

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Problem Background

Chile is a country in southwestern South America, occupying a long, narrow ribbon of land along the Pacific Ocean. Situated south of Peru and west of Bolivia and Argentina, Chile fills a narrow 2,880- mile- long (4,506 km) strip between the Andes and the Pacific. One- third of Chile is covered by the towering ranges of the Andes. In the north is the driest place on Earth, the Atacama Desert, and in the center is a 700- mile- long (1,127 km) thickly populated valley with most of Chile's arable land. At the southern tip of Chile's mainland is Punta Arenas, the southernmost city in the world, and beyond that lies the Strait of Magellan and Tierra del Fuego, an island divided between Chile and Argentina<sup>1</sup>.

Chile is one of the most urbanized and industrialized countries in Latin America. Nearly all of the Chilean population is literate. Chile has an advanced social welfare program, although its activities did not reach the majority of the poor until popular participation began to be exerted in the early 1960's. Chileans are a largely integrated mixture of indigenous American with European immigrant stock. Until September 1973, Chileans brokered their

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107407.html>

demands in a bicameral parliament through a multi-party system and through a broad array of economic, trade union, and, more recently, managerial and professional associations.

As a country claiming as a democratic country, general election is prerequisite. The latest presidential election, 2006, in Chile considered as the fourth democratic election after dictator regime fell down. In this election, Michelle Bachelet as a socialist candidate was an the elected president. Before Bachelet, there were two socialist presidents winning the election.

The pattern of socialist victories indicate a fluctuant. After long time of its struggle, it gained its victory, and again, with long term of time distance it finally gained its victory again, and the latest one, after the second victory it gained its third without any defeat. For more then two centuries since the independence, the history of Chilean government just has been run by Socialist three times. The first victory was in 1970 by Salvador Allende, the second was in 2006 by Ricardo Lagos Escobar, and the third, the latest one, was in 2006 by Michelle Bachelet.

The Socialist Party of Chile (Partido Socialista de Chile or PS) is part of the ruling Coalition of Parties for Democracy coalition whose ideology is social democracy. The Socialist Party was formally formed in 1933, whose aim in the incipient labor movement and working-class parties of the early twentieth century. Its struggle was very dynamic. In 1988, it launched Party for

Democracy (Partido por la Democracia/ PPD) in an effort to provide a broad base of opposition to Pinochet, a dictator regime ruling Chile since 1973- 1990. Unfortunately, PPD became popular among Chileans. It created a dilemma to Socialist Party. However, they are fighting together in Coalition of Parties for Democracy.

The 1970 was a year of Socialist Party of Chile. In that time, its struggle produced its glory since it was formed in 1933 through presidential election which was represented by Salvador Allende. Discussing the Socialist Party could not apart from Allende's profile. He was one of the founders. Early in 1970, Allende, a physician and a socialist politician with a long record of service, was chosen as a presidential candidate of the Popular Unity, coalition of leftist parties.

On September 4, 1970, the elections took place, and it was known by 3:00 the following morning that Allende had received a plurality of the votes cast. The final tabulation was: Allende (Popular Unity or UP) - 1,070,334 (36.61%), Alessandri (National Party) - 1,031,159 (35.27%), and Tomic (Democratic Party) - 821,801 (28.11%). Because none of the candidates received an absolute majority of votes; according to the 1925 Constitution, the National Congress had to decide between the two candidates who had received the most votes, Allende and Alessandri. Finally, the final result showed Allende from the Popular Unity (UP) gained 81.38% and Alessandri Independent from

National Party gained 18.62%<sup>2</sup>. On October 24<sup>th</sup> he designated president of Chile.

The Socialist Party, that had achieved its better historic voting, was opposed, to any dialogue with the right-wing opposition. On September 11, 1973, Augusto Pinochet led the military coup against Allende's government.

