of law, following the necessary state of emergency, however with built-in flexibility in order to create a new institutionalism in the restored Chile. The new law provides an expanded power of government in a state of emergency in order to provide for the future security of the people. The new policies have been made available to the public to personally review.

In order to advance new institutionalism in Chile, the old political parties can no longer exist. Only those parties that have the same beliefs and morals that are beneficial to Chile. The current democratic process is in crisis due to power seeking groups that do not have Chile's best interest in mind. It is therefore, necessary to dissolve current political parties. The dissolution is not a dissolution of the civil society. To progress and continue to restore Chile, Chile needs the political parties of the past, not the Marxist-Leninist ideology that had infiltrated Chile. This

ideology does not reflect current opinion of Chile, rather that of external interests, financed externally. The new institutionalism of the administration will help unite the country.

The government has published documents from one of the parties that had claimed to represent the interests of Chile, and as the documents prove, this was not the case. Unfortunately these groups do not recognize the danger of the pre 9/11 ideology, and that is why it is important to eliminate political parties that will repeat these grave political mistakes.

Observing the extraordinary progress made during the past three years, it is evident that the administration has served the Chilean public well. While the administration has exercised political authority to turn around the country, it never sacrificed the good of the public. It is the mission of the administration to provide Chile with a stable, democratic and just country.

### **2.1.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

Major themes present in the New Institutionalism speech include economic recovery, urgency and the sacred mission of the Chilean people. Milton Freidman argued that a new administration has six to nine months to change the political and economic trajectory, while the societal shock still has power. In his address, Pinochet stresses the urgency state that it is important that the Chilean people respond quickly to the Marxist threat against social peace, which is still present even after the liberation. The way in which citizens may respond is through achieving economic recovery. The economic recovery is a historic mission, divinely present to Chile, which instills new values and brings about an improved well-being. Additionally, in charting the future of the new administration, Pinochet establishes the ill-characteristics of the Allende administration.

Narratives:

The narrative of New Democracy is based on Judeo-Christian values and is to bring unity and prosperity to Chile. The Socialist agenda of Allende and the international Communists was based on an anti-Western agenda that prohibited freedom and democracy. To be in opposition of the new administration is to be anti-democratic, and therefore either an external communist or an internal enemy. The construction of Pinochet's New Democracy is critical, as democracy had been destroyed in the military coup, not preserved. A 1975 US Senate hearing concluded that Allende was, in fact, not a threat to democracy and freedom, as the United States had once believed. Constructing the Allende administration as the anti-democratic administration is critical in the beginning years of the Pinochet administration. While his rationale for intervention continued to be the preservation of democracy, Pinochet would prohibit democracy from being practiced in Chile until his removal in 1988. Regardless, Pinochet maintained that the creation of a New Democracy in Chile will (re)introduce traditional values in Chile that will serve to improve the daily well-being of all Chileans.

The new administration argued that they were founded on humanitarian, patriotic and Christian values—in contrast Allende's administration is to be remembered as anti-humanitarian, patriotic and Christian. Stressing the need for unity and not division in Chile (which was in fact more of an economic virtue than social), Pinochet argued that political parties are greedy externalist that do not value Chile, like the current government, but rather carry out the initiatives of international communism. That is why they must be banned and all political decisions should come from the government, who continues to have the best interest of Chile always in mind. Through New Institutionalism, Chile will continually work towards economic and social progress, which was denied during the Marxist tyranny. A New Institutionalism in Chile will

only permit values that are good for Chile and make Chile a better nation. In his address, Pinochet is quite vague about “New Institutionalism”, specifically what it is and how it will bring about a better Chile. The ambiguity is the strength of the narrative.

To be discovered in the later policies of Pinochet, New Institutionalism is in reference to the recession that followed the implementation of the initial neoliberal policies. Those institutions, structures or individuals that were not integrated into the larger neoliberal framework were eliminated in the recession. At the same time, public programs were bifurcated into a public/private system demonized social reliance on the government. The New Institutionalism references a larger social transformation that was caused by the neoliberal adjustment in Chile.

Concepts:

The most important concept in this speech is “New Institutionalism”, which is the second stage of neoliberalism in Chile in which Pinochet establishes institutions and mechanisms ,which support and strengthen neoliberalism in Chile. The new institutionalism instituted by the administration espouses Christian ideals, while protecting the country and society from the external threats. It is important that the new institutionalism is constructed around a common, Western ideal of freedom and liberty—the freedom to pursue investments, contracts and business enterprises in a just and orderly society. Again, new institutionalism is not discussed in great detail, but it will consist of “el order politico-institucional”, which is a bureaucratic apparatus that ensure equal and fair treatment of all citizens for the smooth operation of all market functions.

Pinochet also addresses “un estado de emergencia” in Chile. The state of emergency was necessary due to “la demagogia y la infiltración del marxismo” attempting to infiltrate Chile and destroy democracy. The government suspended the juridical rights of citizens in order to protect the greater good. This speaks to Agamben’s concept of “bare life” in which the juridical norm is suspended and a state of emergency is established in which the decision of the sovereign is the only protection the subject has from death. The construction of the “new” Chilean citizen is important in relation to Agamben’s concept of the “bare life”. What it means to be a youth, woman and economic citizen in Chile is the only protection an individual has from the violation of “bare life” at the hands of the sovereign authority, Pinochet. Ascribing to those characteristics preserves life. The campaign of terror conducted by the Junta, outside of the rhetoric, underscores the exigency of conformity within the “new” Chilean society. Democracy and law were suspended in Chile to preserve the order and greater good of society. The rationale used by Pinochet and the Junta was “la infiltración” of the Marxist ideology. The only way to remove the threat of thought was to eliminate the root cause—Pinochet’s opposition. In addition to the violent elimination of the opposition, the ideological elimination occurs through the constitution and ascription of the protected Chilean community.

### **2.1.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

First, Pinochet maintains that regardless of what the critics say, the current state of the economy is encouraging. The critics are the external international community, otherwise Pinochet would not have addressed their objection rather eliminating them all together. Conceding that aside from a small economic mishap, the government has accelerated the

economic recovery process. As outlined in *From Pinochet to a Third Way*, after the initial application of the neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatization and reduction of social spending, the economy of Chile contracted and unemployment skyrocketed. This is the moment to which Pinochet is referring. In 1975, Milton Friedman flew down to Chile to consult with Pinochet and directed the President to deep neoliberal policies. A recession followed, however the “Creative Destruction” centralized power among a few wealthy entrepreneurs and removed any power the opposition may have had. However, the economic mishap Pinochet is referring to in his address is the initial contraction of the economy following the application of the neoliberal policies.

Directing attention away from the economic struggles, Pinochet states that given the state of the nation, it is necessary to direct attention to a particular social reality: the community survived a tragedy that it does not want to repeat—Communism. While the regime does not want to lead forever, Pinochet says that the administration has realized it has a greater mission to provide the Chilean people with a country of freedom, justice and stable progress.

Argument:

Defending the state of the economy, Pinochet argues that the recent economic actions of the government will eventually translate to a better well-being for each Chilean. The way in which a greater overall well-being will be achieved, however is through the provision and optimization of economic self-reliance through the right and ability to work. There is a complete shifting in terms of the provisions and duties of the government. However, in the meantime, the government is working hard to maintain social peace, while introducing a new and solid institutionalism.

The major crisis democracy occurred due to the inadequate constitutional systems of the Socialist Party. Dissagreement is dangerous to the economic success of the new political administration, therefore unity will be enforced through the suspension of political parties, which only serve to divide the Chilean community. Pinochet argues that the current political parties represent the demagogue and Marxist infiltration, which is financed by external Soviet interest. Political parties have become machines for seizing power. He continues to argue that political parties should represent the norms and values of the citizenry- which they currently do not- and therefore will be suspended. The only political party any citizen needs is that of the Chilean nation, under the divine authority of the President. As established earlier, the campaign of terror which exposes the Chilean citizen to a violation of “bare life” has demonstrated that resistance equals death. As unity is the only means to preserve democracy, unity is also the only way to preserve life. To be within the protected community is life.

#### Social Implications:

Pinochet asks that the Chileans ignore the critics, who want to divide and destroy the country. A small economic problem has been unnecessarily exacerbated. Additionally, a suspension of law was necessary to create and sustain institutional progress. As many in Chile have found out through the terrible terror campaign of the Junta, any dissenter risks kidnapping, torture and murder—all outside the protections of the law. Pinochet maintains that shortly the adaption of new law will occur, however in the meantime it is important the country remain flexible to the changing reality of the country. Pinochet argues that the state of emergency is necessary to preserve institutional order, however Klein’s theories of disaster capitalism would

argue that the state of emergency was necessary in order to create and capitalize on a societal shock that would ensure the acceptance of unpopular economic policies.

Role of the Audience:

Pinochet argued that the nation must continue to recognize the judicial power of the government; to continue with peace, Chile must continue with her stands of morality and justice provided by the juridical norms that guide the country. Chile should also reflect on their greatest opportunity to prosperity and maintain a coherent political economy, which is the only path to progress and social prosperity.

## **2.2 “A Seis Meses de La Liberación Nacional”**

### **2.2.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Address delivered on March 11<sup>th</sup> 1974, on occasion of the sixth month anniversary of the new government.

Speech Event: Presidential Address to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the new government

Genre: Anniversary Address

Medium: Radio and Television

Audience: Chilean Public

Summary:

The President addressed the Chilean public to commemorate their freedom from the Soviet oppression that was defeated six months ago. It is now the responsibility of the new administration to fix the economic devastation caused by the Soviets. The military has exercised its responsibility, now it is time for every Chilean to serve their country and restore it to its honor. The creation of a new Chile will combine economic development and social justice. The adoption of a New Constitution will mandate a free and equal society, where all citizens are responsible for national failures. It was the order and discipline executed by the military that allowed for the liberation of Chile from the Soviet oppression.

Because of the Soviets' economic devastation, immediate action must be taken and each Chilean is obligated to participate in the national recovery. Significant progress has been made in the six months since the new administration took office, and progress will continue to be made in Chile. The new administration has brought a return to capitalism and good economic and financial policies based on a free market economy.

It is the duty of the government to eradicate poverty by providing full employment (through the right to work), free education and sufficient living conditions based on individual productivity. It is the responsibility of each individual to provide and work towards their own prosperity, as well as that of Chile. The administration housed thousands after the military takeover and eliminated hundreds of shantytowns surrounding Santiago. Since the takeover, the new administration has made efforts to eliminate hunger by creating a "soya" plant in Viña. Healthcare has been returned to a privatized service and will continue to improve under the current conditions. Discipline and efficiency have been integrated into education to combat the Soviet ideological propaganda that proliferated prior to the new administration. Education will re-introduce sovereignty and self-determination, which are central tenants of the new administration.

Economic growth and business is the key to economic recovery. Under Soviet influence, the country was economically paralyzed and morally divided causing an internal civil war with the enemy being misinformation.

Human rights and justice is alive in Chile. Hard work and productivity is required to regain a successful Chile. United in this endeavor, each Chilean will be rewarded for their hard work and productivity dedicated to Chile.

### 2.2.2 Textual Analysis

Themes:

As the first address to the Chilean public after the invasion of the military, this address is important to Pinochet in order to produce a political narrative for the invasion. The commemoration is a mandate for remembrance. To commemorate the sixth month anniversary of the liberation, Pinochet underscores the goals and mission of the new administration, which include among others eradicating poverty. With faith, Chile will overcome the abuses of the Soviet tyranny and ultimately enter into a prosperous future. The theme of Chile's "Grand History" reverberates throughout the pieces, as the future of Chile is a rebirth of the country's prosperous destiny. Also, personal merit and excellence as a theme of triumph position the speech from one of recover to that of triumph. What ought to be in the future of Chile simultaneously defines what was not in Chile during Allende.

Narratives:

Commemoration is a political narrative shaping the story of remembrance. In this speech, Pinochet takes the event of Commemoration to construct the narrative of the "liberation". The term, "liberation," is also important, as the military coup is not constructed as a violent takeover, rather a liberation of an illegitimate government. This is ignoring the fact that Allende was a democratically elected President, as Pinochet was not, and Allende was ousted from office in an incredibly violent military takeover. The (re)narrativization of commemoration clearly constructs a desired memory.

While Taylor, Klein and others argue that the military takeover was encouraged and organized in order to introduce free market principles to Chile, Pinochet explains that the

economic crisis caused by the Marxists necessitated the new economic policies. In fact, severe action is necessary to normalize the state of the nation. Here, where Pinochet cites a normalization, he is referring to the normal state believed to exist in a complete free market society, before state intervention, regulation and interference.

Chile broke the chains of the Marxist tyranny, which created chaos, hatred and death in Chile. Pinochet maintains that the problems confronting the new administration are remnants of the Marxist tyranny. He emphasizes that this point must not be forgotten.

There are a few in Chile that fail to recognize the tyranny of the international Communists, and those individuals are considered to be enemies of the state. In fact, those not willing to sacrifice for recovery are not true patriots,

Moving from the past to the future, Pinochet charts the course for Chile's future and the active participation of each Chilean. Hard sacrifices by Chileans must be made in order to restore the country to its previous glory. Each Chilean is obligated to contribute towards National Reconstruction. Reconstruction will take much time and hard work, but order and discipline must be established to promote economic development. The term, "Reconstruction", is important to fully understand the task Pinochet is outlining. The new administration wants to construct an ideal Chilean economy complete with hard-working citizens.

Finally, work is constructed as a right that will provide economic and social security to each individual. All men and women should have the opportunity to work, as a lack of resources is an affront to human dignity. Personal merit and excellence will be rewarded and each social program recipient will be responsible for their own contribution. Following this thread of logic, with hard work, Chile will endure through adversity for the welfare and happiness of all. The unity and consensus of all Chile is necessary for economic development and internal division is

not acceptable. Chilean nationalism is more than an ideology, rather it is a style of conduct and the genuine expression of the nation's soul. The current generation has been given the "greatest mission" of restoring the country, and Chile will be a great nation again thanks to this generation. The nation will rise from its ruins and become a great nation again.

