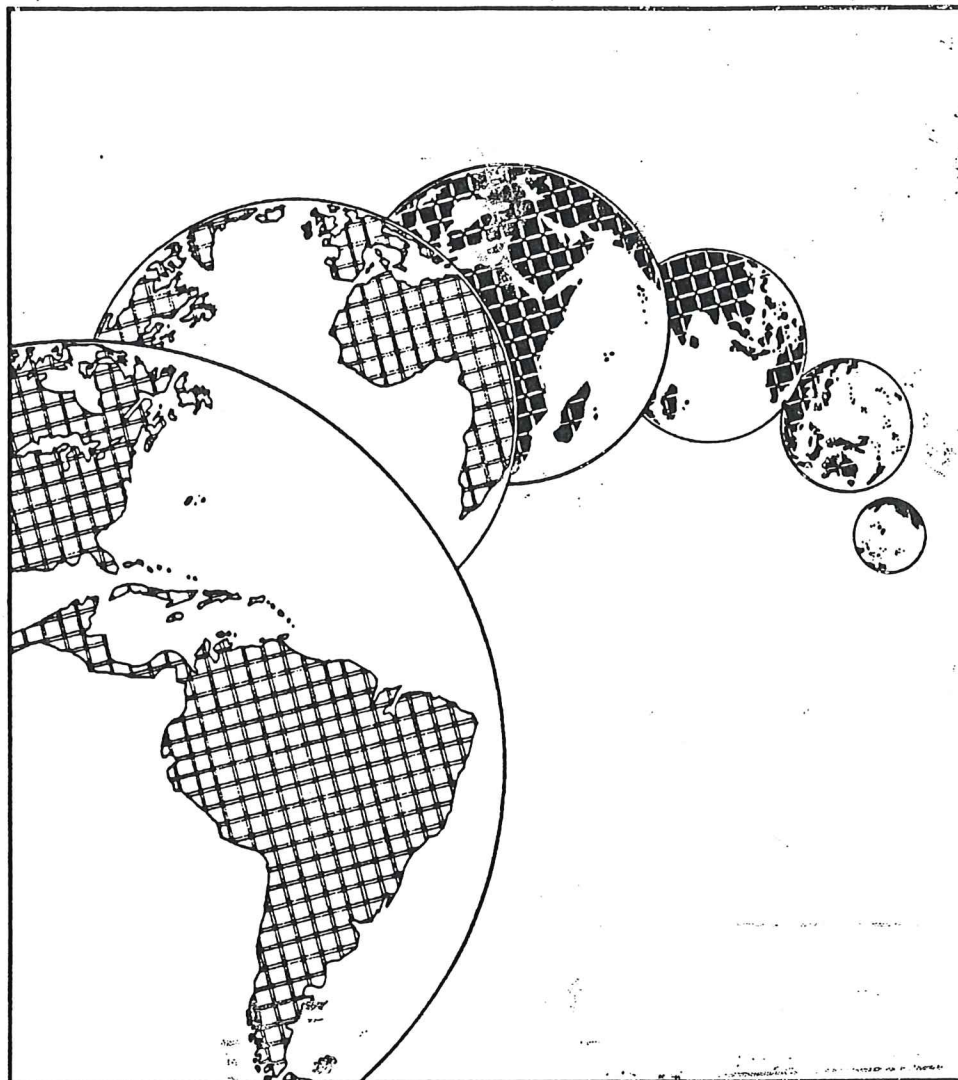


South America (Chile)

Level: High School/College

Latin America and the Caribbean from a Global Perspective



A Resource Guide for Teachers

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Latin American and Caribbean Center
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(Original in gray loose-leaf binder)

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State of the Planet Awareness

CUECA SOLO

Rationale

Even though political leaders throughout Latin America generally claim to uphold civil and political rights in their countries, in reality many people in this region do not enjoy many of the rights that are too often taken for granted by citizens of truly democratic nations. Unfortunately, many Latin American countries have faced and continue to face extremely difficult political and economic problems. In these contexts, it is difficult for people to choose things other than order.