The coup d'état was devastating for the organization of the Chilean Socialist Party. Within a few weeks of the coup; 4 members of their Central Committee and 7 regional secretaries of the PS had been murdered. Other 12 members of their Central Committee were imprisoned, while the remainder members took refuge in various foreign embassies. Its secretary general, Carlos Altamirano, managed to escape from Chile appearing in Havana on January 1, 1974, during the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

Since Pinochet became president of Chile since September 11, 1973, Chile had been governed under a dictator regime for seventeen years. Nevertheless Augusto Pinochet Ugarte's defeat in the 1988 plebiscite<sup>3</sup> open way to re-democracy in Chile – since it recognized in 1932- and then Pinochet stepped down on March 11, 1990. After the collapse of authoritarian regime, the next two presidential elections were won by center- wing.

With long term of interval after the collapse, socialist gained its second victory in presidential election, 1999- 2000, with Ricardo Lagos

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<sup>2</sup> Chilean presidential election, 1970 in [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com)

<sup>3</sup> According to Encarta Dictionary 2005, means vote of all citizens: a vote by a whole electorate to decide a question of importance

Escobar as the candidate. As what happened in Allende's presidential election process, Lagos' also attended in two rounds process because none of the candidates achieved an absolute majority in first round. The runoff put him as winner defeating Joaquín Lavín with 51.31%<sup>4</sup>.

After the victory gained by Lagos, the fortune re-come to Socialist, in election 2005- 2006, it gained its victory again through its female candidate, Michelle Bachelet. The election took place in Chile on Sunday, December 11, 2005. This election was also held in two rounds because none of the four candidates received an absolute majority, thus a runoff election among the top two candidates (Michelle Bachelet from the Coalition of Parties for Democracy and Sebastián Piñera from National Renewal) which was held on Sunday, January 15, 2006. The result was put Bachelet as the elected president with 53.49%<sup>5</sup>.

Those fluctuant patterns of Socialist candidates victory become interesting topic to be discussed. It becomes more interesting to know that Michelle Bachelet is a single mother considering that the applied system in Chile is conservative and patriarchic, where in general women position is marginalized, and even divorce between wife and husband just allowed in 2004.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://lanic.utexas.edu/info/newsroom/elections/chile/121299.html>

<sup>5</sup> See Chilean presidential election, 2005 in [www.NationMaster.com](http://www.NationMaster.com)

## **B. Purpose of the Research**

The study will be conducted to do the following:

1. To explain the factors influencing the victory of Michelle Bachellet in Chilean Presidential Election in 2006.
2. To complete the final essay for a requirement to obtain a bachelor degree (S1) on the International Relations study, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta

## **C. Research Questions**

By giving illustration above, the main problem of analysis is “what factors are influencing the victory of Michelle Bachelet as the socialist candidate in the Chilean Presidential Election 2006?”

## **D. Theoretical Framework**

Mochtar Mas'oeed in his book; *“Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi”* defines theory as a guideline and direction which guide a research to be more empirical by showing facts and relations happened so that a problem can be answered. Theory is a form of pronouncement that answer the question of ‘why’, meaning that theorizing is an effort to give sense to the happened phenomena. Theory develops several concepts to become a related explanation. To make an explanation to the problem above, the writer uses the theories as follow:

### a. Socialism Concept

Socialism may refer to several things relating to ideology, economic system, and state. The term of socialism was firstly used in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The use of socialism in several contexts is different among groups, but most of them agree that the term was emerged from the excitement of industrial labor and farming labor groups in 19<sup>th</sup> century until early 20<sup>th</sup> century which is based on solidarity and struggle egalitarian society whose economic system serves major people rather than several elites<sup>6</sup>. In other word, socialism is based on state's protection toward the rights of poor, weak, and pressured society.

Basically, the development of socialism is an outcome of long and hard ways to revise imperialist capitalism. The wind of socialism has been spreading in most of countries in Latin America except Colombia, El Savador, and Peru, having euphoria with socialism. By neosocialism jargon (new socialism), Latin America fights global neocapitalism or neoliberalism<sup>7</sup>.

