

# Resources

## GREETINGS FROM GROZNY

### Books

Conquest, Robert. *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*. New York: Macmillan, 1970.

Dunlop, John B. *Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict*. New York & UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Evangelista, Matthew. *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

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Politkovskaya, Anna and John Crowfoot (translator). *A Dirty War: A Russian Reporter in Chechnya*. London & New York: Harvill, 2001.

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Tolstoy, Leo. *Hadji Murat*. London: Hesperus Press, 2003 (written 1896-1904).

### Web sites

Greetings From Grozny  
[www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/chechnya/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/chechnya/index.html)

American Committee for Peace in Chechnya  
[www.peaceinchechnya.org](http://www.peaceinchechnya.org)

Chechen Republic Online  
[www.amina.com](http://www.amina.com)

Human Rights Watch: Chechnya  
[www.hrw.org/campaigns/russia/chechnya](http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/russia/chechnya)

Institute for War and Peace Reporting  
[www.iwpr.net](http://www.iwpr.net)

Russian Informational Centre  
[www.infocentre.ru/eng\\_user/index.cfm?page=0&date=2002-07-09&startrow=1](http://www.infocentre.ru/eng_user/index.cfm?page=0&date=2002-07-09&startrow=1)

## SOUL OF INDIA

### Books

Agnivesh, Swami and Valson Thampu, with guest articles by Arundhati Roy and Harsh Mandar. *Harvest of Hate: Gujarat Under Siege*. Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2002.

Brass, Paul R. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Gandhi, Rajmohan. *Revenge & Reconciliation: Understanding South Asian History*. New Delhi: Penguin India, 1999.

Varadarajan, Siddharth (editor). *Gujarat: The Making of a Tragedy*. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2002.

Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002.

### Web sites

Soul of India  
[www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/india/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/india/index.html)

Gujarat Carnage: The Aftermath  
[www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/index.htm](http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/index.htm)

Human Rights Watch: Compounding Injustice: The Government's Failure to Redress Massacres in Gujarat  
[www.hrw.org/reports/2003/india0703/India0703full.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/india0703/India0703full.pdf)

Human Rights Watch: India: Gujarat Officials Took Part in Anti-Muslim Violence New Report Documents

Complicity of the State Government  
[www.hrw.org/press/2002/04/gujarat.htm](http://www.hrw.org/press/2002/04/gujarat.htm)

The South Asia Citizens Web. Cry, the Beloved Country: Reflections from the Gujarat Massacre by Harsh Mander, March 13, 2002.  
[www.ncasindia.org/articles/mander.htm](http://www.ncasindia.org/articles/mander.htm)

## CAUSE FOR MURDER

### Books

Ai Camp, Roderic. *Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Cuomo, Kerry Kennedy and Eddie Adams (photographer). *Speak Truth to Power*. New York: Umbrage Editions, 2003.

Guillermoprieto, Alma. *The Heart that Bleeds*. New York: Vintage, 1995.

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Krauze, Enrique. *Mexico: Biography of Power*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1998.

Levy, Daniel C., Kathleen Bruhn, Emilio Zebadua, and Lorenzo Meyer. *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

### Articles

Doyle, Kate. "Mexico's Secret Past and Present Pains," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2003.

Rosenberg, Tina. "The Taint of the Greased Palm," *New York Times Magazine*, Sunday, August 10, 2003.

Thompson, Ginger. "A Mexican Reformer Who Looked Too Close to Home," *New York Times*, September 5, 2001.

Thompson, Ginger. "Fighters for the Forests Are Released From Mexican Jail," *New York Times*, November 8, 2001.

### Web sites

Cause for Murder  
[www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/mexico/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/mexico/index.html)

Human Rights Defender: Digna Ochoa  
[www.amnestyusa.org/women/defenders/digna.html](http://www.amnestyusa.org/women/defenders/digna.html)

Human Rights Watch: Mexico  
[www.hrw.org/americas/mexico.php](http://www.hrw.org/americas/mexico.php)

Latin America Network Information Center (LANIC). Mexico NAFTA Resources  
[lanic.utexas.edu/la/Mexico/nafta/](http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/Mexico/nafta/)

Mexicana Transparencia  
[www.transparenciamexicana.org.mx/encuesta\\_nacional.html](http://www.transparenciamexicana.org.mx/encuesta_nacional.html)

Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center. (PRODH) (Organization for which Digna Ochoa worked)  
[www.sjsocial.org/PRODH/](http://www.sjsocial.org/PRODH/)

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)  
[www.tech.mit.edu/Bulletins/nafta.html](http://www.tech.mit.edu/Bulletins/nafta.html)

Office of Mexican Affairs (U.S. State Department Web Site)  
[www.state.gov/www/regions/wha/mexico\\_index.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/wha/mexico_index.html)

Texas Observer: "Party Animals" (on Pan crime and murder of Tames) by John Ross.  
[www.texasobserver.org/showArticle.asp?ArticleID=1385](http://www.texasobserver.org/showArticle.asp?ArticleID=1385)

## THE EMPTY ATM

### Books

Blustein, Paul. *The Chastening*. New York: Public Affairs, 2003.

Easterly, William. *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002.

Mussa, Michael. *Argentina and the Fund: From Triumph to Tragedy*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2002.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: Norton, 2002.

### Web sites

The Empty ATM  
[www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/argentina/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/argentina/index.html)

Argentina's Economic Crisis: Resources  
[www.gapresearch.org/finance/resourcesargentina.html](http://www.gapresearch.org/finance/resourcesargentina.html)

Barter Web Links: Relevance & Relation to Money  
[www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/barter.html](http://www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/barter.html)

Economics Tutorial: Econ 101  
[www.econdash.net/econ101.asp](http://www.econdash.net/econ101.asp)

International Monetary Fund: Argentina and the IMF  
[www.imf.org/external/country/ARG/index.htm](http://www.imf.org/external/country/ARG/index.htm)

Latin American Newsletters  
[www.latinnews.com](http://www.latinnews.com)

The World Bank Group  
[www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

## TO HAVE AND HAVE NOT

### Books

Haley, Usha. *Asia's Tao of Business: The Logic of Chinese Business Strategy*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2003.

Logan, John R. (editor). *The New Chinese City: Globalization and Market Reform* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 2002.

Panitchpakdi, Supachai and Mark L. Clifford. *China and the WTO: Changing China, Changing World Trade*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002.

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Studwell, Joe. *The China Dream: The Quest for the Last Great Untapped Market on Earth*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2002.

Zhang, Li. *Strangers in the City: Reconfigurations of Space, Power, and Social Networks within China's Floating Population*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001.

### Web sites

To Have and Have Not  
[www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/china/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/china/index.html)

China Internet Information Center: Looser Residency Policy for Beijing Rural Workers  
[www.china.org.cn/english/China/56808.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/english/China/56808.htm)

China Labour Bulletin  
[iso.china-labour.org.hk](http://iso.china-labour.org.hk)

China, Trade and Human Rights: The WTO and China  
[www.hrw.org/campaigns/china/china-wto.htm](http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/china/china-wto.htm)

Embassy of The People's Republic of China in the United States: Human Rights Issues  
[www.china-embassy.org/eng/c2714.html](http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/c2714.html)

U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). World Trade Organization: China's Membership Status and Normal Trade Relations Issues, Report to Congressional Committees, March 2000  
[usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/uschina/ns00094.pdf](http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/uschina/ns00094.pdf)

World Trade Organization  
[www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org)

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# [wideangle]

## DISCUSSION GUIDE



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**SOUL OF INDIA**

**Director/Producer** Steven Silver/Richard Clemmow

**CAUSE FOR MURDER**

**Director/Producer** Pamela Yates

**THE EMPTY ATM**

**Director/Producer** Angus Macqueen, October Films, U.K.

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**HOW TO USE WIDE ANGLE**

This WIDE ANGLE education package gives you an exciting way of using public television programs to enrich political science, journalism and economics courses. It includes VHS tapes from WIDE ANGLE's first season: *Greetings from Grozny* (Chechnya), *Soul of India*, *Cause for Murder* (Mexico), *The Empty ATM* (Argentina), and *To Have and Have Not* (China). We have included brief video segments at the beginning of each tape to provide you with starting points for in-class discussions. Following these clips, there is an uncut broadcast version of the program. *Greetings from Grozny*, *Soul of India*, and *Cause for Murder* are most suited for political science, world events and journalism courses; *The Empty ATM* and *To Have and Have Not* have strong economics content as well.

This guide lists program themes and includes brief essays, along with discussion questions that are intended to help you and your students learn more about the meaning of the events examined in each program. Each section of the guide also features descriptions of the segments at the beginning of each videocassette, maps, and key dates.

**STRATEGIES FOR USING THE VIDEOS**

Media is most effective when used interactively, rather than passively, in class or group discussion. Consider using some of the following strategies when planning lessons or discussions based on WIDE ANGLE:

1. **Preview videos** to determine suitability for your objectives and your class.
2. **Select segments** that are directly relevant to your topic and appropriate for your class — you need not use an entire video at one time. A few well-chosen minutes may be more effective in illuminating your topic.
3. Provide a **focus for interaction** — something specific to do or look or listen for in relation to the chosen segment or presentation. This assures that the group will focus together on the information most relevant to your topic.
4. Don't be afraid to **pause for discussion**, or to **rewind and replay** to underscore or clarify a particular point. This allows video to play a more interactive role in discussion.
5. Consider **eliminating sound or picture**. Allowing your class to provide their own narration of what they see, or to predict what the content accompanying the narration might be, is especially useful in working with groups whose primary language is not English.

