

# Dignity and Defiance

## Stories from Bolivia's Challenge to Globalization

---

Curriculum Guide

---

## Table of Contents

<u>Lesson Plan Overview</u> .....	3
<u>Lesson 1 – The Cochabamba Water Revolt and Its Aftermath</u> .....	4
<u>Lesson 2 – A River Turns Black: Enron and Shell Spread Destruction across Bolivia’s Highlands</u> .....	5
<u>Lesson 3 – Oil and Gas: The Elusive Wealth beneath Their Feet</u> .....	7
<u>Lesson 4 – Lessons in Blood and Fire: The Deadly Consequences of IMF Economics</u> .....	8
<u>Lesson 5 – Economic Strings: The Politics of Foreign Debt</u> .....	10
<u>Lesson 6 – Coca: The Leaf at the Center of the War on Drugs</u> .....	12
<u>Lesson 7 – Workers, Leaders, and Mothers: Bolivian Women in a Globalizing</u> ....	14
<u>Lesson 8 – And Those Who Left: Portraits of a Bolivian Exodus</u> .....	15

## Lesson Plan Overview

This document is a tool to help you teach the subjects addressed in the book *Dignity and Defiance*. The book has eight chapters each focusing on a different topic. A [summary of the book chapters](#) is available at the book website.

The format of each lesson is a 50 minute classroom discussion about the material covered in a chapter. The lessons include the following sections:

- Brief Summary:** This section is a brief, concise overview of the chapter and is written to help you organize your thoughts about the material covered.
- Themes:** This section lists the main ideas discussed in the chapter.
- Objective:** The purpose of this section is to help focus the class discussion and gives an expectation of what class members should do as a result of the lesson.
- Discussion Questions:** This is the main part of the lesson. The questions posed are to help foster class participation.
- Activity:** This section consists of simple learning activities to help capture the attention of class members and to help them feel a part of the discussion.

A series of shorter briefings on some of the book's topics can be found via specific links on our website.

- The Cochabamba Water Revolt (2000):  
[democracyctr.org/bolivia/investigations/water/bechtel-vs-bolivia.htm](http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/investigations/water/bechtel-vs-bolivia.htm)
- The IMF's role in Bolivia's Black February (2003):  
<http://www.democracyctr.org/publications/consequences/executivesummary.htm>
- The ABCs of the War on Drugs: [http://democracyctr.org/voices/war\\_coca.htm](http://democracyctr.org/voices/war_coca.htm)
- The ABCs of Immigration: [http://democracyctr.org/voices/abc\\_immigration.htm](http://democracyctr.org/voices/abc_immigration.htm)
- Intervention in Reverse offers a good overview.  
<http://democracyctr.org/voices/intervention.htm>

The entire book is available in Spanish, for free, on our website. Each chapter can be downloaded separately. A guide of specific questions per chapter can also be found on the website. Please visit [www.democracyctr.org/libro](http://www.democracyctr.org/libro). Also, many of the shorter briefings linked above, have also been translated into Spanish.

The book is available to purchase through the following vendors:

[Amazon.com](http://Amazon.com)  
[University of California Press](http://University of California Press)  
[Powell's Books](http://Powell's Books)

## Lesson 1 – The Cochabamba Water Revolt and Its Aftermath

**Brief Summary:** In the opening months of 2000, the people of Cochabamba faced down World Bank doctrine, armed forces dispatched by a former dictator, and one of the largest corporations in the world (Bechtel), to take back control of their water. In the years since, the Cochabamba Water Revolt has become a global symbol -- a modern Andean version of David and Goliath. This chapter examines the history of the water revolt, what has happened since, and the lessons we can learn from it.

**Themes:** Water revolt, privatization, the World Bank, private corporations, International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), Aguas del Tunari, and Bechtel

**Objective:** Teach the students the significance of the water revolt to Cochabamba, Bolivia, and the international community. Think critically of the role of World Bank and the public uprisings.

### Discussion Questions:

What led to Bechtel becoming involved with Cochabamba's water utilities?

Why does the World Bank put conditions on loans? Do you think it is important and fair to put conditions on loans?

How did the privatization of public utilities cause problems in Bolivia? What did Bechtel do and fail to do that upset the residents of Cochabamba?

What caused Bechtel to leave Bolivia? What do you think about public uprisings and their effectiveness?

How well does SEMAPA function now? What water problems does Cochabamba currently have? What challenges must be overcome so that water management can be done efficiently and effectively?

Do you think the ICSID, the World Bank trade court, is an ideal forum? Why or why not?

