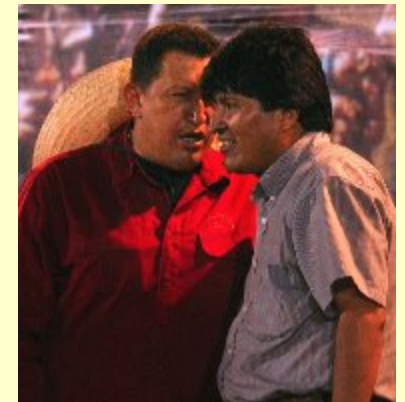


POPULAR POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN BOLIVIA

Origins





Eduardo Rodríguez Veltze



Results of National Revolution April 1952 Relevant to 2005

- a. **Agrarian Reform** in the Highlands (altiplano and associated valleys) & destruction of traditional Rural elite and its networks (rise of cholo middlemen)
- b. Arming of civilian, worker and peasant militias and temporary restriction on formal Army and police. Though militias eliminated, the resulting **sindicalization of campesinos**: makes traditional Indian *comunidades* (**ayllus**) basic local government even in new lowland migration zones (Chapare).
- d. **Universal suffrage** (right of illiterates to vote) & **Peasant Base** added to national politics for first time with fracturing of urban political parties.
- e. **State Control of Economy**: Nationalization of the Mines, and COMIBOL added to YPFB, LAB, etc.
- f. **Hyperinflation** (1952-56),(1982-85)

Peasants as Passive Actors - I
1952-1982
MNR/Military-Peasant Alliance:

1952-1964 **MNR - Peasant Alliance** when MNR loses cities to FSB

1964-1978 **Military-Peasant Alliance** - Conflicting Army regimes
(Barrientos, Ovando, Torres and Banzer 1971-78) –
ends with Banzer and export Opec boom of 1970s.

1978-82 Restructuring National Politics **MIR, ADN & MNR** and last
military government (Garcia Meza)

*1950s-1970s Rise of Santa Cruz and lowlands as a major commercial
agricultural center for first time in Bolivia & new pole of
political power.*

Peasants as Passive Actors -II 1982-1995

1982-2000 **MIR/MNR/ADN** balance (80% of electorate and even split) in all elections and more complex local Indian response. Rise of first serious ethnic parties – Tupac Katari movement.

1985-89 Last administration of **Víctor Paz Estenssoro** and the implementation of a radical "orthodox shock" in 29 August 1985. Washington Consensus - complete elimination of state industry and control over mining. Bolivia one of first to abandon ISI & State Economy in Latin America. *Implementation of DEA intervention on "War on Drugs" as US price for support*

Mobilizations 2002-2005: Background - I

1988 **El Alto** created as independent city with population at 405,000 in 1992 650,000 in 2001 and estimated 750,000 today.

1995 **Participación Popular** Law (of first Goni administration '93-'97)
327 municipios created – whereas there were *only 24 before*.
All now have *elected mayors and councils*, and all now become *effective economic units*. Decision of state to now grant 60% of state income directly to municipalities.

Rise of local politics destroys base of national parties

2000 (Feb) *Constitutional Reform* recognizing new political entities as parties:

- **ACs (Agrupaciones Ciudadanas)** &
- **PIs (Pueblos Indigenas)**
now legal political entities, equal to regular political parties

Mobilizations 2002-2005: Background - II

Late 1990s **New ethnic parties** in new coca zones of Chapare & old Aymara Altiplano communities now flourishing under new rules.

2002 National Election & End of Traditional post-military Politics:

- **ADN** disappears (3% of vote),
- **MIR** declines to 16%
- **MNR** temporarily strong (22%).
- **MAS** New national party Rise of MAS (21%) to national power

Evo Morales & MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo). Plus lots of powerful temporary one person parties in Cochabamba (NuveaFuerzaRep) and La Paz (MSM). Also rise of Felipe Quispe & his radical MIP (Mov. Indígena Pachacuti) founded in 2000

THE MOBILIZATIONS - I

1997-2001 **Last Banzer government** – Failure of orthodox policies to restart economy. Increasing conflict over Coca

2000 **Cochabamba & Guerra de Agua** against Bechtel

2003 (Feb) **Police Strike** and Military/Police conflict & Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada “Goni” & palacio quemado attacked by students.

2003 (Oct) **Blocade of Butane Gas factory in El Alto.** Goni sends in the army and some 50+ deaths. Original group was small, but massive popular protest and Goni forced into exile (*2003-2005 blockades period begins*)

2004 (Jan) **Cabildo Abierto de Santa Cruz:** Agreement to create “autonomias” with election of prefects and departmental assemblies

THE MOBILIZATIONS – II

2003-05

Blockades of La Paz, new water war (*Aguas de Illimani* in El Alto) Political collapse under partyless Carlos Mesa as he sends troops and police to barracks. Monthly and then weekly blockades of La Paz until Mesa resigns

Indigenous Demands:

- **New constitution** with corporate structure
Comunidades, ACs & PIs with direct representation as well as elected officials. Ethnic representation of all Indian groups, **Ethnic Quotas**.
- **End to Washington Consensus**,
 - *End of gas contracts* (Bolivia's major export) and new taxation or nationalization of gas companies (many foreign state enterprises YPF, & Petrobras).
 - *Ill defined socialist state*
 - *End of anti-coca campaigns*

THE MOBILIZATIONS – III

2003-05

June 2005 Fall of Mesa (first resignation January).

