Metaphoric language in a dictator’s discourse: Rhetorical analysis of three speeches by Augusto Pinochet

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Metaphoric language in a dictator’s discourse: Rhetorical analysis of three speeches by Augusto Pinochet

by

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ABSTRACT

General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte’s regime ruled Chile from 1973 to 1989. During his rule, the dictator gave important speeches at crucial moments in Chile’s historical unfolding. He extensively animated his speeches with metaphors that served specific rhetorical purposes responding to the exigencies of the situations in which they were given. In this thesis, I conduct a rhetorical analysis of the metaphors in three speeches Pinochet gave to the country: the first, a month after seizing power; the second, five years into power; and the third, right after the results of the plebiscite that voted him out of power were known. By utilizing George Osborn’s (1962) scheme of metaphor categorization, I differentiate Pinochet’s metaphors and assess their rhetorical implications. My main findings show how the metaphors he most used served the purpose of rhetorically—in tandem with the brute force of an oppressive regime—enacting a shared identity amongst Chileans against Marxist and Socialist ideologies. The regime rhetorically and forcefully framed the conversation in terms of a state of war, which legitimized a human rights violations that left a toll of thousands of people dead, tortured, and “disappeared.” The metaphors he employed describe a continuous evolutionary trajectory from the first to the second speeches, which is interrupted in the third speech. Because the first introduced the regime, and the second acknowledged what had been done in its first four years and announced what was to be done in the coming few, the rhetoric, thus the metaphors, had to reflect a sense of historical and political continuation. The third speech, however, bookends the beginning of the end of one stage, and proclaims the advent of a new one—one of a significantly different political trajectory.
CHAPTER I: METAPHORIC LANGUAGE IN A DICTATOR’S DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF THREE SPEECHES BY AUGUSTO PINOCHET

Introduction

Putting an end to a long tradition of democratic rule and military subservience to political power, General Augusto Pinochet seized power following a coup d’état against the government of Salvador Allende. September 11 of 1973 is to this day remembered in Chile with mixed sentiments of opprobrium and, increasingly less so, gratitude. In the 17 years spanning from 1973 through 1990, the regime imposed a new Constitution, restructured the health, education, and pension systems, and embraced with zeal neoliberal reforms that turned majoritarian control of these key areas from the state to private corporations. Also, it banned public gatherings, censored dissenting media, dissolved political parties, and cemented a profound polarization of the Chilean social and cultural imaginary. Also, according to official figures cited in Weber, 1999, the dictatorship was directly responsible for at least 3197 deaths, more than thirty thousand cases of torture, and more than eighty thousand cases of arrests without process, institutionalizing what current Chilean President Michelle Bachelet recently called “state terrorism and arbitrariness” (Dirección de Prensa - Gobierno de Chile, 2015)

Three landmark speeches that Pinochet gave during his dictatorship serve as watersheds for significant phases of Chilean history and of the regime. The first of these was given a month after the coup, on October 11, 1973, and served the purpose of framing the military intervention as an effect of the convoluted state of affairs in the country. The second, taking place on July 9, 1

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1 A poll shows that 68% of Chileans believe there are never reasons to back up a military coup, compared to the 21% that believe the 1973 coup was justified (Market Opinion Research International and Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea - Mori-Cerc, 2015). The same poll shows that 76% believe Pinochet will be remembered as a dictator, while only 15% think it will be as “one of the best leaders Chile has had.”
1977, responded to emerging tensions within the junta between sectors that believed the military government had been in power for too long and showed no signs of stepping down and those who believed the country had to remain under military rule. The third speech took place after the results of the 1988 plebiscite were known, which denied the dictator an 8-year term and mandated democratic elections be held for the presidency. On each speech, Pinochet uses metaphors not only to illustrate his and the junta’s arguments, but also to constitute the arguments through the metaphors.

Introduce here with something a little stronger, about WHY studying the metaphors offers us an understanding about how Pinochet rhetorically defended his assumption of power and why metaphors. Metaphors involve “nonliteral comparisons in which a word or phrase from one domain of experience is applied to another domain” (Foss, 2004). Although initially considered merely in terms of their stylistic contribution, metaphors are now seen as an instrumental way of rhetorically shaping both the reality around us and our own interactions with that reality (see Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Foss & Radich, 1984). According to I.A. Richards (1936), the two components of metaphors are “vehicle” the “tenor.” The “tenor” refers to the topic or subject matter the metaphor is addressing—in the classic example of “he fought like a lion,” “courage” or bravery would be the tenor of the simile, while the “vehicle” would be comparison of the interpretation of the person in terms of a lion. In this thesis I will analyze the variety of metaphoric vehicles Pinochet used in the three speeches mentioned above to advance a framework of reality.

Before beginning an analysis of the speeches, it will be useful to have an understanding of Allende’s Chile and the conditions that anteceded the military intervention. Also, the reader will benefit from a history of the dictatorship that outlines the chronology of the convoluted
unfolding of events in Chile under authoritarian rule and the events that precipitated the coup. An understanding of this helps to contextualize Pinochet’s use of invention through metaphor to defend his intervention and assumption of leadership, and accomplish the different rhetorical objectives of each of the speeches.

Historical Contextualization


The political scenario in 1970’s Chile. The nomination of Salvador Allende for the presidency was the result of an alliance between the Communist and Socialist parties and other groups, notably the Leftist Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario, MIR.) The Radical Party (Partido Radical, PR) was traditionally a center group, but eschewed allying with the Christian Democrat Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC) in favor of Allende and his platform of socialization, thus joining the left conglomerate Popular Unity (Unidad Popular, UP.) For that reason, the PDC competed with their own candidate, Radomiro Tomic, while the right wing, grouped under the National Party (Partido Nacional, PN,) backed the independent Jorge Alessandri, son of former three-times president Arturo Alessandri.

Foreign involvement in the election. The two world superpowers of the time, the United States and the Soviet Union, had vested interests in the outcome of the election.

For the United States, a democratic victory of the socialist Allende was dangerous politically and economically. For one thing, it could serve to encourage other South American countries to elect left-wing leaders, threatening the ideological hegemony of American capitalism. For another, direct interests of American corporations established in Chile, most notably in mining, were jeopardized if the nationalization efforts succeeded. Declassified documents from the Nixon administration show how the American president himself instructed
the CIA to impede Allende’s victory in the elections (Kornbluh, 2003). The agency invested about half-a-million dollars in covert operations of economic sabotage and publishing propagandistic news and editorial pieces in the most influential newspaper of the time, *El Mercurio*. Owned by Agustín Edwards Eastman, who worked closely with the CIA throughout the Pinochet regime, *El Mercurio* exploited the polarized political climate and further inflamed the animosity between blocks, igniting fear among the upper classes about an eventual Allende presidency. Similarly, the Soviet Union saw the potential election of Allende as a way to extend its influence in a region where right-wing dictatorships controlled six countries at the time. Through KGB operations, the Soviet Union infused US$400,000 into the socialist campaign, as well as providing a personal subsidy of US$50,000 to Allende himself (Mitrokhin & Christopher, 2005). Undisclosed amounts of money were further disbursed to secure Allende’s nomination to the presidency in the subsequent process of congressional ratification.

*Allende victory, ratification by congress, and ascent to power.* The Chilean constitution required absolute majority (more than 50% among all candidates) for a candidate to be declared winner in the first round, which was very unlikely to occur in an election with three candidates, each representing major political blocks. If no absolute majority emerged, congress had to choose between the two candidates with the most votes. Allende received a 36.61% of the preferences and only 39,000 votes more than Arturo Alessandri, who received 35.27% of the more than 3,000,000 votes cast. Radomiro Tomic came in third, receiving 28.11%. Although traditionally congress had chosen the frontrunner for office, there was speculation about whether it would do the same with Allende. The PDC did voice its concerns about the continuation of the depoliticized nature of the army and freedom of the press. They controlled enough seats to determine the outcome of the election, so they negotiated and signed an agreement of “Statute of
Constitutional Guarantees” (*Estatuto de Garantías Constitucionales*) where Allende promised not to undermine the Chilean constitution. The conservatives would not give power to Allende so easily, and with the coordinating help of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (now ITT Co.) and the involvement of the CIA, planned to kidnap the head of the armed forces, General René Schneider. Schneider, regarded a constitutionalist, had been outspoken on his belief that the military should not interfere with internal politics, and rejected the idea of a military coup in the case Allende was confirmed for office. However, the plot went terribly wrong, as the CIA operatives killed rather than kidnap René Schneider, outraging the PDC and cementing support from the military. Incumbent President Eduardo Frei named General Carlos Prats as Commander in Chief of the army. Two days after the attack, on October 26th, congress confirmed Allende with 78% of the votes and became the first democratically elected socialist in the western hemisphere.

*Government of the Unidad Popular.* The UP’s thrust was based on the assumption that a capitalist state like the Chilean could transition democratically and peacefully into a socialist state if power were to be concentrated by the working classes or representatives of it. Some of the country’s peculiar characteristics seemed to add weight to the viability of such project: a long history of political tolerance achieved through democracy, institutional and legal flexibility, professional and nonpartisan role of the armed forces, and the maturity and well-organized nature of working class movements. Although the UP had risen to power in the executive, they were aware of the State as consisting of several chunks of power, including the judiciary, the legislature, and the bureaucracy. Therefore, the “Chilean road to socialism” hinged on key reforms that sought to endow the State with the power to carry out the project integrally, considering all pockets of power.
**Economic Measures.** The first policy Allende enacted was the nationalization of several industries, most importantly, of the copper mines in the north. When the comptroller general of the republic estimated the compensations owed to the companies, he determined that most should receive very little, and that some even owed the Chilean state for illegal expatriation of capital.

Pedro Vuskovic, minister of economy and architect of the government economic plan, reasoned that industry would increase its production and employ more people if demand for products increased. To achieve this, he increased workers’ salaries by 35-40%, in part to make up for the 34% inflation registered in 1970. He also froze prices, which caused some products to drop below production costs. The increased demand spurred industrial activity and production and lowered unemployment. In a demonstration of support for the governing coalition, the municipal elections showed UP candidates winning fifty percent of the votes. Encouraged by the results, the government would accelerate the implementation of the reforms.

These actions alarmed the powerful business elite, who saw their interests jeopardized and would do everything to “prevent further advances and to inhibit and hold back consolidation of the gains that had been made” (Roxborough, O'Brien, Roddick, & Gonzalez, 1977). The divisions between these groups in Chile were brushed aside in order to create a united front against the government policies.

**Supply Problems and Social Agitation.** Dynamism in the economy would soon meet internal and external challenges. As stocks of supplies for industries were depleted, they placed orders that were not served by the international providers, mostly US corporations (Kornbluh, 2003), which stalled production and created a crisis of supply. Some goods began to be scarce, and when supply of basics like sugar and oil started to decline, people began hoarding them, further deepening stock problems. The government established the *canasta popular* program
(popular basket), which granted low-income families essentials for two weeks. As domestic production of foods dwindled, Allende turned to international markets to provide for this program, increasing spending far more than the UP had planned at the beginning of the government. A black market of basic goods would soon develop, with storeowners backdoor selling products at prices much higher than the regulations allowed. Confrontations between the public and storeowners would emerge, as members of the former accused the latter of refusing to sell basic products, or to charge abusive prices for them.

In this atmosphere of rising uncertainty, media mogul Agustín Edwards Eastman would prove instrumental in undermining the government (Skoknic, 2015). His media monopoly of several magazines and newspapers, including *El Mercurio*—the largest newspaper in the country with local editions in every major city—were effective tools of instigation. While under the CIA’s payroll, the newspaper’s objective was to destabilize the government of Salvador Allende, by widely reporting on the scarcity of products and street violence, and writing inflammatory editorial pieces that called for direct insurrection, and regarded Allende as no-longer president under the constitution.

The deeply polarized social climate began to manifest in violent clashes in rural and urban areas. In the south, peasants began occupying *fundos* while their owners or administrators were away on business. They would stand armed at the gates and prevent owners entering the property. In the cities, workers’ takeover of factories and industries rose significantly. When asked by land and business owners to intervene and stop the appropriations, the government would not interfere, citing a 1930s decree which authorized state take over if a firm had labor problems. This saw the emergence of armed vigilante groups, which would defend the *fundos*

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2 Country estates in large fertile lands
from the peasants in deadly shootouts. Notorious groups of this time include Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty) and Comando Rolando Matus.

The depth of the reforms also clashed with the UP’s determination to conduct them within the existing legal framework of the country. Bound by the agreement with the PDC to uphold the constitution on the one hand, but with radical groups like the MIR pushing for a more aggressive advance of the reforms, the UP saw its internal cohesion teeter.

National Strike. A national strike in October 1972 would deepen the crisis. What began as a demonstration by truckers in the south, quickly spread to the rest of the country, and was joined by professional organizations of lawyers, doctors, and architects. Retailers and industries also participated in the strike, shutting down businesses for twenty-four hours. The truckers’ union had direct monetary support by the CIA, which allowed them to maintain blockages at crucial points of the main highways, effectively paralyzing the whole country and the flow of goods and supplies. Chile’s peculiar long and narrow shape proved useful for this purpose, as there were only two main north-south highways. Pressure from these groups proved effective, and forced Allende to include the military in his cabinet.

The presence of army men in the cabinet was rejected by worker unions, who feared they were going to be forced to return the industries they had taken over. The more radical left groups within the Unidad Popular also voiced their concerns, arguing that Chile needed to continue the revolutionary road, and that the inclusion of the military meant the government was taking a moderate reformist turn in policies. After enough pressure mounted, Allende decided to dismiss the officers from political duties and appointed a civilian cabinet.

Tanquetazo. The most critical point in the relations between the armed forces and the government before the coup was marked by the June 29, 1973 episode known as the tanquetazo
(tank putsch.) Several junior officers from the 2nd Batallion rebelled against their command and led a column of sixteen armored vehicles along with infantrymen and sieged the government palace, La Moneda, and the building of the Ministry of Defense. They opened fire, killing five civilians and injuring several others, before the rebellion was suffocated by loyal army forces, including an infantry battalion led by General Augusto Pinochet, at the time second in command in the army. Even though the coup attempt was unsuccessful, it served Intelligence Officers to assess the resistance capabilities of the government.

**Prats Resigns and Pinochet Becomes Commander-in-Chief.** Just two days before the tanquetazo, then Commander-in-Chief General Carlos Prats saw himself involved in a confusing event that would prompt his resignation. After allegedly being provoked by the two people in a car that stopped next to his, he came out with his service weapon in hand and ordered them to step out of the car. When they did not comply, he fired at the car’s front bumper. The occupiers of the car came out of the vehicle—one of them was a woman. A crowd started to gather around the place of the incident. Prats tried to apologize to no avail, and people in the crowd accused him of trying to kill the woman. His car was blocked, graffiti sprayed, and its tires punctured. Prat was taken out of the place by a cab driver. Prats’s standing was greatly undermined after the incident. The right took advantage of the situation to criticize his “Schneider Doctrine” of military non-intervention in civilian matters. Tensions reached a tipping point when a group of wives of generals and officers staged a demonstration in front of his house, protesting his inaction in restoring order. Prats subsequently asked his generals to publicly confirm their loyalty to him, to which most refused. Convinced he had lost the respect of his men, he resigned on August 23, recommending to Allende that General Augusto Pinochet succeed him.
CHAPTER II: WHY METAPHORS?

...at the heart of the metaphoric experience there remains a mystery. 
_Michael Osborn, 2009_

**Theoretical Framework**

Metaphors have a faculty of demarcating the fields of the interpretation of reality. As such, they are a powerful tool for rhetoric because, if successful, they create fertile conditions for identification. They have been carefully studied by scholars for their power to “[help] us understand and interpret the world and the events, ideas, and people in it” (Benoit, 2001). Metaphors allow the rhetor to create associations between seemingly unrelated objects, people, or ideas, and, by stoking the audience’s imaginative fire, demarcate the interpretive field within which their understanding of the issue will operate. This faculty of demarcation presents a powerful tool for rhetoric because, if successful, it creates fertile conditions for identification. As we will see later in this chapter, this may occur even without the conscious participation of the audience. And that is very relevant to our discussion of the speeches of Augusto Pinochet. Holding a nation at gunpoint is the more obvious display of the power of a dictatorship; however, being able to steer social upheaval in a direction useful to the administration, constitutes a subtler dimension of power. It is hard to determine to what extent the persuasion exerted by rhetoric was effective when it was performed in tandem with the intimidation of weapons. However, Pinochet demarcated the playing field for the Chileans’ understanding of the social conditions of the country by using metaphors that successfully and profoundly divided society in two camps: socialists and conservatives. From this perspective, his rhetoric and that of his regime was effective even beyond state terror, targeted persecution, and suppression of civil liberties.
In this section, I will first offer a definition of metaphor based mainly on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and the rhetorical referential work of Jasinski (2001). Then, I will take a “slow-motion” look at the mechanism through which audiences process metaphors. Particularly, I will delve in the three-step process comprised by error, puzzlement-recoil, and resolution, (Osborn & Ehninger, 1962) and the different elements at play in their unfolding. Wherever relevant, I will provide examples from the speeches given by Pinochet to illustrate the concept I am discussing.

**Definition of metaphor.** In their seminal 1980 work, *Metaphors We Live By*, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson explored what they saw as the central rhetorical figure—metaphor. In *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*, Jasinski explains that although Lakoff and Johnson did not use the term *figuration*, “the overall thrust of their book amplified the definition [of figuration]”. Jasinski argues that in diverse scholarly traditions “figuration refers to the act or process of shaping or structuring human perception and cognition through rhetorical figures” (p. 258). Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson maintain that “human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical … the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined” (p. 6). Michael Osborn establishes as the first overarching function of metaphors that of “controlling perceptions.”

At its core a metaphor is “thinking about one thing *in terms of* something else” (Lakoff and Johnson qtd. in Jasinski, 2001, p. 258). This approach to understand metaphor can be classified within interaction theory advanced by Leff. As the name suggests, in interaction theory a metaphor “consists of the juxtaposition of two terms normally regarded as belonging to different classes of experience” (Leff, 1983, p. 223). The following section takes a careful look at how this interaction occurs and is processed by the reader/listener.
Osborn’s “process of metaphor”

Stimulus-response cycle. In “The Metaphor in Public Address,” Michael Osborn offers a model to understand the “process of metaphor” (1962, p. 226) within an interactionist framework. For Osborn, metaphors are both “communicative stimulus and mental response” (p. 226). The communicative stimulus is performed when the rhetor identifies an object, person, or idea, with another sign that, in a traditional sense, denotes something altogether different. The “mental response,” occurring in the mind of the audience, involves the interaction of two competing thoughts or “interpretants” (p. 226) presented by the stimulus: the signs used by the rhetor and their usual denotation, called “subject”, and the special denotation of the signs with which the “subject” is associated, thus called “item for association” (p. 227, emphasis in original). Following I.A. Richards, Osborn calls the subject “tenor” and the item for association “vehicle.” The psychological experience of metaphoric meaning occurs, put simply, “along the lines of association which [are obtained] between tenor and vehicle” (p. 228, emphasis in the original). For example, when in his first speech Pinochet asserts that the country has been “dragged … to misery, hatred, and violence,” the tenor, the situation of the country, is associated with the vehicle of being dragged. The act of dragging, in its usual denotation of “to be pulled along,” is applied to people and generally against their will, but not to the abstract entity of a country. Meaning is to be derived from the lines of association between country and being dragged. In this case, personification, a “metaphoric device” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 60), occurs, where the underlying metaphor is “country as a person.” Qualifiers demarcate the lines of association, and are the subject of the next section.
**Qualifiers in the process of metaphor.** Qualifiers “suggest or direct how the metaphor will be understood” (p. 228). Osborn distinguishes four types of qualifiers: “contextual,” “communal,” “archetypal,” and “private” (pp. 228, 229, 230).

Contextual qualifiers serve to circumscribe the “linguistic or situational” (p. 228) field where the metaphor will operate. The most relevant for this thesis are the *thematic* and *minor* qualifiers, which are themselves metaphors that influence the meaning fields. Thematic metaphors affect the whole structure or content of the speech, whereas minor metaphors “either prepare for a thematic metaphor … or simply have circumscribed influence” (p. 229), yet both serve to signal the interpretive limits intended by the rhetor. Hence, they are considered contextual qualifiers. For example, the personification of country as being a badly beaten person dragged to misery is thematic, because its symbolic influence permeates the whole speech and its meaning serves as the main justification for the military intervention.

Communal qualifiers refer to the shared dispositions, attitudes or assumptions of an audience regarding a response to particular stimulus or set of stimuli. Communal qualifiers underlie the interpretive experience, and are rooted in tradition or folklore, or are imposed by an authority. They constitute a well-defined line of association between tenor and vehicle.

Archetypal qualifiers are among the most used by rhetors because they appeal to the human experience beyond the limits of a particular time or culture. Archetypal qualifiers, Osborn maintains, “depend upon experiences common to men of many races and ages” (p. 229). They can be differentiated from communal qualifiers in that through frequent use, the latter lose their metaphoric nature to become the actual signifiers of their initial subjects, whereas the former’s metaphoric nature persists over time. For example, in the original Spanish the expression used in “ensure maintaining internal order” is “velar,” which in its original meaning refers to perform a
vigil through the night. However, “velar” has been associated to “ensure” or “make sure that…” so often that it has become practically devoid of metaphorical meaning. Other archetypal metaphors, however, like that of hot/cold, are very much at work in the speeches of Pinochet when, for example, he maintains that the concerns about the country expressed by the population were met by a “cold response” by the previous administration.

