



Democracy as a Starting Point

The Civic Journey in Latin America

*A Social Studies Curriculum
for Secondary Students*

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developed by
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Goal and Objectives



Goal

This unit will deepen student understanding of the struggle for democracy and human rights in Latin America.

Objectives

After completing this unit, students will be able to:

- Explain the current status of democracy in the countries throughout Latin America.
- Describe the conditions that support and threaten democracy in Latin American countries.
- Compare citizen attitudes toward democracy in the countries throughout Latin America to those in the United States, recognizing the historical roots of the differences.
- Assess the role of civil society in promoting democratic progress in Latin American countries.
- Evaluate the effectiveness of democracy in improving the quality of life of citizens in Latin America.

Introduction



Latin America is a vast region of the world, populated by diverse peoples with equally diverse histories, traditions and political tendencies. It is also a region about which many American students know very little, despite the strong social, economic and political ties between the United States and the countries of Latin America. This unit attempts to help students learn about the countries of the region, focusing specifically on the political and civic lives of Latin American citizens as they undergo what many have termed a democratic revolution.

In the course of this unit, students will be asked to:

- Examine the current status of democracy in Latin America—**Lesson 1**
- Assess the conditions that support and threaten democracy in Latin America—**Lesson 2**
- Examine citizen views of democracy in Latin America and the forces that shape those views—**Lesson 3**
- Investigate the state of civil society in Latin American countries, through the use of case studies of specific civic movements—**Lesson 4**
- Revisit the purposes of government and consider whether democracy provides an effective means to reach those ends in Latin America—**Lesson 5**

These lessons, which are highly interactive and student-centered, encourage students to employ higher-level thinking skills. Among the teaching strategies included are brainstorming, group work, primary document analysis, case study analysis, media research and class presentations.

The lessons are designed to be flexible so the teacher can use them in the way that is most appropriate to address the needs, ability levels and interests of students. Case studies have been provided in several of the lessons. The teacher is encouraged to pick and choose among these, and to supplement the collection provided with additional case studies, in order to address particular student interests or to customize the material to address curricular demands. Because space in most curricula is at a premium, the time allotted to complete this unit can vary. The five lessons could be completed in five class periods or expanded to fill several weeks. The lessons are designed to complement course work in world history, current issues or global studies, depending on the specifications of the local curriculum. (See pages 4-5 for correlation of the lessons to the performance expectations of the standards of the National Council for the Social Studies.)

Each lesson plan contains objectives, procedures, homework, extension activities and student handouts. The extension readings are provided for those who have time to develop the lessons and concepts more fully; the readings are a good way to challenge students who may be prepared to handle more difficult material and complex subjects. Additionally, a glossary, list of internet resources and answer guidelines can be found in the back.

We hope you and your students find these lessons informative and interesting.

Correlation of Unit Objectives to Performance Expectations of the National Council for the Social Studies

		Lessons				
		1	2	3	4	5
STRAND I: CULTURE						
a. Analyze and explain the ways groups, societies, and cultures address human needs and concerns.			•	•	•	•
b. Predict how data and experiences may be interpreted by people from diverse cultural perspectives and frames of reference.		•		•		
c. Apply an understanding of culture as an integrated whole that explains the functions and interactions of language, literature, the arts, traditions, beliefs and values, and behavior patterns.			•	•	•	
d. Compare and analyze societal patterns for preserving and transmitting culture while adapting to environmental or social change.				•	•	
e. Demonstrate the value of cultural diversity, as well as cohesion, within and across groups.				•	•	
g. Construct reasoned judgments about specific cultural responses to persistent human issues.				•	•	•
h. Explain and apply ideas, theories, and modes of inquiry drawn from anthropology and sociology in the examination of persistent issues and social problems.				•	•	•
STRAND II: TIME, CONTINUITY, AND CHANGE						
b. Apply key concepts such as time, chronology, causality, change, conflict, and complexity to explain, analyze, and show connections among patterns of historical change and continuity.		•		•		
c. Identify and describe significant historical periods and patterns of change within and across cultures, such as the development of ancient cultures and civilizations, the rise of nation-states, and social, economic, and political revolutions.		•		•	•	
e. Investigate, interpret, and analyze multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints within and across cultures related to important events, recurring dilemmas, and persistent issues, while employing empathy, skepticism, and critical judgment.				•	•	•
f. Apply ideas, theories, and modes of historical inquiry to analyze historical and contemporary developments, and to inform and evaluate actions concerning public policy issues.				•		•
STRAND III: PEOPLE, PLACES, AND ENVIRONMENTS						
a. Refine mental maps of locales, regions, and the world that demonstrate understanding of relative location, direction, size, and shape.		•				
b. Create, interpret, use, and synthesize information from various representations of the earth, such as maps, globes, and photographs.		•				
k. Propose, compare, and evaluate alternative policies for the use of land and other resources in communities, regions, nations, and the world.						•
STRAND IV: INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDENTITY						
h. Work independently and cooperatively within groups and institutions to accomplish goals.		•	•	•	•	•
STRAND V: INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, AND INSTITUTIONS						
a. Apply concepts such as role, status, and social class in describing the connections and interactions of individuals, groups, and institutions in society.			•	•	•	•

<p>b. Analyze group and institutional influences on people, events, and elements of culture in both historical and contemporary settings.</p> <p>c. Describe the various forms institutions take, and explain how they develop and change over time.</p> <p>d. Identify and analyze examples of tensions between expressions of individuality and efforts used to promote social conformity by groups and institutions.</p> <p>e. Describe and examine belief systems basic to specific traditions and laws in contemporary and historical movements.</p> <p>f. Evaluate the role of institutions in furthering both continuity and change.</p> <p>g. Analyze the extent to which groups and institutions meet individual needs and promote the common good in contemporary and historical settings.</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>
<p>STRAND VI: POWER, AUTHORITY, AND GOVERNANCE</p> <p>a. Examine persistent issues involving the rights, roles, and status of the individual in relation to the general welfare.</p> <p>b. Explain the purpose of government and analyze how its powers are acquired, used, and justified.</p> <p>c. Analyze and explain ideas and mechanisms to meet needs and wants of citizens, regulate territory, manage conflict, establish order and security, and balance competing conceptions of a just society.</p> <p>d. Compare and analyze the ways nations and organizations respond to conflicts between forces of unity and forces of diversity.</p> <p>f. Analyze and evaluate conditions, actions, and motivations that contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among nations.</p> <p>h. Explain and apply ideas, theories, and modes of inquiry drawn from political science to the examination of persistent issues and social problems.</p> <p>i. Evaluate the extent to which governments achieve their stated ideals and policies at home and abroad.</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>
<p>STRAND IX: GLOBAL CONNECTIONS</p> <p>b. Explain conditions and motivations that contribute to conflict, cooperation, and interdependence among groups, societies, and nations.</p> <p>f. Analyze or formulate policy statements demonstrating an understanding of concerns, standards, issues, and conflicts related to universal human rights.</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>
<p>STRAND X: CIVIC IDEALS AND PRACTICES</p> <p>a. Explain the origins and continuing influence of key ideals of the democratic republican form of government, such as individual human dignity, liberty, justice, equality, and the rule of law.</p> <p>b. Identify, analyze, interpret, and evaluate sources and examples of citizens' rights and responsibilities.</p> <p>c. Locate, access, analyze, organize, synthesize, evaluate, and apply information about selected public issues—identifying, describing, and evaluating multiple points of view.</p> <p>d. Practice forms of civic discussion and participation consistent with the ideals of citizens in a democratic republic.</p> <p>e. Analyze and evaluate the influence of various forms of citizen action on public policy.</p> <p>h. Evaluate the degree to which public policies and citizen behaviors reflect or foster the stated ideals of a democratic republican form of government.</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>	<p>•</p>

Snapshot of Democracy in Latin America

Activities

1. Give each student a blank piece of paper. Ask students to work individually to draw a map of Latin America from memory, including as many specific details as they possibly can, including names of countries and their capitals, geographic features, etc.
2. When students have completed their maps, display a large wall map of the region. Ask students to compare their maps to the “real” one. Ask students to note which features they were familiar with and which they didn’t know. Do any patterns emerge? For example, were students unable to include any details at all? Did they know more about one or two countries than all the others? Ask students to consider these patterns. Do students generally feel informed about Latin America? If so, why? If not, why not? Tell them that they will be spending some time learning about Latin America from a very specific point of view—they will be learning about and analyzing the progress of and prospects for democracy in the countries of Latin America.
3. Begin this teaching process with a pre-assessment activity. Ask students: “What do you know about democracy in Latin America?” Record all of their answers on the board. You may need to prompt students with questions such as, “Are there democratic countries in Latin America?” “Are there nondemocratic countries?” “How long has democracy existed in Latin America?”
4. Once all of their ideas have been listed on the board, assign students to groups of three or four. Ask each group to assess the veracity of the statements on the board by studying Handout 1A, “Freedom House Data.” If Internet or library access is available, students can do further research.
5. After students have had time to work in their groups, bring the class back together to assemble a profile of democracy in Latin America. Based on the data they have studied, what general statements can students make about the current status of democracy in the region? How has the situation changed in the past 30 years? How do they think their findings might have differed in 1900? Are the findings for Latin America similar to those in other parts of the world? Which regions have shown the most progress? Which have shown the least?
6. Tell students they will continue to investigate these questions in more depth throughout the course of this unit. Remind them that although some generalizations can be made, the countries of Latin America differ from each other quite markedly and have had significantly different historical experiences. *Suggestion: Keep the wall map of Latin America on display for the remainder of the unit.*

LESSON 1

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Explain the current status of democracy in the countries throughout the region
- Compare the current status to that of earlier time periods
- Assess the extent to which Latin America has been part of a broader global movement toward democracy

Key Terms

Authoritarian
Civil liberties
Civil society

Democratic rule

Human rights

Materials

Blank piece of paper for each student

Wall map of Latin America

Student Handouts 1A – C:

Freedom House Data

The Quality of Politics

Democracy in Latin America

Homework

Distribute Handout 1B, “The Quality of Politics.” Ask students to read the article and answer the questions at the end. Review answers as a class.

Extension

Distribute Handout 1C, “Democracy in Latin America.” Ask students to read the background article and use it as the basis for developing a timeline of democracy in Latin America. *Note: This article was prepared by the Congressional Quarterly Researcher, a publication of the Library of Congress devoted to keeping members of Congress informed on current events. Though longer than many of the handouts in the unit, it provides a concise background of an extensive period of history. If it is not possible to assign this reading to your students, we highly recommend that you review it in preparation for teaching.*



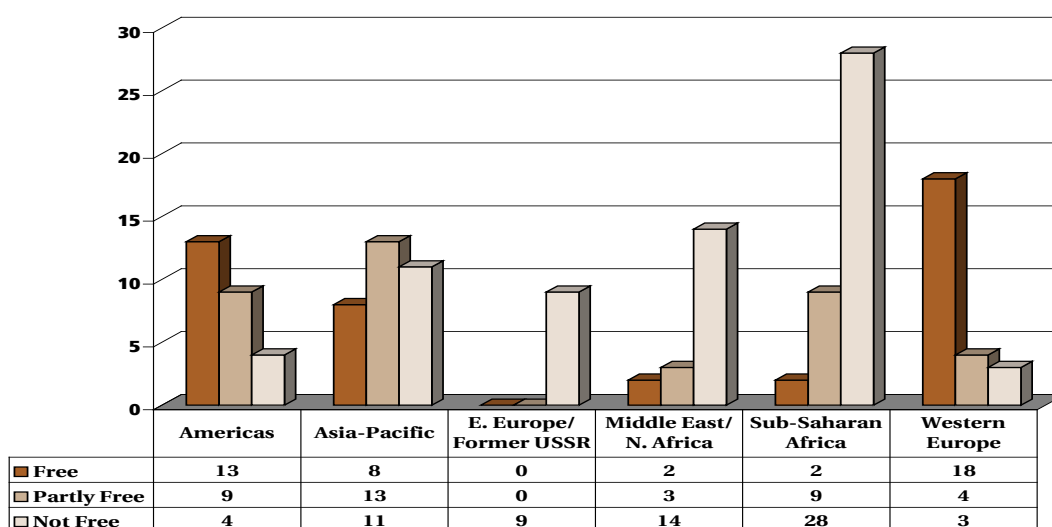
Freedom House Data

In **Free** countries, citizens enjoy a high degree of political and civil freedom.

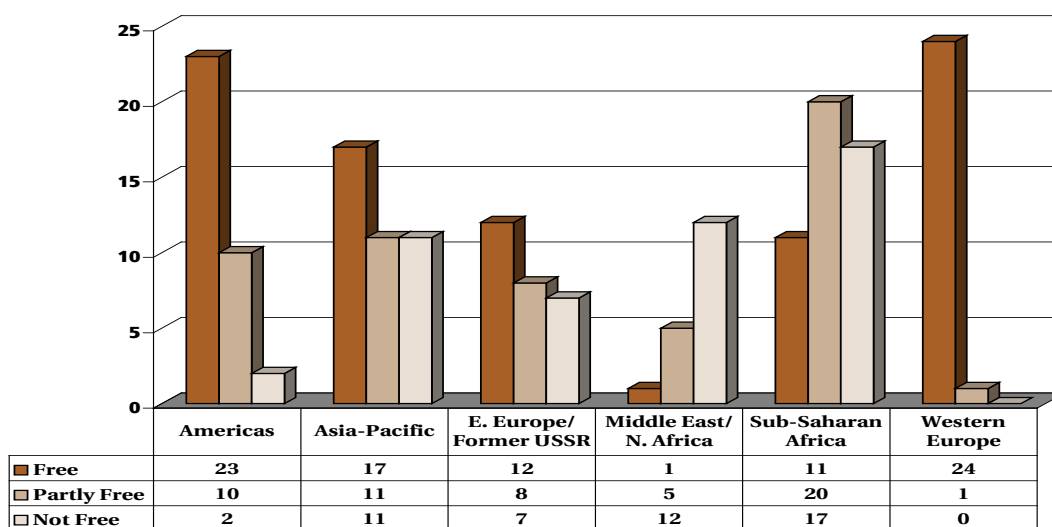
Partly Free countries are characterized by some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties, often in a context of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic strife or civil war.

In **Not Free** countries, the political process is tightly controlled and basic freedoms are denied.

Freedom by Region - 1973



Freedom by Region - 2004



30-Year Global Trend

	Free Countries	Partly Free Countries	Not Free Countries
1973	44	42	65
1983	52	56	58
1993	72	63	55
2003	88	55	49

Source: Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2004: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties, New York, N.Y., Rowman and Littlefield, 2004



The Quality of Politics

By Peter Hakim

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Restoring democratic rule and building respect for human rights and civil liberties have been Latin America's most dramatic and important accomplishments this generation. At one time or another from 1945 to 1973...a military regime or personalist dictator ruled in every Latin American country save Mexico, which had its own style of authoritarianism. Since 1976, a dramatic turnabout has taken place: Nowhere in the region save Haiti have soldiers intervened and taken power. (True, the military did overthrow Ecuador's elected president in 2000, but his vice-president took office the day after the coup.)

