Democracy and the Lessonsof Dictatorship

*Nancy Bermeo*

1. What do we learn from the triumph of dictatorship? How does the experience of authoritarian rule shape our views of democracy? Dictatorship can force us to reevaluate the nature of particular regimes, our enemies, and our own goals and behavior. The experience of dictatorship can produce important cognitive change. This process of cognitive change is the essence of what I call political learning.

Political learning merits our attention because it is key to the reconstruction of democracy. It is thus an important element in our attempts to understand the process of redemocratization, though understanding political learning is not synonymous with understanding redemocratization as a whole.

2. Redemocratization involves three phases: the breakdown of a dictatorship, the creation or reconstruction of a democracy, and the consolidation of a new regime. Political learning is most important during the second phase of the redemocratization process – at the critical moment between the crisis of the old order and the consolidation of the new one – for it helps explain why a new regime becomes democratic in the first place. It helps explain why, in essence, a dictatorship in crisis is replaced by a democracy rather than another dictatorial regime. Whether political learning affects the other phases of the redemocratization process remains an open question.

3. Thus this essay makes no claims about the relationship between political learning and redemocratization as a whole. Instead, it explains what political learning is, why political learning is key to the reconstruction of democracy, and how the concept adds to our current understandings of empirical democratic theory.

**Political Learning Defined**

4. Political learning is the process through which people modify their political beliefs and tactics as a result of severe crises, frustrations, and dramatic changes in the environment. All people, followers and leaders alike, are capable of learning from experience, and political actors rarely survive economic depressions, internal wars, or the violent collapse of a form of government unchanged. Nor do they, in more stable situations, meet with constant political frustration and always continue believing and behaving as they did before. As Robert Axelrod observes in advocating an ‘evolutionary approach to norms’, “what works out well . . . is likely to be used again while what turns out poorly is likely to be discarded.” The same can be said about the ideas one uses to guide one's behavior.

5. Crises often force people to reevaluate the ideas that they have used as guides to action in the past. The changed ideas may relate to tactics, parties, allies, enemies, or institutions. The new ideas may be true or false, justified or unjustified, polarizing or compromising. Their relevance to democratic theory and to the construction of democracy derives not from their veracity but from the fact that they are believed and used as guidelines for behavior.

6. The concept of political learning is based on the premise that beliefs are not fixed immutably in childhood and that they can be “affected by political events” such as the replacement of one regime with another. The triumph of dictatorship and the experience of authoritarian rule can, under certain circumstances, change beliefs and leave normative legacies that favor the creation of democracy.

7. It is important to emphasize that political learning can affect beliefs about tactics as well as beliefs about more abstract phenomena. Tactics, or the conscious behaviors one uses to obtain a desired goal,
may also be altered as a result of political shocks, crises, and frustrations. Gaetano Salvemini* expected that his opposition to Giolitti** would lead to ‘a more perfect form of democracy’. Yet in retrospect he came to believe that his tactics led to the triumph of fascism instead. His "basic beliefs" about what constituted a ‘more perfect form of democracy’ may have remained more or less the same, but his thinking on tactics changed dramatically. Thus, the cognitive changes involved in political learning can involve means or ends or both. Political learning can affect basic, ideological beliefs about political structures, or it can affect simply the means one prefers for achieving constant ends. Political learning can take ideological or tactical forms.

8 What are the ideas that must be affected by political learning if democracy is to be reconstructed? At the most basic level, critical elites must change their assessments of the relative effectiveness of democratic institutions for the fulfillment of group goals. In order for this to happen, at least one of four subsidiary changes must take place. Elites must change their evaluations of the alternatives to democratic rule; they must change their evaluations of democracy itself; they must change the ordering or nature of group goals; or they must change their perceptions of one another.

9 These changes are all examples of political learning. Each takes place under certain conditions of authoritarian rule, as I shall illustrate below. They may occur individually, but they can also occur simultaneously, and the likelihood of reconstructing democracy increases if they do. The likelihood of reconstructing democracy also increases to the extent that diverse sectors of the political elite undergo the same sorts of changes.