Although he initially asserted archetypal metaphors were “immune” to time and culture, in a later paper Osborn requalifies that statement, maintaining that “both their meaning and their importance across time can also be affected by large cultural developments” (2009, p. 82).

The final type of qualifier Osborn describes is the private qualifier, and it refers to linguistic choices specific to a particular rhetor, and that give the metaphor its uniqueness. Possibly, and due to his documented interest in paranormal activity, Pinochet’s references to “the Portalian spirit” and “workers’ mystique” could be understood as a private qualifier.

**Metaphor interpretation.** Osborn maintains that the interpretation of a metaphor follows three distinct phases: “error, puzzlement-recoil, and resolution” (p. 226, emphasis in the original). The following sections delve in detail into each stage.

The first step, error, stems from the propensity of audiences, be them readers or listeners, to interpret words or phrases by their usual denotations—that is, their literal sense. Osborn defends the naturalness of this tendency, as it “promotes rapid and reliable communication, since in most cases the literal meaning is the one intended.” When the use is metaphorical, the denotation intended for the object, thing, idea, etc. is not the usual, literal one, but an entirely different. In other words, the subject is associated to an item with which at first glance does not share denotative meaning or characteristics. In the aforementioned example, when Pinochet maintains that the “country” was “dragged to misery,” the *error* manifests when trying to apply
the idea of physical movement by pulling, dragging, to an abstract concept, country. The error phase ends when the audience members realize that the intended meaning is different from the usual denotation of the sign. A brief phase of puzzlement-recoil ensues, wherein the reader/listener is first puzzled by the surface discrepancy of their expectations of meaning and the actual denotation intended by the rhetor, and as a response recoils from the “agitation that accompanies uncertainty” (p. 227). In turn, recoil provides the necessary impulse to solve the confusion that emerged from the unusual use of the metaphoric term, and there enters the resolution, which is the final and most significant step of the “metaphoric response” (p. 227).

Osborn maintains that the contents of the resolution will depend on the subject and items for association, which create the lines of association demarcated by the qualifiers. In our metaphor example from Pinochet, “country” and “drag” are connected by the lines demarcated by the situation where the speech is given, the recent years of Chilean history, the even more recent coup d’état, etc.

The final step of resolution, which may occur almost instantly and automatically or it may take substantial time, is the most complex part of the metaphor process. It is here where “the essential elements, the forces working upon them, and the structural relationships [obtained] among them” function to resolve the “adventure in meaning” that using metaphors posits. It begins “with an insight” (p. 231, emphasis in the original) by the members of the audience of the speaker’s apparently incongruent association of interpretants. Propelled by puzzlement, the listener/readers draw from all available contextual, communal, archetypal, and private qualifiers at their disposal, and uses them to build the lines of association that can link vehicle and tenor in a way that is satisfactory “intellectually and/or emotionally” (p. 231). Association, therefore, lies at the core of the resolution of a metaphor. With the lines of association firmly established
between the two initially unrelated concepts, the grounds for the semantic proximity or similarity
the speaker suggests is made clear, and “[out] of this shared ground emerges the interpreted
meaning” (p. 231). To return to the metaphor we have been using as an example, in a process
that was very likely automatic and unconscious, a listener of Pinochet’s speech, when confronted
with the metaphor of a “country being dragged to misery,” responds by assigning it a meaning
along the lines of “the policies of the previous administration led the country’s economy astray.”

**Methodological Considerations**

My analysis was carried out on three speeches Pinochet gave at very distinct stages of his
regime: the first, a month after the coup; the second, four years into the regime; and the third,
right after the results of the plebiscite that voted him out of power were known. I chose these
particular speeches because, taken collectively, they allow me a panoramic view of the
developments of the politics of the regime from the perspective of the rulers. Naturally, the
original speeches were in Spanish. Thus, before commencing any interpretive or analytical task, I
translated them into English. Interested readers can see both the original Spanish and my English
translations in Appendix E.

The way in which I conducted the metaphor analysis follows the method outlined by Foss
in *Rhetorical Criticism* (2004). Thus, the steps were to “isolate the metaphors … [look] for
patterns in metaphor use … [and] develop an explanation for the artifact” (p. 303-04). To
accomplish the first step, I have isolated and collected all metaphors I could find throughout the
speeches. With that information, I organized the patterns I found following the types of qualifiers
and metaphors that Osborn described and put all the data into tables found in Appendixes A-E. I
have articulated an “explanation of the artifact[s]” by trying to establish textual and contextual
links, the former from the speeches themselves, and the latter from the temporally situated
sociocultural context that I describe in the more historical sections. Considering that the 3-step resolution process Osborn describes frequently occurs instantaneously, I will not expand upon how each of the metaphors follows the error, recoil, and resolution steps. Rather, I will point out instances when interpretation does not follow that general framework, and metaphors operate in a different, more surreptitious manner.

Having laid out the theoretical framework, I will now begin the analysis of the speeches with the first one Pinochet gave as head of state, one month after the coup.
CHAPTER III: PINOCHET'S FIRST SPEECH AS HEAD OF STATE

In this chapter I will briefly review the events precipitating in the weeks before the coup. Then I will conduct a metaphor analysis of the first speech Pinochet gave as head of state one month into the regime.

Historical Contextualization

The coup and beginning of the dictatorship. Even though the exact day was unknown to the general population, several events forecast the pronouncement of September 11, 1973. Chief amongst them was the Tanquetazo of June 29, 1973. Tank battalions led by rebelling junior officers sieged the government palace and the building of the Ministry of Defense. Five civilians died as a result. Tensions temporarily subsided thanks to the intervention of loyal army forces, but the determination of forces within the armed forces to intervene in the country’s politics was more evident than ever.

Another event was the resignation of then commander in chief Carlos Prats. Staunch defender of a policy of military non-intervention in political affairs (so-called Schneider doctrine,) he resigned after several senior officers did not publicly pledge allegiance to his command. Prats recommended as his successor a young senior officer in command of a tank battalion who had been involved in defusing the Tanquetazo. His docile character and loyalty to the political power would ensure the continuation of the civilian government. Following Prats’s cue, Allende appointed Augusto Pinochet as commander in chief of the army. A few weeks later, the coup took place.

The Chilean coup of 1973 was arguably the most shockingly violent military intervention seen in the well-nourished history of dictatorships in Latin America. In the heart of Santiago, the
capital of the country, the government building was besieged by tanks and infantry while jet fighters dropped their deadly loads in a surreal succession comparable in spectacularity to an action movie. The government of the democratically elected socialist, Salvador Allende, was overthrown after months of mounting social and economic instability in the country, being replaced by the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. Even though historians agree that he was, to the last minute, the most hesitant member of the high command of the Armed Forces about the need for the pronouncement, the commander in chief of the largest branch—the Army—emerged before the country as the leader of the new regime.

In its first weeks, the regime arrested thousands of people, many of whom were tortured. Politicians associated with the Allende government sought asylum or self-exiled themselves overseas. A month after the coup, on October 11, all media outlets—radio, television, and print—had been intervened by military forces, and a strict curfew effectively and violently suppressed public demonstrations of disapproval and free circulation of individuals between certain times. It was now time for the current head of state to address the nation in a speech that was to be broadcast by all the television and radio networks of the time.

**Speech Analysis**

**Structure and objectives.** I divided the speech into five main parts. Each refer to clear, specific rhetorical objectives Pinochet wants to accomplish:

1. He explains why the chaotic situation of the country and the political recklessness of the deposed administration justified a military intervention.
2. He asserts the legitimacy of the actions the military had taken up to that point, framing the situation in the context of a much larger war of the “freedom-loving peoples” against the “Marxist dictatorship.”
3. He criticizes the socialist conception of humanity, contrasting it to that of the incoming regime. He also criticizes the assumptions behind the socialist model of economic development, again contrasting them to the tenets that will guide the new administration.

4. He turns to a general outline of the policies the regime will enact, while at the same time outlining the new roles the state will have in their accomplishment.

5. He explains how healthy citizenship and appropriate democratic participation look like.

By surveying the speech I could note Pinochet uses 23 distinct metaphors with varying frequency and with different purposes. The most significant metaphoric qualifiers, and the ones I will analyze in this chapter, are: archetypal (when referring to metaphors of space and movement, health, and family,) major (governing is performing a military mission, country is a building,) and minor (Chilean people are one entity.) The qualifier type with the highest number of instances is the archetypal.

The next sections of this chapter will provide an overview of each and an analysis of the rhetorical effects the use of the metaphors achieves.

**Archetypal Qualifiers**

*Space and Movement.* The most frequently used is the space/movement metaphor, which is also one of the few that Pinochet employs throughout the speech. Examples from the speech include “we have arrived to an internal chaos that places the State in utmost danger,” “[groups trying to] deepen differences between peasants and urban populations.” These metaphors are archetypal because they relate to a human experience that transcends cultures and time. Lakoff and Johnson argue that they “are not arbitrary … [because] they have a basis in our physical and cultural experience” (14). Even blind individuals develop spatial awareness with sound or the contact of a baton with the ground. As of movement, even permanently bedridden individuals are
aware of the movement of others relative to themselves, and of themselves when carried around by others. In other words, space and movement are integral to life, and as such provide a rich ground for metaphoric invention.

The vehicle of space and movement metaphors varies as much as the literal, non-figurative ways to refer to our relationship to space and movement do. For example, in non-figurative terms, we might want to approach, distance, reach, or arrive somewhere because of all sorts of circumstances; or we might want to push, pull, drag, or move something or somebody because of all sorts of intentions and with all sorts of consequences. Both categories entail, at the same time, the idea of changing physical location—in space—to another location—through movement. In some instances, we might refer to space without it involving movement (e.g. the valley is deep below sea level), but we will always refer to, or imply space when talking about movement, as all movement occurs in space. These notions transfer to the metaphoric uses of space and movement expressions because, when applied metaphorically, they can help convey the endless amount of possibilities in intention and consequence that operating in space through movement, on either objects or people, can have in the world.

Pinochet uses a wide array of the many possibilities that the space and movement metaphors offer him. For example:

A new Constitution of the Republic must allow the dynamic evolution that the world today demands and cast away forever all political maneuvering, sectarianism, and demagogy to eradicate hunger and poverty from Chile, raise the standard of living of its inhabitants, and reach a privileged place among the peoples of the civilized world.

To cast away undesirable ideas and outcomes implies expelling them through a movement whose intention is to distance the country from improper intervention.
Finally, space is metaphorically used to describe the kinds of separation in place between different groups in the country. The vehicle in this kind of metaphor takes various forms. For example, Pinochet claims that there have been groups of people whose only desire had been to “deepen differences between peasants and urban populations” and to increase the “gap between the poor and those who are not, which the regime would not tolerate.” Thus, the separating properties of physical space inform the divisions that metaphoric space demarcates, emphasizing the conceptual, emotional, and ideological gap between Chileans.

**Personification.** Perhaps one thing each and all conscious humans have in common and can agree upon, is that they are or exist and have a sense of who they are. Thus, personhood suits perfectly the role of acting as the vehicle for a type of metaphor that “allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with non-human entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 33). This is personification.

The structure of all personifications is that whatever the tenor, the metaphoric vehicle is a person. For example, in the sentence “the findings refute all that we thought we knew about it,” the findings are personified in that they, like a person, refute previous knowledge on the topic. In Osborn’s terms, the lines of association between the vehicle and the tenor are as innumerable as there are people’s attitudes, characteristics, or any other aspect that we might want to borrow to foster the psychological experience of metaphoric meaning. Some examples from Lakoff and Johnson:

*Life has cheated me.*
*Cancer finally caught up with him*
*Inflation has robbed me of my savings.* (p. 33)

Pinochet uses personification in different ways, treating events and institutions as people of different moral quality. In my assessment, the most potent example of personification is that
in which he refers to the deposed administration in terms of a deranged individual who had engaged in a “process of incredible *moral and administrative* corruption”. In another occasion he calls Allende’s “an *egomaniac government*”. To understand the implications of this personification one must reflect on the political climate of the time. The Pinochet regime had implemented a strict curfew that resulted in numerous detentions and disappearances. Violent repression of dissent, particularly in the marginal areas of large cities, had crushed resistance. A semblance of order, guarded by machine guns and military vehicles on the streets, emerged in the country. The coup had happened a month before, and in it, Salvador Allende, one of the most popular Chilean leaders, ended up dead. In this context, I believe that bringing up the name of Salvador Allende would have aroused tensions with which the military did not want to deal. Direct criticism of the former president could have been incendiary. Instead, by personifying Allende’s government, Pinochet could accuse him and those who supported him of the most severe misconducts, yet not mention their names once.

Another use of personification is the one where the image of a badly beaten and betrayed person is used to interpret the current state of affairs in the country. This metaphor connects directly with the next section, so I will examine it there.

*Health.* Health metaphors are particularly powerful in that they appeal to our experiences of illness and good health, or pain and sickness to describe the state of an institution or situation. They are archetypal in that humans across time and cultures can relate to the very powerful and viscerally vivid realities that they evoke, particularly when referring to sickness. The vehicle for health metaphors are not limited to good/bad health and any point within that spectrum, but also to the plethora of aspects involved in the medical profession. This includes procedures and treatments for which a general understanding is relatively common knowledge to audiences (e.g.
surgical removals, blood transfusions, organ transplants,) specific conditions whose symptoms and maybe even treatments are, as well, of relative common knowledge (e.g. fractures, broken bones, heart attacks,) and other terminology used to describe states within an illness (e.g. stable, improving, worsening). Underlying health metaphors is a personification metaphor, because the concepts linked to health are implicitly or explicitly said of a person who exhibits them.

In Pinochet’s assessment, the country is “hurting and sick” and the “healthy principles of respect to the law” are in a bad way. The “body and spirit” of the personified nation are in decay, and, given the grim condition of this badly injured patient, urgent action needs to be taken as a “palliative to such nefarious events”. By diagnosing a person, the rhetor places himself in a position of authority, namely that of a doctor. From that position he can determine the aspects of that patient’s health that should be addressed as illnesses of varying severity (very severe in this case) and thus be treated with corresponding aggressiveness. Perhaps more significant is that Pinochet gives no indicator of what would signify the “recovery of Chile”, so the duration of the treatment is as undetermined as what that recovery actually looks like. Translated to non-figurative language, the metaphors of health and treatment mean, but are not limited to, declared state of siege allowing arbitrary imprisonment of persons deemed dangerous; arbitrary torturing and murdering of detainees; brutal repression of any form of opposition; indefinite suspension of the legislative branch of the state, and a complete replacement of the members of the judiciary with attorneys close to the regime.

**Family.** Although in constant evolution, an idea of family has accompanied humans since the beginning of history through present day (see Casey, 1989). The literature on the specific roles of the family in the context of cultural and social development is wide and often conflicting (see Benson-von der Ohe & Valmari, 1986), yet it is widely agreed that the family serves to
group individuals by consanguinity, affinity (marriage or similar relationships,) or co-residence. Archetypal in that all societies in one way or another developed their ideas of families throughout time, the concept renders itself useful to become a metaphoric vehicle for unity, relatedness, and the solidification of the otherwise more abstract bonds uniting people from the same nation. The unity provided by the metaphoric family also implies a common heritage of those belonging to the family. For example, when speaking about the regime’s values, Pinochet refers to the “authentic notion of fatherland … [which requires] being faithful to the historical values inherited from their ancestors. This compels all compatriots to feel as brothers amongst ourselves”. I believe the events transpiring in Chile right after the coup (summarized in the *Personification* section) make this call for unity and faithfulness carry with it an implied threat to those not willing to embrace the beliefs and values of the family. When on the one hand there is a state of siege with tanks and army men on the streets arbitrarily detaining and torturing people, and on the other there is a call for unity and faithfulness to the one Chilean unity, the message conveyed seems to be that “if you are not part of the Chilean family, the one defined by our terms, you are an outsider and an enemy”.

I will include in this section on the family metaphor the analysis of the minor contextual metaphor summed up as *Chilean people is a homogenous entity*, mainly because of their similar rhetorical objective; namely, forcing uniformity and diffusing conflicting viewpoints within Chilean politics.

**The Chilean people is a homogeneous entity.** Although neither exclusive to Pinochet nor limited to that time, the dictator uses a reductionist metaphor that in essence is *the Chilean people is a monad*. In other words, the multiplicity of aspirations, proclivities, and political tendencies of the many individuals in the country are brushed aside in the interest of creating a
monadic unity. For example, epitomizing this concept, Pinochet claims in a sentence that those born on Chilean land “form the monolithic block of Chilean-ness”\(^3\). In physical terms, a monolith is a structure consisting of one single stone block of considerable size. It shows no diversity in its composition, which can be said to be uniform. In turn, uniformity literally and figuratively matches the conception and expectations a military government can have of the population over which it will rule.

Creating this fictitious monadic entity entails many dangers that are enhanced by the political climate of the country and the authoritarian control the government has already begun to exert. For example, if Chile is understood as one monolith, who gets to define the texture of that monolith? Which characteristics are deemed desirable, which are not? Of course, the coercive force exerted by the regime would determine the parameters of desirability or, in metaphoric terms, the material of which the monolith is made. Another question arises when considering that there is no diversity in the material constitution of a monolith: What will happen with people who are not of that material? In raw and literal terms, the disappearance and murder of thousands of Chileans during the military rule can answer those questions.

**Major contextual qualifiers**

*Governing is a military mission.* Perhaps the most obvious type of contextual metaphors to be found in the rhetoric of a military general suddenly in charge of the political decision-making of a country, a militaristic theme permeates throughout the speech. Accordingly, Pinochet draws lines of association between militaristic terms and the most diverse aspects of government and of governing. This move does not have merely stylistic implications. If we consider that “[m]etaphors can frame problems and … offer an interpretative framework that

\(^3\) Original Spanish: *chilenidad*
influences social policy” (Benoit, 2001, p. 70), understanding governing as a military mission would then justify performing war-like behaviors. Civilians opposing the regime could be interpreted not as such, but as enemy combatants; the killing, incarceration, and torture without trial of leftist leaders were not crimes, but neutralization of strategic targets. The whole frame of reference and interpretation is altered by this new understanding; consequently, the array of possibilities to solve the problematic situation of the country expands to include violence in one of its most deadly forms: military force.

For example, Pinochet asserts that

[achieving social peace] requires efforts and sacrifices we are willing to assume, relying on the ultimate success of the mission that we have set ourselves.

implying that social peace is not a state of relations within the country that is achieved by dialog and understanding, but by embracing the efforts and sacrifices (a death toll of more than 3,000 people and more than 10,000 tortured) that would, in contexts other than intense military campaigns, be unthought-of.

Country is a building. Throughout the speech, there are several instances of the metaphor countries are buildings. Pinochet uses the vehicle building to create a wide array of metaphoric meaning experiences. Following Lakoff and Johnson’s description, “[t]he parts of the concept building that are used … are the foundation and the outer shell, … [leaving out] roof, internal rooms, staircases, and hallways” (p. 52). Even though the vehicle and tenor are clearly defined (building and country, respectively) the lines of association through which metaphorical meaning is constructed describe varying routes depending on the rhetorical purpose of each instance of the metaphor. For example, Pinochet says that “rebuilding is always slower and more arduous than destroying”. When put in contrast to rebuilding, destroying narrows down its meaning to
destroying the physical structure of a building, which, in metaphoric terms, is the country itself. Given the historical context and the overall goals of the speech, it is rather obvious that Pinochet would place himself and the military government on the side of the rebuilders—unless destructing were framed in terms of effacing a faulty structure. A construction metaphor implies the joint nature of a construction effort. No one person can be reasonably in charge of building a building—not even in metaphoric terms. Therefore, it introduces the idea of a team that would, from then on, assume the role of leading the construction/reconstruction process. In concrete terms, the team is headed by the military junta, a group of generals from the army, air force, navy, and police. In their special attributions as an unchallenged legislative body, they devised and materialized the 1980’s Constitution and the overall legal framework that would regulate most aspects of Chilean politics and economy to this day.

It acknowledges that constructing a building is a lengthy and complex process. In situations where the structure has been previously destroyed or left in a bad way, as Pinochet asserts the country has, the time it will take to rebuild can be unclear to those in charge of the work. This leaves the space open for an indeterminate amount of time that the reconstruction effort, namely, the military regime, will take—17 years in this case.

**Agriculture.** Another major metaphoric theme is agriculture. It is a broad category that cannot be reduced to one, but rather many metaphors referring to the different aspects, elements, and processes involved in it, such as soil, stem, fecundity, etc. Evidently, each of these words means something entirely different; thus, the lines of association drawn between the tenor and vehicle in each instance of their use is different and so is their interpretive field. For example, in the sentence “*his heroic struggle is not a fratricidal struggle; on the contrary, it is the constant battle to root out evil from Chile,*” the laborious work of rooting out evil, such as one
would do with unwanted growths of weeds on a field, is used to represent the work ahead of the dictatorship to reverse the policies of the Allende government.

Hard agricultural work also seems to be represented in sentence construction. The next fragment shows an interesting relationship between the syntax of the sentence and the metaphor at the end of it:

*Through [professionals’ and workers’ associations], you can gather a technical voice about the problems, thus illustrating the government’s decisions, essential requisite for this relationship to be configured fruitfully.*

The long sentence, comprised of three clauses explaining the different conditions upon which cooperation can be configured, is crowned, granted the conditions in the clauses are met, with a reference to fruit. This seems to mirror the literal agricultural process of the many stages one must go through for all efforts to be crowned with the final objective: the fruit. In other words, the sentence structure, with clauses anteceding the resolution, mimics the agricultural process, with work anteceding the fruit.