Objectives

The student will:

1. discuss the major domestic and foreign problems facing our nation today;
2. review a case study of authoritarian government in Chile during the Pinochet government;
3. explore the complex nature of safeguarding democracy in times of national crisis.

Key Concepts

Authoritarianism, fascism, communism, democracy, golpe de estado, reactionary

Infusion Area

U.S. government, political science

Materials Needed

"They Dance Alone" (listening guide)

"They Dance Alone" (song and lyric sheet; this song is found on Sting's *Nothing Like the Sun* album released in 1987 under the A&M label)

"Chile"

"Chile" (student worksheet)

"La Violencia" (simulation exercise)

Suggested Time

Two to three class periods

Learning Activities

Suggested Activities for Day 1:

1. Ask students to discuss what they would expect their rights as citizens to be, given the following scenario:

"You are coming home late from a party and you are stopped by a police officer. What is most likely to happen next?"

Allow the students five minutes to answer the question in writing. After students are finished, have them share their responses with the class.

Point out that this simple occurrence, in some Latin American countries, could lead to the interrogation, arrest, and/or disappearance of an individual. There are countries in Latin America where people do not, or have not, felt protected from the power of the government.

Tell students that they are going to explore a case study of a Latin American country in which serious human rights abuses have occurred during the past 15 years.

2. Tell students that they are to listen carefully to a song that you will play and try to figure out what the song is about. (Distribute worksheet with questions to guide listening.) Allow students some time to respond and share their ideas with the class.

Distribute "They Dance Alone" lyrics. Review with the students the introductory paragraph on sheet. Play the song again and have students follow along with the lyrics. Direct student discussion along the lines of the questions posed in the "Listening Guide."

3. Distribute "Chile" and accompanying worksheet to students. Have them complete the reading and exercise by next class period.

Suggested Activities for Day 2:

1. Preview simulation exercise "La Violencia" in preparation for this activity. Tell students that today they will be citizens of the fictional Latin American country, La Violencia. Review "La Violencia" with class.
2. Divide the class into groups of 4 or 5 and have them follow the directions on the handout.
3. Have group leaders report to the class the decisions reached by their group and the reasons supporting each of their decisions.

After each group completes their report, ask the rest of the class to discuss what they think is likely to happen in La Violencia as a result of the decisions reached by each of the groups.

4. Conclude the lesson with a discussion based on the following questions:
 - a. What makes the situation in "La Violencia" so difficult?
 - b. Can "La Violencia" survive as a democracy given the turmoil it finds itself in?
 - c. In what ways might you argue against General Figueres's plan to "save" the country?
 - d. Is it possible to give up certain basic rights in order to save a democratic government in times of stress? Once certain rights are sacrificed in the name of "order," how do you get them back?

Assessment

Have students identify current news articles about countries that are undergoing situations similar to those depicted in "La Violencia" and share these stories with the class orally and/or in writing.

Additional Activities

Ask students to compare and contrast the conditions faced by Chilean citizens with respect to human rights violations and those conditions faced by certain citizens in American history. You might want to consider the following: the Sedition Act (1898); the removal of Cherokee Indians during the Jackson administration (1830s); Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus (1861); the treatment of African Americans; the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II; the arrest of 4,000 students demonstrating against the war in Vietnam throughout the United States during 1968-69, etc. Have students make inferences and formulate generalizations about what might be learned from these comparisons.

Listening Guide:

"They Dance Alone"

1. Why do you think the women in the song are dancing alone? Why are they sad?

2. What could explain soldiers being at this "dance?"

3. What does the following phrase mean?

"They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They dance with the invisible ones..."

Who are the missing?

4. Why is the dancers' "anguish unsaid?" What is likely to happen to the women if they were to speak up?

5. Whose graves will they one day dance upon? Why?

6. Who is Pinochet?

7. Where is this taking place?

Song: "They Dance Alone" ("*Cueca Solo*")
Artist: Sting

On the Amnesty Tour of 1986, Sting and his musicians were introduced to former political prisoners from all over the world. The band was "deeply affected" by this contact and, as a result, wrote and composed "They Dance Alone."