10 Several points of clarification are required to ensure that the nature of the changes embodied in political learning is fully understood. First, it must be emphasized that dictatorships do not always create prodemocratic cognitive changes. If they did, democracy would not be so rare. Moreover, there is a good argument for expecting dictatorship and all its horrors to sharpen discord, not to dull it. As Laurence Whitehead argues in his work on the cycle of dictatorship in Bolivia, “a failed democratization [and thus a renewal of dictatorship] teaches lessons that may be harmful to future endeavors.” “It teaches revolutionary minorities not to disarm and place their trust in civilian compacts. “ It teaches the needy not to defer demands because the game may be canceled at any minute. Finally, it teaches the threatened dictators that force and "redoubled ruthlessness" can defeat the proponents of a new order.

11 Even when political learning takes a prodemocratic form, it does not necessarily involve the emergence of a deep normative commitment to democracy per se. This is a second important point of clarification. As stated earlier, political learning may lead only to an alteration in tactics. Moreover, if elites simply "change their evaluations of the alternatives to democratic rule," they may reconstruct democracy "by default." Elites may come to tolerate and advocate liberal democracy, not because they have come to see intrinsic merits in a democratic political system, but because they have come to believe that the dictatorial alternatives are even less desirable. Rejecting dictatorship is not the ideal motive for the resurrection of democracy, but it is indeed a very common one. As Dankwart Rustow argues, democracies can be built by people who are not truly democrats. "Circumstances may force, trick, lure or cajole non-democrats into democratic behavior." Circumstances can force political elites to change their beliefs about the merits of dictatorship and support democracy as "a lesser evil."

*Gaetano Salvemini- socialist deputy in the prefascist democracy in Italy.

**Giovani Giolitti (1842-1928) Italian Prime Minister who supported the Fascist regime between 1920 - 1924. In 1924 he withdrew his support and spoke against fascism.
A third point of clarification relates to the cumulative nature of the political learning process. Political learning occurs at an individual level, and since the stimuli in each individual's learning environment differ, the timing and nature of the learning experience may vary between individuals and between political groups. The scope of the sector of the elite that undergoes political learning is an important factor in predicting whether and when the reconstruction of democracy will take place. The likelihood that a democracy will be reconstructed increases with the diversity of the elite that experiences cognitive change. That is, if leaders of capital and labor, on the left and the right, all undergo some sort of prodemocratic learning, the likelihood of democratic reconstruction is greater than if learning occurs in just one group. Learning need not occur across the political spectrum, but a 'critical mass' of learners must develop before the risky game of building democracy can begin.

Thus, the concept of political learning allows plenty of room for cynicism and skepticism. Political learning does not occur uniformly within a polity. It may not involve a deep commitment to democracy as an end in itself, and sometimes prodemocratic political learning may not occur at all. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of prodemocratic political learning is common enough and important enough to merit close attention.

Elites and the Reconstruction of Democracy

Though political learning occurs at all levels of society, the learning experience of political leaders is particularly important for the reconstruction of democracies. Mass actions such as strikes, riots, and armed insurrections can bring down a dictatorial regime, but they do not in themselves produce an alternative. Popular mobilization and mass struggles are key to provoking crises within dictatorships and are thus of great importance in the first phase of the redemocratization process. But during the second phase of the redemocratization process elite bargaining and accords become key. Liberal democracies are institutional arrangements, and as such they must be designed and erected by a relatively small sector of society. An electoral law can be endorsed by millions of people, but it must be written by a select few. Likewise, a constitution can be celebrated in the streets, but it must be drafted elsewhere. For better or worse, the construction of democracy is an occasion where “the beliefs of some are more important than those of others.” Democracy is almost always the fruit of popular struggle, and this must never be forgotten, but the design of formal democratic institutions is, of necessity, the work of a political elite.

It thus makes sense to study elites in an exploratory inquiry into the reconstruction of democracies. But why focus on changes in elite beliefs? The answer is clear if we analyze precisely what the recreation of democracy involves. We often read of the “reemergence” of democracy. But the image is deceptive. Democracies do not "emerge" or reemerge as if propelled by some natural process. Nor are they anthropomorphic – they do not rise up under their own volition. They are recreated piece by piece, institution by institution, and the creators are usually old enemies.