The most dramatic period of change was the 1980s. In 1979, armies or dictators ruled in eight of the 10 South American countries, and five of the six Central American nations. By 1990...each of those 16 countries had a democratically elected leader. In July 2000, Mexico finally ended 71 years of one-party rule with the election of opposition candidate Vicente Fox. Today, every Latin American country except Cuba has a constitutionally elected president. Even in Cuba, a visible, if still tiny, opposition is emerging.

The idea that democracy and elections are the only acceptable way to gain and exercise political power is firmly implanted in Latin America. The occasional autocrat...may still get elected and abuse their power. But in most circumstances, their legitimacy and capacity to govern cannot be sustained for long. The authoritarian option has become unthinkable in most of Latin America today.

The main concern, then, is not whether democracy will survive in Latin America. It will. Rather, what is at issue is the quality of democratic governance and politics across Latin America—and, in most of the region, the quality has been mediocre, at best. Several countries face outright political crises. In many others, national and local institutions are unresponsive, civil society remains listless, and corruption is pervasive. Latin America's economic reverses of the past several years have further damaged lackluster politics and distressed institutions in many countries.

Peter Hakim is president of the Inter-American Dialogue, the leading U.S. center for policy analysis and exchange on Western Hemisphere affairs. He writes and speaks widely on hemispheric issues. This excerpt was taken from "Dispirited Politics," Journal of Democracy, April 2003, Volume 14, No. 2, pp. 110-111.



QUESTIONS

1. According to the author, what were the most important recent accomplishments in Latin America?
2. Before democracy, what type of government did most countries in the region have?
3. Overall, is the author optimistic about the future prospects for democracy in Latin America? Why or why not?
4. What threats to democratic progress does the author identify?



Handout 1C

Democracy in Latin America

By Kenneth Jost

Read the following background article and use it as the basis for developing a timeline of democracy in Latin America. Draw or type your timeline on a separate sheet of paper; feel free to add other events you think may be relevant to the topic.

Empire to Independence

For three centuries, Hispanic America—the great colonial empires of Spain and Portugal—stretched from modern-day California to the southernmost tip of the Americas at Cape Horn. The empires collapsed in the early 19th century because of a combination of European power politics and local unrest and rebellion. The newly independent nations of Latin America established governments democratic in form but less so in substance.

Spanish conquistadores destroyed thriving Aztec and Incan civilizations in the 1500s and laid the basis for colonial rule and economic exploitation. Portugal explored and colonized Brazil under the terms of a 1494 papal decree that gave it rights to the lands eastward from the mouth of the Amazon River. Colonial administration improved in the 1700s, but liberalized trade policies heightened social stratification by benefiting upper-class whites and mixed-race mestizos without helping the indigenous Indian populations or Negro slaves in Brazil. By 1800, professional and business classes were ripe for revolt, as were many of the Indians.

The wars of independence that threw off Spanish and Portuguese rule spanned a little over a decade, from 1810 to the early 1820s. Spain, distracted by the Napoleonic wars, was unable to counter the revolutions that spread throughout its empire. South America's two great "liberators"—Simon Bolivar in Venezuela and Jose de San Martin in Argentina—survived repeated reversals eventually to gain decisive military victories in 1821: Bolivar in his native Venezuela, San Martin at Lima, Peru. Meanwhile, Brazil won and maintained its independence from Portugal under a monarchy established in 1822 by Dom Pedro, son of a former regent, with the support of Brazilian liberals and aid from Britain in putting down Portuguese loyalists.

In Mexico, a liberal parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, ignited the war for independence in September 1810, but was executed a year later after government forces recovered from initial rebel victories. A guerrilla war succeeded in winning independence in 1821 only after defections by several royal officers and their troops. One of the colonels proclaimed himself emperor, but anti-monarchists

succeeded in establishing Mexico's first republic three years later. Similar rebellions won independence in the kingdom of Guatemala, which then broke into separate states in the late 1820s.

Bolivar envisioned a United States of South America, but the nation of Gran Colombia that he established broke into separate states—Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador—before his death in 1830. Meanwhile, the colony of Upper Peru had broken away, declared its independence as Bolivia, and given Bolivar dictatorial powers as president. Bolivar was no democrat: he favored a system headed by a strong president chosen for life. Shortly before his death, he wrote: "America is ungovernable."

Independence came to South America with no comparable social or economic revolution, according to historian Edwin Williamson. No new classes came to power, and the oligarchic structures of the colonial period remained unchanged. Politically, a prevalent phenomenon was the rise of the caudillo, the strongman who came to power through patronage or force and exercised power with scant regard for legal technicalities. Political participation was limited to upper classes that themselves had no tradition of political culture.

Despite such handicaps, a few countries—Chile and Costa Rica, for example—established viable democracies. Historians David Bushnell and Neill Macaulay note that liberalism was advancing in the latter decades of the 19th century. Still, many countries had long periods of authoritarian rule—notably, Mexico under the 34-year dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz that began with his election as president in 1876.

The United States had wielded influence over Latin American affairs since President James Monroe proclaimed his doctrine barring European intervention in hemispheric affairs in 1823. The United States reached the Pacific Coast by wresting half of Mexico's territory in a two-year war, 1846-48. At century's end, the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War helped Cuba win independence. The United States also sent gunboats to support Panama's secession from Colombia in 1903 in order to secure agreement for the construction of what



Handout 1C

became the Panama Canal. A year later, President Theodore Roosevelt added his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, asserting a right to intervene as an “international police power” in any cases of “chronic wrongdoing.”

‘Men on Horseback’

Democracy in Latin America continued to compete in the 20th century with the tradition of turning to strongmen—figuratively if not literally, men on horseback—at times of national crisis. Some of the 20th-century caudillos were military leaders bent on preserving the status quo. Others—notably, Juan Peron in Argentina and Fidel Castro in Cuba—challenged the status quo in the name of the dispossessed and disenfranchised masses. The 20th century also saw the formation of mass political parties and revolutionary movements with mixed results for democratic government.

Mexico experienced the hemisphere’s first social revolution of the 20th century. A revolution that spanned two decades (1910 to 1929)—and had to overcome two invasions from the United States—led later to the nationalization of foreign-owned companies and wide-scale land reform for peasants. But democratic procedures—presidential elections every six years, with no right of succession—proved no obstacle to one-party rule by the PRI.

Argentina in the 1890s and Peru in the 1930s also saw the formation of mass-based political parties of the left. In Argentina, the Radical Civic Union gained the presidency in 1916 and led the country on the road to liberal democracy until a military coup in 1930. Thirteen years later, Peron was among a new generation of nationalist military officers that staged its own coup. Peron then went on to win a presidential election in 1946 and to gain a devoted following among the urban and rural poor until he was ousted by a conservative military coup in 1955.

In Peru, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) led by a charismatic intellectual, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, drew sufficient strength from workers and the urban middle class to vie for the presidency in 1931. Haya’s refusal to accept his apparent defeat touched off violence from both sides. Military governments banned APRA for most of the next three decades. And when Haya came close to winning the presidency in 1962, military rulers nullified the election.

With the exception of Mexico and Costa Rica, every Latin American country has experienced at least one military coup in the 20th century. Colombia’s military stepped in to end an undeclared civil war

in 1953. In Paraguay, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner seized power in 1954 after years of civil war and political squabbling—and held power until his ouster in 1989. Guatemala’s military stood by in 1954 while a U.S. invasion ousted the pro-communist leader Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. In Brazil, a military coup ousted the left-leaning President Joao Goulart in 1964, instituting two decades of semiauthoritarian rule.

As of 1970, fewer than one-third of the people in Latin America lived in countries with effectively democratic governments. Along with Costa Rica, Uruguay had the reputation as the most successful of Latin American democracies. But ideological polarization grew during the 1960s and culminated in a military coup in 1973; democratic rule was restored only in 1985.

The United States took an increasingly active part in hemispheric affairs through the mid-20th century. U.S. companies gained dominant positions in many export industries: United Fruit Company converted small states such as Honduras and Nicaragua into “banana republics,” while U.S. companies controlled Mexico’s oil business, Chile’s copper industry and Bolivia’s tin mining operations. The U.S. frequently used a “big stick” to protect those interests—for example, repeatedly occupying Nicaragua between 1912 and 1933 to quell a series of civil wars.

Periodically, the United States turned a friendlier face to Latin America. President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed a “Good Neighbor” policy while President John F. Kennedy proposed an “Alliance For Progress.” But the threat of diplomatic and military intervention persisted—and increased after Castro’s communist revolution in Cuba in 1959. Two years after Kennedy’s death, President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 sent Marines into the Dominican Republic to suppress a rebellion against the political heirs of the former strongman Rafael Trujillo.

‘Dirty Wars’

The 1970s and ‘80s were tumultuous decades for Latin America and the United States. Leftist political movements gained strength at the ballot box and in the jungle in many Latin American countries. They provoked determined resistance from ruling parties, economic elites and the military—often in the form of extralegal authoritarian measures, including detention, torture and executions. The United States’ support for some of these repressive regimes created political divisions at home and reinforced resentment of “Yankee imperialism” among many



Handout 1C

Latin Americans.

Chile suffered through the first of Latin America's "dirty wars" following the narrow-plurality election of socialist Salvador Allende as president in 1970. In his three years in office, Allende faced an opposition-controlled legislature, an unreconciled military and a concerted destabilization campaign by the United States. His Popular Unity coalition nonetheless advanced in March 1973 parliamentary elections. But six months later a military coup brought Gen. Augusto Pinochet to power; Allende died in an aerial bombardment of the presidential palace. "Within a year," historian Williamson writes, "the Chilean left had been broken at the cost of several thousand lives."

Argentina's dirty war followed a brief revival of Peronism. Juan Peron returned from exile to win the presidency in 1973; his second wife, Isabel, won election as vice president and succeeded to the presidency after his death in July 1974. Peron had sought to crush the leftist Montoneros guerrilla movement, which vied with Peronists for control of the trade union movement. After his death, the Argentine military conducted all-out war against the guerrillas and any suspected sympathizers. An estimated 10,000 to 20,000 people were made to "disappear"—taken to secret detention centers, tortured and killed.

Other South American nations witnessed similar tensions. Peru's two elected presidents in the 1980s—the center-leftist Fernando Belaunde and the Aprista Alan Garcia—failed to contain the Shining Path guerrilla movement. In Colombia, successive civilian governments also could not suppress the peasant-backed, communist-linked guerrilla movement FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). In response, right-wing death squads and large landowners unleashed their own campaigns against the guerrillas.

In Central America, leftist movements grew in the 1970s to threaten rightist governments in three countries: Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador. The Sandinista movement in Nicaragua succeeded in 1979 in forcing the resignation of the longtime, U.S.-backed dictator, Anastasio Somoza. As the Sandinistas set about creating a revolutionary socialist state, non-Marxists within the movement split off and allied with former members of Somoza's national guard to form a counterrevolutionary movement—the "contras." Under President Ronald Reagan, the United States trained and financed the contras during an eight-year civil war.

In neighboring El Salvador, a right-wing government held on to power against an insurgent

campaign by the Liberation National Front (FMLN). With both civil wars at deadlocks, Costa Rica's president, Oscar Arias Sanchez, proposed a peace plan in February 1987 calling for cease-fires, an end to outside aid to anti-government forces and democratic elections in Nicaragua. The plan paved the way for elections in Nicaragua in 1990 that saw the Sandinista leader, Daniel Ortega, defeated by newspaper publisher Violeta Chamorro.

In Mexico, the ruling PRI was threatened more by economic problems than by political violence. The government financed social programs with deficit spending in the early 1970s and then wasted the petrodollars of the decade's oil price hikes on poorly planned development projects. The debt crisis of the 1980s forced the government to institute austerity plans, which weakened its traditional support from unions and the poor. By the end of the decade, "the PRI's corporatist machine was beginning to break down," Williamson writes.

Under President Jimmy Carter, the United States in the late 1970s had sought to emphasize democracy and human rights as foreign policy goals. Under Reagan, however, the government was preoccupied with countering leftist political movements rather than democratizing authoritarian governments. The end of the civil war in Nicaragua and the end of the Cold War eased domestic divisions over U.S. relations with Latin America and set the stage for promotion of democracy in the hemisphere to become a universally agreed-upon goal in U.S. politics.

Democratic Decade?

Latin America began a decade-long advance toward electoral democracy by the end of the 1980s. Country after country went through free and fair elections and peaceful changes of power. Yet many observers say electoral democracy failed to achieve civil rights, social justice, or law and order in many of the countries. And, despite the coming change of power in Mexico, recent events in Colombia, Peru and Venezuela cast a cloud over the region's prospects for complete democratization.

The decade opened on encouraging notes. Chile returned to democracy with the election of Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin as president in 1989. Other new South American leaders were viewed as reform-minded: Peronist Carlos Menem in Argentina, Fernando Collor de Mello in Brazil and Luis Lacalle in Uruguay. In Peru, Fujimori's come-from-behind victory in presidential balloting in 1990 offered the hope of transcending the stalemate between the



Handout 1C

two established parties.

By mid-decade, many discordant notes were being heard. Brazil's Collor had been impeached because of a corruption scandal. Menem in Argentina was using presidential decrees to impose an economic liberalization program. Pro-Pinochet forces in Chile were blocking constitutional reforms. In Colombia, President Ernesto Samper survived evidence of links to drug cartel contributions only because his Liberal Party-dominated Congress rejected the charges. In Paraguay, the military used the threat of a coup to preserve the ruling Colorado Party's grip on power. And in Peru, Fujimori on April 5, 1992, staged his "self-coup" after the Peruvian Congress had censured one of his ministers and balked at parts of his legislative program.

President Clinton emphasized promotion of democracy, in Latin America and elsewhere. He brooked political criticism to send U.S. troops into Haiti in September 1994 to restore the country's elected president, Jean Baptiste Aristide. The administration also advocated free markets and free trade for the hemisphere. Clinton fought hard to win approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico and pledged at the Summit of the Americas in December 1994 to include Chile in NAFTA and to create a hemisphere-wide free trade zone by 2005. Domestic opposition shelved the Chile initiative, however, and the broader goal has languished.

The administration's stance, combined with pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), helped bring about a major shift from state-managed enterprises and deficit spending toward privatization and fiscal discipline. But the policies have added to political tensions. Some leaders managed the tensions better than others. In Brazil, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso won re-election in 1998 after promoting privatization and fiscal restraint. By contrast, Venezuela went through a decade-long political crisis after the government adopted a shock strategy of structural adjustment in 1989; public discontent culminated in Chavez's election on a populist platform in 1998.

Elsewhere, opposition parties in Colombia and Argentina capitalized on corruption issues to gain election victories. In Colombia, the lingering effects of the drug-money charges allowed Conservative Party candidate Pastrana to win election as presi-

dent in 1998. In Argentina, voters rejected Menem's Peronist party's candidate in 1999 and elected Fernando de la Rúa, the popular mayor of Buenos Aires running at the head of the left-center Alliance coalition.

In Peru, however, Fujimori retained his popularity. He won a landslide re-election in 1995 and then engineered a Supreme Court ruling in 1998 allowing him to run for a third term in 2000.