When you've decided on the program or segments you'd like to cover with your class, photocopy the corresponding section of the guide to distribute to your class. You might also want to photocopy the resources section on the back cover of this guide.



**WHAT IS WIDE ANGLE?**

We're proud to present WIDE ANGLE, the award-winning television documentary series that reports exclusively on the world and our fellow global citizens.

Everyone agrees that Americans need to understand more about the world. WIDE ANGLE has accepted the challenge of reporting on the most important and pressing social, political and economic issues confronting citizens and policymakers around the globe — telling human, accessible stories about people's lives from Chechnya to China.

During its first season WIDE ANGLE aired ten one-hour films on PBS in primetime from July to September 2002, garnering extraordinary public recognition and uniformly positive reviews.

Our two hosts, foreign policy expert Jamie Rubin and BBC-trained journalist Daljit Dhaliwal, framed each program with a brief introduction and concluded with a probing interview with one of our nation's leading policy makers, political thinkers or business leaders. These conversations "connect the dots" between events overseas and our American viewers.

In its first season WIDE ANGLE worked with some of the world's top producers and partnered with prominent broadcasters, including *The New York Times* and Granada Factual USA, the BBC, CBC Canada, SBS Australia, France2, and TV2 Denmark. Each film was a U.S. television premiere.

The world has never been closer, and we believe that there has never been a stronger connection between events around the world and the daily domestic interests of Americans.

I hope you enjoy using these programs from Season One of WIDE ANGLE with your students.

Stephen Segaller, Executive Producer, WIDE ANGLE

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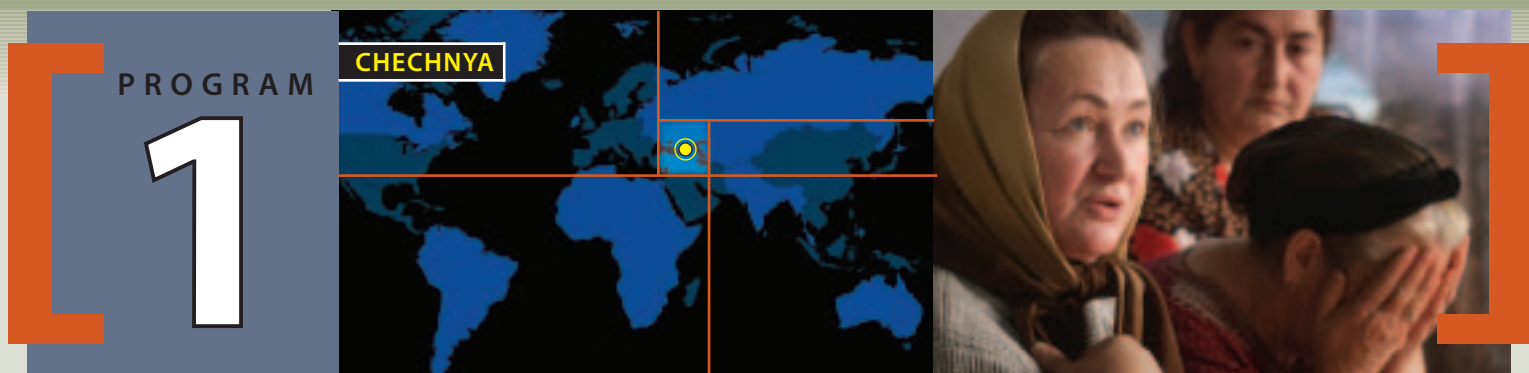
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**WIDE ANGLE ONLINE**

WIDE ANGLE's Web site features a wealth of specially commissioned material relating to Season One and Season Two of the series. It contains photo essays, interactive features, high-level debates, and the full text of each host interview — all exclusive to the Web site.

Visit WIDE ANGLE at [www.pbs.org/wideangle](http://www.pbs.org/wideangle). This guide also includes Web addresses for each featured program.

# Greetings From Grozny



## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

*In Chechnya, there's no end in sight in the war for independence from Russia. Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, has declared that his country's military operations are part of the global war on terrorism, but Chechen rebels say the war is about gaining their freedom. Greetings from Grozny shows wrenching scenes of civilians caught in a war zone, with unprecedented coverage of Russian troops conducting "sweeps" of Chechen homes and a rare entrée to life in a Chechen rebel camp.*

*After the documentary, program host Daljit Dhaliwal interviews Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Steven Pifer.*

## SEGMENT DESCRIPTIONS

**Segment 1:** *Secretly shot film of a Russian zachistka, or cleansing operation. (4 minutes)*

**Segment 2:** *In 1999, Vladimir Putin promises revenge after Chechnya is blamed for a series of mysterious bomb blasts that hit Russia. (5 minutes)*

**Segment 3:** *In the Pankisi, there are two imams — one teaching Chechnya's moderate form of Islam, and the other preaching a more fundamentalist Islam practiced by the Saudis and the Taliban. (3 minutes)*

**Segment 4:** *Steven Pifer says that the U.S. government is making an effort to distinguish between terrorist Chechen rebels and those who have legitimate grievances. (1 minute)*

For more about *Greetings from Grozny* on the Web, go to [www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/chechnya/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/chechnya/index.html)

## PROGRAM THEMES

- **HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE:** Both sides of the war in Chechnya have committed acts of terrible violence — from "cleansing" operations by Russian soldiers to terrorism carried out by Chechen rebels.
- **HISTORIC CONFLICTS, THE HUMAN FACE OF CHANGE:** Chechnya's conflict with Russia has gone on for more than 200 years. Recently, institutions such as Grozny University have been devastated by violence, but faculty and students have persisted in spite of hardships.
- **THE RULE OF LAW:** After a brief period of nominal independence, the incompetence and lawlessness of the Chechen government caused Russia to re-take the country. Russian troops, since reinvading Chechnya, have been involved in disappearances and other human rights violations.
- **RELIGION AND NATIONALISM; ISLAM:** Chechens have traditionally practiced a moderate form of Islam, but fundamentalism is increasingly attractive to younger rebels.
- **MIGRATION:** The future is uncertain for hundreds of thousands of refugees who live in tent cities on Chechnya's borders.



## Not One War But Many

By Thomas de Waal

**R**ussia's continuing war in Chechnya is many conflicts in one. It is partly the continuation of a historical colonial conflict between Moscow and the Chechens, the most rebellious ethnic group in the Russian Empire, which has continued at intervals for much of the last 200 years. It is also about the legacy of the breakup of the USSR in 1991, when the Soviet monolith split apart, and different peoples bargained for different pieces of it. The Chechens wanted full independence, and Russia wanted to maintain its new territorial integrity.

The issue of independence was the main bone of contention in Russia's first war in Chechnya between 1994 and 1996. The Russian army lost that war and pulled out, leaving the Chechens to their own devices. Chechnya then spent three years of de facto statehood, which were wracked by violence, crime — in particular mass kidnappings — and a growth in Islamic radicalism. So, when a new conflict started in 1999, this also became a war about Russia's security fears on its southern flank. In September 2001, President Vladimir Putin called Chechnya his front on the "war on terror" and many in the West concentrated on this one element of the conflict to the exclusion of the others.

All these are the political roots of the conflict. But like most wars, the one in Chechnya has gotten out of the control of the men who launched it. Somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 civilians have died in nine years of war. So this is also a war of revenge and score settling between pro-Moscow and anti-Moscow Chechens and a criminalized war in which Russian soldiers and their Chechen accomplices loot and get rich from trading in oil products.

Why should people in the West care about this faraway conflict? Apart from purely humanitarian concerns, there are also two reasons Chechnya matters a great deal. The first is that terrorist methods are on the increase, with all the terrifying consequences involved. In October 2002 the whole world watched the theatre siege in Moscow, which ended in the deaths of more than 120 hostages and all the Chechen militant hostage-takers. Since December 2002, Chechnya has seen a spate of suicide bombings. In July 2003 there was one outside Moscow. This kind of terrorism is likely to spread as long as the political causes of the conflict are unresolved.

The second reason we should care is that Chechnya is badly damaging Russia's transition to becoming a free and democratic state. Hundreds of thousands of young men have passed through the meat grinder of the Chechen wars, committing and experiencing appalling acts of violence. These veterans are blighted by crime and alcoholism. The conflicts have increased the power of the army and of the intelligence service, the heir to the KGB. And they have led to a rollback in press freedoms. NTV, the television station that most

## DIRECTOR'S NOTES

By Paul Mitchell

Perhaps viewers will find the segment with the Russian soldiers the most compelling or the most exciting, but I think that we actually make these films because it gives people like the students at Grozny University or in the refugee camps a chance to have a voice. I knew from the beginning that I wanted to film at Grozny University. I thought it would be a good place to meet young Chechens. I was interested to know why they chose neither to fight nor to flee to the refugee camps. What gave them enough faith in the future to want to study? I had been told of the special busses that the University chartered to get through the Army's checkpoints, the ruined classrooms where the only source of heat and light was the naked flames from broken natural gas pipes. When word spread that we were there, every student in the English Department came outside and surrounded us. "You must stay!" they told me. "We haven't had a chance to meet a native speaker of English in two years." It wasn't easy to say goodbye.



openly criticized the first Chechen war, has had its independence clipped. TVS, the station that was most free in the second conflict, was recently shut down.