**Conclusion.** In this first chapter, I analyzed the metaphors Augusto Pinochet used in his first speech as head of state, just one month after the coup. I categorized them in terms of Osborn’s types of qualifiers (archetypal, major, and minor,) and analyzed them in terms of their rhetorical effects and possible effects in the complicated times. In the archetypal qualifiers, the more salient metaphors are those of space and movement, family, personification, and health. Pinochet uses them with different purposes at different stages of the speech, taking advantage of their universal (archetypal) nature to promptly illustrate, for example, how he wanted to *move away from* an ideology, *towards a place of* privilege; or how the country was a *sick and beaten* person in need of the *palliative treatment* the regime would offer. Major and minor metaphoric
qualifiers include the understanding of *governing as a military mission* to be conducted with martial rigor and discipline; *nation as a building* left almost destroyed by the Allende administration, but on its way to be reconstructed by the regime and those collaborating with it; and the forceful imposition of a unifying mold, a *monolithic bloc* of Chilean-ness that demarcates what being a patriotic Chilean is and what is not, providing an interpretive framework to neutralize (indeed, kill) dissidents, or those who simply are not *real* Chileans.

In the next chapter, I will analyze a speech Pinochet gave seven years into his regime at the Youth Day Celebration in Chacarillas. I will trace the presence of the metaphors in this first speech and follow their evolution, and highlight others he used in this longer address to the nation.
CHAPTER IV: PINOCHET'S SPEECH TO THE YOUTH

Historical Contextualization

The Pinochet regime dramatically changed the political life of Chile. Congress was disbanded and all political parties were outlawed, concentrating legislative powers in the junta, comprised by Pinochet and three other generals. Civil courts still operated, but judges were either sympathetic to the regime or intimidated by it. Patrols would constantly sweep the poblaciones or slums—where most support for the leftists was concentrated—randomly detaining people and keeping them in custody for 1-3 days, sometimes torturing them, only to be released without charges—a very successful intimidation practice.

But fractures started to erupt within the higher commands of the military. Pinochet had been in power for four years at the moment, and some started to voice concerns about how long the regime had been in power. They also criticized the absence of a clear intention to transfer political authority back to civilians. In response, Pinochet, who had made the junta name him President and Captain General, demanded the resignation of the air force general, one of his most vocal critics. Nine other generals resigned in protest. To ensure support of the different branches of the military, he promoted loyal officers, created a different, state-administered and much better pension system for the military and police, and allocated 10% of all money from copper sales, the country’s main source of income, to the military budget—all measures tied to the legal figure of “organic constitutional laws of the State,” which have made them virtually irrevocable to this day. It is in this context that he decides to address the nation with the dual main objectives of dispelling criticism of the administration, particularly from within it, and to lay down a road map of the political future of the country.
In rhetorical terms, he used once again some of the metaphors of the first speech, but this time we see them evolve and shift in perspective. Given that it had been four years since the military seized power, the outlook Pinochet would give of the situation of the country would be much more positive than the one he gave right after the coup—right after three years of the Allende government. For example, as we will see, while the “country is a building” metaphor in 1973 was used to depict a building destroyed by the excesses of socialism, it now refers to the middle of an emerging, reconstructed building; whereas the personifications of the country in 1973 would refer to a sick, beaten individual, it now refers to a person exercising freedom and prudence, and so on—metaphors are used to cast a different light, a positive one, on the events succeeding the coup, and their repercussions in the country.

**Speech Analysis**

Pinochet decided to give a speech on September 9, 1977, to dispel criticism about the prolonged duration of the regime and lay the framework for the political future of the country. The date, September 9, is relevant in Chilean military history, as it marks the anniversary of an 1882 military battle in the Pacific War, where a Chilean battalion of 77 soldiers was defeated at La Concepción, in the Peruvian sierra against a much larger contingent, yet allegedly without surrendering at any point. Thus, to commemorate the date and, in Pinochet’s words, “the everlasting example of patriotism that is represented by the immolation of the seventy-seven young heroes,” he addresses the country at an event organized by the far-right youth movement *Frente Juvenil de Unidad Nacional*[^1]. At the Chacarillas hill, prominent youth of the time, including athletes, journalists, and right-wing political leaders, gathered to celebrate the anniversary of both the *Frente* and of the Batalla de La Concepción, and to attend Pinochet’s

[^1]: Youth Front of National Unity
speech. Although it addresses explicitly the audience in attendance, the implicit audience is the general population of the country, as the speech was broadcast live by all radio stations and television channels.

**Structure and Objectives.** Pinochet structures the speech in terms of four rhetorical objectives. First, he remembers the dire situation of the country when the military seized power, and reminds the nation that the struggle against internal and external forces had not yet ended. These forces are internal critics of the regime, and a mounting international pressure regarding the regime’s human rights violations. He claims that human rights are simply the “alleged cause” used to perform “foreign intervention.” Thus, a second objective is the framing of the “suspension of certain rights” as “exceptional and transitory,” although he is not explicit as to what rights he is referring to, nor to the duration of this transitory period. The third objective is to highlight the improvements attained since the regime seized power, alluding to “the already noticeable success of the economic plan, progress in the measures relating to social issues, and the order and tranquility that today allow our people a peaceful life.” Finally, he outlines the political plan of the junta for the country, acknowledging that “public attention has now centered to a greater extent in our legal-institutional future.” This plan includes three stages: recovery, the one he says the country finds itself at the time, and where the armed forces and police had exclusive control of power; transition, when a House of Representatives chosen or approved by the government would be established; and of constitutional normality or consolidation, where power is finally handed back to civilians.

To analyze his use of metaphor in this speech, I will first look at the ones he had already used in his first address as head of state, and trace their evolution in terms of the rhetorical effects they are accomplishing. Specifically, I will refer to the archetypal qualifiers of space and
movement, personification, and health, and to the major contextual metaphors of governing is a military mission, different construction and agriculture metaphors.

Archetypal Qualifiers

**Space and movement.** As I noted in the previous chapter, the metaphoric archetype of space and movement is ubiquitous because of the naturalness of the experience of movement to all human beings. Their “basis in culture and experience” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 16) makes their meaning available almost instantly, to the extent that many space/movement metaphors have been so naturalized into our daily language use that they seem not to be metaphoric statements at all (e.g. when referring to emotional distance “I’m closer to my dad than my mom”).

As in the first speech, Pinochet uses space/movement metaphors throughout the speech, and similar as in the first speech, the range of their functions is wide. Take, for example, the following fragment:

> But under no circumstance will we allow such attitude to be confused with weakness or doubt before those who attempt to dictate from abroad the road we must follow

In here, Pinochet is stating that the policies the regime will adopt equate to the movement one develops along a road—a movement he will not allow to be dictated from abroad. By framing policymaking in terms of a trip, this emphatic assertion gives it dynamism and attempts to highlight the regime’s agency by deciding which road to travel. Yet, interestingly, the future he refers to seems to have already been determined by other forces, as the trip occurs on a road that the regime is simply following, as opposed to creating or building⁵,⁶.

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⁵ Cf. with Bill Clinton’s 1996 acceptance address for the democratic nomination, where he urges voters to “join me and … join you in building that bridge to the twenty-first century” (Qtd. in
He uses another space and movement metaphor when discussing the conditions upon which implementing the plan he outlines rest:

_The chance to integrally materialize this plan is subject to the condition that the country continues to show the positive signs that have allowed us to move forward until now._

In this fragment both space and time are intermingled. Underlying the phrase “move forward until now” are two assumptions: first, that progress in any given area is metaphorically understood as a _movement forward_—which implies a destination towards which one moves closer. Second, this progress occurs in time, as it has been occurring until the present moment (now). As noted above, movement metaphors help to rhetorically add dynamism to the understanding of otherwise static processes. If Pinochet had said “…that have allowed us to keep on doing what we have done until now,” the meaning is roughly the same, with the same degree of indeterminacy of actions, yet without the implied vigor that traversing a road towards a destination incorporates. Intermingling time and space with so much immediacy from one another further adds relevance to the statement, suggesting that it is the actions taken by the regime that have allowed “us” (the country) to progress (move forward) to the extent we are experiencing now. Note that Pinochet conditions the implementation of the plan upon the country showing the positive signs it has shown so far. In other words, though the country is showing improvement, it is not yet time to declare it healed, thus implying the time is still not right for a government change. We will see other ways in which he develops this metaphor in the health section.

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Benoit, 2001)

6 Also interesting is the choice of words. Pinochet will not allow foreign powers to dictate policies from abroad, as if in his mind he were saying “I only dictate them from within.” However, this expression is not metaphorical in this situation, as laws were, indeed, dictated by the junta.
Personification. Whereas in the first speech most instances of personification used the image of a beaten, betrayed, and ill person to refer to the country, or of a morally deranged individual to refer to the previous government, the lines of association drawn in this speech are more positive. What is personified is still the country, the state, and society, but this time their characteristics are expressed in less an aggressive language, as these examples show:

In that complex circumstance, Chile will continue acting with the prudence and restraint that have characterized our foreign policy.

Once a weak and sick individual, Chile now acts prudently and with restraint. Interestingly, Pinochet states this about the country’s foreign policy, which at the time was particularly questioned from abroad. Most notably, the regime was behind the international assassinations of two prominent figures: former commander in chief of the army, Carlos Prats, killed by a car bomb in 1974 in Argentina, and Orlando Letelier, economist and diplomat of the Allende government, exiled in the US and also killed by a car bomb in Washington. Furthermore, he shut the country’s borders to foreign journalists, unless specifically approved by the regime, dismissed allegations of human rights abuses, and defended the intervention of TV and radio with the pretext of the special circumstances the country was facing.

Also personified are traits of the people as a whole:

Thus evidencing that the fortitude of our race and the fiber of our national identity to defend the dignity or the sovereignty of our Homeland had not died, nor could they ever die.

The implications of these metaphors are complex. For one thing, the distinction in terms of race refers not to the racial makeup as exemplified in the US, because in the Chile of 1977 there was an overwhelming racial homogeneity (roughly 93% mixed or mestizo, 5% white, 2% others.) Rather, it refers to the meaning of race that refers to the lineage or caste of individuals,
in this case Chileans, and their capacity to resist the hardships imposed upon them by those previously declared enemies of the country. By referring to this race of individuals, of fortitudinous Chileans, in a way similar to the family metaphor, he creates a chasm between those he accepts into that group, who are of appropriate lineage, and those who are not. As Pinochet let us know in the next metaphor, they compose the fiber of the Chilean identity, that which is constitutive of it, and that had resiliently survived to defend its sovereignty. As the constitutive fibers of a cloth resist the dissolution of the pattern they weave, so did the fiber of Chileanness resist the adversities that socialism present to it. Of course, the most important criterion to be a true Chilean, member of the race, part of the fiber of the national identity, is adhesion to the regime’s ideas.

**Health.** Though less frequently than in the first speech, Pinochet uses the health metaphor in this speech as well. At the beginning of the regime, right after the coup, the metaphoric language framed the country in terms of a critically ill patient. Naturally, now that the regime had been in power for four years, the language made a shift towards the positive end of the spectrum, reframing the metaphor to let us know that the condition of the patient had improved. Some examples:

*In the recovery stage, political power has had to be integrally taken on by the Armed Forces and Carabineros*

The country is, by Pinochet’s admission, in recovery, but note how there is no implication that recovery is complete, nor close to it. On the contrary, the armed forces and policer have had to integrally take on Power, therefore acting as the doctors in this stage where the country’s health—the country’s political health and its capacity to take care of itself—must be closely supervised. There is, however a sense of movement, as the following fragment shows:
Today we find ourselves in the midst of the recovery stage, but I consider that the progress we have made in all aspects is leading us to the transition.

Once again, he acknowledges there has been progress, yet the recovery is process is only midway through. So, though the country is being led towards transition—the stage where a military-approved parliament would operate—, it is still not time to let go close supervision and control.

Family and Chilean people is a homogeneous entity. Although not the same, I believe the use of the family metaphor can be collapsed with the Chilean-people-is-a-homogeneous-entity metaphor, at least in this speech, for two reasons. First and foremost, they are both used to unify the diverse and conflicting opinions existing in the sociopolitical climate, thus rhetorically attempting to blur, in the case of family, and erase, in the case of homogenous entity, the lines separating opposing groups. Thus, even though they pertain to different categories (the former an archetypal and the latter a minor contextual metaphor,) they aim in the same direction. Second, each is only used once in this speech. The instances are the following:

And, when heeding to the troubled call of our citizenry, the Armed Forces and Carabineros decided to act on the 11th of September of 1973

There is an interesting sequential unfolding of the homogenization metaphor, wherein first, the multiplicity of citizens is abstracted into the citizenry, which, as the unit it has been made to be, utters a troubled cry, thus showing the human emotions given to the abstraction, thus overlapping with personification.

From [the National Objective] must sprout a powerful element of unity of the big Chilean family, which some have tried to systematically break up for so long, instigating a class struggle that does not and must not exist.
In a combination of agriculture and family metaphors, Pinochet once more rhetorically unites all Chileans under a family which, in this case explicitly, excludes those professing one of the core principles of Marxism: class struggle. In the capitalist, neoliberal model Pinochet is forcefully implementing in the country, ideas of social classes and divisions between them have no room, or cannot be part of the family he is defining Chileans to be.

**Major contextual metaphors**

_Governing is a military mission._ Unsurprisingly, Pinochet uses once again the military mission metaphor to refer to the act of governing, though with much less frequency than in the previous speech. Despite it featuring fewer instances, it equally serves to frame the actions of the regime in the context of a mission, with the prerogatives and allowances that combat situations allow; namely, the exercise of deadly force to neutralize the enemy. The exigencies of this speech are, however, different from the ones of the first. The direct audience in this instance is not the country as a whole, but a group of youth sympathetic to the regime. Pinochet needs

*To daily open a path*[^7] *for you so that you can initiate and continue* [turning ideals into reality] *is, however, the difficult and inescapable mission that God and history have put on our shoulders.*

Even if they did not want to, the military and the youth in attendance were carrying out a divine task, _difficult and inescapable_. Perhaps Pinochet is referring to the inevitability of the many deaths that this mission had already caused, and will continue to cause, and how although difficult, that is an inescapable consequence of their task. Yet, the tone in which this military mission is talked about now is much subtler than in the previous speech.

[^7]: The word in the Spanish original translates literally as “furrow.”
By discussing it in terms of divine assignment and historical duty, language is elevated and the violent consequences are more implied than stated. The fight, however, is still “daily” engaged in with less lofty and dignified consequences.

**Construction.** In a manner similar to the metaphor of health, the construction metaphor too evolved to show progress in the building. Whereas in the first speech Pinochet hinted more to how it had been destroyed, he now refers to the process in a way that suggests the stage ahead is more active; in his words, more creative: “It is not, then, a task of *mere restauration*, but a *work eminently of creation.*” He also talks about giving *stability* to the structure, and assigns the armed forces and police a key role as protectors of the foundations of the building: “…constitutionally reserving for the Armed Forces and Carabineros the role of contributing to safeguard the essential *foundations* of our institutions.”

**Agriculture.** Once again, Pinochet uses several agriculture metaphors, constituting one of the major contextual qualifiers in the speech. Interestingly this time, however, the agriculture metaphors he used do not follow the same evolutionary pattern from the first to the second speech that the health and construction metaphors did. He uses, rather, atemporal allusions to abstract agriculture concepts that do not follow a sequence of growth. Take the following extract as an example:

*for* [the government’s work] to be *fecund, it must take root in the deepest signs of our best and authentic national tradition*

Both metaphors of agriculture exist individually without being part of the developmental sequence of, for example, a tree or plant whose growth could symbolize the process. It is interesting to note the implications of the second metaphor. If the work of the government is to *take root* in “authentic national tradition,” the implied metaphor of *national tradition is fertile*
ground follows. Considering such metaphor, Pinochet’s conceptions of traditions would provide the constitutive elements, the ground or substrate, for the development of the future organism that is to be the government and its structure. There seems to be an implied allusion to how the work has not yet fully taken root, thus the farmer—the government or Pinochet himself—cannot yet leave.

**Conclusion.** The metaphors Pinochet used in this speech show an adaptive evolution that fits the different situation of 1977, compared to 1973, as the historical context in which it was given had dramatically changed as well. In the first speech, Pinochet had just seized power from the socialist Allende administration, thus he had to show Chileans the necessity of the military intervention, highlighting the social and economic chaos then prevalent in the country. Now, however, the military junta which he presided had been in total control for four years, and there had been no indication of a willingness to hand control back to civilians. But criticism started to emerge from within—some military generals did not agree with the prolonged duration of the regime, and from without—numerous countries and organizations pressured the regime for its human rights violations, and, notably, high-profile assassinations carried out in Argentina and the US. Pinochet now had to remind the country of the dire situation the country faced at the time of the coup, but also acknowledge the overall improvements it had seen thanks to the regime’s policies. He also had to address internal and external criticism of the administration, and send the message across that the conditions of the country were not yet right for him to step down. Accordingly, whereas he used metaphors in the first speech mostly to depict a somber image of the country—personified by a badly and “up until now so miserably betrayed” individual in critical health conditions; or being spoken about in terms of a building which has been destroyed by the recklessness of socialism, with the military taking upon themselves “the
task of *rebuilding the country*”—now things must have gotten better, and so metaphors had to reflect that improvement. The personified country now has regained some of its dignity, because “*the fiber of [its] national identity … had not died, nor could [it] ever die*”: the health condition of the patient has improved, as Pinochet himself acknowledges that “today we find ourselves in the midst of the *recovery stage*”; and progress in the building’s reconstruction is now noticeable, as the work now centers not as much in reconstruction, but on “*bring[ing] stability to the system*”. Yet, the time is not right for a transition to democracy, and so do his metaphors imply.

In the next and final chapter, I will conclude the discussion of the use of metaphors by Pinochet by looking at the brief speech he gave in 1989, right after he was voted out of power in a referendum he himself convened.
CHAPTER V: PINOCHET'S SPEECH AFTER THE RESULTS OF THE REFERENCEUM THAT VOTED HIM OUT

In this final chapter, I will end the discussion of metaphors used by Pinochet in a speech he gave in 1988 after he was voted out of power in a plebiscite. Also, I will propose a modest reconceptualization to Osborn’s scheme of metaphor categorization, reflect on some of the theoretical issues that stood out as relevant throughout my study, and provide a panoramic overview of Pinochet’s metaphor use throughout the speech. But first, I will provide a brief historical contextualization.

Historical Contextualization

Pinochet’s was a peculiar decision: while ruling the country with relative ease and exercising total control over its political life, he decided to call a plebiscite that would determine whether he should remain president for a period of 8 more years, or if open elections should be held. He had already won a referendum in 1980 in which, supposedly, the people voted for him to remain in power and approved the new constitution written by the junta. Historians on both sides of the political spectrum agree that the elections were more of a poorly performed international publicity stunt than an actual democratic event. However, 8 years later, the climate in the country had changed: tensions had been repressed efficiently and did not seem to surface, the economy had stabilized, and guerilla opposition had been severely weakened after a failed attempt on Pinochet’s life in 1986—the dictator felt confident in a victory. However, on October the 5th, 1988, the option “No” to the continuation of the regime defeated, with 54% of the counted votes, the 43% obtained by the “Sí,” thus giving place to the next stage in Chilean history, known as “democratic transition.” Transition because the regime was not to completely
step down from power: Pinochet himself would remain commander in chief of the armed forces and would have a tremendous political influence, the higher commands of the police and civil police would be people allegiant to the regime, and an authoritative and arguably undemocratic constitutional structure was set in place with so many legal securements that its fundamental structure has not been changed to this day. He was, however, to step down from the highest office, and the military structure, in a slow but steady process, would start to hand power back to the civilian population. As one can expect, the transitionary character of this stage transpires in Pinochet’s use of metaphors in this speech.

**Speech Analysis**

**Structure and objectives.** In this 500-word speech (very short compared to the 3800+ and 3100+ of the first and second, respectively,) Pinochet naturally resorted to fewer metaphors, as he used fewer words in general. Interestingly, the metaphors he did use did not continue the same evolutionary path we observed from the first to the second speech. A temporal chasm of significance was created by the end of the regime—a truly decisive before and after. As indicated earlier, Pinochet was about to step down from power, and he only very briefly mentioned the past and only in relation to the present, as the place of “order” that “we have reached.” What was more important now was to “look at the future,” “continue forward,” and “serve the homeland.” It was the end, in a sense, of a period of Chilean history. Yet, Pinochet knew, given the political framework he had created, that his influence on the political sphere of the country was far from disappearing, and that his legacy, for better or worse, was to leave indelible marks in the lives of all Chileans, and in the cultural and sociopolitical configuration of the country. Pinochet’s main objective is to publicly accept the results of the plebiscite and vow to abide by them. He does this in the following sequence:
1. Acknowledge the results of the plebiscite and commit to ensure the unfolding of the processes stipulated in the constitution in such event.

2. Present himself as a man respectful of the institutions of the republic, reassuring the population that the provisions in the constitution would be carried out in full.

3. Thank his government collaborators and campaign staff for the significant percentage of the votes he obtained.

4. Call Chileans to work together for Chile, acknowledging the historical significance of the result of the plebiscite for the future of the country.

Therefore, this is a speech that must acknowledge the end of one stage and the beginning of another, and the metaphors should reflect this transition accordingly. As we will see, space and movement metaphors take on a preeminent role, and the already familiar trope of the military metaphor, overlapping with personification, makes a brief yet significant appearance before the dictator’s farewell to absolute power.

