



Section 1

GUIDED READING

Democracy Case Study: Latin American Democracies

A. Determining Main Ideas As you read this section, fill in the chart by writing notes in the appropriate spaces.

Making Democracy Work	
1. Note four practices that are common in a democracy.	
2. Note three conditions that contribute to democratic progress in a nation.	

Steering Brazil Toward Democracy	
3. Note three actions Brazilian leaders took to stabilize Brazil's economy.	
4. Note one democratic practice in Brazil today.	

Ending One-Party Rule in Mexico	
5. Note two crises that threatened democratic stability in Mexico.	
6. Note one way that the election of 2000 advanced democracy in Mexico.	

Ending Repression in Argentina	
7. Note three ways military rule affected Argentina.	
8. Note one democratic practice in Argentina today.	

B. Summarizing On the back of this paper, define the following terms:

land reform standard of living recession



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Section 2

GUIDED READING

The Challenge of Democracy in Africa

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read about Nigeria and South Africa, note the consequences of each of the policies or actions listed.

Policies/Actions		Consequences
1. In drawing up colonial boundaries in Africa, the colonial powers ignored ethnic and cultural divisions.	→	
2. The colonial powers developed plantations and mines but few factories in Africa.	→	
3. Civil war breaks out in ethnically divided Nigeria.	→	
4. The military overthrows Nigeria's civilian government.	→	
5. The National Party gains power in South Africa.	→	
6. Riots break out in the black township of Soweto.	→	
7. South Africans elect F. W. de Klerk president.	→	
8. President de Klerk agrees to hold universal elections.	→	

B. Summarizing On the back of this paper, define the following terms:

federal system

martial law

dissident

apartheid



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GUIDED READING *The Collapse of the Soviet Union*

Section 3

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read this section, explain how Communist leaders responded to each problem or crisis.

Problems/Crises		Responses
1. Soviet society had stopped growing as a result of totalitarian policies banning political dissent.	→	
2. The Soviet economy was inefficient and unproductive.	→	
3. The Soviet-U.S. arms race had become too costly.	→	
4. In August 1991, hard-liners staged a coup against Gorbachev.	→	
5. The Soviet Union broke up.	→	
6. The Russian economy under Boris Yeltsin was ailing.	→	
7. In 1991, Chechnya declared its independence.	→	

B. Clarifying On the back of this paper, define the following terms:

glasnost

perestroika

CIS



Section 4

GUIDED READING

Changes in Central and Eastern Europe

A. Drawing Conclusions As you read about changes in Central and Eastern Europe, take notes to answer the questions.

Poland and Hungary Reform

1. Why did the Poles choose a former Communist leader over Lech Walesa in the 1995 election?

2. What were some of the reforms introduced in Hungary?

Germany Reunifies

3. Why did huge demonstrations break out throughout East Germany?

Democracy Spreads in Czechoslovakia

4. Why did Czechoslovakia break up?

Overthrow in Romania

5. What brought about Ceausescu's downfall in Romania?

B. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects On the back of this paper, explain the causes and effects of the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991. In your writing, identify the policy of **ethnic cleansing**.

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GUIDED READING *China: Reform and Reaction*

Section 5

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read about Communist China, fill in the chart by noting the goals and outcomes of each action listed.

Goals	Actions	Outcomes
	1. Mao begins the Cultural Revolution.	
	2. Zhou Enlai invites American table tennis team to tour China.	
	3. Deng Xiaoping launches a bold program of economic reforms.	
	4. Students stage an uprising in Tiananmen Square.	
	5. Britain hands Hong Kong over to China.	

B. Determining Main Ideas On the back of this paper, identify the **Four Modernizations** and evaluate Deng's success in meeting these goals.



BUILDING VOCABULARY *Struggles for Democracy*

A. Multiple Choice Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.

- The once imprisoned ANC leader who became president of South Africa was (a) Lech Walesa (b) Nelson Mandela (c) Zhou Enlai.
- Deng Xiaoping's set of goals calling for progress in Chinese agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology were known as the (a) Politburo (b) federal system (c) Four Modernizations.
- The huge public space in Beijing where students staged a protest against the lack of political freedom in China is (a) Tiananmen Square (b) Brasília (c) Politburo.
- The former Solidarity union leader who became president of Poland in 1990 was (a) Lech Walesa (b) Nelson Mandela (c) Zhou Enlai.
- In 1990 the two Germanys were merged in a process called (a) martial law (b) apartheid (c) reunification.
- The political party that became the main force for stability in Mexico after 1946 was the (a) Politburo (b) PRI (c) CIS.

B. Completion Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

land reform	recession	apartheid	reunification
standard of living	martial law	dissident	ethnic cleansing

- Temporary military rule is known as _____.
- The complete separation of races in South Africa was called _____.
- The plan for breaking up large estates and distributing that land to peasants in Brazil was called _____.
- The Serbian attempt to rid Bosnia of its Muslim population was called _____.
- The level of material comfort that people enjoy, as measured by the amount of goods they have, is called the _____.
- A slowdown in the economy is a _____.

