Exhibit 1.1: Sentiments of the Nation or Points Made by Morelos to Inform the Drafting of the Constitution (Mexico, 1813)

1. That America is free and independent of Spain and of any other nation, government or monarchy, and so this be sanctioned, giving the world our reasons.

2. That the Catholic Religion be the only one, with tolerance of none other.

3. That all its ministers may be maintained with all the funds that arise exclusively from the existing tithes and *primicias* (a tax on the first fruits of certain agricultural products), and the people may no longer have to pay any more perquisites other than those inspired by their devotion and generosity.

4. That the dogma is sustained by the Church hierarchy hereby meaning the Pope, the bishops and the priests ...

5. Sovereignty emanates directly from the People, who wish to deposit it entirely in its representatives, dividing its powers between the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary, electing the Provinces as their members, who may elect their own representatives, all of whom must be wise subjects of probity.

6. ...

7. ...

8. ...

9. That only Americans may be entitled to [government] jobs.

10. That no foreigners may be admitted [to the country] if they are not artisans capable of instruction and
free of all suspicion.

11 That the patria will not be entirely free and ours as long as the government is not reformed, bringing down the tyrannical one, replacing it with the liberal one, and expelling from our soil our Spanish enemies who have so declared themselves to be against our Nation.

12 That since any law that is good is superior to any man, those that our Congress passes must be such that they compel us to constancy and patriotism, moderate affluence and indigence, and are such that they may increase the daily pay of the poor, improve his customs, and overcome ignorance, robbery, and theft.

13 That the general laws apply to all, without exception of members of any privileged institution, and that the latter should enjoy [such privileges] only in the exercise of their ministry.

14 That to dictate a law it must be first discussed in Congress and decided upon based on a plurality of votes.

15 That slavery be proscribed forever, and the same apply to the distinction between different castes, all becoming equal, so that only vice or virtue may distinguish one American from another.

16 That our ports may be open to friendly foreign nations, but that their peoples may not be allowed inland, and so that they do not become involved in the kingdom more than friends should be, that only certain ports may be exclusively dedicated to this purpose, banning all disembarking at other ports, demanding 10% or some other tax on their merchandise.

17 That everyone’s property is protected and that they are respected in their home as if it were a sacred asylum, specifying penalties for those who infringe upon them.

18 That in the new legislation torture will not be admitted.

19 That in this new legislation and according to our Constitutional Law the celebration of the 12th of December may be established in all of our towns, in honour of the patron of our liberty, our Most Holy Mary of Guadalupe, with the expectation that people will observe their monthly devotion.

20 ...
21 ...

22 That the infinity of tributes, taxes and impositions that most oppress us shall be abolished, and each individual will be called upon to pay five per cent of their earnings, or another similarly light contribution that does not weigh as heavily as the sales tax, the monopoly tax, the tribute tax and others, since this small contribution and the good administration of those properties confiscated from the enemy will suffice to fund the war effort and pay for the salaries of our [government] employees.

23 That likewise the 16th of September may be solemnly celebrated every year as the anniversary of the day in which the voice of Independence was heard ...


Exhibit 1.2: *Instructions that were given to the deputies of the Provincia Oriental for the fulfilment of their mission before the Constituent Assembly of Buenos Aires. In front of Montevideo, 13 April 1813 (Uruguay, 1813)*

First it will request the declaration of the absolute independence of these colonies, that they are absolved from all obligation of loyalty to the Spanish Crown and the Bourbon dynasty, and that all political connection between them and the Spanish state is, and must be, totally dissolved.

Art. 2 It will not admit any system other than that of the confederation so as to forge a reciprocal pact among the provinces that form our state.

Art. 3 It will promote civil and religious liberty in its fullest extent imaginable.
Art. 4 Since the object and purpose of the government must be to preserve the equality, liberty and safety of its citizens and its towns, each province will form its own government following these principles, as will the supreme government of the nation.

Art. 5 This way both one government and the other will be divided into legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Art. 6 These three branches [of government] will never be united and will be independent of each other in the use of their faculties.

Art. 7 The supreme government will only be concerned with the general matters of the state. The rest corresponds to the government of each province.

Art. 8 The territory that is occupied by these towns of the oriental coast of the Uruguay [River] as far as the fortress of Santa Teresa, form one sole province called: THE PROVINCIA ORIENTAL.