*Congress names Carlos Rodríguez - head of the Supreme Court **in Sucre as interim President**. Limited 180 days term presidency – fully supported by all groups. Presidential elections 4 Dec 2005 & possible Constitutional Convention 2006. (MAS, Podemos, UD – Morales, Jorge Quiroga, Doria Medina)*

&

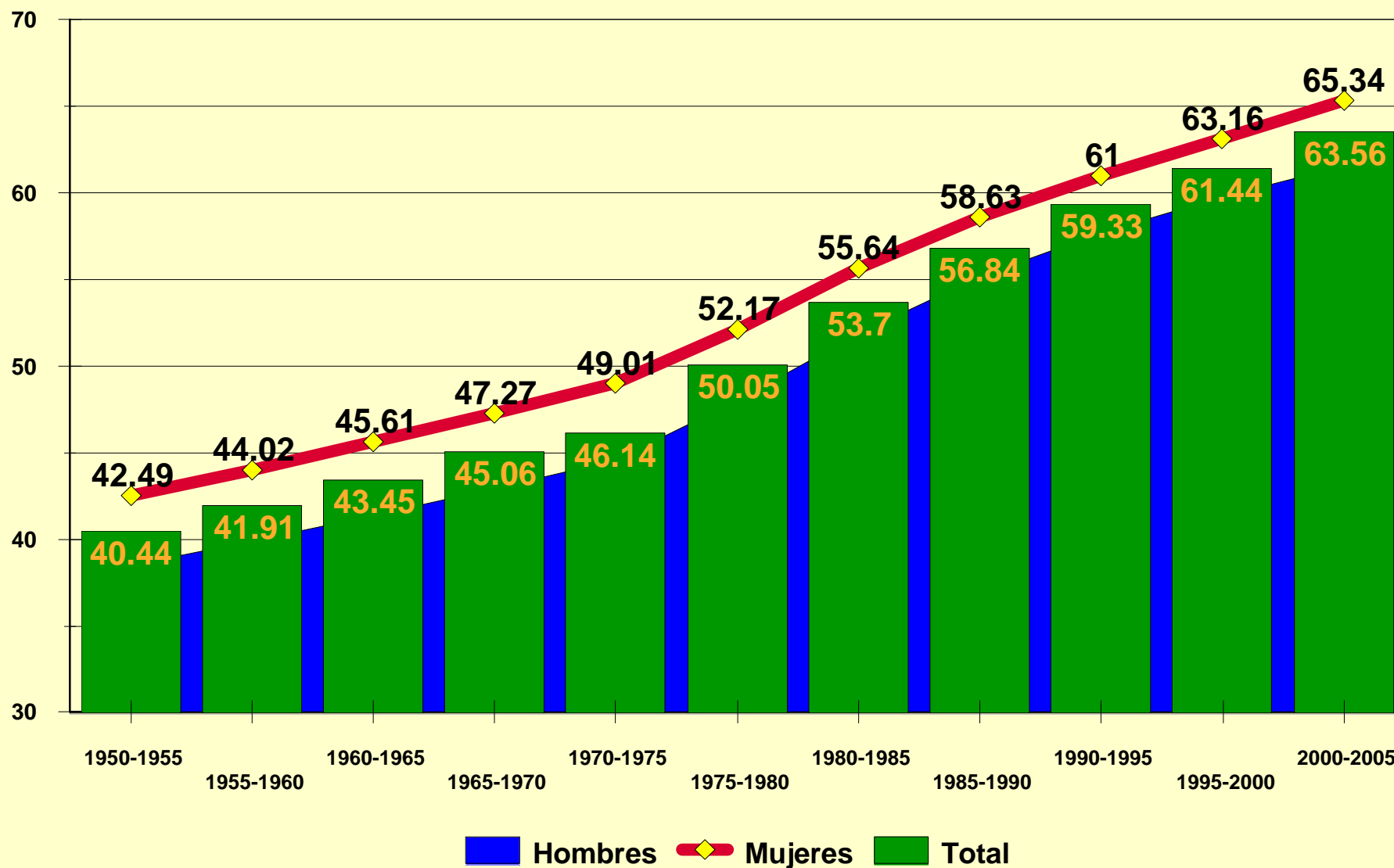
End of Mobilizations

WHAT WERE THEY ALL ABOUT & WHY DID THEY OCCUR?