### A Long History of Bloodshed

Chechnya's bloody history of war with Russia dates back to the 1780s. Long after areas like Georgia and Poland had been incorporated into the empire, the Chechens and their fellow mountain tribesmen were still fighting the Russians. Russia's most famous writer, Leo Tolstoy, served as an officer in Chechnya in the 1850s and his novella *Hadji Murat* has many scenes that Russian soldiers or Chechen villagers would recognize today.

Chechen resistance to rule by Moscow continued after the October Revolution of 1917. And in 1944, the Chechens were the second largest group (after the Soviet Germans) to be deported en masse by Stalin from their homeland. Approximately a quarter of the 400,000 Chechens brutally shipped off to Central Asia in cattle trucks died within five years. They lived in exile until 1957, when they were allowed to return to Chechnya.

The "Chechen Revolution" of 1991 was one of many nationalist and anti-Communist movements springing up like wildflowers all over the Soviet Union. But while other ethnic groups either received outright independence — such as the Georgians or the Lithuanians — or made their peace with Moscow — such as the oil-rich region of Tatarstan — the Chechens lived for three years in a strange twilight zone. They were de facto independent of Moscow, but were part of the same economy and were home to the leading black market in the chaotic new post-Communist Russia.

Islam was not a big factor at first. The Chechens were Muslims, but their first leader, Jokhar Dudayev, was a former Soviet airforce general with a Russian wife and no interest in religion. This was much more a struggle about politics, civil rights and money. When President Boris Yeltsin sent in the army in December 1994 to crush Dudayev and the Chechen nationalist movement, everything changed. Ordinary Chechens remembered the history they had been told, picked up weapons and fought back. The bloodiest war in Europe broke out. By the time that war ended in 1996, with a Russian defeat, Chechnya was a different place. Its main cities had been destroyed, tens of thousands of people had died — a whole society had been turned upside down.

During and after that first war, radical Islam began to flourish. Many of the Middle Eastern volunteers who came into Chechnya preached a new fundamentalist Islam that was foreign to Chechen traditions. Several of them were almost certainly linked to al-Qaeda. And in the younger generation, which had just emerged from war, they found thousands of ready recruits.



AP/WWP

### MUM'S THE WORLD

Why has the West, especially the United States, remained so indifferent to the conflict in Grozny? Its muted response stems, in part, from concern about how Russia's government will respond. The White House has traded its silence on Chechnya for Russia's help on fighting terrorism. American and European politicians fear that Chechen independence could destabilize Russia, resulting in its fragmentation and even a takeover by new leaders hostile to Western interests. The United Nations treats the Chechnya war as a domestic or internal matter outside of its jurisdiction. Although a few protests have emanated from the European community, they have been feeble.

### KEY DATES

- 1944 Stalin deports the entire Chechen nation to Siberia and Central Asia as suspected German collaborators.
- 1957 Chechens allowed to return to Chechnya.
- 1991 Chechnya declares its independence.
- 1994-96 War with Russia results in de facto independence for Chechnya.
- 1999 Russia reinvades Chechnya.

### Stories in the Program

*Greetings from Grozny* gives us unforgettable glimpses into the lives of Chechen civilians, refugees and fighters, and is all the more remarkable because almost no independent journalists visit Chechnya any more, save for one or two very brave Russian newspaper reporters.

The figures we see in the film all speak Russian, but they are from very different worlds. All of them, in different ways, are frightened. The Chechen women are desperate at seeing their brother dragged away for possible torture and death. The Russian sapper dreads de-mining the roads, any of which may be booby-trapped and blow him up. The Chechen militant fighter thinks about death every day.

### What Future?

Chechnya is likely to be a very bleak place for many years to come. President Putin has begun what he calls a "political process" there, but most observers have strong reservations about it. A "presidential election" held on October 5, 2003 confirmed as leader Moscow's chosen Chechen appointee, Akhmad Kadyrov. Mr Putin himself is standing for reelection in March 2004.

There is precious little to be optimistic about. There are still 80,000 or so Russian soldiers stationed in Chechnya. Resistance continues, and a couple of dozen soldiers die every month. Suicide bombings are now killing scores of civilians, both Chechen and Russian. The whole region is in ruins and for a decade has not had proper functioning health or educational systems or economy. Tuberculosis and other diseases are rife. But the worst of it is that very few political leaders, either Russian or Western, show signs of wanting to take responsibility for a great tragedy in what is supposed to be a part of Europe. ■

*Thomas de Waal is Caucasus Editor of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting in London and co-author with Carlotta Gall of Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus (NYU Press 1998).*



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### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

#### Political Science

- The Russians and the Chechen rebels are using violence as a way of advancing their political goals. What do you think of their methods?
- Why is Islamic fundamentalism becoming more attractive to younger Chechen rebels?
- How does Russia's response to Chechen terrorism compare to recent U.S. anti-terrorism policies both at home and abroad — for example, in Afghanistan, Indonesia and the Philippines?
- What role do you see for the United States and/or the United Nations in this conflict? Do you think the United States has a vital interest in the outcome?
- Can you think of alternative political solutions to this conflict?

#### Journalism

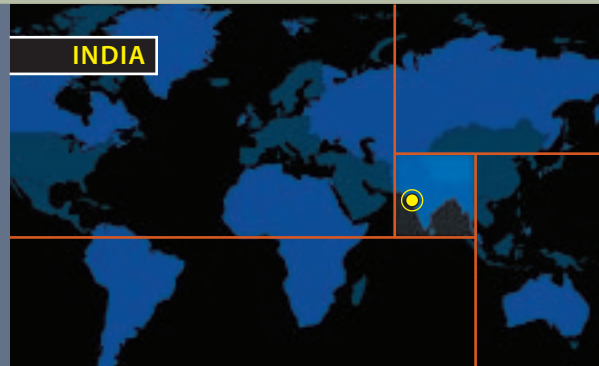
- What risks do journalists face when reporting on stories in places like Chechnya?
- Who decides the difference between legitimate independence movements fighting unwanted occupiers, and terrorist groups creating havoc to achieve their goals?
- How did the filmmakers use different types of footage (interviews, home movies, archival film) to tell the story?
- How were the filmmakers able to add a sense of intimacy and immediacy to the documentary? Whose stories did you find most compelling and why?
- If you were writing an article about the university in Grozny, what would be the focus of your story? What might you say about the wants and desires of young people living through conflicts such as this one?

# Soul of India

PROGRAM

2

INDIA



AP/WWP

## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

*Soul of India* focuses on a tragic new chapter in the bloody Hindu–Muslim conflict in India's Gujarat State and explores what the rise of the Hindu fundamentalist movement may mean for the world's largest democracy.

After the documentary, program host Jamie Rubin interviews George Mitchell, former U.S. Senator from Maine.

## SEGMENT DESCRIPTIONS

**Segment 1:** Harish Bhatt, Vice President of India's Hindu youth movement, the *Monkey God Brigade*, is a Hindu nationalist. His organization is part of a much larger group called the *Hindu Alliance*. (3.5 minutes)

**Segment 2:** Mohandas Gandhi's vision of a pluralistic Indian society is under threat. A revived RSS (*Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*, or the *National Voluntary Service*), the Hindu nationalist movement originally inspired by German fascism, is a controlling force in the *Hindu Alliance*. (6 minutes)

**Segment 3:** A Muslim mob in Godhra burns a train carrying Hindu activists. (3 minutes)

**Segment 4:** A violent eruption of retaliation. (4.5 minutes)

**Segment 5:** Former U.S. Senator George Mitchell points out that there is hope for peace in countries torn apart by religious conflict, even when the fighting has gone on for centuries. (4 minutes)

For more about *Soul of India* on the Web, go to [www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/india/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/india/index.html)

## PROGRAM THEMES

- **RELIGION AND NATIONALISM:** Hindu nationalist groups are attempting to turn India into a religious state. Violence between Muslims and Hindus is threatening to destabilize the government.
- **HISTORIC CONFLICTS:** The tensions and violence between India's Muslims and Hindus have a long history, predating India's independence.
- **ISLAM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE:** Although Hindu nationalists in the documentary describe Muslims as terrorists, innocent Muslims were the victims of appalling atrocities in Gujarat in 2002.
- **THE RULE OF LAW:** The Indian government faces a number of challenges in regard to violence against Muslims, in this case seeking help from a seasoned law-enforcement veteran to counter inaction by local government officials and police.



## The Struggle for National Identity

By Ashutosh Varshney

Imagine two Indians, Vaidya and Bhatt, each representing a contrasting view of India's national identity. Vaidya's view is taken from Mahatma Gandhi, unquestionably the father of Indian independence. This view is known as "composite nationalism," or what we today would call multiculturalism. In contrast, Bhatt's view focuses on the primacy of Hindus in India and demands that all non-Hindu groups should play a secondary role in national life. They "can stay as a younger brother," is how Bhatt puts it. This view is called "Hindu nationalism."