Art. 9 That the seven towns of Misiones, those of Batoví, Santa Tecla, San Rafael and Tacuarembó that today are unjustly occupied by Portuguese [forces] and which in good time should be reclaimed, will forever be part of the territory of this province.

Art. 10 That this province hereby enters separately into a firm league of friendship with each and every other province [in the confederation] so as to ensure our common defence, our freedom’s safety, and our mutual and general happiness, obliging each and every one to defend each other against all violence and attacks committed against them all or individually, for whatever pretext, be this over a question of religion, sovereignty, traffic, or other.

Art. 11 That this province retains its sovereignty, liberty and independence, and all power, jurisdiction and rights that have not been expressly delegated to the congress of the United Provinces.
Art. 12 That the port of Maldonado is open to all ships that converge here free to introduce goods and export fruit, with the power to charge customs duties. ...

Art. 13 That the port of Colonia is equally authorised to enjoy the conditions noted in the previous article.

Art. 14 That no taxes or charges are imposed on articles exported from one province to another, nor that preference be given by any commercial regulation or rent to one province over another, nor that the ships destined from this province to another are obliged to pay any entrance or mooring rights.

Art. 15 That no laws will be allowed to be implemented for this province ..., in matters concerning fines and confiscations that before applied to the king and his territories as long as it does not have its own regulations.

Art. 16 That this province will have its own separate constitution and that it has the right to approve the general [constitution] that is drafted by the Constituent Assembly for the United Provinces.

Art. 17 That this province has the right to create however many regiments it may deem necessary, name the officers of each company, and organise its militias so as to safeguard its liberty, thus guaranteeing the right of the people to retain and own weapons.

Art. 18 Military despotism will be resolutely annihilated with constitutional shackles that safeguard the inviolable sovereignty of the people.

Art. 19 That it is essential and indispensable that the government of the United Provinces is located outside Buenos Aires.

Art. 20 The constitution will guarantee that the United Provinces are governed by a republican form of government, and ensure that its provinces are spared domestic violence, the usurpation of their rights, liberty and sovereignty, and that no armed force is employed
to suffocate the principles hereby proclaimed. And likewise it will dedicate all its attention, honour, loyalty and religiosity, in everything that it creates and deems necessary to ensure this province enjoys the advantages of liberty and a government that is free, pious, just, moderate and industrious.


**CHAPTER TWO**

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**Exhibit 2.1: Excerpts from a letter written by Simón Bolívar to Juan José Flores**

(Barranquilla, 9 November 1830)

My dear General:

... You know that I have governed for twenty years and from these I have learnt only a few albeit irrefutable facts: 1) [Spanish] America is ungovernable for us. 2) He who serves the revolution ploughs the sea. 3) The only thing one can do in [Spanish] America is to emigrate. 4) This country will fall infallibly into the hands of violent masses, only to then be ruled by almost imperceptible petty tyrants of all colours and races. 5) Having been devoured by all kinds of crimes and ferociously extinguished, the Europeans will not deign to conquer us. 6) If it were possible for a part of the world to regress to a stage of primitive chaos, that will be the last period in the history of [Spanish] America.

The first French Revolution resulted in the slaughter of the Antilles and the second will have the same effect only across the entirety of this vast continent. The sudden reaction such an extreme ideology will have will result in us suffering evils like we have not yet endured or, rather, will most certainly force all of them upon us. You will see how everybody surrenders to the torrent of demagoguery and, hélas poor people! and hélas poor governments! ...
This country has suffered a Great Revolution, and walks upon a volcanic terrain ... All the people, the Church, and the army support the new order of things, and yet there is no shortage of assassins, traitors, troublemakers and malcontents, whose numbers may very well reach the hundreds. Unfortunately the masses among us can do nothing, a few strong-willed men do everything, and the majority just follow those men who they believe to be brave without examining the just actions or crimes of their caudillos, ready to abandon them as soon as others who are even more treacherous deceive them. This is what public opinion and national strength amounts to in our [Spanish] America ...