In Mexico, meanwhile, the PRI underwent a decade-long process of democratization. President Salinas (1988-94) won praise for economic policies while in office but left the country in disgrace a year later after a forced devaluation of the peso and evidence of widespread corruption in his administration. The new president, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, stabilized the economy, but the PRI's grip on power loosened when it lost control of the lower house of the national Congress in 1997.

To regain public approval, the party adopted an open primary system to choose its presidential candidate in 1999. The balloting set the stage for the three-way presidential race in August 2000 that saw the PRI defeated and Fox poised to take office in Mexico's first-ever electoral change of power.

Conditions that Support and Threaten Democracy

Activities

1. Distribute Handout 2A, “Factors that Influence the Health of Democracy” and work through it as a class by creating two columns on the blackboard. Label one “Supports Democracy” and the other “Threatens Democracy.” Go through the list of factors, asking students to identify the appropriate category for each one and to explain how the factor either supports or threatens democracy. The breakdown should look something like this:

SUPPORT	THREATEN
Access to information	Corruption
Civil society	Drugs
Civilian control of military	Economic instability
Education	Gender inequality
Free and fair elections	Overly partisan politics
Independent media	Patronage
Peaceful transitions	Racial inequality
Respect for human rights	Social stratification
Rule of law	Violence
Separation of powers	
Strong institutions	
Transparency	
Voter participation	

2. In order for students to begin to breathe life into the somewhat abstract concepts listed on the board, divide students into groups and distribute the case studies, Handouts 2B - H. Ask students to read their case studies, then work together to identify which of the factors listed on the board are relevant to each case study. When students are finished working, ask a spokesperson from each group to summarize the case study and identify the factors being addressed. Overall, is democracy being strengthened or threatened in each case study? Based on their investigation, can students identify any new factors that should be added to the lists above? *Note: The case studies have been provided to give a broad overview of developments in the region. Feel free to eliminate some or to supplement with your own to best address the needs and interests of your students. Also, all case studies have been taken from a single article written for the Inter-American Dialogue. The goal of having each piece come from the same author is to present a range of topics in a consistent way and ensure a parallel level of difficulty among the case studies.*

LESSON 2

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Identify conditions that support and threaten democracy
- Assess the extent to which these conditions are present in Latin America today
- Conduct media research

Key Terms

Accountability
Checks and balances
Corruption
Democratic transition
Inequality
Political participation
Rule of law

Materials

String

Index cards

Student Handouts 2A – I:

Factors that Influence the Health of Democracy

Case Studies by Michael Shifter:

Venezuela: Most Extreme Case

Inequality of Wealth

Rampant Crime, Elusive Justice

Ecuador: Risk of Military in Politics

Peru: Opportunity for Reform?

Colombia: Can Uribe Turn the Tide?

Openings and New Voices in Latin

America's Politics

Inter-American Democratic Charter

Homework

Ask students to put the skills they have practiced to work in researching current events. Ask each student to find a newspaper article about a development or event in the region that addresses one or more of the democracy factors they are studying. Ask them to write a brief summary (on an index card) of the situation being described and an explanation of how the news item supports or threatens democracy. If possible, put the index cards on the wall around the map of Latin America and use a piece of string to visually link each card to the relevant country. *Note: Students might consider looking for recent developments in the countries or topics of their case studies.*

Extension

Distribute a copy of Handout 2I, “Inter-American Democratic Charter,” and have students answer the questions at the end. Review their responses as a class.



Handout 2A

The Health of Democracy

After reading about each of the factors below, determine whether the presence of that factor in a society would support or threaten democracy. Indicate your position by circling either S (for strengthen) or T (for threaten) on the left. Be prepared to explain your reasoning to the class.

EFFECT ON DEMOCRACY	FACTOR
S or T	Access to information—the citizens of a society are able to obtain information relevant to their lives, whether through public meetings, libraries, media or technology
S or T	Civil society—there is a strong segment of society working not for government or business, but rather to promote the interests of average citizens
S or T	Civilian control of the military—military officers take orders from civilian political leaders who make the key decisions about how, when, and where the military will act
S or T	Corruption—people in positions of power, both within and outside government, regularly exploit citizens
S or T	Drugs—there is a high instance of the sale and use of drugs in a society
S or T	Economic instability—the value of a nation's currency fluctuates greatly and people have little confidence in financial institutions such as banks
S or T	Education—the government invests in quality public education and a high percentage of citizens are literate
S or T	Free and fair elections—elections are held on a regular basis and conducted in a way that includes all legitimate candidates and all eligible voters
S or T	Gender inequality—the government and society afford different rights and privileges to citizens based upon their gender
S or T	Independent media—the media play a strong role in society and operate free of government censorship
S or T	Overly partisan politics—public debates focus more on political parties than substantive issues and parties exert too much control over government
S or T	Patronage—leaders regularly give important positions to their friends or family members, regardless of their professional qualifications
S or T	Peaceful transitions—changes in government leadership are decided peacefully and power is handed from one administration to the next without bloodshed
S or T	Racial inequality—the government and society afford different rights and privileges to certain groups based on their race or ethnic origin
S or T	Respect for human rights—society acknowledges that individuals are born with rights and allows those rights to be freely exercised
S or T	Rule of law—the laws of a society apply to all citizens equally, including leaders, and those laws are used as the primary means for settling disputes
S or T	Separation of powers—the constitution divides power between the judicial, legislative and executive branches, preventing any one branch from becoming too powerful
S or T	Social stratification—there are huge differences between the amounts of wealth, power and influence enjoyed by various groups in society
S or T	Strong institutions—key societal institutions -- such as banks, schools, political parties and government agencies -- are stable and viewed as resources by citizens
S or T	Transparency—the policies, budgets and decisions of government at all levels are made public and subject to citizen review
S or T	Violence—society experiences a chronically high rate of violent crime
S or T	Voter participation—citizens actively take part in elections and voter turnout rates are high



Handout 2B

CASE STUDY #1

Venezuela: Most Extreme Case

By *Michael Shifter*

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Few countries more dramatically illustrate Latin America's sharp decline than Venezuela under the government of President Hugo Chavez. Chavez, freely elected in 1998 and again in 2000, is the product and beneficiary of a traditional political system that was regarded by most Venezuelans as corrupt and unresponsive.

To date, the Chavez phenomenon has brought little more than heightened polarization, mistrust and bitterness to Venezuelan society. Chavez's authoritarian tendencies and relentless assaults on key sectors of civil society—including the media and the church—have further corroded institutions, undermined the government's legitimacy and raised questions about its capacity to sustain itself. Some of the critical elements that in fact gave rise to the Chavez phenomenon can be found in other Latin American societies as well, and should help warn observers about the real possibility of further democratic regression in the region. Again, the underlying problem is that democratic, constitutional governments—political parties particularly—have failed to deliver results and satisfy mounting citizen demands.

Michael Shifter is vice president for policy at the Inter-American Dialogue and adjunct professor of Latin American Studies at Georgetown University. This and all case studies for this lesson were excerpted from his article entitled "The Future of Democracy in Latin America." Reprinted with permission from the Inter-American Dialogue. A full text of the article can be found at www.thedialogue.org/publications/oped/july%2003/shifter_0703.asp.

QUESTIONS

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthen democracy?
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Handout 2C

CASE STUDY #2

Inequality of Wealth

By Michael Shifter

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

The principal problem—an old, familiar issue that is in some respects Latin America’s Achilles’ heel—is that of poverty and inequality. The data offer little to cheer about. In 2002, Latin America, which according to the World Bank stands out as the most inequitable region in the world, experienced its worst economic performance in two decades. Given a drop in the overall growth rate of more than 1 percent, it should not be surprising that poverty and, particularly, inequality, worsened in most countries as well. Venezuela and Argentina led the way with stunning negative growth rates of 10 and 15 percent, respectively, which helped account for the dramatic political meltdowns in both countries. Unemployment and underemployment rates have grown to reach alarming levels in country after country. Predictably, as fundamental economic and social conditions become more acute, the levels of public disenchantment with constitutional governments increase correspondingly.

In the context of globalization, the problem is substantially compounded. With greater access to information and a growing awareness of the widening gulf that separates the rich from the poor throughout the region, the most excluded and disadvantaged sectors have higher expectations and have exerted increased pressure for what they regard as their rightful share of the national wealth. In addition, the middle class in such countries as Argentina has shrunk considerably. Many formerly in the middle class have joined the ranks of the marginal, and have put pressure on governments to restore their previous economic status.

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QUESTIONS

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthen democracy?
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Handout 2D

CASE STUDY #3

Rampant Crime, Elusive Justice

By Michael Shifter

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Added to the long-standing problems of poverty and insecurity is the more recent and increasingly serious issue of common crime throughout much of Latin America. Although politically motivated violence has declined and can now be found only in Colombia and, to a lesser extent, Peru and Mexico, street crime, chiefly in urban centers and much of it fueled by drugs, has increased dramatically over the last decade, according to available data from the Inter-American Development Bank. Spreading criminal activity and insecurity in Argentina—since the return of democracy in the early 1980s, the model country for safety and security in Latin America—has been especially noteworthy and disturbing. The country's violent crime rate has more than doubled in the last six years. Public opinion surveys throughout Latin America consistently point to growing dissatisfaction with governments that have been unable to deal effectively with the problem. Indeed, along with unemployment, crime ranks as a top concern of most of the region's citizens. Rising levels of personal insecurity can, moreover, be directly related to progressively declining levels of interpersonal trust, as revealed in recent polling. Such problems hardly provide fertile ground for the development of democratic political institutions.

High crime levels help underline a major deficiency in many Latin American democracies: weak administration of justice systems. Despite a broad commitment to the rule of law and public consensus that meaningful judicial reform is essential for democratic progress and economic development, there is little evidence of any major advance in this critical area.

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QUESTIONS

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthen democracy?
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Handout 2E

CASE STUDY #4

Ecuador: Risk of Military in Politics

By Michael Shifter

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Lucio Gutierrez, Ecuador's democratically elected president, is a former military officer who, in January 2000, helped lead a coup against a constitutional government. (In this case, Gutierrez succeeded, although the coup was short-lived.) Gutierrez, too, is an outsider who expresses the thoroughgoing rejection of Ecuador's traditional political order that has, for many years, failed to deliver any tangible results to most of the country's citizens. Unemployment has gone up, and crime has worsened. The country's justice system is widely regarded as corrupt and lacking in accountability...

Indeed, both the Venezuela and Ecuador cases raise the crucial question, central to the wider vision and goal of democratic consolidation in Latin America, of the military's role in politics. Given the vacuum left by political parties and other institutions that are breaking apart and the urgent problems that require immediate attention, there is a temptation to assign to the military those roles that previously, and properly, were assumed by civilians. In the case of Venezuela there are troubling signs of such a shift, or at least of [the president's] intention to have the military supplant political institutions. To what extent this will take place in Ecuador remains to be seen. Thus, while it is possible to celebrate the declining political influence of the military in some Central American countries, and others (like Argentina and Brazil) in South America, in parts of the Andean region the trend is considerably less positive.

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QUESTIONS

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2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



CASE STUDY #5

Peru: Opportunity for Reform?

By Michael Shifter

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Peru...illustrates many of the complex issues related to the challenge of building enduring democracies in Latin America.... Peru's traditional political parties, unable to address the country's deep problems of political violence and economic disorder, practically imploded in the late 1980s. The result was the stunning election of the political novice Alberto Fujimori, who governed Peru for a decade. Particularly following his April 1992 "self-coup," Fujimori installed an authoritarian regime in Peru, relying on the country's military and intelligence services as key pillars of support. He also controlled and manipulated the media, the judiciary and electoral bodies. Fujimori, the ultimate expression in Latin America of "anti-politics," presided over unprecedented levels of corruption, reportedly linked to his national security chief, Vladimiro Montesinos.

With the collapse of the Fujimori regime in November 2000, Peru embarked on the difficult and complicated course of democratic transition. After a highly successful and productive caretaker government, Peruvians turned to another political novice and outsider, Alejandro Toledo, to lead their country. Although the Toledo government has made considerable progress in pursuing the corruption that dominated the Fujimori period, and in reviving democratic institutions, some of the fundamental problems that brought Fujimori to power in 1990 remain unresolved. Peru's political parties—including Toledo's, Peru Possible—are weak and lack a solid organization and coherent programmatic agenda. Chief concerns for many Peruvians are acute social conditions, especially the lack of jobs. A relatively sound macroeconomic picture is not enough. Protests will continue, even increase, unless critical social needs are addressed. Toledo's precipitous drop in public support in his first year in office, from nearly 70 to less than 20 percent, reflected unfulfilled promises and lack of political leadership.

Moreover, although Peru has a free press and greater checks and balances than existed under the Fujimori regime, the country's administration of justice continues to have serious problems. Poverty is widespread and social divisions are deep, which tends to leave the vast bulk of citizens without access to a viable justice system. The end of authoritarian rule and the turn to constitutional, democratic government may be a precondition for building an effective judicial system, but formidable obstacles remain.

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QUESTIONS

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthen democracy?
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Handout 2G

CASE STUDY #6

Colombia: Can Uribe Turn the Tide?

By Michael Shifter

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

As the only Latin American country in the midst of a civil conflict, Colombia has the most critical human rights situation in the hemisphere. The data are alarming: more than half of the world's kidnappings, roughly 3,000, take place in Colombia. More than 3,500 Colombians are killed each year as a result of the civil conflict. The country has the third-largest internally displaced population in the world—some figures are as high as two million—after Sudan and Angola. A historically weak government, without substantial control of large swaths of territory, has struggled to contend with heavily armed and well-financed actors.... The spreading drug problem, which dates from the 1980s, has contributed substantially to the pervasive corruption of Colombia's institutions, both public and private. This has led to a sharp drop in public confidence in the country's political parties and leaders, thereby undermining democratic prospects.

At the same time, however, Colombia is a paradox. Despite being a human rights and humanitarian disaster, Colombia blends both negative, troubling features with some noteworthy democratic assets. The country can, after all, point to an impressive democratic tradition, as shown by having had just four years of military rule in the twentieth century. In addition, elections in Colombia are prized, and regularly practiced, despite remarkable levels of violence and great risks. Moreover, the country has political experience in responding to severe crises, forging agreements among contending forces, and reaching a consensus on a shared agenda for the future.

There are some signs that the government led by Alvaro Uribe, which began in August 2002, is undertaking a series of measures to help restore legitimate authority and bring a greater degree of democratic governance to Colombia. Uribe appears committed to serious reforms of the country's governmental institutions. His focus on "democratic security" aims to improve the capacity of the security forces to better protect Colombian citizens, and to do so in accordance with human rights norms and the rule of law. To be sure, some of the Uribe government's measures are highly risky and controversial, and raise important concerns about the possible erosion of civil liberties in Colombia. However, in the absence of government action and more forceful measures, the security situation was gradually deteriorating, making democratic safeguards very problematic. All available options carry substantial risks. If President Uribe, who enjoys widespread support in Colombia, can turn around the country's conditions of lawlessness—and do so without sacrificing human rights—he might be able to lay the foundation for a more genuine, high-quality democracy.