Democracies are recreated only where they have broken down, and the breakdown usually involves extreme hostility among national political leaders. Aside from the few cases in which democracies are crushed by foreign invaders and the even fewer cases in which democracies are destroyed by military men with no support from any political party leaders, democracies usually break down with the active or passive support of a substantial sector of the civilian political elite. This is an unpalatable fact but a fact nevertheless. Thus, in cases where democracies are being reconstructed, we have, at one time, a set of political leaders who refuse to accept the outcome of the democratic game and are willing to either condone or actually participate in the political elimination of opponents, then, at another time, a partially overlapping (sometimes identical) set of leaders who are willing to compromise and bargain. Across time, the opposing groups have often remained the same in name and basic social composition, but the priorities of their leaders have changed radically.
Elites representing groups who were willing to harass and perhaps even kill each other at one time sit down and construct democratic accords at another. The fact that they are willing to construct democratic accords means that they are willing to reconstruct a type of regime that failed in the past. Ideas about this type of regime and about the various opposing groups that will operate inside it must change in order for the reconstruction to begin. Leaders must hold ideas at time B that they did not hold at time A.

The nature of elite thinking is especially important when the time comes to make a commitment to a democratic constitution. Whether this means drafting a new document or adopting an amended version of an older document, the occasion inevitably requires compromise. In order for compromise to take place, the various factions within the elite must not only assess their values but also rank them. They must decide what is paramount, what is negotiable, and what might be left to the essentially uncertain arena of the legislative process. Unless the range of negotiable issues expands, the divisions that produced the breakdown of democracy in the first place will simply emerge again. This is why the change of mind intrinsic to political learning is so important.

The importance of changed ideas is well exemplified by the 1976 transition to democracy in Spain. There, leaders of the right and the left made dramatic concessions, with the right legalizing the Communist Party and the left accepting the monarchy. These were nonnegotiable issues when the dictatorship began. They were quite literally issues of life and death during the Civil War, but by the time the dictatorship broke down, they were negotiable. The reconstruction of democracy in Spain would have been impossible without a change in elite ideas. In fact, the reconstruction of democracy almost always requires some form of prodemocratic political learning.

Some Possible Sources of Political Learning

In considering the origins of prodemocratic political learning, we should first note that certain aspects of the process are not predictable. We can not know in advance what a given leader's experience in exile will be. Nor can we predict the effects of personality. Some individuals will remain intransigent no matter what their environment, and others will change but never admit to having erred in the past.

The other point we should note is that no political culture is homogeneous. States with some democratic experience in the past are very likely to have some citizens who have prodemocratic beliefs even when a dictatorship seems quite secure. Thus, when we seek to understand the process of political learning, we are not asking how whole societies adopt wholly new beliefs and tactics. We are asking instead about how a "critical mass" of political actors comes to adopt the beliefs and attitudes that only a smaller and less powered sector of society already holds.

In general terms, the cognitive changes that affect this "critical mass" emerge from processes of comparison and interaction. The comparisons that give rise to political learning can be historical and domestic or international and contemporary. Salvemini made a historical comparison when he contrasted "the results of fascist dictatorship" with "Italian democracy in the making" and found the latter far superior. Political actors judge "what works" with reference to what they have seen in their own nations in the recent past. The appeal of democracy increases as the historical comparison between concrete national experiences of democracy and dictatorship favor the former.

International comparison can be as illuminating as historical comparison. Political elites have much to learn from the successes and failures of their counterparts abroad, and though some actors seem to focus exclusively on domestic politics, many pivotal actors do not. Events in what one might call reference states are an especially important source of political learning. A reference state is a nation which serves as a point of comparison for political actors in another state. Reference states serve as reference points because of geographic proximity, cultural similarity, shared history, or some combination of the three.
24 Political learning through interaction can be as important as learning through comparison. Ironically, one of the most potent sources of attitudinal change during dictatorship emanates from the very acts of coercion that the regime takes to ensure stability. When a dictatorship forces a wide spectrum of its oppositional elite into exile and prison, it provides opportunities for interaction and identification that may lead to a stronger, more unified, and possibly more democratic opposition in the future. Francisco Welfort described the ironies of state coercion in a powerful essay on the democratization of Brazil. “State terror,” he wrote, ”reduced all its opponents, generally on the left, but also many liberals, to their common denominator as unprotected and frightened human beings. Civil society was born out of this experience of fear,” and democracy began to emerge as a ”core value” in Brazilian political culture.