Concepts:

Important concepts are the National Reconstruction, a New Chile and the transcendental mission. The National Reconstruction, "la reconstrucción nacional", is the reconstruction of Chile, both economically and socially, following the economic and social chaos inherited from the Marxist tyranny. The reconstruction will re-introduce a "New Chile" that is not a reflection of the Marxist New Man, but rather a new era in Chile history that is a rebirth of the grand history of Chile. Finally, Pinochet argues that the mission of the government is transcendental, and the "Transcendental Mission" is a reflection of the Western, classical liberal tradition.

### **2.2.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategies:

The National Reconstruction is compared to a post-war recovery and the themes of war and rebuilding are conveyed through Pinochet's rhetorical strategies. He plays to the idea of a "state in conflict". The entire nation is to be united and active in the war effort against the Soviet ideology. The Soviet ideology is not only an external enemy, but also the domestic opposition, which still ascribes to the Soviet ideology. The internal enemy is defined in opposition to the constitution of the "new" Chilean subject. The new administration's goals transcend policy; it is a manifestation of the needs and desires of the Chilean community. In other words, there is no

alternative to participation. The protected and secure community is defined, and those not participating in national reconstruction will be eliminated. The working men and women are the true heroes of the reconstruction and the only ones who can truly lift Chile from its current economic situation. Soliciting divine support, Pinochet states that Chile must endure through the adversity and pray to God for support and guidance during the sacred task of reconstruction. Work is a manifestation of a faith in God.

Argument:

Pinochet argues that economic development, through national reconstruction, will defeat the International Communists that attempted to destroy Chile. The Marxist tyranny sowed hatred and death in Chile. No one in Chile can forget the economic paralyzing and morally divided state the Junta liberated. To completely defeat the Soviet ideology, the reconstruction requires the accelerated development of Chile, as a producer of national power and the general welfare of the Chilean community. Economic activity becomes a war effort. Like Taylor argues, neoliberalism is a process of social transformation, therefore the social problems of Chile can only be fixed through discipline, hard work and productivity. Additionally, Pinochet argues that economic development will provide improved general welfare through the opportunity to work and achieve human value. The key to his argument is that an improved general welfare is achieved through individual economic attainment.

Subsequently, Pinochet argues that order and discipline will bring greater productivity. In his rhetoric, he links greater productivity to improved welfare, however greater productivity will aid in economic development and the neoliberal transition. While the Communists preach sacrifice, the sacrifices of the community should be reaped by the current generation and not by one particular group, as the Communist would have. Economic development will bring welfare

and happiness to everyone—this is the manner in which the government intends to improve the daily life of Chileans. The battle against the Soviet ideology is an economic battle, where each Chilean needs to fight to make Chile into a great nation, economically and socially.

#### Social Implications:

Restricting any alternatives, the new country will now be devoted to work and reconstruction. While the government is not responsible for the economic mess of Marxism, it will provide the hard work and support needed for recovery. A man's welfare will be supplemented by economic development in order to become a contributor to the common good. All Chileans are responsible for Chile's future, and therefore will be responsible economic beings. The state will not tolerate incompetency and inefficiency. Mutual respect, will to work and faith in the future must exist again in Chile. Chileans must lift Chile from its ruins and renew the great nation.

#### Role of the Audience:

Chileans need a new understanding of life in a national community. It is not equal poverty, as the Soviets believed, rather each citizen is to be an active participant of their own development—socially and economically. Sacrifices must be endured for the cause of National Reconstruction. From now on, the national mentality will be a devotion to hard work and economic transformation. Through economic development, Chile will transform into a great nation.

## **2.3 La Juventud y El Nacionalismo (taken from El General Pinochet se reúne con la juventud: textos de los discursos pronunciados en el primer aniversario de la Secretaría Nacional de la Juventud)**

### **2.3.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: La Juventud y El Nacionalismo

Speech Event: Presidential address to celebrate the one year anniversary of the creation of the Secretary of the Youth.

Genre: Commemoration Speech

Medium: In-Person

Audience: The youth

Summary:

In the spirit of the publication of the paper *Hacer de Chile una Gran Nación*, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, 1973, General Pinochet created the Secretary of the Youth. This position was created in response to the anxieties and desires of the youth, who had contributed to saving Chile from the threat of Communism. Because of their large role in the salvation of Chile, General Pinochet believes the youth now need to assume a large role in the restoration of Chile.

The Soviets have divided Chile. The duty of the new administration is to unite Chile and restore its honor. It was for honor that the administration defeated the Communist threat within Chile. It was also for the youth, the future of Chile. As the administration acted out of a profound love for Chile, it is their wish that the youth also act from their love of Chile. Chile is a country of patriots, and it is that patriotic spirit that must be tapped during the restoration of Chile. While the Soviets divided Chile, it is necessary to unite the country. Only those who work hard will reap the benefits of unity.

This new era of Chile is not a new beginning, but a restoration and a return to the grand history of Chile. It is the historical spirit of Chile that was able to break through the Soviet lies. The administration is not creating a “new man” as the Marxist ideology calls for, but rather a return to the proud, patriotic Chilean of the past. As the administration has spoken about

changing the mentality of Chileans, it is not an ideological brainwashing like the Marxists, but a re-introduction to their true Chilean identity.

Chile is a bountiful country, whose wealth must be capitalized on through hard work. Contrary to Marxist teachings, the future will not be a utopia, but through hard work, it will continue to grow towards prosperity. The administration desires a Chilean youth that will work to restore Chile to its grand history. The new institutionalism of Chile is based on Western, Christian fundamentals.

The crisis today is too grave to ignore the problems left behind from Communist ideologies. The youth must save democracy and restore Chile to its good and true morality. The administration has done everything in order to serve Chile. The administration has worked diligently to re-introduce morality to Chile through discipline, order and education. The unity of the Chilean nation is the foundation for returning morality to Chilean and restoring the greatness of Chile.

Chile can eradicate poverty through unity. Uniting in a classical liberalism, Chile can overcome these difficult times by working hard together. Together a bigger, better Chile is possible.

### **2.3.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

Prominent themes of “La Juventud y El Nacionalismo” revolve around the desire of the government to construct a unified, disciplined youth that will serve as the backbone of the movement against Communist ideology. As Edkins argues, the re-narrativization post-trauma is key in constructing and producing a particular memory or political narrative of the trauma itself.

The youth are critical in perpetuating the narrative, and Pinochet has identified the youth as critical to the success of his administration and ideology. Subsequently, the youth are given a great mission to create and ensure the future of Chile, after the country escaped Communist slavery.

The theme of the youth's great mission is critical in order to win the battle against Soviet ideology. The youth are assigned the roles as the soldiers in the battle against Soviet myths. Again, the Soviet ideology is defined as a myth in order to define the other or the "non-human" as Dillion & Reid state, which is outside of the liberal, Chilean community. Pinochet continues to re-iterate that if the youth are against the Soviets, then Chile is free to succeed economically.

The economic possibilities of Chile are also highlighted throughout the speech, to the effect that if economic recovery is to happen, the youth of Chile must be unified and positioned against the Soviets. It is important to note, that only two years before Salvador Allende and the Socialist Party were confirmed in the midterm elections. The theme of the Soviet enemy is important to establish with the youth, in order to identify a scapegoat or an "other" to be eliminated.

Narratives:

The re-narrativization of society post-trauma is critical. It re-engages normal time and provides a lens for interpreting and understanding the events that transpired. In the case of Pinochet, the Junta was eager to identify the enemy and produce agreement (or silent opposition) in the Chilean society. He begins by saying that Chile has escaped the chains of Communist slavery and the children, the future, have been freed from the Marxist tyranny inflicted during the Allende regime. Again, Allende and the Socialist Party were elected, by popular vote. It was not a tyranny of the international communist, as Pinochet argues, however by providing the

narrative to the youth, he is identifying and producing a particular interpretation of the military coup—as a liberation from an invading power. Constructing the past, Pinochet states that the youth were the vanguard of Chile’s nationalism—the youth that supported the conservative ideology of the Junta. It is a particular youth, that defeated the Soviets and the youth that Pinochet wants to continue to protect Chile.

Pinochet asks the Chile forever remember the transition as a liberation from Soviet tyranny, and as the moment Chile gained its freedom from the Soviet tyranny. The only desire of the government is to serve Chile, and the liberation was done and for the people of Chile. As the government embarks upon the reconstruction of the country, he asks for the continued help of the community. In soliciting support, a liberal and protected community is defined. All those who disagree with the politics of the Junta will be eliminated.

Chilean pride is to be sacred above all else because Chile has a grand history- full of heroes. The future of Chile, just like its past, is full of economic and intellectual potential that the Communist attempted to steal from Chile. Regardless, the unified spirit of Chile will serve, like the youth, as the vanguard of Chile protecting and promoting greatness and peace. What is interesting in this narrative is the concept of protection—Pinochet does not state that the government or military will protect the Chilean people, however “their pride” will. This is an interesting concept, as Pinochet moves towards a self-reliant society. The government will protect Chile from the enemy outside, however the enemy within must be defeated with the unity and pride of Chile.

Finally, Pinochet says that the Communists attempted to create a new Chilean man, which is ridiculous. There is nothing wrong with the “authentic” Chile, and therefore Chile needs to return to the old and traditional values of Chile. United in the Chilean spirit, Chile will fight

against the Soviets and their division. While Sorensen analyzed the coverage of human rights in Chilean media, she noted a great silence regarding the human rights violations in Chile. It was in the very first days of the new administration, along with a campaign of terror and fear, that opposition was silenced. The message was that resistance and disagreement are deadly. Pinochet is constructing the only path to security- unity and agreement with the Junta. The new Chile, formed around national unity, will value what is best for all of Chile. He ends by saying that the unified (re)construction of Chile, in hope and faith, will bring forth a better tomorrow.

Concepts:

Pinochet raises a few important concepts in his speech to the youth. Here he begins by describing the Chilean escape from the communist slavery, “la escavitud comunista”. Chile escape the Communist slavery, when Pinochet saved the country from the Socialist threat of Allende. This is an important concept, as the administration of the Junta, suspends juridical norms establishing a Martial Law in Chile, which is far closer to a system of slavery or forced imprisonment. This interpretation does not take into account the thousands of Chileans who found themselves prisoners to the Junta, detained in torture camps or murdered, without legislative reprieve. To produce consensus, it is imperative that Pinochet identify the old administration as a tyranny of Communist ideology that had taken the Chilean people as prisoners. Pinochet and the military are the liberators, rather than the prison guards of the freed Chilean society. According to Pinochet, Allende was only a puppet for the international communists, who represented “la utopia demagógica”. Rather than bringing prosperity Chile, Allende and his followers only brought destruction to Chile.

The only way Chile can guard itself from the international Communist threat is to commit to “la integración nacional,” unified in favor of progress, security and development. While

Pinochet references the “new Chilean” proposed by Allende, this is his form of a new Chilean—one that respects economic growth and development. The new institutionalism, “la nueva institucionalidad”, instituted by the new administration espouses Christian ideal while protecting the country from the external threats of Communism. The new institutionalism is an economic structure, which favors the new neoliberal restructuring of the society. After the implementation of the new economic policies of the Pinochet administration, only neoliberal institutions remained. While he purposely constructs the new institutionalism as a societal mechanism, it is as much or more a bi-product of the economic policies. A part of “la nueva institucionalidad” is “el espíritu de trabajo” which requires that all citizens participate in the reconstruction of Chile with a spirit of work according to “el modo del Viejo Liberalismo político”. The classical liberal subject is produced as a self-reliant economic citizen, who is opposed to the tyranny and ideology of the Soviet counterpart. The threat to the classical liberal subject is eliminated.

### **2.3.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

As a rhetorical strategy, Pinochet employs an emotional appeal to the nation. His desire to stimulate the economy and provide a better well-being for the nation is integrated into all of his policy directives. In a populist message, he states the Junta listened to the desires of the youth and acted as a servant of the public. As public servants, Pinochet vows to always respect the desires of the nationalists, as the opposition has and will be eliminated. Additionally, appealing to the entire Chilean community, regardless of economic status, Pinochet argues that all Chileans are united in their common patriotism and truth.

Arguments:

Constructing the opposition, Pinochet argues that the false attractiveness of the utopian demagogue divided the Chilean nation, and that the intervention of leadership must always be remembered in history as a liberation in response to the purest and highest cry of the Chilean people.

If Chile can successfully tap into the desires of the youth, then the tragedy can become a blessing for Chile, as it begins to construct a great future. There is a motif of building woven throughout the entire address. Contrary to the “new Chilean” constructed from Marxist ideology, Chile only needs to return to the traditional values of Chile. The restored moral principles of Chile could inspire a unified vision for Chile. This rhetoric occurs in tandem with the terror campaign carried out by Chile’s secret police. Marxist ideology is physically being eliminated, person by person. There is no other alternative for the Chilean community, other than to be united with the cause of the new administration. Pinochet argues that if the men and women of Chile stand up and fight against the Soviet ideology with authentic patriotism, Chile can be a great nation. This is the only way.

More important than material progress, it is imperative that Chile develop the moral values to stabilize growth—moral values according to classical liberalism. For example, education is one of the most important ways to restore moral character. The children of Chile must be trained in order and discipline in order to become effective and productive members of the Chilean economy. National integration will guarantee national security, which in the end will bring economic and social development. All aspects of society must be integrated into the new neoliberal framework, according to the classical liberal theories.

Social Implications:

There are several social implications of Pinochet's directive to the youth. First, the youth are to live for a great conviction. Meanwhile, the nation will continue to honor and recognize the generosity of the youth. Chileans are to love their country primarily for the many opportunities she provides to achieve one's destiny. The "patria" is a fertile ground to grow and develop, with hard work, your aspirations. For this, all true Chileans are nationalists, who love their country. Accordingly, the most sacred thing to any Chilean is the pride of being Chilean. In the battle against Communist ideology, all Chileans must strengthen their efforts to preserve democracy. Only through the hardwork of each Chilean will the ultimate objective be achieved.

#### Role of the Audience:

The youth is critical to the reconstruction of Chile. By addressing the youth, Pinochet is defining what he desires and expects out of the liberal Western youth, as opposed to the socialist youth that supported Allende. By addressing the youth as a single group, the internal other is ignored and offers no other option for the youth that may disagree with his policies.