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF PEASANT MOBILIZATIONS

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH, BOLIVIA 1950-2005

Años de edad

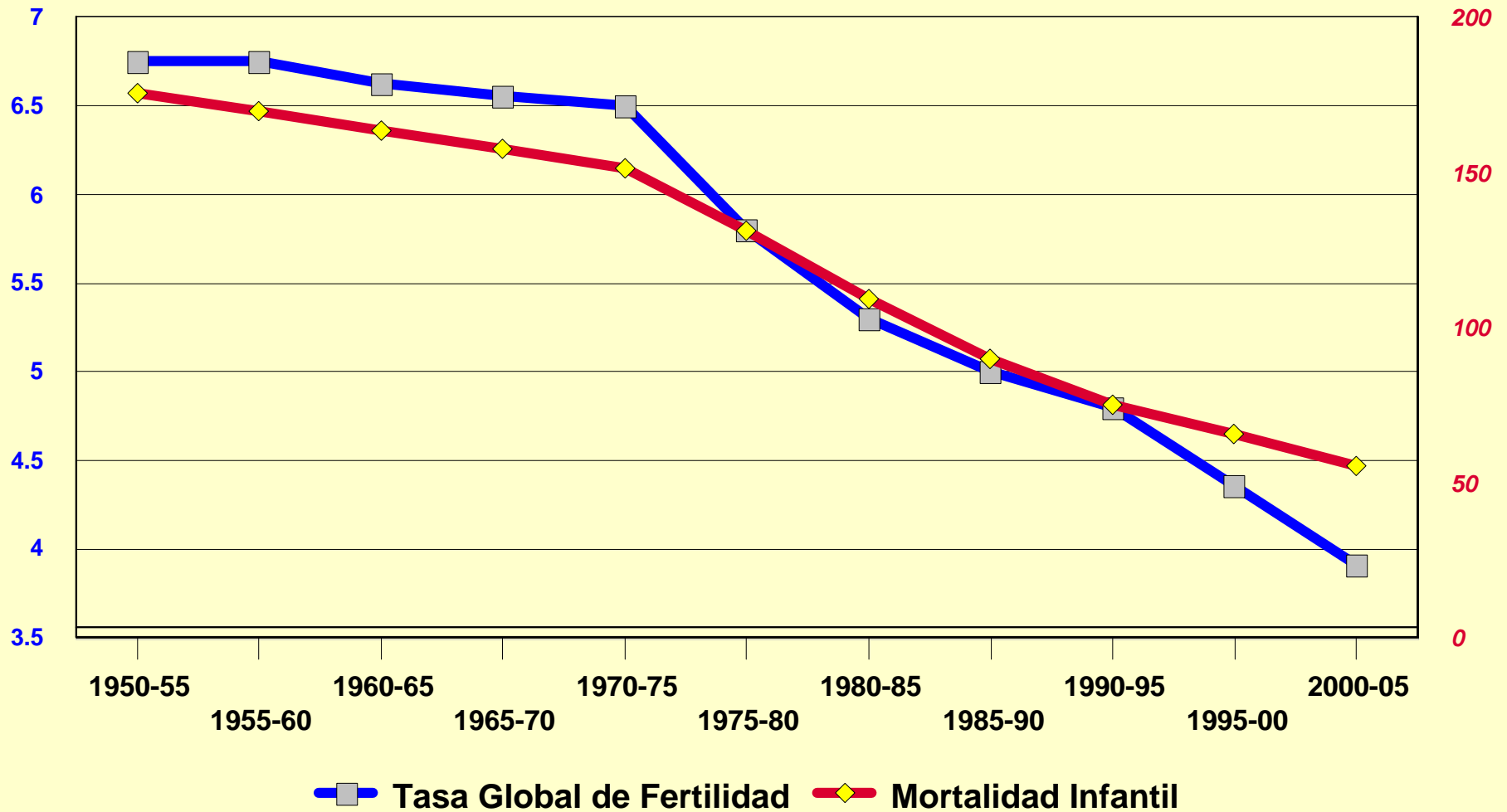


Source: United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical supplement