Archetypal qualifiers

Space and movement. The interpretive immediacy of space and movement and its transcultural nature make it once again the metaphors with most occurrences. In this 500-word speech, Pinochet uses them in 8 instances with a variety of rhetorical objectives. One of them is to indicate places Chile has reached as a country, such as in the following example:

*The results of the referendum must take us to acquire a new commitment of order whose complete fulfillment secures the order, stability, and progress that we have reached with everybody’s effort.*

Both the political changes the country is about to experience (expressed in terms of an attitude committed to order) and the transformations the country has already undergone, Pinochet
describes as different places towards which we (the people of the country) will be taken and at which we have arrived, respectively. It is remarkable, and I think not fortuitous, that in the first clause Pinochet gives agency to the circumstances and not the people, whom the results of the referendum must take somewhere. Conversely, in the second clause, maybe unconsciously, he makes agency reside on we—we were responsible for having reached that positive place. In other words, in the first part, the object “us” (as in “the results must take us”) is passively acted upon by the results of the plebiscite, while in the second part, the subject “we” (as in “progress we have reached”) has actively brought about the objects order, stability and progress.

Arguably, this subject/object, performer/performed-upon division stems from the sentence structure, which requires having a clearly defined subject and object, and is not reflecting a conscious or unconscious distribution of power. Although that may be the case, I contend that this sentence construction and not, for example, one where the sentence is broken into two separate ones where “the people” were the subjects with agency performing the actions in both, is a rhetorical choice that gives us insight into Pinochet’s estimations of acceptable and responsible exercise of power e.g. “We must acquire a new commitment of order inspired by these results … We must secure the order, stability, and progress we have reached.” I believe this construction reveals that Pinochet deems the regime’s actions deliberate, purposeful, rightfully deserving the agency that made the people and the country actively reach a place; whereas the adverse result of the plebiscite is reflective of an action that itself exercises power and agency by bereaving the people from it and taking them, in other words forcing them, to adopt a new commitment, to be vigilant, lest the “order, stability, and progress” is lost. Another way to look at this is to hypothetically invert perspectives. Had the plebiscite turned out differently, following this logic, I believe Pinochet would have referred to the results as passively being
reflective of the people’s responsible exercise of power and agency, e.g. “we have made possible the continuation of order, stability and progress, through these results.” In sum, and to bring it back to the space metaphor, the crux of this issue lies on whether one is taken to a place or one takes oneself to a place.

As movement through space can be used to show relations of power and agency, it can also be used to signify hierarchy, as the following examples show:

We will continue forward with the programs we have designed. This is an imperative for all Chileans whose love for the country is above particular interests or aspirations.

I have known above all to respect the will of the people and the fundamental institutions of the Republic.

In what Lakoff and Johnson call orientational metaphors, “GOOD IS UP gives an UP orientation to general well-being, and this orientation is coherent with … STATUS IS UP” (1980, p. 18, capital letters in original). High status, or a high position in the hierarchy, is UP, so if something is at a higher altitude than something else, its status and hierarchical location is of greater estimation. In the above examples, love for the country and respect for the will of the people are above, or of higher status, than self-interest and “all,” respectively.

In the first of the above examples, Pinochet performs a very common rhetorical move in his speeches whereby he defines, implicitly or explicitly, the characteristics of a true Chilean identity and duty, of what it means and what it looks like to be part of the big Chilean family. Here, continuance along the path of the dictatorship policies and its interpretation of progress as reflected in its development programs conditions membership to the group of selfless Chileans who love the country beyond their own egotistical pursuits. Pinochet’s stated respect for “the will of the people and the fundamental institutions of the Republic” seems to me ironic, though I
doubt he meant it ironically. Ironic, because his ascent to power was marked by a violent irruption and disruption of the institutions he is claiming to respect above all: the presidency, congress, and the will of a people who democratically elected a president. Yet, a more profound analysis, with more attention to political considerations, is beyond the scope of this work in its present form.

Personification. There is an instance of personification where the human qualities attributed to a non-human idea overlap with another type of metaphor familiar to Pinochet’s rhetoric. I am referring to personification as it juxtaposes with military metaphors. The following quote exemplifies this overlap:

As I have expressed in more than one occasion, the institutionality that we have built with so much effort, must be preserved above all other *subaltern interests*.

All kinds of interests that jeopardize the institutional framework created by the dictatorship must remain subaltern, that is, of lesser rank, relative to the preservation of the created order. This shows that, despite Pinochet stepping down from absolute power, his forceful stamp would remain influential in Chile’s political life. The upcoming democratic stage is, thus, one not completely divorced from the dictatorship, but rather, as emphasized earlier, one of transition.

By making *interests* become *subaltern*, Pinochet paints two metaphors with one rhetorical brushstroke: personification and military metaphor. Because *interests*, in order to become *subaltern*, that is, deemed of lesser rank in military terms, must first be personified, even if silently or implicitly, an overlap exists between the two types of metaphors. More on this overlap in the discussion.

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8 As I suggest in the limitations of this work, an integral understanding of a phenomenon, such as a speech, series of speeches, or even a rhetorical device, requires considering the four dimensions in which it participates, the social being one of them.
CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

**Overlapping categories.** In many instances, the metaphors Pinochet feature overlapping vehicles and categories. The following quote and subsequent analysis from the third speech show this phenomenon: “[national] values are immovable, nesting in the heart of every child of this land.”

Because it impacts meaning in the vicinity of its occurrence, but does not have a thematic effect in the overall topic of the speech, the metaphor “child of this land” can be classified as a minor contextual. At the same time, however, it is an archetypal metaphor belonging to the family metaphor Pinochet used consistently in the previous speeches. In other words, by Osborn’s categorization, the metaphor “child of this land” is resorting to the archetypal metaphor of family (as the experience of being the child of a mother is, naturally, common to all human cultures that have existed,) yet its rhetorical effect is limited to the idea expressed in that paragraph. This shows, I believe, that one can better use Osborn’s framework if the different categories were understood not as rigid, discrete boxes, but rather as fluid and overlapping, organized hierarchically, where the higher-order metaphors, that is, metaphors of greater conceptual inclusivity, include and transcend the lower-order. Rather than a categorization of rhetorical value or effectiveness, I am pointing to one of inclusiveness and complexity, where the more conceptually inclusive the items for association are, the higher up they are in the hierarchy.

For example, the metaphor “country is a family,” because of the greater conceptual richness/inclusivity contained within each item for association (country into citizens, government, geographical space, national identity, etc; family into father, mother, son, daughter,
etc.,) is more complex in interpretive potential than “child of a land,” as each of the components of the latter can be subsumed within the interpretive fields of an implied broader metaphor—child as metonymy for family, country, the Chilean people, and in sum, all the potential meanings drawn by the lines of association. This hierarchy applies too when considering the metaphors in terms of Osborn’s categories: an archetypal metaphor transcends and includes a minor contextual because of the complexity of the items for association comprising them.

Metonymy exemplifies the overlapping and fluid nature of these categories, particularly as it interacts—overlaps—with other types of metaphors. Let us consider it as it overlaps with a religious metaphor. Pinochet used the following in his first speech referring to the military intervention: *the hand of God manifested to save us*. The part (hand of God) stands for the whole (divine intervention,) while simultaneously creating the metaphor “the coup was divine intervention.” The metaphor, thus, simultaneously participates in two categories (metonymy and minor contextual) that are, at the same time, two non-mutually exclusive aspects of metaphors—two co-emerging dimensions of analysis to which the next section speaks.

**Linguistic and rhetorical aspects of analysis.** When analyzing the metaphors of the speeches, it stood out that metaphors seem to be susceptible to two kinds of parallel categorizations: linguistic and rhetorical. The differentiation between the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of metaphors becomes clear when one explores metaphors, following Lakoff and Johnson, in terms of the semantic systems they create (e.g. the *ideas are buildings* metaphor, and all the junior metaphors that can emerge from it) and the functions they perform (orientational, directional, spatial, and so on,) in contrast to their study in rhetorical terms, that is, their effect in each specific instance of their use, e.g. the effect of the *child of this land* metaphor in the context of the speech. In other words, in this context, the linguistic study of metaphor is objective and
structural, whereas the rhetorical study is subjective and hermeneutical. These are two complementary sides of the same metaphoric coin, so their side-by-side exploration should provide a more comprehensive picture than an isolated either/or study. The overlap we saw between, for example, personification and other more specific metaphors can be explained insofar as one sees personification not *exclusively* as a rhetorical instance of metaphor (e.g. “his debts caught up on him”) but as a *linguistic* category *as well* (i.e. one in which non-human entities are given human attributes). In other words, I find it useful to make the following distinction: to analyze metaphors in terms of what they are doing in the text is to analyze them rhetorically, and to study their structure and their semantic ramifications, is to study them linguistically.

Ultimately, in a sense, language is itself a system of complex interwoven metaphors, whereby we refer to one thing (ideas, objects, people, etc.,) in terms of another (words.) That system, and the study thereof, may appropriately be deemed a linguistic phenomenon. Yet, what the actual relationships between the components of the language produce, the things they do in the text and in the world, can rightly said to be within the domain of rhetoric. Throughout his speeches, Pinochet mainly seeks to unify the Chilean people under the common denominator of his conception of what being Chilean means. He steers the chaotic energies of the time and directs them at socialism, which he highlights as the single worst enemy of the country. Secondarily, he justifies the violent and oppressive actions of the regime by framing them within a larger context of strife between freedom and socialism.

**Limitations and further research.** This work’s greatest limitation is its reduced grounding in rhetorical scholarship on metaphor. Although I participate in the rhetorical conversation by using the framework proposed by Michael Osborn, and I propose, at least in a
very initial form, a novel understanding of metaphoric categorization building upon his work, 
this thesis would benefit from a more comprehensive grounding in the literature.

Another limitation is its lack of early differentiation between the linguistic and rhetorical 
aspects of the metaphoric experience. Both seem fused—at some points confused, and, 
accordingly, the analytical information it provides may seem obscure in some passages. The 
hierarchy of metaphors and their co-emerging linguistic and rhetorical dimensions are ideas that 
I believe have theoretical relevance, yet are still at an embryonic stage.

Adding the previous point, I believe a comprehensive understanding of metaphor, and in 
fact of any other rhetorical and linguistic device, requires incorporating a degree of analysis of 
the culture (e.g. intersubjective perceptions of the regime amongst different groups, the folklore 
emerging at the time, what were popular trends, etc.) and the society (e.g. political system, 
economic activities and indicators, country’s connectivity etc.) from which it emerges. In other 
words, all phenomena, to be understood integrally, need be considered as they participate 
simultaneously in four quadrants of existence: interior and exterior of the individual and 
collective aspects (Wilber, 2001, p. 321). The individual interior and exterior study of metaphor 
corresponds to their rhetorical and linguistic study, respectively, as differentiated in the 
discussion; their collective interior and exterior, in this thesis, was only tangentially touched 
upon, respectively, with the scant culture-specific explanations and clarifications in the form of 
footnotes or succinct sentences, and when I laid out a piece of the historical context for each 
speech. Further research needs to be carried out wherein these quadrants are linked together into 
one coherent theoretical structure that acknowledges how the metaphorical experience 
participates and emerges in all four simultaneously.
Conclusion. In this thesis, I have analyzed three speeches that Chilean dictator, General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, gave during his 17-year-long regime. Each served to bookend stages of the regime and of the country’s life, and had very distinct rhetorical objectives: in the first, a month after the coup, he sought to establish the necessity for the military intervention in light of the evils of socialism. In the second, four years into the regime, he needed to dispel internal and foreign criticism of the regime, and lay down the political framework that still, to a great extent, sustains the country to this day. Finally, in the third speech, he must acknowledge his defeat in a plebiscite that put an end to his “presidency,” and pave the way for a transition period wherein the military would slowly but steadily hand power back to civilians. Even though certain overarching rhetorical objectives overlapped throughout, the specific rhetorical objectives changed from speech to speech. Consequently, the metaphors that helped each speech accomplish its objectives changed too. I analyzed the metaphors by categorizing them in terms of the framework devised by Michael Osborn (tables with complete list of metaphors in Appendixes A-E.) This process of categorization showed that throughout the three speeches, the most common metaphors were the archetypal, that is, those that relate to times beyond a specific period and transcultural human experiences such as movement from one place to the other, moving towards or away from something, and so on. Further analysis of their rhetorical impact showed that some of the themes signified by metaphors (agriculture, military missions, health, etc.) repeated and connected to each other beyond each discrete speech. In terms of how they relate to each other across speeches, metaphors describe a continuous evolutionary trajectory from the first to the second. This trajectory is interrupted in the third speech. This makes sense considering the objectives of the speeches: because the first introduced the regime, and the second acknowledged what had been done in its first four years and
announced what was to be done in the coming few, the rhetoric, thus the metaphors, had to reflect a sense of historical and political continuation. The third speech, however, works as a watershed marking the beginning of the end of one stage and the imminent advent of a new one—one of a significantly different political trajectory. Thus, unlike the first two, this was not a speech of continuation but a speech of completion. The metaphors he used now briefly acknowledge the past, but focus more on the future, on what is to come. He recognizes the new political scenarios that were already becoming visible, and which, although still influenced by the constitutional framework imposed in the dictatorship, would steadily bring about democracy to a country that had not experienced it for more than 17 years.
Works Cited


## APPENDIX A
### METAPHORS IN PINOCHET’S FIRST SPEECH AS HEAD OF STATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translated quote</th>
<th>Original quote</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The life of more than a million Chileans would have been reaped by blood and fire</td>
<td>la vida de más de un millón de chilenos, se habría segado a sangre y fuego</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plots for political repartitions (very dialectical)</td>
<td>parcelas para el cuoteo o repartijas políticas</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When its fruits are enjoyed with equity</td>
<td>cuando sus frutos aprovechan equitativamente</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So that this relationship is configured fruitfully</td>
<td>para que esta relación se configure en forma fructífera</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To uproot evil from Chile</td>
<td>extirpar de raíz el mal de Chile</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[in them] is the sap of the future and the foundation of the family, both pillars of a motherland</td>
<td>está la savia del futuro y la base de la familia, pilares ambos de una Patria</td>
<td>Agriculture-temporal, family, and construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The immense majority of the country has begun to build</td>
<td>inmensa mayoría del país ha empezado a construir</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The task of rebuilding the country</td>
<td>la tarea de reconstruir al país</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebuilding is always slower and arduous than destroying</td>
<td>Reconstruir siempre es más lento y más arduo que destruir</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National reconstruction</td>
<td>reconstrucción nacional</td>
<td>Construction metaphor; nation as destroyed building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruct the lost national unity</td>
<td>reconstruir la unidad nacional perdida</td>
<td>Construction metaphor; unity metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under these molds Chile’s destinies are projected</td>
<td>bajo estos moldes se proyecten los destinos de Chile</td>
<td>Construction-temporal metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes that go against the very build of the motherland</td>
<td>delitos que van contra la contextura misma de la Patria.</td>
<td>Country as a body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restore the normal life of the country</td>
<td>restablecer la vida normal del país</td>
<td>Country as a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values most dear to the national soul</td>
<td>valores más entrañables del alma nacional</td>
<td>Country as a person/soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key for a lively and purified democracy</td>
<td>clave de la democracia viva y depurada</td>
<td>Democracy as a living entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[be] rebirthed purified of vices and bad habits</td>
<td>renacer purificada de los vicios y malos hábitos</td>
<td>Democracy as a person; religious/spiritual and moral tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fight against the Marxist dictatorship</td>
<td>lucha contra la dictadura marxista</td>
<td>Democratic government as dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of a land, brothers of a tradition, and forgers of a motherland with better destinies</td>
<td>hijos de una tierra, hermanos de una tradición y forjadores de una Patria con mejores destinos</td>
<td>Family metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This heroic fight, is not a fratricidal fight</td>
<td>Esta lucha heroica, no es una lucha fratricida</td>
<td>Family metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical values inherited from their ancestors</td>
<td>Valores históricos que han heredado de sus antepasados</td>
<td>Family metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All compatriots as brothers</td>
<td>todos los compatriotas como hermanos</td>
<td>Family metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood between Chileans, a sense of duty and a mystique</td>
<td>fraternidad entre los chilenos, el sentido del deber y una mística en torno al trabajo</td>
<td>Family metaphor; religious/spiritual metaphor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Believe in the rules of the game  
creer en las reglas del juego  
Game metaphor, economy as a game  
The role of the modern State is, fundamentally, to serve as a referee  
El rol del Estado moderno es, fundamentalmente, servir de árbitro  
Game metaphor, state as referee  
Defeat Marxism in the Chileans' consciousness  
derrotar al marxismo en la conciencia de los chilenos  
Governing as a military mission  
The mission the State assigns us, as vigilant forces of its safety  
La misión que el Estado nos asigna, como fuerzas vigilantes de su seguridad  
Governing as conducting a military mission  
The Armed Forces and Carabineros took the Government, inspired in the noble mission  
Las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros asumieron el Gobierno inspirados en la noble misión  
Governing as conducting a military mission  
For that reason, as a palliative to such nefarious events  
Por ello, como paliativo a tan nefastos sucesos  
Health metaphor  
Break the healthy principles of respect to the law and the norms  
quebrantar los sanos principios del respeto a la ley y a las normas  
Health metaphor  
The restoration of Chile  
la recuperación de Chile  
Health metaphor  
To save the motherland, hurt and sick  
para salvar a la Patria, dolida y enferma  
Health metaphor  
The decay of the working spirit  
la descomposición del espíritu laboral  
Health metaphor; religious/spiritual metaphor  
Deep moral an economic decay through which [the country] is going through  
profunda descomposición moral y económica porque se atraviesa  
Health metaphor; space metaphor  
The sad pages of this past  
las páginas tristes de este pasado  
History as a person  
To put an end to this state of insanity of all order  
poner término a ese estado de desquiciamiento de todo orden  
Mental health metaphor  
Conquests made by workers  
conquistas alcanzadas por los trabajadores  
Military metaphor  
Public service mission  
misión de servicio público  
Military metaphor  
Legitimate social conquests of the workers  
legítimas conquistas sociales de los trabajadores  
Military metaphor  
Key mission of every ruler  
misión clave de todo gobernante  
Military metaphor  
Our mission will have finished  
 nuesa misión habrá terminado  
Military metaphor  
The final success of the mission we have set for ourselves  
El éxito final de la misión que nos hemos propuesto  
Military metaphor  
Spartan heart  
corazón espartano  
Military metaphor  
The sinister plans  
los siniestros planes  
Polarizing moral metaphor  
An egomaniac government.  
un Gobierno ególatra  
Previous administration as an immoral person  
It mocked the pleas of the Supreme Court  
Se burló del reclamo de la Corte Suprema  
Previous administration as an immoral person  
Process of incredible moral and administrative corruption  
proceso de corrupción moral y administrativa increíbles  
Previous administration as an immoral person  
The hand of God manifested to save us  
la mano de Dios se hizo presente para salvarnos  
Religious/spiritual metaphor  
Women inspired by that divine clarity, that God keeps in His heart  
mujeres inspiradas con esa claridad divina que Dios les alberga en su corazón  
Religious/spiritual metaphor  
Portalian spirit that illuminates  
espiritu portaliano que ilumina hoy esta sala  
Religious/spiritual, light/dark
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this hall today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sail on a same ship, whose safe arrival to port or sinking</td>
<td>navegar en un mismo barco, cuyo arribo a puerto o cuyo naufragio</td>
<td>Sailing metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflect the authentic thought of the organized people</td>
<td>reflejen el auténtico pensamiento del pueblo organizado</td>
<td>Social organizations as mirrors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has arrived to an internal chaos that places the State in the utmost danger</td>
<td>se ha llegado a un caos interno que coloca al Estado, en el más grave peligro</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The systematic [running over] the other powers of the State</td>
<td>el atropello sistemático de los demás Poderes del Estado</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap between the poor and those who are not</td>
<td>brecha entre los pobres y los que no lo son</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deepen differences between peasants and urban populations</td>
<td>ahondar diferencias entre campesinos y poblaciones urbanas</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give them access to culture</td>
<td>entregarles el acceso a la cultura</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casts away forever “bad politics” (very dialectical)</td>
<td>aleje para siempre la politiquería</td>
<td>Space metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A destiny of progress and common goals to arrive where we set ourselves to get</td>
<td>destino de progreso y de metas comunes, para llegar donde nos proponemos alcanzar</td>
<td>Space, movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have common goals</td>
<td>tenemos metas comunes</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To reach a place of privilege</td>
<td>alcanzar un lugar de privilegio</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and private, national and foreign investment, as sole vehicle of stable increase in production</td>
<td>la inversión pública y privada, nacional y extranjera, como único vehículo de aumento estable de la producción</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[once] previous goals are secured</td>
<td>Afianzadas las metas anteriores</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To accelerate these goals</td>
<td>Para acelerar estas metas</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragged the country to varied disorders</td>
<td>arrastrado al país a variados trastornos</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor; health metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An education that reaches every Chilean is, furthermore, in this new State, the indispensable road for Chile to progress in the route of technology</td>
<td>educación que alcance a todos los chilenos, es, además, en este nuevo Estado, el camino indispensable para que Chile progrese en la ruta de la tecnología</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will have to forge [its] way through</td>
<td>deberá abrirse paso hacia el futuro</td>
<td>Space-time metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each one of the public offices … is a true surprise box</td>
<td>Cada una de las oficinas públicas … es una verdadera caja de sorpresas</td>
<td>State of affairs as a surprise box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer a hope for peace and recovery to the Chilean people, up until now so miserably betrayed</td>
<td>ofrecer una esperanza de paz y recuperación al pueblo chileno, hasta ese momento tan miserablemente traicionado</td>
<td>The people as a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monolithic block of Chilenanness</td>
<td>block monolítico de la chilenidad</td>
<td>Unity metaphor;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The creative energy of a people with better destinies was wasted</td>
<td>se derrochó toda una energía creadora de un pueblo con mejores destinos</td>
<td>Waste metaphor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX B
### METAPHORS IN PINOCHE’s SPEECH TO THE YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translated quote</th>
<th>Original quote</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>…notwithstanding that for it to be fecund, it must take root in the deepest signs of our best and authentic national tradition.</td>
<td>…sin perjicio de que dicha creación para ser fecunda debe enraizarse en los signos profundos de nuestra auténtica y mejor tradición nacional.</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>… has made us understand that human rights cannot survive in a political and judicial regime that allows9 to Marxist-Leninist ideological aggression.</td>
<td>… nos ha hecho comprender que los derechos humanos no pueden sobrevivir en un régimen político y jurídico que abre campo a la agresión ideológica del marxismo-leninismo.</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To daily open a path10 for you so that…</td>
<td>Abriros diariamente el surco para que…</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From there must sprout a powerful unity element of the big Chilean family,</td>
<td>De ahí debe brotar un poderoso elemento de unidad de la gran familia chilena,</td>
<td>Agriculture metaphor; Family metaphor; Chilean people as a homogeneous entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our history and cultural idiosyncrasy have been forged in respect for the dignity of men.</td>
<td>Nuestra historia y nuestra idiosincrasia se han forjado en el respeto a la dignidad del hombre.</td>
<td>Blacksmith metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not, then, a task of mere restoration, but a work eminently of creation, …</td>
<td>No se trata pues de una tarea de mera restauración sino de una obra eminentemente creadora, …</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…take advantage of the contribution of those more capable, and bring stability to the system.</td>
<td>…aprovechar el aporte de los más capaces, y dar estabilidad al sistema.</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…constitutionally reserving for the Armed Forces and Carabineros the role of contributing to safeguard the essential foundations of our institutions,</td>
<td>…reservándose constitucionalmente a las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden el papel de contribuir a cautelar las bases esenciales de la institucionalidad,</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My spirit of President of the Republic is filled with justified hope</td>
<td>Mi espíritu de Presidente de la República se llena de justificada esperanza</td>
<td>Container metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By sketching out this general plan before the country, …</td>
<td>Al bosquejar este plan general ante el país, …</td>
<td>Drawing metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of clarifying the basic lines upon which it hopes to develop our future institutional evolution,</td>
<td>de esclarecer las líneas básicas sobre las cuales anhela desarrollar nuestra evolución institucional próxima,</td>
<td>Drawing metaphor; Personification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…against a foreign action of different origins and shades, …</td>
<td>…contra una acción foránea de diversos orígenes y tonalidades…</td>
<td>Foreign intervention is an undetermined substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>… which at times adopts the shape of enemy aggression, …</td>
<td>…que a veces adopta la forma de la agresión enemiga, …</td>
<td>Foreign intervention is an undetermined substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…and at others presents itself behind the face of a friendly pressure.</td>
<td>…y que en otras ocasiones se presenta bajo el rostro de una presión amiga.</td>
<td>Foreign intervention is an undetermined substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>… the government deems fulfilled its mission</td>
<td>…el Gobierno cree cumplir con su misión…</td>
<td>Governing is a military mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…the Government appreciates</td>
<td>…el Gobierno que preside aprecia</td>
<td>Governing is a military</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