25 Whether political learning takes place through interaction or comparison, its frequency and content derive in large part from the nature of civil society and the dictatorial state. Dictatorships might seek to be monolithic and all-powerful, but they are usually neither. On the contrary, even under the most ambitious dictatorships there are sometimes organizational sectors within the state and organizational spaces within society which serve as arenas for the learning and diffusion of prodemocratic attitudes and tactics.

26 Finally, there are the small free spaces that the net of dictatorship leaves unfettered. It is in those circles of society where state constraint is loosest that dictatorships so often find their greatest challenge. Those who enjoy the limited freedom of association which authoritarian regimes allow often use their political space as a forum for the dissemination of new and critical ideas. More important perhaps, they often share their space with those who are accorded less freedom by the state.

27 The comparisons and the interactions that provide the bases for political learning take place in a variety of settings, but these small free spaces are among the most important. As stated in the introduction, the reconstruction of democracy requires changes in ideas about dictatorship, democracy, group goals, and old enemies. Where civil society remains politically alive, dictatorship can be criticized, goals and democracy can be reevaluated, and old enemies and rivals can meet and build that minimum of trust that the democratic gamble requires.

28 Though authoritarian regimes do not smother civil society altogether, the nets of coercion which they craft vary greatly across nations. Different types of regimes start with different types of civil societies and then accord different degrees of freedom to different groups. How much freedom exists and how it is used varies from case to case, and thus the content and extent of political learning varies as well. The variation between cases is greatly affected by the nature of economic development and class relations in a particular state, but we cannot study political learning through economic lenses alone. The existence or absence of particular religious, legal, or cultural traditions affects the possibilities for learning, too, because these traditions also affect the nature of civil society under dictatorship.

THE END
DEMOCRACY AND THE LESSONS OF DICTATORSHIP

Questions based on paragraphs 1-3

1. What is the writer’s purpose in the present text?

                                                                                                   (5 points)

2. What does the writer mean by political learning?

                                                                                                   (5 points)

3. “...understanding political learning is not synonymous with understanding redemocratization
   as a whole” (l. 6-7).

   Explain the writer’s statement.

                                                                                                   (4 points)

Questions based on paragraphs 4-13

4. Complete the chart below to explain the writer’s definition of the concept of political
   learning. Show
   a. the factors that can lead to political learning.
   b. the main process that characterizes political learning.
   c. the contribution of this process to the reconstruction of democracy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. the factors that can lead to political learning</th>
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</thead>
</table>

(6 points)
5. “Political learning can take ideological or tactical forms” (line 45-46). Give one example from the text to illustrate each form of political learning

**Ideological form:** _____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

**Tactical form:** ______________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
(6 points)

7. a. List the writer’s three points of clarification regarding political leaning.

1.___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
2. ___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
3. ___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
(9 points)

b. Under what circumstances is democracy reconstructed “by default” (l. 71)

____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
(4 points)

c. These clarifications show that political learning

[check (✓) one]

☐ always results in the reconstruction of democracies.

☐ does not always result in the reconstruction of democracies.

Support your answer.

____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
(4 points)
Questions based on paragraphs 14-19

8. Complete the chart below to show
   a. the changes occurring in each of the two phases in the reconstruction of democracy
   b. how each change happened

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>elements compared basis of comparison</th>
<th>Changes</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8 points)

9. a. Which group plays the most important role in the reconstruction of democracy?

   THE MASSES [ ]  THE ELITES [ ]

Explain your answer

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

(5 points)

b. According to the writer, the need to reconstruct democracy indicates that actions carried out by national political leaders can have either a negative or a positive effect on a nation’s political regime.

In the table below show
   i. the contradictory actions that can be carried out by national political leaders.
   ii. how these leaders behave in each situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i. contradictory actions carried out by national political leaders</th>
<th>ii. how these leaders behave in each situation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10 points)
10. According to the writer, why is political learning important when the political leaders have to make a commitment to a democratic constitution.

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

(3 points)

11. The example of Spain (l. 136)

[check (√) one]

[ ] confirms the writer’s position.

[ ] rejects the writer’s position

Support your answer.