C. Writing Write a summary of some of the changes that occurred in the Soviet Union in the 1980s and 1990s using the following terms.

Mikhail Gorbachev glasnost perestroika Boris Yeltsin "shock therapy"



Section 5

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Primary Sources*

A primary source is one that was written by an observer or a participant in a historical event. Primary sources include letters, journals, speeches, and policy statements. The excerpt below is from an official policy statement in which the Central Committee of the Communist Party led by Deng Xiaoping sets forth the Four Modernizations. As you read, try to identify the Committee's position on economic development in China. (See Skillbuilder Handbook)

Now is an appropriate time . . . to shift the emphasis of our Party's work and the attention of the people of the whole country to socialist modernization. This is of major significance for fulfillment of the three-year and eight-year programs for the development of the national economy and the outline for 23 years, for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. . . . Whether or not we can carry this general task to completion, speed socialist modernization and . . . improve the people's living standards significantly and strengthen national defense—this is a major issue which is of paramount concern to all our people and of great significance to the cause of world peace and progress. Carrying out the four modernizations requires . . . changes in all methods of management, actions and thinking

which stand in the way of such growth. Socialist modernization is therefore a profound and extensive revolution. . . .

The session points out that one of the serious shortcomings in the structure of economic management in our country is the overconcentration of authority, and it is necessary boldly to shift it under guidance from the leadership to lower levels, . . . to institute a division of responsibilities among different levels, . . . increase the authority and responsibility of administrative bodies and managerial personnel, reduce the number of meetings and amount of paper work to raise work efficiency, and conscientiously adopt the practices of examination, reward and punishment, promotion and demotion. . . .

Source: *The Peking Review*, July 28, 1978

1. According to the policy statement, what were the long-term goals for China? _____

2. According to the policy statement, what was wrong with previous economic programs? _____

3. How did the Committee view its plans for the modernization of China? _____

4. If you were writing an explanation of the Four Modernizations for a world history textbook, what words or phrases might you quote from the policy statement? _____

CHAPTER
35**Section 1****GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: PLACE*****Democracy in Central and South America***

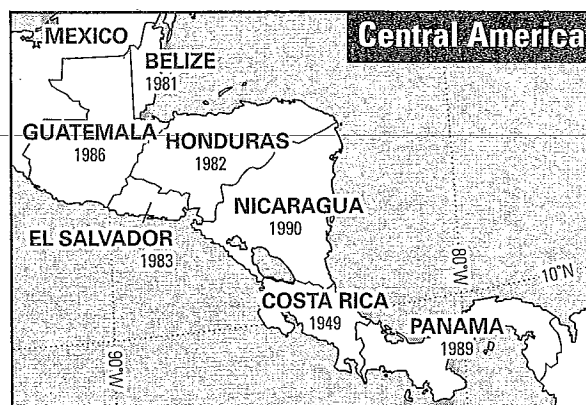
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the maps carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

In the second half of the 20th century, many South and Central American countries struggled to form republics—democratic governments. Many countries have had brief or interrupted democracies since the 19th century. However, the maps below indicate the years in which each country gained a relatively stable republic.

On the South American continent, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay have had to overthrow military regimes in order for democracy to take root. Sometimes it has taken years for an independent government to actually take office. For instance, in Bolivia decades of military dictators prevented democratic attempts at government. In addition, Brazil, which overthrew its military government in 1979, did not have a fully democratic presidential election until 1989. Ecuador has enjoyed periods of democracy after World War II, but those were erratic and inconsistent until 1979.

In other countries, hard-won democracies continue to be under assault. Colombia has been plagued by violence resulting from the drug trade and warring political parties. Peru and Suriname still battle forces opposed to democracy. In 1992, the president of Peru suspended many republican ideals, and the military in Suriname still indirectly influences its republican government.

In Central America, Panama, Nicaragua, and El Salvador have been torn by civil war and factional violence, but have managed to implement the democratic process. In Honduras and Guatemala, democracy is fragile, and the military has a high degree of influence. However, Costa Rica has a tradition of democracy dating back to 1890, though there were periods of political breakdowns until the birth of a new constitution in 1949.



Interpreting Text and Maps

1. Which country in South and Central America has the oldest stable democracy? the youngest?

2. In which decade did most of the democracies in South and Central America become stable?

3. According to the passage, which countries endured the most violence in Central America on their way to democracy? _____

4. According to the passage, which countries in South America currently have democracies under siege? _____

5. Which South American country is not independent? _____
6. Since World War II, which decade has seen the birth of no stable democracies in Central and South America? _____
7. In what years did more than one country form a democracy? Name the years and the countries. _____

8. According to the passage, what type of government did most of these countries have before their move to democracy? Why might that be the case? _____



Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE *from Kaffir Boy*
by Mark Mathabane

Mark Mathabane grew up in Alexandra, a crowded black township about 10 miles north of Johannesburg, South Africa. His family suffered from desperate poverty and discrimination imposed upon them by South Africa's policy of racial apartheid. Although Mathabane eventually overcame these obstacles and won a scholarship to an American university, his autobiography Kaffir Boy provides a vivid description of what it was like to grow up as a black African under apartheid. As you read this excerpt, think about how Mathabane's grandmother explains the laws of apartheid to her 11-year-old grandson.