TOTAL FERTILITY RATE & INFANT MORTALITY, BOLIVIA, 1950/55 - 2000/05

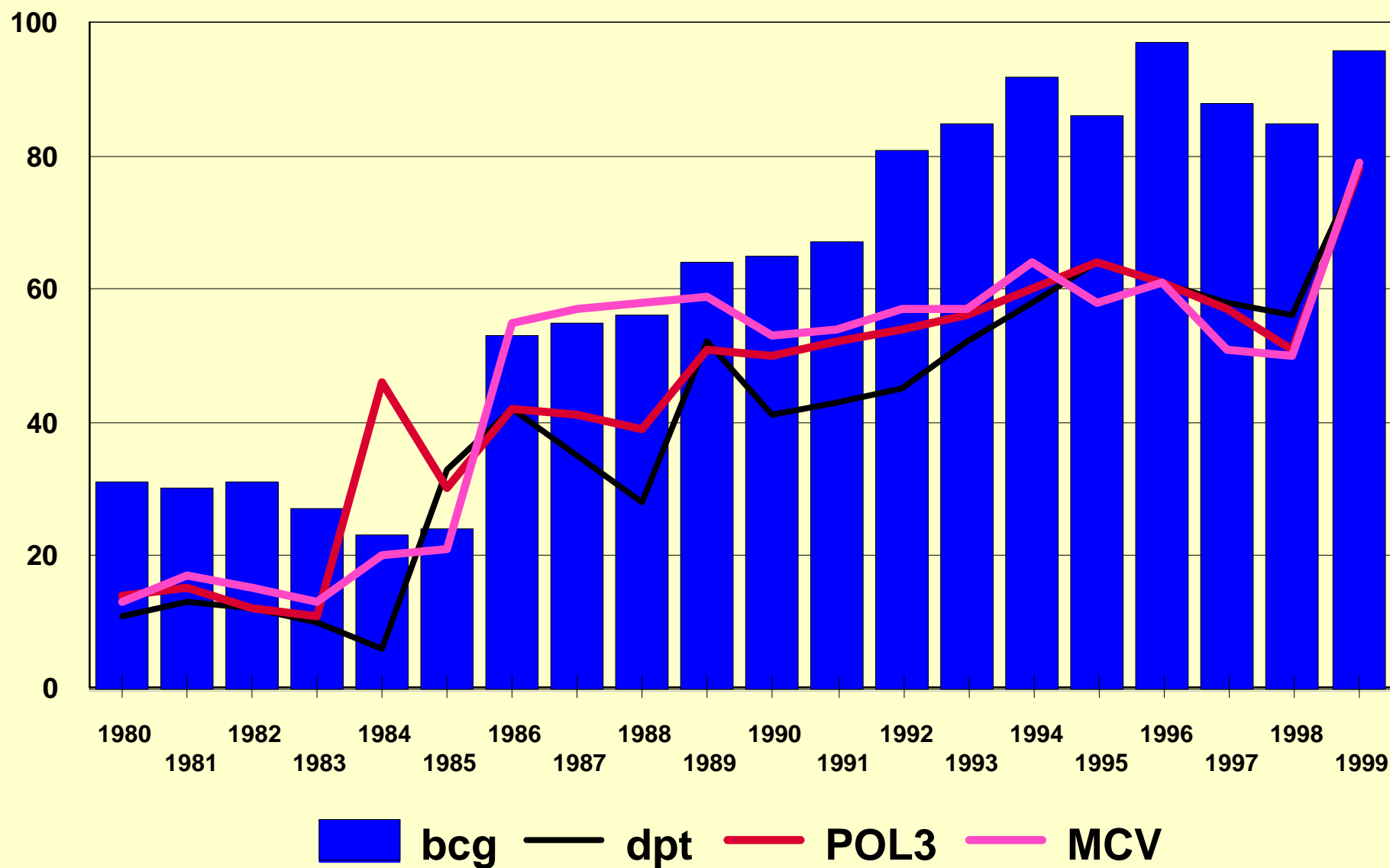
Numero de niños

Mortalidad por 1000 nacimientos vivos



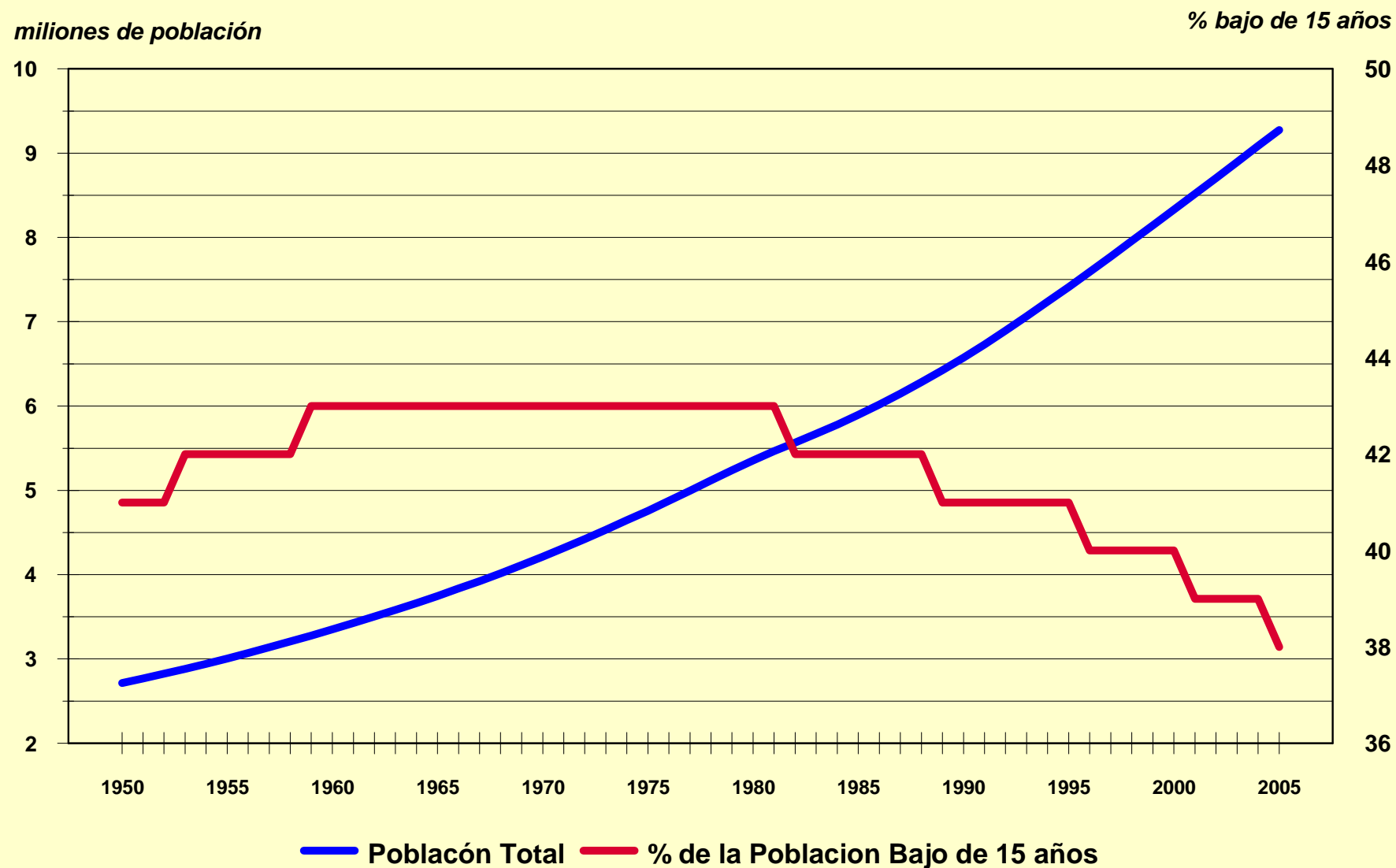
INE & CELADE, "Bolivia. Estimaciones y poyecciones de la población 1950-2050" (La Paz, 1995), cuadro 10

IMUNIZACIONES DE NINOS EN BOLIVIA, 1980-1999



Estimaciones de WHO/UNICEF, Review of National Immunization Coverage 1980-1999 (2001)

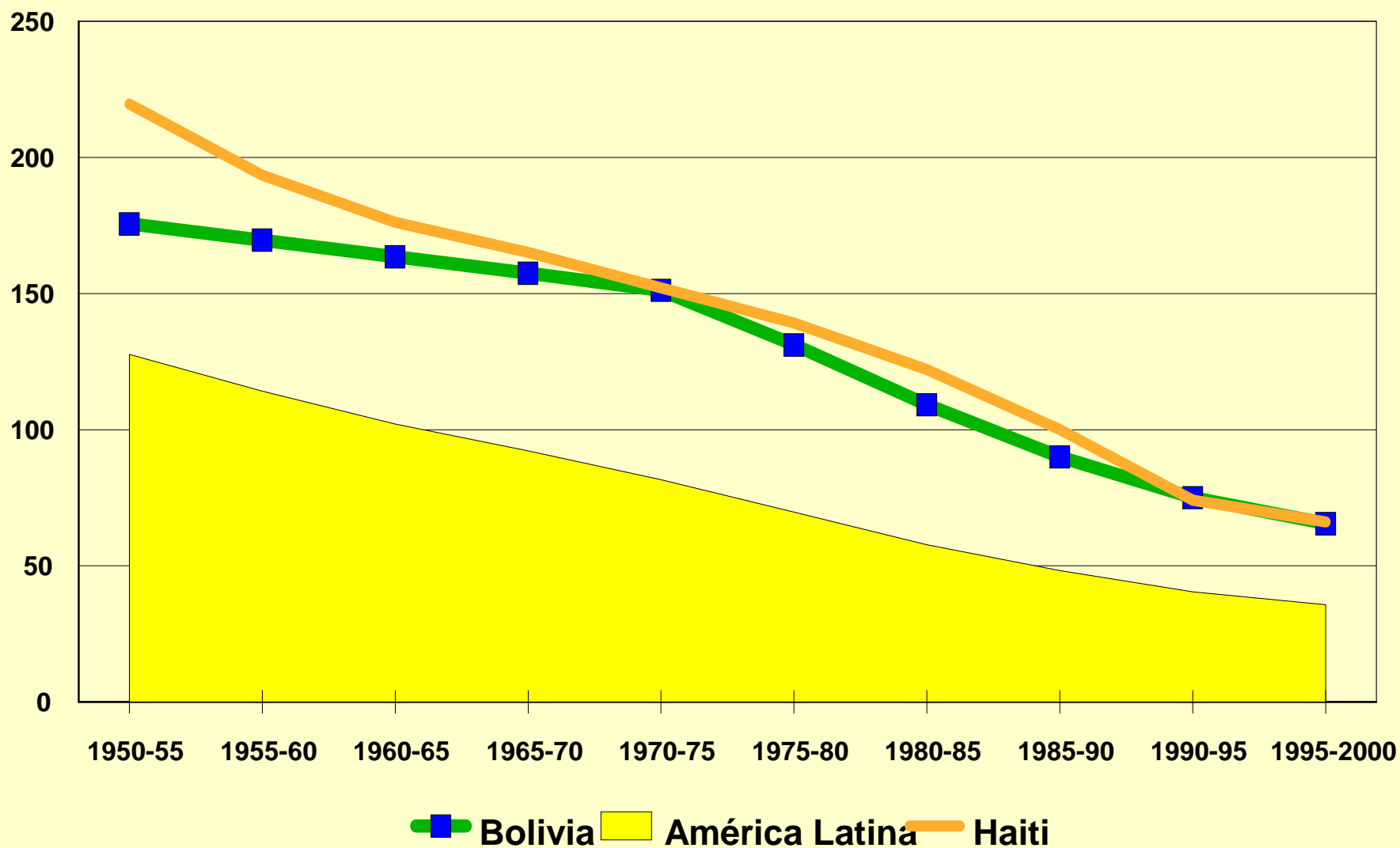
CRECIMIENTO DE POBLACIÓN TOTAL Y ESTRUCTURA DE EDADES, 1950-2005