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QUESTIONS

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2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Handout 2H

CASE STUDY #7

Openings and New Voices in Latin America's Politics

By *Michael Shifter*

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

Indeed, the situation in a number of Latin American countries suggests evidence of progress in extending democracy and the potential for accomplishing considerably more. A number of Latin American countries have adopted new constitutions that seek to include representation of ethnic minorities and women. (Colombia's 1991 constitution, for example, designated one Chamber and two Senate seats for representatives of indigenous communities and two Chamber seats for Afro-Colombians.) Indeed, the trend of Latin American constitutions and legislation has recently been positive in extending rights to, and providing for greater political participation on the part of, previously excluded groups. In Guatemala and Bolivia, the indigenous groups have notably raised their profile and visibility and expanded their participation in the political process.... There are, moreover, encouraging indications that African-Latin Americans, who make up a sizable share—nearly 30 percent—of the region's population and who generally lack a voice in their country's democratic politics, are beginning to organize more actively to claim their rights. In addition, through quota laws, a variety of other legislative measures, and more sustained political work, women are also occupying more important political positions in many countries, which adds substantially to the quality of representation and to democracy generally.

To be sure, progress in improving political representation and opening up the political system has been slow, uneven, and often enormously difficult. Considerable resistance by traditional political sectors remains, and in some places there has been a backlash against the gains that have been made. Fragile political institutions, moreover, are under great stress and typically struggle to handle and respond to the increased demands and ever-higher expectations of newly mobilized groups. However, overall, the trend in this fundamental respect appears unmistakable, and irreversible.

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QUESTIONS

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2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?



Inter-American Democratic Charter

Adopted by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States at its special session held in Lima, Peru, on Sept. 11, 2001

Read the document below and answer the questions that follow.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

CONSIDERING that the Charter of the Organization of American States recognizes that representative democracy is indispensable for the stability, peace, and development of the region, and that one of the purposes of the OAS is to promote and consolidate representative democracy, with due respect for the principle of nonintervention;

RECOGNIZING the contributions of the OAS and other regional and sub-regional mechanisms to the promotion and consolidation of democracy in the Americas...

RESOLVES to adopt the following:

INTER-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CHARTER

I. Democracy and the Inter-American System

Article 1. The peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it.

Democracy is essential for the social, political, and economic development of the peoples of the Americas.

Article 2. The effective exercise of representative democracy is the basis for the rule of law and of the constitutional regimes of the member states of the Organization of American States. Representative democracy is strengthened and deepened by permanent, ethical, and responsible participation of the citizenry within a legal framework conforming to the respective constitutional order.

Article 3. Essential elements of representative democracy include, inter alia, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, access to and the exercise of power in accordance with the rule of law, the holding of periodic, free, and fair elections based on secret balloting and universal suffrage as an expression of the sovereignty of the people, the pluralistic system of political parties and organizations, and the separation of powers and independence of the branches of government.

Article 4. Transparency in government activities, probity, responsible public administration on the part of governments, respect for social rights, and freedom of expression and of the press are essential components of the exercise of democracy.

The constitutional subordination of all state institutions to the legally constituted civilian authority and respect for the rule of law on the part of all institutions and sectors of society are equally essential to democracy.

Article 5. The strengthening of political parties and other political organizations is a priority for democracy. Special attention will be paid to the problems associated with the high cost of election campaigns and the establishment of a balanced and transparent system for their financing.

Article 6. It is the right and responsibility of all citizens to participate in decisions relating to their own development. This is also a necessary condition for the full and effective exercise of democracy. Promoting and fostering diverse forms of participation strengthens democracy.



Handout 2I

II. Democracy and Human Rights

Article 7. Democracy is indispensable for the effective exercise of fundamental freedoms and human rights in their universality, indivisibility and interdependence, embodied in the respective constitutions of states and in inter-American and international human rights instruments.

Article 8. Any person or group of persons who consider that their human rights have been violated may present claims or petitions to the inter-American system for the promotion and protection of human rights in accordance with its established procedures.

Member states reaffirm their intention to strengthen the inter-American system for the protection of human rights for the consolidation of democracy in the Hemisphere.

Article 9. The elimination of all forms of discrimination, especially gender, ethnic and race discrimination, as well as diverse forms of intolerance, the promotion and protection of human rights of indigenous peoples and migrants, and respect for ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in the Americas contribute to strengthening democracy and citizen participation.

Article 10. The promotion and strengthening of democracy requires the full and effective exercise of workers' rights and the application of core labor standards, as recognized in the International Labour Organization (ILO) Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, and its Follow-up, adopted in 1998, as well as other related fundamental ILO conventions. Democracy is strengthened by improving standards in the workplace and enhancing the quality of life for workers in the Hemisphere.

III. Democracy, Integral Development, and Combating Poverty

Article 11. Democracy and social and economic development are interdependent and are mutually reinforcing.

Article 12. Poverty, illiteracy, and low levels of human development are factors that adversely affect the consolidation of democracy. The OAS member states are committed to adopting and implementing all those actions required to generate productive employment, reduce poverty, and eradicate extreme poverty, taking into account the different economic realities and conditions of the countries of the Hemisphere. This shared commitment regarding the problems associated with development and poverty also underscores the importance of maintaining macroeconomic equilibria and the obligation to strengthen social cohesion and democracy.

Article 13. The promotion and observance of economic, social, and cultural rights are inherently linked to integral development, equitable economic growth, and to the consolidation of democracy in the states of the Hemisphere.

Article 14. Member states agree to review periodically the actions adopted and carried out by the Organization to promote dialogue, cooperation for integral development, and the fight against poverty in the Hemisphere, and to take the appropriate measures to further these objectives.

Article 15. The exercise of democracy promotes the preservation and good stewardship of the environment. It is essential that the states of the Hemisphere implement policies and strategies to protect the environment, including application of various treaties and conventions, to achieve sustainable development for the benefit of future generations.

Article 16. Education is key to strengthening democratic institutions, promoting the development of human potential, and alleviating poverty and fostering greater understanding among our peoples. To achieve these ends, it is essential that a quality education be available to all, including girls and women, rural inhabitants, and minorities.



Handout 2I

IV. Strengthening and Preservation of Democratic Institutions

Article 17. When the government of a member state considers that its democratic political institutional process or its legitimate exercise of power is at risk, it may request assistance from the Secretary General or the Permanent Council for the strengthening and preservation of its democratic system.

Article 18. When situations arise in a member state that may affect the development of its democratic political institutional process or the legitimate exercise of power, the Secretary General or the Permanent Council may... arrange for visits or other actions in order to analyze the situation. The...Permanent Council...will undertake a[n]...assessment of the situation and...may adopt decisions for the preservation of the democratic system and its strengthening.

Article 19. Based on the principles of the Charter of the OAS and subject to its norms, and in accordance with the democracy clause contained in the Declaration of Quebec City, an unconstitutional interruption of the democratic order or an unconstitutional alteration of the constitutional regime that seriously impairs the democratic order in a member state, constitutes, while it persists, an insurmountable obstacle to its government's participation in sessions of the General Assembly...and other bodies of the Organization.

Article 20. In the event of an unconstitutional alteration of the constitutional regime that seriously impairs the democratic order in a member state, any member state or the Secretary General may request the immediate convocation of the Permanent Council to undertake a collective assessment of the situation and to take such decisions as it deems appropriate.

The Permanent Council, depending on the situation, may undertake the necessary diplomatic initiatives...to foster the restoration of democracy.

If such diplomatic initiatives prove unsuccessful, or if the urgency of the situation so warrants, the Permanent Council shall immediately convene a special session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will adopt the decisions it deems appropriate...in accordance with the Charter of the Organization, international law, and the provisions of this Democratic Charter.

The necessary diplomatic initiatives...to foster the restoration of democracy, will continue during the process.

Article 21. When the special session of the General Assembly determines that there has been an unconstitutional interruption of the democratic order of a member state, and that diplomatic initiatives have failed, the special session shall take the decision to suspend said member state from the exercise of its right to participate in the OAS by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the member states in accordance with the Charter of the OAS. The suspension shall take effect immediately.

The suspended member state shall continue to fulfill its obligations to the Organization, in particular its human rights obligations.

Notwithstanding the suspension of the member state, the Organization will maintain diplomatic initiatives to restore democracy in that state.

Article 22. Once the situation that led to suspension has been resolved, any member state or the Secretary General may propose to the General Assembly that suspension be lifted. This decision shall require the vote of two thirds of the member states in accordance with the OAS Charter.

V. Democracy and Electoral Observation Missions

Article 23. Member states are responsible for organizing, conducting, and ensuring free and fair electoral processes.



Handout 2I

Member states, in the exercise of their sovereignty, may request that the Organization of American States provide advisory services or assistance for strengthening and developing their electoral institutions and processes, including sending preliminary missions for that purpose.

Article 24. The electoral observation missions shall be carried out at the request of the member state concerned. To that end, the government of that state and the Secretary General shall enter into an agreement establishing the scope and coverage of the electoral observation mission in question. The member state shall guarantee conditions of security, free access to information, and full cooperation with the electoral observation mission.

Electoral observation missions shall be carried out in accordance with the principles and norms of the OAS. The Organization shall ensure that these missions are effective and independent and shall provide them with the necessary resources for that purpose. They shall be conducted in an objective, impartial, and transparent manner and with the appropriate technical expertise.

Electoral observation missions shall present a report on their activities in a timely manner to the Permanent Council, through the General Secretariat.

Article 25. The electoral observation missions shall advise the Permanent Council, through the General Secretariat, if the necessary conditions for free and fair elections do not exist.

The Organization may, with the consent of the state concerned, send special missions with a view to creating or improving said conditions.

VI. Promotion of a Democratic Culture

Article 26. The OAS will continue to carry out programs and activities designed to promote democratic principles and practices and strengthen a democratic culture in the Hemisphere, bearing in mind that democracy is a way of life based on liberty and enhancement of economic, social, and cultural conditions for the peoples of the Americas. The OAS will consult and cooperate on an ongoing basis with member states and take into account the contributions of civil society organizations working in those fields.

Article 27. The objectives of the programs and activities will be to promote good governance, sound administration, democratic values, and the strengthening of political institutions and civil society organizations. Special attention shall be given to the development of programs and activities for the education of children and youth as a means of ensuring the continuance of democratic values, including liberty and social justice.

Article 28. States shall promote the full and equal participation of women in the political structures of their countries as a fundamental element in the promotion and exercise of a democratic culture.

The Organization of American States (OAS) was founded on April 30, 1948, when 21 nations of the Western Hemisphere met in Bogota, Colombia, to adopt the original charter affirming their commitment to common goals and respect for each nation's sovereignty. Since then, the OAS has expanded to include the nations of the Caribbean, as well as Canada. The principles that embody the OAS grew out of a history of regional cooperation dating back to the 19th century. The full text of the Inter-American Democratic Charter can be found at www.oas.org.



QUESTIONS

1. What reasons does the charter give for supporting democracy in the region?
2. What rights does the charter outline for the citizens of the region?
3. In what ways are the countries signing this charter supposed to support and protect democracy in the region?
4. In what ways do international organizations (like the OAS) and international agreements (like this charter) strengthen and/or threaten democracy in the region?

Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America

Activities

1. Ask students to complete Handout 3A, “Expectations for Democracy Survey.” Compile the results.
2. Explain to students that these same questions, along with many others, were asked of 1,200 citizens in Chile, Costa Rica and Mexico in a large study conducted in 1998-99 with funding from the Hewlett Foundation. Distribute Handout 3B, “Latin American Survey Data.” As a class, compare the students’ responses to those from citizens in Latin America. What similarities and differences exist between the two groups? To what would students attribute the differences?

Explain to students that you are now going to focus on the different associations people may have with the word “democracy,” and explore why some people are more inclined to connect democracy with liberty or freedom, while others associate democracy with notions such as equality, fairness or economic progress. Call students’ attention to the very different responses that were collected from Americans surveyed on Questions #1 and #8, as compared with their Latin American counterparts. How would students explain this disparity? *Note: U.S. respondent data were only available for these two questions.*

3. Ask students which factors are most important in shaping citizens’ views of government and democracy. Work as a class to develop a list of some of those possible factors, including personal economic or social status, recent political events, media, etc. Ask students, in their opinions, if people’s views of democracy are shaped more by the ideals of a political system as they may be laid down in documents such as constitutions, or by the day-to-day-realities of their lives.
4. Distribute Handout 3C, “Demographic Data.” Ask students to analyze the data and answer the questions that follow. Review the answers as a class.
5. Time permitting, copy the following data onto the board to fuel further discussion on this point:

Hispanic Conceptualizations of Democracy Based on Time Spent in the United States (by percent)

In one word, could you tell me what democracy means to you?	Latin American	Years lived in the United States			Non-Hispanic
		1-5	6-10	10+	
Liberty/freedom	32	42	48	54	68

LESSON 3

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Compare citizen views on democracy in Latin America with those in the United States
- Identify factors that shape citizen views of democracy
- Assess how citizen views of democracy can support or threaten democratic development

Key Terms

Liberty
Citizen attitudes
Stability

Gross domestic product (GDP)
Legitimacy

Materials

Student Handouts 3A – E:
Expectations for Democracy Survey
Latin American Survey Data
Demographic Data
A Road with No Return?
The Latin American Four Walls

6. As a closing topic, ask students to consider how citizen views of democracy can serve to support or threaten democratic development. What influence or impact might citizen views have? Also, what can be done to improve citizen views of democracy when they are negative?

Homework

Distribute a copy of Handout 3D, “A Road with No Return?” Ask students to read the article and answer the questions at the end. Review answers as a class.

Extension

Distribute a copy of Handout 3E, “The Latin American Four Walls” and ask students to interpret the political cartoon by answering the questions. Time permitting, encourage them to create their own cartoons depicting citizen views of democracy in Latin America.



Expectations for Democracy Survey

Answer the following questions by writing in a word or circling the letter of the response that most closely reflects your personal view.

