

# **Pragmatism and Contradictions: Right-Wing Women and the Quest for Security in Cold War Chile 1964-1988.**

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MA International Relations in Historical Perspective

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Word Count: 12,263

15 June 2021

## **Abstract**

This thesis analyses how right-wing women played a significant role in the tumultuous period of the latter Cold War in Chile. Right-wing women mobilised energetically against the presidency of Salvador Allende, forming the movement Feminine Power (*Poder Femenino*). While the movement fought for the retention of the status quo socially and economically, this research shows how they did so by manipulating the traditional gender roles that they stood for. Later, during the infamous dictatorial regime of Augusto Pinochet, these women continued to demonstrate contradictions in their words and actions, holding firm to the notion of inalterability while showing an affinity for shifting their stances when it benefited them to do so. By situating this research in the context of International Relations and utilising elements of Feminist Security Studies, this thesis reveals the ways in which right-wing women influenced international developments and challenged long-held traditional beliefs about gender, such as the idea that women are naturally peaceful.

Key words: Cold War, (in)security, gender, tradition, violence.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

CEMA - Chilean Mother's Centres

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency

US - United States

UK - United Kingdom

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## Introduction

*"The hand that rocks the cradle rocked the ship of state of Chile's late Marxist President Salvador Allende until it overturned and sank."* - David Belnap, 1974<sup>1</sup>

On a December evening in 1971, around 5,000 Chileans gathered in Plaza Italia, Santiago, in protest against the unruly figure of Salvador Allende. Allende had held the presidency since the previous year and his administration was increasingly marked by progressive yet controversial social policies and troubled economic failures. The above event, which became known as the most well-remembered act of protest against Allende's Popular Unity (*Unidad Popular*) government, was led by a group of right-wing women. Loud and determined, they marched through the streets of the capital banging on household objects and shouting with strong voices that Allende must go. These wealthy women used the momentum from this event, the March of the Empty Pots and Pans, and formed the women's organisation Feminine Power (*Poder Femenino*). Poder Femenino immediately took its place within the opposition, intent on vanquishing the Marxist traitor and returning Chile to the hands of a trustworthy and actively anti-communist government. Just over a year later, the military led the coup d'etat that resulted in the hurried suicide of President Allende and the instigation of one of the most brutal dictatorships in Chilean history, led by General Augusto Pinochet. The dictatorship was loyally supported by conservative women throughout its long years.

Indeed, the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was a tumultuous period not only for Chile, but for the Southern Cone countries in Latin America in general. Like in Chile, Brazil watched in fear as the spectre of communism found its way to its doorstep, before being forcibly ousted from the country by a most unforgiving dictatorship. Argentina too found itself immersed in a particularly bloody dictatorship from the mid-70s until the mid-80s. While the early years of these decades saw the proliferation of activity on the Left, as

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<sup>1</sup> Charlotte Hayes, "Female Power against Salvador Allende'. The Anti-Allende Women's Movement in Chile between 1970 and 1973", *The Historian Journal*, March 13, 2019, <https://thehistorianjournal.wordpress.com/2019/03/13/female-power-against-salvador-allende-the-anti-allende-womens-movement-in-chile-between-1970-and-1973/>.

communists were filled with hope from the success of the Cuban Revolution, this period also saw the rise of an apprehensive yet strong right-wing movement, determined to quash the Left by any means necessary. When thinking about the Right, the landed and political elites, religious leaders and businessmen close to the United States often come to mind. However, women too played a significant role. They formed distinct groups in Chile, Argentina and Brazil aimed at fighting communism and ensuring that conservative values were upheld. Across the three countries, women used their femininity as a sword against the immoral policies of left-wing men, as they claimed to be defenders of the traditional family unit and, especially in the case of Brazil, staunch supporters of the Catholic faith (though often in opposition to the reforms introduced by the Second Vatican Council).

In Chile, right-wing female organisations played a particularly important role in developments over the course of these three decades. Conservative female organisations were just as active as their male counterparts in mobilising against Allende as a left-wing presidential candidate throughout the 1960s and were extremely determined to bring about his downfall when he won the election in 1970. Poder Femenino was indeed the biggest and most impactful female organisation active during Allende's presidency, led by middle and upper class women but also attracting the working class, who joined as a means of protest against the mounting food shortages of the period. Poder Femenino were staunch and vocal opponents of Marxism and were deeply concerned by the destruction of family values and economic losses that they believed its success would entail.

The 20 years that followed the fall of the Allende government were marred by bloodshed and oppression. Pinochet ruled Chile with little mercy for opponents or those who were considered a threat to the state, and kidnappings, disappearances and murders became commonplace. Right-wing women continued to be of great significance to societal developments during these years. They held a certain mutual understanding with Pinochet and his government. These women held deeply conservative opinions about how gender roles should play out and Pinochet's junta gladly and wholeheartedly reaffirmed these. Furthermore, Pinochet conscientiously praised women for their part in the overthrow of Allende and continuously vocalised their importance to society,

albeit in a manner that indicated that they remained unequal to men. While there were indeed some members of Poder Femenino who were unhappy with the military junta's decision to ban their group, most conservatives were content with involving themselves in society in an 'apolitical' manner. Middle and upper class women sympathetic to the regime became heavily involved in the massive female organisations of the Chilean Mothers' Centres (CEMA) and the Women's Secretariat which were designed to spread the ideologies of the dictatorship. As one of the big pillars of Pinochet's tenure, an in-depth study of the role of women helps to gain a better understanding of the period in general.

There is still much to unravel with regards to this significant group. This research, centred around the experiences of women, will contribute to the exploration of these key moments in Chilean history through the perspective of the gender that is often forgotten or only mentioned in passing, yet often has a great impact on how situations unravel. The research will explore gender roles, how they were both preserved and manipulated by conservative women, how the US, as a major actor in Chile, engaged with women and this gender's significance to the developments of the dictatorship.

### **Historiography**

There is a limited yet valuable historiography pertaining to right-wing female movements during the Latin American Cold War. Several journal articles, books and book chapters have been written relating to Brazil, Chile and Argentina with others offering a more transnational approach. The pre-Allende and Allende eras have been the periods most studied of the literature pertaining to conservative women in Chile.

Margaret Power is the dominant scholar on the subject of female right-wing mobilisation, focusing especially on Chile but also writing about the connection between the Chilean and Brazilian Right, such as in her article about the transnational diffusion of anti-communism between Brazil, the US and Chile.<sup>2</sup> Her works are comprehensive and insightful and they will provide this thesis with contextual and analytical knowledge. In the 1990s, Power conducted interviews with many prominent Chilean

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret Power, "Who but a Woman? The Transnational Diffusion of Anti-Communism among Conservative Women in Brazil, Chile and the United States during the Cold War", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1, (2015): 93-119.

women and has used these regularly to inform her work.<sup>3</sup> These will help give a fuller understanding of the period. She has also worked with many articles published by *El Mercurio*, the most prominent contemporary conservative newspaper in Chile, and her reference to this newspaper provides some relief from the fact that the archives are inaccessible to this research.

Power is not, however, the only writer on this subject. There are several other historians who have studied Poder Femenino, as well as the US's relationship with it. For example, Lisa Baldez's book *Why Women Protest, Women's Movements in Chile* looks at three different periods in Chilean history in which female movements came together to protest for political or social change, devoting a section to protests against Allende and a later section to protests against Pinochet.<sup>4</sup> Camilla Townsend demonstrates how, while it is largely assumed that the conservative movement in Chile was made up of middle-upper class women, many working-class women were also actively involved.<sup>5</sup> Marcelo Casals explores the fear that was generated by anti-Allende US propagandists in Chile, as they drew connections between revolutionary Cuba and a possible Allende government. He also examines the transnational links that formed between anticommunist women who had fought against the presidency of Goulart in Brazil, and Chilean anticommunists.<sup>6</sup>

Secondary accounts of the Pinochet dictatorship are fewer in number. While there have been multiple studies carried out on female organisations from the era, almost all of these focus on the feminist, anti-Pinochet groups. These Chilean women were certainly influential and inspirational, but it is also true that conservative women continued to

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<sup>3</sup> Margaret Power, "Class and Gender in the Anti-Allende Women's Movement: Chile 1970-1973", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2000, 289-308.

Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile, Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973*, (University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest, Women's Movements in Chile*, (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Camilla Townsend, "Refusing to Travel La Via Chilena: Working-Class Women in Allende's Chile", *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Marcelo Casals, "El impacto del golpe de Estado brasileño en las elecciones presidenciales chilenas de 1964", ("The impact of the Brazilian coup d'état on the 1964 presidential elections in Chile"), *Tempo*, Vol. 26, No. 3, December 2020,

[http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1413-77042020000300557&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlang=es](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1413-77042020000300557&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlang=es). Marcelo Casals, "Las largas sombras del anticomunismo en Chile", ("The long shadows of anticomunism in Chile"), *Nacla*, April 21, 2020,

<https://nacla.org/news/2020/04/21/las-largas-sombras-del-anticomunismo-en-chile>.

play an active role in shaping society. As Power has reminded us, Pinochet had a massive artillery of support from women.<sup>7</sup> Though Power's work has mostly focused on the pre-Pinochet era, she has published a few pieces on this period as well, such as a chapter in *Right-wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists Around the World*. This chapter focuses on the various roles that they played in the 1988 plebiscite, in which Chileans were asked to choose if they wanted Pinochet to continue in power for another eight years or would prefer to hold a general election.<sup>8</sup> She has also written on how sexuality was viewed by right-wing women of the dictatorship.<sup>9</sup> Aside from Power, Ximena Bunster, writing in the late 1980s, details how CEMA and the Secretariat were organised and run and the role of women more generally in the regime.<sup>10</sup> It is necessary to be mindful both of Bunster's clear anti-Pinochet affiliation and of the tendency to consider women involved with the regime as victims instead of actors choosing to offer their support. Approaching right-wing organisations from a different angle, Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate published a journal article about the role the Secretariat played in disseminating the neoliberal economic agenda of the government.<sup>11</sup> To gain a fuller understanding of these neoliberal policies, this thesis will be informed by publications such as Juan Gabriel Valdés's *Pinochet's Economists, The Chicago School of Economics in Chile* and the documentary *The Shock Doctrine*.<sup>12</sup>

There are two main elements missing from the historiography. Firstly, this era is yet to be studied from a Feminist Security Studies perspective, or from any Security Studies angle for that matter. As feminist scholars in International Relations have argued, women experience security and insecurity in unique ways to men, and an examination of the period from this angle would shed light on the intricacies of this idea and the

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Power, "Defending Dictatorship: Conservative Women in Pinochet's Chile and the 1988 Plebiscite", in ed. Victoria González-Rivera and Karen Kampwirth, *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2001), 299.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 299-322.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Power, "Right-Wing Women, Sexuality and Politics in Chile During the Pinochet Dictatorship" in *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists Around the World*, Paula Bacchetta and Margaret Power eds., (Routledge: New York, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Ximena Bunster, "Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile" *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (1988), 485-491.

<sup>11</sup> Verónica Valdivia Oriz de Zarate, "¡Estamos en Guerra, Señores!: El Régimen Militar de Pinochet Y El 'Pueblo', 1973-1980.", ("Ladies and Gentlemen: We are at War! Pinochet's Military Regime and The 'Nation', 1973-1980."), *Historia (Santiago)*, Vol. 43, No. 1, (2010) 163-201.

<sup>12</sup> Juan Gabriel Valdés, *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School of Economics in Chile*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2008), L33T Guy, "The Shock Doctrine", *Youtube*, January 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B3B5qt6gsxY>.

factors which influence and shape these experiences.<sup>13</sup> For example, this thesis aims to extend Power's study of US operations in Chile and how these were shaped by gender, to demonstrate how women's experiences of insecurity are often formed by patriarchal forces. It is also clear from the historiography that scholars have yet to pay enough attention to the influence that women had on US foreign policy, though Power does indeed discuss this in her article on the 1964 Scare Campaign.<sup>14</sup> It is also important to highlight how women have often indirectly shaped international developments, both in their own actions (such as in opposing Marxism) and in how they have been mobilised by various actors.

The second element that is obviously missing from the bulk of the historiography is a focus on right-wing women during the Pinochet era. While Power has written a few articles on this topic, there is a strong inclination amongst scholars to study those who opposed the dictator and particularly the feminist and arpillera (tapestry as protest) movements of this period.<sup>15</sup> Besides Power, there is a tendency to portray women who supported Pinochet as being merely passive players or victims of his cruelty. This thesis, however, seeks to shift the focus and examine how conservative women exerted their influence and exercised a degree of power, while maintaining traditional patriarchal values.

## Primary Sources

There are a good variety of sources available from this period, though not all are accessible. As previously mentioned, the most important newspaper of the period *El Mercurio* is not accessible without travelling to Chile or the US, and neither is the newspaper *El Siglo*. Having said this, the pre-Pinochet era especially is rife with source

<sup>13</sup> J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations, Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992). Annick T.R. Wibben, "Feminist security studies", in *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer eds., (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2010), Annick T.R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*, (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, London, 2010). Laura Sjoberg, "Feminist Security and Security Studies", in *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, Alexandra Gheciu and William C. Wohlforth, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2018).

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Power, "The Engendering of Anticommunism and Fear in Chile's 1964 Presidential Election", *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 32, No. 5, November 2008, 931-953.

<sup>15</sup> Baldez, *Why Women Protest, Women's Movements in Chile*, Kristen Walker, "Chilean Women's Resistance in the Arpillera Movement", CETRI, Centre Tricontinental, October 30, 2008, <https://www.cetri.be/Chilean-Women-s-Resistance-in-the?lang=fr>. Dayna Caldwell, "The Chilean Arpilleristas: Changing National Politics Through Tapestry Work", *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/665>.

material from the US perspective. There are many declassified documents and newspaper articles available online. The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) dispositive has proved invaluable, containing a wealth of documents relating to Chile in this period.<sup>16</sup> Many of the newspaper articles here provide a sense of contemporary sentiment towards ongoing developments in Chile. Other documents that have been published by the US government are equally invaluable to this research. For example, the document “Foreign Relations of the United States, Chile 1969-1976”, which is made up of telegrams, memoranda, backchannel messages and more, contains many references to women and the importance of increasing right-wing parties’ female support ahead of the 1969 congressional election and the 1970 presidential election.<sup>17</sup> There are also a few sources available from the pre-Pinochet era which originate from Chile itself. For instance, a short book written by Amanda Puz which was published in 1972 and entitled *La Mujer Chilena*, provides good insight into female attitudes at the time.<sup>18</sup> While clearly written from a more feminist, left-leaning perspective, it sheds light on the values that most contemporary women had, such as family. Similarly, the novel *Quintal* by Isabel Letelier, published in 1963, drives home the great fear that existed in the country regarding the possibility of the instigation of a Marxist government and how it would wreak havoc on society.<sup>19</sup>

In terms of the Pinochet era, the Chilean government library offers many online and easily accessible resources. Several of the CEMA magazines are published there and provide useful insight into the work of the organisation and the attitudes of its leaders.<sup>20</sup> Pinchet’s yearly addresses to the country are also available on this website and are very useful in demonstrating the role that women were expected to play in society under the dictatorship. A study of the Secretariat and CEMA, conducted during the period by Norbert Lechner, entitled *Notas Sobre la Vida Cotidiana III: El disciplinamiento de la Mujer*, (Notes About Everyday Life III: Disciplining Women) is very helpful in shedding

<sup>16</sup> “CREST: 25-Year Program Archive” FOIA, Accessed February 25, 2021, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/collection/crest-25-year-program-archive>.

<sup>17</sup> “Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976 Volume XXI, Chile, 1969-1973”, Department of State, Edited by James McElveen, James Siekmeier and Adam Howard, United States Government Printing Office Washington, 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Amanda Puz, *La Mujer Chilena, (Chilean Woman)*, (Quimantú, 1972).

<sup>19</sup> Isabel Letelier, *Quintral*, (Ediciones Andes, 1963).

<sup>20</sup> “Organizaciones femeninas, Los Centros de Madres en Chile (1930-1989)”, (“Female organisations, Chilean Women’s Centres (1930-1989)”, Memoria Chilena Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Accessed March 3, 2021, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-100688.html#documentos>.

light on the organisation of each group and the individual roles they played in society.<sup>21</sup> Other, more contemporary sources will also help inform this thesis, such as a video interview with Pinochet's wife First Lady Lucía Hiriart, in which they discuss her role at the head of CEMA, the Secretariat and in the dictatorship more generally.<sup>22</sup>

## Methodology

Several tools from the theoretical framework of Feminist Security Studies will be employed in this research. Firstly, this is a study which utilises gender as a central category of analysis.<sup>23</sup> Gender ideals and attitudes will be examined in both chapters, using source material from the periods such as propaganda, magazines, books, speeches and contemporary academic articles. This thesis draws links between gender perceptions across time and place, comparing, for example, perceptions about gender in Cuba and the US with those in Chile. This analytical framework is highly beneficial, as it helps to highlight not only the methods by which patriarchal ideas were perpetuated, but also how conservative women themselves took ownership of these ideas and actively reinforced them.

Secondly, this study pays attention to the impact of security and insecurity on the everyday lives of people.<sup>24</sup> The first chapter does devote a considerable section to the US's role in mobilising women, but the majority of the thesis focuses on women's experiences in Chile. One of the primary goals of this thesis is to demonstrate how female citizens shape national and international developments through, for example, mobilising against communism or implementing neoliberal economic policies. Women are most certainly a part of these global developments and therefore they must be acknowledged and studied as such.

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<sup>21</sup> Norbert Lechner, *Notas Sobre la Vida Cotidiana III: El disciplinamiento de la Mujer*, (*Notes About Daily Life III: Disciplining Women*), (Santiago de Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales/ Santiago de Chile: Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, 1984).

<sup>22</sup> Mentiras Verdaderas La Red, "Revelamos la pregunta incómoda que Lucía Hiriart de Pinochet pidió que no saliera al aire", ("We reveal the uncomfortable question that Lucía Hiriart asked not to be aired"), *Youtube*, January 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SeWIC48uBlw>.

<sup>23</sup> Wibben, "Feminist security studies", 85.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 85.

Thirdly, this research is part of a broader feminist trend towards challenging gender stereotypes, particularly in relation to women and violence.<sup>25</sup> The findings of this research highlight the fact that women are not naturally more peaceful than men and that in many instances they choose violence over peace for various reasons. As *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies* points out, this recognition “[shatters] the correlation between women and peace and [points] to a need to deepen the analysis beyond the relationship of both women and men to violence to analysing the gendering of violence (i.e. its association with masculinity).”<sup>26</sup> In the case of conservative Chilean women, it was favourable to encourage a military takeover of the country and to show continued loyalty to the dictatorship rather than live in the economic and social insecurity of Allende’s presidency.