Roughly 82 percent of India is Hindu and the remaining 18 percent, numbering between 190 and 200 million people, belong to a variety of faiths: Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Jainism, Judaism, etc. At nearly 12.8 percent, and numbering about 130 million, Muslims are the largest minority. Finally, at two percent, and numbering approximately 20 million, Christians are the third largest Indian minority. Hindu nationalism has historically been hostile to these last two religious communities in India.

Gandhian composite nationalism drove India's freedom movement and is the foundation of modern India's constitution. Hindu nationalism, a minor force during India's freedom movement, as well as for four decades after independence, has become a powerful force since the late 1980s. Though it has not been able to defeat the multicultural view of India completely, it has certainly been in ascendance. Hindu nationalists are part of a ruling coalition in the federal government in Delhi. Of the major states in India, only in the state of Gujarat have they been able to run the government entirely on their own in recent times.

What are the basic sources of difference between India's founding principles and Hindu nationalists? According to composite nationalism, being a good Muslim is perfectly consistent with being a good Indian. Religion (and language) do not define India; India is multicultural and pluralist. Pluralism is embodied in India's laws (such as protection of minority rights and educational institutions) and in political institutions (such as India's federal system, which — among other things — allows each Indian state to determine for itself which of the country's many languages it will use for official business).

The Hindu nationalists argue that emotions and loyalty, not laws and institutions, make a nation. Laws, they say, can always be politically manipulated. One should ground politics explicitly in Hinduism, not in laws and institutions.

But who is a Hindu? Savarkar, the ideological father of Hindu nationalism, gave a definition in *Hindutva*: "A Hindu means a person who regards this land ... from the Indus to the seas as his

## DIRECTOR'S NOTES

By Steven Silver

On this film, I spent time with a number of extremists whose ideas differed quite dramatically from my own. I believe that good interviewing and good filmmaking is not just about a well-sculptured question, but also about the relationship that develops between the filmmaker and the subject. What you see on the screen is hopefully the dramatic side of that relationship. I try to find some common humanity between me and the subjects no matter who they are or what terrible things they might have done. I am always careful not to assume that I am so different that I could not be capable of exactly what they have done given the right set of circumstances.



AP/WWP

fatherland (*pitribhumi*) as well as his holy land (*punyabhumi*).“ The definition is thus territorial (land between the Indus and the seas), genealogical (“fatherland”) and religious (“holy land”). Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists can be part of this definition, for they meet all three criteria. All of these religions were born in India. Christians, Jews, Parsis, and Muslims can meet only two, for India is not their holy land.

How can such “non-Hindu” groups be part of India? By cultural (not political) assimilation, say the Hindu nationalists. Parsis and Jews, they argue, are already assimilated, becoming part of the nation’s mainstream. This leaves us with the Christians and Muslims. “They,” wrote Savarkar, “cannot be recognized as Hindus. For though Hindustan (India) to them is the fatherland as to any other Hindu, yet it is not to them a holy land too. Their holy land is far off in Arabia or Palestine .... Their love is divided.”



AP/WWP

This forms the basis for Hindu nationalism’s adversarial relationship with India’s Christians and Muslims. Of the two, ultimately, Muslims have been designated as the principal adversary of Hindu nationalism — partly because of their numbers, and partly because a Muslim homeland in the form of Pakistan, after all, did partition India in 1947.

According to the Hindu nationalist ideology, to become part of the Indian nation, Muslims must: accept the centrality of Hinduism to Indian civilization; remorsefully accept that Muslim rulers of India between the years 1000 and 1757 destroyed pillars of Hindu civilization, especially Hindu temples; not claim special privileges such as maintenance of religious personal laws (These are special laws that govern minorities in such noncriminal matters as marriage, divorce and inheritance.); and not demand special state grants for their educational institutions.

In India, scholars have repeatedly told us, Islam developed two broad forms: syncretistic, and exclusivist. The former has a doctrine adapted to local culture, while the latter attempts to exclude all ideas



AP/WWP

### NEW BOUNDARIES, OLD HATREDS

Find out more about other countries where nationalism has been a factor in religious or ethnic conflicts, particularly those involving organized violence against a particular group. Did one or both groups use old prejudices as a way of stirring up resentment and violence? What led to the violence? Can some answers be found in the origins of these nations?

Choose a place with a history of ethnic violence and research the country’s beginnings, looking at a historical map and other resources, noting how treaties and geographic features were factors in establishing the nation’s borders. Think about the geographic, religious and political divisions in the country you’ve chosen and see if you can draw parallels between violence there and the riots in Gujarat.

### KEY DATES

- **1992** Hindu activists destroy Ayodhya mosque, sparking Hindu – Muslim riots that kill over 2,000 people.
- **February 2002** Fifty-eight people killed when Muslims in Godhra burn train carrying Hindu activists from Ayodhya.
- **February–March 2002** At least 1,000 people killed in religious violence in state of Gujarat.
- **March 2002** Hindu activists vow to build temple in Ayodhya. Supreme Court bars all religious activity from site.

that were not part of original Islamic doctrine. In India, syncretistic Islam integrated into the preexisting Indian culture long ago. Syncretistic Islam has produced some of the pillars of Indian culture, music, poetry, and literature. Indian Muslims of various hues have also fought wars against Pakistan.

The political and ideological battle of the Hindu nationalists should be against Islamic fundamentalism and Muslim separatism, not against everybody who professes faith in Islam. By generating an anti-Muslim discourse, the Hindu nationalists risk embittering all of the country’s 120 to 130 million Muslims permanently, including those with syncretistic attitudes toward the majority Hindu culture.

The battle between Bhatt and Vaidya is a battle for the essence, peace and dignity of India. Hindu nationalists have still to convince a majority, or plurality, of Indian voters — including Hindu voters — that they should shed their multicultural moorings. On the basis of electoral statistics, scholars of Indian politics continue to believe that the odds of a multicultural India disappearing are very low. India’s democracy, in short, is the best bulwark against the spread of Hindu nationalism as an ideology. ■

*Ashutosh Varshney is the director of the Center for South Asian Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where he is also a professor of political science. “The Struggle for National Identity” originally appeared on the WIDE ANGLE Web site, and draws from the author’s book, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. His writing has also appeared in The Financial Times, The Washington Post and Newsweek.*



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## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

### Political Science and Economics

- How does the situation in India compare to other nationalistic conflicts between religious or ethnic groups around the world? Consider Ireland, Israel, Rwanda, or the former Yugoslavian confederation for comparison.
- What were the likely political considerations that influenced New Delhi’s response to the Gujarat riots?
- How should the local government have responded to the riots in Gujarat? Was there anything they could have done to prevent them?
- What should the Indian government do to show that justice is being carried out?
- Do you feel that Gandhi’s vision of a humanistic, secular India can ever be realized? Why or why not?

### Journalism

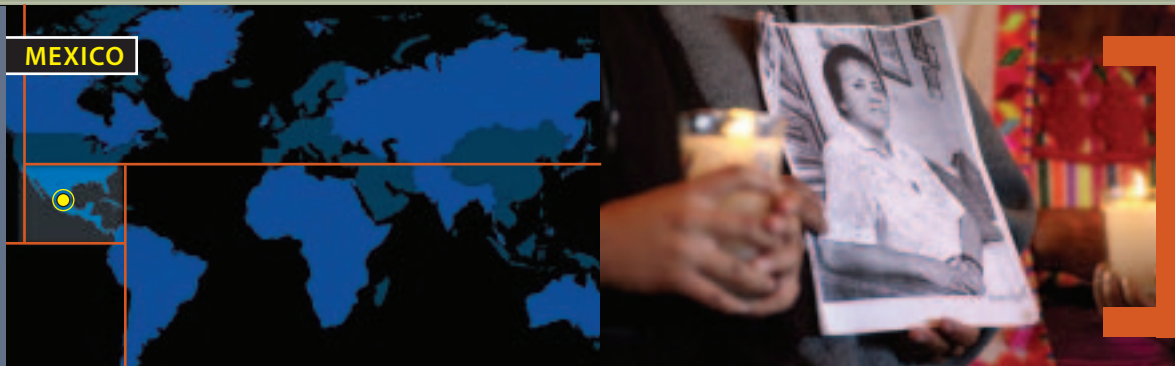
- Before and after *Soul of India* was broadcast on public television, it was criticized by Hindu nationalist groups as “anti-Hindu propaganda.” From what you’ve seen, did WIDE ANGLE’s journalists present a balanced picture of the conflict in Gujarat? Cite specific examples to support your argument.
- To what extent should journalists take the concerns and sensitivities of different groups into account when reporting on stories such as this?
- What techniques did the producers use to tell the story? What different types of footage were included?
- Does this program offer any hope that India can have a more peaceful future?

# Cause for Murder

PROGRAM

3

MEXICO



AP/WWP

## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Mexico's new president promised to stamp out the legacy of 71 years of corrupt single-party rule, but payoffs, bribery and violence still play roles in the country's political system. Cause for Murder explores the tragic stories of two young female lawyers, both killed for challenging the endemic corruption and human rights abuses that despite recent reforms continue to plague Mexico.