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Exhibit 2.2: Excerpts from José María Gutiérrez Estrada’s pamphlet Letter addressed to His Excellency the President of the Republic concerning the need to call a convention that may look for a possible remedy to all the evils that afflict the Republic; and – opinions of the author with regards this same subject, by J.M. Gutiérrez Estrada (Mexico City: Imp. de I. Cumplido, 1840)

Most Excellent Sir:

... The love for my country and my gratitude toward Your Excellency move me to convey my ideas to you ..., with respect to the current situation of the republic. ... After such a painful experience – one that is so recent and undeniable – to attribute our misfortunes entirely to the 1836 Constitution, wishfully thinking that an immediate and complete remedy may be found in just re-establishing the 1824 charter, is not something it pains me to say those of us who feel deeply in our hearts the afflictions of the patria can believe in, since we are convinced that however wise a constitution is, it is a dead document if there are not the men who know,
want and are able to put into practice its benign dispositions. ... Unfortunately we do not have those kinds of men, the faithful and vibrant expression of a society that is in all senses more advanced than ours. ... For this reason, and because we cannot expect an improvement in our health until the next generation comes of age, as long, that is, that it has schools in which to learn, I have no faith in what we currently have nor in what our present generation can achieve. ... Thinking of all the forms a republic can take, we have tried them all: democratic, oligarchic, military, demagogic and anarchic, meaning that all the parties at the same time, and always to the detriment of the country’s honour and happiness, have experimented with the republican system in all of its possible forms. ... Everything has turned to ruin, desolation, poverty, killings and civil wars, and, ultimately, a dishonourable discredit. ... Say what you will about the advantages of a republic wherever it may be established and nobody will wax more lyrical about them than me; nor will anybody lament more bitterly that Mexico cannot be, for the time being, that privileged country. The sad experience of what this system has come to mean for us would appear to authorise us to give a true monarchy with a foreign prince on the throne a try. ... The most ardent defenders of the republic are the first to confess that it has not become consolidated among us because everything in Mexico is monarchic. ... The monarchic system (with a true royal on the throne) would be far more suited to the character, customs and traditions of a people who have been governed by monarchs since time immemorial. ... It is for this, I repeat, that the time has come for the nation to consider the principle of a democratic monarchy as the only means to ensure that the peace we so ardently desire is reborn among us. ... I cannot find either another way of saving our nationality, imminently threatened by the Anglo-Saxon race that, having moved to this continent, appears intent on invading it all. ... If we do not change our ways, not even twenty years might go by before we see the Star Spangled Banner fly from our National Palace and witness a Protestant service held in Mexico City’s splendid cathedral.
Exhibit 3.1: Excerpt from Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Foundations and starting points for the political organisation of the Argentine Republic* (Buenos Aires: Imp. Argentina, 1852)

It is essential that we bring the capitals to the coasts, or rather move the coast to the interior of the continent.

The train and the electric telegraph, which can suspend space, are capable of bringing about this extraordinary feat better than any tycoon on this earth. The train innovates, reforms and changes the most difficult things, without the need of decrees or revolutions.

It will unite the Argentine Republic better than any congress. Congresses may declare the Republic to be one and indivisible; without the railway there to bring its remote extremes together, it will remain forever divisible and divided regardless of any legislative decrees.

Without the train you will not have political unity in countries where distances make the actions of any central power impossible. Do you want the government, its legislators, the tribunals of our coastal capital to legislate over and judge the affairs in provinces such as San Juan and Mendoza, for instance? Then take the coast to these places with the train or vice versa; place these extremes at only three days’ distance from each other, at least. For to have the metropolis or capital twenty days away is barely any different to having it in Spain, as was the case when the old system reigned, which we destroyed precisely because of this absurdity. Thus political unity must begin with territorial unity, and only the train can transform two places separated by five hundred leagues into one united place.

Neither will you be able to bring Europe’s energy to the interior of our countries, as embodied by their populations’ emigrations that are today regenerating our coasts, without powerful vehicles like the train. The railways are and will be to the local life of our interior provinces, like the great arteries that link up a body’s extreme parts, rivers of life. ...

To have trains our countries have abundant means. Go and negotiate loans from abroad, pawn your rents
and national wealth to companies that will make your riches prosper and multiply. It would be puerile to
expect our ordinary rents to pay for such an endeavour; invest in this new order, start by spending, and you
will profit. If we had waited until we could afford to cover the costs of the war of independence against Spain
we would still be a colony. ... What we did to rid ourselves of slavery we must now do to escape from
backwardness which amounts to the same thing as servitude: our glory should have no name other than
civilisation.