“There’s something you ought to know about how things are in this country, something your Mama I see has not told you yet. Black and white people live apart—very much apart—that, you already know. What you may not know is that they’ve always been apart, and will always be apart—that’s what apartheid means. White people want it that way, and they’ve created all sorts of laws and have the guns to keep it that way.”

“We live in our world,” she continued, after taking a pinch of snuff and loading it under her tongue, “and white people live in their world. We’re their servants, they’re our masters. Our people fought hard to change things, but each time the white man always won. He has all the guns. Maybe another generation of black people will come which will defeat the white man, despite his many guns. But for now, he says how things should be, and we have to obey. Do you see those two things over there?” Granny pointed across the street.

“Yes, Granny, they’re phone boxes.”

“That’s right,” she affirmed. “But they are not just phone boxes. One is a black phone box, the other a white phone box. Don’t forget that. And for as long as I’ve been working for white people, and God knows I’ve been working for them for centuries, I’ve never seen a black person in his right mind go into the wrong one. It might be a matter of life and death, and still he wouldn’t. Even blind people know which is which.”

“Which one is for black people, Granny?” I asked, somewhat confused, for the two phone booths were exactly the same in all respects—colour, size and shape.

“I don’t know which is which,” Granny groped for words, “but there’s always a sign on each door, to tell which race is allowed to use which phone.”

As she said this, it struck me that she could not read, like millions of other blacks who worked for

whites. How did they function normally in a world totally ruled by signs?

Thus my consciousness was awakened to the pervasiveness of “petty apartheid,” and everywhere I went in the white world, I was met by visible and invisible guards of racial segregation. Overtly, the guards—larger-than-life signs that read, European Only, Non-European Only, Whites Only, Non-Whites Only, Slegs Blankes, Slegs Nie-Blankes—greeted me, and led me as a blind man would be led to the door I should enter through, the elevator I should ride in, the water fountain I should drink from, the park bench I should sit on, the bus I should ride in . . .

The invisible guards, however, did not greet me as conspicuously to orient me about my place in life. Instead, remarks such as “You’re in the wrong place, Kaffir,” “We don’t serve your colour here, Kaffir,” “Who do you think you are, Kaffir?” “Are you mad, Kaffir?” told me it was still the guards of Jim Crow talking.

Because the guards of segregation were everywhere in the white world, and I saw black people who unwittingly disobeyed them cursed, beaten or thrown in jail, I became increasingly self-conscious with each step I took.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

1. According to Granny, why did apartheid exist?
2. What were some of the guards of racial segregation that Mathabane encountered?

3. **Making Inferences** In his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, Archbishop Desmond Tutu explained that, “There is no peace in southern Africa. There is no peace because there is no justice.” How does Granny’s explanation of how things were in South Africa illustrate Tutu’s statement?



Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE

Inaugural Address

by Nelson Mandela

South Africa's first all-race elections, held in April 1994, produced the nation's first black president, Nelson Mandela. On May 10, Mandela delivered his inauguration speech in the city of Pretoria. What does this excerpt from Mandela's speech reveal about his vision of South Africa's future?

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty. Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud. Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all. . . .

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression. . . .

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace. . . .

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world, who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free. Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honor and privilege that you, the people of South

Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.

Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Nelson Mandela, speech at his inauguration as president of the Democratic Republic of South Africa, May 10, 1994. Reprinted in *Historic Documents of 1994* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1995), 249–251.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

1. How did Mandela refer to South Africa's system of apartheid in this speech?
2. Why had South Africa been "spurned, outlawed, and isolated" by other nations?
3. **Making Inferences** Some critics of Mandela predicted that as president he would replace white oppression with black oppression. How did Mandela answer these critics in this speech?

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Section 3

PRIMARY SOURCE **Political Cartoon**

This political cartoon illustrates the democratic revolutions that took place in October 1989 in which Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany were overthrown and in which the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union—Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia—moved toward independence. According to the cartoonist, what was the outcome of Mikhail Gorbachev's encouragement of social, political, and economic reforms in the Soviet Union?



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Activity Options

1. **Determining Main Ideas** With a small group of classmates, analyze this political cartoon. Which European countries and Soviet republics are represented as Halloween trick or treaters? What do these countries and republics want from the Soviet Union? Why do you think the cartoonist used the theme of Halloween for the cartoon?
2. **Analyzing Political Cartoons** Draw your own political cartoon about one of the struggles for democracy that you have read about in Chapter 35. Study this political cartoon and those on pages 1037 and 1047 of your textbook to stimulate ideas. Then display your cartoon in the classroom.

CHAPTER
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Section 4

PRIMARY SOURCE *from The Road to Manjača*
by Orhan Bosnević

In 1992 a Bosnian Muslim was arrested by soldiers from the Serbian-led Yugoslav army and sent to Manjača, a concentration camp located in Serb-held Bosnia-Herzegovina. He uses a pseudonym—Orhan Bosnević—to protect family members who still live in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As you read this account of his ordeal, think about the brutal conditions he was forced to endure.