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

(3 points)

Questions based on paragraphs 20-28

12. Why is the existence of a “critical mass” (l. 151) of political actors essential for understanding the process of political learning? Give two facts from the text.

1. ____________________________________________

   ____________________________________________

2. ____________________________________________

   ____________________________________________

(4 points)

13. Complete the chart below to show how a critical mass comes to adopt new beliefs and tactics. Show

   a. the two processes mentioned by the writer.
   b. the effect of these processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. processes</th>
<th>b. effect</th>
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13. Complete the chart below to show:

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(4 points)

14. What role do “small free spaces” (l. 182) play in the process of political learning?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

(4 points)

15. List two of the conditions that affect the degree of freedom accorded to different groups in authoritarian regimes

1. _______________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

2. _______________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

(6 points)

16. Choose the sentence that best expresses the MAIN idea in the text.

☐ The importance of political learning becomes clear if we analyze the discourse of elites in the nations that have reconstructed democracy.

☐ The reconstruction of democracy is the result of prodemocratic political learning of national political leaders following their experience of dictatorship.

☐ The reconstruction of democracy can be easily predicted by the size of the political elite that has undergone political learning.

☐ Elites representing groups who were willing to harass and perhaps even kill each other at one time sit down and construct democratic accords at another.

(6 points)

THE END
DEMOCRACY AND THE LESSONS OF DICTATORSHIP

Suggested Answers

Questions based on paragraphs 1-3

1. What is the writer’s purpose in the present text?

Par 3.(line 16) This article explains what political learning is, and why political learning is the key to the reconstruction of democracy

2. What does the writer mean by political learning?

(line 4) It is the cognitive change resulting from the reevaluation of the nature of political regimes, our enemies and our own goals and behavior.

3. “...understanding political learning is not synonymous with understanding redemocratization as a whole” (l. 6-7).

Explain the writer’s statement.

Redemocratization involves three phases: the breakdown of a dictatorship, the creation or reconstruction of a democracy and the consolidation of a new regime. Political learning is most important in the second phase of the redemocratization. It explains: 1. why a new regime has become democratic and 2. why a dictatorship in crisis is replaced by a democracy rather than another dictatorial regime.

Questions based on paragraphs 4-13

4. Complete the chart below to explain the writer’s definition of the concept of political learning. Show

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<td>crises, political frustrations, economic depressions, internal wars, violent collapse of a form of government unchanged. (par 4)</td>
<td>People reevaluate ideas that they have used as guides to action in the past. (par 5)</td>
<td>The new ideas are believed and used as guidelines for behavior. (par. 6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marker: as a result of
5. “Political learning can take ideological or tactical forms” (line 45-46). Give one example from the text to illustrate each form of political learning

**Ideological form:** critical elites must change their ideas about the effectiveness of democratic institutions for the fulfillment of group goals. OR Critical elites must change their evaluations of democracy. (par. 8)

**Tactical form:** Gaetano Salvemini’s tactics to bring about a perfect form of democracy led to the triumph of fascism. Political learning did not change his basic beliefs about democracy but his thinking on tactics changed dramatically. (par. 7).

7. a. List the writer’s three points of clarification regarding political leaning.

1. First dictatorships do not always create prodemocratic cognitive changes. (l. 58)
2. This is a second. Political learning does not necessarily involve a deep normative commitment to democracy per se. (l. 67)
3. A third point (l. 86-87) A critical mass of learners must develop before the risky game of building a democracy can begin.

b. Under what circumstances is democracy reconstructed “by default” (l. 71)

(lines 71-73) Elites may tolerate or advocate liberal democracy, not because they see intrinsic merits in a democratic political system but because dictatorial alternatives are less desirable.

c. These clarifications show that political learning does not always result in the reconstruction of democracies.

Support your answer.

(lines 89-92) Political learning does not occur uniformly within a polity. It may not involve a deep commitment to democracy as an end in itself, and sometimes prodemocratic political learning may not occur at all.

**Questions based on paragraphs 14-19**

8. Complete the chart below to show

a. the changes occurring in each of the two phases in the reconstruction of democracy
b. how each change happened

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<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 1</strong> (l. 97)</td>
<td>The fall of the dictatorial regime (l. 95)</td>
<td>Mass actions, provoke crises, they go on riots and armed insurrections (l. 93-94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 2</strong> (l. 97-98)</td>
<td>construction of democracy (l. 102)</td>
<td>Elites design democratic institutions draft the constitution/ (l. 102)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8 points)
9. a. Which group plays the most important role in the reconstruction of democracy?