The "Cueca" is the traditional courting dance in Chile. The wives, daughters, and mothers of the "disappeared" in Chile perform the "Cueca Solo" publicly as a symbolic gesture of protest and mourning. Often, they perform the dance with photographs of their loved ones pinned to their clothes.

Lyrics: Why are these women here dancing on their own?
Why is there this sadness in their eyes?
Why are the soldiers here
Their faces fixed like stone?
I can't see what it is that they despise
They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They dance with the invisible ones
Their anguish is unsaid
They're dancing with their fathers
They're dancing with their sons
They're dancing with their husbands
They dance alone They dance alone

It's the only form of protest they're allowed
I've seen their silent faces scream so loud
If they were to speak these words
they'd go missing too
Another woman on the torture table
What else can they do
They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They dance with the invisible ones
Their anguish is unsaid
They're dancing with their fathers
They're dancing with their sons
They're dancing with their husbands
They dance alone They dance alone

One day we'll dance on their graves
One day we'll sing our freedom
One day we'll laugh in our joy
And we'll dance
One day we'll dance on their graves
One day we'll sing our freedom
One day we'll laugh in our joy
And we'll dance

Ellas danzan con los desaparecidos
Ellas danzan con los muertos
Ellas danzan con amores invisibles
Ellas danzan con silenciosa angustia
Danzan con sus padres
Danzan con sus hijos
Danzan con sus esposos
Ellas danzan solas
Danzan solas

Hey Mr. Pinochet
You've sown a bitter crop
It's foreign money that supports you
One day the money's going to stop
No wages for your torturers
No budget for your guns
Can you think of your own mother
Dancin' with her invisible son
They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They're dancing with the invisible ones
They're anguish is unsaid
They're dancing with their fathers
They're dancing with their sons
They're dancing with their husbands
They dance alone They dance alone

Chile (República de Chile)

GEOGRAPHY

Area in Square Kilometers (Miles):
756,945 (292,180) (nearly 2 times the size of California)
Capital (Population): Santiago (4,804,000)
Climate: mild; desert in north; Mediterranean in center; cool and damp in south

PEOPLE

Population

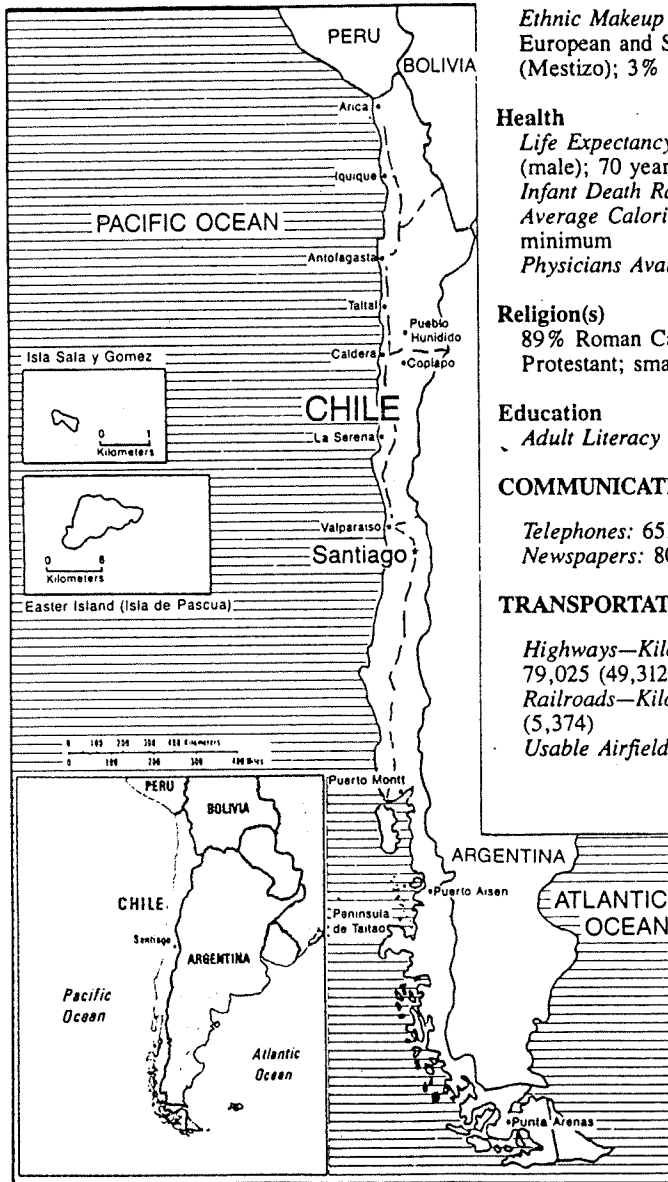
Total: 12,638,000
Annual Growth Rate: 1.5%
Rural/Urban Population Ratio: 17/83