1. In one word, what does democracy mean to you? _____
2. With which of the following phrases do you agree most?
 - a. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government
 - b. I have no preference for a democratic or nondemocratic regime
 - c. In some circumstances, an authoritarian regime can be preferable to a democratic one
3. If you had to choose, which of the following would you say is the main task of democracy?
 - a. Combat crime
 - b. Elect governors
 - c. Distribute wealth
 - d. Protect minorities
4. If you had to choose, which of the following things would you say is more important?
 - a. To keep order in the country
 - b. To give people more participation in important government decisions
 - c. To combat inflation
 - d. To protect the liberty of expression
5. What is more important to you: to have a government that improves democracy or that improves the economy?
 - a. Improves democracy
 - b. Improves the economy
6. In your opinion what is the most important political right for the functioning of democracy?
 - a. Liberty
 - b. Equality
 - c. Vote/elections
 - d. Respect/lawfulness
7. With which phrase would you most agree: the government should look after the individual's well-being; or each individual should look after his own well-being?
 - a. The government
 - b. Each individual
8. In one word, what do you expect from democracy?
 - a. Liberty
 - b. Equality
 - c. Vote/elections
 - d. Respect/lawfulness
 - e. Welfare/progress



Handout 3B

Latin American Survey Data

QUESTION/RESPONSE	U.S.	CHILE	COSTA RICA	MEXICO	YOUR DATA
1. What does democracy mean to you?					
Liberty	68%	25.2%	54.1%	20.5%	
Equality	5	17.8	6.4	20.6	
Vote / Elections	2	10.2	3.3	12.3	
Form of Government	2	12.0	5.9	14.3	
Welfare / Progress	1	7.9	7.0	14.0	
Respect / Lawfulness	1	10.1	3.1	12.9	
Other	21	8.3	7.5	2.0	
2. Which phrase do you agree with more?					
Democracy is preferable		49.8	80.3	49.7	
Indifferent		27.6	8.5	26.4	
Authoritarian regime can be preferable		17.4	6.5	20.5	
3. What is the main task of democracy?					
To combat crime		25.8	37.6	30.8	
Elect governors		18.3	24.4	33.4	
To distribute wealth		27.8	11.7	17.1	
Protect minorities		24.7	24.6	16.2	
4. Which of the following is more important?					
To keep order in the country		38.4	42.0	26.8	
To give people more participation		30.1	25.5	29.8	
To combat inflation		15.4	16.1	35.3	
To protect the liberty of expression		15.3	14.7	7.4	
5. What is more important: government that improves democracy or the economy?					
That improves democracy		18.0	17.4	20.1	
That improves the economy		67.8	46.8	51.4	
Both		13.1	35.1	26.0	
6. What is the most important political right for democracy?					
Liberty		21.3	28.0	20.7	
Equality		26.9	14.5	33.9	
Vote / Elections		14.7	19.0	13.3	
Respect / Lawfulness		13.1	6.8	18.0	
Welfare/ Progress		17.2	6.4	9.8	
7. Government should look after the individual or each individual should look after himself?					
The government		56.7	41.3	29.9	
Each individual		24.5	41.4	45.3	
Both		17.6	15.7	23.8	
8. What do you expect from democracy?					
Liberty	48	15.2	27.4	16.5	
Equality	15	27.3	13.6	29.7	
Vote / Elections	2	6.5	2.2	9.6	
Respect / Lawfulness	4	15.1	7.3	13.7	
Welfare/ Progress	3	25.0	23.3	24.1	



Demographic Data

Review the data below and answer the questions that follow.

Indicator	Chile	Costa Rica	Mexico	USA
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births	8.88	10.56	23.68	6.75
Gross domestic product per capita (purchasing power parity)	\$10,000	\$8,500	\$9,000	\$37,600
Population below poverty line	21%	20.6%	40%	12.7%
Fixed lines and mobile telephones per 1,000 people	574.8	305.4	354.0	974
Personal computers per 1,000 people	106.5	170.2	68.7	459



QUESTIONS

1. How might these social indicators influence citizen views about democracy?
2. Under what social conditions might citizens be inclined to focus on liberty or political rights?
3. Under what social conditions might equality or economic rights be a stronger focus?
4. Which of the factors that influence the health of democracy (from Handout 2A) are related to the above data and how?



Handout 3D

A Road with No Return?

By *Marta Lagos*

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

In the face of uneven and lackluster economic performance over the past decade, democracy has endured in Latin America. Despite persistent economic inequalities that are the most severe of any region in the world, and despite economic and political crises that have rocked a number of countries, public support for democracy has shown surprising resilience. Overall, the reaction of Latin American citizens to failures of economic and political performance has been one of dissatisfaction with the way in which democracy is working, and a readiness to throw poorly performing parties and leaders out of office, but not an abandonment of faith in democracy itself. This is not to say that democracy in Latin America is secure. But it may well be less fragile than was once feared....

Every year since 1995, the *Latinobarómetro*, based in Santiago, Chile, has surveyed people in 17 Latin American lands in order to gauge what they think and how they feel about their countries' political and economic systems. We have found in this period considerable variation across the countries of the region, and in some countries, dramatic volatility over time. In terms of both actual political practice and citizen attitudes, Latin America as a whole remains considerably short of the levels of democratic stability and legitimacy that we see in its two most clearly consolidated (and also most liberal) democracies, Costa Rica and Uruguay.

There is still much that needs to be done about the core problem for democracy in the region: namely, the need for inclusion to counter a legacy of enormous inequality. This is a matter not merely of relieving sheer poverty or narrowing the gap between rich and poor, but also of making it possible for all citizens to become full members of society. The challenge cannot be reduced to one of extending political and economic rights to ethnic and racial minorities, but must mean including all those who have heretofore had no access to any type of power and no scope for the effective exercise of their liberties. Without a "floor" of secure rights and liberties upon which to stand, people cannot be effective citizens. Yet neither Latin America's persistent deep and cumulative inequalities (of which sheer poverty is one), nor its recurrent political and economic crises, are driving the region's people toward a renewed preference for authoritarian rule....

Weighing all the data, five countries stand out as registering low levels of support for democracy, low levels of willingness to obey laws and meet obligations, and substantial indifference—all combined with high expectations regarding rights. The five are Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Paraguay. As a group, they also feature the region's most extreme social and economic inequalities.

Latin America is moving toward democracy, but on its way forward, it will need to dismantle many traits that obstruct the creation of a democratic society. No doubt, this process of political and cultural change will produce instabilities. It will probably take less time than what it took Western democracies to become democratic, but more than the two decades or so that some overoptimistic observers expected when the region began turning back toward democracy in the late 1970s.

Marta Lagos is managing director of MORI (Market and Opinion Research International), Chile. In 1995, she became the founding director of the Latinobarómetro, a yearly survey of public opinion that covers 17 Latin American countries. This excerpt was taken from a Journal of Democracy article of the same name, April 2003, Volume 14, No. 2, pp. 163-173.

QUESTIONS

1. According to the author, how has economic instability affected Latin Americans' faith in democracy?
2. Which countries in the region does the author assert have the strongest commitment to democracy?
3. Which countries demonstrate the weakest commitment?
4. What does the author identify as the biggest problem for democracy in the region?
5. What does the author imply about the time necessary to create healthy democratic societies?



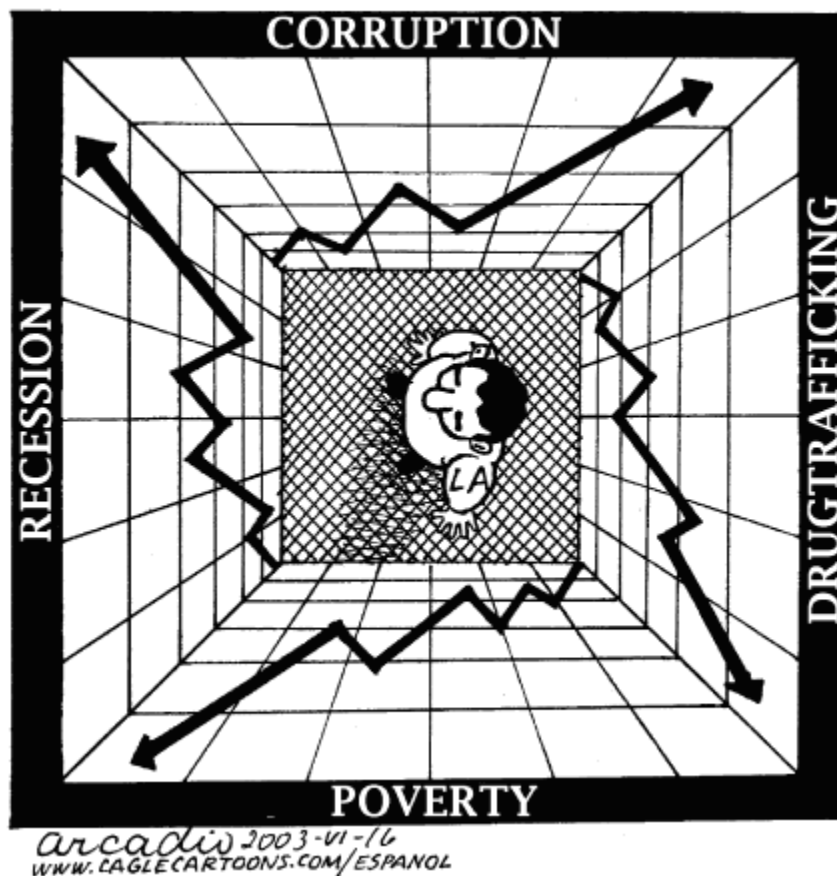
Handout 3E

The Latin American Four Walls

By Cagle Cartoons

Examine the cartoon below and answer the questions that follow.

THE LATIN AMERICAN FOUR WALLS



QUESTIONS

1. According to the artist, what forces are boxing in citizens of Latin American?
2. How might these “walls” affect citizens’ faith in democracy?
3. Using what you have learned in this lesson, draw your own cartoon depicting a citizen’s views of democracy in this hemisphere.

Notes



Civic Life and Civil Society in Latin America

Activities

1. Review with students the definition of civil society, using an explanation such as “the segment of society working not for government or business, but rather to promote the interests of average citizens.” Ask students to provide examples of civil society groups and movements that they know of. Encourage students to think on the local or even school level, as well as on the national and international level.
2. Break students into small groups. Give each group a set of questions (Handout 4A) and one case study (Handouts 4B – G). Have students read their case studies then discuss them with their group, ensuring that everyone understands the basic ideas conveyed in the reading. Remind students that in just a few minutes they will be responsible for teaching others about their case study.

As a group, have the students address the first set of questions on Handout 4A: Which segment of the population is active in this civic group/movement? What are the goals of the group/movement? What methods does the group/movement use to convey its message and exert influence on the political life of the country?

3. Jigsaw the groups, re-forming students into new groups so that one student from each of the original groups is now present in each new group. Ask each student to teach the other students about his/her case study, so that by the time they are done all students have heard about all of the case studies. As a group, have students address the second set of questions on Handout 4A: How important are individuals to the success or failure of civic movements? Does having a “face” on a movement add strength or vulnerability? Why? What circumstances can help movements gain strength, support and momentum?
4. Bring all the groups back together to synthesize what they have learned. What can civil society organizations do to maximize their influence on government? What can governments do to encourage a vibrant civil society? Why might some governments not be interested in a vibrant civil society? How would students assess the health of civil society in the United States?

Homework

Distribute a copy of Handout 4H “Latin America Is Growing Impatient with Democracy” and ask students to answer the questions at the end of the article. Review answers as a class.

LESSON 4

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Identify examples of civic movements in Latin America
- Summarize ways in which citizens in Latin America are engaged in the civic life of their countries
- Assess the role of civil society in promoting democratic progress in the countries throughout Latin America

Key Terms

Civil disobedience
Dissent
Exploitation
Political activism
Social reform

Materials

Student Handouts 4A – I:

Case Study Questions

Case Studies:

Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo

Chico Mendes and the Brazilian Rain Forest

Rigoberta Menchú Tum

Chile's Command for "No"

Oswaldo Paya Sardiñas and the Varela Project

Bishop Samuel Ruiz and the Diocese of San Cristobal de Las Casas

Latin America Is Growing Impatient with Democracy

Point of View

Extension

Distribute a copy of Handout 4I, "Point of View," and ask students to answer the questions at the end of the article. Review answers as a class. *Note: This excerpt is quite short and raises some important critiques of democracy in the region. If time permits, it could serve as the starting point for an interesting discussion on the role of a citizen and civil disobedience.*



Case Study Questions

Questions to answer in your first small group:

1. *Which segment of the population is active in this civic group/movement?*
2. *What are the goals of the group/movement?*
3. *What methods does the group/movement use to convey its message and exert influence on the political life of the country?*



Questions to answer in your second small group:

1. *How important are individuals to the success or failure of civic movements?*
2. *Does having a “face” on a movement add strength or vulnerability? Why?*
3. *What circumstances can help movements gain strength, support and momentum?*



Handout 4B

CASE STUDY #1

Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo

“Every Thursday we feel that our children are alive.... In the street, we have learned what our children had already told us: solidarity is the only way.”

—Hebe de Bonafini, President of the Mothers, on accepting the



Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo is a civic organization that was founded and held its first public demonstration in April 1977, during the years of the most recent military dictatorship in Argentina. Middle-aged mothers of young people who had been “disappeared” by the regime formed a network as they actively sought information about their children and grandchildren, who often disappeared along with their parents. These women, dressed in black with white scarves on their heads, carried signs saying, “Donde estan?” (Where are they?) They gathered every Thursday in front of the Presidential Palace, La Casa Rosada, with the names of their children written on their white scarves.

One of the founders of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, Azucena Villaflor, was herself “disappeared.” (“Disappeared” is a term used to describe what happened to people who were kidnapped “unofficially,” detained in secret detention camps where they were tortured, and later killed.) In a recent book called *The Flight*, which is based on a series of taped conversations, a former naval officer named Adolfo Scilingo described how many people disappeared. Scilingo said, “They were unconscious, we stripped them, and when the flight commander gave the order, we opened the door and threw them out, naked, one by one.” In response to his confession, one of the mothers, Maria Adela Antokoletz, 83, noted, “Many people just didn’t want to know; they closed their eyes and ears. But after this confession, they can no longer say that this is only the cry of a suffering mother.”

Every week, starting in 1977, barely a year after the military took over Argentina, at a time when all political dissent was stifled, journalists disappeared, and human rights were systematically violated, these women took to the central square in Buenos Aires, demanding to know what had happened to their children. These women were uneducated, and virtually none had any history of political activism. However, their experience as mothers, and their love for their children and grandchildren, motivated and pushed them to direct involvement in civic life. Their concerns as mothers could not be solved in the private sphere. Thus, they joined together to seek answers in the public sphere, courageously gathering in public each week to ask where their children were. The issues they addressed broadened, as they cared for grandchildren and asked for economic support, and as they reached out to foreign press and the international community for political and moral support.

Their civic activism continues to this day. The mothers, now graying, continue to gather every Thursday, asking for an accounting of what happened to their children. After the demise of the dictatorship, the democratic government created a commission that reported on the existence of 340 clandestine detention centers and the consistent use of torture and murder. However, the members of the post-military government have stated that records of the events were destroyed by the military after the 1982 Falklands war.



Handout 4C

CASE STUDY #2

Chico Mendes and the Brazilian Rain Forest

“If a messenger from the sky came down and guaranteed that my death could strengthen our struggle, it would be worth it. But experience teaches us the contrary. It’s not with big funerals . . . that we’re going to save the Amazon. I want to live.”

—Chico Mendes, from an interview Dec. 9, 1988,
published posthumously in *O Jornal do Brasil*



Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

Rubber tapping has been practiced for generations in the Amazon rain forest because it is a way to use the available resources without harming the environment. Once sap has been extracted from rubber trees, it can then be used to make products such as tires, erasers, and plastic containers. In the 1970s, this sustainable economic system was threatened when the government of Brazil, in an effort to stimulate business development, instituted policies that allowed for the exploration of natural resources. This opened the door to many organizations interested in exploiting the Amazon for various purposes.

Chico Mendes was born in 1944 into a family of “rubber tappers” (seringueiros), in Xapuri, Brazil. Feeling the pressure of the government’s new economic and environmental policies, in 1975 he organized the local rubber tappers into the Rural Workers Union of Brasileia (RWUB) and began his fight to end the exploitation of the rain forest. Mendes and the RWUB used a variety of nonviolent protest methods to make their point, including “empates,” or human chains formed around trees to prevent them from being cut down.