9 The expression in the Spanish original literally translates to “opens fields,” as for agriculture.
10 Literal Spanish translation, furrow
rightfully the important advances that it has been achieving in *its mission of uniting Chilean youth* in human, geographic, and economic courses.  

...you can initiate and continue that task is, however, *the difficult and inescapable mission that God and history have put on our shoulders.*

*The healthy questions* of the youth and other nationalist sectors for an ever-greater participation are inserted in that reality.

In *the recovery stage,* political power has had to be integrally taken on by the Armed Forces and Carabineros,

Today we find ourselves in the midst of *the recovery stage,*

The chance to integrally materialize this plan is subject to the condition that the country continues showing the positive signs...

...But I am certain that *the light that emerges at the end of our road will be ever stronger and more luminous* …

...the harsh but necessary complement to assure our national liberation, and *project broad horizons of peace and progress* for the present and future of Chile.

and that prevent political parties to become *monopoly machines* of citizen participation.

...thus making it necessary that *the voice* of those in the know be incorporated in the decision making.

the most qualified persons in the scientific, technical, and professional domains in the most diverse matters, participate regularly and with *a right to speak*¹¹.

*My old-soldier heart revives with deep emotion*  

...which will attempt in a thousand ways *to impede our march*…  

...because if there is something that every real Chilean understands clearly, is that the *dignity of our nation is not to be negotiated nor*

---

¹¹ The original Spanish word translates as “voice”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Personification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mortgaged before anything or anybody.</td>
<td>Quedaba de este modo en evidencia que el templo de nuestra raza...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thus evidencing that the fortitude of our race...</td>
<td>...y la fibra de nuestra nacionalidad para defender la dignidad o la soberanía de nuestra patria no habían muerto ni podrían morir jamás.,</td>
<td>Personification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…and the fiber of our national identity to defend the dignity or the sovereignty of our Homeland had not died, nor could they ever die,</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In that complex circumstance, Chile will continue acting with the prudence and restraint that have characterized our foreign policy</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is for that reason that now that the Frente Juvenil turns two years old,</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…replacing the classical liberal State, naïve and defenseless, for a new one...</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom and democracy cannot survive if they are not defended from those who seek to destroy them.</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a society founded upon the subsidiary principle is truly free only when it consecrates and respects a real autonomy of the intermediary institutions between man and the State to pursue their own specific ends.</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prevents the people from being asphyxiated by the rule of an omnipotent state.</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This way, the 1925 constitution will be completely abolished—although in essence it is already dead,</td>
<td>Personification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical, in that the dizzying scientific and technological progress of today’s world cannot be ignored by judicial structures,</td>
<td>Personification/metonymy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y cuando acudiendo al llamado angustioso de nuestra ciudadanía, las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden, decidieron actuar el 11 de septiembre de 1973,</td>
<td>Personification; Chilean people as a homogeneous one entity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…we can clearly foresee that our duty is to shape a new democracy.</td>
<td>Physical object metaphor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today, we once again face an unequal fight…</td>
<td>Politics is a fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…while the weak or demagogic attitude of many governments against terrorism does not deserve any objection whatsoever, even when it is evident that it translates to...</td>
<td>Politics is a language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
complicity by omission.  complicidad por omisión.

...where only the gloom shadows of slavery would await us. ...  ... donde sólo nos esperarían las penumbras de la esclavitud. ...

Previous government was slavery

Only a recent bitter experience, which was on the verge of driving us to civil war. ...

Taste metaphor

That points to our duty to walk through the path of the rule of law. ...

Space/movement

revives with deep emotion ...

Space/movement metaphor

But under no circumstance will we allow such attitude to be confused with weakness or doubt before whom attempt to dictate from abroad the road we must follow.

Space/movement metaphor

It is possible that our broader and deeper focus in this respect would be difficult to comprehend by those who have not lived a drama such as ours.

Space/movement metaphor

...to publicly spell out the fundamental steps we have outlined...

Space/movement metaphor

... to move forward in the institutional process of the country.

Space/movement metaphor

In the Constitutional Acts mentioned, the regulation of the exercise and evolution of the Constituent, Legislative, and Executive Powers occupies a priority place.

Space/movement metaphor

...that have allowed us to move forward until now.

Space/movement metaphor

For that, the patriotic concurrence of the whole citizenry and particularly the generous idealism of the youth, which must ignite with spirit our path into the future.

Space/movement metaphor

I am not unaware of the many hurdles that will rise, along with ambitions and selfish interests, ...

Space/movement metaphor

...and make us go back,...

Space/movement metaphor

...and, above all, I wholeheartedly believe in God, the Chilean people, and in our Armed Forces and Carabineros who, with patriotism, today guide their destinations.

Space/movement metaphor

This way, we will simultaneously move away from two extremes: the extreme of stagnation, which sooner or later always leads to violent breakdowns in social processes, and the extreme of precipitation.

Space/movement metaphor; Social processes as running fluids

Such stages differentiate from one
another by *the different role* that corresponds to the Armed Forces and Carabineros, on the one side, and to the civilian population, on the other.

| diverso papel que en ellas corresponde a las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden, por un lado, y a la civilidad, por el otro. |  |
**APPENDIX C**

**METAPHORS IN THE SPEECH AFTER THE REFERENDUM THAT VOTED HIM OUT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translated quote</th>
<th>Original quote</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those values are immovable, nesting in the heart of every child of this land.</td>
<td>Esos valores son inamovibles, que se anidan en el corazón de cada hijo de esta tierra.</td>
<td>Bird metaphor, Family metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The work of our government is immense, it will not stop.</td>
<td>La obra de nuestro gobierno es inmensa, ella no se detendrá.</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because it is founded on the values and requirements most sacred to the country.</td>
<td>porque está fundada en los valores y requerimientos más sagrados de la patria.</td>
<td>Construction metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As I have expressed in more than one occasion, the institutionality that we have built with so much effort, must be preserved above all other subaltern interests.</td>
<td>Como lo expresé en más de una oportunidad, la institucionalidad que con tanto esfuerzo hemos construido entre todos, debe preservarse al margen de todo otro interés subalterno.</td>
<td>Personification, Military metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To those who accompany me, those who from the most important positions of government loyally serve the homeland.</td>
<td>A quienes me acompañan, a quienes, desde los puestos más relevantes de gobierno, sirven lealmente a la patria</td>
<td>Personification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to send a heartfelt message to all the thousands of Chileans who supported my nomination for the presidency of the Republic for the next constitutional period at the head of the whole process that must continue, for the good of Chile.</td>
<td>Quiero dirigir un emocionado mensaje a todos los miles de chilenos, que apoyaron mi postulación a la presidencia de la República, para el próximo periodo constitucional al frente de todo el proceso que debe continuar, por el bien de Chile.</td>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The results of the referendum must take us to acquire a new commitment of order</td>
<td>El resultado del plebiscito, debe llevarnos a adquirir un nuevo compromiso de orden</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whose complete fulfillment ensures that the order, stability, and progress that we have reached with everybody’s effort continues presiding over the national coexistence.</td>
<td>cuyo pleno cumplimiento asegure que el orden, la estabilidad y el progreso que hemos alcanzado con el esfuerzo de todos siga presidiendo la convivencia nacional.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We will continue forward with the programs we have designed.</td>
<td>Continuaremos adelante con los programas que nos hemos trazado.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is an imperative for all Chileans whose love for the country is above particular interests or aspirations.</td>
<td>Este es un imperativo para todos los chilenos cuyo amor a la patria está por encima de particulares intereses o aspiraciones.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To such an end, we have the framework given to us by the Political Constitution that the citizenry approved democratically in 1980, and whose full validity is already very close.</td>
<td>Para tal fin contamos con un marco que nos da la Constitución Política que la ciudadanía aprobara democráticamente el año 1980, y cuya vigencia integral ya está muy próxima.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have known above all to respect the will of the people and the fundamental institutions of the Republic.</td>
<td>he sabido por sobre todo respetar la voluntad ciudadana y las instituciones fundamentales de la República.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I call on all Chileans to look at the future united.

because the homeland deserves even greater efforts than those deployed so far.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I call on all Chileans to look at the future united.</td>
<td>llamo a todos los chilenos a mirar unidos el futuro.</td>
<td>Space/movement metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because the homeland deserves even greater efforts than those deployed so far.</td>
<td>la patria merece aún mayores esfuerzos que los desplegados hasta ahora.</td>
<td>Personification Military</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX D

**TYPES OF METAPHORS AND NUMBER OF INSTANCES THROUGHOUT SPEECHES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Nº in third speech</th>
<th>Nº in second speech</th>
<th>Nº in first speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Space/movement</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governing is a military mission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious/spiritual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean people are one,</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homogeneous entity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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Conciudadanos, autoridades militares, religiosas y civiles, amigos de países extranjeros; señorasy señores:

Al cumplirse un mes del pronunciamiento de las Fuerzas Armadas y de Carabineros hemos querido llegar a esta tribuna a presentar al pueblo de Chile la situación en que hemos encontrado a la nación y las repercusiones que en todo orden significan para su desenvolvimiento como país libre y soberano.

Hemos asumido este deber con absoluta responsabilidad y con la certeza de estar cumpliendo cabalmente con la misión que el Estado nos asigna, como fuerzas vigilantes de su seguridad interna y custodia de los más altos valores morales, intelectuales, sociales, políticos y económicos.

Los últimos años del Gobierno de la nación han arrastrado al país a variados trastornos destinados a producir entre los chilenos la miseria, el odio y la violencia. Por ello, como paliativo a tan nefastos sucesos, las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros asumieron el Gobierno inspirados en la noble misión que, como hombres de armas, les dispone la ley, la que no sólo es preservar fundamentalmente la soberanía de la nación cuando ésta se ve amenazada interna o externamente, sino en velar por mantener el orden interno y la seguridad física y moral de todos los conciudadanos.

Cuando el Estado de Derecho es vulnerado sin que se dé la ocasión a ningún pronunciamiento ni positivo ni negativo de las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden y los acontecimientos se desarrollan bajo un aspecto físicamente pacífico, sin que se advierta la profunda descomposición moral y económica porque se atraviesa, es porque se ha llegado a un caos interno que coloca al Estado, en el más grave peligro para su normal desenvolvimiento.

En tal caso será obligación de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros restablecer la vida normal del país, sin que aquello signifique quebrantar los sanos principios del respeto a la ley y a las normas que el Derecho establece. Si existiera alguna culpa será para aquellos que, con sus actitudes contrarias a la Constitución y a las leyes, prescindan de sus deberes como mandatarios, traten de producir el caos interno y no valoren que, por sobre sus ideas políticas, está la patria, y lleguen a poner en grave peligro su soberanía y su seguridad.

Más condenable aún será para aquellos a quienes por todos sus medios la ciudadanía les reprobó los actos ilegítimos que en el mandato de Gobierno asumían y mantenían. Actitud más que rígida era suicida.

El Parlamento, la Corte Suprema de Justicia, la Contraloría General de la República, los gremios, las mujeres, la juventud así lo expresaron reiteradamente, y su preocupación por los desbordes totalitarios del régimen marxista de un Gobierno ególatra sólo encontraron la fría respuesta de un mutismo insensible y sectario; pero ese reclamo multitudinario jamás fue
escuchado por quienes tenían el deber de preservar los principios fundamentales que alientan nuestra institucionalidad.

No se acató a la Cámara de Diputados, que mostraba el grave quebrantamiento de la Constitución por el régimen marxista, señalaba el propósito inmoral de instaurar un sistema totalitario, con el desconocimiento y el atropello sistemático de los demás Poderes del Estado, ya que se privaba a los ciudadanos de sus garantías individuales, permitiendo la creación de poderes paralelos ilegítimos que ponían en grave peligro a la Nación.

Se burló del reclamo de la Corte Suprema de Justicia por la acción ilegítima de la autoridad administrativa, y de igual forma se rechazó los órganos legales de la Contraloría General de la República.

Al clamor de los gremios, de las mujeres y de la juventud, que veían con pavor la destrucción de la Nación, al negárseles el futuro de libertad y progreso del pueblo, no quedó otro camino a las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros, sino el poner término a ese estado de desquiciamiento de todo orden, y ofrecer una esperanza de paz y recuperación al pueblo chileno, hasta ese momento tan miserablemente traicionado.

No estamos aún en condiciones de medir en toda su magnitud el mal que se ha causado a nuestra patria, pero ya los chilenos hemos escuchado el balance del estado financiero de la Nación que ha hecho el Contralor General de la República, y las medidas de orden económico que se deben adoptar para enfrentar la grave crisis que se avecina, como lo indicara el señor Ministro de Hacienda en la presente semana. Cada una de las oficinas públicas, cada empresa estatizada o intervenida, cada Banco, cada Organismo del Estado, es una verdadera caja de sorpresas, que muestran parte de un proceso de corrupción moral y administrativa increíbles.

No sólo se dilapidaron los recursos materiales de la Nación, sino que se derrochó toda una energía creadora de un pueblo con mejores destinos, y por la corrupción moral de los funcionarios que alentaron la desidia y el ocio malsano, no se trepidó en dilapidar los recursos del pueblo de Chile en su propio beneficio, usufructuando de placeres y de una vida licenciosa, digna de un país en decadencia y corrompido.

Por ello, ningún funcionario político dejará de pagar su responsabilidad y nadie quedará impune por estos delitos que van contra la contextura misma de la Patria.

Pero también señalamos que no aceptaremos la injusticia para aquellos hombres que, de buena fe, creyeron en las falsas promesas sociales de estos nuevos mesías que difundían el odio y el rencor entre los chilenos.

Por ambiciones políticas, desde hace muchas generaciones se ha fomentado en Chile, consciente o inconscientemente, la división del pueblo: Se ha hecho lo posible por ahondar la brecha entre los pobres y los que no lo son; entre los que no han tenido acceso a la educación y los que la han recibido. Se ha tratado de ahondar diferencias entre campesinos y poblaciones urbanas; entre trabajadores del sector público y del sector privado; entre civiles y uniformados;
entre los que profesan tal o cual ideología: En definitiva, se ha impulsado la tendencia para estimular los factores que nos dividen, olvidando a aquellos que nos unen como chilenos, hijos de una tierra, hermanos de una tradición y forjadores de una Patria con mejores destinos.

Hoy al construir la nueva sociedad, lo hacemos tomando como base a estos factores.

La gesta del 11 de septiembre incorporó a Chile en la heroica lucha contra la dictadura marxista de los pueblos amantes de su libertad.

En ese mismo ánimo libertario, que movió a checoslovacos y húngaros, para luchar su enemigo poderoso e inclemente, es que se ha impregnado el espíritu de los chilenos, para derrotar al marxismo internacional.

Por ello, inicialmente en todo el mundo se ha hecho presente la campaña en contra de Chile desatada por los países socialistas; la calumnia y el engaño han entrado en juego permanente para distorsionar en el exterior la imagen real de Chile, pero ya los países se han dado cuenta de esta acción encubridora del comunismo internacional y la verdad volverá a triunfar sobre el embuste.

Los siniestros planes para realizar una masacre en masa de un pueblo que no aceptaba sus ideas, se habían preparado en forma subterránea. Países extranjeros enviaron armas y mercenario del odio para combatirnos; sin embargo, la mano de Dios se hizo presente para salvarnos, a pocos días, antes de consumarse tan horrendo crimen. Hoy sabemos qué habría ocurrido, ya que los documentos encontrados así lo indican: el marxismo internacional hubiera desatado la guerra civil, en cumplimiento de sus siniestros planes, y la vida de más de un millón de chilenos, se habría segado a sangre y fuego.

La situación se controla, pero persiste la amenaza externa e interna de chilenos que se sienten rabiosamente defraudados en sus propósitos totalitarios y, desde otros países, incitan a extranjeros a luchar contra sus propios hermanos.

Por ello, subsisten el estado de guerra interno y el estado de sitio, del cual la ciudadanía tiene que tomar cabal conciencia, porque de su espíritu de responsabilidad, depende el éxito de nuestras gestiones de paz y concordia, en que estamos empeñados para el bien de Chile y de sus hijos.

Para esto, es preciso que cada ciudadano comprenda la difícil tarea que desempeñan las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros, ya que para preservar la paz y la seguridad, arriesgan permanentemente su vida.

Conciudadanos, no es tarea grata y fácil la que estamos desarrollando; es labor difícil y sacrificada, que requiere el aporte solidario y colectivo de todos nosotros. El fracaso de nuestra misión será el fin de Chile y de sus hijos. Por ello, nuestra actuación es sólo el resultado de una tragedia nacional, en la medida que hicieron o dejaron hacer el mal.
Por lo tanto, quienes ya comienzan a juzgar precipitadamente nuestras actuaciones, quienescreen que esto es un producto que puede ser repartido egoístamente, para satisfacer comodidades o ambiciones de grupos o personas, quienes de algún modo exigen pronta solución a sus problemas, están equivocados, y siguen haciendo el mal a la Patria. Han olvidado que nuestros soldados siguen aún combatiendo contra grupos de extremistas armados, que en la oscuridad hieren o matan en forma artera.

Esta lucha heroica, no es una lucha fratricida; por el contrario, es la batalla constante para extirpar de raíz el mal de Chile, y que sólo habremos obtenido la victoria definitiva cuando impere la justicia y la paz social que todo pueblo anhela y merece. Así, quienes precipitadamente exigen o emiten juicios aventurados sobre la actuación de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros, no nos ayudan, y olvidan que es misión fundamental hacer de un país en ruinas una nación próspera; lo cual no es tarea para demagogos ni se resuelve en horas.

Desde el primer instante el gobierno ha señalado que en ningún momento se ha pensado en retroceder en las conquistas alcanzadas por los trabajadores; pero el país debe enfrentar en todas direcciones la más seria y honda de las crisis que en el curso de su vida independiente haya soportado. La cruda realidad no ha terminado, y de ello debemos tener plena conciencia –está en sus inicios-, por ello no prometemos ni ofrecemos otra cosa que nuestro sacrificio y esfuerzo personal; pero al mismo tiempo pedimos y exigimos el esfuerzo y sacrificio de todos los chilenos para consolidar la paz y la justicia social en nuestro pueblo.