But you will not be given loans if you do not have a national credit, that is, a credit based on the securities
and responsibilities of the entire national state put together. With the credits of the town councils and
provincial governments you will not build railways or do anything great. Unite as one nation, consolidate your
rents and present and future funds, and you will have those who will lend you millions in order to attend to
your local and general needs; because if you do not have money today, you will have the means to be
affluent tomorrow. If you remain separated and at odds with each other, do not expect anything other than
poverty and contempt.

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Exhibit 3.2: Excerpt from Domingo Faustino Sarmiento’s speech to a group of
Argentineans, in Paris, on 4 July 1868, on accepting his election as President

Our situation is neither desperate nor unresolvable, however. If we do not have a big enough population to
fill our vast territory, the world does not ask of us more than to guarantee there is safety and protective laws
in place and in a matter of a few years its superfluous population will move here in terms of millions of men;
if our distances are enormous, the train reduces these. But all of our resources must be distributed and
employed adopting prudent and equitable laws that ensure that whilst the coast reaps the benefits of
civilisation, the rest of the country is not abandoned to barbarism, resulting in new calamities and disorders.

Public lands, distributed following fair dispositions, will provide homes for a population that has nowhere
to stay at present, for the thousands of emigrants that come with their families looking for a new fatherland, and will put a stop to the roaming of the desert hordes, suppressing the desert itself, its theatre and its elements. Some organic educational laws will ensure the prosperity it is our obligation to prepare our future generations for. Nations, like individuals, are nearly always the victims of the lack of foresight of their predecessors in terms of the problems that afflict them.

To spread civilisation to that part of the republic that still does not enjoy its benefits, to provide an effective defence of our frontiers, to guarantee the safety of both property and life, are all essential conditions like the very fulfilment of the Constitution’s laws, because they all result in the same goal. A majority that has the freedom to be ignorant and poor does not represent an enviable privilege for the educated minority of a nation that prides itself on being republican and democratic. ...

The solidarity of human progress is also there to help us on our journey. ... The abolition of torment, the disappearance of slavery, freedom of thought, the ‘declaration of rights’ we have inscribed in the Constitution are not a conquest we can claim as our own, but a legacy we must preserve unharmed. A million men died in the battlefields of our great republic and sealed for us and the federal republics this great principle: from now on there are no nullifiers or separatists, just traitors and criminals.

We can, at least, on that front rest assured. ... A majority has brought me to power ... and so I have the right to ask of it ... to remain united. ... I must also ask it to encourage all those who share patriotic goals and liberal ideas to decorously contribute to our mission.

Protected by the assistance of Providence in whom I trust, and with the active cooperation of my fellow citizens, led by your prudent laws, honourable senators and deputies, enlightened by the wisdom of my advisers, having the Constitution as my guide and with it the power it places in my hands, I will bring about some of the hopes I have drafted here, and hand over to whoever succeeds me in this position a united republic, prosperous rents, and a greater number of men who are happy and educated, with the law respected, and perhaps, although I do not expect this, a blessed government.
EXHIBIT 4.1: Excerpt from José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1928)

The degree of development that the industrialisation of agriculture has reached under a capitalist regime and techniques in the coastal valleys [of Peru] can be explained in terms of British and US interest in the Peruvian production of sugar and cotton. The large expanse of land dedicated to these crops has not come about because of the industrial know-how or capitalist abilities of the local landowners. They dedicate their lands to the production of cotton and sugar cane financed and supported by powerful export companies.

The best lands of the coastal valleys are sown with cotton and sugar cane, not precisely because they are suited to the cultivation of these crops, but because, at present, only these crops are of interest to British and Yankee merchants. The existing agricultural credit – entirely subordinated to the interests of these companies as long as there is no National Agricultural Bank – does not encourage the cultivation of any other crops. Fruit produce destined for the internal market is generally in the hands of small landholders or tenants. Only in the valleys around Lima, because of the proximity of important urban markets, are there large areas of cultivation dedicated by their owners to the production of fruit-based foodstuffs. In the cotton or sugar haciendas, in many cases, such fruit is not cultivated, not even enough to meet the needs of the local rural population.

This very same small landowner or tenant is driven to grow cotton because of this trend which barely takes into account the particular needs of the national economy. The
displacement of traditionally cultivated foodstuffs by that of cotton in our coastal
countryside where small properties subsist has represented one of the most visible causes
of the rise in the price of basic foodstuffs in the coastal communities. ... The production of
cotton is not governed by any national economic criteria. It is produced for the global
market without it being controlled with the interests of our economy in mind, [and is
subject to] the possible drop in prices that may come about during a period of industrial
crisis or the overproduction of cotton. ...