The concepts of “security” and “insecurity” are very important to this research. Traditionally, security has been an issue of states, evident from the teachings of the two giants of international relations theory, Realism and Liberalism. Security, viewed from this traditional angle, is something the state handles and generally concerns war and national protection from an outside enemy.<sup>27</sup> Constructivists and other more recent theorists of International Relations and Security Studies wish to broaden the concept of security beyond interstate war. They argue that there are many other factors that should be considered.<sup>28</sup> Feminists believe that if we consider the state to be the sole relevant actor in the quest for security, we effectively silence women and render their experiences unseen and unheard, as states have, up until very recently, almost entirely been run by men.<sup>29</sup> This thesis recognises that there are great benefits in studying security and insecurity from a female perspective as it helps us understand the experiences and history of the traditionally silenced gender and by doing so enables us to obtain a much more comprehensive grasp on historical developments and events.

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<sup>25</sup> Wibben, “Feminist security studies”, 85.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>27</sup> Beatrice de Graaf and Cornel Zwierlein, “Historicising Security - Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive”, *Historical Social Research*, Vol. 38, No. 1, (2013), 46-64, 48.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 49.

<sup>29</sup> Sjoberg, “Feminist Security and Security Studies”, 48.

## **Structure**

This thesis is made up of two chapters, divided by periods of time. The first will consider the pre-Allende era and the years of his presidency, spanning from 1964-1973. 1964 is a pertinent year to mark the beginning of this research as this was the year the US orchestrated its Scare Campaign targeting women and warning them against voting for the Left. In Chapter One, the thesis will explore the role of Poder Femenino and the US's targeting of women in Chile. The second chapter will move on to the Pinochet dictatorship, and will consider the period from 1973 up until 1988. The analysis will not be particularly concerned with dates, but will instead explore factors relevant to the period in general. It will discuss the close relationship between right-wing women and the dictatorship, looking at the ways in which both groups benefited each other. It will also consider the contradictions evident in the words and actions of these women.

## **Chapter One: Right-Wing Women in the Fight Against Allende**

*...in most fields of knowledge we have become accustomed to equating what is human with what is masculine. Nowhere is this more true than in international relations, a discipline that, while it has for the most part resisted the introduction of gender into its discourse, bases its assumptions and explanations almost entirely on the activities and experiences of men.<sup>30</sup>*

In the above quote, J. Ann Tickner drives home the necessity to incorporate women's experiences into the field of International Relations. In doing so, a much more complete understanding of our world is gained. This chapter will attempt to do so by considering the tumultuous pre-Pinochet era, from 1964-1973, while paying particular attention to the latter years when Allende was president. This period saw the rise of left-wing movements, eliciting, in turn, a strong response from the Right. For their part, conservatives, already traumatised by the appearance of a communist state in the region, were wary of the significant gains left-wing Allende had made in the 1958 presidential election. With this in mind, they focused on mobilisation, intent on preventing the spread of communism within Chile.

Women proved to be an extremely significant part of this movement. The first half of this chapter will focus on their mobilisation and will highlight the ways in which their study helps to challenge traditional ideas in International Relations and Security Studies. In early 1972, right-wing women came together with the express purpose of ousting Allende from power, setting up the organisation Poder Femenino. Poder Femenino, as a force of right-wing women, paradoxically stood for traditional gender norms, while also repeatedly defying these for their own gains. They did so by mobilising in the public sphere, a male-dominated space, for women's rights in the home. The organisation demonstrated great political savvy and pragmatism by

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<sup>30</sup> Tickner, *Gender in International Relations, Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, 5-6.

crafting their public image to gain as much support as possible. Firstly, they focused on insecurities related to their gender, helping them gain widespread support among women from all classes. Secondly, they ensured the continued support of their male counterparts by making efforts to show that they were not attempting to challenge the status quo in terms of gender relations, but were rather fighting for a society that would be its reinforcer. The organisation also actively encouraged the use of violence against Allende, which, this thesis argues, helps to shatter the long-standing idea that women are naturally peaceful. Though certainly not intended by Poder Femenino themselves, this breaking of gender norms brings a feminist perspective to the field of Security Studies.

Chapter One will then turn to considering the engagement of the US with Chilean women during this period. The CIA's propaganda campaigns, most notably the Scare Campaign of 1964, directed most of their efforts towards women, as this gender was considered the most essential in securing the future of Chile against the dreaded communism. This chapter will argue, by examining US records and propagandist material, that the Chilean case highlights the sizable significance women had in the international fight against communism. Similarly, the importance of women to these campaigns illustrates the ways in which they can influence international developments, albeit indirectly. US campaigns in Chile are equally informative about the nature of security. These campaigns, in shaping male and female experiences of insecurity, demonstrate how these experiences are constantly evolving along with contemporary political and social attitudes, rather than being the static entities traditional Security Studies believes them to be.

In mid-late 20th century Chile, the majority of women remained in the domestic sphere while their husbands were the primary breadwinners of the family. In the early 1960s only about 22 percent of women worked outside the home. This figure did not increase significantly over the rest of the 60s and 70s.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, many considered that a woman's primary purpose in life was to raise a family and to be a good mother to her children. This was made evident by the literature written at the time. The short book Chilean Women (*La Mujer Chilena*), published in 1972, sheds light on the significance of

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<sup>31</sup> Power, "The Engendering of Anticommunism and Fear in Chile's 1964 Presidential Election", 942.

family and home life to Chilean women. While the book is decidedly left-leaning, praising policies of Allende's Unidad Popular government and expressing feminist sentiment, it is no doubt useful in gaining insight into contemporaries' mindsets and lifestyles. This is particularly true in relation to highlighting the importance of motherhood. For example, the author Amanda Puz considers that Chilean women are mothers "above all else", and that all mothers, no matter what social class they pertain to, demonstrate great "self sacrifice" in raising their children.<sup>32</sup> The practice of self sacrifice, in which women would meet the needs of their children and husbands before tending to themselves, was wholly expected and was considered to be one of her natural and most admirable traits. The reinforcement of this trait became particularly evident during the Pinochet dictatorship. Puz also stresses the importance of the domestic sphere, pointing out that a woman live in "perpetual restlessness" until she and her husband have found a permanent home to settle down in.<sup>33</sup>

Poder Femenino, the largest and most significant women's movement during the Allende presidency, were certainly influenced by these traditional ideas of gender. They believed that socialism was perilous to conventional societal and familial structures. One of their greatest successes, however, was in how they transgressed these traditional norms by positioning themselves in the public sphere, mobilising forcefully to secure their own futures. Indeed, the organisation paradoxically fought for its right to live peacefully in the domestic sphere as mothers by positioning itself out of this space and amongst men and male organisations. In doing so, Poder Femenino became a shining example of the "double standard," which Power and Bacchetta discuss in their book, of right-wing women worldwide who have made themselves political players, while simultaneously mobilising for a society that would punish women who behave as they do.<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, Poder Femenino demonstrated great political savvy, a characteristic that conservatives considered to be definitively masculine, by crafting a public image that would be supported by as large a proportion of the population as possible. Firstly, the group expanded its network to a wide breadth of women by considering social and

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<sup>32</sup> Puz, *Chilean Woman*, 54.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>34</sup> Bacchetta and Power, "Introduction", 6.

economic issues relevant to every woman, instead of simply appealing to the other wealthy women who led the movement. Poder Femenino's primary platform was the fight for the female right to be mothers, which they believed would surely be taken away from them if Allende and his socialist agenda were left to their own devices. Economically, the wealthy leaders' concerns were certainly unique to their class. Like their male counterparts, the leaders of Poder Femenino were deeply perturbed by Allende's leftist policies of social justice and reform. These policies posed a significant threat to their affluent lifestyles. They feared the loss of their wealth and property and the breakdown of class division, which had, until this moment, held them in good stead at the top of the social and economic hierarchy. Some, such as the landed aristocrat Elena Larraín Valdés, had a history of mobilising in order to defend their own economic privilege.<sup>35</sup>

Instead of leading campaigns that would only speak to this relatively small group, Poder Femenino protested against the economic disasters of the Allende presidency that affected the poorer members of society as well. As feminist security scholars have demonstrated, economic insecurity is often a big issue for women, and Poder Femenino were able to draw on this insecurity in order to tactfully mobilise a broad group of women.<sup>36</sup> They did so, for example, by organising protests against the lack of basic foodstuffs the country was experiencing. The March of the Empty Pots and Pans was organised by the leaders of the organisation right before it was officially founded and was an extremely popular and successful event in demonstrating women's unhappiness with the country's economic situation. While Allende's socialist policies had successfully brought about an increase in wages, industrial production had failed to grow with this, leading to serious food and product shortages. This was worsened by the credit block and economic war the US had been waging against Chile since the onset of the Allende presidency.<sup>37</sup> Women were hit particularly hard by the food shortages, as it was the domestic sphere where the lack of food was most noticeable. Furthermore, it was women who had to wake up in the middle of the night to go and stand in queues for

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<sup>35</sup> María Stella Toro Céspedes, "Las Mujeres De Derecha Y Las Movilizaciones Contra Los Gobiernos De Brasil Y Chile (1960 Y 1970)", ("Right-Wing Women and the Mobilisation Against the Brazilian and Chilean Governments (1960-1970)"), *Estudios Feministas* 23, no. 3 (2015): 817-37, 831.

<sup>36</sup> Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies, A Narrative Approach*.