Logor Manjača, a concentration camp for Muslims and Croats from all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, lies on the Manjača plateau just above Banja Luka. Once a Yugoslav army farm, its six animal sheds housed about four thousand men—if the inmates of a concentration camp may be called men.

If only we had been treated as well as the cattle and sheep that the sheds had been built for! Six to seven hundred of us, ranging from high school pupils to men in their eighties, were crammed like sardines into each seventy-by-twelve-meter building. At night we slept on the bare concrete or on fern leaves. In the day we were allowed to move a meter to the right of our sleeping position, a meter to the left, and to go to the latrine—in columns of ten men at a time. When it was hot outside, conditions were unbearable; when it was cold, they were worse.

In this camp of fear and horror, where the next moment might summon us to our deaths, we had two “meals” a day. Breakfast was a cup of a warm, colored liquid they called tea, a slice of bread (we were given one loaf between twenty-two to thirty of us), and a piece of bacon the size of a boiled sweet. For lunch, a third of a bowl of unsalted potato or bean soup, with or without a small piece of bread. On this grand diet we all lost ten, twenty, thirty kilos or more, and we were light-headed with hunger. . . .

At first, all movement was restricted to the shed. After two months, groups of twenty men at a time from each shed were allowed twenty minutes’ fresh air in turn. With six to seven hundred prisoners in each shed—or “pavilion,” as we were forced to call them, probably because it sounded pleasanter—it is not too hard to calculate how much fresh air we actually got. Some of us never went out at all.

After the beatings and the hunger, our biggest

problems were lack of fresh air, water, and hygiene. Suffocation and thirst had already killed some of us. As for hygiene, it was virtually non-existent. Our heads were shaved immediately on arrival, and I had two baths of two or three minutes each during my whole imprisonment. Our last bath—by courtesy of the army, who ran the camp—was on August 18th; the first inmates left Manjača on November 14th, in a state that is perhaps better left to the imagination. . . .

We did our washing at the back of the sheds, next to the minefield. Once, when I was inside the shed, there was a massive explosion, followed a few seconds later by the thud of something black hitting one of the transparent roof panels. A murmur went round the shed: “Another man gone.”

A prisoner—Ramadan Skorić from Kotor Varos—had stepped on a mine. Screaming, blood pouring from the jagged stumps of flesh and bone where his feet had been, he dragged himself to safety. None of us dared help him.

from Orhan Bosnević, The Road to Manjača, Francis R. Jones, trans. Reprinted in Rabia Ali and Lawrence Lifschultz, eds., Why Bosnia? (Stony Creek, Connecticut: Pamphleteer’s Press, 1993), 107–109.

Research Options

1. **Comparing and Contrasting** Refer to pages 937–939 in your textbook and to firsthand accounts by Nazi concentration camp survivors such as Elie Wiesel (*In-Depth Resources: Unit 7*). Then work with classmates to make a Venn diagram in which you compare Nazi concentration camps in World War II with the Serbian concentration camp described in this excerpt.
2. **Using Research in Writing** Find recent newspaper or magazine articles about Bosnia. Then write a brief summary about the current political situation there and share it with classmates.


 CHAPTER
35

 LITERATURE SELECTION *from Brazil*
 by John Updike

Section 1

In this novel, American author John Updike traces the political, economic, and social changes that took place in Brazil from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s through the eyes of Tristão Reposo, a child of the Rio slums, and his wife Isabel Leme, who grew up in the upper class. What does this excerpt reveal about Brazil's economic and political development?

Yes, they lived happily then, in São Paulo, first in an apartment in Higienópolis, and then in a house in the Jardim América district, off the Rua Groenlândia, for a dozen years in all. The Leme brothers succeeded in obtaining for Tristão a position in middle management, not at the *fusca* plant where he had tightened engine-mounting bolts opposite gap-toothed Oscar—for *fuscas* were no longer made—but at a textile mill in São Bernardo, one of the so-called ABCD cities, industrial satellites of São Paulo.

The mill was a single vast room where giant looms kept up a clatter which pressed on Tristão's ears with a million small concussions; each noise was smaller than the clashes of metal on metal in the *fusca* factory, but there were many more of them. At first, he tried to understand the intricacies—the warp, the weft, the batten and its beating-in, the ways in which twill differed from plain weave, or tabby, and how variations in lifting the threads of the warp with the heddles produced satin and damask, warp-pile velvet and weft-pile corduroy, and the truly dizzying operation whereby many spinning cones of thread, drawn by a mechanical drawboy controlled by punched cards, could be woven to make elaborately figured fabrics.