THE ELITES

**Explain your answer**

**Par. 14-15**

(l. 94-95) Mass actions can bring down the dictatorial regime but they do not in themselves produce and alternative. (l. 104+109-110) **It is the elite**, usually old enemies that can reconstruct democracy piece by piece, institution by institution.

b. According to the writer, the need to reconstruct democracy indicates that actions carried out by national political leaders can have either a **negative** or a **positive** effect on a nation’s political regime.

In the table below show

i. the contradictory actions that can be carried out by national political leaders.

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| 1. The national political leaders support the breakdown of democracy | The breakdown of democracy usually involves extreme hostility among national political leaders who refuse to accept the outcome of the democratic game. *(par. 16)*
Elites representing different groups were willing to harass and perhaps even kill each other. *(par. 17)* |
| 2. The national political leaders support the reconstruction of democracy | Political leaders are willing to compromise and bargain. because their priorities have changed radically. They sit down and construct democratic accords. *(par 17)* |

**Note:** the contradiction is marked in the text by the phrases “at one time” (l. 116) and “then, at another time” (l. 118)

10. According to the writer, why is political learning important when the political leaders have to make a commitment to a democratic constitution.

*(par.18)*

The change in the nature of elite thinking is an intrinsic part of political learning. As a result of this change political leaders are ready to compromise, and to expand the range of negotiable issues so as to prevent the divisions that produced the breakdown of democracy.

11. The example of Spain (l. 136)

confirms the writer’s position.

**Support your answer.**

The reconstruction of democracy in Spain would have been impossible without a change in elite ideas. As a result of prodemocratic political learning, leaders of the right and the left made dramatic concessions. Leaders of the right legalized the Communist Party and leaders of the left accepted the monarchy.
12. Why is the existence of a “critical mass” (l. 151) of political actors essential for understanding the process of political learning? Give two facts from the text.

1. Certain aspects of the process is unpredictable. We can never know in advance what a given leader’s experience in exile will be. Nor can we predict the effects of personality (l. 143-145).

2. THE OTHER POINT No political culture is homogeneous. States with some democratic experience in the past are very likely to have some citizens who have prodemocratic beliefs even when a dictatorship is secure. (l. 147)

13. Complete the chart below to show how a critical mass comes to adopt new beliefs and tactics. Show:
   a. the two processes mentioned by the writer.
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<td>1. comparison 2. interaction (l. 154)</td>
<td>cognitive changes (l. 153)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</table>

Note: the relation of cause and effect is marked by the phrase “emerge from” (line 153)

13. Complete the chart below to show:
   a. the factor that lead to interaction
   b. the possible effect of interaction

<table>
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The very acts of coercion that the regime takes to ensure stability.
When a dictatorship forces a wide spectrum of its oppositional elite into exile and prison. (l. 168-169)

interaction (l. 167)

may lead to a stronger, more unified, and possibly more democratic opposition in the future (l. 171)

14. What role do “small free spaces” (l. 182) play in the process of political learning?

The small free spaces where state constraint is loosest, are used as forums for the dissemination of new and critical ideas which become the greatest challenge of dictatorships.

15. List two of the conditions that affect the degree of freedom accorded to different groups in authoritarian regimes

(Any two choices)
1. How much freedom exists and how it is used varies from regime to regime.
2. the nature of economic development and class relations in a particular state.
3. The existence or absence of particular religious, legal, or cultural traditions.
16. Choose the sentence that best expresses the MAIN idea in the text.

- The importance of political learning becomes clear if we analyze the discourse of elites in the nations that have reconstructed democracy. (true according to the text, but not the main idea)

- The reconstruction of democracy is the result of prodemocratic political learning of national political leaders following their experience of dictatorship. [✓]

- The reconstruction of democracy can be easily predicted by the size of the political elite that has undergone political learning. (true according to the text, but not the main idea)

- Elites representing groups who were willing to harass and perhaps even kill each other at one time sit down and construct democratic accords at another. (true according to the text, but not the main idea)

THE END