<sup>37</sup> Margaret Power, *La Mujer de Derecha. El poder femenino y la lucha contra Salvador Allende, 1964-1973, (Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973)*, Translated by María Teresa Escobar, (Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana: Santiago, 2008), 210.

food, only to come home several hours later with an unsatisfyingly small amount. While the reality is that those from the wealthier classes did not find themselves waking at ungodly hours to stand in lines for long periods of times, the decision by Poder Femenino to focus on this issue certainly helped them expand their network of support to the working class as well. As Camilla Townsend has demonstrated in her article, many working class women did indeed join the Poder Femenino movement as a means of voicing their economic concerns.<sup>38</sup>

Secondly, Poder Femenino ensured the support of male anti-Allende groups by portraying themselves as apolitical, specifically so that men would not feel threatened by them. This allowed them to continue to do their work as effectively as possible.<sup>39</sup> The kinds of events that they held worked at clarifying this stance. The above-mentioned March of the Empty Pots and Pans was one which very overtly symbolised how women required protection in the private sphere. This march saw thousands of Chilean women walking the streets of Santiago banging on their household items to protest against food shortages. The dissatisfaction with how socialism was impacting the domestic sphere was further driven home by the subsequent nightly banging of household items in gardens at 10pm.<sup>40</sup> As this was the vocalisation of an insecurity which did not challenge the patriarchal system, it was one which was heard both internally and internationally. This kind of demonstration was not envisioned by women's male counterparts as a threat or a vye for power, nor as a struggle for change to gender relations. Instead it was a call for a return to the normal pre-socialist Chile, something conservative men could fully get behind.<sup>41</sup> The time the organisation took in naming itself is additional evidence that it understood the necessity for care when approaching a subject potentially sensitive to men. After employing the help of a psychologist, the group decided upon the name "Feminine Power". By using "Feminine" in their name, they sought to assure others that they were not feminists and also to ease the feeling of threat that the second word "Power" may have generated.<sup>42</sup> Even the 1974 book, written by one of the group's members to inform the public of the ways in which it had defended the country from

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<sup>38</sup> Townsend, "Refusing to Travel La Via Chilena: Working-Class Women in Allende's Chile".

<sup>39</sup> Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973*, 199.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 213.

<sup>41</sup> Céspedes, "Right-Wing Women and the Mobilisation Against the Brazilian and Chilean Governments (1960 Y 1970)", 832.

<sup>42</sup> Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973*, 198.

Allende, takes pains to begin the tale by listing all of the male organisations active in the fight and reassuring that the author did not wish to steal the spotlight from them.<sup>43</sup>

The organisation's attitudes towards violence further demonstrate its paradoxes, while also illuminating the complexities of female relationships with violence. This in turn helps to shatter an idea that remains prevalent in International Relations, that women are naturally peaceful. On the one hand, Poder Femenino stood firmly for traditional ideas about gender and violence. They milked the supposed moral high ground that the idea of 'mariánismo' gave them. Evelyn Stevens, writing in 1973, described this as being "the cult of feminine spiritual superiority".<sup>44</sup> Poder Femenino declared their superior morality when bemoaning the policies of the Allende government and the direction the government was taking.<sup>45</sup> They were also clearly supportive of the traditional idea that men, in the form of the military, were expected to use violence in defence of their country and that security is ensured through the state's warlike protection from enemies- in this case, Marxism. These are basic yet central ideas in traditional Security Studies.<sup>46</sup>

Yet, on the contrary, Poder Femenino broke with traditional gender norms as women who so forcefully advocated for violence instead of for peace. As Céspedes has pointed out, the founding goal of the movement was to persuade the armed forces to take up arms against the government.<sup>47</sup> Poder Femenino's pursuit of violent action was situated within a nexus of other female movements mobilising for change in this way, made evident in the chapter on Feminist Security Studies in *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*.<sup>48</sup> In fact, not so much farther afield in Brazil, right-wing women showed the exact same tendencies, actively promoting a coup d'état against the Presidency of Joao Goulart. Additionally, as will be made evident in the following chapter, right-wing women in Chile loyally stood in favour of the murderous Pinochet

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<sup>43</sup> María Correa Morandé, *La Guerra de Las Mujeres*, (*The Women's War*), (Santiago: Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1974), <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-65339.html>, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Evelyn P. Stevens and Ann Pescatello, *Mariánismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), 91.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 91.

<sup>46</sup> Natalie Florea Hudson, "Securitizing Women's Rights and Gender Equality", *Journal of Human Rights*, No.8 (2009): 53-70, 55.

<sup>47</sup> Céspedes, "Right-Wing Women and the Mobilisation Against the Brazilian and Chilean Governments (1960 Y 1970)", 833.

<sup>48</sup> Wibben, "Feminist security studies", in *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*.

dictatorship, rather than seeking to elect a new government with peaceful potential.

Poder Femenino's actions certainly incited violence. The organisation repeatedly sent overt messages to the military informing them that they were expected to behave like real men and stage a revolt against the President. María de los Angeles Crummett's article includes snippets of interviews from several different women who partook in the movement. "Ms. F." recalls how the organisation sent letters to the heads of the military in which:

we not only questioned their duty as soldiers, but their virility, their *machismo*. We put it in very strong terms... We threw wheat in the soldiers' barracks to imply that they were "chickens". Several women also contemplated painting the barracks a light blue color so that 'baby boys' would come out.<sup>49</sup>

In calling into question men's machismo (exaggerated masculinity), Poder Femenino sought to entice them into taking up arms, while also reinforcing the importance of "manly" values such as toughness, courage, power, independence and physical strength.<sup>50</sup> The organisation's events also quickly became associated with violence. The week after the March of the Empty Pots and Pans an article was published in the *New York Times* which used warlike rhetoric to describe the event. The first sentence states that "The rhythmic pounding of empty pots and pans by thousands of Chilean women last week had the sound of war drums". It also calls the march "the most violent political demonstration since President Salvador Allende Gossens took office..."<sup>51</sup> Although the women who led the march were not vicious themselves, the protest turned nasty when left-wing militants attacked the women and Allende declared a state of siege.<sup>52</sup>

Even as this examination of Poder Femenino provides considerable insight into the

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<sup>49</sup> María De Los Ángeles Crummett, "El Poder Feminino: The Mobilization of Women Against Socialism in Chile." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 4, no. 4, (1977): 103-113, 107.

<sup>50</sup> Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, 6.

<sup>51</sup> Juan de Onis, "The Ominous Pounding of Pots and Pans", *The New York Times*, December 5, 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/12/05/archives/the-ominous-pounding-of-pots-chile.html>

<sup>52</sup> "March of the Empty Pots", Encyclopedia.com, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/march-empty-pots>.

significance of female mobilisation during the period, it is necessary to look beyond this movement to fully comprehend the extent to which Chilean women influenced the developments of this period. A particularly strong example of the female political impact on the international scale is the US's mobilisation of women during the years preceding Allende's presidency. It is no exaggeration to state that the Chilean case is one which brings to light the centrality of women to the very core of US foreign policy during this period: to stop the spread of communism at all costs.<sup>53</sup> The role they played in 'securing' the hemisphere from communism also calls into question the validity of traditional International Relations and Security Studies, which argue that the international arena is genderless.<sup>54</sup> In the leadup to the 1964, 1969 and 1970 Chilean elections the US became heavily involved in covert action in Chile. Terrified that it would become another Cuba if allowed to lean too far to the left, the US did its utmost to defend against left-wing gains. Women were one of the primary targets of US propaganda efforts and despite the fact that society continued to banish them to the domestic sphere, they were clearly recognised by the US as political players and extremely significant players at that. Their mobilization was vital, both because they had recently been given the full right to vote in Chile and also because they were considered more conservative than men.<sup>55</sup>

Their significance is clear from US records from the period. In a staff report of covert action in Chile 1963-1973, for example, the CIA maintains that the "scare campaign" of 1964 was "massive" "enormous" and "the most effective activity undertaken by the US on behalf of the Christian Democratic candidate" while also being "directed especially to women".<sup>56</sup> In the document entitled "Foreign Relations of the United States Chile 1969-1973" there are numerous references to women and their mobilisation against Allende. For instance, the "Memorandum for the 303 Committee" from 1969 records the support and funding of "women's organizations" in order to "mobilize the vote for the

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<sup>53</sup> Baldez, *Why Women Protest, Women's Movements in Chile*, 52.

<sup>54</sup> Terrell Carver, Marysia Zalewski, Helen Kinsella and R. Charli Carpenter, "Gender and International Relations", *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (June 2003), 287-302.

<sup>55</sup> Baldez, *Why Women Protest, Women's Movements in Chile*, 52.

<sup>56</sup> "Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973: staff report of the select committee to study governmental operations with respect to intelligence activities", United States Senate, U.S. government printing office, Washington 1973,

<https://ia803203.us.archive.org/26/items/Covert-Action-In-Chile-1963-1973/94chile.pdf>, 15-16.

selected candidates.”<sup>57</sup> The fact that this is one of only three groups mentioned highlights how significant these female organisations were to the process. Unfortunately the exact funding awarded to each remains classified information.<sup>58</sup>

Not only did the US spend time and money supporting the anti-Allende women’s movement, but it also closely monitored women’s evolving political tendencies. In the June 1970 backchannel message from the ambassador to Chile to the 40 committee, one of the first things that is mentioned is the fact that “the trend lines for the past month” are “significant”, showing “a shift of women from Alessandri to Allende.”<sup>59</sup> Later, the message states: “Our three principal targets in the remaining short time should be Frei, women and Radical Party members.”<sup>60</sup> This document, sent only a few months before the momentous 1970 election, highlights how critical female voters were to the campaign. While these examples lumped female voters all together by gender rather than by political inclination or class, there were also references to specific classes of women in other sources. For example, the newspaper article “The CIA Makes Headlines, Psychological Warfare in Chile” published in 1975, recalls how the CIA “computerized all existing studies of the Chilean population and decided that lower middle class women were pivotal to the election.”<sup>61</sup> This highlights how nuanced the US’s mobilisation of women really was.