The shuttle, that carried the weft threads back and forth under the lifted warps that formed the shed, was the basic awkwardness, he perceived, for at the heart of the weaving there must be this moment of suspension when the shuttle flies, or its flying is imitated by rapiers, by dummy-shuttles, and even by jets of air or water that propel the thread from one edge, called a selvage, of the cloth to the other, making a “pick.” Just so, at the heart of our lives lies a supernatural leap, an oscillating unlikelihood. Miraculously, the looms clanked and

clattered, repeating the shedding, the picking, and the beating-in with a merciless speed that yet did not snap threads: there was no resistance in the material universe to an inhuman acceleration. The human attendants of the machines, indeed, looked grotesquely lackadaisical and soft, like wet clay dropped here and there, idle spectators who would suddenly spring into action at the depletion of a bright-colored cone or glistening heavy shuttle. The workers, mostly women, wore kerchiefs to keep their long hair from becoming entangled with the machines, which in a flicker of mindless operation would pull their scalps loose from their skulls. Some of these women had Indian blood; others had come with the Japanese immigration, or the Italian before it, or among those varied Middle Eastern peoples lumped as turcos, Turks.

And then there was another giant room of the factory, in which the altogether different operation of knitting was carried on by machines built on quite different principles, needles being the fundamental unit, ingeniously bent needles of two types: spring beard and latch, the latch having a tiny pivot closing the needle's loop and permitting the stitch to be cast off. The needles in a variety of gauges

ranging from the size of a pencil to that of a mouse whisker were arrayed in bars or circles, cylinders or plates, controlled by moving cams that imitated the motion of knitting over and over and over, gnashing like piranhas, producing sheets or tubes of knitted fabric as coarse as ski sweaters or as seductively filmy as pantyhose. Tristão's attempt at understanding the details of manufacture gave him terrible, million-toothed dreams and lasted but a few weeks; then he perceived that his role was to understand merely his relation to the men above him in the management chain, and those below him, and to fit

The mill was a single vast room where giant looms kept up a clatter which pressed on Tristão's ears with a million small concussions.

himself into the organizational motions. Together, like a dim-witted animal that nevertheless knows enough to move toward food, the factory and its employees lumbered toward market; meanwhile, the government heavily rode the animal's back and inflation shackled its feet. Some of the managers interfaced with the market—the fashion experts, the advertising men, the wholesalers, the retailers' representatives—and others with the government, as it extracted its taxes, fine-tuned its price controls, imposed its safety and pollution regulations, accepted its bribes. Still others interfaced with the engineers and the machinery, which needed to be repaired, re-evaluated, and replaced with ever newer, more computerized and robotic equipment. Tristão, as it evolved, interfaced with the workers and their unions.

He had a certain social blankness, with his high solemn brow and unexpectedly dark eyes—the irises melting sorrowfully into the pupils—and a cautious dignity that fit him to the position. Though he was white, *claro*—almost unnaturally so, as if his skin had never seen the sun, or had been bleached by fiat—he lacked the upper-class Paulista accent that the workers and their leaders instinctively hated. He had none of the prissy, languid arrogance of the *filhos do poder* [sons of power]; he seemed, actually, to be the son of no one, and he attended earnestly and carefully to the workers' complaints and the labor unions' schemes for rectification of inequities and elimination of bottlenecks as if striving to puzzle through a maze where he lacked the guidance of prejudice. The whole legitimate modern world seemed something of a puzzle to him, that he must work through step by step. He was patient. He never condescended. Though he grasped, as if once one of them, the harsh monotony of work on the factory floor, he did not attempt, in the fascist manner ascendant during the military rule, to usurp the leadership of the rank and file. He kept on his silvery-gray suit and snow-white collar, visibly a company man, yet rose in prestige with the workers as—beginning with the sit-down strike of a bus factory in 1978 that spread to seventy-eight thousand metalworkers—waves of strikes and defiance effected a revolution in wage increases, safety

regulations, health benefits, and employee rights. Mass assemblies thundered their votes in soccer stadiums; union offices moved out from under the wing of government and corporate collusion into the Cathedral of São Bernardo, at the invitation of the newly reform-minded Church. The ultimate bastion against Communism is a bourgeoisified worker class, and Tristão, whose own bourgeoisification had about it something skin-deep, served as a kind of enzyme in the process. His neutrality of bearing and accent was like that of an actor on television, which was reassuring to workers who, at even the most abject level of poverty, lived more and more within television's soap operas, newscasts, and quiz shows.

His textile factory emerged from the strikes of 1980 with worker-management relations intact; it had become clear that the old class wars, which had driven capitalism like an engine overheated to the point of explosion, must give way, on a globe dominated by Japanese and German methodology, to arrangements of mutual dependency and satisfac-

Together, like a dim-witted animal that nevertheless knows enough to move toward food, the factory and its employees lumbered toward market.

tion between government, industry, and the populace. Tancredo Neves' brilliant defeat, in 1985, of the military rulers in the electoral college, and then his stunning death the night before his inauguration, passed in Tristão's clattering, shuttling world with scarcely a dropped stitch. As the years wore on, Tristão ever more patiently (and, it must be confessed, absent-mindedly) sat listening to the voice of the workers with the healing tact and non-committal silence of a Freudian psychiatrist, whose

patient, never cured, is nevertheless enabled to limp forward under the load of daily woe. Tristão prospered in his job. He took up the status-appropriate activities—tennis, jogging, squash, wind-surfing—and excelled in all, with his limber grace and latent ferocity. . . .