What led to Bechtel dropping its financial claim against Bolivia?

What impacts has the Bolivian water revolt had on the global debate over water?

### Activities:

Write a 1-2 page opinion on the impact of the water revolt on the history of Bolivia (i.e. war on gas, election of Evo Morales, etc.)

Research the press releases issued by Bechtel and write a short summary on the differences between the Bechtel version and the accounts from the book.

## Lesson 2 – A River Turns Black: Enron and Shell Spread Destruction across Bolivia’s Highlands

**Brief Summary:** In January 2000, after repeated warnings to Transredes S.A., a subsidiary of Enron and Shell, that its pipeline was about to burst. The steel tube broke spreading a deadly stain of black across almost a million acres of farm and grazing land. In the spill's aftermath, Transredes was called "a model of corporate citizenship", for its clean-up and compensation program. To go beyond the public relations and uncover the real story, Christina Haglund lived for several months in the villages hit by the disaster. With vivid testimonies from the people whose lives were decimated by the Enron/Shell spill she documented how foreign oil companies escaped accountability for an environmental calamity, in a front-line report of both great beauty and great authority.

**Themes:** Desaguadero River, natural resources, contamination, social justice, petroleum, environment

**Objective:** Understand the events surrounding the oil spill in the Desaguadero River. Learn about the unequal and flawed relationship between foreign oil companies, the Bolivian state and its indigenous people.

### Discussion Questions:

How did the oil spill impact the indigenous people living downstream? (i.e. economic, cultural, emotional, health, etc.)

How could the oil spill have been prevented? What could Transredes have done before the spill? How could they have minimized the effect of the spill downstream?

Do you believe that international companies always have a negative effect in a developing country? Why or why not? Give examples.

This chapter touches on the importance of having a powerful state government that has the ability to protect its citizens. States must make concessions as they take on foreign investments. Globalization is causing capitalism and neoliberalism to increase as the power of the state decreases. What should Bolivia do to balance state rights and the power to protect its citizens and still attract foreign investors? Are foreign investments necessary?

### Activities:

**Environmental Disaster:** Divide the class into small discussion groups. Tell the students to imagine they lived in one of the villages downstream from the oil spill. Have one group identify all the disruptions that the oil spill would cause in their daily lives, ask another group to consider what residents should expect for

restitution, and have the third group take the perspective of the oil and gas company and tell them to list the things they could have done to prevent the disaster.

Ask the students to think critically about the oil spill. Would this have been different had the disaster occurred in the United States? Have them write a 1 – 2 page response.

## Lesson 3 – Oil and Gas: The Elusive Wealth beneath Their Feet

**Brief Summary:** On October 17, 2003, President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, the architect of Bolivia's oil and gas privatization, fled Bolivia seeking refuge in the United States. Sánchez de Lozada's fierce crackdown on national protests against a government plan to export Bolivia's gas to the US had left 67 people dead and hundreds wounded. The demand for public control over Bolivia's rich gas reserves brought down two presidents and swept Evo Morales to his historic electoral victory. The chapter captures the history of Bolivia's failed experiment with gas and oil privatization and the plans, promises and challenges as Bolivia's new government embarks on a controversial plan to "nationalize" the nation's energy wealth.

**Themes:** Natural resources, gas, petroleum, personal vs. public interests, corruption, politics, rebellion

**Objective:** At the end of the lesson the students should understand the significance of the oil and gas resources to Bolivia.

### Discussion Questions:

What lessons can be learned from the way non-renewable resources have been exploited in Bolivia? What are the dangers of a country relying solely on the exportation of one resource?

Under what circumstances was the YPFB created? What effect has it has on Bolivia?

What affect did capitalization/privatization of gas have on Bolivia? What were the promises made? Why was it unsuccessful?

Why was the privatization of gas so highly explosive that the people ousted three Bolivian presidents?

How should the Bolivian government manage the natural resources so the bread of today will not be the hunger of tomorrow?

What challenges does the Morales administration still face as it industrializes it's natural gas resource?

### Activities:

Debate: Divide the class in two and assign one side to defend the benefits of privatizing natural resources and have the other side defend nationalization.

Debate: Divide the class in two and assign one side to defend why gas should be distributed throughout Bolivia first and have the other side defend why the country should first export the gas.

## Lesson 4 – Lessons in Blood and Fire: The Deadly Consequences of IMF Economics

**Brief Summary:** In February 2003, the Bolivian government was forced by the IMF to raise taxes to close a budget gap. The working poor, who were hardest hit by the increase, protested the tax. This protest turned violent when army sharpshooters who were trying to quell mass protests took fire at those in the streets.