After the documentary, program host Daljit Dhaliwal interviews Enrique Krauze, publisher of *Letras Libres* and author of *Mexico, Biography of Power*.

## SEGMENT DESCRIPTIONS

**Segment 1:** Mexico's history of political corruption and Vicente Fox's bid for *El Cambio*, or change, in 2000. (1.5 minutes)

**Segment 2:** Digna Ochoa's legal work challenged the violent human rights abuses of the PRI. In Atizapan, Marigeli Tames and her family fight corruption through the National Action Party, or PAN. (5 minutes)

**Segment 3:** Vicente Fox promises that his party will make elected officials accountable, yet Marigeli Tames' investigations in her own province's PAN uncover payoffs and bribes. She is murdered at the age of 27. (4.5 minutes)

**Segment 4:** Enrique Krauze discusses why Americans should care about what is happening in Mexico. Krauze also explains Mexico's political history and the meaning of democracy for Mexicans. (1.5 minutes)

For more about *Cause for Murder* on the Web, go to [www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/mexico/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/mexico/index.html)

## PROGRAM THEMES

- POLITICAL CHANGE, THE RULE OF LAW:** Partido Acción Nacional party (PAN) candidate Vicente Fox's election to the presidency of Mexico after 71 years of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) party's control created a climate of hope in the country, but political corruption continues to be a major problem.
- HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE:** Activist lawyers Digna Ochoa and Marigeli Tames were killed as a result of their attempts to combat corruption in Mexico. Ochoa was involved in human rights and environmental causes while Tames exposed corruption in a local branch of the PAN party.
- THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION:** Some international corporations may have an ongoing role in Mexico's corruption, but the country's participation in global trade is also creating pressure for it to abide by the rule of law.



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## The Dream and the Lie of Reform

By Ginger Thompson

**A**t the turn of the century, Mexico embarked on a historic and peaceful political transition by ending seven consecutive decades of authoritarian rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and by electing its first opposition president, Vicente Fox.

Mr. Fox, a son of ranchers and a former Coca-Cola marketing executive, promised a country still romantic about its revolutionary roots nothing less than a social upheaval. He pledged to eradicate the corruption, repression and impunity that had sustained the PRI.

Before the end of Mr. Fox's first year in office, his promises were put to the test by the violent deaths of two crusading lawyers. Councilwoman Maria de los Angeles Tames, who represented a heavily populated suburb of Mexico City, was gunned down in September 2001 in front of her home in Atizapan de Zaragoza. Prosecutors alleged that Ms. Tames, who was 27 at the time of her death, had been shot after uncovering corruption by the Atizapan government.

A month later, one of Mexico's most prominent human rights lawyers was found shot at point-blank range in her office near the center of the capital. Digna Ochoa, a former nun, had been the recipient of international honors for work that often pitted her against ruthless powers in the police and armed forces.

The deaths harkened Mexico back to the rule of the PRI, which had been marred by a litany of unresolved political killings — including the massacre of some 100 students and the disappearances of hundreds of suspected guerillas during the so-called Dirty War of the 1970s. The PRI had risen to power from the ashes of the Mexican Revolution in 1929. It held onto power through a vast system of political patronage to its supporters and repression against its opponents. Presidents were made by fraudulent elections, and ruled like kings.

The landmark election in 2000 that brought President Fox to power was considered the most transparent political contest in modern Mexican history. The peaceful transition that followed won Mexico international legitimacy as a true democracy, raising expectations that important changes were on the way. Justice for all was a public priority.

In response to that call, President Fox appointed a corruption czar to audit every government agency. The president also appointed a special prosecutor to investigate the most heinous atrocities of the past regime. And after years of resistance by past governments, Mexico, under President Fox, adopted several important international human rights treaties.

Still, after three years of transition, Mexicans have begun to

**DIRECTOR'S NOTES**  
By Pamela Yates

I traced the steps of Digna Ochoa on her final trip into the mountains of Guerrero, where she met with peasant ecologists three weeks before her murder. The peasants' activities to stop clear cutting of valuable hardwoods threatened the multinational logging companies. Digna was under surveillance by the Army, and her trip was very dangerous. I wanted to find clues about why she was murdered.

A videotape of Digna's trip made by the peasant ecologists showed me what to expect. We secretly left the coast and rode up into the rugged and lawless mountains of Guerrero crouched in the back of an open truck. The peasant ecologists came out of hiding to talk to us. We edited our original material with images of Digna's last trip to show what the economic and political forces were that she was challenging and how this was most likely the motivation for her murder.



AP/WWP

## UPDATE

Despite circumstantial evidence and the apparent mishandling of the case by the Mexican police, in July 2003 a special prosecutor found — again — that Digna Ochoa's death was most likely the result of suicide rather than murder. After hearing the news, her brother expressed outrage with the Mexican justice system. Her family has promised to prove that Ochoa was murdered.

express disappointment in President Fox's initiatives, saying that they have been crippled by his government's inexperience and inaction. The investigations into past abuses, considered Mr. Fox's most important human rights effort, have been blocked by limited cooperation from the military and limited resources. Inquiries into scandals by high-powered public officials, accused of illegally using tens of millions of dollars of public funds for political campaigns, have flopped. Meanwhile indigenous peasants accused of petty crimes are held in jails for months, simply because they do not have enough money to pay fines as low as \$10.

Justice remains a distant dream.

The investigations into the deaths of Ms. Tames and Ms. Ochoa have highlighted both the progress and the pitfalls in the Mexican judicial system since Mexico's shift toward democracy. In the murder of Ms. Tames, state prosecutors moved swiftly to arrest the mayor of Atizapan, Antonio Dominguez Zambrano, who was accused of running a multimillion dollar operation that controlled the suburb like the mob. Mr. Dominguez was a member of Mr. Fox's National Action Party (PAN), and his arrest revealed that corruption and brutality had spread beyond the PRI into the country's political culture. Meanwhile the case of Ms. Ochoa, who was 37 when she died, remains shrouded by public disbelief. Three special prosecutors were assigned to investigate her death. All three ended their investigations with findings that Ms. Ochoa had committed suicide.

Ms. Tames and Ms. Ochoa had fought for justice from opposite ends of Mexican society. Ms. Tames, petite, but hard-charging, came from the sprawling suburb of Atizapan, population one million and growing. She was born into the area's vibrant middle class to parents who considered themselves foot soldiers in President Fox's effort to defeat the PRI.

Ms. Tames followed in their footsteps. She was elected councilwoman on the same day that President Fox was elected president. But her political honeymoon was cut short when after just a few months in office, she began to discover that leaders of her own PAN were running the local government with the same kickbacks and bribes as the PRI.

Ms. Tames told her parents that she would not rest until she saw Mayor Dominguez and his pack of thieves in jail. Pedro Tames, the young lawyer's father, said he warned his daughter that she was playing with fire.

On September 5, 2001, as Ms. Tames returned home from work, she was shot five times and bled to death in her mother's arms.

A month later, Mexico and the international human rights community were shocked by the death of Digna Ochoa. Like Ms. Tames, Ms. Ochoa was also petite and relentless. But unlike the Atizapan attorney, Ms. Ochoa had come from a very humble beginning.

The daughter of a sugar mill worker from the gulf coast state of Veracruz, Ms. Ochoa first fought for justice as a teenager. In 1980 she



AP/WWP

### MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES AFTER 9-11

When Vicente Fox was elected president in 2000, Mexico was poised to become a truly modern democracy. Recently, his administration's investigations into past abuses have faltered while corruption and other old problems have persisted. Mexico is now struggling to hold onto the gains made by Fox's historic election.

President Bush has stressed that the United States, Mexico and other Latin American countries "are bound by ties of kinship, commerce and culture," and early in his administration one of his top priorities was improving United States–Mexico relations. Since the September 2001 attack on New York and Washington D.C., the U.S. government has focused much of its attention and resources on the war on terror. Have the events of September 2001 derailed opportunities for our country to support democracy in Mexico? Research United States – Mexico relations since September 11, 2001, speculating on some of the possible consequences of our recent policies.

#### KEY DATES

- **1929** Party later known as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) comes to power.
- **1968** Hundreds of student protestors die in Tlaletco Massacre.
- **1988** Mexicans decry presidential elections as fraudulent.
- **2001** PAN candidate Vicente Fox elected president, ending 71 years of PRI rule.

and her 12 brothers and sisters organized protests after their father, a union organizer, was arrested on dubious murder charges. They won his release after 13 months.

She beat the economic odds to finish law school, and then dedicated her career to helping poor, indigenous people like her father. Her most prominent clients were Rodolfo Montiel and Teodoro Cabrera, peasant activists who clashed with the military, local political bosses and at least one U.S. corporation in the state of Guerrero after leading a movement against illegal logging in the mountains there. The men were arrested by soldiers, forced to sign false confessions claiming responsibility for illegal weapons sales and sentenced to prison.

Her work won Ms. Ochoa international acclaim, but at home, she told her friends and colleagues, she was hounded by death threats. In 1999, Ms. Ochoa reported that she had been bound and interrogated for several hours by strangers who invaded her home.

In the fall of 2001, more than a year after Mr. Fox's election, Ms. Ochoa told a few friends and relatives that the threats against her had begun again, and she had purchased a gun for self protection. The last threat was dated October 16.