Yet he never really felt at home in São Paulo. Except in his daily commute to the industrial belt, and the routes to certain favored restaurants and their beach house in Ubatuba, he was forever getting lost, finding himself going around on the same viaduct, or circling the same neighborhood, or one that looked exactly like it. He could not shake the impression, received on his first visit nearly twenty

years before, that the city had no limits, no shape, compared with Rio, where the beaches and the breadloaf mountains pinch the streets to a series of dainty waists, and a horizon of untamed nature—bare mountaintop, sun-battered sea—is always in view. When he and Isabel, as their status befitted, travelled to Paris and Rome, New York and Tokyo, Buenos Aires and Mexico City, it all seemed to him, aside from the unmistakable difference between the Eiffel Tower and the Colosseum, more São Paulo, more cement-gray people-sprawl, eating up the planet. He thought back nostalgically upon the emptiness of the Mato Grosso, when he and Isabel had first traversed it, with its faint woody tang of some spiritual heartwood, and the flocks of flamingos rising in billows beneath the eastward-drifting outpouring of blue-bottomed

clouds, and the upside-down silhouettes of the *pinheiros* [pine trees] beckoning them, from a far rosy cliff, to that night's campsite.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

1. Where did Tristão work in the 1970s and 1980s, and what did he do?
2. What obstacles did industry in Brazil face in the late 1970s and early 1980s?

3. *Drawing Conclusions* Refer to pages

1033–1036 of your textbook to review the characteristics of democracy. What evidence that Brazil was moving from dictatorship toward democracy do you find in this excerpt? Give examples to support your answer.



CHAPTER
35

Section 1

HISTORYMAKERS

Juan and Eva Perón

Argentina's First Couple

"He is God for us; . . . we cannot conceive of heaven without Perón. He is our sun, our air, our water, our life."—Eva Perón, about her husband Juan

Juan Perón was the dominant political force in Argentina for 30 years. He built a strong base of support among Argentina's workers and enjoyed their total loyalty. Helping him to achieve power was his wife, Eva, a one-time actress and a champion of the poor and downtrodden.

Perón's grandfather had been a physician and university teacher, but family fortunes had declined. Perón, who was born in 1895, entered the military academy and became an officer. He rose in the ranks and joined the army's general staff. In 1930, he played a minor role in a military plot that overthrew the civilian government.

After teaching military history for a time, Perón traveled to Europe in the late 1930s and observed fascism in Italy and Germany. He admired how the state controlled the nation's resources. Back in Argentina, he formed a group of colonels and majors and seized the government in 1943. Perón won the support of the nation's workers, whom he fondly called the *descamisados*, or the "shirtless ones." As secretary of labor, he gave them higher wages in order to gain their support.

Perón's growing power worried other officers, and in 1945 they arrested him. Workers streamed into the capital of Buenos Aires by the thousands. Alarmed, the other officers released Perón. He triumphantly appeared on a balcony to declare himself a candidate for president in next year's elections.

Joining in this massive demonstration was Eva Duarte. She had come to Buenos Aires from a poor home in the countryside to make her fortune as an actress. She became popular in radio soap operas. In 1944, at age 25 she met Perón, and the two quickly fell in love. The masses adored her, and "Evita," as she was called, helped connect Perón to them. They married in late 1945, and Perón began to campaign for the presidency.

Perón won the election easily. He was fortunate because Argentina's post-World War II economy was booming. Food was in high demand in war-torn Europe, which enabled farmers to charge high prices. Perón could afford to give workers a 40-hour week, paid vacations, and retirement benefits.

Meanwhile, Evita became an important figure. She had offices in a government agency, where she tried to help the people. She formed a foundation that oversaw almost all charity giving in the country. She told enthusiastic crowds that her expensive clothes symbolized their future. She also campaigned for women to have the right to vote. Other powerful groups were alarmed by the almost fanatical support that both husband and wife enjoyed.

Perón also took practical steps to consolidate his power. People in all walks of life—teachers, students, workers, business owners, and farmers—were forced to join groups that Perón controlled. He moved Argentina more toward a police state. He shut down newspapers, took control of all radio stations, and suppressed opposition. The legislature, which he controlled, passed a new law allowing the president to serve two terms. He won reelection in a vote that showed signs of corruption. In the meantime, Argentina's economy suffered as exports declined.

The couple stumbled in 1951 when Evita became a candidate for vice president. The army would not support the move, and she was forced to withdraw from the race. The next year, she died of cancer. Perón began to lose support. He took actions that angered the Catholic church, which had supported him in the past. In 1955, it and the army ousted him from power.

Perón spent almost 20 years in exile. However, he still remained popular with Argentina's workers and could prevent any other leader from running the country effectively. In 1972, he was allowed to return home and became president again the next year. Perón, though, was old and ill and died in 1974.

Questions

1. **Making Inferences** How did Juan and Eva Perón work together effectively?
2. **Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects** How did the Argentine economy help and then hurt Perón?
3. **Drawing Conclusions** Did Perón unite or divide Argentine society?



HISTORYMAKERS

Nelson Mandela

Fighting for Freedom for All

Section 2

"When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. . . . For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."—Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom (1994)

Nelson Mandela lived an improbable life. Born in a tribal culture, he became educated in Western ways. A leader of his people, he spent nearly 30 years in jail. Four years later, he was elected president of South Africa.