Arguably one of the greatest successes of US propaganda campaigns in Chile, and in the region at large, was their manipulation of the traditional values and mindsets that still prevailed there. The US wholeheartedly encouraged the retention of traditional patriarchal structures, evident as much from its domestic policy as from its foreign policy. Particularly in the post Second World War and early Cold War period, sexual and gender transgression were depicted as great national security risks in the US, on the

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<sup>57</sup> “Memorandum for the 303 committee” (March 14, 1969) in “Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976 Volume XXI, Chile, 1969-1973”, Department of State, Edited by James McElveen, James Siekmeier and Adam Howard, United States Government Printing Office Washington, 2014, 7.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>58</sup> “Memorandum for the 303 committee”, 7.

<sup>59</sup> “Backchannel Message from the Ambassador to Chile (Korry) to the 40 Committee” (June 18, 1970), “Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976 Volume XXI, Chile, 1969-1973”, Department of State, Edited by James McElveen, James Siekmeier and Adam Howard, United States Government Printing Office Washington, 2014, 90.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> “The CIA Makes Headlines, Psychological Warfare in Chile”, *Ann Arbor Sun*, June 20, 1975, <https://aadl.org/node/199641>.

same level as the risk posed by the Nazis and Communists.<sup>62</sup> In Latin America itself, Chile was certainly the most stand-out example of US efforts to mobilise women on the right, but it should also be considered as part of a broader effort to elicit the support of right-wing women's groups across the region, such as the Brazilian anti-Goulart women.<sup>63</sup> These women, who had mobilised against the socialist government of Jaoa Goulart, were invited by the US government to come and do a tour around the country. The CIA also elicited the support of Juana Castro in order to spread fear about the dangers of communism and to encourage women across Latin America to vote against it.<sup>64</sup>

A comparative study of propaganda campaigns both in Chile and in Cuba illustrates the US's perpetuation of these traditional mindsets in the region at large. It also sheds light on the impact patriarchal forces such as the CIA can have on both genders' experiences of insecurity. This shows how security in International Relations is far from a static idea, but rather one that is constantly shifting and evolving depending on the political and cultural climate of the times. The CIA certainly shaped its propaganda differently depending on if its audience was male or female. Both propaganda produced for Chilean and Cuban audiences directly addressed mothers, depicting the family as a crucial locus of struggle between communism and democracy.<sup>65</sup> They employed visual and textual means to warn that mothers must defend their children against the evils of communism at all costs. In Michelle Chase's book on women's roles in the Cuban Revolution, she includes a propaganda poster, pictured below, that surfaced in Cuba during the Patria Protestdad rumours. These rumours were spread by the CIA and warned that parents' right to take care of their children would be transferred to the government. The poster features a woman shielding her son from large encroaching hands and the heading reads "Defiende a tu Hijo" ("Defend your son"). Below, the text addresses "Cuban mother" and ends on a particularly hysterical note "If the totalitarian state makes your son a totalitarian being, HE WILL BE A MONSTER!"<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Tyler May, Elaine, "Commentary: Ideology and Foreign Policy: Culture and Gender in Diplomatic History", *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (1994) 71-78, 73.

<sup>63</sup> Power, "Who but a Woman? The Transnational Diffusion of Anti-Communism among Conservative Women in Brazil, Chile and the United States during the Cold War", 95.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 109.

<sup>65</sup> Michelle Chase, *Revolution Within the Revolution, Women, Gender and Politics in Cuba, 1952-1962*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 195.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 201.

A similarly hysterical radio ad was aired in Chile, in which gun fire blasts and a woman's voice screams "The communists killed my son!" before a male announcer concludes "This could happen if Chile goes communist."<sup>67</sup> As is evident from the above examples, propaganda targeting women was orchestrated to appeal to emotions, assuming that women would respond best to highly emotive cues rather than to calm and collected messages.<sup>68</sup> Propaganda targeting men, on the other hand, was decidedly less impassioned. Marcelo Casals includes a photo of a propaganda poster aimed at Chilean men in his article, which is also pictured below. It does not contain emotive language, rather attempting to appeal to men's sense of reason as well as to their desire to control female members of their family. The poster depicts a group of Cuban female soldiers marching below the heading "Chilean men! Is this how you want to see your daughter?"<sup>69</sup> These examples demonstrate how the US sought to encourage a different experience of insecurity between men and women.

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<sup>67</sup> "The CIA Makes Headlines, Psychological Warfare in Chile".

<sup>68</sup> Power, "The Engendering of Anticommunism and Fear in Chile's 1964 Presidential Election", 942-3.

<sup>69</sup> Marcelo Casals, "'Chilean! Is this how you want to see your daughter?' The Cuban Revolution and Representations of Gender and Family during Chile's 1964 Anticommunist 'Campaign of Terror'", *Radical History Review*, 2020, 111-127, 120.



#### MADRE CUBANA

te corresponde una heroicidad más en la hora tétrica de la Patria. Las dictaduras clásicas de Cuba, al recurrir al terror, sólo podían arrancar la vida de tu hijo. La dictadura castrista aspira a más: aspira a arrancarte el alma — es decir, su religión, su sentimiento de nacionalidad, su dignidad de persona libre. Mediante un diabólico proceso de adoctrinamiento, la tiranía castrista pretende inculcar en el alma de tu hijo el más grosero ateísmo, un sentimiento de internacionalismo al exclusivo servicio de Rusia y la última partícula de conciencia individual. ¡DEFIENDE A TU HIJO, madre cubana! Si el estado totalitario hace de tu hijo un ser totalitario, ¡TU HIJO SERÁ UN MONSTRUO!

Figure 1.1. This poster of a Chilean woman protecting her son from the encroaching hand of communism is published in Michelle Chase, *Revolution Within the Revolution, Women, Gender and Politics in Cuba* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 201.



Figure 1.2 The image on the left is the one relevant to this research, featuring Cuban women soldiers. It was printed in Chile to scare fathers of the dangers of communism. Downloaded from LOM at

<https://lom.cl/products/la-creacion-de-la-amenaza-roja-del-surgimiento-del-anticomunismo-en-chile-a-la-campana-del-terror-de-1964>. Published in Marcelo Casals, “Chilean! Is this how you want to see your daughter?” The Cuban Revolution and Representations of Gender and Family during Chile’s 1964 Anticommunist ‘Campaign of Terror’”, *Radical History Review*, 120.

This chapter has considered the years prior to the Pinochet dictatorship, both before and during the Allende presidency. It has demonstrated how significant women were to

the development of political events in this period. Poder Femenino was one of the principal groups that mobilised with the aim of bringing about the downfall of the Allende government. It both upheld traditional gender norms in its ideology and manipulated these for its own benefits. Its leaders demonstrated political prowess in drawing support from a broad sector of the population, focusing on social and economic concerns that would appeal to women from all different classes, and ensuring to vocally distance themselves from politics so that men were not threatened by them. This chapter has also explored the ways in which the study of this organisation calls into question the assumption in traditional Security Studies and International Relations that women are naturally peaceful. Poder Femenino showed considerable comfort with violence in forcefully encouraging the military to take up arms against Allende. The chapter then turned to the US and its relationship with and attitudes towards conservative women during this period. The significance of women throughout these years and elections (1964, 1969 and 1970) highlights their importance to the international fight against communism and thus to the security concerns of the hemisphere during this period. This reality also makes it necessary to question the validity of traditional International Relations and Security Studies, which argue that the international arena is genderless. Gender was, in fact, a very important element of the anti-communist campaign in Latin America. Finally, an exploration of some of the propaganda material distributed in Chile and Cuba illustrates the role the US played in shaping the security concerns of men and women during this era.

Chapter Two will examine the Pinochet regime, in terms of what conservative women gained from the dictatorship, their importance to the regime and their multiple complexities and contradictions.

## **Chapter Two: Right-Wing Women in Times of Dictatorship**

The coup d'etat of 1973, eagerly awaited and joyously celebrated by right-wing Chileans, was followed by what many remember as being a very brutal dictatorship. General Pinochet, previously Allende's Defence Minister and Army Commander, held the position of president for 17 years before the results of the 1988 plebiscite allowed for free elections to take place the following year. Pinochet's dictatorship, like several others in Latin America during this period, was marred by kidnappings, torture, bloodshed and death as well as by the increase in social and economic inequalities, issues which the country still struggles with today. The vast majority of literature pertaining to women during this period relate to the feminist movement, which grew in strength and opposition to the government particularly in the regime's latter years. The only primary exception to this is the work of Margaret Power, whose main subject of investigation is right-wing women.

This chapter will focus on these women, exploring the reasons for their continued support of the dictatorship, such as the security and protection it offered them, and examining the multitude of ways in which they were central to the regime. The wealthy right-wing women who had been so dismayed by the policies of socialist Allende were relieved to be in the hands of a government that would not only provide them with financial growth, but would also vow to fight off subversion and the menacing shadow of Marxism, which, it was believed, was waiting for the perfect moment to jump out and bring the nation to its knees once more. Pinochet not only protected their economic and political interests, but also secured their right to be mothers and repeatedly praised and venerated them for this role. For their part, women served the state in a myriad of ways. They were not only symbols of apoliticism, such an important tenet of the Chilean dictatorship, but also actively participated to denigrate politics and political parties. They were the moral backbone of the country, tasked with re-educating the public and ensuring traditional values were upheld. Finally, they were to be incompatible with conservatives' family-oriented values and thus posed a cornerstone to the transformation of the economy into one in which citizens were 'responsible' consumers,

enabling neoliberal policies to flourish. In this way, conservative women played a part in the global transnational movement towards neoliberalism.