Drawn from interviews with Bolivia's former President, protest leaders, IMF officials and others, the chapter provides a chilling account of how economic policies crafted in Washington can translate into chaos and bloodshed when they meet the realities of a impoverished nation.

**Themes:** IMF, economic models, deficit, Black February, privatization, political power, Washington Consensus

**Objective:** At the end of the lesson students should understand the significance of the oil and gas resources to Bolivia.

### Discussion Questions:

What caused Black February? Who is responsible for the conflict?

What is the IMF and what is its general mission in regards to developing countries like Bolivia?

What led Bolivia to borrow money from the IMF? Was there another way to raise capital?

Are international lenders good or bad for countries like Bolivia? Why?

Why did Evo Morales cease accepting loans from IMF?

What lessons can be learned from Black February?

After reading the story of Bolivia's 'Black February' how would you describe the role of the IMF in developing countries?

### Activities:

Divide the class into two groups. Ask one group to list the requirements to obtain a loan from the bank and ask the other to list what the IMF required from Bolivia. Compare the lists.

Divide the class into small groups and have them list the pros and cons to public protests. Have each group determine whether the protests were appropriate for Black February. Further, have the groups discuss what the role of the government should be during a protest. Should the government have fired bullets at the crowd? How should they have responded to the Black February protest.

## Lesson 5 – Economic Strings: The Politics of Foreign Debt

**Brief Summary:** One of the most important global social justice victories in recent years has been debt cancellation for poor nations. Global lending institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and others have cancelled billions of dollars in country debts. Bolivia, which became hugely indebted under both dictatorships and democracies in the 1980s and 1990s, was a focus for the global debt campaign and an early beneficiary of debt cancellation. This chapter explores how debt was used as a tool by foreign lenders to seize influence over Bolivia's most significant economic decisions, what debt cancellation has really meant for average Bolivians, and how free trade agreements are becoming the new tool through which foreign governments hope to maintain heavy influence over Bolivia's economic path.

**Themes:** Foreign debt, debt crisis, loss of sovereignty, debt cancellation, international campaigns

**Objective:** At the end of the lesson students should understand the challenges of highly indebted countries. They should also understand why Bolivia was so buried in debt without any infrastructure or means of efficiently shipping or exporting goods. Students will also learn how foreign debt forgiveness actually hindered economic development instead of helping it.

### Discussion Questions:

What is the difference between internal, bilateral, commercial, and multilateral debt?  
Can debt be good for a country? Why or why not?

What is a debt crisis? What can happen to a country's currency during a debt crisis?  
What is hyperinflation?

What led to Bolivia's high debt? Why did attempts at improving infrastructure fail?

What did Jeffrey Sachs do to curb hyperinflation in Bolivia? What did Sachs identify as the underlying reasons for the debt crisis. His plan had short-term success, but did it have long-term success?

What was Jubilee 2000? What was its purpose? How did the debt forgiveness program influence democratic decisions in Bolivia?

Should those who forgive national debts have a say in how that country is governed?  
Why or why not?

What is "ecological debt"? Is the ecological debt debate justified? Why or why not?

**Activities:**

Ask the students to think critically about debt forgiveness. Should debt forgiveness come with strings attached? Why or why not? Have them write a 1 – 2 page response.

Ask the students to think critically about how Bolivia's natural resources have been exploited by foreign countries for hundreds of years. How should wealthy nations of the world compensate Bolivia for the damage they have caused? Have them write a 1 – 2 page response.

## Lesson 6 – Coca: The Leaf at the Center of the War on Drugs

**Brief Summary:** Coca has been at the center of a U.S.-backed drug war that has put thousands of Bolivians in jail and forced crop eradications that helped push the national economy into crisis for a decade. President Evo Morales stood before world leaders, held aloft a small coca leaf and declared, "This is the green coca leaf, it is not white like cocaine. It represents Andean culture." This chapter looks at the culture and history of coca and gives a brief history of the U.S. war on drugs in Bolivia. It also tells the stories of the families who have experienced this "war" on their doorstep, and reviews viable alternatives for farmers growing coca and the potential for Bolivia to redefine its policies to be anti-drug but also pro-coca.

**Themes:** Coca, the tradition and history of coca, narcotraffic, international politics, war on drugs

**Objective:** At the end of this lesson students should understand the truth about the coca leaf, how it is perceived in Bolivia, how it is perceived in the international world, and perspectives on how it should be controlled in Bolivia and abroad.

