

Bolivia: governance after the 2005 elections

Juan L. Cariaga

CSIS Conference

Washington D.C., December 2, 2005

Glossary

- EVO is Evo Morales, presidential candidate of Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS)
- TUTO Jorge Quiroga, presidential candidate of Poder Democrático y Social (PODEMOS)
- SAMUEL is Samuel Doria-Medina, presidential candidate of Unidad Nacional (UN)

Climate before the elections

- Discredited political parties
- Awakening of the indigenous political movements
- Awareness of the rich deposits of natural gas
- Bolivia against the tide
- Disenchantment with the market oriented policies

Situation before the elections

- Changes in the sociological map of Bolivia
- Middle class without leadership
- Candidates playing “relativism”
- Poor governance programs
- Poor economic programs
- The economy is in good shape but not growing

The polls

Opinión y Mercado

- EVO 34%
- TUTO 28%
- SAMUEL 16%
- UD 11%

Ipsos

- EVO 30.7%
- TUTO 28.7%
- SAMUEL 13.9%
- UD 10.8%

The polls

Identidad & Imagen

- EVO 31%
- TUTO 26.9%
- SAMUEL 24.2
- UD 12.6%

MORI

- EVO 33%
- TUTO 27%
- SAMUEL 12%
- UD 21%

Bad news for Bolivia

- No governance for the next five years
- Expect transitory governments
- Social and political unrest
- Violation of property rights
- No new investment
- Instable economic situation

The aftermath

- It could be TUTO
- It will probably be EVO
- SAMUEL will not vote for EVO
- TUTO will vote for EVO, if he doesn't obtain the highest majority
- Constitutional provisions for the election of candidates

If TUTO is elected

- Social and political mobilizations demanding FRAUD
- Congress under fire
- Social movements demanding nationalization and the Constitutional Assembly
- No new investment
- No governance

If EVO is elected

- Demands on nationalization
- Social and political unrest supporting EVO's proposed legislation or EVO's proposed composition of the Constitutional Assembly
- No new investment
- No governance

TUTO's governance

- Control of the Prefects: NO
- Control of the House: NO
- Control of the Senate: Maybe
- Control of the Police: Unlikely
- Control of the Army: Unlikely
- Control of the streets: NO
- Probably a **transitory government**

EVO's governance

- Control of the Prefects: NO
- Control of the House: NO
- Control of the Senate: NO
- Control of the streets: YES
- Control of the Police: Not needed
- Control of the Army: Not needed
- Probably a **transitory government**

Confrontational issues during the first year of government

- Nationalization of the hydrocarbons sector
- Date and composition of the Constitutional Assembly
- Regional autonomies
- Gas production and industrialization
- Coca growing and eradication
- Land seizures

Constitutional Assembly : agenda

- Regional autonomy
- Land and rural property
- Composition of the Legislative
- Nationalization
- Labor tenure
- Free market vs. State Capitalism
- Other

Vision for the near future

- No governance
- Social and political unrest
- Antidemocratic acts
- Violence
- Confrontation
- Transitory governments (again)
- Probably no constitutional reform

What can be done

- A governance pact should be signed by all major candidates
- President Rodriguez has the credibility to assemble a group of notable citizens
- A group on notable citizens would draft this governance pact
- The group of notable citizens would negotiate the minimum governance conditions with all major candidates

What should the pact include

- Prohibition of antidemocratic acts
- Guarantee stability of the economy
- Property rights and investment
- Government size and subsidies
- Export and industrialization of gas
- Effective coordination between the Executive and the Legislative
- Prefects and autonomy

Something needs to be done...

- The Bolivian economy will not survive five years of transitory governments and the absence of governance
- Bolivia will not survive five years transitory government and the absence of governance, before it becomes the perfect scenario for regional, political and social confrontation

Thank you

December 2, 2005