This study also highlights the contradictions between these women's words and their actions. Right-wing women claimed that their natures were inalterable and everlasting, when in fact they were swift to change their stances on issues when it suited them economically. In this way they demonstrated considerable pragmatism. Paradoxically, the study of conservative women's behaviour during this period also helps to challenge traditional ideas about gender, such as the notion that women are naturally peaceful. Though right-wing women prided themselves on their supposed moral superiority, they were in fact often supportive of the violence of the regime. Being mindful of this reality can help to erode harmful gender stereotyping in International Relations and Security Studies.

Before delving into the body of this chapter, it is worth noting a few points. Conservative women in Pinochet's era were not a monolithic force. As Power explores briefly in one of her articles, some of the leaders of Poder Femenino were quite disappointed in the decision of the junta to disband their organisation (now considered redundant) early in the dictatorship. They only became actively involved in society again when they could return to politics once more in the leadup to the 1988 plebiscite.<sup>70</sup> It is also necessary to point out that conservative women did, at times, have other reasons for supporting the dictatorship. It is true that many of those active in society were the wives of military men, so it could be expected that they would offer their cooperation. Furthermore, as those on the Left writing at the time of the dictatorship argued, these women were sometimes corrupted, manipulated or simply did not have a choice but to support the regime. Ximena Bunster, for instance, maintains that women must be the "civil trench" of the country and that "many women in the 1980s have been lured into accepting that identity and they thus have been militarized in the process". She states later that "the woman volunteer needs to be indoctrinated so that she can spread the truth; she has to 'receive the word' in order to transmit it faithfully. She is no more than a delivery

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<sup>70</sup> Power, "Defending Dictatorship, Conservative Women in Pinochet's Chile and the 1988 Plebiscite", 313.

channel.”<sup>71</sup> This latter quote, however, incorrectly implies that women did not already hold the beliefs that they were expected to spread. Teresa E. Valdés, writing about the women who acted on the part of the government, describes them as “overly-exploited and manipulated by the dictatorship” and that since a woman wanted to be a “good mother” she “accepts everything or nearly everything.”<sup>72</sup> Even María Elena Valenzuela, who admitted that some women genuinely agreed with Pinochet’s principles, believed that the wives of the military were “required to participate in the voluntary institutions that [were] also controlled by the armed forces.” She adds “How could they be independent or stand in opposition to the regime in these circumstances?”<sup>73</sup>

While these sentiments express truth, ending the story here and focusing on right-wing women as victims, as these writers do, fails to acknowledge the genuine support that conservatives often gave the military dictatorship. It also ignores the women’s self-serving reasons behind supporting the military.

In fact, many right-wing women were genuine supporters of the regime as it offered them a great deal of security, in a variety of ways. Firstly, these women were connected to the dictatorship through a shared value system, a common belief in traditional social policies. This enabled them to live with peace of mind that the status quo would not be altered. This shared value system offered them social protection, something that had been greatly lacking from the previous presidency. As was demonstrated through the previous chapter, Allende’s socialist goals were considered a terrible security threat to the traditional family unit. The Pinochet government, on the other hand, vowed to protect this unit and women’s roles as mothers. It is clear from the Dictator’s speeches that he greatly revered the mother figure and considered it indisputable that mothering was a woman’s primary task in life. For example, in a speech to Women’s Secretariat volunteers, Pinochet declared that

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<sup>71</sup> Bunster, “Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile”, 488.

<sup>72</sup> Teresa E. Valdés, *Las Mujeres y La Dictadura Militar En Chile*, (*Women and the Military Dictatorship in Chile*), (Flacso Chile, 1987), 10-11.

<sup>73</sup> Ana María Foxley, “Mujeres del Chile militar”, (“The Women of the Chilean Military”), Hoy, The Archive of Critical References, January 25, 1988, <http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/628/w3-article-294849.html>.

When a woman becomes a mother she does not expect anything more on a material plane; she searches and finds in her own son the purpose of her life, her only treasure and the finishing line where her dreams come true.<sup>74</sup>

Traditional values pertaining to motherhood were further protected by the government through the development of the two principal women's organisations, CEMA and the Women's Secretariat. The way in which CEMA in particular was run is further evidence of the close affinity between the values of women and the government. CEMA's principal focus was on helping mothers with their various needs, while encouraging women to follow the traditional path of motherhood. These centres across the country were run predominantly by upper-middle class women who could afford to do such work on a voluntary basis. The goal of the organisation, particularly in the beginning, was to provide healthcare and other social services to the poor "at a low cost". It also offered classes in areas that were considered appropriate for females, such as cooking, sewing, fashion and cosmetics.<sup>75</sup> CEMA's publications further emphasise their desire to encourage women to follow a traditional lifestyle. The pages of their magazines are filled with images of children and sprinkled with quotes and interviews from the head of the organisation, Hiriart, about how one can be a better mother. For instance, in a publication in 1980, she stated that "each day, we wish to give women better knowledge in all areas, so that she can continue to grow and develop as a mother."<sup>76</sup>

Wealthier right-wing women were also protected financially and politically by the government. Soon after the instigation of the military junta the leadership embarked on a new and experimental economic journey, by the name of neoliberalism, a process spear-headed by the American economists known as the 'Chicago Boys'. In short, neoliberalism "redefines citizens as consumers" and views "attempts to limit competition... as inimical to liberty."<sup>77</sup> While it is easy to point out the multiple negative effects that these economic tactics had on the population (causing many to fall into

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<sup>74</sup> Bunster, "Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile", 488.

<sup>75</sup> Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 139-40.

<sup>76</sup> "Cema Chile, Revista No. 8", (Chile, 1980), <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-61042.html>, 22.

<sup>77</sup> George Monbiot, "The Rise of Neoliberalism: The Cause of Extreme Inequality?", Economics, Accessed April 18, 2021, <https://economics.com/rise-of-neoliberalism-inequality/>.

poverty or to lose the societal benefits they had previously enjoyed) they also decidedly served the rich. Policies included tax cuts for the wealthy, the elimination of trade unions, privatisation and deregulation, each factor allowing the rich to become richer and the poor to struggle desperately to keep up.<sup>78</sup> Chilean women such as Hiriart greatly benefited from this system. Her wealth increased dramatically and she was known to use this to surround herself with luxury items and comforts.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, as volunteers from the Secretariat gradually and conspicuously shooed poor women out of affluent areas, wealthy inhabitants revelled in the newfound cleanliness of their neighbourhoods and the easy ability to avoid the impoverished altogether, now crowded into shanty towns on the outskirts of the cities.<sup>80</sup> The military regime also protected conservatives from the political enemy of Marxism. The wealthy women who had led the Poder Femenino movement had believed their property and assets to be under threat from this ideology. Therefore the fact that the dictatorship targeted Marxists as its primary enemies lent them great financial security. The regime waged a continuous war against leftist subversives, many of whom were disappeared, tortured or murdered.

Yet women were not simply appeased by the government; they also played a very important role in the regime. In the first place, their support was vital in implementing these new neoliberal policies, embracing them and actively reeducating others in an effort to encourage society to accept them.<sup>81</sup> As Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zarate explores in her article, the government considered women key in terms of teaching these new economic policies to the poor.<sup>82</sup> The Women's Secretariat, considered a central ideological force, played a particularly big role in this.<sup>83</sup> The Presidential Address of 1974 entitled "A Year of Construction" ("Un Año de Construcción") signals the creation of a "Women's Programme" within the Secretariat, which would help women form an

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<sup>78</sup> Monbiot, "The Rise of Neoliberalism: The Cause of Extreme Inequality?".

<sup>79</sup> Alfredo Lamadrid Sobre entrevista a Lucía Hiriart: 'Cuando le pregunté por los detenidos desaparecidos se paró para abandonar la entrevista', ("Alfredo Lamadrid on his interview with Lucía Hiriart: 'When I asked her about those detained and disappeared she stopped speaking in order to bring the interview to a close'"), La Red, Accessed April 18, 2021, <https://www.lared.cl/2020/programas/mentirasverdaderas/alfredo-lamadrid-sobre-entrevista-a-lucia-hiriart-cuando-le-pregunte-por-los-detenidos-desaparecidos-se-paro-para-abandonar-la-entrevista>.

<sup>80</sup> Bunster, 'Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile', 488.

<sup>81</sup> Valdivia Oriz de Zarate, "Ladies and Gentlemen: We are at War!: Pinochet's Military Regime and The 'Nation', 1973-1980.", 185.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 185.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 195.

active role in the “recuperation of the economy”.<sup>84</sup> The goal of the programme was to reach every Chilean family, educating mothers about how they could best “administer their assets”.<sup>85</sup> The home was envisioned as an important economic centre, to be run in much the same way as the state, yet on a smaller scale.<sup>86</sup> Experts travelled around to the Secretariat’s centres across the country, giving talks on this subject. For example, politician Hermógenes Pérez de Arce spoke to the Secretariat describing the home as “a business” in which the “managers” must make the most of their resources, with the limited amount that they had.<sup>87</sup>

In this way, women helped to plant neoliberalism in Chilean society and by doing so influenced how Chile would emerge at the vanguard of what Naomi Klein has described as “disaster capitalism” or the “shock doctrine”.<sup>88</sup> In her own words, the shock doctrine refers to “the brutal tactic of using the public’s disorientation following a collective shock – wars, coups, terrorist attacks, market crashes or natural disasters – to push through radical pro-corporate measures...”<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the same process took place in quick succession in other states, such as to the US and UK, as well as further afield.<sup>90</sup> Women’s participation in these developments is evidence of how, even though they are often not directly involved in political decision making and international relations, they do greatly influence international developments. It reinforces the need to incorporate the study of women into the field.