Mendes and the seringueiros faced stiff and often violent opposition from mining interests, cattle ranchers and the Brazilian government. Undeterred, Mendes led the first Rubber Tappers National Meeting in 1985, which resulted in the creation of the Rubber Tappers National Council. This helped Mendes and his movement gain national and international attention. As the movement became more powerful, resistance to Mendes increased. He was repeatedly fined and jailed, and he received many death threats. Mendes continued to protest using nonviolent methods, including sit-ins, and by taking his case to the United States and the world. On Dec. 22, 1988, on orders from a wealthy rancher, Chico Mendes was assassinated.



Handout 4D

CASE STUDY #3

Rigoberta Menchú Tum

“We have to focus on solutions in this time of great challenges. If we just wait around, the problems will overwhelm us. We need to take the initiative, to launch local, regional and global projects, to unite our efforts, and really listen to indigenous people. We have to listen to people to find out what they want to discover the solutions for and what they have to offer for the future.”

—Rigoberta Menchú Tum. 1992 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

Rigoberta Menchú was born in Guatemala on Jan. 9, 1959, to a poor Indian peasant family and raised in the Quiche branch of the Mayan culture. In her early years, she helped with the family farm work, both in the northern highlands where her family lived and on the Pacific coast, where both adults and children went to pick coffee on the big plantations.

Rigoberta Menchú soon became involved in social reform activities through the Catholic Church, and became prominent in the women’s rights movement when still a teenager. Such reform work aroused considerable opposition in influential circles, especially after a guerrilla organization established itself in the area. The Menchú family was accused of taking part in guerrilla activities and Rigoberta’s father, Vicente, was imprisoned and tortured for allegedly having participated in the execution of a local plantation owner. After his release, he joined the recently founded Committee of the Peasant Union (CUC).

In 1979, Rigoberta also joined the CUC. That year her brother was arrested, tortured and killed by the army. The following year, her father was killed when security forces in the capital stormed the Spanish embassy where he and some other peasants were staying. Shortly afterwards, her mother also died after having been arrested, tortured and raped. Rigoberta became increasingly active in the CUC, and taught herself Spanish as well as Mayan languages other than her native Quiche. In 1980, she figured prominently in a strike the CUC organized for better conditions for farm workers on the Pacific coast, and on May 1, 1981, she was active in large demonstrations in the capital. She joined the radical 31st of January Popular Front, in which her contribution chiefly consisted of educating the Indian peasant population in methods of resistance to massive military oppression.

In 1981, Rigoberta Menchú had to go into hiding in Guatemala and then flee to Mexico. That marked the beginning of a new phase in her life: as the organizer abroad of resistance to oppression and the struggle for Indian peasant peoples’ rights in Guatemala. In 1982, she took part in the founding of the joint opposition body, the United Representation of the Guatemalan Opposition (RUOG). In 1983, she told her life story to Elisabeth Burgos Debray. The resulting book, called in English, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, is a gripping human document that attracted considerable international attention. In 1986, Rigoberta Menchú became a member of the National Coordinating Committee of the CUC, and the following year she performed as the narrator in a powerful film, *When the Mountains Tremble*, about the struggles and sufferings of the Mayan people. On at least three occasions, Rigoberta Menchú has returned to Guatemala to plead the cause of the Indian peasants, but death threats have forced her back into exile.

Over the years, Rigoberta Menchú has become widely known as a leading advocate of Indian rights and ethnocultural reconciliation, not only in Guatemala but also in the Western hemisphere generally, and her work has earned her several international awards.



Handout 4E

CASE STUDY #4

Chile's Command for "No"

"It was the successful "No" campaign that united 16 political parties and effectively ended military rule in Chile. It was Genaro who managed that campaign. And its unity of purpose and effectiveness was a testament to his genius. The coalition which he directed banded together to capture the hearts and minds of the Chilean people. They rekindled a democratic spirit that the Pinochet regime thought was buried and forgotten years before. They withstood censorship, harassment, and arrests."

—Kenneth Wollack, introducing Genaro Arriagado

Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

On May 11, 1983, the capital city of Chile exploded in protest. Santiago citizens marched in the streets, blared their car horns, and clanged pots and pans from apartment windows. The day marked an end to the decade-long acquiescence to the rule of General Augusto Pinochet, who had seized power in 1973 from the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. The junta had declared the entire nation an emergency zone and imposed a state of siege that limited the rights of citizens and augmented the military's powers. It shut down three of the country's newspapers, placed universities under military administration, and prohibited singing in public.

In the 10 years prior to the national protest, Pinochet's anti-communist and free-market economic policies won him the support of moderate politicians and middle-class Chileans, while his use of terror (3,000 supporters of the Allende regime were killed or missing) managed to all but silence his opponents. In the early 1980s, however, a recession—spurred by declining copper prices—sapped the country's prosperity. Working- and middle-class citizens, in concert with leftist and moderate leaders, rallied behind a strike by the powerful copper miners' union and projected dissent into the promenades and avenues of Santiago. For the next three years, an eclectic mix of opposition groups joined to organize monthly "days of protest" and demand a return to democracy. Human rights organizations, unions, student groups, women's groups and traditional political parties all took part, using a range of tactics that included strikes, work slowdowns and school boycotts. By 1986, however, the radical left added violence to the anti-Pinochet protest, discouraging middle-class participation and justifying the dictator's continued repression.

When Pinochet decided to go ahead with a plebiscite (ordained by his own constitution) on whether he should remain in office, the opposition decided to challenge him at the polls. It deftly organized a determined and sophisticated campaign to defeat him. Led by Gennaro Arriagada, the "Command for No" movement coordinated an army of volunteers to register voters and persuade fearful citizens to participate. Also crucial was an influx of foreign funds that paid for opinion polls, media consultants, poll watchers and computers, which allowed the opposition to conduct its own vote count and circumvent electoral fraud by the regime.

Despite relentless harassment against "No" campaign operatives, on Oct. 5, 1988, 55 percent of voters cast ballots to end Pinochet's reign of terror. Victorious, the "Command for No" movement evolved into a multiparty coalition that won parliamentary elections the next year, completing the restoration of democracy in Chile after 15 authoritarian years.



Handout 4F

CASE STUDY #5

Oswaldo Paya Sardiñas and The Varela Project

“There is a growing global solidarity among those of us working peacefully for democracy, for rights, for peace. This is a universal language. Our circumstances have not changed, but the hearts of the Cuban people have. And that is where change must begin.”

—From the September 2002 acceptance speech of Oswaldo Paya Sardiñas upon receipt of the National Democratic Institute’s Worldwide Democracy Award.



Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

For 40 years, Fidel Castro has held total power in Cuba. He commands the largest army in Latin America relative to the size of the country. He controls a police force that acts beyond the margin of political and moral boundaries. He has such complete control of the economy that with the exception of a few marginal positions, all the jobs on the island are assigned by the state. He controls all the newspapers, television stations, radios, universities and the books that are published.

Varela Project (Proyecto Varela) is a Cuban civic initiative that collected signatures on a petition calling for a referendum on democratic reforms and respect for basic freedoms.

Named after Felix Varela, a 19th century Cuban priest who called for Cuba’s independence from Spain, the Varela Project began in March 2001. Based on a previously little-known provision in the Cuban constitution, Article 88, which allows citizens to introduce legislative initiatives to be decided by national referendum when accompanied by the signatures of at least 10,000 registered voters, the Varela Project proposed five reforms: democratic elections, free speech, free enterprise, free assembly and freedom for political prisoners.

In May 2002, the broad-based coalition of organizers presented, at great personal risk, more than 11,000 signatures to the National Assembly just days before former U.S. President Jimmy Carter visited the island and mentioned the signature campaign in an uncensored telecast. Since then, over 30,000 signatures are reported to have been collected in spite of the risk of official reprisals faced by organizers and signatories.

In March 2003, nearly 80 dissidents were arrested, tried and sentenced to up to 28 years in prison in the most severe crackdown the island has seen in recent history. Many of the imprisoned dissidents were organizers of the Varela Project. The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights believes that these people have been wrongfully imprisoned solely for openly exercising basic rights guaranteed to them in both international and Cuban law, and has urged the Cuban authorities to order their immediate release.

The leader of the Varela Project, Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas, has not been arrested, although he has been under constant surveillance and has received threats and been the subject of harassment. A lifelong non-violent dissident, Oswaldo Payá received the prestigious 2001 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought given by the European Parliament, and the National Democratic Institute’s 2002 W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. Payá was nominated for the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize.



Handout 4G

CASE STUDY #6

Bishop Samuel Ruiz and the Diocese of San Cristobal de Las Casas

“Always leading from within the people, he has articulated from that perspective a vision that has resounded as one of the deepest truths we know: that the God of Life calls us to justice, mercy and humility, and only when we ‘choose life’ shall we know true liberation and happiness.”

—From the November 1999 statement entitled “Choose Life” released by 300 religious leaders



Read the following case study and answer the assigned questions.

On Jan. 1, 1994, international attention was brought to the rugged Chiapas region of Mexico when masked Zapatista rebels seized the colonial town of San Cristobal de las Casas and five other villages in the surrounding highlands. A geographic extension of the Altiplano of Guatemala and one of the poorest states in Mexico, Chiapas is inhabited by the Tzeltal and Tzotzil Maya people, who formed the ranks of the mostly young rebel army. Rather than just another ethnic conflict, however, most analysts agree that the roots of the Zapatista revolt are imbedded in a complex mosaic of historic marginalization, resettlement, poverty, racism, political favoritism and the expansion of cattle ranching and extractive lowland industries.

These tensions continue: the problems are severe, and both the causes and prospective solutions to the conflict defy any simple interpretation. Some hope, however, is being felt as a result of the emergence of national indigenous rights and poor peoples’ movements, made possible in part by the political space opened after the 1994 uprising and the subsequent major changes in the Mexican polity.

Samuel Ruiz Garcia was born on Nov. 3, 1924. He was ordained a priest in 1949 in Rome, where for several years he studied theology and sacred scripture. In 1960, after serving for a time as rector of the seminary in Leon, Guanajuato (Mexico), he was named bishop of the Diocese of San Cristobal de Las Casas, Chiapas.

As a young bishop, he attended all four sessions of the Second Vatican Council, an experience that marked him deeply. Even more significant, according to Bishop Ruiz, was the education he received in the course of his encounters with indigenous communities, many of which he visited on horseback, in the remote mountains of Chiapas.

On Jan. 1, 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation rose in revolt in Chiapas. After 12 days of bloody fighting, and in part due to the efforts of Bishop Ruiz, a cease-fire was initiated. From that moment, Bishop Ruiz played the role of mediator in subsequent attempts to resolve the conflict between the Zapatistas and the Mexican government. Bishop Ruiz is now retired, but remains active in defending indigenous rights.



Latin America Is Growing Impatient with Democracy

By Juan Forero

Read the article below and answer the questions that follow.

ILAVE, Peru—On a morning in April, people in this normally placid spot in Peru's southeastern highlands burst into a town council meeting, grabbed their mayor, dragged him through the streets and lynched him. The killers, convinced the mayor was on the take and angry that he had neglected promises to pave a highway and build a market for vendors, also badly beat four councilmen.

The beating death of the mayor may seem like an isolated incident in an isolated Peruvian town but it is in fact a specter haunting elected officials across Latin America. A kind of toxic impatience with the democratic process has seeped into the region's political discourse, even a thirst for mob rule that has put leaders on notice.

In the last few years, six elected heads of state have been ousted in the face of violent unrest, something nearly unheard of in the previous decade. A widely noted United Nations survey of 19,000 Latin Americans in 18 countries in April produced a startling result: A majority would choose a dictator over an elected leader if that provided economic benefits.

Analysts say that the main source of the discontent is corruption and the widespread feeling that elected governments have done little or nothing to help the 220 million people in the region who still live in poverty, about 43 percent of the population.

"Latin America is paying the price for centuries of inequality and injustice," said Riordan Roett, director of Latin American studies at Johns Hopkins University.

"These are very, very fragile regimes," he added. "Increasingly, there's frustration and resentment. The rate of voting is going down. Blank ballots are increasing. The average Latin American would prefer a very strong government that produces a physical security and economic security, and no government has been able to do that."

These at-risk governments stretch thousands of miles from the Caribbean and Central America through the spine of the Andes to the continent's southern cone, and increasingly the problems associated with weak governments are spilling beyond Latin America.

Among the weakest states is Guatemala, which struggles with paramilitary groups, youth gangs and judicial impunity and has become a crossroads for the smuggling of people and drugs to the United States.

Several other governments are fragile at best and

susceptible to popular unrest that could further weaken and topple them. These include the interim administration of Prime Minister Gérard Latortue in Haiti, which took power after a popular revolt this year, and President Carlos Mesa in Bolivia, who took power after such a revolt last year.

The most unpredictable and volatile region is the Andes.

Venezuela remains deeply polarized, as foes of President Hugo Chávez plot to oust him while he continues with what he has called a "peaceful revolution" that includes a radical redistribution of the nation's oil wealth. Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia are buffeted by nearly continuous protests from indigenous groups and other once-forgotten classes that are demanding to be heard.

Their struggles vividly demonstrate an issue that animates strife in nearly all of Latin America—the gap between the haves and have-nots of money and power that makes the region the world's most inequitable, and increasingly the most politically polarized.

Even in Argentina, once Latin America's most developed country, President Néstor Kirchner has warned of threats against his government and his life as he struggles to root out corruption, repair democratic institutions and lift the country out of an economic implosion in 2001 that prompted the fall of four presidents in two weeks.

In Argentina and elsewhere, the most immediate cause for alarm is the short-lived nature of individual governments and the havoc it can create. But the larger concern is that roiling instability is eroding the foundations of democracy.

In this climate, even competence has become cause for concern—the popular impulse being to find something that works and to stick with it, whether arrived at democratically or not. In Colombia, where a stable and popular government has made new strides in beating back a 40-year-old Marxist insurgency and reviving the economy, the temptation has been to extend extrajudicial authority to President Álvaro Uribe's government and even change the constitution to permit his re-election.

But, then, the pool of competent leaders from which to choose has proved limited. Having lost faith in President Alejandro Toledo, Peruvians, opinion polls show, look to a return of Alberto K. Fujimori, the elected authoritarian who fled after corruption charges and lives in Japan, or to Alan García, another former president,



Handout 4H

who was exiled in disgrace after a tenure considered one of the most corrupt and incompetent in Peru's recent history. Their fortunes are being revived with the feeling, increasingly common in Peru and elsewhere, that only a caudillo, the classic Latin strongman, can solve the longstanding problems that plague the region.

The United Nations report, also drawn from interviews with current and former presidents, political analysts and cultural and economic figures, showed that 56 percent of those asked said economic progress was more important than democracy.

"Democracy today is broad, but it's not deep," said Larry Birns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a Washington, D.C.-based policy group. "It's broad in that the leadership talks about it, it's a buzzword. But the danger is that the more they talk about it the more skeptical the population becomes because they see a great deal of rhetoric but the standard of living of the impoverished hasn't improved."