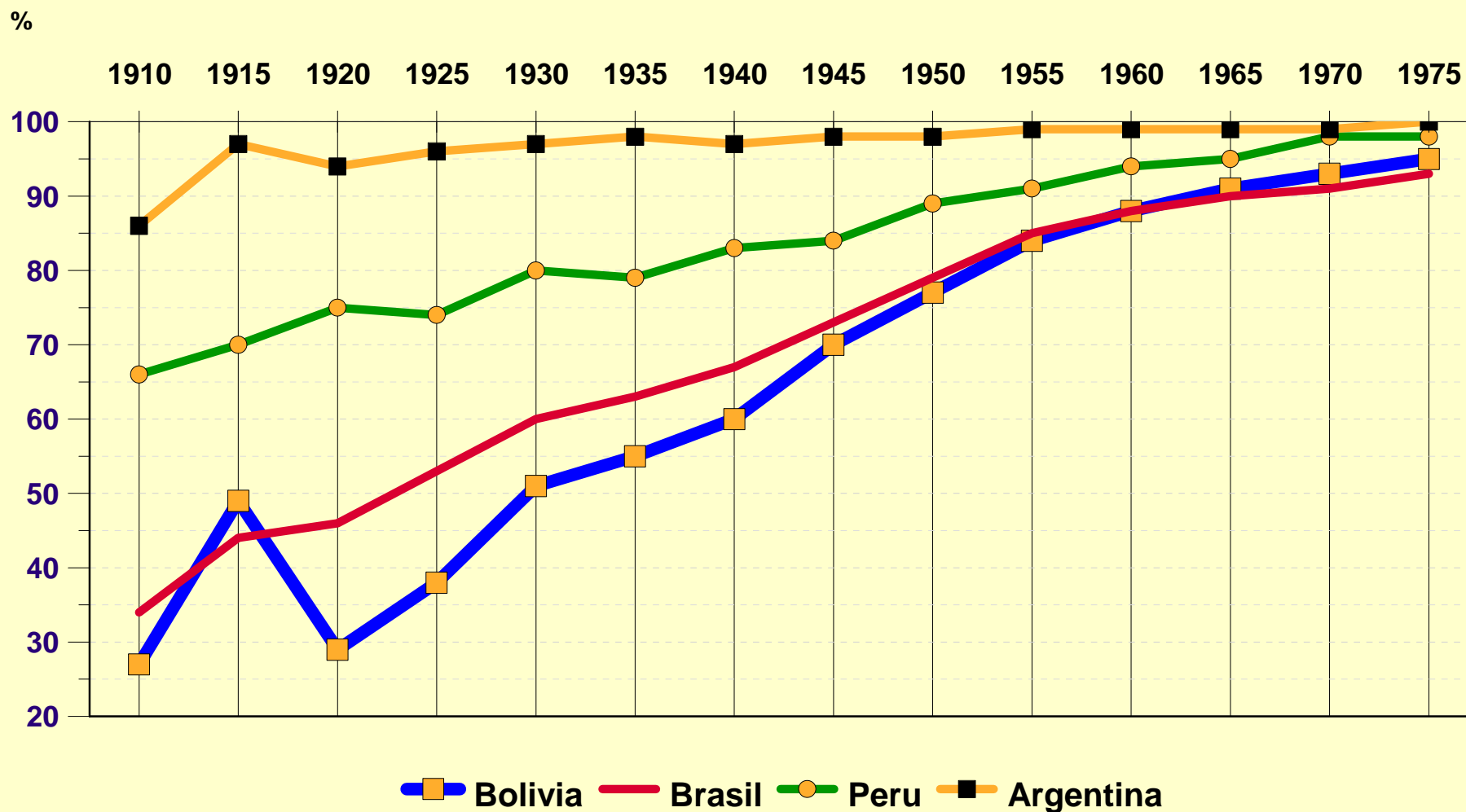
Source: CELADE - Population Division, Demographic Bulletin No. 66, July 2000.