Another way in which women were important to the dictatorship was in their supposed apoliticism, as this helped the regime retain control over its population. Firstly, in reinforcing the conservative belief that women were naturally apolitical, it encouraged them to be submissive citizens and meant that they were unlikely to pose a threat to the dictatorship. Pinochet’s eagerness to reinforce this gender stereotype is evident from his address to women in April 1974. Referring to the years of Allende’s presidency, he

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<sup>84</sup> Augusto Ugarte Pinochet, “Un año de construcción”, (“A year of construction”), (Chile, 1974), 76.

<sup>85</sup> Valdivia Oriz de Zárate, “Ladies and Gentlemen: We are at War!: Pinochet’s Military Regime and The ‘Nation’, 1973-1980.”

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 187.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 186.

<sup>88</sup> Naomi Klein, “Naomi Klein: how power profits from disaster”, *The Guardian*, July 6, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/06/naomi-klein-how-power-profits-from-disaster>.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> L33T Guy, “The Shock Doctrine”.

proclaimed that "With her feminine instinct, it was clear to her that what defined those dramatic days was not simply a game between political parties but was the survival or death of the nation. In this manner, her vision was much stronger than that of some politicians."<sup>91</sup> In saying this, Pinochet was implying that the women's organisation did not rise up against Allende because of its political understanding, but rather because it was made up of women who, through birth, were gifted with a natural feminine instinct which allowed them to sense this kind of danger.<sup>92</sup> CEMA was praised and supported by the government for its supposed apoliticism, as it was an organisation which encouraged women to thrive in the domestic sphere, have multiple children and stay out of politics. The CEMA volunteers also helped protect the regime by working to control potential dissidents and the political opposition, keeping an eye especially on neighbourhoods that were deemed "radical".<sup>93</sup>

Secondly, women's apoliticism supported a dictatorial policy that spread beyond matters of gender and enabled the government to create the illusion of an apolitical state. By extension, this helped maintain control over the country and in part justified the banning of all political parties. Pinochet repeatedly derided all things political, maintaining that politics was "the equivalent of violence and chaos". He declared that politics was to blame for landing Chile in the mess it had been in when the military came to its rescue in 1973.<sup>94</sup> He presented his government as being far removed from politics, a positive characteristic as all politicians were supposedly evil and corrupt. Therefore, right-wing women's eagerness to accept the role of apolitical citizen fit nicely into the image of the state that Pinochet was trying to create.

Right-wing women's apoliticism during this period is also significant in how it demonstrated their affinity with crafting a public image that best benefited them. CEMA was eager to reassure the public of their supposed distance from politics, stating in 1981 that they were "completely separate from proselytism, either political or religious".<sup>95</sup> Even after the downfall of the regime, Hiriart still maintained that "CEMA

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<sup>91</sup> Valdés, *Women and the Military Dictatorship in Chile*, 22.

<sup>92</sup> Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile*, 139.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>94</sup> Bunster, "Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile," 488.

<sup>95</sup> Norbert Lechner, *Notes About Daily Life III: Disciplining Women*, 7.

was never used politically.”<sup>96</sup> The facade of apoliticism was certainly bolstered by the kind of work carried out by the organisation, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Their work helped to create the illusion that these women were just innocent and submissive mothering figures. In spite of this, the fact that the organisation was run by the wife of the military dictator makes the claim of apoliticism almost impossible to believe. Indeed, it is quite ironic that, while CEMA was intent on distancing itself from politics publicly, it was developed and run by the government and those sympathetic to it, and was intent on spreading pro-Pinochet ideals. Those who were not sympathetic to the regime were promptly dismissed. A study of CEMA and the Women’s Secretariat conducted during the dictatorship entitled “Notes About Daily Life III: The Disciplining of Women” found that both “political organisations” understood themselves to be the “civil trench” of the regime.<sup>97</sup>

On the other hand, the Women’s Secretariat was explicitly political. Through this organisation, volunteers spread the ideology of the regime and in this way were its key educators and indoctrinators. The Secretariat was run directly by the junta and one of its chief objectives was to promote female support for the government and to encourage them to take part in government-led programmes.<sup>98</sup> According to Carmen Gloria Godoy Ramos, the Secretariat was set up primarily for the women who had mobilised to oppose the Allende government, to reorient them towards a role that would be more respectable for their gender in society.<sup>99</sup> There were, however, still women who had formerly participated in Poder Femenino who were not satisfied with such a role and only returned to the forefront of society in the lead-up to the 1988 plebiscite.

Just as CEMA proclaimed itself far removed from politics but was in fact indisputably political, so too did right-wing women pride themselves on the inalterability of their natures, while simultaneously demonstrating substantial elasticity when it benefited

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<sup>96</sup> Mentiras Verdaderas La Red, “We reveal the uncomfortable question that Lucía Hiriart asked not to be aired”, This video has since been made unavailable, hence I cannot provide a time stamp.

<sup>97</sup> Lechner, *Notes About Daily Life III: Disciplining Women*, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>99</sup> Carmen Gloria Godoy Ramos, “El Estado Chileno y las Mujeres en el Siglo XX. De los Temas de la Mujer al Discurso de la Igualdad de Géneros”, (“The Chilean State and Women in the 20th Century. Themes About Women in the Discourse of Gender Equality”), *Diálogos Revista Electrónica de Historia*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (2013) 97-123, 104.

them socially or economically.<sup>100</sup> Though female members of Chilean society were undeniably subordinate to men, their greatest quality, according to the women themselves and to the leadership of the country, was their nature: caring, obedient, self-sacrificing. This was considered “permanent and inalterable”.<sup>101</sup> This status, which critics have described as making women objects of history rather than its subjects, was paradoxically undermined by the actions of the conservative Chilean women themselves who so upheld this virtue.<sup>102</sup> As Power has elaborated in her article on the 1988 plebiscite, Chilean women showed great elasticity in moving from the apolitical sphere for the majority of the dictatorship, into the political, when they rallied to back Pinochet in the plebiscite.<sup>103</sup> In fact, conservative Chileans had a history of this plasticity. In the early 20th century upper class women donned the mantra of feminism in order to “defend their class position from the advances that educated middle-class women made”.<sup>104</sup> Later, during the dictatorship, feminists firmly opposed Pinochet and his economic policies. In this instance, conservative Chileans, eager to continue to protect their economic privilege, vocally spoke out against the feminist platform. It is clear from these instances that they often acted pragmatically.

Linked with the idea that women had particularly superior natures was the belief that they exuded morality. This notion was held by government and conservative women alike, yet greatly called into question by the conservatives' actions. As Ximena Bunster points out, women were supposed to be “the preservers of Chile's moral order”.<sup>105</sup> Pro-Pinochet women gladly embraced this stereotype, cloaking themselves and the regime in moral superiority when those who opposed the regime voiced their critiques.<sup>106</sup> Pinochet considered that women were spiritual beings who, like the armed forces, pertained “from a world of values”.<sup>107</sup> He even constructed a myth of the recent history of Chile in which evil politicians were driven by a quest for power and personal

<sup>100</sup> Godoy Ramos, “El Estado Chileno y las Mujeres en el Siglo XX. De los Temas de la Mujer al Discurso de la Igualdad de Géneros”, 143.

<sup>101</sup> Giselle Munizaga, “El Discurso público de Pinochet: un análisis semiológico”, (“Pinochet's public discourse: a semiological analysis”), (1983), 29.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>103</sup> Power, “Defending Dictatorship, Conservative Women in Pinochet's Chile and the 1988 Plebiscite”, 302.

<sup>104</sup> Power, “More than Mere Pawns, Right-Wing Women in Chile”, 143.

<sup>105</sup> Bunster, “Watch Out for the Little Nazi Man that All of Us Have Inside: The Mobilization and Demobilization of Women in Militarized Chile”, 488.

<sup>106</sup> Power, “Right-Wing Women, Sexuality and Politics in Chile During the Pinochet Dictatorship”, 278.

<sup>107</sup> Munizaga, “Pinochet's public discourse: a semiological analysis”, 30.

gain, resulting in the instigation of a Marxist government. It was only the women of Chile and the armed forces, the “cells of the country” who remained incorrupt and managed to save it from ruin.<sup>108</sup>

As has been highlighted by feminists in International Relations, it is exceedingly important to recognise and call out the instances in history where women, whether on the Right or Left, have played a role in violence.<sup>109</sup> This places both genders on an even footing and enables society to erode potentially harmful gender stereotypes, while empowering scholars to study the past in a more comprehensive manner. Quite ironically, Chilean conservative women, supposedly so driven by morality, not only supported the violence of the dictatorial regime, but continued to do so after it had fallen. Power records how, when conducting interviews with pro-Pinochet women in Chile for her research, one woman assured her that she wished Pinochet had flung the bodies of his victims into the ocean, as General Ibáñez had done to the ‘homosexuals’, instead of burying them in mass graves where they could be found.<sup>110</sup> One notes a considerable change in the countenance of Lucía Hiriart as she reaches the end of an interview with Alfredo Lamadrid in 1998. Lamadrid asks her a question about those who were killed by the regime and the sweet smile that has played about her lips until this point instantly fades, and with a cold eye and clearly irritated tone she answers curtly, later ordering Lamadrid to remove the clip from the interview.<sup>111</sup> While it is clear that throughout the interview Hiriart was attempting to maintain her motherly (or grandmotherly) charm, the reality of the active, undeniably immoral part she had played in the dictatorship could not be masked for long behind a feminine and docile demeanour.