"A SYNTHESIS OF THE PLANET"

Gabriela Mistral, Nobel Prize-winning Chilean poet and writer, described her nation in the following terms:

Something like a synthesis of the planet is fulfilled in the geography of Chile. It starts in the desert, which is like beginning with sterility that loves no man. It is humanized in the valleys. It creates a home for living beings in the ample fertile agricultural zone, it takes on a grandiose sylvan beauty at the end of the continent as if to finish with dignity, and finally crumbles, offering half life, half death, in the sea.

"My Country," *United Nations World* (May 1950), p. 51.



Ethnic Makeup of Population: 95% European and Spanish-Indian (Mestizo); 3% Indian; 2% other

Health

Life Expectancy at Birth: 64 years (male); 70 years (female)
Infant Death Rate (Ratio): 22/1,000
Average Caloric Intake: 114% of FAO minimum
Physicians Available (Ratio): 1/1,144

Religion(s)

89% Roman Catholic; 11% Protestant; small Jewish population

Education

Adult Literacy Rate: 90%

COMMUNICATION

Telephones: 651,000 (5.1/100)
Newspapers: 80 dailies

TRANSPORTATION

Highways—Kilometers (Miles):
79,025 (49,312)
Railroads—Kilometers (Miles): 8,613 (5,374)
Usable Airfields: 353

GOVERNMENT

Type: republic
Independence Date: September 18, 1818
Head of State: President Patricio Aylwin Azocar
Political Parties: in 1987 political parties acquired legal status; now active are the National Renovation Party; Radical Party; Humanist Party; Social Democratic Party; Christian Democratic Party; Republican Right; others
Suffrage: universal

MILITARY

Number of Armed Forces: 96,600
Military Expenditures (% of Central Government Expenditures): n/a
Current Hostilities: dispute with Bolivia regarding sovereign access to the Pacific for Bolivia

ECONOMY

Currency (\$ U.S. Equivalent): 246 pesos = \$1
Per Capita Income/GNP: \$1,330/\$16.4 billion
Inflation Rate: 20%
Natural Resources: copper; timber; iron ore; nitrates; precious metals; molybdenum
Agriculture: wheat; potatoes; sugar beets; onions; beans; fruits; livestock
Industry: mineral refining; metal manufacturing; food processing; fish processing; wood products

FOREIGN TRADE

Exports: \$2.9 billion
Imports: \$3.0 billion

From *Global Studies: Latin America, 4th Edition*, pp. xii, 1-2, and 65-67. Copyright © 1987 by The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Guilford, CT.

CHILE: AN ABORTED REVOLUTION

In September 1973 the Chilean military, with the secret support of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), seized power from the constitutionally elected government of President Salvador Allende. Chile, with its long-standing traditions of free and honest elections, respect for human rights, and freedom of the press, was quickly transformed into a brutal dictatorship that arrested, tortured, and killed thousands of its own citizens. In the larger sweep of Chilean history, however, the coup seemed to be the most recent and severe manifestation of a lengthy conflict between social justice, on the one hand, and the requirements of order dictated by the nation's ruling elite, on the other. This was true in the colonial period when there was conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and landowners over Indian rights. It has also been apparent in recent confrontations between Marxists, reformers, and conservatives.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE

Form, as opposed to substance, characterized the rule of the Christian Democrats in the 1960s, when they created many separate rural unions, supposedly to address the needs of *campesinos* (peasants). A divided union movement in effect became a form of government control that prevented the emergence of a single powerful rural organization.