Three days later, Ms. Ochoa was found dead with her gun set beneath her body.

Two weeks after her death, President Fox ordered Mr. Cabrera and Mr. Montiel released from prison.

The deaths of the two young attorneys shattered the euphoria of Mexico's transition to democracy, waking the nation up to the obvious reality that its most serious problems had not vanished after a free and fair election. President Fox, as the leader of the country's first years of transition, has expressed commitment to change, or *El Cambio*. His words, however, have not generally been matched by deeds.

And so it will likely take years, some analysts say decades, before Mexico's military becomes fully subordinate to civilian powers; before elected officials are required to serve the public over their political parties; before police stop taking bribes for traffic tickets; and indigenous men and women enjoy equal opportunities for jobs and education.

Ms. Tames and Ms. Ochoa seemed to understand that reality all too well.

"I started my career in law with the illusion that I could help people, thinking that all it took was to know the law to achieve this goal," Ms. Ochoa once said. "Later I learned that due to rampant corruption and impunity in Mexico, it was not enough to be innocent, to be right and to have the law on your side. But it was necessary to fight against an entire government structure that defends very specific political and economic interests." ■

*Ginger Thompson is the Mexico City Bureau Chief for The New York Times. In 2000, she was a member of the reporting team that wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning series, "How Race is Lived in America."*

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

### Political Science and Economics

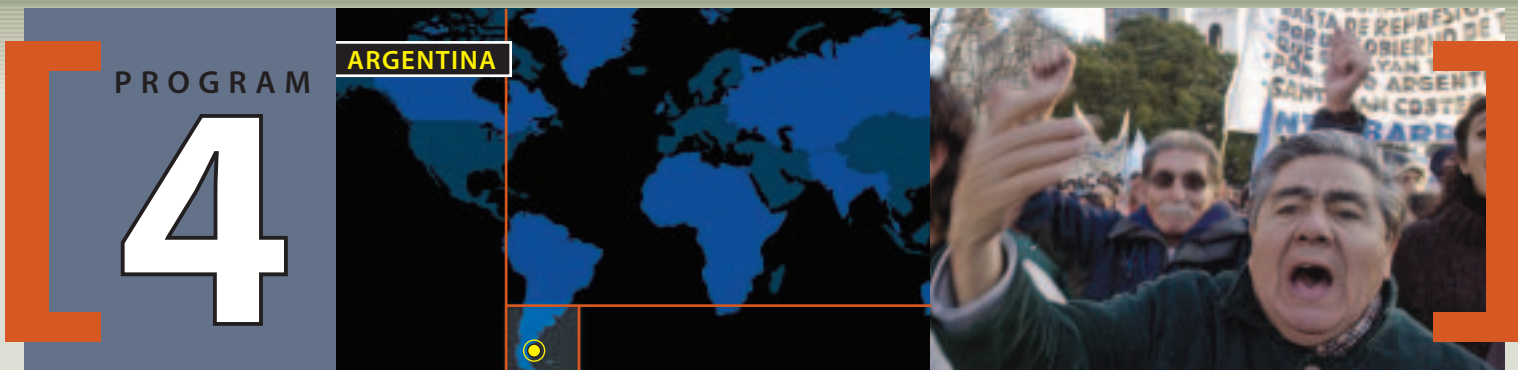
- How does a one-party government corrupt a society?
- What political and business interests did Digna Ochoa and Marigeli Tames challenge? Why would the local police and the regional government support these interests even in the face of a possible scandal?
- What forms does corruption take on a local level? On a national level?
- How did international organizations like Amnesty International and the Sierra Club support Digna Ochoa and help make people aware of her work? What interests do these international groups have in supporting efforts such as Ochoa's?
- What is the relationship between civil government and the military in Mexico? Do local civil agencies have autonomy from the military? How can governments develop safeguards to both control and support the military?

### Journalism

- What risks do interviewees face when they appear in a documentary like this?
- How did the filmmakers create a sense of intimacy and immediacy in the documentary?
- How did the documentary show that there are sometimes connections between international businesses and local corruption?
- What role, if any, did journalism play in the lives of Tames and Ochoa?
- Based on what you've seen in the documentary, do you think justice is possible in these cases? To what extent do you think journalists should have a role in trying to achieve justice?



# The Empty ATM



## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Argentina is trapped in a financial crisis, which some fear could trigger an economic and political meltdown throughout Latin America. The Empty ATM reveals how Argentines are coping with their shattered economy, including the explosive growth of “barter clubs” that challenge the very need for traditional monetary currency.

After the documentary, program host Jamie Rubin interviews Joseph E. Stiglitz, winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize for Economics.

## SEGMENT DESCRIPTIONS

**Segment 1:** In December 2001, recession and growing social unrest in Argentina provoked a financial crisis. (2 minutes)

**Segment 2:** Since the government froze bank accounts and changed all dollar deposits to pesos, an unemployed biology teacher goes from one bank to another trying to get her family’s money. In the banking district of Buenos Aires, depositors hold angry protests. (3 minutes)

**Segment 3:** A job is the prize for the winning contestant of the reality television program, *Human Resources*. The show’s producer explains the genesis of the program. (2 minutes)

**Segment 4:** Ruben Ravera’s *Barter Clubs* encourage the unemployed and the poor to produce their own goods and services, and then to exchange them in a cashless market. (5.5 minutes)

**Segment 5:** Joseph Stiglitz argues that Argentines have not been able to make choices over their country’s basic economic principles; instead, they “were pushed down their throat by the U.S. Treasury, by the IMF.” Stiglitz says that one solution for Argentina’s problems is to open up American markets to its products. (4 minutes)

For more about *The Empty ATM* on the Web, go to [www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/argentina/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/argentina/index.html)

## PROGRAM THEMES

- **THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC POLICIES:** Argentina was once one of the wealthiest countries in the world, but in 2001 its fiscal policies led to a financial crisis and widespread unemployment. While some citizens participate in angry protests at banks, others are involved in a barter system that is creating new economic opportunities.
- **THE HUMAN FACE OF CHANGE:** The crisis in Argentina is dramatized by the reality TV program, *Human Resources*, created by producers who were themselves unemployed. In the program, two unemployed women compete for a job as a sales clerk.
- **THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION:** The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had a role in Argentina’s economic problems and set conditions for debt repayment that made the country’s economic problems worse.



## Argentina, Shortchanged

Why the Nation That Followed the Rules Fell to Pieces

By Joseph E. Stiglitz

It’s a familiar refrain: Another Latin American republic, this time Argentina, can’t get its act together. A profligate government and its populist policies have brought the country to ruin. Americans can smugly feel they are immune from such Latin ways.

Bewildered Latin Americans, however, see Argentina very differently. What happened, they ask, to this poster child of neo-liberalism and the notion that free markets would ensure prosperity? This was the country that did everything right. How could it have fallen so far?

There is some truth in both views, but ultimately, the one that’s been popularized in America is, I think, misguided.

The crisis that had been brewing in Argentina for several years finally burst out in December 2001. As the official unemployment rate approached 20 percent, with real joblessness substantially higher, workers had had enough. Street demonstrations overturned a democratically elected government. The country could not meet its debt payments. It had no choice but to default, and the economic regime, with the Argentine peso fixed in value to the dollar, had to crumble. Since then, the economy has gone from bad to worse.

Argentina would have been better off if there were less corruption in political life and if it had not run deficits; after all, you can’t have a debt crisis if you have no debt.

But the real question is, did those large deficits, corruption and public mismanagement cause the Argentine crisis? Many American economists suggest that the crisis would have been averted had Argentina followed the advice of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) religiously, especially by cutting back on expenditures (including at the provincial level) ruthlessly. Many Latin Americans, however, think that the full IMF plan would have led to an even worse crisis — sooner. I think it is the Latins who are right.

Like most economists outside the IMF, I believe that in an economic downturn, cutting expenditures simply makes matters worse: tax revenues, employment and confidence in the economy also decline. Yet the IMF said make cuts, and Argentina complied, trimming expenditures at the federal level (except interest) by 10 percent between 1999 and 2001.

Not surprisingly, the cuts exacerbated the downturn; had they been as ruthless as the IMF wanted, the economic collapse would have been even faster. And the calamity that followed the political unrest would almost surely have been every bit as bad.

A closer look at its budget also shows how grossly unfair is the picture of Argentine profligacy. The official numbers reveal a deficit of less than three percent of gross domestic product. But even that

## DIRECTOR’S NOTES

By Angus Macqueen

The Barter Club was the revelation. I have learnt from experience to be skeptical and quite hard nosed when told that someone has set up a totally new economic system that is drawing in millions of impoverished Argentines. Surely the men behind it must be ripping them off; surely they must be after political power. But no. The founder, Ruben Rivera, may talk too much but he is quite simply trying to find solutions for the millions failed by Argentine politicians. Do I believe it will work in the long run? That is irrelevant: the privilege and delight of film-making is to meet such people and to tell their stories.



figure is misleading because of Argentina's decision to privatize its social security system. Had Argentina not privatized, its 2001 budget would have shown a surplus.