Es imposible señalar, en un solo conjunto, las medidas que en forma inmediata o mediata y a largo plazo, se deberán aplicar, pero es necesaria la comprensión de cada uno, ya que si bien es cierto, tenemos metas comunes, se requiere que por un período más o menos largo, el país sea sometido al esfuerzo ordenado y a un sacrificio compartido, para erradicar de Chile el hambre y la miseria, elevar el nivel de vida de sus habitantes, y alcanzar una lugar de privilegio entre los pueblos del mundo civilizado.

No es tarea fácil; la destrucción ocasionada a la economía de Chile y la descomposición del espíritu laboral alcanzó límites incalculables. La indisciplina produjo tal desconcierto en todos los trabajadores, al extremo que en la semana un obrero tenía un rendimiento de 1,2 días de trabajo, es decir, 10 horas sobre las 40 que corresponde; el resto eran desfiles, reuniones, manifestaciones, etc.; ello nos da una pauta, para que se comprenda a los extremos que se alcanzó. Lo anterior, nos impone el aunar el espíritu de todos los chilenos tras un destino de progreso y de metas comunes, para llegar donde nos proponemos alcanzar para recuperar el país.

Hemos declarado que para este Gobierno no hay vencedores ni vencidos, porque entendemos a Chile como una Unidad de destino. La auténtica noción de Patria obliga a cada generación a ser fiel con los valores históricos que han heredado de sus antepasados y han dado forma a la nacionalidad. Ello obliga a sentirnos entre todos los compatriotas como hermanos, comprometidos en un mismo destino, a navegar en un mismo barco, cuyo arribo a puerto o cuyo naufragio depende de todos, y alcanzará finalmente a todos. Por tanto, proclamamos la unidad nacional como la aspiración más preciada y sólida para la recuperación de Chile.
Por la misma razón, rechazamos categóricamente la concepción marxista del hombre y de la sociedad, porque ella niega los valores más entrañables del alma nacional y pretende dividir a los chilenos en una lucha deliberada entre clases aparentemente antagónicas, para terminar implantando un sistema totalitario y opresor, donde se niegue los más caros atributos del hombre como ser racional y libre.

No pretendemos perseguir a nadie por sus ideas ni por su simple adhesión al régimen depuesto. Nuestra determinación es ser inflexibles para sancionar a quienes pretendan o hayan pretendido usar la violencia, como asimismo, a quienes hayan delinquido o abusado ilícitamente en el ejercicio de sus cargos. Pero es también nuestro anhelo que aquellos que equivocadamente adhirieron a quienes traicionaron al pueblo de Chile se incorporen ahora en plenitud a la reconstrucción nacional. Aspiramos a derrotar al marxismo en la consciencia de los chilenos, que podrán comparar y juzgar a cada cual por sus resultados.

Junto a la misión de reconstruir la unidad nacional perdida, proclamamos como nuestro objetivo próximo más inmediato alcanzar el desarrollo económico y la justicia social, que tanto anhela nuestro pueblo. Para ello hemos solicitado el concurso de los técnicos más capaces e idóneos en cada materia, con absoluta prescindencia de su filiación política o partidaria, y sin otro requisito que el estar dispuesto a cooperar en la tarea patriótica que nos hemos propuesto.

No se puede permitir que, por ideologismos excesivos o mezquinos sectarismos, se pierdan o posterguen las mejores capacidades de la nación.

La administración de empresas y servicios públicos y privados no pueden considerarse como parcelas para el cuoteo o repartijas políticas, sino como una misión de servicio público que requiere la formación de una escuela de eficiencia, honradez y continuidad.

Para lograr el desarrollo económico realizaremos una política pragmática y realista, evitando todo dogma, prejuicio o copia foránea. Fomentaremos la inversión pública y privada, nacional y extranjera, como único vehículo de aumento estable de la producción; todo ello, claramente señalado en una razonada planificación económica.

El verdadero nacionalismo no consiste en rechazar las inversiones extranjeras sino en sujetarlas a normas que aseguren como condición prioritaria el beneficio de Chile. Para promover las inversiones, la capitalización y el ahorro, ofreceremos la confianza que nace de la seriedad, del respeto a creer en las eglas del juego y de la valorización del trabajo esforzado de cada cual. El talento creador de nuevas fuentes de riqueza y cupación para los chilenos recibirá el más amplio apoyo de un régimen que pretende armonizar equilibradamente la iniciativa privada con la necesaria intervención estatal en la marcha de una economía moderna: El rol del Estado moderno será, fundamentalmente, servir de árbitro entre productores y consumidores y a ello tenderá nuestro esfuerzo.

El Estado velará por la consecución efectiva de la justicia social, teniendo presente que el desarrollo económico sólo se justifica en plenitud, cuando sus frutos aprovechan equitativamente a todos los habitantes de la República, sin otras diferencias que las que pueden emanar de la
mayor capacidad o espíritu de trabajo de cada cual. Seremos inflexibles para evitar todo privilegio contrario a este principio y seremos sumamente celosos para impedir que personas o grupos de cualquier género obtengan prebendas que atenten en contra del interés general. En formas simultánea se resguardarán y desarrollarán las legítimas conquistas sociales de los trabajadores y se buscará siempre conciliación. En efecto, el desarrollo económico y el progreso social son términos indisolubles. Cuando se sacrifica demagógicamente el primero, los beneficios sociales que se conceden, terminan siendo una simple ilusión, porque sólo se reparte pobreza. Cuando, en cambio, se posterga indebidamente el progreso social, el desarrollo económico no se traduce en justicia, fomentándose sólo tensiones inconvenientes.

Consideramos que el permanente equilibrio entre ambos aspectos es misión clave de todo gobernante. Es conveniente la participación consciente y responsable de la ciudadanía, como clave de la democracia viva y depurada, que deberá abrirse paso hacia el futuro; para ello daremos nuestra prioridad a los Colegios, al profesional, a los gremios y a los trabajadores, para que en estrecho contacto con ellos, reflejen el auténtico pensamiento del pueblo organizado, en torno a sus actividades de trabajo o estudio. A través de ellos, se podrá recoger una voz técnica frente a los problemas, ilustrando de este modo las decisiones de Gobierno, condición indispensable para que esta relación se configure en forma fructífera. La despolitización de las organizaciones de estudio y de trabajo en general, no serán instrumentos de partidos o grupo alguno, sino expresión del verdadero sentir de quienes constituyan el grupo desde los más bajos niveles. Hoy la inmensa mayoría del país ha empezado a construir.

En la tarea de reconstruir al país tiene particular relevancia la participación organizada de la juventud y de la mujer, que tanto idealismo y decisión han mostrado en estos años.

En ellos está la savia del futuro y la base de la familia, pilares ambos de una Patria en marcha. Daremos horizontes a la juventud de hoy, de mañana y la seguridad para la mujer. Estos incentivos en el nuevo régimen permitirán a estos sectores tan vitales la más activa y eficiente participación.

Rindo homenaje a las madres chilenas, mujeres inspiradas con esa claridad divina que Dios les alberga en su corazón; ellas lucharon por el futuro de sus hijos, y por ello la historia les reconocerá en el tiempo, cuando se estudien las páginas tristes de este pasado. En cuanto a los trabajadores, buscaremos una mayor participación plasmada en realismo y sin teorizaciones abstractas. Las fórmulas admitirán toda la variedad que exige la distinta naturaleza de las miles de empresas industriales, agrícolas y mineras del país, pero ellas deberán asegurar el respeto a las jerarquías técnicas y la disciplina laboral, sin lo cual se termina por destruir la unidad productiva como tal. Lo importante es mirar a la empresa, como una comunidad de seres humanos, donde todos son y deben ser considerados como sujetos, y no objetos, de su propio destino. La educación es un derecho fundamental de todo niño o joven de la patria. No sólo se trata de dar alimentación, vivienda y vestuario dignos a todos los chilenos. Es necesario, además, entregarles el acceso a la cultura, en tal forma que los coloque en igualdad de oportunidades sociales frente a la vida. La educación debe formar en el joven los grandes valores de la nacionalidad, sin buscar ninguna forma de adoctrinamiento o concientización política, ya que
con ello se vulnera el sagrado respeto por la libertad interior de cada ser humano. Una verdadera educación que alcance a todos los chilenos, es, además, en este nuevo Estado, el camino indispensable para que Chile progrese en la ruta de la tecnología que caracteriza al mundo contemporáneo.

Para lograr los objetivos señalados es indispensable para el nuevo Gobierno dotar a sus actos de la más estricta moralidad pública, para iniciar con su ejemplo un cambio profundo en la mentalidad del país. El respeto al honor y dignidad de las personas, el sentimiento de fraternidad entre los chilenos, el sentido del deber y una mística en torno al trabajo de cada cual deben convertirse en normas esenciales de la reconstrucción espiritual del país. El orden, la limpieza material de nuestras ciudades y la disciplina en nuestros actos serán el reflejo de la depuración moral de la patria.

El Gobierno complementará y asegurará lo anterior a través del restablecimiento integral del principio de autoridad, que se ejercerá son contemplaciones contra todos aquellos grupos minoritarios y extremistas que intenten perturbar la convivencia pacífica entre los chilenos, como, igualmente, contra toda forma de delincuencia. Nunca más un pequeño grupo de audaces contará con la tolerancia oficial para crear y practicar una filosofía de violencia, que pretenda separar la unidad de los nacidos en este suelo, que tienen una enseña común y un ancestro cultural e histórico, que forman el bloco monolítico de la chilenidad. Afianzadas las metas anteriores, las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden darán paso al restablecimiento de nuestra democracia, la que deberá renacer purificada de los vicios y malos hábitos que terminaron por destruir nuestras instituciones. Una nueva Constitución Política de la República debe permitir la evolución dinámica que el mundo actual reclama, y aleje para siempre la politiquería, el sectarismo y la demagogia de la vida nacional; que ella sea la expresión suprema de la nueva institucionalidad y bajo estos moldes se proyecten los destinos de Chile. En ella, conforme a nuestras mejores tradiciones históricas, el pueblo deberá ser el verdadero origen y destinatario del ejercicio del Poder.

Reconstruir siempre es más lento y más arduo que destruir. Por ello sabemos que nuestra misión no tendrá la transitoriedad que deseábamos, y es así como no damos plazos ni fijamos fechas.

Sólo cuando el país haya alcanzado la paz social necesaria para el verdadero progreso y desarrollo económico a que se tiene derecho y Chile no muestre caras con reflejos de odio, será cuando nuestra misión habrá terminado. Para acelerar estas metas, pedimos a Dios su ayuda, y a nuestro pueblo su abnegación y patriotismo y a quienes tienen la responsabilidad del Gobierno, su propia entrega, sin limitaciones, en beneficio de la causa que han abrazado. Todo ello requiere esfuerzos y sacrificios que estamos dispuestos a asumir, confiando en el éxito final de la misión que nos hemos propuesto, inspirados en el espíritu portaliano que alumbró hoy esta sala, en la cual el pueblo todo se ha fundido, en anhelos de paz y progreso. Al terminar esta breve exposición, pido al Altísimo que nos ilumine y nos dé fuerzas para afrontar las difíciles tareas de Gobierno, y a mis compatriotas, la fe y el sacrificio para salvar a la Patria, dolida y enferma, de la dura prueba a que el destino la sometió, quizás si para señalarle con este golpe, cual será su verdadera misión.
No quiero dejar esta tribuna, sin antes rendir un homenaje a las esposas de nuestros soldados, hoy angustiadas y temerosas, pero jamás abatidas en su corazón espartano; a ellas nuestros agradecimientos y nuestra comprensión.
A month after the establishment of the military junta

Fellow citizens, military, religious and civil authorities, friends from foreign countries; Ladies and Gentlemen:

One month after the military intervention by Armed Forces and Carabineros, we have wanted to come to this tribune to present to the people of Chile the situation in which we found the nation, and the repercussions that affect all aspects for its development as a free and sovereign country.

We have assumed this duty with responsibility and with absolute certainty of being in full compliance with the mission that the State assigns us, as vigilant forces of internal security and protectors of the highest moral, intellectual, social, political and economic values.

The last years of the Government of the nation have dragged the country to various conditions intended to produce misery, hatred and violence among Chileans. Therefore, as a palliative to such nefarious events, the armed forces and police took the Government, inspired by the noble mission that, as men of arms, the law bestows upon us, which is not only fundamentally to preserve the sovereignty of the nation when it sees internal or external threats, but to ensure maintaining internal order and the physical and moral safety of all citizens.

When the rule of law is violated without giving the opportunity to the Armed and Order Forces to make any pronouncement, neither positive nor negative, and events unfold under a superficially peaceful appearance, without there being an awareness of the deep moral and economic decay, it is because a point has been reached an internal chaos that places the State in the most serious danger to its normal unfolding.

In such a case, it shall be the duty of the Armed Forces and Carabineros to restore the normal life of the country, without that meaning to break the healthy principles of respect for the rules and norms established by Law. If there was any existing blame, it is to be put on those who, with their attitudes against the Constitution and the laws, dispense with their duties as the nation’s representatives, try to produce internal chaos, and disregard that above their political ideas, there is the homeland, and come to seriously jeopardize its sovereignty and security.

More damning still it will be for those whose acts the citizenry reproved as illegitimate, yet in the exercise of Government they assumed and maintained. Rather than stubborn, their attitude was suicidal.

Parliament, the Supreme Court of Justice, the Office of the Comptroller General of the Republic, unions, women, youth, said so repeatedly, but their concern for the totalitarian excesses of the Marxist regime of an egomaniac government found only the cold response of an insensitive and sectarian mutism; but that multitudinous claim was never heard by those who had the duty to preserve the basic principles that inspire our institutions.

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12 The word used in Spanish is velar, which has a literal meaning of staying awake through the night
The Chamber of Representatives was not heeded, which showed the serious breach of the Constitution by the Marxist regime, marking the immoral purpose of establishing a totalitarian system, with disregard and systematic abuse\textsuperscript{13} of the other branches of government, as it deprived citizens of their individual rights, allowing the creation of illegitimate parallel powers that put the nation in serious danger.

The Supreme Court claims for the unlawful action of the administrative authority were derided, and likewise the legal concerns of the Office of the Comptroller General of the Republic were rejected.

To the cry of the unions, women, and youth, who watched with horror the destruction of the nation, by being denied the future of freedom and progress of the people, there was no other response for the Armed Forces and Carabineros, but to end that state of derangement of all kinds, and offer hope for peace and recovery to the Chilean people, hitherto so miserably betrayed.

We are not yet able to measure the full extent of the evil that has been done to our country, but we Chileans have heard the balance of the financial state of the nation that the General Comptroller of the Republic has made, and measures of economic order that are to be taken to address the serious looming crisis, as indicated by the Minister of Finance this week. Each of the public offices, each nationalized or intervened company, every bank, every state agency, is a real box of surprises, showing part of an incredible process of moral and administrative corruption.

Not only the material resources of the nation were squandered, but a whole creative energy of a people with better destinations was wasted, and because of the moral corruption of officials who encouraged indolence and unhealthy leisure, there was no hesitation to squander the resources of the people of Chile for their own benefit, indulging in pleasures and a licentious life, worthy of a decadent and corrupt country.

Therefore, no political official will avoid paying their responsibility and no one will go unpunished for these crimes, that go against the very body of the country.

But we also note that we will not accept injustice to those men who, in good faith, believed in the false social promises of these new messiahs who spread hatred and rancor among Chileans.

For political ambitions, the division of the people has been promoted for many generations in Chile, consciously or unconsciously: it has been made possible by deepening the gap between the poor and those who are not; among those who have not had access to education and those who have received it. It has tried to deepen differences between rural and urban populations; between public sector workers and private sector; between civilians and uniformed; among those who profess this or that ideology: In short, these tendencies have been promoted to stimulate the factors that divide us, forgetting those that unite us as Chileans, sons of a land, siblings of a tradition and forgers of a homeland with better destinations. Today, in building the new society, we do so based on these factors.

\textsuperscript{13} The original Spanish word, \textit{atropello}, refers to the act of running over something with a motor vehicle
The deed of September 11 joined Chile in the heroic struggle of freedom - loving peoples against the Marxist dictatorship.

In the same libertarian spirit that moved Czechoslovaks and Hungarians to fight this powerful and unforgiving enemy, Chileans have been permeated by this energy to defeat international Marxism.

For that reason, the whole world has witnessed the campaign unleashed against Chile by the socialist countries; slander and deceit have become permanent actors set to distort abroad the real image of Chile, but countries have become aware of this concealing action of international communism and the truth will triumph over falsehood.

The sinister plans for a mass slaughter of a people who did not accept their ideas, had been prepared underground. Foreign countries sent weapons and mercenaries of hatred to fight us; however, the hand of God was present to save us a few days before the consummation of such a horrendous crime. Today we know what would have happened, since the documents found so indicate: international Marxism would have unleashed civil war, in compliance with their sinister plans, and the lives of more than a million Chileans would have been reaped by blood and fire.

The situation is under control, but the external and internal threat of Chileans who feel rabidly disappointed in their totalitarian purposes persists and, from other countries, encourage foreigners to fight against their own brothers.

For this reason, the state of internal war and siege remain, about which citizens must take full consciousness, because on their spirit of responsibility depends the success of our efforts towards peace and harmony, to which we are committed for the good of Chile and its children.

For this, it is necessary that every citizen understands the difficult task played by the Armed Forces and Carabineros, who, to preserve peace and security, permanently risk their lives.

Fellow citizens, it is not a pleasant and easy task that which we are carrying out; it is difficult and self-sacrificing work that requires the solidary and collective contribution from all of us. The failure of our mission will be the end of Chile and their children.

Therefore, our intervention is only the result of a national tragedy, in tandem to their willingness to do evil, or to let evil be done.

Therefore, those who are beginning to hastily judge our actions, those who believe that this is a product that can be divided selfishly to satisfy the comfort or ambitions of groups or individuals, those who somehow demand quick solution to their problems, are wrong, and continue to do evil to the country. They have forgotten that our soldiers are still fighting against armed groups of extremists, who in the dark injure or kill in treacherous ways.

This heroic struggle is not a fratricidal struggle; on the contrary, it is the constant battle to root out evil from Chile, and we will have obtained definitive victory only when the justice and social peace that all people crave and deserve prevail. So, those who are prompt to make demands or to emit adventurous judgments about the actions of the Armed Forces and
Carabineros, do not help us, and forget that it is a fundamental mission to turn a ruined country into a prosperous nation, which it is not a task for demagogues nor it is resolved in hours.

From the first moment the government has indicated that at no time there have been thoughts of regressing in the gains\(^{14}\) achieved by workers; but the country must face in all fronts the most serious and deep crisis it has endured in the course of its independent life. The stark\(^{15}\) reality is not over, and of that we must have full awareness. Therefore, we promise or offer anything other than our sacrifice and personal effort; but at the same time we ask and demand the effort and sacrifice of all Chileans to consolidate peace and social justice in our people.

It is impossible to say, in a single set, the immediate or near-term, and the long-term measures that will have to be implemented, but understanding each is necessary, because although it is true we have common goals, it is required that for a relatively long period, the country is subjected to the orderly effort and shared sacrifice, to eradicate hunger and poverty from Chile, raise the standard of living of its inhabitants, and reach a privileged place among the peoples of the civilized world.

It is no easy task; the destruction wreaked onto the Chilean economy and the decomposition of the workers’ spirit reached incalculable limits. Indiscipline produced such confusion in all workers, that in a week, a laborer had a yield of 1.2 working days, that is, 10 hours over the corresponding 40; the rest were parades, gatherings, demonstrations, etc.; This gives us an example, so that the extremes reached are fully understood. This imposes unto us the need to unify the spirit of all Chileans towards a destination of progress and common goals, to get where we intend to reach in order to get our country back.

We have stated that for this government there are no winners or losers, because we understand Chile as One destination. The very notion of Patria\(^{16}\) requires of each generation to be faithful to the historical values they have inherited from their ancestors and that have shaped our national identity. This compels all countrymen to feel as brothers amongst ourselves, committed towards the same destination, sailing in the same boat, whose arrival in port or whose shipwreck depends on everyone, and will eventually reach everyone. Therefore, we proclaim national unity as the most precious and strong aspiration for the recovery of Chile.

For the same reason, we categorically reject the Marxist conception of man and society, because it denies the most cherished values of the national soul and seeks to divide Chileans in a deliberate struggle between seemingly antagonistic classes, with the intention of implementing a totalitarian and oppressive system where the most valuable\(^{17}\) attributes of man as a rational and free being are denied.

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\(^{14}\) The original Spanish word, *conquistas*, is used in the military context to talk about territorial gains.

\(^{15}\) The original Spanish word, *cruda*, means raw, as in uncooked food.

\(^{16}\) Spanish for Homeland.

\(^{17}\) The Spanish original, *caros*, is overwhelmingly used in a monetary context.
We do not intend to pursue anyone for their ideas or by simple adherence to the deposed regime. Our determination is to be inflexible to punish those who seek or have sought to use violence, as well as those who have committed crimes or abused illegally in the exercise of their duties. But it is also our hope that those who mistakenly joined the betrayers of the people of Chile, fully incorporate now in the national reconstruction. We aim to defeat Marxism in the consciousness of Chileans, who may compare and judge each on their results.