Socialism thought has been known since Messenger Ibrahim and thought by Plato<sup>8</sup>, which is a tough to love each others, justice and civilized,

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<sup>6</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism>.

<sup>7</sup> See <http://forum.detik.com/showthread.php?t=64204>

<sup>8</sup> Riff, Michael A., *Kamus Ideologi Politik*, Pustaka Pelajar (Anggota IKAPI), 1995, Page 273-298.

peaceful and prosperous, and protection toward weak. According to Leon P. Baradat, socialism has three basic characteristics, they are:<sup>9</sup>

1. Ownership of production

It is considered as one of the mechanical feature and is not necessarily related to each other. The concept of public ownership and control of major means of production is a fundamental principle of socialism. The traditional way to socialize the economy is by nationalization. It occurs when the government expropriates- take over the ownership of- an industry.

2. Establishment of the welfare state

As well as ownership of production, establishment of the welfare state is a mechanical feature. However, production is not the central economic focus of socialist thinking. Much more important to the socialist than the production is the distribution of goods and services produced in the society.

3. The socialist intent

The socialist intent is the most fundamental aspect of socialism and must exist together with one or both of mechanical features; otherwise, socialism cannot be said to exist. However, socialism is not always completely egalitarian. It tends to narrow the gap

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<sup>9</sup> Baradat, Leon E., *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact*, 6<sup>th</sup> Ed, Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1997, Pg 191-216

between the have and the have-nots. Yet, only the most fanatic socialist wants to eliminate all differences in material status. This thing makes it different from capitalism that believes private property is the reward for individual effort and economic achievement. Consequently, wealthy people are treated with respect, implying that somehow they have accomplished something particularly virtuous.

Historically, socialism tough was formed by Friederich Hegel, Noel Babeuf<sup>10</sup>, Karl Marx, Karl Kautsky, Engels, which is later known as Marxism<sup>11</sup> as causal factor of French and England revolution. Karl Marx is a *scientific socialism* who sew labors (proletar) under pressured, underdeveloped, and not-prosperous in their life.

After decades Marx's socialism was applied by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Ze Dong<sup>12</sup> as communism ideology. To run that ideology, authority should be grabbed by recruitment of nature leader who is based and respects to society without revolution or rebellion (democratic socialism). After becoming a leader, he has a role as a regulator of an economic growth both micro and macro. This fundamental thing is ignored by capitalism.

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<sup>10</sup> Baradat, Leon E, *loc.it.*

<sup>11</sup> Riff, Michael A., *Kamus Ideologi Politik*, Pustaka Pelajar (Anggota IKAPI), 1995, Page 273-298.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, Page 136-166.

The leader who is born from society is not worked without any regulation tied. He should be guided by *sociudad civil*<sup>13</sup>, citizen, and civil society. Although *sociudad civil* has no role as direct regulator, he has strategic role to influence the government in public decision making, especially in economy and politics. The empowerment of *sociudad civil* is the main package of neosocialism in Latin America. Citizen give guide to guarantee the government stability informally through broader support from mass and formally through representatives in parliament.

Latin America is an example of socialism spreading in the world, including Chile. Three fourth of its regions are dominated by socialism which is signified by their leaders who derives from various socialist figures (see appendix 3).

The victories of the socialists candidates indicates most of Latin America society support and rely on socialism. As description, President Lula da Silva in Brazil gained support not only from Labor party and Communist party but also from hundreds social organizations including Church- based community<sup>14</sup>. President Hugo Chavez in Venezuela gained support and kept mass hegemony from petrodollar politics which is citizen interest- oriented<sup>15</sup>. President Evo Morales in Bolivia gained support from farmers, origins, and moreover was supported by politic of nationalization

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<sup>13</sup> <http://forum.detik.com/showthread.php?t=64204>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* .