The view is common among the common man, particularly in poverty-stricken corners. "I believe in an authoritarian government, if it works," said Daniel Vargas, 24, a university student from Ilave whose father was accused with six others of having orchestrated the lynching of the mayor, Fernando Cirilo Robles. "They do this in other countries and it works. Look at Cuba, that works. Look at Pinochet in Chile, that worked."

The United Nations report noted that the promise of prosperity offered by democracy has gone unfulfilled. Economic growth per capita, it said, "did not vary in a significant manner" in Latin America in the last 20 years.

A slump in local economies that has lasted years has only deepened the discontent with governments already widely scorned as corrupt and overly bureaucratic. Predictions that economic growth is on the way—economists say Latin America will record a 4 percent growth rate this year after a long slump—have done little to quell the dissatisfaction. The main reason: recent growth has not been widely shared, but concentrated in isolated pockets, usually attached to multinational investments that employ few people.

Peru is a good example. It has the region's most impressive economic growth, on paper, with the economy expanding about 4 percent a year since Mr. Toledo was elected in 2001. But that growth has not filtered down, and the deep disillusionment that failure has inspired is not lost on Mr. Toledo, whose approval rating is mired below 10 percent. "What good is an impressive growth rate?" he said in a speech in May. "Wall Street applauds us, but in the streets, no. So what good is it?"

The poverty and inequality that breed unrest are never more apparent than in this desolate region, 13,000 feet above sea level, that hugs Lake Titicaca and

the Bolivian border. Unlike Lima, prosperous and modern, the hamlets and farms here provide a meager life. "What we have here is a subhuman life," said Teófilo Chalco, 27, a farmer. "We try to make it and work from sunrise to sundown just to survive. But we win nothing. No services, no healthcare, nothing."

Like many in Latin America who feel a disconnect from their government, the people here are Aymará Indians. They form part of Latin America's forgotten classes, often indigenous or otherwise nonwhite, who increasingly promise political upheaval.

"The government only pays attention to those who have power," said Néstor Chambi, an indigenous leader and agronomist. "Rights are not for the poor. They are for the rich, by the rich, and so the people here have gotten tired."

The popular discontent with a central government seen as aloof, unresponsive and subservient to powerful interests was only amplified as Ilave's political, business and church leaders raised concerns about suspected corruption and incompetence by Mayor Robles, to no effect. That Mr. Robles is Aymara himself, like practically all the townspeople here, did not matter. People here and throughout the region charge that politicians are corrupted by power and a long tradition in which politics is used as a spoils system for personal enrichment.

Elected officials do not remember their people or keep their promises, people here complained. Gregorio Ticona, the first Aymará elected to Congress, faces corruption charges. The president of the regional government, David Jiménez, was also charged in May with corruption.

"Institutions have no more credibility," said Percy Flórez, a municipal official in Ilave.

QUESTIONS

1. According to this article, what do many citizens of Latin America believe is more important than democracy?
2. What is a caudillo and why would some Latin American citizens support one?
3. One expert states, "Democracy today is broad, but it's not deep." What does he mean by this?
4. A citizen of Ilave says, "Rights are not for the poor. They are for the rich, by the rich, and so the people here have gotten tired." What actions did this dissatisfaction lead the people to take? Do you think their actions were justified? What other course of action could they have taken?
5. Ultimately, do you think democracy is the best form of government to serve the needs of the people of Latin America? Why or why not?



Point of View

By Meg Ruthenburg

Read the article and answer the questions that follow.

The situation in Latin America has changed dramatically since [1974]. Democratic elections are held regularly and citizens often are actively engaged. Indeed, many of the hard-won transitions to democracy were precipitated by citizens, who often fought for freedom at great personal risk.

Citizens continue to assert their rights, although now they enjoy significantly greater freedom. However, such freedoms are often a double-edged sword. Citizen action has led to election reform in Mexico but also to the ouster of democratically elected governments in Ecuador and Bolivia. But some in the region question the very definition of democracy. Is it more democratic, for example, to support broken institutions or to challenge the institutions of democracy when they are corrupt? When, in 2000, a “people’s” coup d’etat led by the country’s indigenous population overthrew a democratically elected—though very unpopular—president in Ecuador, one of the leaders of the coup refused to classify it as anti-democratic, arguing instead that it was a civic act.

Protest, however, is not the only form of participation in Latin America. Citizens are working together with governments in substantial ways. Participatory urban planning and budgeting, for instance, allow citizens to help shape their communities. Governments, particularly at the local level, are increasingly realizing the benefits of including citizens in governance.

Meg Ruthenburg is a program associate in the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The excerpt above is from an article by the same name in the December 2004 issue of Centerpoint, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Newsletter.



QUESTIONS

1. The author states that “freedoms are often a double-edged sword.” According to her reasoning, what positive and negative outcomes have been generated by increased freedoms in Latin America?
2. The author asks “Is it more democratic to support broken institutions or to challenge the institutions of democracy when they are corrupt?” How would you answer? When democratically elected leaders behave undemocratically, how should citizens respond?
3. In your opinion, what types of challenges to institutions or officials are appropriate in a democratic society?

Democracy as a Starting Point

Activities

1. Post the Preamble to the United States Constitution on the board and use it as the basis for discussing the functions of government. Ask students to identify, in their own words, the various purposes of government as outlined in our Constitution. Record their responses on the board.

“We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

2. Distribute Handout 5A, “Signpost of Democracy” and work with the class to translate the concepts posted. *Note: They are, in order from top to bottom: stability, equality, justice, security, human rights and economic opportunity.*

Ask students how these concepts relate to those in the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution. Given what they have studied, ask them which of the concepts is the closest to being realized in Latin America. Which is the furthest from being realized?

Explain that there are many experts who question whether democracy is the best form of government to meet the current needs in Latin America. Some critics say that democracy will not ensure economic progress or produce the stability needed in the region. Others argue that democracy has not provided the majority of citizens with an adequate standard of living or appropriately distributed the limited resources and wealth in the region. Do your students find merit in either of these two critiques? Are these concerns about democracy uniquely relevant to Latin America, or could they be applied to other parts of the world? Do these concerns cause your students to question whether democracy is the right system of government for Latin American countries?

3. Once you complete your classroom discussion, ask students to write a brief reflective essay related to Handout 5A. Explain that they should select the concept on the signpost that they believe most urgently needs to be addressed in Latin America and write an essay explaining why. In their essay, students should also address whether they believe democracy is the best form of government to achieve this goal.

Time permitting, ask students to share their essays with the class, providing an opportunity for further reflection and discussion.

LESSON 5

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Identify some of the ultimate goals of government
- Assess whether the democratic form of government is an effective means of achieving those goals in Latin America
- Examine the vision of democracy articulated by the former president of Brazil

Key Terms

Democratic freedoms
Justice
Social stratification
Transparency

Materials

Student Handouts 5A – B:
Signpost of Democracy
Democracy as a Starting Point

Homework

As a synthesis activity, distribute Handout 5B, “Democracy as a Starting Point.” Ask students to read the article and answer the questions that follow. Review answers as a class and/or use the written student responses as a final assessment for the unit.

Extension

Encourage students to keep abreast of current events in Latin America by assigning three students a week to bring in an article from a news source to discuss with the class.

Signpost of Democracy

By Barbara Christophe



Handout 5A





Democracy as a Starting Point

By *Fernando Henrique Cardoso*

Read the article and answer the questions that follow.

It is absolutely essential to understand that democracy is not the finish line, but rather a starting point. Securing democratic freedoms does not guarantee an immediate solution to the problems that afflict the population, such as poverty, disease and social inequalities. Democracy does not put an end to injustice, but it does establish the conditions that allow us to aspire to achieve effective justice, not merely as an abstract ideal, but as a value present in the everyday life of citizens. Democracy can also contribute to making injustices more perceptible, which is the first step in combating them. The more injustice becomes visible, the greater becomes our motivation to fight it. In repressive regimes, there is not much talk about injustices. In authoritarian regimes, poverty is hidden. In nondemocratic regimes, information tends to be unclear. In open and democratic regimes, in contrast, the insistence on revealing what is wrong, revealing injustices, revealing inequalities, and urging that all this be corrected paves the way for finding solutions to these problems, even if they cannot be solved immediately. I repeat: Democracy is not the finish line, but a starting point.

Thanks to transparency, a free press and widespread participation, democracy gives voice and power to majorities. In a democracy, injustice will not prevail. That is why the existence of a free press is so important for democratic values. The freer and more troublesome the press is, the greater the evidence that the country is democratic. If today we still have so much injustice and so much inequality, it is because, in the past, freedom was the freedom of a few, and because the experiences of real democracy generally had only a fragile and fleeting existence.

At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the negative effect that extreme inequalities and rigid social stratification have on the performance of free institutions. Democracy is rooted in equality and, for it to be fully realized, it is essential that each citizen be able to identify the possibilities for improving his situation and that of his family. It is essential that there be equality of opportunity....

We can be proud of our democracy and the freedom we have been able to achieve. But the most genuine meaning of our democracy and our freedom will be lost if we do not make progress toward reducing inequalities and promoting social justice. But how can we advance in this direction except through democracy itself? That is what has been happening in Brazil, and in a very significant way. On the one hand, it is happening because society has become more assertive, better organized and more watchful; on the other hand, it is happening because the state has become more open and...more porous, enabling society to penetrate the state. Today, civil society has channels through which it can penetrate the state, not only here in Brazil but also in various other countries in the world. Societies are more organized, and states, more sensitive to society's demands, allow a growing interaction with the organized sectors of society.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso is the former president of Brazil. This text is excerpted from his keynote address to the opening session of the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy, in São Paulo, Brazil, on Nov. 12, 2000. It was translated from the Portuguese by Mariana Magalhaes.

QUESTIONS

1. According to the author, what is democracy a starting point for?
2. In what ways does the author believe the progress of a democratic society can be hurt?
3. What steps do you think the governments in Latin America need to take to promote democratic development? What steps do citizens and civil society need to take?

Internet Resources



AFL-CIO
www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/

Amazonlink
www.amazonlink.org

Amnesty International
www.amnestyusa.org

Bread for the World Institute
www.bread.org

Chico Mendes Committee
www.chicomendes.org

Economic Policy Institute
www.economicpolicyinstitute.org

The Economist
www.economist.com

Fair Trade Federation
www.fairtradefederation.org

Food and Agriculture Organization
www.fao.org/english/index.html

Global Exchange
www.globalexchange.org

Human Rights Education Associates
www.hrea.org

Human Rights Resource Center
www.hrusa.org

Human Rights Watch
www.hrw.org

Immigration and Refugee Services of America
www.irsa-uscr.org

Inter-American Dialogue
www.iadialog.org

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
www.icftu.org

International Labour Organization
www.ilo.org

International Monetary Fund
www.imf.org/external/about.htm

Journal of Democracy
www.journalofdemocracy.org

Make Trade Fair
www.maketradefair.com

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
www.maldef.org

My Hero
www.myhero.com

My History is History
www.myhistory.org

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
www.ndi.org

National Endowment for Democracy
www.ned.org

Organization of American States
www.oas.org

Owl and Mouse Education Software Mega Maps
www.yourchildlearns.com/megamaps.htm

Third World Network
www.twinside.org.sg/

United Nations
www.un.org

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
www.unicef.org

United Nations Cyber School Bus
www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/index.html

United Nations Development Program
www.undp.org/hiv

United Nations Environment Program
www.unep.org

United Nations Mine Action
www.mineaction.org

United States Agency for International
Development
www.usaid.gov

United States Department of Defense
www.dod.gov

United States Department of State
www.state.gov

United State Trade Representative
www.ustr.gov

U.S. Network for Global Economic Justice
www.50years.org

World Bank
www.worldbank.org

World Food Programme
www.wfp.org

World Health Organization
www.who.int/home-page/

World Trade Organization
www.wto.org

Worldwatch Institute
www.worldwatch.org

Glossary



Accountability—responsibility to someone or for some activity

Allies—countries that generally work together and support each other

Ambassador—an official envoy; an authorized representative

Authoritarian—characterized by or favoring absolute obedience to authority, as against individual freedom

Autocrat—a ruler having unlimited power; a despot

Autonomy—the quality or state of being self-governing

Basic education—core knowledge and skills necessary for reading, writing and numeration

Capacity—the facility or power to produce, perform or deploy

Capital—the money, heavy machinery and factories used to produce goods

Capitalism—an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production and on individual economic freedom. Prices, production and the distribution of goods are determined mainly by competition in a free market.

Caudillo—a type of South American political leader that arose with the 19th-century wars of independence. They had in common military skill and a personal magnetism capable of commanding the allegiance of the masses. Caudillos were not associated with particular ideologies or political philosophies

Charter—a document outlining the principles, functions and organization of a body; a constitution

Citizen—a person owing loyalty to and entitled by birth or naturalization to the protection of a state or nation

Civil liberties—freedoms that protect individuals from arbitrary government interference

Civil rights—the rights belonging to an individual by virtue of citizenship

Civil society—the segment of society that is made up of nongovernmental organizations, private volunteer organizations and other organizations that are not part of the government

Coalition—an alliance of distinct parties, persons or states for joint action

Communism—a system of government in which the state owns and controls all property and production. Central planning, rather than the marketplace, determines levels of production, allocation of resources, prices and other economic issues. Authority is centralized in a single political party of dictator

Consensus—an opinion or agreement reached by a group as a whole; general agreement or accord

Convention—an agreement between states, sides, or military forces, especially an international agreement dealing with a specific subject, such as treatment of prisoners of war

Corrupt—dishonest, lacking integrity

Coup d'état—a sudden decisive exercise of force in politics

Cultural rights—rights that allow people and groups to preserve their identity and heritage

Decentralization—to distribute the administrative functions or powers of a central

authority among several local authorities

Degradation—a decline to a lower condition, quality or level

Delegate—a representative to a convention or conference

Democracy—a system of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation

Demographic—pertaining to demography, which is the science of statistics such as births, deaths, marriages, racial composition, etc, in a population

Development—growth or advancement; usually refers to economic growth

Devolution—transference (as of rights, powers, property or responsibility) to another

Dictator—one ruling absolutely and often oppressively

Diplomacy—the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations

Economic development—projects designed to strengthen an area's economy and employment base

Emigration—migration out of a country to reside in another country

Entrenched—to enter upon or take over something unfairly, improperly or unlawfully

Fair trade—the policy of advocating that mechanisms be put in place to regulate market activities in a way that promotes social values

Foreign aid—assistance given to other nations, usually in the form of military, economic or humanitarian aid

Free trade—the policy advocating that the market should be allowed to operate freely without any

form of intervention

Gender inequality—unequal rights for women or a social disparity between men and women

Globalization—to make worldwide in scope or application

Governance—the continuous exercise of authority over and the performance of functions for a political unit

Hemisphere—the northern and southern half of the earth divided by the equator or the eastern and western half divided by the meridian

Humanitarian—promoting welfare and social reform

Human rights—fundamental rights that everyone has simply because they are human

Ideology—the basic beliefs of an individual, group or culture

Illiteracy—the inability to read or write

Immigration—the movement of people from one country to make a home in another country