The country’s land does not even produce everything the population needs to
subsist. ... The Peruvian economy clearly and urgently, and since long ago, requires of the
country that it produce enough wheat to feed bread to the population. Had this objective
been achieved, Peru would not need to continue paying twelve or more million soles per
year to foreign enterprises for the wheat that is consumed in our coastal cities. Why has this
problem with our economy not been resolved? ... The obstacle, what stands in the way of a
solution, is to be found in the very structure of the Peruvian economy. The Peruvian
economy is a colonial economy. Its movement, its development, are all subordinated to the
interests and needs of the London and New York markets. These markets see Peru as a
deposit of primary materials and a place where they can sell their manufactured goods. The
Peruvian agriculture receives, because of this, credit and transportation provided exclusively
for the products that can benefit the great markets. Foreign finance becomes interested one
day in rubber, another day in cotton, another in sugar. The day London can obtain a product
at a better price and in larger quantities from India or Egypt, it instantly abandons its
Peruvian providers to their own fate. Our latifundistas, our tenants, whatever illusions they
may harbour over their independence, are little else other than the intermediaries and
agents of foreign capitalism.
5. The Revolutionary Junta of the State of Morelos will not accept any transactions or compromises until it has succeeded in overthrowing Porfirio Díaz and Francisco I. Madero’s dictatorial elements, for the Nation is tired of having to suffer false and treacherous men who make all kinds of promises as liberators and then, on coming to power, forget them all and become tyrants.

6. As an additional part of this plan, we make it known: that all lands, forests and water rights that have been usurped by hacendados, científicos or caciques in the shadow of our corrupt justice system will be returned, most certainly, to their rightful owners, villages or citizens who have the deeds to hand with claims to properties of which they have been divested in bad faith by our oppressors, hanging on to them at any cost, fully armed, and those usurpers who believe they have rights to these lands will be heard by the special tribunals that will be established following the triumph of the Revolution.

7. Given that the immense majority of our Mexican villages and citizens do not own more than the land they tread on, unable to improve their social condition nor dedicate themselves to industry or agriculture, since our lands, mountains and waters are monopolized and in the hands of a minority, we will expropriate, for this reason, without previous compensation, a third of the powerful proprietors’ monopolies, so that our Mexican villages and citizens may be given ejidos, colonias and village- or field-based fundos legales [all different types of communal lands] for sowing or labouring, allowing for a general improvement that may address the current lack of prosperity, and increase the well-being of all Mexicans.
8. The *hacendados*, *científicos* or caciques who oppose the present plan either directly or indirectly will have their properties nationalised and two thirds of those properties will be used as war compensation, as well as to pay for pensions for both the widows and the orphans of those killed fighting for the present Plan.


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**CHAPTER FIVE**

pp. 130–131

**Exhibit 5.1: Excerpt from Rafael Trujillo’s *Message to the Dominican people, 16 August 1931, to mark the 68th Anniversary of the Restoration [of our independence from Spain] and 2nd of this government (16 August 1931)***

On this anniversary of the National Restoration [of our independence from Spain], the first anniversary since I rose to become President of the Republic ..., I would like to make the most of these hours in which we all share a common national sentiment that is conducive to remembering our patriotic duties, to address my people with a message of brotherly affection. ... My ideal of what a good government should consist of is simple, as everything about my life is simple. ... My political ideal is based on concord and ample democratic freedom. I hold no prejudices against any person or any political group. I see in every man a desire to collaborate, and only when that collaboration is denied me ... do I recognise I must do without it. That is why, yes, I have discarded any cooperation that has been offered to me with conditions, because that goes against my ethics as a ruler and can only result in anarchy for the government. ... I believe I have founded this government on the principle of equality, which is the essence of democracy. Having come to government to serve my people ..., I do not believe anybody has a right to consider themselves privileged. ... If yesterday I was at the head of a majority, now I represent the entire nation. ... If up until now the hand of
Power has been strong in order to prevent and contain men who are wrongly opposed to our current regime, in this address I hereby announce that a period of indulgence is being offered to them. ... Our economic conditions remain difficult ... at a time when a profound crisis affects all the nations of the world. The government strives at the moment to eliminate the primary causes of our domestic troubles. We are overwhelmed by the harsh payment of our foreign debt. ... Until now we have faithfully honoured our commitments and I hope we may do so always, but, we need to live. ... I have an ideal based around peace and work as the government’s norm. Peace is guaranteed, and employment, which has fallen notably across the entire world, has remained steady for us. ... The government strives to create better conditions. ... On the glorious day for the Fatherland I find myself standing reverent before the tombs of the leaders of our independence movement and hereby ratify before the people a formal and irrevocable promise to fight for our improvement ... .