<sup>15</sup> Quirk, Robert W., *Poros Setan*, Penebrit Prisma Sophie, 2007, Page 161-207.

of all natural gas and oil which were ruled by multinational corporations<sup>16</sup>. President Rafael Correa in Ecuador relied on socialist movements of origins there. In Uruguay, President Tavaré Vazquez gained support from socialist communities anti-imperial of U.S superpower. President Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua again came to power because of traumatic effect of capitalist-economic model that made that state becoming poorer in last 18 years. In Argentina, President Cristina Fernández who gained her victory as successor of her husband indicates her opposite toward economic growth recipe by IMF and World Bank. President Fidel Castro with his single party system is an extreme action to apposite any thing relating to U.S by name of perforation, imperialism, and *yangqui*<sup>17</sup>.

In context of Chile, socialism has been developing since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially post World War II. The development of socialism in Chile cannot be separated from the Socialist Party which was built in 1993. One of the founders is Salvador Allende who became the President of Chile in 1970-1973. After Pinochet's coup in 1973, socialist party was hampered by the new government and broke becoming several groups and at the end it united again in 1990 along with the return of civil government (President Patricio Aylwin Azócar, 1990-1994).

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Page 109-159.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Page 13-80.

The socialism influence and support from other countries in Latin America give effect to its development there. Chile has been governed by three socialist presidents; Salvador Allende (1970- 1973), Ricardo Lagos (2000- 2006) and Michelle Bachelet (2006- now). The two latest socialist presidents of Chile gained support from center-left parties under Concertación coalition.

Socialism approach is based on state protection toward rights of poor, weak, and under-pressured society. In Pinochet's government (1973- 1990), the U.S imperialism through its neoliberalism which is supported by Pinochet's dictatorship cannot raise Chile's status and nobility from poverty. In that time, Pinochet who was backed by U.S violated and exploited its natural resources and citizen. He always campaigned that his government was anti-communism and anti-socialism. The dictatorship done by Pinochet causes Chilean society's climax which leads to empathy and sympathy to socialism<sup>18</sup>. In Chilean latest presidential election, the candidate who represented the most socialist is Michelle Bachelet.

#### **b. Charismatic Authority Theory**

In charismatic authority, Soekanto describes it as

....an authority based on charismatic. Charismatic is a special ability (such as divine revelation or fortune) of someone. The special ability is an award from the God. People surrounding admit that kind of ability in term of belief or adoration because they consider the source of the ability is a

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<sup>18</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Party\\_of\\_Chile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Party_of_Chile)

superior that have specialty rather than others. That source of specialty has proven in society in term of benefit. The charismatic authority is usually descended to messengers, prophets, and military warriors who force their ideas and values to entire groups<sup>19</sup>.

Charismatic authority is not regulated by any norms, either traditional or rational. It tends being irrational. Sometimes charismatic may be gone along with society's change in term of thought or understanding. Changes that are not followed by some who have the charismatic make him left by progress and development within the society<sup>20</sup>.

The charismatic authority theory also can be described as a government changing cycle caused by the stepped down of a regime which is changed by another new regime, and so forth because referring to Weber, there is no eternal leadership, but it will change from generation to generation as well as the development of the world.

In leadership, a regime may begin from sympathy through his destiny which is weakened or under pressure from other regimes. The pressure condition and assistance of precise momentum that happen in society in a country will become strong supporting factor in building new regime and stepping down old regime.

Someone's pressure condition from great and absolute power will create positive response and sympathy from public. The sympathy gained

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<sup>19</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, RajaGrafindo Persada, Jakarta, 1990, Page 311-312.

<sup>20</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Loc. cit*

from the grass roots will create mechanism of strong support for someone who is under pressure to appear representing public in order to hold aspiration from society toward the focus of absolute power.