Mandela's father was a wealthy and influential chief of the Thembu people. Born in 1918, Mandela was still a young boy when his father defied a British judge. Believing that English law had no power in tribal affairs, he refused the court's summons. The judge then stripped Mandela's father of his title, his herd of cattle, and, as a result, his wealth. Young Mandela was taken by his mother to another village, where she raised him with the support of relatives.

Mandela received his law degree in 1942. He then joined the African National Congress (ANC). It had been founded in 1912 to fight for blacks' rights in South Africa. The ANC used the principles of nonviolent protest developed by Mohandas Gandhi in India. Within the ANC, Mandela and other younger members formed the African Youth League. They wanted to take more aggressive actions toward winning their rights.

After World War II, the white minority leaders in South Africa refused to grant any rights to blacks. Instead, the government enacted a system of apartheid, the policy of racial separation and discrimination. The Youth League began a long struggle in protest. In 1952, Mandela took a leadership post in the ANC. He masterminded a series of demonstrations in which volunteers deliberately broke apartheid laws. This work won him a government ban on further activity.

Mandela did not appear at a public protest until 1955. It was then that he spoke at a meeting that joined the ANC and other protest parties in a common cause. The groups adopted a program of reforms known as the Freedom Charter. It called for a nation without racial divisions and a more balanced distribution of wealth. He and several other leaders were quickly arrested, but their trial lasted from 1956 to 1961. All were finally released, as the

government lacked enough evidence to convict them of a crime.

In the later years of the case, events took a bloody turn. A massive protest in Sharpeville ended in a massacre that left 69 blacks dead. The white leaders cracked down on all anti-government groups and arrested many people. Mandela was held for a while and then released. He lived as a fugitive while he formed a military unit within the ANC called Spear of the Nation. Its goal was to attack places that had symbolic or economic value but not to harm people. He was captured in 1962. The next year he was convicted of working to overthrow the government and sentenced to life in prison.

Mandela spent nearly 30 years in jail. His release became an international cause. In 1984, the South African government offered him his freedom if he would agree to live in one of the "homelands," the living areas that had been set up for blacks. Mandela refused.

Other countries put increasing economic pressure on South Africa. Finally, in 1990 President F. W. de Klerk released Mandela from prison and legalized the ANC. The legislature passed laws that ended apartheid. In 1994, in the first elections to include voters from all races, Mandela won the presidency of South Africa.

Mandela's victory was bittersweet. He separated from and later divorced his wife, Winnie. In 1997, he suffered the embarrassment of her facing charges that she murdered other black Africans.

Questions

- Forming and Supporting Opinions** What do you think of Mandela's idea that it is necessary to free both the oppressor and the oppressed?
- Making Inferences** Did Mandela ever abandon the reliance on nonviolent protest? Explain.
- Making Predictions** Based on what you have read about independence in Africa, what challenges do you think face Mandela?

CHAPTER
35

Section 3

CONNECTIONS ACROSS TIME AND CULTURES

*The Breakup of Two Empires***THEMATIC CONNECTION**
REVOLUTION

As you have studied history, you have learned about the rise and fall of many empires. Many forces, both short- and long-term, contribute to the collapse of an empire. Compare the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the Ottoman Empire by answering the questions that follow.

1. The Ottoman Empire had difficulties adapting to the modern world of the late 1800s. Once a leader in science and technology, the Ottoman Empire fell further and further behind Europe. Attempts at reform failed. In the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced reform measures. How did Gorbachev's reform measures contribute to the breakup of the Soviet Union? _____

2. In the Ottoman Empire, the ruling party broke up into a number of quarreling factions. What role did political factions play in breaking up the Soviet Union? _____

3. The Crimean War between the Russians and the Ottomans revealed how militarily weak the Ottoman Empire was. What effect did the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have on the Soviet Union? _____

4. Another force that set the stage for collapse of the Ottoman Empire was nationalism. By the early 1900s, several Balkan groups had broken away from Ottoman rule and formed new nations. How did the forces of nationalism affect different ethnic groups living in the Soviet Union? _____

5. Observing the slow decline of the Ottoman Empire, Muslim nations such as Egypt and Persia initiated reforms. In Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary were the first to launch reform programs. How did reform movements in Eastern Europe contribute to the collapse of the Soviet bloc? _____

6. As a result of their defeat in World War I, the Ottoman Turks were forced to give up almost all of their former empire. They were allowed to keep only the territory that is today Turkey. What is the current status of the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations it once dominated? _____

**CHAPTER**
35**Section 1****RETEACHING ACTIVITY*****Democracy Case Study:***
Latin American Democracies

Determining Main Ideas Write your answers in the blanks provided.