First, the youth must devote their energy to defeat Communism. The battle lines have been drawn, those not with Pinochet, will be eliminated. To achieve a free Chile, it will require the hard-work and economic investment of all, most importantly the youth, as the vanguard of Chile's nationalism. What is most interesting here is that in the beginning of the speech, the "liberation" had been sought in order to defeat the oppressive ideology of the Soviets that had enslaved the Chilean spirit.

Now, the preservation of democracy, which was destroyed during the coup, can only be achieved through economic development and growth. To connect his train of logic, Pinochet uses the economic crisis as the rationale. However, as Taylor indicates the "liberation" was a revolution led by the United States and the economic elite in order to preserve corporate

investment in Chile. The economic crisis is a direct result of the economic “shock therapies” implemented by Pinochet. The neoliberal policies caused a shock to the economy of Chile and by 1975 inflation had reached 375%<sup>45</sup>. The economic crisis was not as a result of the Soviets, rather due to the policies of Pinochet. Regardless, Pinochet uses it as a justification for his push towards economic growth and development, as a means of preserving democracy. The narrative has been constructed.

He concludes by saying that the youth of Chile need to put their faith in the hands of the government—this is the only option if they wish to be “protected”. While the government will continue to serve the community, it is not the responsibility of the government alone, but of each and every Chilean. Setting the stage for the self-reliance principle that was to take hold. With this mission, no Chilean can remain neutral regarding national integration—consensus will be produced wither way. Finally, the grave economic situation, left behind by the Soviets, requires that the youth remain strong in their service to Chile—an economic service.

## **2.4 Mensaje a la mujer Chilena: texto del discurso**

### **2.4.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Mensaje a la mujer chilena

Speech Event: Presidential address to celebrate the creation of the National Secretary for Women

Genre: Commemoration Speech

Medium: In-Person

Audience: Women

Summary:

The President addresses the women of Chile while commemorating the creation of the National Secretary for Women. He speaks about the role pivotal role of women in the new

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<sup>45</sup> CITE Inflation, Taylor

government and their participation in collaboration with the government. Women courageously fought against the Marxist regime. Their participation was monumental in destroying Marxism.

Women have been influential in the lives of Chilean men and have shared their victories and struggles. They have always been loyal to Chile and, recently, the home has been a bastion of rebellion against Marxism. Women called for the fall of Marxism because they knew it represented the slavery of their children and it would be the death of the Chilean nation. Women also knew that the military was the only way to restore order and morality in Chile.

For all these reasons, women will be the foundation of the reconstruction. Beyond economic and social recovery, a new institutionalism of national inspiration based on Chile's great history will be implemented. The Declaration of Principles of Government is the moral doctrine of the government based on classical Western liberalism.

All of society must work hard to restore human dignity. Children are the most precious capital of Chile, as the future of the country, and must be trained in the national principles and moral values of the country. The spiritual value of the woman's mission is Christian and their role as mother is sacred.

The creation of the National Secretary for Women is to promote the participation of women in the national reconstruction. The development plan gives special importance to the integration of women, which is vital to Chile's progress. The Center for Mothers will target the wellbeing of the community. Women, as social beings, need to alleviate the suffering and misery inherited by the Marxists.

The government promises that their children will live in freedom and never again will others trample of the honor of Chile. The government and the military will work to protect the

honor of Chile. With the help of women and the authority of God, the future generations will inherit a glorious past and a future of progress and hope, having faith in the future of Chile.

#### **2.4.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

As a mother protects her family, so will the government protect the people of Chile or so they convince. During the liberation, the home served as a battlefield against the Soviet ideology. Women are the rock of Chile and the fortress of humanity. Women are constructed as centerpiece in Pinochet's national transformation, as women give birth to the next generation of Chileans and train and mold their political and ideological perceptions. The intuition of the women is hailed as critical in assessing good and evil- primarily the evil of the Communists. Pinochet argues that women were able to recognize the dangerous future of Socialist Chile. For all these reasons, women deserve the respect of the nation, as they continue to protect and fight for Chile's future—from within the home. The people of Chile were rescued from the clutches of Communism; through service to the country, the entire national will soon share the victory. Through economic service, the salvation of Chile is near.

Narratives:

(Re)producing the role women played in the liberation and are to play in the new administration, Pinochet appeals to the role of women as mother, wife and caregiver. The Chilean woman has always been an active supporter and collaborator in the life of the Chilean man, and she has always been opposed to the Marxists advance, as she knew the gravity of the

situation at hand. Because of their “intuition”, women trusted the military to liberate and protect the country from the Communist advances. Willing to sacrifice everything for the good for the country, women took to the streets to restore morality and order. Here, like the youth of Chile, Pinochet has identified the Chilean woman, to be outside of this construction is to be on the side of the enemy. It should be noted that along with the rhetoric hailing the ideal Chilean woman, women on the left were targeted for their dangerous power in molding and perpetuating a counter-ideological generation of opposition, which could threaten the sustained power of Pinochet and his new economic policy directives. Additionally, Pinochet excludes the non-economic women—the construction argues that a good and faithful woman will do her duty to the country and become an economic citizen. While not specifically addressed, men are to continue as economic citizens giving women a double duty inside and outside the home.

Returning to the traditional narrative of Chile, Pinochet states that Chile has always been a country faced with great adversity, however women in Chilean history have always been loyal, intelligent and courageous. Today, drawing from the power of the past, women must work to develop their talents so that they can better protect their home and family. It is interesting how the role of protector transferred from the military to the mother and the family. On one-hand women looked to the military to protect them from the oppression of the Soviets, now the military, or the Junta, is transferring the role of protector to the mother, as caretaker of the household.

Rather than empowering women through recognition, rights and respect, women are to achieve their own empowerment through work. Work will equip women with the ability to protect their children and homes. Not just for women, work is defined as the only path to progress, human dignity and security. Drawing from his speech to the youth, Pinochet maintains

that children are the most precious capital in Chile, as they represent the future. Capital is an interesting concept to compare the importance of children. This underscores the economic subjectivity of the Chilean citizen as an investment, which must develop and grow, in order to be productive. The freedom of the Chilean society rests on the economic capability of the nation and their commitment to work and investment.

Concepts:

Important concepts revolve around the important tradition of the Chilean identity, the most significant being “una vieja tradición de chilenidad,” which speaks to the enduring spirit and principles of Chilean nationalism. In producing an old and traditional Chilean identity, the alternative is eliminated, as those who do not subscribe to the attributes of the traditional Chilean are not to *true* Chileans. The fundamental morals and principles of Chile, “los fundamentos doctrinarios y morales”, are based on a Western, classic liberal model. At the time, the international community had ascribed to a Keynesian economic model, employing a classical liberal model of morals and doctrines is in reference to the introduction of neoliberal theories in the Chilean economy. Milton Freidman, the architect of free market economics, often referred to the natural state of economics according to classical liberalism. These concepts contribute to “la nueva institucionalidad” of Chile, which is a new era of the Chilean state post-Marxism that is to contribute to a classic liberal model of the state. The economic integration of neoliberalism operated as a social transformation in eliminating threats to the neoliberal model and supporting the institutions or apparatuses that adopted the neoliberal model. The new institutionalism represents this idea. As part of “las tareas de la reconstrucción”, the social development of the community, “el desarrollo social communal”, is to be established with the integration of women in the restoration plan. The social transformation of neoliberalism (re)produced the Chilean

citizen as an economic citizen, who had an active role in creating their own security and protection, through economic attainment. The restoration plan will work towards “un auténtico progreso moral y cultural”, as opposed to the false progress promised by the Marxists. Again, once the authentic, old and traditional Chilean identity is constructed, all other expressions can be eliminated as a performance of the Soviet ideology.

### **2.4.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategies:

In addressing the women of Chile, Pinochet attempts to sympathize with the plight of women. First, acknowledging the difficult life of Chileans, especially women, Pinochet thanks the women for their help with the revolution and asks for their continued collaboration. He recognizes the value of a woman’s work in the home and promises to be an advocate for women. However, the value of the Chilean woman is only identified in their role as mother, wife and caregiver. Women are defined as “working with men,” however women are serving the men of Chile, as they are assigned a double duty within and outside the home. The economic strategy of Pinochet is not as clearly defined, however by constituting women as economic subjects, the economic productivity and output of Chile will dramatically rise. The increase in well-being Pinochet promises will be at the hands of the newly constituted economic subjects—the youth and women. The nuanced rhetoric conceals the economic motive.

Argument:

Pinochet argues that women must raise their children in the correct manner, based on the ideologies of the new administration, as women need to protect their children from the infiltration of Marxist ideology. Education and training are the only ways to transmit the national

traditions to future generations. The (re)narrativization of the liberation can be complete once institutionalized within the educational system. This is why, at the time, you see Pinochet privatizing many of the public schools. Private schools, run by corporations or businesses, ascribe to the free market principles introduced in Chile. The institutionalization of knowledge becomes a great foundation for power as Pinochet's administration takes hold.

He argues that the government cannot create a new state without the active participation of women. As it was the female intuition that saved the country, it must now continue to protect it from Marxist ideology. Women are to be the rock of reconstruction and the participation of women in the battle for progress is vital.

Again, work is the only path to progress and human dignity. The work of Chileans is necessary for the social organization to survive. A future of progress and well-being, he argues, is necessary to restore the country.

### Social Implications

Pinochet constructs the ideal Chilean female, as he lauds the efforts and actions of females. Women, as mothers, are moderators of the social evolution of humanity, and therefore create Chile's destiny. Destiny is not something to be recognized, rather realized through work. Having faith in men, women must work together in service to the country. Women are differentiated from men, in that they are to have "faith" in the military or government protection from the external (or domestic internal) enemy, however women are not protected in the economic sense. Established as a virtue, women's subjectivity restricts their power within society. Additionally, women recognized the need for a political realist in times of economic

chaos, and are responsible for the salvation of the country. That being said, the very rationale for action is the reason for the economic crisis.

Pinochet states that, Chile will never return to the rule of international communism. In spite of adversity, the country will approach the future with optimism and work hard to alleviate the misery caused by the Marxists. National progress is a result of the integration of women in the national work, and Chile should exult the human value and social function of women.

#### Role of the Audience:

The role of men is to provide and protect the well-being of Chile. The government and military are constituted as the Chilean male citizen, who will protect the vulnerable women from the external and domestic, internal enemy and provide women with opportunities for self-development. Whereas, the formation of future generations is in the hands of women, and therefore it is the sacred mission of the woman, as mother, to form the future of the Nation. Women will protect society with their intuition and action. Women are powerful within Chile; however the role and actions of men work towards constraining and restricting this power.

The work of women does not end in the home, but must be extended to the professional realm. Pinochet argues that this is to provide and protect for the family, through economic self-reliance, however as the neoliberal agenda is being integrated, the participation of the entire nation is critical for the success of the new model. While working to achieve economic protection, women should continue to search for a strong protection that provides order, i.e. the military. Most importantly, women need to have faith in the destiny of Chile—a destiny that will be constructed with the hard work of each Chilean citizen.

## **2.5 El Presidente Pinochet Responde a Naciones Unidas: discursos pronunciado por S.E. el jefe del estado chileno por cadena de radio y television el 12 de diciembre de 1975.**

### **2.5.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: El Presidente Pinochet Responde a Naciones Unidas: discursos pronunciado por S.E. el jefe del estado chileno por cadena de radio y television el 12 de diciembre de 1975.

Speech Event: Radio and television interruption to address allegation by the United Nations

Genre: Presidential Address

Medium: Radio and Television

Audience: Chilean Public

#### Summary:

In response to allegations made against Chile by the United Nations in the form of resolutions, President Pinochet vehemently denies any human rights violations in Chile and reprimands the accusers for false allegations. It is easy to throw the first stone, however each of the accusing countries should review the state of human rights in their own countries before addressing the internal affairs of sovereign nations. The Soviet Union and its satellite countries have waged a vicious campaign against Chile, however they will not prevail. Chile strongly denies all accusations and will work to restore its international reputation, despite the efforts of the Soviets.

Internally, each Chilean can see the truth and decide for themselves. The new administration and September 11 was necessary to ward off the internal Marxist threat and to regain Chile.

The United Nations resolution is anti-judicial. Furthermore, the United Nations should respect the sovereignty of each member nation, including Chile. In addition to the resolution, the defamation of Chile is also anti-judicial. Regardless of the legitimacy of the resolution and allegations, Chile will work to restore international trust. The administration has developed a doctrine regarding human rights in Chile and will present it to the international community. The

administration has always been committed to human rights and the declaration reflects this commitment.

As with all sovereign governments, all rights of the citizens are subjects to the authority of the sovereign. In states of emergency, such as the transition, it may be necessary to suspend the rights of some to safeguard the good of the nation. After the transition, Chile has fully returned to upholding human rights.

Chile has done nothing wrong and maintains its open doors for all who wish to enter. Only during this past July was it necessary to close Chile's borders to the United Nations for a short time for reasons of security. Chile has a history of respecting human rights and strongly believes in non-violence through democratic processes.

Chile has overcome much and will not continue to be a victim to external pressures. Democracy in Chile will prevail. Chile will participate in any investigation because there is nothing to hide. The government will continue to fight international pressures and restore democracy in Chile. Chile's participation in the United Nations will continue, however she will also continue to fight these vicious accusations. Chile is grateful for those countries, who fought against these allegations, including ally Spain, who recognize the real Communist threat. The other countries, however, have fallen prey to the Communist ideology. Chile will continue fight the external influence of Communist ideology.

### **2.5.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

In an address regarding the state of human rights in Chile, Pinochet focuses on the sovereign right of the Chilean government, including the suspension of the rights of its people.

Agamben argues that the state of emergency necessitates a sovereign decision delineating the sacred life. Pinochet, in a suspension of law, establishes the decision of the sovereign in terms of the eliminating the ideological opposition through torture and murder. Dillion & Reid would also argue that the decision outlines the life that is protected within the political community and the life that is not. Because the “bare life” of the subject is suspended in the decision, a perpetual state of uncertainty is created in which the subject must be continually recreated in hopes of being the “protected subject”.