Together with the mission of rebuilding the lost national unity, we proclaim as our next, most immediate goal, to achieve the economic development and social justice that our people so deeply crave. To that end, we have requested the assistance of the most capable and suitable technicians in each subject, without any attention to their political or party affiliation, and with no other requirement than a willingness to cooperate in the patriotic task we have set ourselves.

It cannot be allowed that, because of excessive ideologisms or petty sectarianism, the best capabilities of the nation are lost or postponed.

Business administration and public and private services cannot be considered as spaces for arbitrary designations or political allocations, but as a mission of public service that requires the formation of a practice of efficiency, honesty and continuity.

To achieve economic development, we will implement a pragmatic and realistic policy, avoiding any dogma, prejudice or foreign copy. We will encourage investment, public and private; domestic and foreign investment, as the only stable vehicle to increase production; all that, clearly stated in a reasoned economic planning.

True nationalism is not to reject foreign investment, but to subject it to rules that ensure the benefit of Chile as a priority. To promote investment, capitalization and savings, we will offer the trust that is born out of seriousness, out of respect in believing in the rules of the game, and out of appreciation of each person’s hard work. Talent that aims to create new sources of wealth and occupation for Chileans will receive the widest support of a regime that seeks to harmonize and balance private initiative with the necessary state intervention in the running of a modern economy: the role of the modern state is, essentially, to arbitrate between producers and consumers and to that our efforts will tend.

The State shall ensure the effective achievement of social justice, bearing in mind that economic development can only be justified fully when its fruits are enjoyed equitably by all inhabitants of the Republic, with no other differences than those that may emanate from the higher capacity or working spirit of each. We will be inflexible to avoid any privilege contrary to this principle and we will be very vigilant to prevent individuals or groups of any kind from obtaining prebends that attempt against the general interest. At the same time, the legitimate social conquests of the workers will be protected and developed, and conciliation will always be sought. Indeed, economic development and social progress are inseparable terms. When the first is sacrificed with demagoguery, the social benefits that are conceded end up being a mere illusion, because only poverty is delivered. When, however, social progress is unduly delayed, economic development does not result in justice, fostering inconvenient tensions.

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18 The Spanish original uses the phrases *parcelas para el cuoteo* and *repartijas políticas*, both with a highly pejorative connotation and rooted in the division and share-out of a country estate.
We believe that the permanent balance between the two aspects is key mission of every leader. The conscientious and responsible participation of the citizenship is convenient, as a key aspect of a lively and refined democracy, which will have to pave its way towards the future. To that end, we will prioritize charters, the professional, unions, and workers, so that in close contact with them, they reflect the authentic thought of the people organized around their work or study activities. Through them, you can pick up a technical voice about the problems, thus illustrating the government’s decisions, essential requisite for this relationship to be set up fruitfully. Depoliticization of study and work organizations in general, will not be instruments of parties or any group, but an expression of the true feelings of those who constitute the group from the lowest levels. Today, the vast majority of the country has begun to build.

In the task of rebuilding the country, the organized participation of youth and women is of particular relevance, as they have shown abundant idealism and determination in these years.

They are the lifeblood of the future and the foundation of the family, both pillars of a country that is back on its track. We shall give horizons to the youth of today [and] tomorrow, and security for women. These incentives in the new regime will allow these vital sectors the most active and efficient participation.

I pay tribute to Chilean mothers, women inspired by that divine clarity that God infuses into their heart; they fought for the future of their children and for that, history will acknowledge them in time, when the sad pages of this past are studied.

As of workers, we will seek greater participation embodied in realism without abstract theorizing. The formulas will consider the full range required by the different nature of the thousands of industrial, agricultural and mining companies in the country, but they must ensure respect for the technical hierarchies and work discipline, without which the productive unit as such ends up destroyed. The important thing is to look at the company as a community of human beings, where everyone is and should be considered as subjects, not objects, of their own destiny. Education is a fundamental right of every child or young person of the country. It does not only come to providing food, housing, and clothing that is worthy of all Chileans. It is also necessary to give them access to culture, in such a way that gives them equal opportunities in life. Education should forge in the young the great values of citizenship, without seeking any form of indoctrination or political awareness, because such is a violation of the sacred respect for the inner freedom of each human being. A real education that reaches all Chileans is also in this new State the indispensable way for Chile to progress on the path of technology that characterizes the contemporary world.

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, it is essential for the new government to endow every one of its deeds with the strictest public morality, to initiate, by example, a profound change in the mentality of the country. Respect for people’s honor and dignity, a sense of brotherhood among Chileans, the sense of duty, and a mystique around each and everyone’s work, must become essential rules of the spiritual reconstruction of the country. Order, material cleanliness of our cities, and discipline in our actions, will reflect the moral cleansing of the country.

The Government will complement and ensure the former through the comprehensive restoration of the principle of authority, which will be exercised without contemplation against
those minority and extremist groups attempting to disrupt the peaceful coexistence among Chileans, and, likewise, against all forms of crime. Never again a small group of bold will have official permission to create and practice a philosophy of violence, seeking to separate the unity of those born in this land, who have a common teaching and a cultural and historical ancestor, which form the monolithic block of *chilenidad*\(^{19}\).

Once the former goals are secured, the Armed Forces and Carabineros will usher in the restoration of our democracy, which must be reborn purified of the vices and bad habits that ended up destroying our institutions. A new Constitution of the Republic must allow the dynamic evolution that the world today demands and cast away forever all political maneuvering, sectarianism, and demagogy from national life; let it be the supreme expression of the new institutional framework, and the blueprint through which the destinies of Chile are planned. In it, according to our best historical traditions, the people must be the true origin and recipient of the exercise of power.

To rebuild is always slower and harder than to destroy. So we know that our mission will not have the transience we would like, thus we do not provide deadlines nor set dates.

Only when the country has achieved the social peace necessary for rightful true progress and economic development, and Chile does not show faces with reflections of hatred, then it will be the time when our mission will have finished. To accelerate these goals, we ask God for help, and to our people their self-sacrifice and patriotism; and to those who have the responsibility of government, their own commitment, without limitation, for the benefit of the cause they have embraced.

This requires efforts and sacrifices we are willing to assume, relying on the ultimate success of the mission that we have set ourselves, inspired by the Portalian\(^{20}\) spirit that shines today in this room, in which the people has wholly united in hopes of peace and progress.

Upon completion of this brief presentation, I ask the Almighty to enlighten us and give us strength to face the difficult tasks of government, and to my compatriots, faith and sacrifice to save the country, hurt and sick as it is, from the ordeal to which destiny subjected it, perhaps only to point out with this blow what its true mission will be.

I do not want to leave this podium without paying tribute to the wives of our soldiers, today anxious and fearful, but never defeated in their Spartan heart; to them our gratefulness and our understanding.

Fellow citizens, I swear before the flag of the Founding Fathers, that those of us who today assume the responsibility of the Government are not driven by any other goal that to serve Chile, with all faith and patriotism, and if it is necessary that we give our lives, we will gladly do so, because as men of arms we have sworn to give it for the good of Chile and its destiny, which today we seal before the whole country with a *Viva Chile* sprung from the bottom of our heart.

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\(^{19}\) Chilean-ness  
\(^{20}\) Refers to Diego Portales, Chilean statesman and businessman pivotal in the articulation of the 1833 authoritarian constitution.
APPENDIX F
ORIGINAL SPANISH AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND SPEECH

Al celebrarse hoy el Día de la Juventud que instituimos hace dos años en este mismo lugar, retorno a él con renovada fe en el futuro de Chile.

Concurso así a la invitación que me ha formulado el Frente Juvenil de Unidad Nacional, que también celebra en esta noche el segundo aniversario de su creación, como un movimiento propio y responsable de la juventud chilena, que quiso identificar su compromiso con la defensa y proyección histórica del 11 de septiembre, uniéndolo a aquel imperecedero ejemplo de patriotismo que representa la inmolación de los 77 héroes juveniles de La Concepción.

Mi corazón de viejo soldado revive con profunda emoción el coraje insuperable de Luis Cruz Martínez y de los otros 76 jóvenes chilenos, que junto a él, en plena soledad de la sierra peruana, supieron demostrar con la entrega de sus vidas, que nuestra Patria y los valores permanentes del espíritu están por encima de cualquier sacrificio personal que su defensa pueda demandar.

Como muy bien lo señalaís en el lema que habéis escogido, ellos murieron porque soñaban en una Patria libre, unida, grande y soberana. Convertir ese ideal en la más plena realidad posible, efectivamente es y será vuestra obra. Abriros diariamente el surco para que podáis emprender y proseguir esa tarea, es en cambio la difícil e irrenunciable misión que Dios y la historia han colocado sobre nuestros hombros.

Hace muy poco, de nuevo el pueblo chileno supo reeditar durante tres años de heroica lucha en contra de la inminente amenaza de totalitarismo comunista, aquel supremo grito de guerra de la Batalla de la Concepción: “Los chilenos no se rinden jamás”. Y cuando acudiendo al llamado angustioso de nuestra ciudadanía, las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden, decidieron actuar el 11 de septiembre de 1973, nuevamente nuestra tierra fue regada por la sangre de muchos de nuestros hombres, que cayeron luchando por la liberación de Chile.

Quedaba de este modo en evidencia que el temple de nuestra raza y la fibra de nuestra nacionalidad para defender la dignidad o la soberanía de nuestra patria no habían muerto ni podrían morir jamás, porque son valores morales que se anidan en el alma misma de la chilenidad. Hoy, volvemos a enfrentar una lucha desigual, contra una acción foránea de diversos orígenes y tonalidades, que a veces adopta la forma de la agresión enemiga, y que en otras ocasiones se presenta bajo el rostro de una presión amiga.

En ese complejo cuadro, Chile continuará actuando con la prudencia y mesura que tradicionalmente han caracterizado nuestra política internacional, aun en horas muy difíciles. Nuestra colaboración hacia los organismos internacionales y nuestro diálogo franco y leal con
los países y Gobiernos amigos seguirán comprometiendo los mejores esfuerzos y la más amplia buena voluntad de parte nuestra. Pero por ningún motivo permitiremos que dicha actitud se confunda con debilidad o vacilación ante quienes pretendan dictarnos desde el exterior, el camino que debemos seguir, ya que su determinación es de exclusivo resorte de nuestra soberanía interna.

Por esta razón, dispuse recientemente que renunciáramos a la solicitud de un crédito externo, cuyo otorgamiento pretendió condicionarse públicamente a un examen de un Gobierno extranjero acerca de la evolución de nuestra situación en materia de derechos humanos. Estoy cierto de que en esta actitud me acompaña el país entero, porque si hay algo que todo chileno de verdad tiene muy en claro es que la dignidad de nuestra patria no se transa ni se hipoteca ante nada ni frente a nadie.

Quienes pretenden doblegarnos con presiones o amenazas foráneas, se equivocan rotundamente, y sólo verán crecer una cohesión interna que siempre se agiganta ante la adversidad. Quienes, por su parte pretenden desde el interior aliarse con estos desbordes internacionales que parecieran revivir formas de imperialismo que creíamos ya superadas en el Occidente, sólo logran retratarse mejor en sus ambiciones sin freno, y hacerse acreedores al justo desprecio del pueblo chileno.

Menos aceptable son todavía los intentos de intervención foránea cuando la causa que se invoca para ella es una supuesta defensa de los derechos humanos. Nuestra historia y nuestra idiosincrasia se han forjado en el respeto a la dignidad del hombre. Sólo una amarga experiencia reciente, que estuvo a punto de conducirnos a la guerra civil, nos ha hecho comprender que los derechos humanos no pueden sobrevivir en un régimen político y jurídico que abre campo a la agresión ideológica del marxismo-leninismo, hoy al servicio del imperialismo soviético, o a la subversión terrorista, que convierte a la convivencia social en una completa anarquía.

Resulta incomprensible que toda restricción a determinados derechos de las personas se enjuicie como una presunta transgresión de los derechos humanos, mientras que la actitud débil o demagógica de muchos gobiernos frente al terrorismo no merezca reparo alguno en la materia, aun cuando es evidente que ella se traduce en una complicidad por omisión, con una de las formas más brutales de violación de los derechos humanos.

Es posible que nuestro enfoque más amplio y profundo en esta materia sea difícil de comprender para quienes no han vivido un drama como el nuestro. He ahí, en cambio, la razón por la cual las limitaciones excepcionales que transitoriamente hemos debido imponer a ciertos derechos, han contado con el respaldo del pueblo y de la juventud de nuestra Patria, que han visto en ella el complemento duro pero necesario para asegurar nuestra Liberación Nacional, y proyectar así amplios horizontes de paz y progreso para el presente y el futuro de Chile. La juventud se ha destacado por su comprensión visionaria hacia la exigencia histórica que afrontamos en el sentido de dar vida a un Nuevo Régimen político institucional. Es por ello que, al cumplir el Frente Juvenil dos años de vida, siento el deber de expresar que, respetando el carácter plenamente autónomo e independiente de este movimiento, el Gobierno
que preside aprecia debidamente los importantes avances que aquel ha ido logrando en su misión de unir a la juventud chilena en cursos humanos, geográficos y económicos; con el 11 de septiembre y con la nueva institucionalidad que a partir de esa fecha está surgiendo. De ahí que haya escogido esta noche, que ya se identifica con la juventud de nuestra Patria, para señalar públicamente los pasos fundamentales que hemos delineado para avanzar en el proceso institucional del país. Nada me parece más apropiado que hacerlo en un acto juvenil, ya que seréis vosotros, jóvenes chilenos, los responsables de dar continuidad a la tarea en que estamos empeñados y los más directos beneficiados con el esfuerzo que en ella ha puesto desde su inicio, el país entero.

Frente al éxito ya perceptible del plan económico, el progreso en las medidas de orden social, y el orden y la tranquilidad que hoy brindan una vida pacífica a nuestros compatriotas, la atención pública se ha centrado ahora en mayor medida en nuestro futuro jurídico-institucional. Las sanas inquietudes de la juventud y de otros sectores nacionalistas por una participación cada vez mayor se inserta en esa realidad.

Para un adecuado enfoque de este problema, es conveniente reiterar una vez más, que el 11 de septiembre no significó sólo el derrocamiento de un Gobierno ilegítimo y fracasado, sino que representó el término de un régimen político-institucional definitivamente agotado, y el consiguiente imperativo de construir uno nuevo.

No se trata pues de una tarea de mera restauración sino de una obra eminentemente creadora, sin perjuicio de que dicha creación para ser fecunda debe enraizarse en los signos profundos de nuestra auténtica y mejor tradición nacional.

Ello nos señala el deber de caminar por el sendero del Derecho, armonizando siempre la flexibilidad en la evolución social con la certeza de una norma jurídica objetiva e impersonal, que obligue por igual a gobernantes y gobernados. En esa perspectiva, advertimos nítidamente que nuestro deber es dar forma a una nueva democracia que sea autoritaria, protegida, integradora tecnificada y de auténtica participación social, características que se comprenden mejor cuando el individuo se despoja de su egolatría, ambición y egoísmo.

Una democracia es autoritaria, en cuanto debe disponer un orden jurídico que asegure los derechos de las personas, con una adecuada protección de los Tribunales de Justicia independientes y dotados de imperio para hacer cumplir sus resoluciones.

Protegida, en cuanto debe afianzar como doctrina fundamental del Estado de Chile el contenido básico de nuestra Declaración de Principios, reemplazando el Estado liberal clásico, ingenuo e inerme, por uno nuevo que esté comprometido con la libertad y la dignidad del hombre y con los valores esenciales de la nacionalidad. Consiguientemente, todo atentado en contra de estos principios, cuyo contenido se ha ido precisando en las Actas Constitucionales vigentes, se considera por éstas como un acto ilícito y contrario al ordenamiento institucional de la República. La libertad y la democracia no pueden sobrevivir si ellas no se defienden de quienes pretenden destruirlas.

Integradora, en cuanto debe robustecer el Objetivo Nacional y los Objetivos permanentes de la
Nación, para que por encima de legítimas divergencias en otros aspectos más circunstanciales, los sucesivos Gobiernos tengan en el futuro la continuidad esencial que les ha faltado en el pasado. De ahí debe brotar un poderoso elemento de unidad de la gran familia chilena, a la cual se ha pretendido sistemáticamente disgregar por tanto tiempo, impulsando una lucha de clases que no existe y no debe existir.

Tecnificada, en cuanto al vertiginoso progreso científico y tecnológico del mundo contemporáneo, no puede ser ignorado por las estructuras jurídicas, resultando en cambio indispensable que se incorpore la voz de los que saben al estudio de las decisiones. Sólo ello permitirá colocar la discusión en el grado y nivel adecuados, reducir el margen de debate ideológico a sus justas proporciones, aprovechar el aporte de los más capaces, y dar estabilidad al sistema.

De auténtica participación social, en cuanto a que sólo es verdaderamente libre una sociedad que, fundada en el principio de subsidiariedad, consagra y respeta una real autonomía de las agrupaciones intermedias entre el hombre y el Estado, para perseguir sus fines propios y específicos. Este principio es la base de un cuerpo social dotado de vitalidad creadora, como asimismo de una libertad económica que, dentro de las reglas que fija la autoridad estatal para velar por el bien común, impida la asfixia de las personas por la férula de un Estado omnipotente. Estamos frente a una tarea que, por su naturaleza y envergadura, debe ser gradual. De este modo, nos alejamos por igual de dos extremos: el del estancamiento, que más tarde o más temprano siempre conduce los procesos sociales a rupturas violentas, y el de la precipitación, que traería consigo la rápida destrucción de todo nuestro esfuerzo, el retorno del régimen anterior con sus mismos hombres y vicios y, muy pronto, un caos similar o peor al que vivimos durante el Gobierno marxista.

El proceso concebido en forma gradual contempla tres etapas: la de recuperación, la de transición y la de normalidad o consolidación. Dichas etapas se diferencian por el diverso papel que en ellas corresponde a las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden, por un lado, y a la civilidad, por el otro. Asimismo, se distinguen por los instrumentos jurídico-institucionales que en cada una de ellas deben crearse o emplearse.

En la etapa de recuperación el Poder Político ha debido ser integralmente asumido por las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden, con colaboración de la civilidad, pero en cambio, más adelante, sus aspectos más contingentes serán compartidos con la civilidad, la cual habrá de pasar así de la colaboración a la participación.

Finalmente, entraremos en la etapa de normalidad o consolidación, el Poder será ejercido directa y básicamente por la civilidad, reservándose constitucionalmente a las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden el papel de contribuir a cautelar las bases esenciales de la institucionalidad, y la seguridad nacional en sus amplias y decisivas proyecciones modernas.

Hoy nos encontramos en plena etapa de recuperación, pero estimo que los progresos que en todo orden estamos alcanzando, nos llevan hacia la de transición. Durante el período que falta de la etapa de recuperación, será necesario completar la dictación de
Actas Constitucionales, en todas aquellas materias de rango constitucional aún no consideradas por ellas, como también de algunas leyes trascendentes, como de seguridad, trabajo, previsión, educación y otras que se estudiarán en forma paralela. De esta manera, quedará definitivamente derogada la Constitución de 1925, que en sustancia ya murió, pero que jurídicamente permanece vigente en algunas pequeñas partes, lo que no resulta aconsejable.

Simultáneamente, deberán revisarse las Actas Constitucionales ya promulgadas, en aquellas materias donde su aplicación práctica hubiere demostrado la conveniencia de introducir ampliaciones, modificaciones o precisiones.

La culminación de todo este proceso de preparación y promulgación de las actas constitucionales, que continuará desarrollándose progresivamente desde ahora, estimo que deberá en todo caso estar terminado antes del 31 de diciembre de 1980, ya que la etapa de transición no deberá comenzar después de dicho año, coincidiendo su inicio con la plena vigencia de todas las instituciones jurídicas que las actas contemplan.

Entre las referidas actas constitucionales, ocupa un lugar prioritario la que habrá de regular el ejercicio y la evolución de los Poderes Constituyente, Legislativo y Ejecutivo. Para orientar en esta materia a la Comisión de Estudios de la Nueva Constitución, el Presidente que os habla entregará próximamente ciertas directrices fundamentales que permitan a dicha comisión preparar el anteproyecto pertinente, para su posterior consulta al Consejo de Estado, antes del pronunciamiento final que corresponderá a la Junta de Gobierno.

Dichas orientaciones para el esquema que deberá regir en la etapa de transición son principalmente las siguientes:

- El Poder Constituyente deberá permanecer siendo ejercido por la Junta de Gobierno. Sin embargo, él se ejercerá normalmente con previa consulta al Consejo de Estado.
- El Poder Ejecutivo deberá permanecer siendo ejercido por el Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno, en calidad de Presidente de la República, y con las facultades de que hoy está investido.
- El Poder Legislativo, de acuerdo a la tradición nacional, deberá tener dos colegisladores: el Presidente de la República y una Cámara Legislativa o de Representantes, como se podría denominar, sin perjuicio de las facultades legislativas que, en esta etapa de transición, deberá mantener la Junta de Gobierno, en carácter extraordinario.

Estas autoridades deberán comprender, por una parte, el derecho de cada uno de sus integrantes a presentar proyectos de ley a través de la Presidencia de la República, y por la otra, la facultad de solicitar, antes de la promulgación de cualquier ley, que su texto sea revisado por la Junta de Gobierno. En este último caso, si en la Junta prevaleciera la opinión de que un precepto atenta contra la Seguridad Nacional, éste no podrá ser promulgado. Se trata de un veto absoluto, destinado a operar en los casos en que la Junta de Gobierno lo interponga, a petición de cualquiera de sus miembros, diferenciándose así del veto ordinario del Presidente de la República frente a la Cámara Legislativa.