1. What are four common practices among democracies?

2. What conditions support democratic institutions in creating a stable civilian government?

3. What problems plagued Latin American countries even after they won independence?



Reading Comprehension Find the name or term in the second column that best matches the description in the first column. Then write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- ____ 4. president of Brazil elected in 2002
- ____ 5. political party that ruled for more than 70 years in Mexico
- ____ 6. elected president of Mexico in 2000
- ____ 7. army officer who became dictator in Argentina
- ____ 8. group that refused to provide financial aid to Argentina
- ____ 9. this country went to war with Britain over Falkland Islands
- ____ 10. this country is the largest in South America

- a. Juan Peron
- b. PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party)
- c. International Monetary Fund
- d. Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva
- e. Vicente Fox
- f. Argentina
- g. Brazil





Section 2

RETEACHING ACTIVITY

*The Challenge of
Democracy in Africa*

Clarifying Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below it.

- _____ 1. The main reason African countries had difficulty establishing democracies was because of poverty.

- _____ 2. European powers had supported the planting of cash crops rather than a wide variety of products to fill local needs.

- _____ 3. In 1967, the Eastern Region of Nigeria seceded from the country and formed the new nation of Biafra.

- _____ 4. In 1999, Nigerians elected their first civilian president, General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

- _____ 5. South Africa's system of complete separation of the races was known as segregation.

- _____ 6. In 1912, black South Africans formed the African National Congress to fight for their rights.

- _____ 7. Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's president elected in 1989, legalized the ANC and released Nelson Mandela from prison.

- _____ 8. One of the biggest problems South Africa faces today is AIDS.

CHAPTER
35
Section 3

RETEACHING ACTIVITY

*The Collapse of
the Soviet Union*

Reading Comprehension Find the name or term in the second column that best matches the description in the first column. Then write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- | | |
|--|---|
| _____ 1. The ruling committee of the Communist Party | A. perestroika |
| _____ 2. Soviet leader who became general secretary of the Communist Party after Brezhnev's death | B. Boris Yeltsin |
| _____ 3. Gorbachev's policy of openness in economic and social reforms | C. "shock therapy" |
| _____ 4. Gorbachev's plans for restructuring and reviving the Soviet economy | D. politburo |
| _____ 5. Agreement between the United States and Soviet Union that banned nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles | E. Commonwealth of Independent States |
| _____ 6. This Baltic nation was the first to declare its independence as central controls in the Soviet Union loosened | F. Lithuania |
| _____ 7. Russian Republic's first directly-elected president | G. Chechnya |
| _____ 8. Loose federation of former Soviet territories | H. unemployment |
| _____ 9. Yeltsin's plan for an abrupt shift to free-market economics | I. glasnost |
| _____ 10. War in this largely Muslim area in southwestern Russia continued into the 1990s | J. Mikhail Gorbachev |
| _____ 11. President who succeeded Yeltsin | K. Vladimir Putin |
| _____ 12. One sign that Russian society after the collapse of the Soviet Union was experiencing high stress | L. Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty |



Section 4

RETEACHING ACTIVITY

Changes in Central and Eastern Europe

Determining Main Ideas Choose the word that most accurately completes each sentence below. Write that word in the blank provided.

Aleksander Kwasniewski

Czech Republic

Ion Iliescu

ethnic cleansing

Vaclav Havel

Solidarity

Nicolae Ceausescu

Lech Walesa

Slobodan Milosevic

Josip Tito

reunification

Helmut Kohl

Slovakia

1. Union of workers at a Gdansk shipyard who went on strike to gain government recognition: _____
2. Union leader who became a hero when the government gave in to the union's demands: _____
3. Polish president elected in 1995 whose goal was to establish a strong market economy in Poland: _____
4. Term referring to the merging of East and West Germany: _____
5. West German Chancellor who helped persuade other European nations to accept Germany's merging: _____
6. Czech dissident who later was elected president of Czechoslovakia: _____
7. Czechoslovakia divided into these TWO countries: _____
8. Ruthless Communist dictator of Romania who ordered the massacre in Timisoara: _____
9. Romanian president elected in 2000: _____
10. Leader who held Yugoslavia together from 1945 to 1980: _____
11. Process of using violence and forced emigration against Bosnian Muslims living in Serb-held land: _____



Section 5

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *China: Reform and Reaction*

Reading Comprehension Find the name or term in the second column that best matches the description in the first column. Then write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| _____ 1. Mao Zedong's 1966 effort to cleanse China of anti-revolutionary influences | A. Four Modernizations |
| _____ 2. Chinese premiere who brought a moderate period to China | B. Zhou Enlai |
| _____ 3. U.S. president who made a state visit to China in 1972 | C. Jiang Zemin |
| _____ 4. Chinese leader who by 1980 was the most powerful leader in the country | D. Tianamen Square |
| _____ 5. A set of goals for China that called for progress in agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology | E. Hu Jintao |
| _____ 6. Location of a pro-democracy student protest that was crushed by Deng's soldiers | F. Hong Kong |
| _____ 7. Communist Party general who assumed the presidency after Deng died | G. Cultural Revolution |
| _____ 8. Thriving business center and British colony on the southeastern coast of China | H. Richard Nixon |
| _____ 9. Successor to Jiang Zemin after Zemin retired in 2002 | I. China |
| _____ 10. Country that assumed control of Hong Kong in 1997 | J. Deng Xiaoping |