Social ascription and construction of Pinochet is increasingly important, as the other is eliminated. While Pinochet defends the sovereign right of Chile to suspend law in favor of preserving the greater good, he also rejects the accusations of the international community. He demands respect for the state’s rights by the United Nations. Continuously arguing that Chile is very transparent with its conduct, Pinochet extends an invitation to the United Nations to see for themselves. The accusations, he concludes, are a new Soviet threat propelled by the International Community attempting to destroy Chile. Defending both the ideology and greater good of Chile, Pinochet maintains that the suspension of law is a requisite in the battle against Soviet ideology.

Narratives:

The new Soviet threat is the narrative to explain the accusations made by the United Nations. Pinochet explains that the Soviet Union and its satellites are destroying the morals of the international community and negating the respect of human rights. The attack on Chile’s international reputation is an attempt by the Soviets to destroy Chile. Pinochet recognizes the economic ramifications such accusations could cause on the fragile economy of Chile.

According to the privatization and liberalization policies, it is imperative that Pinochet retain his international investors and trade partners. He maintains that Chile will overcome the continued

Soviet threat by uniting and doubling citizen vigilance against external threats. In addressing the external Soviet threat, Pinochet also addresses the internal enemy of the Soviet ideology. Just as the Soviet threat will be eliminated, the remnants of the ideology will be eliminated domestically through economic and political policies of intentional destruction.

Pinochet argues that the abuse and human rights violations that occurred during the Marxist government in Chile was far worse than any suspension of rights Pinochet or the Junta have carried out. Regardless, Pinochet reiterates that it is well within the sovereign authority of the administration to suspend rights of the citizenry to preserve the greater good. Every state does this in times of emergency and it is not an issue of the United Nations.

The threats are not taken lightly, as Pinochet maintains that the same danger and harm caused by the Marxist-Lenin infiltration will divide and destroy Chile through the accusations made by the United Nations. Reaffirming the history of Chile, Pinochet states that despite attempted destruction, Chile has had a great history with a great regard for human rights, which is evident today. Important to note is that the purposeful destruction of the Junta and Pinochet was desirable, however once the work of the destruction is threatened, Pinochet is quick to defend the character of his administration.

### **2.5.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

As a rhetorical strategy, Pinochet deflects responsibility for the human rights abuses and directs the responsibility to the International Communist, who infiltrated the United Nations. Externally, the terror campaign of the Junta was a public relations disaster for the Chilean government; however internally, opposition was eliminated or silence, therefore Pinochet is far

more concerned with the opinion of the International Community than of his own people. He states that Chile must denounce the moral authority of its accusers and fight against the institutional, economic and moral chaos created by the Marxist-Leninist government. He concludes that the United Nations has fallen victim to the Communists, and the International Community needs to recognize the gravity of the accusations. Most importantly, Pinochet is concerned with the economic, political and commercial isolation such accusations may cause.

#### Arguments:

Deflecting responsibility, Pinochet argues that the Soviet Union and its satellites continue to try to destroy all morals and human rights. Chile, however is a defender of human rights. Here Pinochet is really identifying the “protected” and “secure” subject citizenry, which is in support of his ideological aspirations and does not cause dissention or disagreement. Among that group, Pinochet and the Junta certainly defend human rights, however for the thousands of Chilean who were tortured or murdered for their political ideology, they remain outside of the protect group.

Concluding, Pinochet strongly argues that self-determination and sovereignty must be observed, as each community should have the right to protect their people from an external threat. While the Soviets had no regard for human rights, the new government suspended law in order to preserve the human rights of her people, not violate them. He maintains that Chile has nothing to hide and should continue on a path to survival.

#### Social Implications:

Speaking to the external community, Pinochet reaffirms that as a unified community, Chile will deny the validity of any accusations. The government will defend the dignity of Chile from the baseless accusations. Human rights are universal and inviolable, but should be restricted, as all rights are subject to juridical limits. Chile is a country, which recognizes the

dignity of human beings and where freedom is central to the national philosophy. September 11<sup>th</sup> was a day of liberation. Since that day, Chile is advancing peace and respect for all.

Role of Audience:

Pinochet is speaking to two audiences—the Chilean community and the International Community, however because opposition is silence internally, the audience to be persuaded is the external audience. To the International Community, Chile will continue to deny all accusations. To the Chilean Community, fight against the Soviet attack and continue to work toward democracy and freedom.

Chile must defend their character, as this attack is connected with the past Marxist tragedy. While Chile will survive the attack unified, Chileans need to increase their vigilance against the external and internal enemy remaining united to defend a free and dignified Chile.

### **Chapter 3: Piñera Speeches**

The main feature of the five speeches by Piñera is the construction of economic self-reliance. Whereas briefly mentioned in the protection rhetoric of Pinochet, Piñera grabs on to the thread of economic self-reliance introduced in the rhetoric of Pinochet and begins to construct the “recovery” Chilean citizen as an economic self-reliant subject. The enemy is not the Soviet ideology, but rather a complacent and unproductive mentality. Additionally, Piñera also constructs the role of the government in terms of optimizing the economic capabilities of her citizens, instead of protection from an external enemy. Often faced with extreme natural disasters, Piñera reconstructs the grand history of Chile to be an entrepreneurial nation, which continuously picks themselves up to rebuild bigger and better than before. Security is achieved through economic development.

### **3.1 Discursos de S.E. El Presidente de la República, Sebastian Piñera, a su llegada a La Moneda (taken from La Prensa del Gobierno)**

#### **3.1.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Discursos de S.E. El Presidente de la República, Sebastian Piñera, a su llegada a La Moneda

Speech Event: Inaugural address by the President upon assuming office.

Genre: Presidential Address

Medium: In-Person

Audience: Chile

#### Summary:

The inauguration of President Piñera is both a dramatic and historic moment. Even though Chile has just suffered a grave tragedy, this upcoming September is the Bicentennial. Hundreds lost their lives in the earthquake and many are still missing. While many were injured or lost their homes, the death and disappearance of so many is the greatest tragedy.

During the tragedy, every Chilean was quick to extend a helping hand to their neighbor in need. All survivors are called to live a full, free and proud, life for Chile. Chile was founded upon adversity. This land was not a gift, but obtained through hard work. It is that same strength that will rebuild the wonderful country one brick at a time.

Twenty years ago, Chile peacefully restored democracy. Today, the generation of the Bicentennial has two missions: to rebuild and improve Chile. Rebuild lives, schools and homes on solid ground, lifting up spirits with courage and determination. At the same time, Chile needs to continue to transition to a developed country without poverty and with equal opportunity for all. This will require more than the physical rebuilding of Chile, but also spiritual. This will require a Chile that respects the life of the family, as well as liberty, justice, solidarity, hard work and responsibility with confidence in the present and hope for the future. Chile must work together to achieve this goal. No one is alone on this journey, each have the guidance and

support of God. Meanwhile, this government will continue to work so that each Chilean family will have a better future. Chile must act fast.

Chile has confronted the adversities of the Bicentennial bravely and has a jump start on the goals of the Bicentennial moving forward to the future and progress. Chile cannot afford division, egoism, misery, cowardness or indifference, rather all must move forward in faith. Each generation has had its mission. This generation has the greatest mission because each want the best for their children and will sacrifice all they have to given to ensure tomorrow is better. Imagine Chile as a gift from God. Chile has been independent for 200 years and it is thanks to God that a restored Chile is possible.

### **3.1.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

Piñera focuses on the themes of overcoming, sacredness and unity. He constructs his inauguration as a historic and dramatic moment for Chile, as the country begins to ascend from the rubble of destruction. The sense of urgency presented in Piñera's inaugural address differs from Pinochet's "New Institutionalism" urgency, as Pinochet was fighting the Marxist threat, however each prescribe economic development as the method towards recovery. Strengthening the theme of recovery and reconciliation, both presidents speak to the historic and divine mission of the Chilean community. Piñera maintains that if unified, Chile can confront any adversity.

Narratives

Changing of the guard, the new administration is ushering a new economic and social model than the previous three administrations. Simultaneously, the "New Chile" emerges from the ashes of destruction to realize a developed country without poverty. Klein outlines

Freidman's shock therapy, in which a society returns to the natural state of pure capitalism and the psychic driving of a new ideology begins. The earthquake provides the perfect clean-state to introduce the unpopular neoliberal policies that, because of the tragedy, are constructed as absolutely necessary to the reconstruction. Piñera's "New Chile" echoes the "New Democracy" via the "New Institutionalism" of Pinochet. While Piñera says that the policies of the new administration will work tirelessly to protect the poor, disenfranchised and young, the provision institutions are embedded within a neoliberal model. Again, as his neoliberal predecessor Piñera stresses the urgency of the new policies.

Focusing on the subjectivity of his speech, Piñera states that beyond the material loss of the earthquake, the loss of life and way of life is the most tragic. Each Chilean is like a flag recovered in the ruins that will eventually wave proudly and freely as a testament to the enduring character of Chile. For the soul of Chile is noble and generous. Because of its history, Chile will work tirelessly to rebuild and elevate Chile to a bigger, better Chile.

The government serves the people, and will therefore work alongside the people to protect the poor, disenfranchised and young through economic development. Increases in public spending will not go to the provision of rights and services to the public, rather to economic development programs. Economic development is the prescription for recovery- to build bigger and better.

Concepts:

As an inaugural speech, Piñera introduces a few important concepts about the spirit of the Chilean people. "La voluntad libre" is the free will of the Chilean people that electorally chose Piñera to guide and lead the country. Connecting with that notion, he establishes his legitimacy

of the “new guard”. The spiritual progress or “el progreso espiritual” speaks to the transcendental spirit of development in Chile that is beyond mere economic progress, but an evolution in the sacredness of life and family, achieved through economic development. “El progreso espiritual” speaks to Pinochet’s notion of “Nueva Institucionalismo” which is a social integration of neoliberal structures. The depoliticization of the citizenry allows for a holistic economic development. Piñera continues to quantify development in terms of “sin pobreza”. It is the desire of all Chile to see a developed country without any poverty- echoing the agenda of Pinochet. How poverty will be eliminated is not discussed in detail, aside from the need to increase economic prosperity and wealth in Chile through productivity. Finally, the eternal desire of Chile is to see “la patria libre, grande, justa y fraternal” based on Western, Christian ideals. Chile will continually march towards the elusive social target through economic progress and development.

### **3.1.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

Piñera begins by stating that the “changing of the guards” is a historic and dramatic moment for Chile, establishing his place in the history of Chile. Again, he identifies the subject of his policies to be the loss of human life in face of the earthquake. The entire country will work together on the difficult task—no one will be left alone. The government, as the leader, will move with urgency, continuing to demonstrate the values of courage and solidarity. As Pinochet argued in his address to the women of Chile, all citizens should look to the government for protection from external and internal threats. The government will lead and guide the people of

Chile through the recovery. However, together Chile can rebuild and construct the nation of their dreams because God has given them Chile as a gift that must be capitalized upon.

Argument:

Piñera argues that the soul of a nation is discovered in times of adversity; the rest of the world will discover that Chile is a noble and generous nation. Again, Piñera pulls from the grand history and legacy of Chilean identity to further define what it means to be Chilean. As Pinochet constructed the “protected” citizen, so to Piñera constructs the modern, Chilean citizen as an economic agent. In rebuilding, Piñera argues that Chile needs to rebuild on rock, so that the policies for recovery of socially sustainable and beneficial for long-term growth.

The new economic transition will also life the souls of Chile through spiritual progress. Neoliberalism is identified by Piñera as a socially transformative process in which self-reliance is achieved. If build upon rock, Chile will be better than before. Individuals may empower themselves. During the authoritarian rule of Pinochet, the Socialist Party was constructed as a lazy, free-loading group that wanted to distribute poverty and keep people from working. In his fight against the internal enemy, Pinochet produced the “right to work” as central to the Chilean identity. Piñera picks up on this notion by defining work as a means of individual self-empowerment. The process of economic self-reliance will undercover an intense national pride. Moving from their tragic past, Chile will move towards the achievement of development.

Social Implication:

Piñera constructs the Chilean subject. Beginning by stating that, each Chilean desire to live a life, free and proud. That is what it is to be Chilean, a constructed citizenship. The Chilean soul is firm in times of adversity because nothing has been given to Chile, rather Chile fights with strength and courage to achieve its destiny. In times of adversity, it is the heroes who stand

courageously. The Bicentennial generation has the greatest mission of all generations and that is to rebuild Chile, with love, to be the best country imaginable for all future generations. The reconstruction will bring a developed Chile without poverty and equality and opportunity for all.

Role of the Audience:

During recovery, Piñera states that Chile will embrace a new era of development and proudly open the doors to the third century of independence. They cannot stop fighting. Chile needs to dry their tears and put their hands to work. As always, Chile will rebuild and overcome. Chile will also value the sacredness of families, liberty, justice and hard work with confidence in the present and hope for the future. Finally, Chile will take a great step forward towards the future and progress with generosity, unity, courage and love. This is what it means to be Chilean. Notably, what it means to be Chilean today is in direct contrast to the difficult and tragic history of Chile. In constructing what Chile desires of its past and destiny, the real events of the Pinochet era become lost in the evolving construction of the Grand Chilean narrative.

### **3.2 Conmemoración a seis meses del terremoto (taken from La Prensa del Gobierno)**

#### **3.2.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Conmemoración a seis meses del terremoto

Speech Event: Presidential address to commemorate six months since the earthquake

Genre: Commemoration Speech

Medium: In-Person

Audience: Chile

Summary:

Commemorating the six-month anniversary since the earthquake, President Piñera addressed the people of Chile to reflect on the accomplishments of the past few months, as well as chart the difficult road ahead. The earthquake was one of the five worst earthquakes in human history and occurring only days before President Piñera was to take office. However, he was able

to survey the damage before assuming office. Recalling his first night in office, he met with his cabinet until the wee hours of the morning to get a clear picture of the difficult task that stood before him. That night, Chile suffered three more aftershocks.

Without a doubt, the human loss was the most tragic part about the earthquake damage. With that being said, the material damage was enormous and totaled of \$30 billion of damage, 18% of Chile's GDP. There are few catastrophes in the world that have caused this much damage. Regardless, Chile responded strongly with unity and courage, which Chile can be proud of.