MORTALIDAD INFANTIL EN AMERICA LATINA, HAITI y BOLIVIA, 1950-2000

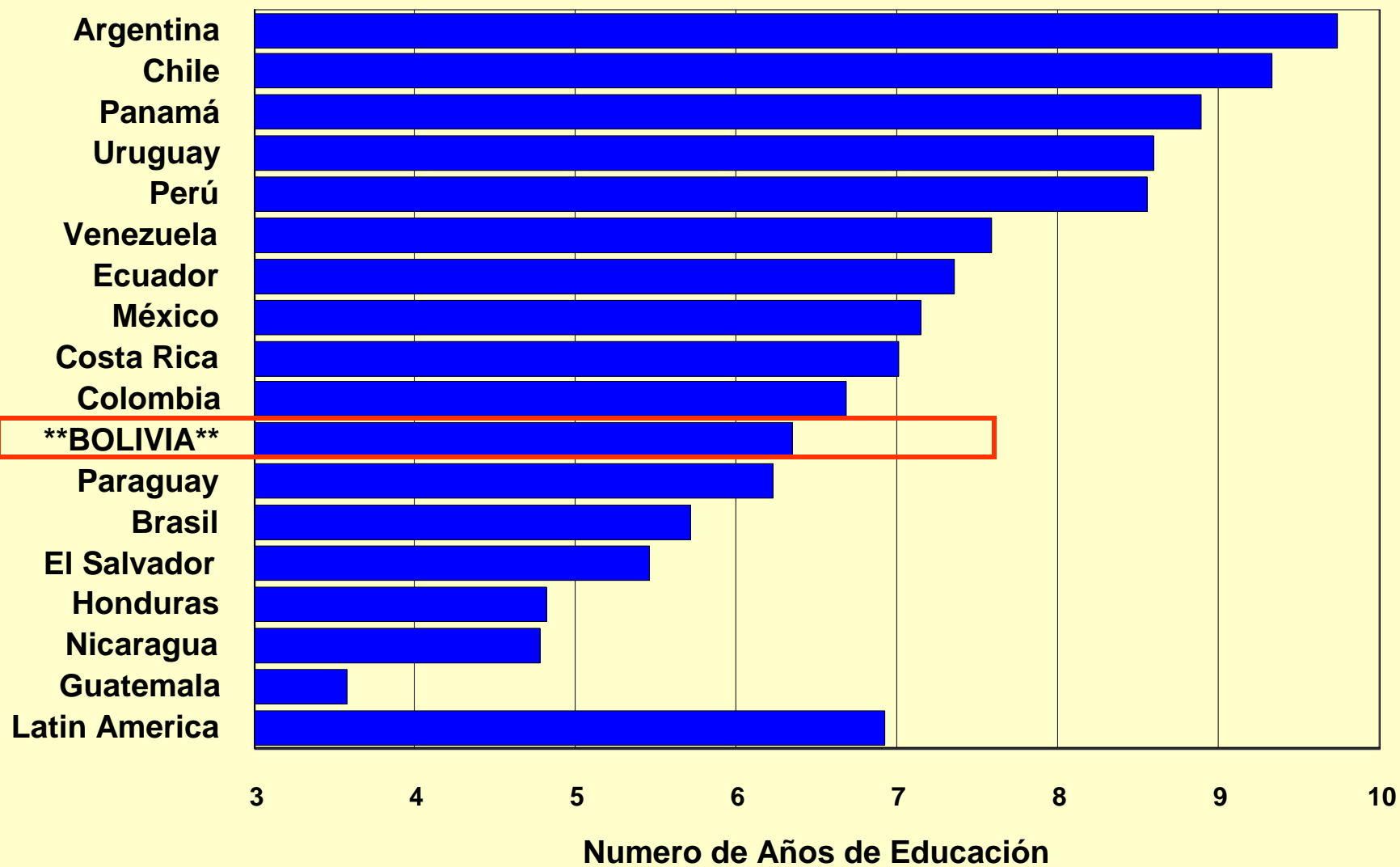
Tasa por 1000 nacidos vivos



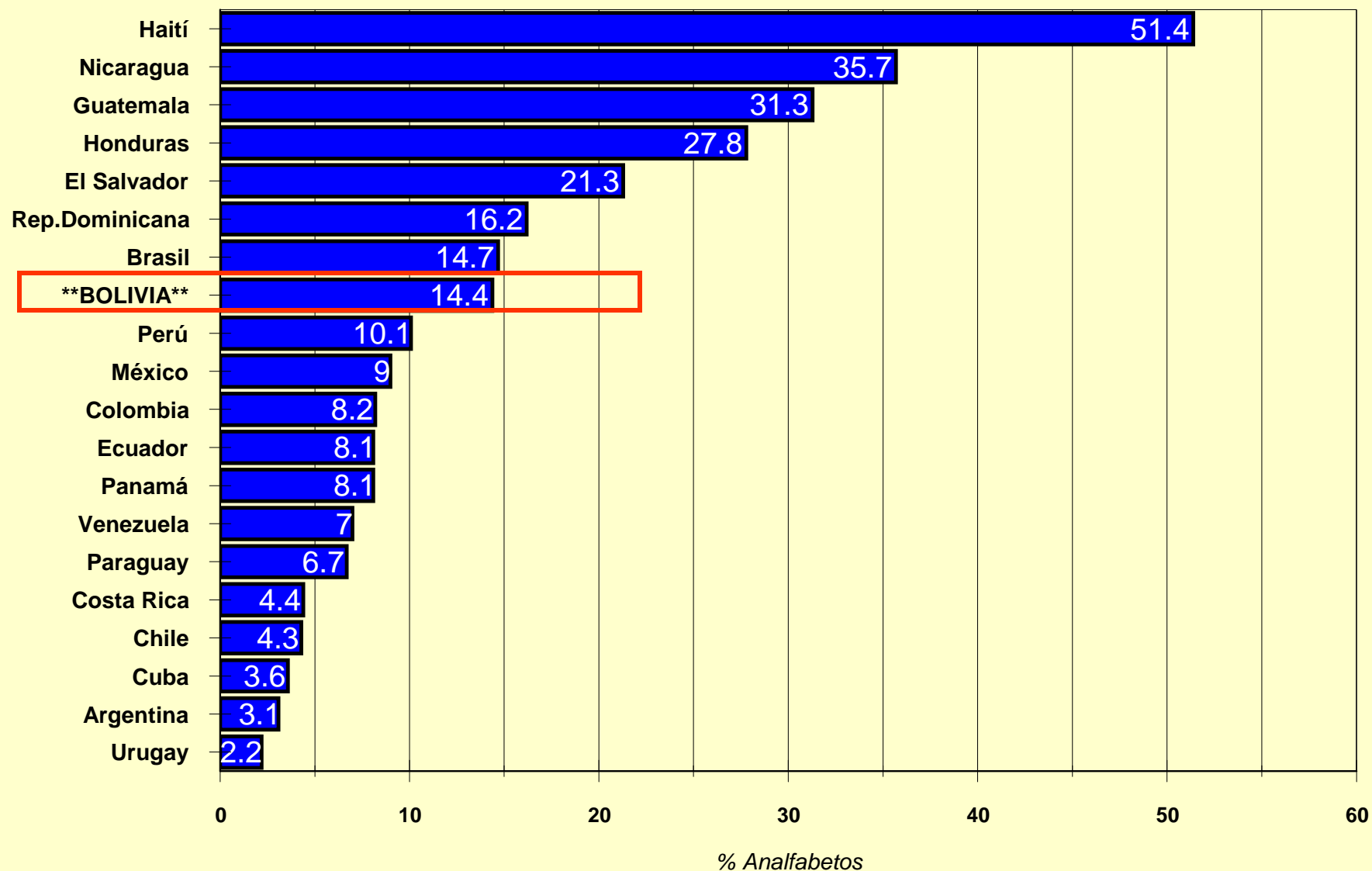
PORCENTAGE DE PERSONAS CON ALGUNOS AÑOS DE LA ESCUELA PRIMARIA POR AÑO DE NASCIMIENTO, VARIOS PAISES, 1910-1975