Impunity—exemption or freedom from punishment, harm or loss

Income distribution—the distribution of money and goods between the developed states and developing states, or the wealthy and the poor

Indigenous—having originated in and being produced, growing, living or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment

Inequality—the quality of being unequal or uneven

Infrastructure—the system of public works of a country, state or region

Institution—a significant practice, relationship or

organization in a society or culture

Inter-American Development Bank—the oldest and largest regional multilateral development institution, established in December 1959 to help accelerate economic and social development in Latin America and the Caribbean

Interdependence—a condition where the actions of one state have an impact on the other and vice versa

Legitimacy—accordant with law or with established legal norms and requirements

Marginal—not of central importance

Mercosur—an agreement entered in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay with the objective of forming a common market

Microenterprise—very small-scale business pursuits

Migrants—people who move regularly to find work, especially in harvesting crops

Ministate—a small independent nation
Mobilize—to assemble and make ready for war duty

Multilateral treaty—a treaty signed by three or more countries

Multiparty system—a political system involving more than two parties

Parity—equivalence of a commodity price expressed in one currency to its price expressed in another

Patronage—the power to make appointments to government jobs especially for political advantage

Per capita—per unit population; per person

Polarization—division into opposite sides
Political party—a group of persons organized for the purpose of directing the policies of a

government

Poverty—the state of a person who lacks a basic amount of money or material possessions

Probity—adherence to the highest principles and ideals

Production—the creation of utility, especially the making of goods available for use

Refugee—one who flees, especially a person who flees to a foreign country

Regime—a mode of rule or management; a form of government; a government in power; a period of rule

Regression—a trend or shift toward a lower or less perfect state

Resolution—a formal expression of opinion, will or intent voted by an official body or assembled group

Rule of law—the condition in which everyone, including those in government, must live under the law and are accountable to it and in which the law is equally, fairly and consistently enforced

Ruling elite—members of the ruling elite have nearly exclusive political, economic and military control of the society in which they live

Sanction—a measure taken by one of more nations to apply pressure on another nation to conform to international law or opinion. Such measures usually include restrictions on or withdrawal of trade rights, diplomatic ties and membership in international organizations

Sector—a subdivision of society

Security—protection against espionage, sabotage, crime or attack

Sovereignty—freedom from external control; autonomy

Standard of living—the number and kinds of

goods and services available to people

Stewardship—the conducting, supervising or managing of something

Stratification—to divide or arrange into classes, castes or social strata

Trade—the business of buying, selling, and bartering goods and services

Transparency—the workings or governing of a state or system are observable and understandable to ordinary citizens

Treaty—a formal agreement between two or more states, as in reference to terms of peace or trade; the document in which such an agreement is set down

Underemployment—the condition in which people in a labor force are employed at less than full-time or regular jobs or at jobs, inadequate with respect to their training or economic needs

Unemployment—involuntary idleness of workers

Union—an organization of workers formed for the purpose of advancing its members' interests with respect to wages, benefits and working conditions

United Nations (UN)—an international organization, established in 1945, that is committed to preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security

Universality—present or occurring everywhere

Vacuum—a state of isolation from outside influences

World Trade Organization (WTO)—a global organization, established in 1993, that works to settle trade disputes among nations

Answer Guidelines



Handout 1B
ANSWER GUIDE

The Quality of Politics

1. According to the author, what were the most important recent accomplishments in Latin America?
 - Restoring democratic rule
 - Building respect for human rights and civil liberties
2. Before democracy, what type of government did most countries in the region have?
 - Military regimes or personalist dictators
3. Overall, is the author optimistic about the future prospects for democracy in Latin America? Why or why not?
 - The author is optimistic because the idea that democracy and elections are the only acceptable way to gain and exercise political power is firmly implanted in Latin America. The authoritarian option is unthinkable in most of Latin America today.
4. What threats to democratic progress does the author identify?
 - Political crises
 - Unresponsive national and local institutions
 - Listless civil society
 - Pervasive corruption
 - Economic setbacks



Handout 2A
ANSWER GUIDE

The Health of Democracy

Access to information	S	Patronage	T
Civil Society	S	Peaceful transitions	S
Civilian Control	S	Racial inequality	T
Corruption	T	Respect for human rights	S
Drugs	T	Rule of law	S
Economic instability	T	Separation of Powers	S
Education	S	Social stratification	T
Free and fair elections	S	Strong institutions	S
Gender inequality	T	Transparency	S
Independent media	S	Violence	T
Overly partisan politics	T	Voter participation	S



Handout 2B
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #1

Venezuela: Most Extreme Case

1. Which factors are present in the case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Free and fair elections
 - Peaceful transitions
2. Which factors are present in the case study that threatens democracy?
 - Independent media is assaulted
 - Civil society is assaulted
 - Overly partisan politics
 - Lack of strong institutions
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Pessimistic, because the Venezuelan government is becoming more authoritarian. The government is also weakening institution and creating an increasingly polarized atmosphere in society.



Handout 2C
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #2

Inequality of Wealth

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Access to information
 - Civil society
 - Independent media
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threatens democracy?
 - Economic instability
 - Social stratification
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Pessimistic, because inequality appears to be increasing in the region.
 - Optimistic, because civil society is actively vocalizing its views to the government.



Handout 2D
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #3

Rampant Crime, Elusive Justice

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Rule of law
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threatens democracy?
 - Drugs
 - Violence
 - Economic instability
 - Lack of strong institutions (courts)
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Pessimistic, because personal insecurity threatens beliefs in the current governing structure.



Handout 2E
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #4

Ecuador: Risk of Military in Politics

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Free and fair elections
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threatens democracy?
 - Economic instability
 - Crime
 - Corruption
 - Lack of strong institutions
 - Lack of peaceful transitions (when coup occurred)
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Pessimistic, because conditions in Ecuador demonstrate that people may be more likely to accept another military government if democratic governments are unable to fix some of the country's most serious problems.



Handout 2F
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #5

Peru: Opportunity for Reform?

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Free and fair elections
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threatens democracy?
 - Violence
 - Economic instability
 - Authoritarian regime (lack of free and fair elections)
 - Lack of independent media
 - Lack of access to information
 - Corruption
 - Lack of strong institutions
 - Lack of transparency
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Pessimistic, because the Peruvian government is faced with many difficult factors that threaten democracy, including a justice that system that is unjust.
 - Optimistic, because a democratic Peru is able to address some of its most serious problems.



Handout 2G
ANSWER GUIDE

CASE STUDY #6

Colombia: Can Uribe Turn the Tide?

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Free and fair elections
 - Voter participation
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threaten democracy?
 - Violence
 - Lack of respect for human rights
 - Lack of strong institutions
 - Drugs
 - Corruption
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Optimistic, because democracy is strong in Colombia and President Uribe is taking serious steps to counter Colombia's long history of political violence.
 - Pessimistic, because Colombia is faced with a number of serious problems which all need to be resolved quickly and equitably.



CASE STUDY #7

Openings and New Voices In Latin America's Politics

1. Which factors are present in this case study that strengthens democracy?
 - Rule of law
 - Civil society
 - Measures to address gender inequality
 - Measures to address racial inequality
 - Working to address social stratification
2. Which factors are present in this case study that threatens democracy?
 - Lack of strong political and social institutions
3. Overall, does this case study make you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for democracy? Why?
 - Optimistic, because Latin American governments have improved representation for minority groups and women.



Inter-American Democratic Charter

1. What reasons does the charter give for supporting democracy in the region?
 - Indispensable for peace, stability, and development
 - Essential for the social, political, and economic development of the peoples of the Americas
 - Basis for rule of law and constitutional regimes
2. What rights does the charter outline for the citizens of the region?
 - Respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms
 - Rule of law
 - Free and fair elections
 - Transparency
 - Strengthening of political parties
 - Voter participation
3. In what ways are the countries signing this charter supposed to support and protect democracy in the region?
 - By reaffirming their commitment to protect human rights
 - By reviewing periodically the actions adopted and carried out by the OAS
 - By undertaking the necessary diplomatic measures to foster the restoration of democracy
 - By organizing, conducting, and ensuring free and fair elections
 - By promoting good governance, sound administration, democratic values, and the strengthening of political institutions and civil society
 - By promoting the full and equal participation of women
4. In what ways do international organizations (like the OAS) and international agreements (like this charter) strengthen and/or threaten democracy in the region?
 - International organizations strengthen democracy by making a commitment to defend democracy collectively.
 - International organizations threaten democracy if their decisions contradict policies enacted by a democratic government.



Handout 3C ANSWER GUIDE

Demographic Data

1. How might these social indicators influence citizen views about democracy?
 - The data suggests that if birth rates are high, GDP is low, poverty levels are high, and technological access is low, citizens may have less favorable views of democracy because it is not helping to improve their standard of living and providing economic opportunities for all.
2. Under what social conditions might citizens be inclined to focus on liberty or political rights?
 - More personal security can lead to a focus on the larger political community.
3. Under what social conditions might equality or economic rights be a stronger focus?
 - When people are lacking economic opportunities they view those needs as most important.
4. Which of the factors that influence the health of democracy (from Handout 2A) are related to the above data and how?
 - All the factors that relate to economic security are important understanding how stable political growth can be maintained.



Handout 3D ANSWER GUIDE

A Road with No Return?

1. According to the author, how has economic instability affected Latin Americans' faith in democracy?
 - Latin Americans still have faith in democracy, but they have been dissatisfied with the way democracy is working.

2. Which countries in the region does the author assert have the strongest commitment to democracy?
 - Costa Rica and Uruguay

Which countries demonstrate the weakest commitment?

-Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Paraguay

3. What does the author identify as the biggest problem for democracy in the region?
 - High levels of inequality
4. What does the author imply about the time necessary to create healthy democratic societies?
 - It will take less time than it took Western democracies, but longer than two decades.



Handout 3E
ANSWER GUIDE

The Latin American Four Walls

1. According to the artist, what forces are boxing in citizens of Latin American?
-Corruption, drug trafficking, recession, poverty
2. How might these “walls” affect citizens’ faith in democracy?
- If democracy does not provide a “way out” citizens will turn towards other methods to attain economic and social security.
3. Using what you have learned in this lesson, draw your own cartoon depicting a citizen’s views of democracy in this hemisphere.
-Cartoons will vary



Handout 4H
ANSWER GUIDE

Latin America is Growing Impatient with Democracy

1. According to this article, what do many citizens of Latin America believe is more important than democracy?
-Economic benefits (security)
2. What is a ‘caudillo’ and why would some Latin American citizens support one?
-A ‘caudillo’ is a strong charismatic political leader who can provide immediate answers to some of societies most vexing problems.
3. One expert states, “Democracy today is broad, but it’s not deep.” What does he mean by this?
-People often talk about being committed to democracy but evidence and polls continue to show that both leaders and citizens would rather be “secure” than have democracy.
4. A citizen of Ilave says, “Rights are not for the poor. They are for the rich, by the rich, and so the people here have gotten tired.” What actions did this dissatisfaction lead the people to take? Do you think their actions were justified? What other course of action could they have taken?
-The people resorted to mob rule to purge their city of political corruption. Student answers will vary on the question of justification, but violent protest rarely transforms democracy positively. Other courses of action the people could have taken include: peaceful protest, economic strike, media campaign, or electoral action.
5. Ultimately, do you think democracy is the best form of government to serve the needs of the people of Latin America? Why or why not?
-Answers will vary



Handout 4I

ANSWER GUIDE

Point of View

1. The author states that “freedoms are often a double-edged sword.” According to her reasoning, what positive and negative outcomes have been generated by increased freedoms in Latin America?
 - Positive outcomes could include: regular elections, recognition of rights and freedoms.
 - Negative outcomes could include: rapid change in governments, the overthrow of democratic governments by other “democratic” leaders.
2. The author asks “Is it more democratic to support broken institutions or to challenge the institutions of democracy when they are corrupt?” How would you answer? When democratically elected leaders behave undemocratically, how should citizens respond?
 - Answers will vary
3. In your opinion, what types of challenges to institutions or officials are appropriate in a democratic society?
 - Answers will vary



Handout 5B

ANSWER GUIDE

Democracy as a Starting Point

1. According to the author, what is democracy a starting point for?
 - Conditions to achieve social justice
2. In what ways does the author believe the progress of a democratic society can be hurt?
 - Extreme inequalities
 - Rigid social stratifications
3. After completing this unit, what steps do you think the governments in Latin American need to take to promote democratic development? What steps do citizens and civil society need to take?
 - Answers will vary

Notes



Notes



Notes



CIVITAS LATIN AMERICA

A CIVIC EDUCATION EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The Center for Civic Education (Center) and a group of leading U.S. and Latin American organizations have joined together to form the Civitas Latin American Consortium (CLA). CLA has received a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to conduct a five-year cooperative civic education exchange program.

The basic goals of Civitas Latin America are to:

- Acquaint Latin American educators with exemplary curricular and teacher training programs in civic education developed in the United States
- Assist Latin American educators in creating, adapting, implementing, and institutionalizing effective civic education programs in their own countries
- Create and implement civic education programs for students in the United States that will help them better understand the history and experiences of emerging and advanced democracies in Latin America
- Facilitate the exchange of ideas and experience in civic education among educational, governmental, and private sector leaders in the United States and Latin America

These goals are accomplished through seminars, workshops, and conferences on civic education; exchange visits; development of material about the history and governance of the U.S. and Latin America; joint projects between U.S. and Latin American students; and research and evaluation to determine the effects of civic education programs on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of students.

The Center funds U.S. and international organizations joined in partnerships to conduct civic education programs. Current partnerships include:

- Florida Law-Related Education Association, Miami-Dade County Public Schools, Florida, and Civitas Panama
- Justice Resource Center of the New York City Board of Education, Center for Education in Law and Democracy of Colorado, and Civitas Venezuela
- State Bar of Texas, We the People Program of New Mexico, and Civitas Costa Rico
- Center for Civic Education and the Federal Elections Institute of Mexico

The Center also contracts with cooperating organizations to conduct specific activities to support U.S. and Latin American organizations. Cooperating organizations include:

- Organization of American States (OAS)
- American Federation of Teachers (AFT)
- Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University (SSDC)
- National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL)
- National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)

The Center also provides direct financial support, technical support, and training to leading civic education organizations in Latin America for the development, implementation, administration, and evaluation of civic education projects. Such projects are being conducted by Fundacion Presencia of Colombia, Civic Education Consortium of the Dominican Republic, COLMEIA of Brazil, and Conciencia of Argentina, among others.

Civitas Latin America: A Civic Education Exchange Program is funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education under the Education for Democracy Act approved by Congress. The program is administered by the Center with assistance of the CLA Coordinating Council.

The Center for Civic Education is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational corporation dedicated to fostering the development of informed, responsible participation in civic life by citizens committed to values and principles fundamental to constitutional democracy. For more information about the Center for Civic Education visit www.civiced.org. For more information about the Center's international programs visit www.civiced.org/international.html.



A Union of Professionals

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
555 New Jersey Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
202/879-4400
www.aft.org



Center for Civic Education
5145 Douglas Fir Road
Calabasas, CA 91302-1440
818/591-9321
www.civiced.org