As winter quickly approached, the new government was running a race against nature. The winter that turned out to be one of the most harsh in the past few years. Determined to succeed, the new government immediately began the reconstruction. The reconstruction plan had three stages and named, "Levantemos Chile." The reconstruction will rebuild a better, more modern Chile with the best technology. It is be difficult and require a lot of money, but in the end Chile will be better than before. The majority of the funds will go directly to the region of Biobio, which was hit the hardest and whose industry and economy has suffered the most.

Restoring small business will create more jobs and opportunity improving the well-being of all Chile. The program, "Vamos a la Mar" will invest in the marine industry, which is central to Chile. The Office of Emergency will also be renovated in order to properly responded to an emergency of great magnitude. These programs will put a strain on the national budget requiring spending cuts in each state. Immediately, the government will petition Congress to raises taxes on the mining industry to help support the reconstruction efforts. The mining industry can aid the recovery.

It is also very important to give an account of precisely what the government has done with the tax payers hard earned money. Therefore, the government will continue and expand the communication of these programs with the citizenry. Piñera wishes to thank the civil society for all the work that they have done and will continue to do.

Two thousand and ten was a special year, both historic and tragic, with the Bicentennial, earthquake and mine tragedy. It has been full of hope, strength and optimism. The President wishes to thank all the miners for being an example of the good spirit of Chile. We will soon rescue the miners, maybe not in time for the Bicentennial, but he will do everything in his power to ensure that they celebrate Christmas with their families. Chile will rescue the miners, just as Noah was rescued from the whale.

The President asked that each Chilean makes the Bicentennial a time of celebration and national unity, as Chile has a great deal to celebrate. The future is a great adventure, for which God gave. Together, Chile is capable of great things and every citizen needs to participate in achieving this goal. Today, six months after the tragic earthquake, the President's wish is for a unified Chile. The government will continue to be a government for the people. Raise your hearts, better days are coming.

### **3.2.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

Producing a narrative for the first six months of his administration, President Piñera attempts to commemorate the six-month anniversary of the earthquake through the constructing of recovery. The themes of the speech revolve around the destruction of Chile and the recovery, as the race that cannot be lost. He says that proud Chileans will fight against the adversity

presented to the country, even though it will be a long, hard road to recovery. The road to recovery is through economic achievement. Additionally, he focuses on the opportunities to be had in adversity, specifically how Chile might come out of the earthquake better than they went in it. Therefore, the entire speech encourages that better days are ahead for Chile. These themes are not new, rather Pinochet in his six-month anniversary address to the people of Chile following the military invasion stressed Chile's "Grand History" and the recovery that was to be the rebirth of Chile's prosperous destiny. Presented as organically originating out of the exigency of the earthquake, Piñera's directive parallels Pinochet's commemoration.

Narratives:

Piñera weaves a story of recovery. While the earthquake caused billions of dollars in damage, he states that the loss and injury to human life is the worst outcome of the tragedy. Narrowing in on the sacredness of life, he maintains that the country needs to respond to the tragedy united and courageous. Returning to the history of Chile, he states that Chile has a grand history of overcoming adversity, therefore the new way of governing is to confront problems as they occur with a sense of urgency. The manifest destiny of the entrepreneurial spirit of Chile invokes the control of nature, regardless of the economic or natural disasters that occur.

Economic self-development can overcome any adversity. Empowerment and protection is provided by the government in terms of optimizing each individual's economic self-development. Moving beyond just the recovery, the reconstruction will bring a bigger, better Chile, as Chile rises from the ashes of destruction to soar above adversity. Along the lines of Klein's "disaster capitalism", Piñera uses the economic crisis caused by the earthquake to initiate a trajectory of economic growth and development.

Memorializing the year of the Bicentennial, Piñera states that 2010 is a historic year, where Chile will confront economic adversity and rise above. Just as Noah had been rescued from the belly of the whale, the miners will be rescued from the depths of the ground to symbolize a new birth for Chile. Economic achievement can overcome the threat of nature, and with greater economic security, the logic is that in the future Chileans will be able to protect themselves better. The tragedy of the earthquake is to be a new birth for the economy of Chile. Before Piñera, the administrations had encouraged a “Growth With Equity” strategy, however with the help of the economic crisis, Piñera is able to make a compelling case for a return to ‘pure capitalism’.

Immediately after the military invasion that would cripple the Chilean economy, President Pinochet argued that the sacrifices and active participation of each Chilean was necessary to recovery from the economic disaster. “National Reconstruction” would construct a hard-working, economically productive Chilean citizen, who would become the backbone of the Chilean economy.

Concepts:

Important concepts presented include “el daño patrimonial”, “la emergencia cuidana”, “Levantemos Chile” and “Volvamos al Mar”. “El daño patrimonial” is the national suffering, which was caused by the earthquake and felt by all in the country, regardless of proximity. This concept situates the obligation of recovery to include the entire Chilean community. To encourage the exigency of economic recovery, Piñera presents “la emergencia cuidano”, which is the greatest urgency of earthquake. Finally, in presenting his two new economic initiatives, Piñera introduces important concepts to the reconstruction: “Levantemos Chile” and “Volvamos

al Mar”. “Levateemos Chile”, We will rise Chile, symbolizes that together, as a unified community, Chile will rise from the tragedy through work. Last, “Volvamos al Mar” or We Will Return to the Sea, is a reconstruction initiative aimed to increase Chile’s marine industry, from which has been abandoned, but contains the soul of Chile. The earthquake had not harmed this last initiative, but the economic crisis presents an opportunity to renew the marine industry of Chile that had shaped the history and story of Chile’s past. This initiative signifies the return to Chile’s “Grand History” of work and entrepreneurship.

### **3.2.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

Piñera presents his new initiatives as opportunities, born in times of adversity. This speaks to Milton Freidman’s taking advantage of crisis or shock in order to integrate new initiatives that might have been unpopular under normal conditions. Pinochet mastered this technique in his initial application of neoliberalism, Piñera had been touting the promises of pro-business policies in Chile. His ideas have not changed, just the circumstances. This strategy is very important in framing his new political and economic initiatives, especially those that are seemingly separate from the earthquake itself. The discursive mechanism of neoliberalism begun during Pinochet continues to construct the economic Chilean subject, strengthening the construction in times of emergency or crisis. Additionally, the legacy of Chilean recovery is established through rhetoric. The seamless transition from pro-business to recovery mandates goes largely unnoticed.

Argument:

With winter approaching, Piñera argues that Chile needs to fight back harder than ever. Nature is again the enemy and the exigency for Piñera's policy argument. Emphatically stating that the new way to govern should be to face problems head on and not run away from them, he provides the opportunity for pre-emptive economic and political measure to be undertaken as a construction of problems yet to manifest from the earthquake tragedy. Eerily similar to Pinochet's policy initiatives, Piñera argues that, beyond recovery, the current tragedy is an opportunity to build a more modern and technological Chile—neither of which have anything to do with the persisting societal problems. The recovery has been transformed, through rhetoric, as a reconquest of Chilean business. Recovery-societal and political- is achieved through the entrepreneurial and patriotic spirit of Chile.

In his six-month address, Pinochet preached sacrifice and hardwork. These traits, opposite from his Socialist counterparts, were to provide greater well-being through increased productivity. Economic productivity would improve the lives of all Chileans. In the face of the enormously destructive earthquake, Piñera argues that economic productivity will improve the well-being of the Chilean citizens.

#### Social Implication:

The earthquake might have destroyed the Chilean infrastructure, but it did not destroy the Chilean spirit. Chileans responded with strength, unity and courage. Now, facing the reconstruction, Chileans must react in the same manner- and with urgency. Chile will construct a bigger, better nation with the active participation of each Chilean. Pinochet established individual responsibility during times of national recovery. Pinochet argued that the Marxists had left the Chilean economy and society in ruins, and therefore national reconstruction was not the sole responsibility of the government, rather each citizen. He stated that the state would not

tolerate incompetency and inefficiency; to be lazy and unproductive was to be an enemy of the state. The notion of an individual's economic and national responsibility is to a new concept to Chileans, rather an expected response to a national disaster.

Role of the Audience:

Chileans are to have great pride in their country, staying strong in the face of adversity. Unity is key in recovery, and disagreement, especially in terms of policy, is seen as counterproductive. To recover, Chile is to remain united. In the face of adversity, Chile will soon be a step ahead of fellow developing countries in terms of economic development, poverty and justice. Social development is inextricably linked to economic development. Pinochet maintained that national reconstruction required a new national mentality, which included a devotion to hard work. Social development will be attained through the hard work and sacrifices of all. While, Chile will have a lot to confront together in the future, a better future can be built.

### **3.3 Cadena Nacional Gran Reforma Educacional (taken from La Prensa del Gobierno)**

#### **3.3.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Cadena Nacional Gran Reforma Educacional

Speech Event: Television interruption by the President regarding educational reform

Genre: Television interruption

Medium: Television

Audience: Chile

Summary:

Education is the difference between a world of opportunities and one of frustrations.

Today, very few Chileans receive a quality education that will open doors. Educational reform is necessary and will ensure that the children of Chile will receive a quality education. This is the greatest obstacle of the new government, but will be its mission.

To overcome this obstacle, an education revolution is necessary. The principles of reform including recruiting the best students to join teaching, evaluating current teachers and revising the curriculum. Inviting the best teachers and removing unsatisfactory teachers will bring about a better economy, industry with the prestige and dignity the students deserve.

Students should take advantage of their education and the opportunity to develop their talents. It is life and a future. Revising the current curriculum will include more time for math and languages incorporating interactive lessons with the best technology in the world. Successful students will be nominated to over 50 excellent high schools located in each of the regions. High school will be subsidized for those that need it. The revolution will benefit all children regardless of economic status.

The revolution will cost a lot. It is the biggest price tag of any educational initiative, however Chile needs to unite as a family for this noble mission. It is self-evident the opportunities education brings and will improve life chances. Each Chilean desires a society with rights and opportunities because everyone wants a country with a culture and value. Chile will be a free, just and prosperous country. This obstacle is one Chile cannot avoid.

### **3.3.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

While Pinochet stressed the role of youth as soldiers in the fight against Communist ideology, Piñera stresses that education is the future of Chile towards social development. Several battles constitute the role of the youth; for Pinochet, the battle is against the Communist ideology, for Piñera, against poor education. Extended national reconstruction to education,

Piñera argues that education brings happiness and security because individuals are prepared and trained to capitalize on their opportunities. The themes translate to the national trajectory of social and economic development to prepare each citizen to capitalize on their economic opportunities, as active contributors to the economic well-being of the country.

Narratives:

The most important narrative is that a quality education is the difference between a world of frustration and a world of opportunities. Knowledge is power, however for the past 30 years in Chile, knowledge has been centralized among the wealthiest fraction of society. In the return to democracy, the former President Frei fought against illiteracy, however Piñera will fight for quality education. It is the greatest battle of the administration, which would seem out of place giving the mounting destruction post-earthquake, however as seen through the rhetoric, personal economic develop is the weapon in the battle against the economic crisis. Just as Piñera argued that women needed to seek additional education and training in order to better provide for their families, education is a tool for self-reliance.

The earthquake and reconstruction destroyed the economy of Chile, therefore the natural response is to work towards greater economic development. Education is a crucial ingredient. It is a means towards self-reliance, as all the other new initiatives. The government is a parent who wants to provide the best for their children and education is the best path to achieving their dreams.

Under Pinochet, public education was partially privatized and the bifurcation of education stratified class divisions. Those who were wealthy enough to pay for a private education, received the tools and training to continue to live of a life of high economic

achievement. Pinochet did not see the youth as economic citizens, rather transmitters of a national ideology. To the youth, knowledge was power, especially in the construction of a political narrative. Therefore, for the citizens who did not have the money to send their children to private schools (i.e. those outside Pinochet's protected community), they continued the cycle of poverty.

Piñera is not looking to change the stratification of education, however altering what is taught in the public school system. A working class must be maintained in order to preserve a functioning economy. As industries are changing, up the scales of value-addedness, the working class must be better equipped for the changing economy—i.e. the tourism industry. The push for English language preparation in public schools speaks to the new industry needs. All Chileans dream of a future full of freedom, prosperity and justice—education is the means to achieve their economic potential. A revolution in education will be a revolution in the mentality of every Chilean—education is an investment in the economy of Chile.

#### Concepts:

The important concept introduced is “una educación de calidad”, which signifies a quality of education that properly prepares students for economic and social opportunities of advancement. As Foucault maintained, knowledge is power, it would be interesting to see the specific changes made to the national curriculum and how it might differ between public and private schools. A certain amount of “appeasing the masses” must be maintained in order to continue the progress and unpopular economic policies that Piñera has chosen.

### 3.3.3 Social Practice

#### Rhetorical Strategy:

Piñera establishes that education is the mother of all battles. Each of the Chileans listening to his address would have suffered the tragedy of the earthquake and have the reconstruction effort to compare the fight for education against. This demonstrates the importance that Piñera wishes to place upon education. He states that education is the difference between a world of opportunities and world of frustration. Because Chile desires a country of opportunity and security for all, education is the best path to achieving this desire. He ends by saying that Chile desires a free, prosperous and just country where all can develop their talents. Quality education is something Chile both needs and desires.

This is interesting in contrast to Pinochet's message to the youth, where he spoke to the desires of the nation. Pinochet argued that the youth (those that were not a part of the opposition and thus eliminated) served as the vanguard of Chilean nationalism and acted as public servants. He appealed to the unified patriotism of the Chilean community; here Piñera appeals to the unified Chilean community, as well.

#### Argument:

Piñera argues that few children in Chile receive a proper education, and are therefore not experiencing their full economic opportunities. To win the battle against poverty, a revolution in education is necessary. Pinochet saw the youth as the future of Chileans ideology, and therefore the proper education of the youth was extremely important. The youth, if taught properly, could return Chile to its historical traditions and value of classical liberalism. While Piñera does not speak of teaching a specific ideology to the Chilean youth, the neoliberal theories of Friedman

have become basic building blocks to a basic education. The normalization of the ideology is complete.