AÑOS PROMEDIO DE ESTUDIO DE LA POBLACIÓN ADULTO, 2000

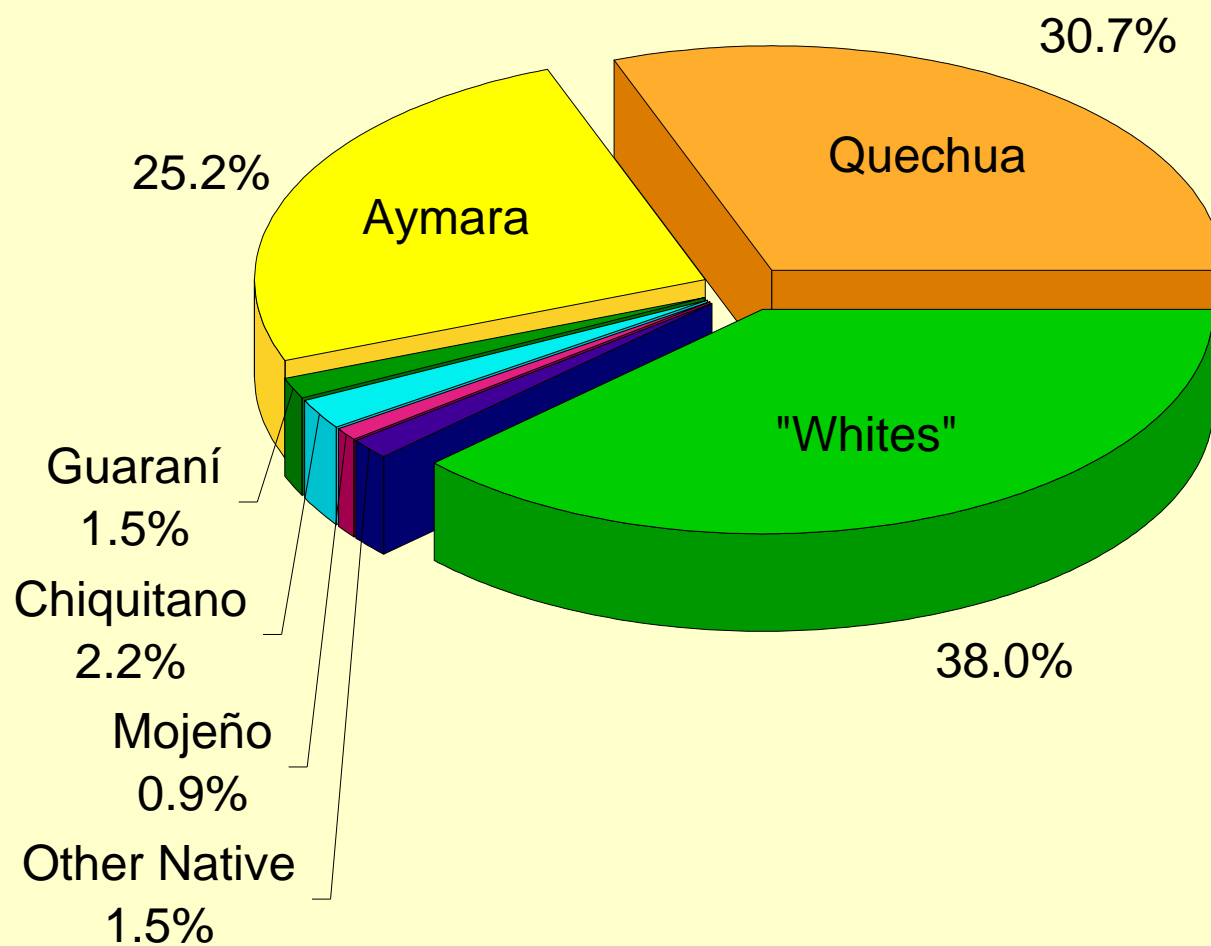


ANALFABETOS ADULTOS EN AMÉRICA LATINA EN 2000



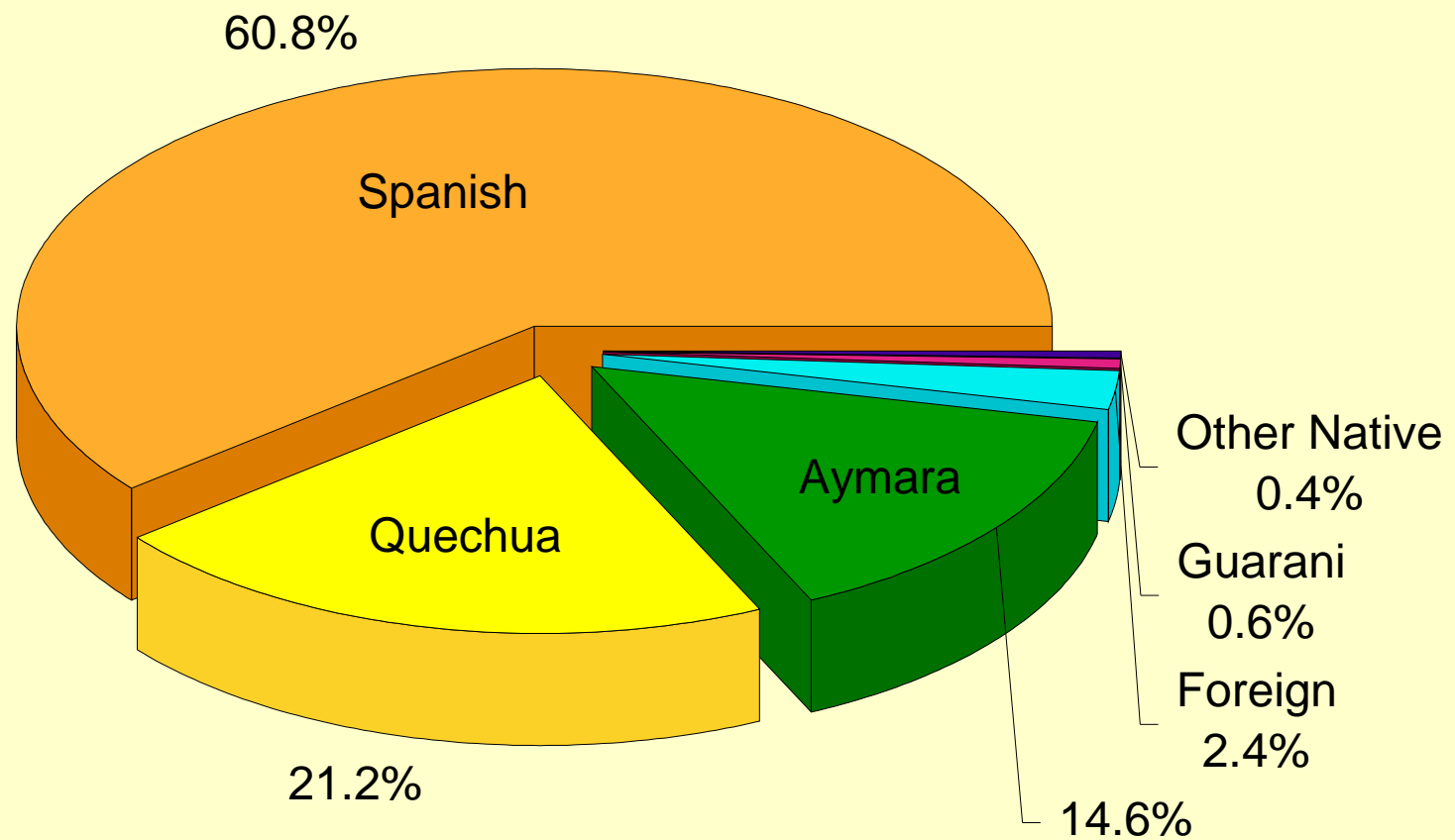
Source: CEPAL, Indicadores of Social & Economic Development in Latin America, 2000, Part I, TABLE 33 , p.41