In the early 1970s President Salvador Allende—despite his talk of socialism and his genuine attempt to destroy the institutions and values of an old social order—used a centralized bureaucracy that would have been recognized by sixteenth-century viceroys and nineteenth-century presidents as his weapon of transformation. Allende's attempts to institute far-reaching social change led to a strong reaction from powerful sectors of Chilean society who felt threatened.

THE 1973 COUP D'ETAT

When the military ousted Allende it had the support of many Chileans, including the majority of the middle classes, who had been hurt by the government's economic policies, troubled by continuous political turmoil, and infuriated by official mismanagement. The military, led by General Augusto Pinochet, began a new experiment with another form of centrist rule: military authoritarianism. The generals made it clear that they had not restored order merely to return it to the "discredited" constitutional practices of the past. They spoke of regeneration, of a new Chile, and of an end to the immorality, corruption, and incompetence of all

civilian politics. The military announced in 1974 that "guided by the inspiration of [Diego] Portales," who was one of nineteenth-century Chile's greatest civilian leaders, "the government of Chile will energetically apply the principle of authority and drastically punish any outburst of disorder and anarchy."

MILITARY POLICY

The political, economic, and social reforms proposed by the military aimed at restructuring Chile to such an extent that there would no longer be a need for traditional political parties. Economic policy favored free and open competition as the main regulator of economic and social life. The Chilean state rid itself of hundreds of state-owned corporations, struck down tariffs designed to protect Chilean industry from foreign competition, and opened the economy to widespread foreign investment. The changes struck deeply at the structure of the Chilean economy and produced a sharp recession, high unemployment, and hundreds of bankruptcies. A steep decline in the standard of living for most Chileans was the result of the government's anti-inflation policy.

Social-welfare programs were reduced to a minimum. The private sector was encouraged to assume many functions and services once provided by the state. Pensions were moved entirely to the private sector as all state programs were phased out. In this instance, the state calculated that workers tied through pensions and other benefits to the success of private enterprise would be less likely to be attracted to "non-Chilean" ideologies such as Marxism, socialism, or even Christian democracy. State-sponsored health programs were also cut to the bone, and many poor now pay for services once provided by the government.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

Immediately after the 1973 coup the military savaged the Chilean press. Between 350 and 500 journalists were killed, imprisoned, or banned from writing. An additional 400 were forced into exile. After the bloodletting, the military passed a series of decree laws that rigidly controlled the press. Journalists are well aware of these guidelines and practice extensive self-censorship. Similar controls are exercised by the authorities over the electronic media. Censorship also extends to education, where curricula are closely regulated by the state. Various human-rights groups have reported that extensive monitoring of mail and telephonic communications is conducted by government security services.

THE DEFEAT OF A DICTATOR

To attain a measure of "legitimacy," Chileans expected the military government to produce economic achievement. By 1987, and continuing into 1989, the regime's economic policies seemed successful. The growth rate for 1988 was an impressive 7.4 percent, but it also masked critical weaknesses in the Chilean economy. For example, much of the growth was overdependent on exports of raw materials—notably copper, pulp, timber, and fishmeal. A decline in world market prices for these commodities could trigger recession. Some Chileans have looked to industrial diversification as a possible solution, but the nation's small population offers little incentive to manufacturers. In short, the domestic market is too small.

Modest economic success and an inflation rate of less than 20 percent convinced General Pinochet that he could take his political scenario for Chile's future to the voters for their ratification. But in the October 5, 1988 plebiscite, Chile's voters upset the general's plans and decisively denied him an additional 8-year term. (He did, however, continue in office until the next presidential election determined his successor.) Importantly, the military regime reluctantly accepted defeat at the polls, which signifies the re-emergence of a deep-rooted civic culture and long democratic tradition.