The provision of a public education may seem like a socialist program of government services, however it is a mechanism for economic self-reliance. Not only will a more educated working class aid the economy of Chile, but it will decrease government responsibility for the poor. The private schools are focusing on developing information industries similar to developed economies, however the public schools are focusing on basic business and industry skills towards customer service, vocational and trade. Piñera argues that the revolution will unite all Chile in a grand and noble cause. Closing, he reiterates that the battle against education (poverty) cannot be ignored nor lost, and therefore the participation and consensus of all citizens is necessary. Opposition is not allowed- similar to the directives of the Pinochet administration.

#### Social Implications:

For Chile, a quality education will provide a happier and fuller life for all because ultimately the future is in the hands of the children. A quality education is the most important part of a student's life, as it prepares and trains them for a life of opportunity—according to the structures and institutions of neoliberalism. As Nikolas Rose argues, the freedom of economic opportunity is decreasing the social responsibilities of the government, until they are only to maximize the economic achievement of each citizen. The youth of Chile are not fighting the Communist ideology, but being trained as champions and advocates of the neoliberal model of economic and social self-reliance.

#### Role of the Audience:

To the students, each must work must harder. It is absolutely necessary to take full advantage of the opportunities society presents through education. Students should engage in a

life of developing their own talents and continual learning. It is as if each student is a business; their education is a capital investment towards greater profitability. Once women are integrated into the productive economy, children will have inherited an ethic for productive and profitable work. As Pinochet directed, the youth are to trust the guidance and policies of the government in terms of protections, however continue to work towards their own economic and social self-reliance. The protection of the political will always remain in the hands of the government. The policies of Piñera are the fulfillment of Pinochet's neoliberal social transformation, which produces an economic Chilean citizen.

### **3.4 Plan “Mujer Levántate” (taken from La Prensa del Gobierno)**

#### **3.4.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Plan “Mujer Levántate”

Speech Event: Presidential address to initiate a new policy for women

Genre: Presidential Address

Medium: In-Person

Audience: Women

Summary:

Today, just as the sun is rising so are the women of Chile. The President speaks today to the women of Chile. In order for a country to succeed, it needs to take care of its women. Chile is indebted to its women, and today we begin to repay this debt.

When women are elevated, Chile will elevate because women take care of their families and help our community. There are 1 million women who are able to work and contribute to the economy, but cannot do so because they cannot find adequate childcare. They deserve to better themselves, after all they have sacrificed for their children. Beyond a developed country without poverty, Chile will become a country where men and women are treated equally.

Chile has a terrible problem with domestic violence, where 1 in 3 women are victims. This problem cannot go on a minute longer. This is not the kind of country we want. The government will have no sympathy on any abuser applying the strictest letter of the law. A government needs to anticipate the problems of the public and that is why this government will always be on the side of the victim with a firm stance towards violators.

Chile did not anticipate the earthquake, however the country was able to unite in order to overcome the tragedy. Women were affected greater than men by the most recent earthquake. Because of this, the government reiterates its commitment to create a new Chile, which in solidarity can ensure that no Chilean is abandoned. This means not only the provision of basic rights, but the ability to “soar” developing the soul and spirit beyond physical needs. This is why the government is initiating the program “When the Women Rise, Chile Rises.”

The country is like a big family and the government, like women, must work out of love to provide for the country. The first stage of the plan is to provide employment opportunities to women. This includes micro financing, rebuilding homes, financing rural agriculture, technological training, debt reduction, childcare and improved healthcare.

Women are integral to the success of Chile and that is why it is important to provide for their well-being in all of these initiatives. Historically, women have fought valorously for Chile in time of tragedy. Chile needs to work together to overcome the current tragedy. God does not give us anything we cannot handle. The government will work tirelessly to restore Chile and protect its citizens. United, the country must work day and night for this sacred cause. To the critics of the government, more work is necessary so that Chile may overcome. Remember, women that you are going to help Chile rise, because when women rises, Chile rises.

### 3.4.2 Textual Analysis

Themes:

Main themes include the sacrifice, care and importance of women in Chile. While focusing on the various sacrifices that women have made for their families and the country, Piñera links these sacrifices to the duty of all Chileans. Other important themes include gender equality and the debt to women. Piñera directly links the care of women to better their economic output in order to be productive participants in the fight against economic adversity. Different from Pinochet's address to women, Piñera focuses on the victimage of the Chilean women in order to lift them up, through economic self-development. Pinochet focuses on the role of mothers as the ideological transmitters of the nation, therefore a critical tool in the fight against the Communist ideology.

Narratives:

Piñera constructs the Chile woman subject through his address to the women of Chile. As Pinochet saw woman as critical in the transference of ideology from womb to adulthood, Piñera recognizes women as the transmitters of national history and tradition to children and families. As caretakers and mothers, to win the hearts and the minds of women is to capture the country. Piñera acutely recognizes this. He begins by saying that the sun rising from darkness is like the women rising to construct a better Chile. Women are specifically identified as the critical element to development in Chile. However, before addressing the present, he turns to constructing what women have meant to Chile in the past.

He maintains that Chile is indebted to the invisible work of women that have contributed an invaluable service to the country, whereas Pinochet ignores the non-productive or non-

economic Chilean woman. He then turns to the role of the government's role in providing and protect for the people Chile. The new economic policies will open up economic opportunities for women, and if women can capitalize on these new opportunities, the children will be more secure. This is a direct reference to the narrative Pinochet constructs of the dutiful mother. If the Chilean woman desires to be a good mother, she must develop her economic potential. A mother is now an economic element.

It is through the economic optimization of the women that Chilean families will be more secure, not by the government. Women will be more protected and secure through these new policies, even though they will be exposed to productive work. Taking care of women, the policies of the government, will introduce women to the economic world of opportunities. Bringing women out of the home and into the modern world, their dreams of security and provision can be realized through productive work. The new perspective of the administration speaks to Duffield's theories of economic self-reliance produced through the leaner-meaner government model, whose responsibilities to the citizenry have shrunk.<sup>46</sup> Again, only through hard work can Chile and each citizen rise.

Finally, the new entrance into the productive economy will reunite Chile with its grand destiny. Chile had a history of strong women, who fought adversity, and the current generation is no different. It is important to note that both Pinochet and Piñera continuously reference the "Grand History" narrative, as each continue to produce the ideal Chilean community based upon these principles. The government will provide the avenues to achieve women's potential, as the task of developing a woman's capabilities in a sacred and noble goal. The policy initiatives of Piñera continue the depolitization of the citizen, begun under Pinochet, where public programs

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<sup>46</sup> CITE Duffields Economic Self-Reliance

and spending were drastically cut in favor of policies of privatization and liberalization. The latter policies, to be realized through the hardwork of each individual, were to provide greater security and provision than any government could provide, especially an inefficient socialist government. For Pinochet, the military was to provide the protection, for Piñera education and training will protect the citizenry from any external (or internal) threat.

Concepts:

Piñera introduces a few important economic concepts. First, “Cuando la mujer se levanta, Chile se levanta” or when the women rise, Chile rises. Due to their crucial role in Chilean society and their untapped potential, women are a critical part in the ascent of Chile economically. “Desarrollarse personalmente” means that just as Chile desires to develop, so must the women of Chile desire to develop their own talents and skills to take advantage of the important economic opportunities. A name of one of the policies, “Mujer, Levantemos Chile” targets the economic potential of Chilean women and signifies that women are to be a critical part of the reconstruction of Chile—women, we will lift Chile. Another policy name, “Manos a la obra” is a reconstruction initiative targeted at women and their communities. Hands at work signifies that no one will be left behind, as long as everyone works hard. Finally, “la carrera” is the most important concept introduced and one that carries through many of the speeches made by Piñera. Chile is currently in a race against the destruction of the earthquake and the tragedy of domestic violence. It is a race the government cannot lose, and therefore it is critical that every citizen aid the government in their endeavors. Everyone needs to be an active participant in the new initiatives.

### 3.4.3 Social Practice

#### Rhetorical Strategy:

Rhetorically, Piñera celebrates the ascent of women in the Chilean society. He compares the ascent of women to the ascent of Chile, and, by doing so, solicits their participation. Again, “as the sun rises from the darkness each morning, so will the women of Chile from adversity”<sup>47</sup> is an important strategy in engendering participation. He states that it is now the time for Chile to take care of their women, however the care Piñera speaks of is not in direct provision, but in the provision of opportunities to provide for themselves. This is when Piñera introduces his political agenda stating that there are many women that want to work, but lack the opportunity.

Following an earlier campaign promise, he continues to construct a more economically secure society in the provision of work. This manner of security was not addressed in his campaign promises, but fits much nicer with the current economic crisis post-earthquake. It is not for economic achievement, but for the value of family, justice and solidarity that the government will fight to secure the life of the woman. The security of women is achieved through the realization of their economic political, as economic beings. Piñera does not speak of the role of women regarding their service to men, as Pinochet did. This is largely due to the historical period from which Pinochet was speaking, however additionally, Chile has a growing trend of single mothers, who are solely responsible for the economic well-being of their families. Women are the workhorse of the Chilean society- functioning as both caregiver and provider.

#### Argument:

Piñera argues that the quality of a country’s character is determined by how well they take care of their elderly and children. Quality is defined in economic terms, not social. He

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<sup>47</sup> “Plan ‘Mujer Levantate,” Santiago, 2010, 1.

transforms the concept of care to include optimizing their economic capabilities. For example, if women enter the workforce, Chile will be that much more ahead in terms of development than they were before the earthquake. The entrance of women into the workforce will make Chile a country without poverty and with gender equality.

When the women rise, Chile will rise because the women take care of their families and the country. An economic mother will train the children according to the productive neoliberal structure. This concept is in direct comparison to the ideological training within the family that was to have occurred under Pinochet. The family was the bastion against Communist ideology. Today, under Piñera, the economic household is the bastion in the fight for neoliberal economic policies.

#### Social Implications:

In his speech to women, Piñera is as much chartering a new way for women, as he is in constructing how the government will aid in their path. First, the government will always be on the side of those suffering—women. The most important thing is one's dreams and the ability to make them a reality, therefore women need to fulfill their own desires.

As a community, Chile will provide work for women and invest in their entrepreneurship. Pinochet argued that the integration of women in the national economy resulted in increased national progress. Piñera continues by insisting that women integrate themselves into the modern world of technology so that they may have more time with their families. This might seem illogical, but money is to be equated with time and quality of living. Essentially, a productive and capable woman would be better equipped to provide for their families, and she will not need to rely on the provisions of the government.

#### Role of the Audience:

Women, with the help of the government, will begin on a path towards self-reliance. Again, as during the military takeover, women are to have faith in the guidance and protection of the government. However as for the welfare of their families, women must develop their talents, receive additional education and enter the workforce in order to take care of their children. For “good” mothers, there is no other option than personal development. Chile will win the battle against the earthquake destruction through hardwork and sacrifice, as if economic security could help in the face of a natural disaster. Concluding, Piñera asserts that the noble and urgent cause, of developing women’s economic potential deserves the sacrifices of Chile. The policies of neoliberalism have been reconstructed to include recovery for the women of Chile.

### **3.5 Declaraciones sobre Derechos Humanos (taken from La Prensa del Gobierno)**

#### **3.5.1 Discourse Practice**

Speech Title: Declaraciones sobre Derechos Humanos

Speech Event: Presidential address regarding the state of human rights in Chile

Genre: Presidential Address

Medium: In-person

Audience: Chile, specifically families of the disappeared and detained

Summary:

Today, the President met for an hour with a group of the families of the disappeared and detained. This government believes in democracy and is committed to protecting human rights in any place or situation. The commitment will be a standard for this administration until its last day in office.

The commitment of promoting a culture of human rights in Chile begins with educating the children. Additionally, access to truth and justice must be improved in order to cleanse Chile

from the grave violations of the past. Chile will continue to reach out to the victims and families of the victims. The President promises to improve unity, peace and reconciliation in Chile.

Following the meeting with the families of the disappeared and detained, the government is working on a great suggested made by the group. The group also inquired about the administrations position regarding the potential Bicentennial pardon of Pinochet by the Catholic Church. This government will continue to study the issue in greater detail and inform the country immediately.

The group also asked for the resignation of the Director of the Human Rights Program, however the President makes decisions regarding resignation and he is current pleased with the director's work. The Director has completed the objectives of the government, which are to have and further the respect of human rights, open paths to truth, justice and recovery, meanwhile promoting peace and reconciliation in Chile. The President will continue to meet with this group and desire to maintain open communication with all interested in human rights in Chile. This government has a profound commitment to human rights.

### **3.5.2 Textual Analysis**

Themes:

Addressing human rights in Chile, Piñera focuses on the themes of human rights as a norm, the sanitization of Chile and transparency. It is important to recognize human rights as a right in Chile in order to cleanse the society from the ills of the past. In Pinochet's address to the United Nations regarding Human Rights, he stressed the right of a sovereign nation. Here Piñera is focusing on the individual and victim of a government's violation. Where Pinochet was an advocate for the state, Piñera is an advocate for the victim. The government and the citizenry

must engage in a transparent society, where all are respected. This notion echoes Pinochet's theme of transparency to the international community. Transparency does not reveal truth. However, all of the efforts of Piñera's government are to help the society move forward. Moving forward is a major theme of his address, whereas Pinochet had the society "suspended" in a state of terror.

Narratives:

Piñera maintains that it is the responsibility of the government to promote a culture of human rights in Chile through education and transparency. No social problems have been developed, just a respect and recognition of human rights. It is up to the citizens to create their own expression or performance of human rights. Piñera notes that Chile is going through a period of reconciliation, mending the relationships between government, victims and victim's families, however a particular plan or process has not been developed to deal with the mending of society. Piñera states that the government is the advocate of unity, peace and reconciliation in Chile. Finally, addressing the pardon debate, Piñera highlights the silence of victims and the trauma that continues to exist in Chile.

As Soresen observed in her discourse analysis of human rights in Chilean media, silence has been institutionalized through the over the 25 years of oppression by Pinochet. Silence is maintained in modern Chile. Memorialization is a difficult process and unique to each individual, however during Pinochet any public memorialization was denied. Lacking a sense of justice, remembrance or testimony, the public struggles with the discussion of the human rights abuses of the past. Uncertain of how to approach the subject, silence is often chosen by default. The tension described by Piñera represents this divide—to forgive or to persecute?