If budget profligacy or corruption were not the problem, what was? To understand what happened in Argentina, we need to look to the economic reforms that nearly all of Latin America undertook in the 1980s. Countries emerging from years of poverty and dictatorship were told that democracy and the markets would bring unprecedented prosperity. And in some countries, such as Mexico, the rich few have benefited.

More broadly, though, economic performance has been dismal, with growth little more than half of what it was in the 1950s, '60s and '70s. Disillusionment with "reform" — neo-liberal style — has set in. Argentina's experience is being read: This is what happens to the A-plus student of the IMF. The disaster comes not from *not* listening to the IMF, but rather *from* listening.

That Argentina has moved to the bottom of the class has much to do with the exchange rate system. A decade ago, it had hyperinflation, which is always disastrous. Pegging the currency to the dollar — one peso equaled \$1, no matter what the rate of inflation or the economic conditions — acted, almost miraculously, to cure this problem. The IMF supported the policy. It stabilized the currency and was supposed to discipline the government, which couldn't spend beyond its means by printing money. It could only spend beyond its means by borrowing. And to borrow, presumably, it would have to follow good economic policies. A magic formula seemed to have been found to tame the seemingly incorrigible politicians.

There was only one problem: It was a system doomed to failure. Fixed exchange rates have never worked. Typically, failures are not usually the result of mistakes made by the country, but of shocks from beyond their borders, about which they can do little.

Had most of Argentina's trade been with the United States, pegging the peso to the dollar might have made sense. But much of Argentina's trade was with Europe and Brazil. The strong (most would say, overvalued) dollar has meant enormous American trade deficits. But with the Argentine peso pegged to the dollar, an overvalued dollar means an overvalued peso. And while the United States has been able to sustain trade deficits, Argentina could not. Whenever you have a massive trade deficit, you have to borrow from abroad to finance it. Although the United States is now the world's largest debtor country, outsiders are still willing to lend us money. They were willing to lend to Argentina, too, when it had the IMF stamp of approval. But eventually they realized the risk.

The risks were brought home by the global financial crisis of 1997–1998 when, suddenly, the interest rates that Argentina paid to its foreign and domestic creditors soared. As the Asian financial crisis led to crises in Russia, and then Brazil, Argentina suffered more and more. Interest rates soared, and with the collapse of the



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#### KEY DATES

- **1946** Lt. Gen Juan Perón elected president of Argentina.
- **1952** Eva Perón, the president's popular wife, dies.
- **1955** Perón forced to resign, moves to Spain.
- **1973** Perón returns to Argentina and is reelected president.
- **1974** Perón dies; his third wife (and vice-president) Isabel Perón takes over the presidency.
- **1976** Military coup; Argentina's "dirty war" begins, with disappearances and torture carried out by the military regime.
- **1982** Argentina invades the Falkland Islands; the British retake them, culminating in the defeat of the military regime and leading to the restoration of civilian rule.
- **1991** After several years of hyperinflation, the value of Argentina's peso is pegged to the dollar.
- **August 1998** Argentina has its worst recession in a decade; unemployment hits 15 percent.
- **December 2001** Argentina defaults on \$155 billion of debt. President de la Rúa resigns.
- **January 2002** Perónist Eduardo Duhalde becomes interim president. Peso decoupled from dollar. Banking crisis worsens.
- **January 2003** IMF approves a short-term aid package including a \$3 billion loan and a deferral on \$3.8 billion until 2004.
- **May 2003** Nestor Kirchner takes office as Argentina's sixth president in 18 months.

Brazilian currency, Argentina simply could not compete with its neighbor's cheaper exports.

As if things were not bad enough, a falling euro made it harder for Argentina to export to Europe. Moreover, while Europe and the United States preach free trade, they have kept their markets relatively closed to Argentina's agricultural goods.

Some say Argentina's fixed exchange rate system might have worked were it not for the bad luck of global financial crises. But that misses the point. International financial markets are highly volatile. The question wasn't whether the fixed exchange rate system would break, but only when and how.

In the United States, when we have a downturn, everyone agrees that a fiscal stimulus is the remedy. Why is it, then, that the IMF believed that the opposite — contractionary fiscal policies — would succeed in getting Argentina out of its problems?

Given the exchange rate, given the economic depression that the IMF policies had already brought about, given the huge debt, given that the IMF did not provide any convincing economic strategy to get out of the mess, given that there were open capital markets so that anyone who wanted to could move their investments to safer havens elsewhere in the world, it was highly unlikely that anyone — especially when the government signed an agreement to reduce its deficit further, predictably causing more unemployment and lower output — would start investing more.

Argentina is a country rich in human and natural resources. Before the crisis, these resources, even with inefficiencies, generated one of the highest GDPs in Latin America. Those resources have not been destroyed by the financial crisis. What is required now is to "restart" the engine. Besides providing the assistance to do this, there is another way the United States can help: On an "emergency" basis, we should open our markets to Argentine goods. This is a form of assistance that would cost us nothing — and Americans as consumers would be better off. At the very least, we should stop demanding that the Argentines cut back even more, deepening their already severe depression and adding to inevitable social problems.

Blaming the victim is not going to help matters. ■

Adapted from an Op-Ed piece originally published in *The Washington Post*, May 12, 2002. Used by permission of Joseph E. Stiglitz.

*Joseph E. Stiglitz is Professor of Economics and Finance at the Columbia Business School. He was Chief Economist and Senior Vice-President of the World Bank from 1997 to 2000. In 2001, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics.*

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

### Political Science and Economics

- When a government has problems repaying its loans, what does it mean for its citizens? For its neighbors? What might happen if Argentina defaults on its loans?
- What is the responsibility of the World Bank and the IMF for Argentina's economic problems?
- What political power does the average Argentine have over economic policy? What kinds of public policy options do you think the government of Argentina has at its disposal?
- What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of a barter system such as the one shown in the program?
- How important is political leadership in pulling a nation out of a depression?

### Journalism

- How did the program's producers show the impact of recent economic changes in Argentina?
- Was the reality TV program, *Human Resources*, exploitative? Explain.
- How were different types of footage (interviews, stock footage, staged scenes) and music used to tell this story?
- How does Argentina's crisis affect us? Could a similar banking crisis happen here? Were these issues illuminated? Explain.



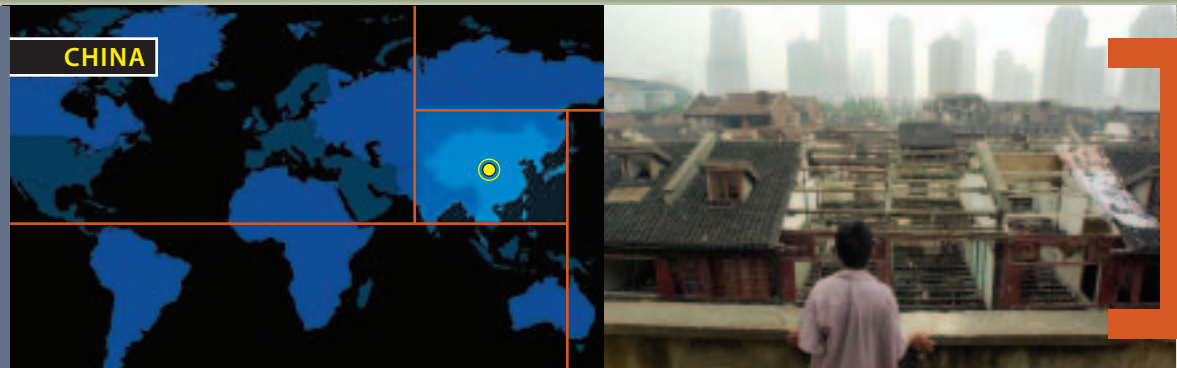
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# To Have and Have Not

PROGRAM

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CHINA



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## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

To Have and Have Not profiles people on the extremes of poverty and of great wealth in the new China, as membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) accelerates the difficult process of economic modernization in the world's most populous nation. Now that China has opened its economy to market forces, is it becoming a nation of middle-class entrepreneurs, or a society where jobless masses have had their work, benefits and security traded away for life?

After the documentary, program host Daljit Dhaliwal interviews Charlene Barshefsky, former U.S. Trade Representative.

## SEGMENT DESCRIPTIONS

**Segment 1:** Many Chinese peasants are moving to cities, where they face a number of hardships. (3 minutes)

**Segment 2:** Nongovernmental organizations supported by foreign funds are organizing advice clinics in an effort to help migrants. (3 minutes)

**Segment 3:** Han Dong Fang runs a radio program in Hong Kong that features calls from Chinese workers who have lost their jobs. (4 minutes)

**Segment 4:** Zhang Xin and Pan Shi run a real estate company in China and have become millionaires in the past ten years. (4 minutes)

**Segment 5:** Charlene Barshefsky discusses why China's policies matter to Americans, and how free markets might lead to greater democratization in China. (2 minutes)

For more about *To Have and Have Not* on the Web, go to [www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/china/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/china/index.html)

## PROGRAM THEMES

- **THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC POLICIES, THE HUMAN FACE OF CHANGE:** China's transition to a free market economy is creating new middle and upper classes — the "gold collar" workers. At the same time, many people have little hope for a better standard of living.
- **THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION:** China's entry into the World Trade Organization may increase economic opportunities for some, but it is also adding to the hardships facing poor people.
- **MIGRATION:** To earn more money, rural Chinese people often move to cities to get work as laborers, but because of the government's policies, they are forced to live like illegal aliens in their own country.