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Exhibit 5.2: Excerpt from Fidel Castro’s First Declaration of Havana (speech delivered on 6 September 1960)

The Cuban People’s General National Assembly condemns the latifundio [large estate], source of poverty for the peasant, inhuman and retrograde system of agricultural production; condemns hunger salaries and the wicked exploitation of human work by bastard and privileged interests; condemns illiteracy, the absence of teachers, schools, doctors and hospitals; the lack of protection old age is exposed to in all of the countries of the Americas; condemns discrimination against the black and the Indian; condemns inequality and the exploitation of women; condemns military and political oligarchies that maintain our people in poverty, prevent their democratic development and the full exercise of their sovereignty; condemns the concessions
of the natural resources of our countries to foreign monopolies as part of a policy of appeasement that
betrays the interests of the people; condemns the governments that ignore the sentiments of the people in
order to obey Washington’s orders; condemns the systematic deceit of the people by media corporations
that respond to the interests of the oligarchies and the politics of oppressive imperialism; condemns the
news monopoly enjoyed by Yankee agencies, instruments of North American and Washington interests;
condemns repressive laws that prevent workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, the great majority in
each country, to organise themselves and fight for their social and patriotic rights; condemns imperialist
monopolies and companies that continuously plunder our wealth, exploit our workers and peasants, bleed
and prevent our economies from developing, and subject the politics of Latin America to their plans and
interests.

The Cuban People’s General National Assembly condemns, in sum, the exploitation of man by man, and
the exploitation of underdeveloped countries by imperialist foreign capital.


CHAPTER 6

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EXHIBIT 6.1: Military radio communiqué of 11 September 1973 (Santiago, Chile)

Santiago, 11 September 1973. Bearing in mind:

1. The very serious economic, social and moral crisis that is destroying our country;

2. The Government’s inability to adopt measures that may halt the spread and
development of chaos;

3. The growing number of armed paramilitary groups, organised and trained by the
Unidad Popular political parties which will unleash upon the Chilean people an inevitable civil war;

the Armed Forces and Police force of Chile hereby declare:

1. That the President of the Republic must immediately hand over his position to the Chilean Armed Forces and Police force.

2. That the Chilean Armed Forces and Police force are united in their resolve to initiate this historical and responsible mission of fighting for the liberation of the Patria from its Marxist yoke, restoring its former order and institutions.

3. All press, radio stations and television channels that sympathise with the Unidad Popular must suspend all of their informative activities as of this instant. They will otherwise be punished by land and air shelling.

4. The population of Santiago must remain inside their homes to avoid there being innocent victims.

Signed: Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Army General, Commander in Chief of the Army; Toribio Merino Castro, Admiral, Commander in General of the Navy; Gustavo Leigh Guzmán, Air Force General, Commander in Chief of the Chilean Air Force; and César Mendoza Durán, Director General of the Chilean Police Force.

Source: http://golpemilitar1973.blogspot.co.uk/2010/11/primer-discurso-de-pinochet-despu%C3%A9s-del.html