Pinochet worked to divert the blame from his administration to his scapegoat, The Socialists. He argued that it was the Marxist who had perpetrated the violation and not his administration, however, today we know this not to be true. Pinochet offers the protection of the “common good” as his logic and reason for a suspension of law. In the same manner that Pinochet diverts blame, Piñera diverts direct resolution. The citizen, social and community are to train and education others to respect human rights. The government will provide the optimization of the individual’s expression of human rights. No policy or program for discussion, reconciliation or education has been established- rather self-reliance regarding reconciliation is produced as the trajectory towards healing.

Concepts:

Two important concepts: “los caminos de buscar la verdad y la justicia” and “la profunda convicción personal”. First the government is promoting pathways or means of finding truth and justice in Chile, as opposed to a time where the pathways did not exist. Finally, the President insists on his profound personal conviction to promote human rights in Chile.

### **3.5.3 Social Practice**

Rhetorical Strategy:

President Piñera demonstrates the crossroads in Chile regarding human rights in saying that while it is important to reconcile the past, the government is uncertain how to go about it- whether through forgiveness or justice. This speaks loudly to the relationship of the government to Pinochet, as well as the Catholic Church, which is encouraging a pardon. Piñera does not give

a definitive direction, rather explores the two pathways. Deflection by both Pinochet and Piñera is the rhetorical strategy regarding human rights.

Argument:

Piñera argues that in order to achieve a culture that respects human rights, Chile must continue to advance truth and justice. This process is not the responsibility of the government, but of each individual. Piñera argues that it will cleanse the nation's soul, which has suffered gravely for the human rights abuses of the past. What is interesting in the dissemination of responsibility to each individual is that a national discussion would almost certainly result in a discussion of the economic policies pursued at the time. This could damage Piñera's intentions. By delegating the process of healing to the individual, Piñera avoids a national discussion that would revisit, in detail, the abuses of Pinochet. Truth and justice will never be achieved without a national discussion of the past—which bodes well for the neoliberal economic policies of Piñera.

Pinochet maintained that he and the Junta were defenders of human rights. The key distinction is that Pinochet defended the human rights of his "protected" community, while violating the opposition or "other". The Chilean society must engage in a process of recovery and reconciliation reuniting the two constructed groups; diverting responsibility to each individual will not solve this difficult situation.

Social Implication:

In regards to human rights, Piñera asserts that Chile will be a country that respects human rights while working for unity, peace and reconciliation between the citizens and the government. Chile will continue to have an open dialogue regarding human rights towards hopes of reconciliation. Pinochet argued the same in his rhetoric to the United Nations.

Edkins argues that the process of memorialization is critical to public healing and reconciliation post-trauma, as it is a personal engagement with the trauma. Often co-opted for political purposes, memorialization is the political narrative of the past that re-engages normal time. An open process of memorialization would open wounds and spark debate. As Piñera engages in a reintroduction of Pinochet's neoliberal policies, it is natural that he would want to distance himself from the human rights abuses associated with the initiation of neoliberalism. Leaving the process of truth and justice to the civil society, it detaches association and responsibility from the government and allows Piñera to continue with his own economic policies.

#### Role of the Audience:

Is it the role of the citizen to education children in schools and social institutions to respect human rights and human dignity. This is the best way to build a culture that respects human rights. Eventually, Chile will be able to reconcile the abuses of the past. However, as with any authoritarian regimes, there is a population, often the privileged population, yearns for a return to the policies of the past. President Piñera, prior to taking political office, was a noted support of President Pinochet and his efforts of amnesty. There is a large population in Chile that does not fully recognize the abuses of the past. Pinochet was incredibly effective in institutionalizing silence within the Chilean society. Those that disagreed were eliminated, and those that remained were either silenced into submission or active supporters of the junta.

Leaving the education of the society up to each citizen is particularly problematic. It continues the institutionalization of silence begun with Pinochet, as expression had been constrained and testimony dissuaded in the modern context. Rather than revisiting the wounds of the past, Piñera offers fragmented attempts at reconciliation while promoting economic

development as a means of achieving greater security and protection. During the terror campaign of Pinochet, money and power were associated with membership in Pinochet's "protected" community. Therefore, Piñera ignores the more traditional processes of reconciliation, memorialization and testimony, and argues economic development as a means towards reconciliation.

#### **Chapter 4: Interdiscursivity**

The discourse practice, textual analysis and social practice all constitute what Fairclough defines the "constitutive nature of discourse"<sup>48</sup> Interdiscursivity and intertextuality are explored through the discourses, discursive structure and mechanisms that produce a discursive framework of constructed meaning. For my analysis, I focus on the interdiscursivity among the political rhetoric of General Pinochet and President Piñera, as intertextuality is a cross-medium analysis, which explores the salience of produced discourses in society. Limiting my analysis to the political rhetoric of Pinochet and Piñera, as to explore the ideological construction of truth and meaning by authority, I will address the discursive structure, discourses/sanctioned narratives and discursive mechanism of interdiscursivity. I argue that the produced discursive structures of Pinochet limited knowledge and constructed truth through a sanctioned reality, which lead to the favorable acceptance of the reintroduced neoliberal trajectory of President Piñera.

#### **4.1 Discursive Structure**

Neoliberalism, as both ideology and behavior normalization, is a discursive structure. Through a narrativization, neoliberalism perpetuates the notion that the agency of the subject is

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<sup>48</sup> Fairclough, 1993.

actualized or optimized through the achievement of economic prosperity and social progress.

The self-actualization of the market realizes the discursive formation of the Chilean neoliberal subject, who internalizes the discursive mechanisms regulating meaning and knowledge. Using a Foucauldian notion of discourse, I will evaluate this premise further.

Hard work leads to salvation. Transcending the pain and suffering on Earth, salvation as a political language is debated by Max Weber in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

<sup>49</sup> According to Calvinist, salvation is pre-determined by God and no earthly work or deed can alter pre-destination; however, God's chosen people will be blessed with riches and prosperity. Protestants, in a desire to actualize their destiny, devoted their faith to hard work. Weber argues that Capitalism in Europe prospered due to the conviction of the Protestant populations. The narrative of achieving salvation through hard work is invoked to inspire entire populations or nations to a common goal of prosperity and success through individual responsibility and gain.

In post-Pinochet Chile, the narrative of reconciliation through work and self-reliance is utilized to promote a neoliberal agenda of development and modernization. On a recent episode of Anthony Bourdain's No Reservations, he visited the recovering coastal country. While sitting down to dinner with a local entrepreneur, Anthony inquired about the economic challenges Chile faces. Alfred responded with a story, "my daughter she is only 17...she thinks about work every day for fulfill her desires," going on to conclude that "it is a kind of attitude, nobody's going to give you something for free...and that is the heritage from the Pinochet time...you have to work."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Weber, Max. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. (New York: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>50</sup> "No Reservations in Chile." Anthony Bourdain: No Reservations in Chile. Chile: Travel Channel.  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29CCtc2v88k>.

#### 4.1.1 The Politics of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism, as a discursive structure, constructs the economic subject through the implementation of normative behaviors using economic apparatuses, which induce self-restraint and regulate individual behavior. The economic subject internalizes the discursive mechanisms regulating meaning. The production of meaning is evident specifically in the addresses to women and youth. A particular Chilean citizen is constituted through rhetoric and reproduced through the economic processes of neoliberalism. The “New Institutionalism” presented by Pinochet signifies a shift in the structures and institutions of the Chilean society towards a neoliberal model of production. As each subject is constituted within the neoliberal framework, the economic citizen is continually (re)produced with participation. For example, a good mother is constructed as an economic participant, therefore as a woman ascribes to the normative behavior of a “good mother” she constitutes her economic subjectivity in the neoliberal mechanism. Once constituted, the good mother is economically produced and (re)produced.

Economic liberalization or neoliberalism “reduces barriers to movement of goods and capital, increases levels of international trade and investment, depends global interdependencies and, in turn, inspires a transformation of state and societal interests away from war towards commerce and peace.”<sup>51</sup> Based on the liberal concept of the autonomous, rational individual, “liberalism is commonly understood as political doctrine or ideology concerned with the maximization of individual liberty and, in particular, with the defense of natural liberty against the encroachments of the state.”<sup>52</sup> Neoliberalism functions as a mechanism of sovereign power where “liberty is registered not only as the right of individuals legitimately to oppose the power, the abuses and usurpations of the sovereign, but also now as an indispensable element of

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<sup>51</sup> Selby, Jan. “The political economy of peace processes.” In *Whose peace? critical perspectives on the political economy of peacebuilding*, 15. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> Hindess, Barry. *Discourses of power : from Hobbes to Foucault*. (Cambridge (Mass.): Blackwell, 1996), 124.

governmental rationality itself.”<sup>53</sup> The subject can reconcile the destruction or harm caused in the political through self-actualization or realization.

In Discipline and Punish,<sup>54</sup> Michel Foucault analyzes the penal system as a mechanism of power through which behavior is normalized. In the discursive structure of neoliberalism, behavior is normalized through individual economic processes, which regulate deviance, through the function of the free market. The market, detached from the political, is an autonomous apparatus, which regulates society. It is the actualization of the liberal mechanisms of control.

Where in collective political life, the citizen acknowledges the ascription of law as a regulation of human desires, in the collective economic life, the economic subject recognizes the market as regulation. Adam Smith’s “Invisible Hand”<sup>55</sup> is a system of behavioral normalizations that continue to produce and (re)produce the economic subject. The market is established as law through a “turning back”<sup>56</sup> of the subject recognizing the authority of the market, within a relationship of power. Judith Butler states “subjection signifies the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject”<sup>57</sup> and that “ this situation of primary dependency conditions the political formation and regulation of subjects and becomes their means of subjection.”<sup>58</sup> In the economy, the subject’s existence depends entirely on the relations of power (i.e. wage, value and class). The discourse of neoliberalism perpetuates the notion of agency, in which the subject may be actualized or optimized through the achievement of prosperity or success. Economic work must contribute to the market. The economic subject is

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<sup>53</sup> Hindess, 125.

<sup>54</sup> Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*. 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

<sup>55</sup> Smith, Adam. *The wealth of nations* Adam Smith introduction by Alan B. Krueger edited, with notes and marginal summary, by Edwin Cannan. Bantam classic ed. (New York: Bantam Classic, 2003).

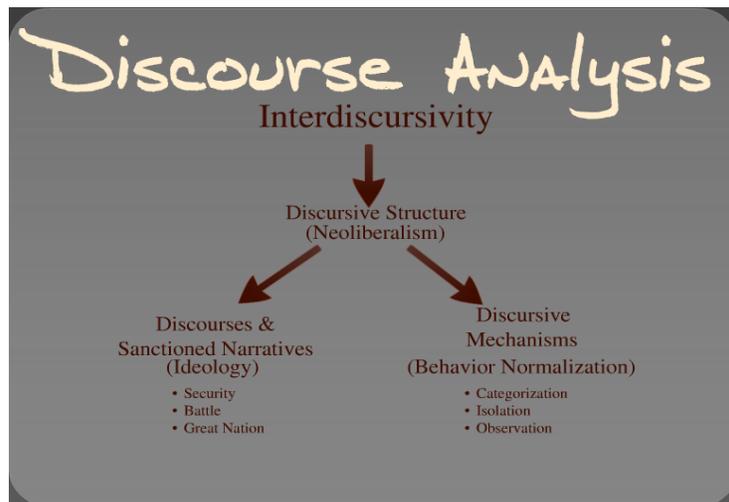
<sup>56</sup> Butler, Judith. *The psychic life of power : theories in subjection*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

<sup>57</sup> Butler, 2

<sup>58</sup> Butler, 7

reproduced within the mechanism of power: a power that “now only acts on a subject, but in a transitive sense, enacts the subject into being.”<sup>59</sup> Figure 3 explores the dualistic relationship of neoliberalism, as both ideology and a discursive mechanism.

Figure 3.



#### 4.2 Discourses/Sanctioned Narratives

Attempting to narrative the military coup, which ousted the first democratically elected socialist President, General Pinochet constructs a series of sanctioned narratives and discourses to manufacture a particular meaning. Coinciding with the fear campaign of the Junta, It must be noted that coinciding with his rhetoric, Pinochet was orchestrated an elaborate fear campaign against the opposition. For this reason, the discourses effectively silenced alternative opinions and/or truth. The rhetoric of Pinochet gives special attention to addressing the critics and opposition, while the rhetoric of Piñera presents a single reality and trajectory. This is evidence

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 13

of the discursive formation of reality within the discourses and mechanisms beginning with Pinochet.

To begin, Pinochet acknowledges the very real threat of Marxist tyranny and ideology in Chile, which only brought misery and economic chaos to Chile. The grave economic situation is the responsibility of the Marxists, who believed in the distribution of poverty. Chile only narrowly escaped the clutches of international communism and must sacrifice their body and soul to restore and rebuild a “New Chile”. The concept of a “New Chile” is reoccurring throughout Piñera’s discourses. Counter to the “new man” of the Marxists, Chile will construct a “New Chile” based on the enduring, noble traditions of Chile’s grand history. Here Pinochet limits what it is to be Chilean and to possess authentic “chilenidad”. Historically, Chileans are courageous, loyal and hardworking, who value order and discipline as the primary means of establishing and preserving the moral traditions of Chile. To not ascribe to the attributes of “chilenidad”, fixes the individual as an internal enemy of the state and co-conspirator to the international communists.

Economic development is the only path to greater well-being and happiness in Chile. In order to escape the threat of Communism, Chileans must devote their lives to hard work and service to the nation achieving greater levels of progress and prosperity. Here government protection and security is redistributed to the self-actualization of personal and social development towards progress and prosperity. Because each individual must be responsible for their own well-being, self-reliance and, ultimately, security can be realized through personal development, which aids the greater good. A better future for Chile, and the children of Chile, can be achieved when each Chilean devotes themselves to hard work and productivity.