## Modernization and Moral Issues in China

By Dorothy J. Solinger

China's modernization, urbanization and its startlingly successful movement away from a planned, state-led economy to one run by the rules of the free market are exciting developments. Streets in the largest and wealthiest Chinese cities could almost be mistaken for somewhere in the United States or Western Europe. In only about 20 years' time, the big cities and the eastern part of the country have undergone earth-shaking transformations. Cell phones, skyscrapers and e-mail are as common now in these areas as they are in New York or Los Angeles.

While some have benefited and even become rich in China, we should not lose sight of the big moral questions raised by the country's leap into the 21st century. Just what proportion of the nation's population is enjoying the benefits of this huge shift? If prosperity in some parts of China depends in part on the deprivation of the poor, are the costs worth the achievements? What are the tradeoffs — the plusses and minuses of China's rise?

### A Look Back in Time

To think about these questions, we need some background. After the fall of the last Chinese dynasty in 1911, the country saw nearly four decades of warlords, internal disruption, foreign occupation, and the rise of two political parties that competed to rule the country, culminating in a civil war won by the Communists in 1949 and capped by their revolutionary overturning of Chinese society.

Throughout the 1950s, the Party ensured, through sometimes violent mass movements, that all wealth and property were turned over to the new government and redistributed as its leaders saw fit. An egalitarian ethos reigned, and, while Party officials definitely lived better than other people, in general people in the same region of the country had standards of living that varied little. Moreover, the economy was sheltered from foreign trade and investment (except for a minimal amount with other socialist countries), and it was not so difficult to maintain a degree of equity within the country.

Still, three enormous differences divided the populace: First, the cities were favored by disproportionate state investment, more plentiful goods, a higher level of education, and better health care. Almost all adults in the cities were employed, usually in factories that saw to their — and their family's — basic needs, and that meted out wages according to seniority. In the countryside, farmers received a plot of land in a massive land reform in the early 1950s, only to see that land merged into larger and larger collective units throughout the decade. Though the communes were later broken down into smaller units, the dominant idea in running the country for over two decades was to force the rural people to grow enough

## DIRECTOR'S NOTES

By Jon Alpert

From the moment I arrived [in China], I was tailed by the secret police. They tapped our phones. They visited people who we wanted to film and either tried to intimidate them or tried to get them to spy on us.

In Daqing, laid-off oil workers were protesting. No reporters were able to get pictures of these demonstrations. They were arrested, their tapes and film confiscated. We sent a member of our team to Daqing. Within five minutes he was apprehended, beaten and arrested. There were more secret police than demonstrators. He was held incommunicado for 48 hours and told that if he did not sign a confession that he was a spy and that I was the spy master, they would throw him in jail for 20 years. He signed and was deported. Despite these troubles we made an interesting show about the haves and have-nots of the new Chinese economy. But for freedom of the press — give me a nice clean war any day instead of the well-organized repression of China's secret police.



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grain to feed the workers of the cities. During this period, farmers were generally not permitted to leave their homes and go into the cities.

Secondly, there were large regional disparities, with the southwest and the northwest for the most part being the poorer parts of the country. Nonetheless, there was an intentional redistribution of wealth, goods and produce carried out through a planned economy so that industry was situated throughout the country and so that even the poorest places benefited somewhat from the state's reallocation of surplus revenue from more productive areas, such as Shanghai. And thirdly, the regime labeled a small segment of the population — chiefly, those who had been wealthy before 1949 or their descendants — as “class enemies.” Such people were discriminated against and barred from normal participation in the life of the community.

### Switch to a Market Economy

After 1978, China's top leaders began a decades-long process of opening up the country to the outside world and simultaneously eradicating almost every aspect of the former system. As more free-market activity was permitted, less of the economy came under the auspices of planning and state control. Along with these changes, fewer of the profits and surpluses from the more advanced areas were redistributed. While the heightened economic activity and the stimulation from the outside tended to raise the average living standard several times over, greater inequities began to appear. In fewer than 20 years, China went from being one of the more equal societies on earth to one of the most unequal.

### Current Inequities

By the year 2000, the per capita gross national product in Shanghai was already 12 times higher than that in one of the poorest provinces of the country — in the far southwest. Meanwhile, farmers were allowed to leave their homes in search of higher incomes in the cities. But because their living standard in the countryside is so much lower than in any town, it is easy to take advantage of them. These people, once in the municipalities, have no rights to housing, medical care, education, or employment, but must arrange everything for themselves. The work they find is usually back-breaking labor, entailing 10- to 14-hour workdays, with substandard (and frequently delayed) pay. In many ways they bear the brunt of city people's discriminatory behavior. So it is certainly not just the farmers who have remained poor in today's China. Indeed, these urban migrants show the sorry underside of the country's rapid urbanization.

At the same time, the government has undertaken welfare “reforms” that require urban dwellers to purchase their own medical insurance, contribute to their pensions and pay high fees for their children's schooling. Although the government is attempting to devise and install a social security system, the countryside is for the most part excluded, and only those prosperous city dwellers can take part. One



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### UPDATE

One of the interviewees in *To Have and Have Not* is Li Xiuying, a bright 13-year-old daughter of migrant workers who was barred from attending the Beijing public schools and forced to study in a makeshift, low-quality school for illegal immigrants. Thanks to a WIDE ANGLE viewer who donated the cost of Li Xiuying's private school tuition, Li began her new life at an elite Beijing prep school earlier this year. The updated version of the program (in Season Two of WIDE ANGLE) chronicles this life-altering change and captures her first day of school.

### KEY DATES

- **1949** China revokes its membership in the WTO's predecessor, the GATT, calling it “a capitalist club.”
- **1978** China begins market-oriented reforms that give it one of the world's fastest growing economies.
- **2000** China ranks as the world's second largest economy after the U.S., based on purchasing power parity.
- **2001** After a 15-year membership campaign, China joins the WTO.

unsettling dimension of such new modes of state management is that young children of poor urban migrants and of laid-off workers may need to drop out of school. Consequently, China is in danger of fostering a permanent uneducated and destitute underclass.

Recent surveys have found that the very wealthy — the sort of entrepreneurs profiled in *To Have and Have Not* — may account for only about 0.6 percent of the population. The relatively comfortable “middle class” is said to amount to only about 18 percent. The great bulk of the rest, something over 60 percent, is comprised of workers and farmers, with these two standing in a ratio of approximately 1:2 (20+ percent workers and 40+ percent farmers). The very poor people in the cities might well amount to somewhere between 10 and 18 percent of the urban population, especially if the migrants are included.

What has been gained over the past 20 years can be readily viewed in *To Have and Have Not*. What has been lost is something we need to think about. Just how important should the values of community, governmental welfare, equity, and social justice be in a society? Should the Chinese government pour resources into taller buildings and more stunning thoroughfares? Or should it be trying harder to create programs of adult education and welfare delivery for the poor and undereducated? What will China's future look like if the present trends continue?

### China and Global Issues

Finally, two of China's near-term outcomes should especially attract our attention: the issue of China's participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), which it joined in late 2001, and of its progress toward democratization. Entry into the WTO has meant that because of the Organization's rules against tariffs and subsidies, Western goods will be able to enter China much more cheaply than before. The downside of this, though, is that the much more competitive foreign products are likely to drive many Chinese firms and farmers out of business, and this will probably mean even higher numbers of rural migrants squeezing into the cities and even greater proportions of urban workers losing their jobs. Already, perhaps 60 million workers have been laid off, amounting to one third of the former urban work force.

The other question is whether the introduction of foreign products — along with the swiftly expanding numbers of Internet users — will together usher alien ideas and philosophies into the country. The answer is that this has already been happening. But the leaders who run the Communist Party, though definitely open to new concepts, remain essentially authoritarian and are not likely to give up the ship without a fight.

*Dorothy J. Solinger is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. Her book, Contesting Citizenship in Urban China, won the Joseph R. Levenson Prize for the best book on 20th century China published in 1999. ■*

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

### Political Science and Economics

- How many occupations do you recall seeing in the film, and what do you imagine are their rankings in terms of social prestige in China today? In actual human worth? If you see a discrepancy between prestige and actual worth or value, why do you think this is?
- For China, do the benefits of WTO membership outweigh the negatives? Why?
- Why do you think the government makes it difficult for the children of migrant workers in the cities to get an education there?
- Do you think free markets will lead to democratization in China?
- Do you think a Western-style electoral system might bring about a change for the better in economic conditions in China? Has globalization had a similar effect in the West?
- Do you think China is better off today, with all of the consequences of market reforms, than it was before they opened up their markets to foreign trade and switched to a market-oriented economy?

### Journalism

- How did the program's producers use personal stories to show the impact of recent economic changes in China?
- What opportunities are women shown to have (or lack) in some of the stories?
- What does Han Dong Fang's interview and his Hong Kong-based radio program show you about freedom of speech and journalism in China?
- Charlene Barshefsky says that the increased use of the Internet and China's openness to foreign trade will begin opening up its political system and lead to its improving its human rights record. Do you agree or disagree? Cite examples from the program that support your argument.