This chapter has explored the years 1973-1988 of the Pinochet government. The period of the socially progressive policies and economic failures of the Allende government were replaced by one of the most severe military dictatorships to ever sweep South America. Pinochet ruled Chile for almost two decades and he did so with the admiration and backing of many Chilean women. This chapter has examined these women,

<sup>108</sup> Munizaga, “Pinochet’s public discourse: a semiological analysis”, 43.

<sup>109</sup> Wibben, “Feminist security studies”, 89.

<sup>110</sup> Power, “More than Mere Pawns, Right-Wing Women in Chile”, 146.

<sup>111</sup> Mentiras Verdaderas La Red, “We reveal the uncomfortable question that Lucía Hiriart asked not to be aired”, 12:34.

exploring particularly their reasons for giving their support and the important role they played in the maintenance of the dictatorial system. Following the theme of Chapter One, it has considered right-wing women's unique security concerns and how these were protected by the junta. Their right to be mothers and to dedicate their lives to this role was something that was essential to them, and, on the contrary, was what they had seen as being threatened by the previous government. Furthermore, this chapter has shown how Chilean conservatives often acted shrewdly and pragmatically, supporting movements and political parties that would protect their economic interests. It has argued that the wealthy were indeed protected and in fact benefited from the neoliberal policies of the Pinochet regime. Just as these women saw personal gain in supporting the government, so too did the government rely on their backing. Through the organisations of CEMA and the Women's Secretariat women were the spokespeople for the regime, spreading its ideologies both implicitly and explicitly. They worked to enforce essential aspects of Pinochet's tenure, such as encouraging behaviour that benefited neoliberal economic policies and enthusiastically putting down political dissent. Many also actively embraced the identity of apolitical citizen, something which Pinochet was keen to spread to the rest of society. The government and conservative women themselves had a strong sense of a woman's proper identity and were quick to point to her everlasting morality and the need to defend traditional values. As this chapter and the previous have demonstrated, however, these women were constantly evolving and also acting in ways that called into question the standards to which they held themselves. These conservative women were sharp and swift to protect their economic interests and their life-style and were more than willing to encourage violence to keep in power a government infamous for its human rights violations. They could reconstruct themselves into political agents when they deemed necessary.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis has taken conservative Chilean women as its centre of study. It has proven, through careful and in-depth analysis of source material, that these women shaped political, social and economic developments during the period 1964-1988, which they did by manipulating and when necessary transgressing gender norms. In examining these areas, this research has challenged gender stereotypes, such as the idea that women are naturally peaceful. By illuminating the role Chilean women played in Cold War developments, it has also called attention to the need to study women when considering national and international trends and developments.

The first chapter of this thesis explored the pre-Pinochet period in which Allende vied for political power, and the three years of his presidency. It focused on two main areas: the role played by Poder Femenino in the struggle against socialism, and the significance of women to US operations in the region. Poder Femenino was a complex organisation whose clever manipulation of gender norms for its own gain paradoxically undermines the meek and mild housewife figure that the organisation was fighting on behalf of. Though this movement was staunchly right-wing, its study challenges gender stereotypes by positioning women as active rather than passive players in national and international developments. Indeed, these conservative women had unique security concerns which they actively and effectively addressed by mobilising publicly as a movement.

Even though Poder Femenino was planted firmly in the public sphere and was unmistakably a political organisation, it was shrewd in how it chose to craft its public image. While its leaders were middle/upper class Chileans and were deeply concerned by the economic policies of the Allende government and how it might impact their financial security, they chose to focus on broader economic issues which impacted the poorer classes as well. This allowed them to rally a larger group of women to their side. They also appealed to a broader spectrum of women by focusing on social issues, such as the supposedly inevitable destruction of the family unit by socialism. On the other hand, Poder Femenino cleverly shaped its public image and ensured widespread support by carefully navigating gender boundaries in a way that would not anger or

intimidate men. Its members transgressed the public sphere, but did so by striking pots and pans on the streets, a clear symbol of domestic life. They invested time and energy into deciding on the name of their organisation which, though containing the word ‘power’, was quickly followed by the word ‘feminine’ to greatly soften the blow. Finally, they made sure to credit men and did not try to steal the spotlight from men’s roles in the movement, evident from one of the very first paragraphs of the book *The Women’s War* (*La Guerra de las Mujeres*), in which the author lists all the (male-led) groups she does not wish to offend by documenting the work of Poder Femenino.<sup>112</sup>

This thesis also explored women’s importance to the period in relation to the US. It argued that the way in which women were treated by the CIA during its covert operations in Chile proves the centrality of women to US foreign policy during this era. Women were imperative to the US’s main goal: to eradicate any trace of socialism or communism in the region, as well as in the world at large. The findings from the analysis of US source material from the period demonstrate how, while women were repeatedly relegated to the domestic sphere, the US simultaneously envisioned them as being very important political players. This source material is full of references to women, particularly in the documents relating to the 1964, 1969 and 1970 elections. These documents make evident that women were specifically targeted as vital to mobilise on the side of the more right-wing Chilean parties in the leadup to the elections. The 1964 Scare Campaign, considered by the US itself to be the primary reason for the defeat of Allende in the election of that year, was directed primarily at women, further underscoring their importance.

Additionally, this thesis has situated the US’s mobilisation of women within a broader movement which extended across Latin America. The US’s eagerness to mobilise women across the region further drives home its recognition of the necessity of gaining and maintaining female support. It was eager to encourage and reaffirm traditional patriarchal values which still prevailed in most parts of the region and did so by giving right-wing women a platform to speak, as was the case with the anti-Goulart Brazilian women’s group and with Juanita Castro. It also mobilised women by using propaganda

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<sup>112</sup> María Correa Morandé, *La Guerra de Las Mujeres*, (*The Women’s War*), (Santiago: Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1974), <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-65339.html>, 5.

campaigns. This thesis developed a comparative analysis between the campaigns in Chile and Cuba to highlight how insecurities are often shaped by patriarchal forces such as the CIA. The analysis has demonstrated the significance of gender in the construction of these campaigns.

Both chapters illustrated the need to challenge the gender stereotypes that often prevail in International Relations and Security Studies, particularly in relation to peace and violence. Poder Femenino, in its demand for a military takeover, shattered gender stereotypes by exhibiting a great comfort with violence. The organisation vocally called on the military to revolt against Allende, sent messages to accuse officers of being weak in order to shame them into taking action and were thrilled with the instigation of the military junta. This thesis situated the organisation within a nexus of other female movements that have chosen violence over peace and have damaged the illusion of a naturally peaceful woman and her opposite, a naturally aggressive man. It drew links between Poder Femenino and the Brazilian women's movement who actively sought a violent outcome during the presidency of Goulart. The need to challenge these gender stereotypes was also made evident from the analysis of women during the Pinochet era, in which they stood loyally by his side for the entirety of his regime, notwithstanding the terrible atrocities that his government had committed. The economic stability that many wealthy women found in the government encouraged them to show elasticity and willingness to bend gender norms and accept violent behaviour when it suited them.

In considering the Pinochet dictatorship, Chapter Two also advanced some of the other arguments made in the previous chapter. While there is little published scholarship on conservative women during the period, the existing earlier references to these women often portrayed them as victims. This research has divulged from this trend by recognising this group's agency and their willingness to work the system to their own advantage. Firstly, conservative women and the Pinochet government shared their value systems. Both the junta and the women themselves viewed women as morally righteous, an idea grounded in the notion of Marianismo. Throughout his reign, Pinochet thanked women for their important role in Chilean society, making them feel appreciated by the regime. For their part, these women espoused the ideologies put forward by the dictatorship, through the female-led organisations of CEMA and the Women's

Secretariat. Women were also of great significance to the security of the regime, especially in relation to their centrality in spreading neoliberal economic policies in the home. Similarly, by taking on the roles of apolitical citizens, women encouraged an apolitical society, something the dictatorship sought after, in part as a means of retaining control and justifying the elimination of other political parties.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis has used the framework of Feminist Security Studies to shape the analysis. This theoretical framework calls for the study of gender as its central category of analysis. Some of the goals laid out by feminist security scholars have been particularly relevant to this research, such as the desire to challenge traditional gender stereotypes. This thesis has done so by studying women as active agents in society, willing to bend gender boundaries to get what they desired. The analytical framework has also provided a novel angle through which to study this period of Chilean history, focusing on female rather than male security concerns to highlight the similarities and discrepancies between them. This thesis is situated within the literature devoted to providing the perspective of the understudied gender in an attempt to tell a more comprehensive story of history. It has also demonstrated how the idea of security can and should incorporate a much wider definition than simply one concerned with interstate interactions and wars. Finally, it has highlighted the nuances and complexities of the conservative female movement in Chile and its many contradictions, humanising its members and providing context for its conservative beliefs and actions.

There are a number of ideas touched on in this thesis that could be the focal point of future scholarship. For example, new work could be carried out on the importance of gender in shaping US foreign policy during the Latin American Cold War and the indirect influence that women often had on US decision-making. Another area which could be explored further is the role of women during the Pinochet dictatorship, as there is still relatively little scholarship concerning this topic. More broadly, much more historical research could be carried out with Feminist Security Studies in mind, to explore how women experience (in)securities in different areas of the world and at different points of history.

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