Life in Chile has always been difficult and Chileans have always had to overcome extreme adversity. Comparing the economic recovery to a post-war economic recovery, both Pinochet and Piñera draw enemy lines in regards to the “battle”. For Pinochet, the battle is against Marxist tyranny, international accusations and economic chaos. For Piñera, the battle is against the earthquake devastation, youth education and women affairs. In these battles, enemy lines have been drawn and those not “with the government” shall be established as internal enemies of the state. For Pinochet’s opposition, the battle truly meant life or death. Unity is prized above all else. Chile must not succumb to the dissent and division produced during the Marxist tyranny. United in battle and united in restoring the country through hard work and productivity.

Finally, Chile will become a “Great Nation”. Pinochet argues the great nation will be a restoration of the values and principles of traditional Chile, while establishing a “new institutionalism” which follows the Western, classical liberalism model. Piñera, on the other hand, believes that challenges are opportunities for growth. The earthquake and the mine disaster are opportunities for Chile to rebuild better than ever and to take a giant leap forward towards economic development and the attainment of the Great Nation of Chile. Only economic development, which produces economic prosperity and growth, will bring a greater well-being and happiness to each Chilean.

### **4.3 Discursive Mechanisms**

The discursive structure of neoliberalism creates a self-perpetuating production and (re)production of discipline through discursive mechanisms. Ideology is produced through the mechanisms of taboo, insane and will to truth; behavior normalization is produced through

categorization, isolation and observation. The market, as an apparatus and means of technology, (re)produces knowledge within society.

#### **4.3.1 Mechanism of Ideology**

- **Taboo-** Limiting what can be known, the demagogue of Marxist fraud is denounced. The creation of a communist “new man” goes against the sacred traditions and principles of Chilean society. Therefore, the Chilean society can never return to the rule of international communism and must be vigilant against all threats. Division will not be tolerated while the country is under attack. Additionally, incompetence and inefficiency, markers of Communism, will not be tolerated. The Soviet threat is real and only economic prosperity and productivity can ward off the threat of poverty and tyranny. Finally, political parties financed externally are mechanisms for Marxist power and must be abolished.
- **Insane -** Defining what is irrational, the socialist government of Allende is immediately constructed as a Marxist-Lenin tyranny pushing a Marxist ideology and the agenda of the international communists. No longer defined as “socialist”, Allende and his supporters are Marxist-Lenin demagogues. Those that are neutral or supporters of the socialists are blindly following the Marxist ideology and are defined as the internal enemy. Any who are not united with the Chilean society are not authentic nationalists because they are not willing to make sacrifices for the restoration. The critics of Chile’s economic policy want to destroy the free market. Additionally, the United Nations and the international accusers are conspirators with international communism and want to destroy Chile.
- **Will to Truth-** Chile is full of untapped economic opportunities and only progress will guarantee national security through economic and personal development, which benefits

the nation. Work is the only path to human dignity. A coherent political economy is the only way to achieve progress and prosperity. The intervention of the military symbolized the purest cry of the Chilean people and 9/11 must be remembered as a day of liberation. Trust in the mechanisms of the government is necessary. Meanwhile, the Marxist tyranny sowed only seeds of hatred and death leaving behind great misery and suffering. Order and discipline, which support a respect and desire for work, are the only way to reconcile the economic and social chaos of Marxism. Finally, Chilean nationalism is more than an ideology. It is a genuine expression of the national soul united in liberation and development.

#### **4.3.2 Mechanisms of Normalization**

- Categorization- Economic classes are defined categories, where each individual is given a value and earning capacity. Those who have not optimized their own productivity are marginalized in society. The poor have failed to achieve their individual prosperity and progress through their personal development in the economy.
- Isolation- Neoliberalism is an “apparatus for transforming individuals.”<sup>60</sup> The isolation of the autonomous, rational liberal subject of neoliberalism asserts a self-regulation of behavior by which the economic subject internalizes the mechanisms of power, grounded in the notion of freedom. The autonomous, liberal individual accepts the myth of freedom and asserts his or her own agency through the choice in the market. The individual, alone, is responsible for his or her economic and social development.
- Observation- Mechanisms of observation transform the deviant individual into a normalized subject of the sovereign. Through a series of economic processes of

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 233.

normalization, the political economic community is homogenized. Subject behavior, through the regulation of desire, is constrained in the market. The belief in the discourse of freedom and agency in the free market economy is the ultimate normative mechanism. Economic subjects assume the processes and function of the market to be self-evident and thus regulate behavior and action according to the constraints of the market, minimalizing punishment and regulation. The economic subject in an attempt to achieve greater agency within the economy, simultaneously denies his or her own agency.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

### **5.1 Human (In)Security in Chile**

Addressing the human rights accusation made by the United Nations and the international community, President Pinochet maintains that human rights are subject to the authority of the sovereign, and in moments of emergency, it may be necessary to suspend rights for the protection of the greater good. The military takeover led by General Pinochet began a state of exception in Chile, where juridical norm was suspended in favor of the decision of the sovereign. Those in opposition to the Junta were submitted to the decision and authority of the sovereign. No law protected the thousands tortured in the National Stadium or Villa Grimaldi because the human rights of the political community were grounded in a notion of collective security provided in the ascription of law. The suspension of law breaks the covenant between the sovereign and the political subject; however the political subject remains suspended within the authority of the sovereign community, vulnerable to the violation.

The liberal community is a collective of individual subjects, who through rational choice, will maximize his or her own security. Hobbes argued that citizens enter into a covenant with the

sovereign in order to maximize their own security in the collective. Previously, power was understood to emanate from the divine to the monarch, whereas power is now distributed to the liberal individual, who through democratic consent constitutes a sovereign authority. Power is a relationship between the sovereign and the political subject. The political subject exists because of this relationship of power, and his or her agency is bound within the relationship of power.

The violation of human rights during Pinochet's campaign of terror traumatized the Chilean society. Exposed to their true vulnerability in the political, the myth of political security or sovereignty is threatened, potentially destroying the relationship of power. To preserve the political, an ideology of self-reliance through individual development and responsibility towards greater security is constructed. Neoliberalism is the mechanism, which detaches the responsibilities of the government, and distributes responsibility to each individual subject. The shock of trauma provides the opportunity for a (re)narrativization of the social fantasy to re-engage "normal time" in the political construct. Deconstructing and distributing the responsibilities of protection and security to the political subject, the government avoids the collapse of the political myth, effectively preserving sovereignty.

Nikolas Rose defines this new form of government "advanced liberalism."<sup>61</sup> Rose argues that societal governance had previously been conceptualized in terms of provisions of services from the government. In a political community, it was to the advantage of each individual to pool his or her resources- economically, militarily and socially- into the creation of a government. The government provided and ensured the wellbeing of each citizen. However, as society grew, so did government and the waste of bureaucracy. Advanced liberalism occurs when "all aspects of

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<sup>61</sup> Rose, Nikolas. *Powers of freedom : reframing political thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

social behavior are now reconceptualized along economic lines- as calculative actions undertaken through the universal human faculty of choice.”<sup>62</sup>

The agency of the subject is no longer separate from the operations of the government “the human beings who were to be governed- men and women, rich and poor- were now conceived as individuals who were active in making choices in order to further their own interest and those of their family: they were thus potentially active in their own government” and “the power of the state thus had to be directed to empowering the entrepreneurial subjects of choice in their quest for self-realization.”<sup>63</sup> Advanced liberalism calls for the detachment of the state from the functions of the market. Neoliberalism is a discursive mechanism, independent from the Chilean government, and is made up the individual political subjects. The market is the ultimate democratic institution, with each purchase a vote, constituting choice. The autonomous, rational individual emerges to achieve and secure his or her own survival. The state’s responsibility is to maximize the optimization of the citizen towards political and economic self-reliance.

President Pinochet, through discourse, constructs the “New Chile” and the new Chilean grounded in the sacred history of Chile. Foremost, the authentic Chilean is defined as being loyal, intelligent, courageous and righteous in the face of adversity and values order, discipline and hard work. Expelling the internal enemy, international communism, Chile must turn inward and return to the “authentic” values of all Chileans. Anyone who does not is labeled a supporter of the Marxist tyranny. Elements of neoliberalism are rooted in the attributes of the authentic Chilean.

The authentic Chilean is to remain united as a nation, able and willing to sacrifice for the good of the country. Part of the sacrifice in the eternal battle against international communism is

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<sup>62</sup> Rose, 141.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 142.

the concept of protection and security. Chileans are to be constantly vigilant against the external and, more important, internal communist threat. Vaguely constructed, the traits of the enemy can be present in any Chilean who is not hardworking and prosperous. Additionally, it is firmly established that the economic and social chaos present in Chile during the early years of the new administration were inherited from Allende's Marxist government. It is only through economic recovery can the remnants of Marxism be permanently removed from Chile. Neoliberalism is presented through the political rhetoric of President Pinochet to be the process for attaining the authentic, new Chilean and expelling the internal threat.

Reconceptualizing the responsibilities of the new government through a renarrativization of security, the Chilean community, traumatized by the military takeover, can reestablish their own security through the optimization of individual development and responsibility. Economic development and prosperity are the means to achieve greater security in the new political community. The women and children are instructed to develop their own skills and talents in order to further their personal development and to integrate their productivity into the national economy. Economic recovery is a means of reconciling the trauma.

In the state of exception, individual autonomy was stripped to constitute a new political community. The renarrativization of security constructs freedom as the mechanism for procuring greater security in the political community. Individual development and responsibility are presented as the ultimate expression of freedom. It is important to distinguish between the concepts of "freedom" and "autonomy". As Rose argues, freedom is a powerful discourse used by the political to motivate and direct action. True freedom is virtually unattainable. From birth, humans are naturally bound to others and choose to remain so to increase security. Humans belong to others and are constrained within relationships. The fascination with freedom emanates

from a desire for autonomous decision within relational constraints. Few truly desire to be completely free from all securements, rather political subjects desire autonomous decision.

President Pinochet capitalizes on the desire for autonomous decision within the political and produces a discourse of freedom, bound within neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a mechanism of regulation used by the government to normalize societal behavior. However, neoliberalism is perceived as freedom from government intervention, whereas socialism was the ultimate intrusion of the state and international communism. The market allows for the free expression of Chilean identity through individual development. Subsequently, the realization of Chile's freedom will occur through economic prosperity and the growth of the national economy. Every Chilean will experience an increased well-being and greater happiness if their economic potential is fully realized. Increased well-being and greater happiness, along with economic prosperity, are no longer conceptualized as apart of the responsibilities of the Chilean government. Constructed as individual development, the self-reliance discourse self-perpetuates the neoliberal discursive mechanism of societal and economic production. The new Chilean subject becomes a neoliberal subject.

Neoliberalism is a mechanism of governance perpetuated by the narrative of freedom, which governs through economic processes. Duffield argues that liberalism has separated human life into insured and non-insured populations, with the non-insured populations reduced to self-reliance. As I have discussed in the violation of "bare life" in the state of exception, political security and insurance is a myth perpetuated to preserve the sovereign relations of power. All liberal individuals are non-insured and must procure their own security through self-reliance and individual responsibility. While still bound within the constraints of the collective, the non-insured liberal individual engages in a process of self-insurance- neoliberalism.

Building off of Dillon & Reid's concept of the liberal way of war neoliberalism, as global liberal governance, uses the invisible hand of the market in order to identify and eliminate any threats to the neoliberal political order.<sup>64</sup> The narrative of self-reliance and free choice, within neoliberalism, is used to engage normalcy in the political economic community. The ideology of neoliberalism is produced through political rhetoric. Like memorialization, it re-engages normalcy in the social fantasy of the political. Neoliberalism is both an ideological construct and a normative structure that produces the political subject in a two-fold process. The ideology of neoliberalism formed in the discursive structure by political rhetoric, conceals trauma and produces political memory. Through the normalizing structure of neoliberalism, the political subject internalizes the discursive mechanism and becomes the agent of his or her own subjugation.

I argue that through the neoliberal discursive mechanisms of ideology and behavioral normalization, President Piñera was able to continue the discourse of individual development and self-reliance as a (re)narrativization of sovereignty following the shock of the earthquake. Security in Chile is not the responsibility of the government. The responsibility of the government is to optimize individual economic development and self-reliance.

Successfully integrated into the national economy, each Chilean actor, by increasing their own self-reliance, will successfully contribute to the economic recovery. Increased prosperity will provide greater security, both individually and collectively. President Piñera presents the narrative that a more prosperous Chile, free of poverty and superior in education, will be protected from any trauma. Pinochet constructed the economic, new Chilean through the discursive mechanism of ideology and behavior normalization. Piñera re-engages normalcy in the traumatized political community by calling out to the economic subject. Desiring autonomy

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<sup>64</sup> Dillon & Reid, 2009.

and security in the political community, the Chilean subject (re)engages in a discourse of self-reliance and individual development and responsibility. The myth of sovereignty is preserved.

Economic development, a goal vaguely constructed, is a constantly in motion, leaving the attainment of greater security elusive. The destruction of the earthquake is presented as an opportunity to rebuild “better than ever” towards a realization of greater stability and security. The neoliberal trajectory, once in motion, is self-perpetuating towards an elusive and ever-changing objective of greater stability and security. The neoliberal structure and discursive mechanism of governance internalized in the modern Chilean subject effectively detached neoliberal from its violent initiation. The ideology of neoliberal (co)produced a political memory of increased security through self-realization. In Piñera’s Chile, neoliberalism is not remembered as an instrument of violence, rather the inverse. Figure 4 details the constitution of the Chilean Economic Subject.

Figure 4.



As for the future of neoliberalism in Chile, the current ideology will continue unless the contradictions of the neoliberalism system become so great that the ideology cannot continue to (re)produce itself anymore. The breakdown of the ideology may occur as a systematic contradiction or a societal contradiction. A resistance movement is currently present within Chile, who does not see the current movement towards economic development as providing a better well-being to *all* Chileans. In fact, the resistance see economic development as intensifying the divide between the rich and the poor, while simultaneously stripping the poor of all government and social provisions. A social movement, not absorbed into the system like the 'Third Way', could alter the (re)production of the neoliberal ideology within Chile. Until that day, neoliberalism is still the mechanism for achieving greater security and protection in the modern Chilean community.

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## APPENDIX A.

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