Where had Pinochet miscalculated? Public-opinion surveys on the eve of the election showed a sharply divided electorate. Some political scientists even spoke of the existence of "two Chiles." In the words of government professor Arturo Valenzuela and *Boston Globe* correspondent Pamela Constable, one Chile "embraced those who had benefited from the competitive economic policies and welfare subsidies instituted by the regime and who had been persuaded that power was best entrusted to the armed forces." The second Chile "consisted of those who had been victimized by the regime, who did not identify with Pinochet's anti-Communist cause, and who had quietly nurtured a belief in democracy." Polling data from the respected Center for Public Studies showed that 72 percent of those who voted against the regime were motivated by economic factors. These were people who had lost skilled jobs or who had suffered a dramatic decrease in real wages. While Pinochet's economic reforms had helped some, it had also created a disgruntled mass of downwardly mobile wage earners. This struck not only at their standard of living but also at self-perceived images of status and prestige.

The founding of Santiago de Chile 1541

Independence from Spain is proclaimed 1818

The administration of Eduardo Frei; Revolution in Liberty dramatically alters Chilean society 1964-1973

A military coup ousts President Allende 1973



Analysts Valenzuela and Constable explain how a dictator allowed himself to be voted out of power. "To a large extent Pinochet had been trapped by his own mythology. He was convinced that he would be able to win and was anxious to prove that his regime was not a pariah but a legitimate government. He and other officials came to believe their own propaganda about the dynamic new Chile they had created." The closed character of the regime, with all lines of authority flowing to the hands of one man, made it "impossible for them to accept the possibility that they could lose." And when the impossible occurred and the dictator lost an election played by his own rules, neither civilians on the right nor the military was willing to override the constitutional contract they had forged with the Chilean people.

On December 14, 1989, Patricio Aylwin Azocar was elected president. He is Chile's first civilian president in 16 years, and will assume power in March 1990. Although Chile has made great strides forward in the return to its style of democracy, the military will remain a decisive behind-the-scenes actor. The Constitution is the military's creation, and it will be loathe to allow civilians to tamper with it. In essence, the military regime erected what might be termed a "protected democracy," i.e., political parties such as the Communist are outlawed.

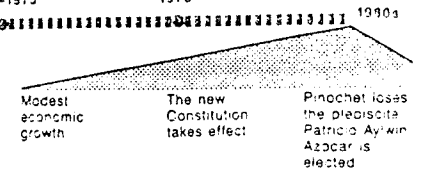
LAND AND ENVIRONMENT

Chile in 1955 was a country where less than 5 percent of the population owned more than 80 percent of the farmland.

Thousands of landless day laborers and owners of *minifundia*, tiny subsistence plots, lived on the margins of the great estates or around small towns. Others lived as a permanent workforce on the estates, called *fundos*. Taken together, they constituted a pool of cheap agricultural labor.

According to Patrick Breslin, an analyst working with the Inter-American Foundation, the arrangement was not only exploitative but also inefficient. At any given time, about 40 percent of prime farmland was left uncultivated. "And the system didn't meet the country's needs." Agricultural output in the 1950s was constantly outstripped by demand; Chile had to import increasing amounts of foodstuffs. "But so long as the traditional fundo system existed, it insured social and political control to a small ruling class. As in much of Latin America, agrarian reform was debated, and resisted, for decades."

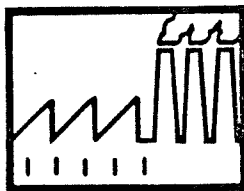
In the Cachapoal Valley in Central Chile, it was the Roman Catholic Church that implemented the first experiments with agrarian reform. In 1962 Church estates were divided among 76 families, most of them former workers, who were given 20 years at low interest to pay for the land. Breslin notes that three successive governments of the right, center, and left followed the example of the Church and implemented increasingly sweeping land-reform policies. This was a major issue during the 1960s, and Socialist President Salvador Allende stepped up the pace. With the military coup of 1973, the cause of land reform fell on bad times;



many *campesino* (peasant) leaders were arrested or killed, and workers who had gained control of the land under the various reform programs now lost it—through debt or fraud—to the former owners. The cooperatives in the Cachapoal Valley survived, although they had to compete with the competitive market system forced through by the military. During a 30-year timespan, the agricultural workers of Cachapoal experienced a wide range of systems, ranging from semifeudalism, through cooperativism and collectivism, to capitalism.