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, CENSUS 2001



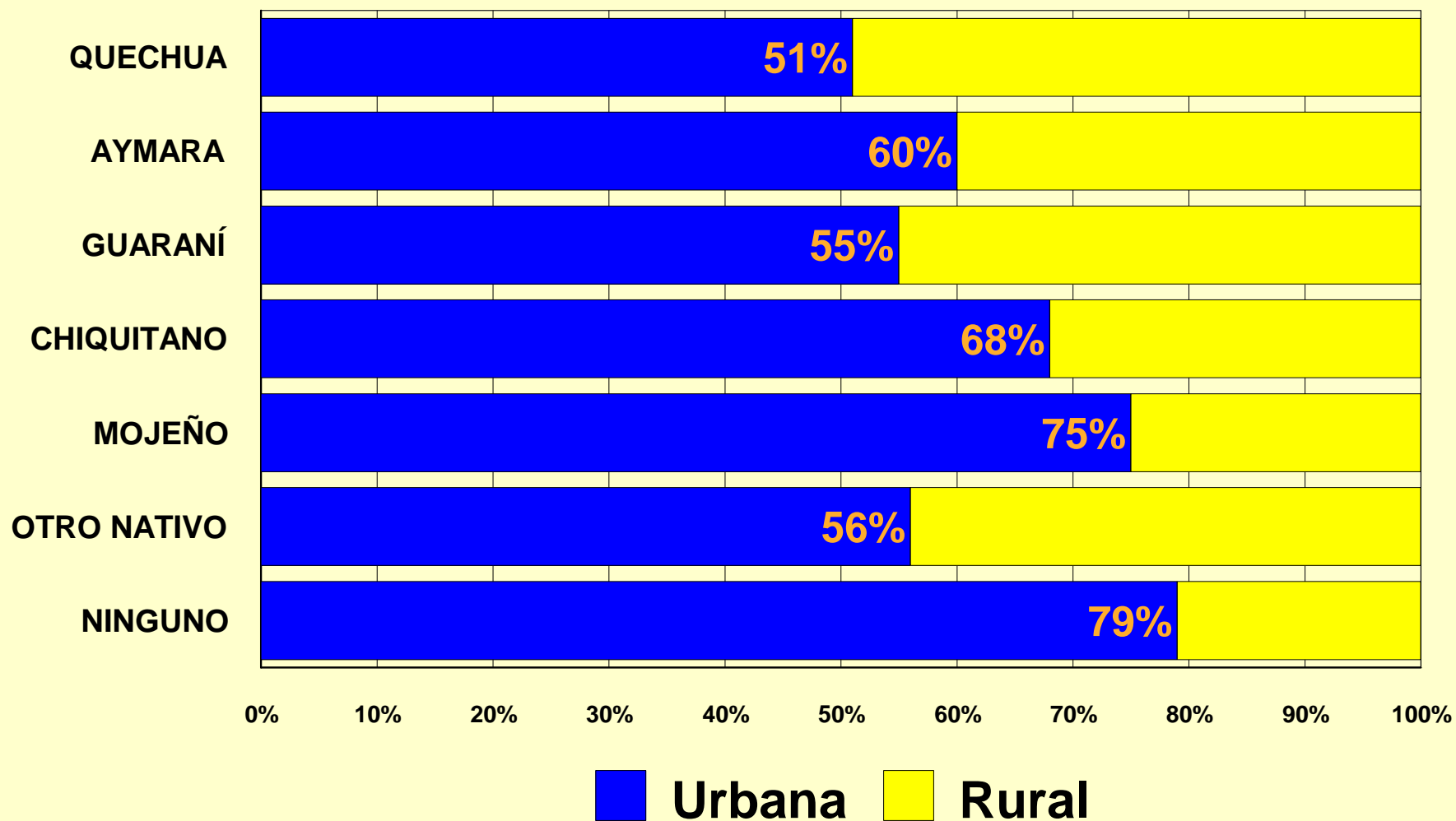
Source: INE, Cuadro Nº 2.01.13

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 6 & OVER BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN, CENSUS 2001



Source: INE, Cuadro N° 2.01.14

**AUTOIDENTIFICACIÓN CON PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS O INDÍGENAS DE LA POBLACIÓN DE
15 AÑOS O MÁS DE EDAD SEGUN ÁREA GEOGRAFICA , CENSO 2001**



Fuente: INE, Cuadro Nº 2.01.13