Por su parte, y tal como lo expusiera el 18 de marzo pasado, la Cámara Legislativa o de
Representantes deberá tener una composición mixta: un tercio de sus miembros habrá de corresponder a personalidades de alto relieve nacional, que la integrarán por derecho propio o por designación presidencial, y los otros dos tercios restantes, serán representantes de Regiones o agrupaciones de Regiones, en una cantidad proporcional al número de sus habitantes.

En cuanto a la legislación ordinaria, se deberán contemplar sistemas de iniciativa de las leyes, de veto presidencial y otros, que eviten los excesos demagógicos que caracterizaron a los últimos períodos de nuestro anterior Parlamento.

Especial importancia cabe atribuir a que la Cámara Legislativa cuente con Comisiones Técnicas, en que participen establemente, con derecho a voz, las personas más calificadas en el plano científico, técnico y profesional en las diversas materias.

La instalación de esta Cámara Legislativa deberá realizarse durante el año 1980 y para su primer período, cuya duración será de 4 ó 5 años, dado que no es factible la realización de elecciones, los representantes de las Regiones habrán de ser designados por la Junta de Gobierno.

Posteriormente, en cambio, dichos representantes regionales se elegirán ya por sufragio popular directo, de acuerdo a sistemas electorales que favorezcan la selección de los más capaces, y que eviten que los partidos políticos vuelvan a convertirse en máquinas monopólicas de la participación ciudadana.

Constituida la Cámara Legislativa en este período, es decir, con dos tercios de sus miembros elegidos popularmente, deberá corresponder a la propia Cámara el designar al ciudadano que a partir de esa fecha desempeñará el cargo de Presidente de la República por un período de seis años.

Simultáneamente con lo anterior, que implicará el paso de la etapa de transición a la de consolidación, corresponderá aprobar y promulgar la nueva Constitución Política del Estado, única y completa, recogiendo como base la experiencia que arroje la aplicación de las Actas Constitucionales. La etapa de transición servirá así para culminar los estudios del proyecto definitivo de la nueva Carta Fundamental.

Al bosquejar este plan general ante el país, el Gobierno cree cumplir con su misión de esclarecer las líneas básicas sobre las cuales anhela desarrollar nuestra evolución institucional próxima, durante la cual también será necesario intensificar la elaboración y consagración jurídica de las nuevas formas de participación social, tanto de carácter gremial o laboral, como estudiantil, profesional, vecinal y de las demás expresiones ciudadanas en general.

Jóvenes chilenos:
La posibilidad de materializar integralmente este plan está sujeta a la condición de que el país siga presentando los signos positivos que nos han permitido avanzar hasta la fecha. Para ello se requiere indispensablemente el concurso patriótico de toda la ciudadanía, y muy especialmente, el idealismo generoso de la juventud, que debe encender de mística nuestro camino hacia el futuro.
No ignoro que se levantarán muchos escollos, ambiciones y personalismos, que de mil maneras pretenderán impedir nuestra marcha, y hacernos volver hacia atrás, donde sólo nos esperarían las penumbras de la esclavitud. Pero estoy seguro de que la luz que emerge al final de nuestra ruta será siempre más fuerte y más luminosa, y por encima de todo, confío plenamente en Dios, en el pueblo de Chile, y en nuestras Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden que, con patriotismo, hoy guían sus destinos.

Mis queridos jóvenes:
El futuro de Chile está siempre en vosotros, cuya grandeza estamos labrando.
English Translation

Today, as we celebrate the Day of the Youth, which we instituted two years ago in this very place, I return here with renewed faith in the future of Chile. I come invited by the Frente Juvenil de Unidad Nacional, which is also celebrating the second anniversary of its creation tonight, as an independent and responsible movement of the Chilean youth, who wanted to align their commitment with the defense and historical projection of September 11, joining it with the everlasting example of patriotism that is represented by the immolation of the seventy seven young heroes at La Concepción.

My old soldier heart revives with deep emotion the insuperable courage of Luis Cruz Martínez and of the other seventy-six Chilean young men, who, alongside him, in the midst of the solitude of the Peruvian sierra, demonstrated through their sacrifice that our Homeland and the permanent values of the spirit are above any personal sacrifice that its defense may demand.

My spirit of President of the Republic is filled with justified hope as I see that today’s youth has not failed to acknowledge the seal of eternity and commitment held for the next generations by the blood spilled by our martyrs, as they thought in Chile’s future greatness.

As you very well say in the motto you have chosen, they died because they dreamed of a free, united, great and sovereign country. To turn that ideal in the most complete reality as it is possible, it is and will be, indeed, your duty. To daily open a path for you so that you can initiate and continue that task is, however, the difficult and inescapable mission that God and history have put on our shoulders.

Not long while ago, once again the Chilean people knew how to utter, through three years of heroic struggle against the impending menace of communist totalitarianism, the supreme battle cry of the Battle of La Concepción: “Chileans never surrender.” And, when heeding to the troubled cry of our citizenry, the Armed Forces and Carabineros decided to act on the 11th of September of 1973, once again our land was watered by the blood of many of our men, who fell fighting for Chile’s liberation.

Thus evidencing that the fortitude of our race and the fiber of our national identity to defend the dignity or the sovereignty of our Homeland had not died, nor could they ever die, because they are moral values nested in the very soul of Chilean-ness. Today, we once again face an unequal fight against a foreign action of different origins and shades, which at times adopts the shape of enemy aggression, and at others presents itself behind the face of a friendly pressure.

In that complex circumstance, Chile will continue acting with the prudence and restraint that have characterized our foreign policy, even in the most pressing times. Our collaboration with international bodies and our truthful and loyal dialog with friendly countries and governments will maintain the commitment of our best efforts and goodwill from our side. But under no circumstance will we allow such attitude to be confused with weakness or doubt before whom attempt to dictate from abroad the road we must follow, for its determination is the exclusive prerogative of our own sovereignty.
For this reason, I recently ordered we renounced the request for a foreign loan, whose concession pretended to be conditioned publicly to a foreign Government’s examination on the evolution of our situation in terms of human rights. I am certain that in this I am joined by the whole country, because if there is something that every real Chilean understands clearly, is that the dignity of our nation is not to be negotiated nor mortgaged before anything or anybody.

Those who pretend to sway us with foreign pressures or threats, are soundly wrong, and will only see an internal cohesion grow, which always increases greatly before adversity. Those who pretend to ally from within with these international excesses that seem to revive forms of imperialism that we thought overcome in the West, will only single themselves out in their reckless ambitions, and become deserving of the just contempt of the Chilean people.

Even less acceptable are attempts of foreign intervention, when the cause evoked to is an alleged defense of human rights.

Our history and cultural idiosyncrasy have been forged in respect for the dignity of men. Only a recent bitter experience, which was on the verge of driving us to civil war, has made us understand that human rights cannot survive in a political and judicial regime that allows to Marxist-Leninist ideological aggression, today at the service of Soviet Imperialism, or terrorist subversion, which turns social coexistence into absolute anarchy.

It is incomprehensible that every restriction to any given right of the people is judged as a supposed transgression of human rights, while the weak or demagogic attitude of many governments against terrorism does not deserve any objection whatsoever, even when it is evident that it translates in complicity by omission, with one of the most brutal forms of human rights violations.

It is possible that our broader and deeper focus in this respect would be difficult to comprehend by those who have not lived a drama such as ours. Therein lies, however, the reason for why the exceptional limitations that transitorily we have had to impose on certain rights, has been backed by the people and youth of our nation, who have seen in them the harsh but necessary complement to assure our national liberation, and project broad horizons of peace and progress for the present and future of Chile. The youth has stood out for their visionary understanding towards the historic exigence we are facing, in the sense of creating a new political and institutional framework.

It is for that reason that now that the Frente Juvenil reaches two years of life, I feel my duty to express that, honoring the totally autonomous and independent nature of this movement, the Government appreciates rightfully the important advances that it has been achieving in its mission of uniting Chilean youth in human, geographic, and economic courses; with the 11th of September and with the new institutional framework that has been surging ever since. That is why I have chosen this night, which is already identified with the youth of the Nation, to publicly spell out the fundamental steps we have outlined to move forward in the institutional process of the country. Nothing seems more to me, than doing it in a youth event, because it will be you, Chilean young people, the ones responsible of giving continuity to the task in which we are
working, of which you will be the more direct beneficiaries, and into which the whole country has put its biggest effort since its beginning.

In view of the already noticeable success of the economic plan, progress in the measures relating to social issues, and the order and tranquility that today allow our people a peaceful life, public attention has now centered to a greater extent in our legal-institutional future. The healthy questions of the youth and other nationalist sectors for a greater participation are inserted in that reality.

To adequately focus on this problem, it is convenient to reiterate once again that September 11 did not mean just the overthrowing of an illegitimate and failed government, but represented the end of a political and institutional regime completely finished, and the subsequent imperative to build a new one.

It is not, then, a task of mere restauration, but a work eminently of creation, notwithstanding that for it to be fecund, it must take root in the deepest signs of our best and authentic national tradition.

That points to our duty to walk through the path of the rule of law, always harmonizing flexibility in social evolution with the certainty of an objective and impersonal legal standard that obliges equally the governing and the governed. In this perspective, we can clearly foresee that our duty is to shape a new democracy that is authoritarian, protected, integrative, technical, and of authentic social participation. These characteristics are better understood when the individual gives up his egotism, ambition, and self-centeredness.

A democracy is authoritarian in that it must possess a legal standard that ensures people’s rights, with appropriate protection by independent Courts of Law that have at their disposal the necessary means to implement their resolutions.

Protected, in that it must secure as a fundamental doctrine of the State of Chile the basic contents of our Declaration of Principles, replacing the classical liberal State, naïve and defenseless, for a new one, committed to freedom and man’s dignity, and with the essential values of the national identity. Therefore, any attempt against these principles, whose content has been specified in the current Constitutional Acts, is considered by these as an illicit act, contrary to the institutional order of the Republic. Freedom and democracy cannot survive if they are not defended from those who seek to destroy them.

Integrative, in that it must strengthen the National Objective and the Permanent Objectives of the Nation, so that beyond legitimate differences in other more circumstantial aspects, succeeding governments have in the future the essential continuity they have lacked in the past. From there must sprout a powerful unity element of the big Chilean family, which some have tried to systematically break up for so long, instigating a class struggle that does not and must not exist.

Technical, in that the dizzying scientific and technological progress of today’s world cannot be ignored by judicial structures, thus making it necessary that the voice of those in the know be
incorporated in the decision making. Only that can place the discussion at the appropriate altitude and level, reduce the ideological debate to its fair amount, take advantage of the contribution of those more capable, and bring stability to the system.

Of authentic social participation, in that a society built upon the subsidiary principle is truly free only when it consecrates and respects a real autonomy of the intermediary institutions between man and the State to pursue their own specific ends. This principle is the foundation of a social body endowed with creative vitality, as well as an economic freedom that, within the rules set by the state authority to safeguard the common good, prevents the people from being asphyxiated by the rule of an omnipotent state. We are facing a task that, due to its nature and magnitude, must be gradual. This way, we will simultaneously move away from two extremes: the extreme of stagnation, which sooner or later always leads to violent breakdowns in social processes, and the extreme of precipitation, which would bring the quick destruction of all our effort, a return to the previous regime with its same men and vices and, very soon, a similar or worse chaos than the one we lived during the Marxist government.

The process, conceived gradually, includes three stages: recovery, transition, and normality or consolidation. Such stages differentiate from one another by the different role that corresponds to the Armed Forces and Carabineros, on the one side, and to the civilian population, on the other. Likewise, they differ in the legal and institutional instruments that have to be created or utilized on each.

In the recovery stage, political power has had to be integrally taken on by the Armed Forces and Carabineros, with collaboration of the civilian population; however, later on, its more contingent aspects will be shared with civilians, who will thus move from collaboration to participation.

Finally, we will enter the stage of normality or consolidation. Power will be exercised directly and fundamentally by the civilian population, constitutionally reserving for the Armed Forces and Carabineros the role of contributing to safeguard the essential foundations of our institutions and national security in its broad and decisive modern implications.

Today we find ourselves in the midst of the recovery stage, but I consider that the progress we have made in all aspects is leading us to the transition.

During the remaining recovery time, it will be necessary to complete the elaboration of the Constitutional Acts in all the issues of constitutional impact yet not considered in them, as well as important laws, like security, labor, pensions, education and others that will be analyzed at the same time. This way, the 1925 constitution will be completely abolished—although in essence it is already dead, but it is still in force legally in some small aspects, which is not advisable.

At the same time, the Constitutional Acts already enacted must be revised in such matters where its practical application had shown the advantages of broadening, modifying, or specifying.

It is my estimation that this preparatory process and enactment of the Constitutional Acts, which will continue to develop progressively from now on, will culminate before December 31, 1980,
because the transition stage must not begin after that year, coinciding its beginning with the taking effect of all institutions devised by the Acts.

In the Constitutional Acts mentioned, the regulation of the exercise and evolution of the Constituent, Legislative, and Executive Powers occupies a priority place. To guide the Comisión de Estudios de la Nueva Constitución in this issue, the President speaking to you now will hand over shortly some fundamental directives that allow said commission to prepare the draft bill for its analysis by the State Council before the final pronouncement, which is the responsibility of the Junta.

Said directives for the framework that will regulate during the transition stage are, mainly, the following:
- The Constituent Power must stay being exercised by the Government Junta. However, it will normally be exercised prior enquiry to the State Council.
- The Executive Power must stay being exercised by the President of the Government Junta in the role of President of the Republic, and with the faculties with which he is invested today.
- The Legislative Power, according to national tradition, must have to co-legislators: the President of the Republic and the Cámara Legislativa or House of Representatives, as it could be named, without affecting the legislative faculties that the Government Junta must maintain during this extraordinary transition stage.

These authorities will have to understand, on the one hand, the right of each of their members to present bills through the Presidency of the Republic, and on the other, the faculty to ask, before the enactment of any law, that its text be revised by the Government Junta. In this last case, if in the Junta prevails the opinion that a precept threatens national security, such precept will not be enacted. It is an absolute veto, thought to operate in the cases in which the Junta appeals to it at the request of any of its members, thus differing from the ordinary veto of the President of the Republic before the House of Representatives.

For its part, and just as I presented on last March 18, the Cámara Legislativa must be mixed in its composition: one third of its members will have to be high-profile dignitaries, which will be there on their own right or by presidential designation, and the other two thirds will be representatives of regions or association of regions, in a number proportional to the number of their inhabitants.

With regard to ordinary legislation, initiative systems for the laws must be considered, presidential veto and others, to avoid the demagogic excesses that characterized the last periods of our former parliament.

It is particularly important that the House of Representatives be endowed with technical commissions in which the most qualified persons in the scientific, technical, and professional domains in the most diverse matters, participate regularly and with a right to speak.

The setting up of this House of Representatives must take place during 1980, and for its first term, whose length will be four or five years and since it is not feasible to carry out elections, regional representatives will have to be designated by the Government Junta.
Afterwards, however, such representatives will be chosen by direct popular suffrage, according to electoral systems that favor the selection of the most capable, and that prevent political parties to become monopoly machines of citizen participation.

Once the House of Representatives is constituted in this period, that is, with two thirds of its members chosen by the people, it will be the House’s duty to designate the citizen that will take on the position of President of the Republic for a term of six years.

As the events just mentioned occur, which will imply to step out of the transition stage and into the consolidation stage, a new Political Constitution of the State, one and whole, must be approved and enacted, taking as a foundation the experiences of the application of the Constitutional Acts. The transition stage will thus serve to finalize the studies for the final project of the new Magna Carta.

By sketching out this general plan before the country, the government deems fulfilled its mission of clarifying the basic lines upon which it hopes to develop our future institutional evolution, during which it will also be necessary to intensify the elaboration and legal establishment of the new ways for social participation, be them of labor or union in nature, or student, professional, and neighborhood bodies, and other citizen expressions in general.

Chilean young men and women:
The chance to integrally materialize this plan is subject to the condition that the country continues to show the positive signs that have allowed us to move forward until now. For that, the patriotic concurrence of the whole citizenry and particularly the generous idealism of the youth, which must ignite with spirit our path into the future.

I am not unaware of the many hurdles that will rise, along with ambitions and selfish interests, which will attempt in a thousand ways to impede our march and make us go back, where only the gloom shadows of slavery would await us. But I am certain that the light that emerges at the end of our road will be ever stronger and more luminous and, above all, I wholeheartedly believe in God, the Chilean people, and in our Armed Forces and Carabineros who, with patriotism, today guide their destinations.

My dear young men and women:
The future of Chile is always within you; its greatness we are cultivating.
APPENDIX G
ORIGINAL SPANISH AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE THIRD SPEECH

El resultado del plebiscito, debe llevarnos a adquirir un nuevo compromiso de orden como moral, cuyo pleno cumplimiento asegure que el orden, la estabilidad y el progreso que hemos alcanzado con el esfuerzo de todos, siga presidiendo la convivencia nacional. El presidente de la República que les habla y su gobierno, seguirán trabajando con todo empeño, en la gran causa de servir a Chile. Continuaremos adelante con los programas que nos hemos trazado. Este es un imperativo para todos los chilenos cuyo amor a la patria está por encima de particulares intereses o aspiraciones. Para tal fin contamos con un marco que nos da la Constitución Política que la ciudadanía aprobara democráticamente el año 1980, y cuya vigencia integral ya está muy próxima.

Compatriotas... en mi vida militar, y en el ejercicio de la primera magistratura de la nación he sabido por sobre todo respetar la voluntad ciudadana y las instituciones fundamentales de la República. Hoy en este momento supremo, renuevo mi compromiso de cumplir el mandato recibido sin vacilaciones ni egoísmos, con sentido patriótico y venciendo el sacrificio que ello signifique. Porque la soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación, respetaremos una vez más como en el año 1980, su expresión libre y responsable. Mi honor de soldado está ahora, como entonces, al servicio de tal fin. Por ello, todo hombre o mujer de esta patria debe abrigar la absoluta certeza de que se cumplirá irrestrictamente el itinerario previsto por la carta fundamental para el pleno funcionamiento de todas las instituciones democráticas. Sea ella muy pronto una realidad.

Quiero dirigir un emocionado mensaje a todos los miles de chilenos, que apoyaron mi postulación a la presidencia de la República, para el próximo periodo constitucional al frente de todo el proceso que debe continuar, por el bien de Chile. A quienes me acompañan, a quienes, desde los puestos más relevantes de gobierno, sirven lealmente a la patria, a todos aquellos que han colaborado con su esfuerzo a la obtención de un porcentaje electoral tan altamente significativo, y adhesión a la obra realizada, como ha quedado reflejado en el plebiscito, le agradezco e insto a seguir luchando juntos, crecientemente y con eficiencia.

Como lo expresé en más de una oportunidad, la institucionalidad que con tanto esfuerzo hemos construido entre todos, debe preservarse al margen de todo otro interés subalterno, la obra de nuestro gobierno es inmensa, ella no se detendrá, porque está fundada en los valores y requerimientos más sagrados de la patria. Esos valores son inamovibles, que se anidan en el corazón de cada hijo de esta tierra.

En esta hora solemne, llamo a todos los chilenos a mirar unidos el futuro, atendiendo solo a las exigencias del bien común, que la patria merece aún mayores esfuerzos que los desplegados hasta ahora.

NUESTROS HIJOS esperan el ejemplo que debemos brindarle en este histórico momento, ¡No los defraudemos! Pongo a Dios como testigo.

VIVA CHILE-.
English Translation

The results of the referendum must take us to acquire a new commitment of order as morals, whose complete fulfillment ensures that the order, stability, and progress that we have reached with everybody’s effort continues presiding over the national coexistence. The President of the Republic who is speaking, and his government, will continue working with determination in the great cause of serving Chile. We will continue forward with the programs we have designed. This is an imperative for all Chileans whose love for the country is above particular interests or aspirations. To such an end, we have the framework given to us by the Political Constitution that the citizenry approved democratically in 1980, and whose full validity is already very close.

Compatriots... In my military life, and in the exercise of the first magistracy of the nation, I have known above all to respect the will of the people and the fundamental institutions of the Republic. Today, at this supreme moment, I renew my commitment to fulfill the mandate received, without hesitation or selfishness, with a patriotic sense and defeating the sacrifice that this means. Because sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, we will once again respect, as in the year 1980, its free and responsible expression. My soldier's honor is now, as then, at the service of that end. For this reason, every man or woman in this country must have the absolute certainty that the itinerary provided by the fundamental charter will be carried out unreservedly for the full functioning of all democratic institutions. Be that a reality very soon.

I want to send a heartfelt message to all the thousands of Chileans who supported my nomination for the presidency of the Republic for the next constitutional period at the head of the whole process that must continue, for the good of Chile. To those who accompany me, those who from the most important positions of government loyally serve the homeland, all those who have collaborated with their effort to obtain a highly significant electoral percentage, my adherence to the work done, as reflected in the plebiscite. I thank you and urge you to continue to fight together, with increasing efficiency.

As I have expressed in more than one occasion, the institutionality that we have built with so much effort, must be preserved above all other subaltern interests. The work of our government is immense, it will not be stopped, because it is founded on the values and requirements most sacred to the country. Those values are immovable, nesting in the heart of every child of this land.

At this solemn hour, I call on all Chileans to look at the future united, tending only to the demands of the common good, because the homeland deserves even greater efforts than those deployed so far.

Our children are waiting for the example that we must offer in this historic moment, let us not let them down! I place God as a witness.

¡Viva Chile!