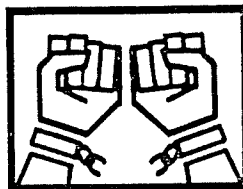
Now the land is imperiled by a new danger common to Third World countries: the gradual poisoning of the land and the people by pesticides. The birds are disappearing from Cachapoal. Farmers, according to Breslin, fear that this may be the harbinger of catastrophe. The farmers are integrally connected to an expanding and highly competitive world market in fresh produce. "Competition pressures them to ever heavier use of fertilizers as well as pesticides that are already threatening their land and their health." Pesticide poisoning is just as important as the destruction of rain forests in other parts of Latin America. Solutions are difficult, and farmers living on the economic edge are reluctant to change, even though the birds no longer fly over the valley.

DEVELOPMENT



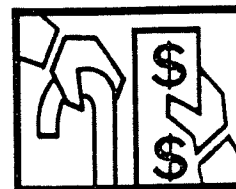
Former President Pinochet, in an attempt to preserve his open-market economic policies, moved to sell off remaining state-owned enterprises before national elections. LAN-Chile, the state airline, was put up for sale; the government, however, is to retain a 49% interest.

FREEDOM



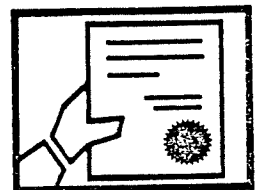
There was a vigorous political debate in the final weeks before the presidential plebiscite, although the opposition was denied balanced media coverage and was outspent by the government by a margin of 30 to 1. The election itself was conducted in a peaceful, orderly, and free manner. Some government employees were intimidated and pressured to vote "yes."

HEALTH/WELFARE



Although school attendance is supposed to be compulsory through grade 8, the average number of years of school attendance for the total population is 4.33. Government programs have attempted to improve the average by linking special family-welfare payments for the children of the poor to school attendance.

ACHIEVEMENTS



Chile's great literary figures, such as Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda, have a great sympathy for the poor and oppressed. This places Chilean authors in the mainstream of Latin American literature. Another major Chilean writer, Isabel Allende, has emerged in the past decade.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Period: _____

Chile

WORKSHEET

1. What country's intelligence agency helped the Chilean military oust President Salvador Allende in the 1973 golpe?
2. What form of rule did General Pinochet establish when the military took over the Chilean government?
3. Describe the social and economic state of Chile during the past decade.
4. What effect did the 1973 golpe have on the press in Chile? On human rights in general?

"La Violencia"

You are a citizen in the country of La Violencia. For the past several years, La Violencia has been undergoing constant political and economic turmoil. La Violencia has a long tradition of democracy, but recently, in order to maintain order, its citizens have been arrested, detained, executed--many of these have been officially labeled as "desaparecidos" (disappeared) by the authorities.

There is a group of Marxist guerrillas, the M-20s (Movimiento del 20 de abril) trying to overthrow the government. This group has pledged to carry out sweeping reforms aimed at redistributing land and wealth to the people and restoring "true" democracy to La Violencia. General Máximo Figueres ("El Salvaje") wants to suspend all democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and disband the national congress. "El Salvaje" claims that this is the only way to save the fatherland from communist subversion and chaos. In order to accomplish his goals, the nation will be put under a state of siege (martial law) until all subversives are found and eliminated.

As a loyal citizen of La Violencia, you are now forced to choose between "order" (this would entail severe and perhaps permanent curtailment of rights) and "chaos" (a situation that would prohibit you from exercising many of the freedoms you technically have).

As you assess and discuss the situation with your fellow citizens, consider what is at risk. Using the list below, decide which of these rights you would be willing to give up in exchange for order in La Violencia.

1. Right to life, liberty, and security of person
2. Freedom of opinion and expression
3. Freedom of assembly and association
4. Right to equality before the law
5. Protection from torture
6. Protection from inhumane or degrading treatment
7. Protection from arbitrary arrest or detention
8. Protection from forced exile