### Discussion Questions:

Why is coca important to the cultures of the Andean countries? What is the historical significance of the coca leaf to Bolivia?

What are the medicinal and nutritional properties of coca? What are its effects on the body? How is it different than cocaine?

What is the War on Drugs? Why was it started? What is its objective? What are the benchmarks for success?

Why does the US feel so strongly about waging a 'war on drugs' in Andean countries like Bolivia?

What are the "certifications" that coca growing countries must receive from the US every year? What implications has this certification system had on Bolivia?

What is Plan Dignidad? Was it achieved?

What consequences have the War on Drugs and Plan Dignidad had on Bolivia?

What effect has forced eradication had on coca growers and others? What human rights violations have been committed?

What are the differences and similarities in Marina, Cintia and Juan's stories?

How are the coca growers organized in Chapare? What is the role of the organization?

What alternative crops were planted instead of coca? Was crop substitution successful?

What is Evo Morales's plan to reduce coca? Is it effective?

**Activities:**

Ask the students to think critically about the US War on Drugs: What can be done to make the War on Drugs more effective. Have them write a 1 – 2 page response.

Ask the students to think critically about coca. How should Bolivia balance domestic coca growth with foreign pressures to eradicate? Have them write a 1 – 2 page response.

## Lesson 7 – Workers, Leaders, and Mothers: Bolivian Women in a Globalizing World

**Brief Summary:** The wave of globalization brings both challenges and opportunities to the lives of Bolivian women. This chapter focuses on six women whose lives have been shaped--albeit in distinct ways-- by global forces. It focuses on how women have been impacted disproportionately by harsh policies from abroad, what it means for them to have access to foreign markets for their traditional indigenous wares, how some have built leadership with support from a globalized civil society, and how some benefit so directly from those globalizing forces that they begrudge those who present any resistance to it.

**Themes:** Bolivian women at home, work, and abroad, globalization, cultural traditions, non-governmental organizations, intergenerational relationships

**Objective:** At the end of this lesson students should understand the role of women in Bolivian society and how globalization is changing that role.

### Discussion Questions:

What are the different roles and responsibilities of Bolivian men and women? How is that similar and/or different from men and women in the US or another culture that you are familiar with?

What is Machismo? How has it disadvantaged women?

Among Bolivian women, which group has been most influenced by globalization? Why?

Who is Casimira Rodriguez? What has been her impact on politics in Bolivia?

What impact have NGOs had on places like Chuñu Chunuñi? What about in an urban setting? How can NGOs and globalization be a positive force to rural Bolivians?

What have you learned about globalization after reading this chapter?

### Activities:

Have the students think about the schedule of their mother, grandmother, sister or other women in their lives. Have the students write down their regular tasks and compare them with the tasks of Bolivian women as found in the book.

Have the students think about generational changes in the role of women. How have the roles changes over the last few generations? How have they changed in Bolivia according to the book? Have the students write down their ideas.

## Lesson 8 – And Those Who Left: Portraits of a Bolivian Exodus

**Brief Summary:** Nearly a fifth of the nation's population now lives outside of Bolivia. Mothers leave their children and fathers leave their families behind to seek out new opportunities. This chapter is based on interviews with Bolivian immigrants in Washington DC, Buenos Aires, and Barcelona, and with families in Bolivia. In Bolivia's emigration story we learn the universal story of those who leave.

**Themes:** History of Bolivian emigration, neo-liberal politics, immigration politics, border crossings, migrant experiences, transnational families, discrimination, maintaining cultures in other countries

**Objective:** At the end of this lesson students should understand how neo-liberalism is impacting immigration policies.

### Discussion Questions:

Are you an immigrant to the US or do you have a friend who is an immigrant?

What are two of the main reasons someone decides to leave their own country and emigrate to another country?

According to the Bolivian experience, in the book, or in your own experience, what are the two greatest challenges for immigrants going to a foreign country like the U.S.?

What are the challenges that families face when a mother or a father is living abroad?

What countries are Bolivians emigrating to? What do you think of the immigration policies toward Bolivia in Argentina, Spain and the U.S.? Which are most effective and why? Which are most just and why?

Compare two of the stories in the chapter and explain the similarities and the differences.

### Activities:

In small groups ask the students to list the impact of immigrants on the countries they move to. Have the groups share their findings with the class.

In small groups ask the students to list the pros and cons to both immigration and emigration. Have the groups share their findings with the class.