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Exhibit 6.2: Excerpt from Jorge R. Videla, speech (Buenos Aires, 25 May 1976)
A factor that had noticeably contributed to the collapse of our democratic style of life ... is demagoguery. This demagoguery, moreover ... gave rise to a corruption ... [that] – precisely because it is so generalised – set about undermining our traditional values, bringing in subversion: ... the subversion of the essential values of our national being. But not everything about this process has been negative. There have been dignified positive aspects that have been saved, one of them being the high degree of maturity of the Argentine people ... . The other is the underlying profound sense of national unity that remains intact in spirit in every Argentine’s heart. ... This Argentine being, based on maturity and a sense of unity, will give us the inspiration to rise above the bitterness that a generalised contradiction of principles has hit us with, and thus leave behind once and for all that pervading ‘anti-ness’, replacing it was a definite ‘pro-ness’: one that is ‘pro-Argentina’. It is for this reason that our intention ... is to reaffirm the traditional values that make up the essence of our national being and uphold them as an alternative to all foreign ideologies ... . It is also our intention to eradicate corruption, ... [and] combat demagoguery, challenging it with the authenticity of our actions, inspired solely by the truth .... The 24th of March ..., us men of arms initiated a long and difficult journey, and we are ... determined to undertake it firmly. For this all we need at present is your understanding. ... The day will come when the objectives that the Armed Forces have been currently forced to take care of will be devolved back fully to the majority ... on the back of a multitudinous current of opinion; when that moment comes, then will come the time of such a transfer of power. By then, participation will be generalised, the Armed Forces will have fulfilled their historic duty and returned to [the barracks] to uphold their specific [military] role.

Source: www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/document/militar/discvide.htm
Exhibit 7.1: Excerpt from Evo Morales, speech given on taking possession of the constitutional presidency of the republic (22 January 2006)

The indigenous peoples of Bolivia make up the majority of the population, [I say this] so the international press and our guests know: according to the last census from 2001, 62.2% consist of Aymaras, Quechuas, Mojeños, Chipayas, Mulattos and Guaranis. Our peoples have been marginalised historically, humiliated, hated, looked down upon, condemned to extinction. That is our history; our peoples were never treated as human beings even when we are the absolute owners of this noble land and of its natural resources. This morning, early, this very dawn, I have seen with great happiness how some of my brothers and sisters converged on this historical site, Murillo Square, and sang, when not even forty or fifty years ago we were not even entitled to enter San Francisco Square, Murillo Square ... . This is our history; this our experience. Bolivia is like South Africa. Threatened, condemned to being exterminated, here we are. We are here. I want to tell you that there are still people left, like an unpleasant aftertaste, who are the enemies of our indigenous peoples. We want to live as they do. That is why we are here to change our [country’s] history. This indigenous movement is not the result of any concession. Nobody has given us anything. We are the conscience of my people, of our people. ... We are here in democracy and I want you to know ...: we want to change Bolivia not with bullets but with votes, and that is a democratic revolution. And why do we talk of changing our colonial condition? [Because] we have to end our colonial condition. Imagine: after 180 years of republican democratic life, only now have we made it, made it to Parliament, made it to the presidency, made it to the town councils. Before we were not allowed. Imagine. ... To change our colonial condition there
will be space, debates, dialogues [for everybody]. It is our obligation, as Bolivians, to understand each other so that we can end this manner of discriminating against our peoples.

Source: www.democraciasur.com/documentos/BoliviaEvoMoralesAsuncionPres.htm

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Exhibit 7.2: Excerpt from Hugo Chávez, Address to the United Nations (20 September 2006)

Yesterday the Devil came here. Yesterday the Devil was here, in this very place. This lectern from where it is given to me to address you still smells of Sulphur. Yesterday, ladies and gentlemen, from this very same rostrum, Mr President of the United States, who I am calling ‘the Devil’, came here talking as if he were the master of the world. ... As Imperialism’s spokesperson he came here to give us his recipes to continue upholding the current state of domination, exploitation, and pillage of the peoples of the world [he favours]. ... US imperialism ... is making desperate efforts to consolidate its hegemonic system of domination. We cannot allow that to happen, we cannot allow a world dictatorship to be imposed upon us all ... . The speech of the world tyrant-president, full of cynicism, full of hypocrisy, of imperial hypocrisy, intent on controlling everything, on wanting to impose a democratic model as they see fit, a false elite-based democracy, and what is more, a very original democratic model, imposed dropping bombs, bombing, with invasions and cannon-fire. Democracy, indeed! The President of the United States said yesterday ... and I quote: ‘Wherever you look you will find extremists who say they can escape poverty and regain their dignity using violence, terror and martyrdom.’ Wherever he looks he sees extremists. ... And no, it’s not that we are extremists, it’s just that the world is waking up and the people
are rising up everywhere. ... Wherever he looks he will see us rise up, those of us who rise up against US imperialism. We who call for the freedom of the world, for the equality of the people, for the sovereignty of our nations to be respected, yes, he calls us extremists, and we rise up against the Empire, we rise up against this model of domination.

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