Basically, the charismatic theory is not only influenced by an indicator of the pressure element, it is also influenced by other elements, such as<sup>21</sup>:

1. *Decline factor*, which classifies the ruler's charismatic is gained from descendant factor, for examples are someone who is descendent of nobility, king, or president. In instance, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner who becomes the *first lady* in Argentina. The popularity and the success of Néstor Kirchner, Cristina's husband, is one of prominent factors of her victory. Relating to this factor, Bachelet does not belong to.
2. *Acquitted factor*, which also contributes building someone's charismatic in which a case puts someone as patriot or hero in problem faced by society. It comes from the ruler's own personal capacity. In this case, Bachelet is known as someone who has undoubted personal capacities. Those are proved from her success in organization and politics.

The charismatic authority will hold out as long as the advantage and function can be showed to society. The charisma will be greater along with the personal's ability to prove the function to society in order to persuade

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<sup>21</sup> is cited from the undergraduate thesis of Dian Lesmana Dewi (NIM: 20040510134), *Kemenangan Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner Sebagai Presiden Perempuan Pertama di Argentina Pada Pemilu 2007*, International Relations Department, Social and Political Sciences Faculty, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, Page 27- 28.

followers or supporters. If the person who has charisma deviated from what he should be, his charismatic authority will lessen, and at the end society's trust also lessen. In other words, if the mental of the supporters or followers is vulnerable, charismatic authority will lessen<sup>22</sup>.

In this case, Michelle Bachelet is a public figure who gains political advantage and sympathy from Chilean society. The advantage is gained from her historical life who had ever violated by being jailed by authoritarian regime, Pinochet, and alienated to Australia after her father died. The violence experienced by Bachelet became a factor of Chilean voting her because she was violated<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, it is supported by the fact that Michelle Bachelet is a symbol of intelligent and smart women emancipation and a success of women in politic in Chile. It was shown by her political careers in which in Richardo Lagos' government she was the first women Minister of Health and Minister of Defense.

When Bachelet became the Minister of Health, she visited almost all over the country, built clinics for poor society, and gave free health services for the poor. The policies done by Michelle at the time indirectly influences to her popularity among Chilean society. In addition, when she was as the Minister of Defense, she regularly visited military barracks, increased soldiers' destiny, and recovered military installation. It also makes soldiers

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* Page 312

<sup>23</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michelle\\_Bachelet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michelle_Bachelet)

give their sympathy to Bachelet. This factor is one influences her victory in Chilean election 2006<sup>24</sup>.

#### **E. Hypothesis**

The victory of Michelle Bachellet Bachelet in Chilean Presidential Election in 2006 is influenced by

- a. There are support and influence toward socialism in both domestic and regional level in which the socialism has been spreading in both of them.
- b. Michelle Bachelet's charismatic authority in term of acquitted factor which is based on personal capacities owned by Bachelet.

#### **F. Methods of Research**

The writer uses a qualitative method of research, a common and simply one. Thus, to take account of the method, all of the matter will collect from secondary sources such as library research, internet media, journals, newspaper, and some periodicals. The general purpose of the research is explanation.

#### **G. Range of the Research**

It is important to limit the time in which the research is held. It helps preventing the subject from being expanded. The range of this research is focused from 1970 when the first elected socialist president, Allende won the presidential election until 2006 when the third elected socialist president, Michelle Bachellet won the election.

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<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

## **H. Systems of Writing**

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Each chapter is elaborated into sub chapters which are related to each other. At the end, it will be a systematic thesis. The System of writing is:

1. Chapter I. It includes problem background, purpose of research, research questions, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research and data analysis, range of research, and system of writings.
2. Chapter II. This chapter will describe the struggles and triumphs of socialism in Chile. It begins from socialism triumph in Salvador Allende's period and the following triumph in Ricardo Lagos Escobar's period.
3. Chapter III. This chapter will explain about the Chilean presidential election in 2006 and victory gained by Michelle Bachelet in that election. This chapter will also describe how the general election is held, who the participants are, what the result is, and other related matters.
4. Chapter IV. This chapter will explain the factors influencing the victory of Michelle Bachelet in the presidential election in 2006. Indeed, it will focus answering the research question.
5. Chapter V. This chapter will be the last chapter that contains about the conclusion from the previous chapters.