

# POLI 437: International Relations of Latin America

<sup>T</sup> Note. These Rivers are  
both of them Navigable, and all  
the Cannon and Stores for Acapulco  
are Carried from the North to the  
South Sea by them.



# This week

The “Blue Wave” in Brazil

The “Blue Wave” in Bolivia

# The Rise and Fall of the Latin American Left

*Conservatives now control Latin America's leading economies, but the region's leftists can still look to Uruguay for direction.*

By Omar G. Encarnación

MAY 9, 2013



# Many “pink tide” governments lose power in 2010s

**Mauricio Macri**



President of Argentina

In office

10 December 2015 – 10 December 2019

His Excellency  
**Jair Bolsonaro**



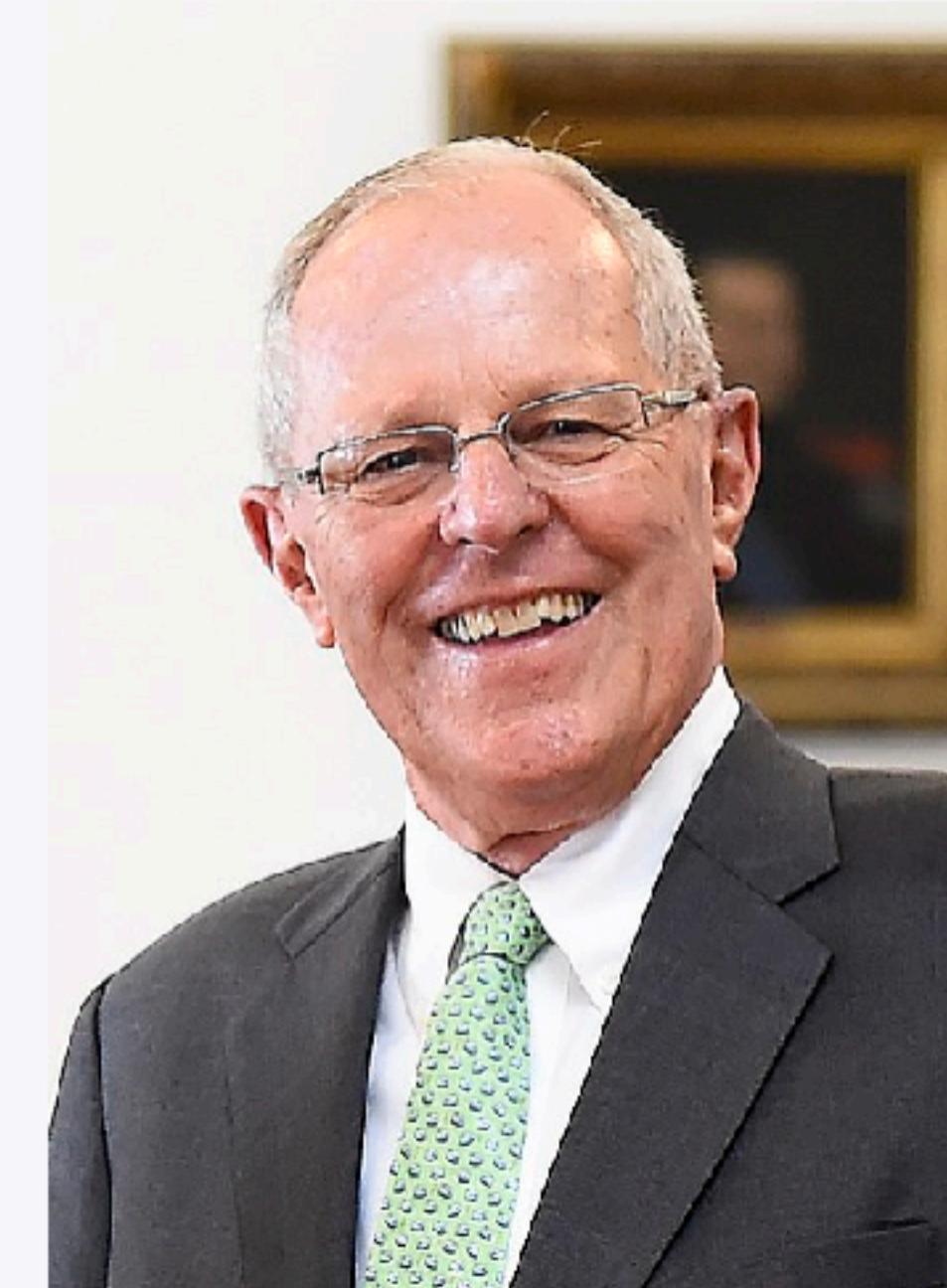
Bolsonaro in March 2020

President of Brazil

Incumbent

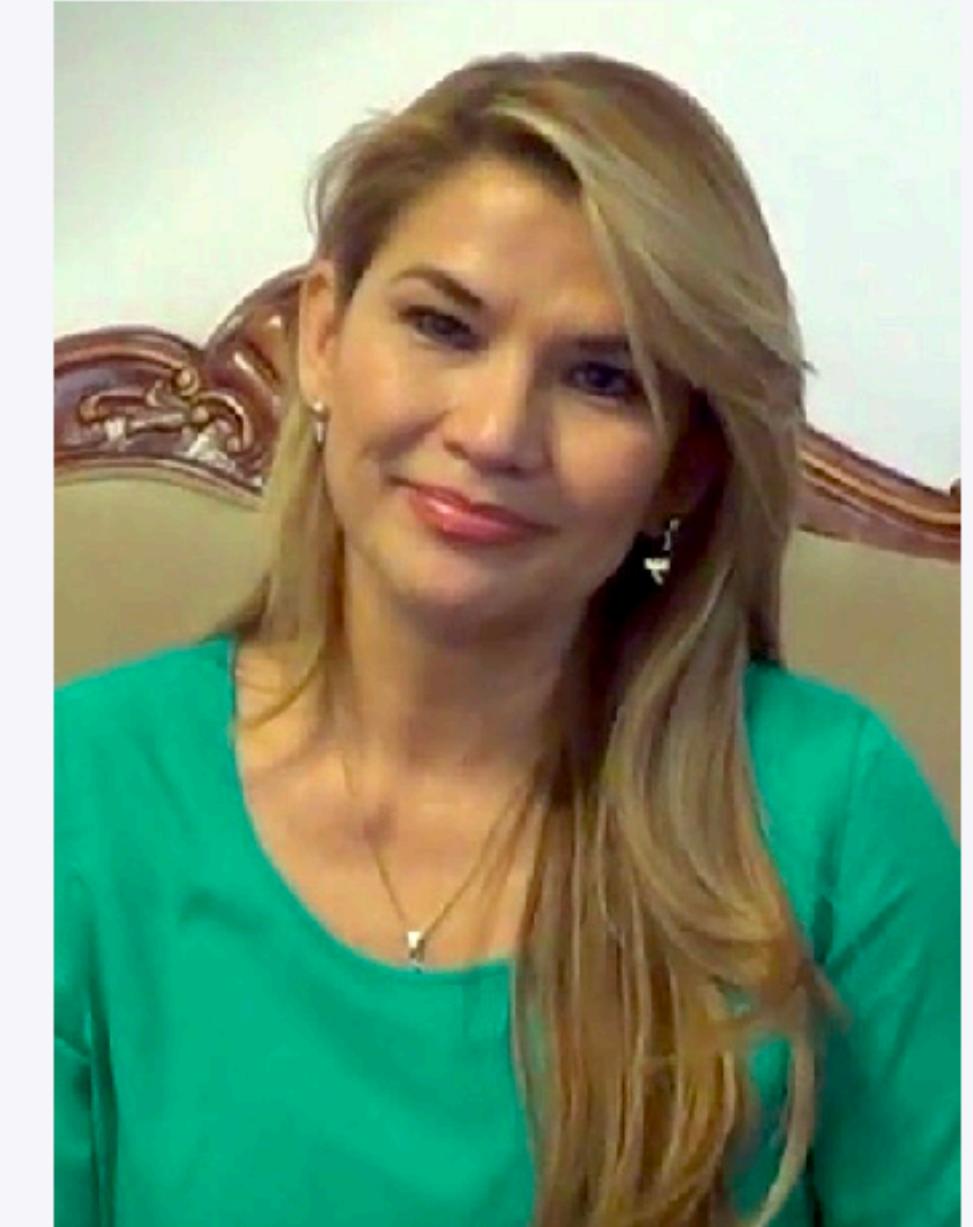
**Pedro Pablo Kuczynski**

OSP



66th President of Peru

**Jeanine Áñez**

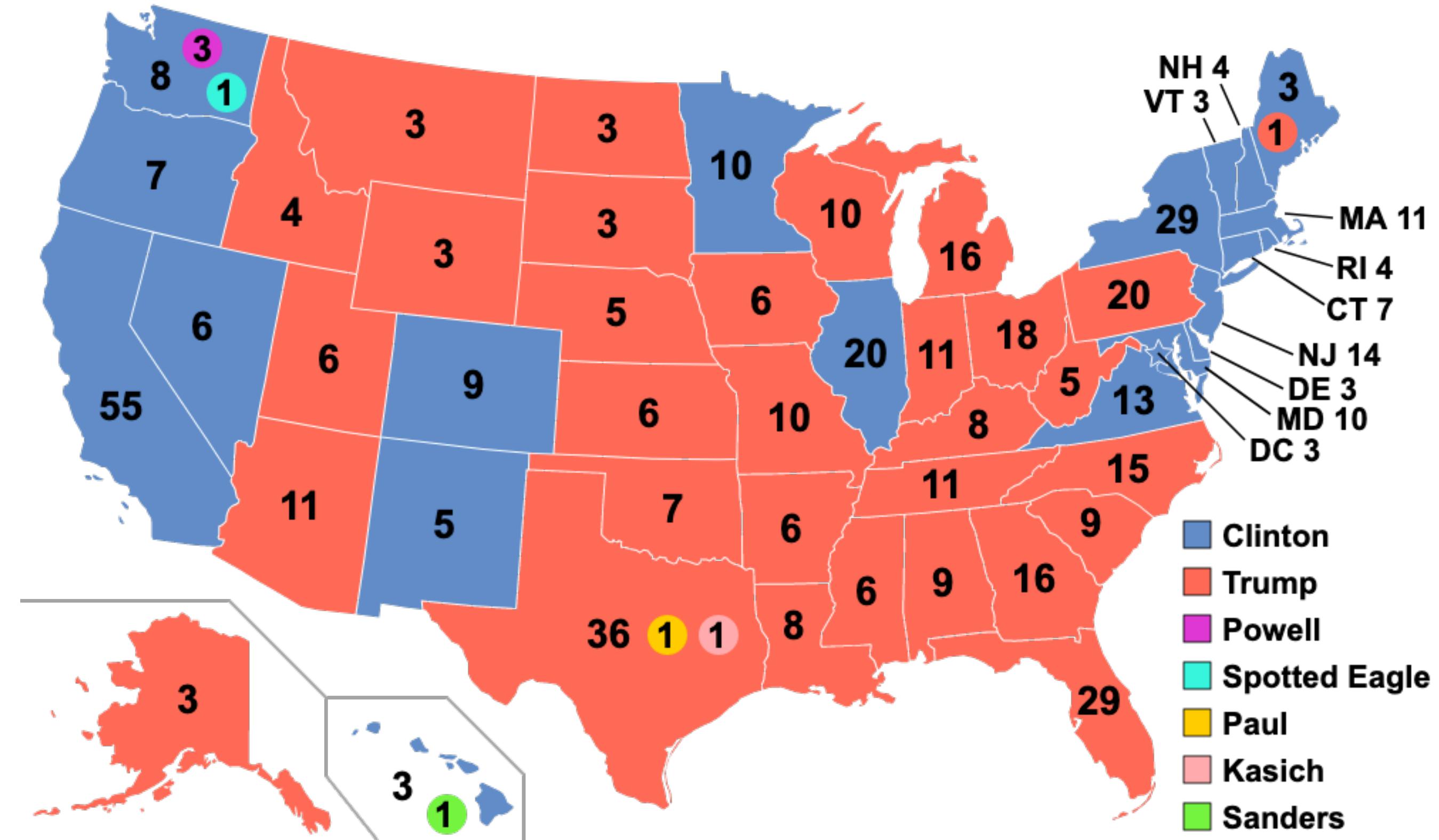


Áñez in 2016

66th President of Bolivia

Incumbent

Center-right, right continuity in others



# Pretty much everywhere else:

**Red = left (see: Russian Revolution)**

**Blue = right (see: British Tories)**

Why the decline?

Economic downturn

Anti-corruption efforts (“chicanery” in some cases)

Anger towards rising crime, insecurity

Growing strength of evangelicals

# Let's look at this in Brazil



## BRAZIL

### Malaria Recommendations

There is a low risk of malaria in the Amazon Basin  
Awareness and bite avoidance recommended

There is a very low risk in the rest of Brazil and no risk at Iguazu Falls  
Awareness and bite avoidance recommended

Other countries

This map is intended as a guide. It should be used with the recommendations in the risk section

### Area

• Total	8,515,767 km <sup>2</sup> (3,287,956 sq mi) (5th)
• Water (%)	0.65

### Population

• 2019 estimate	210,147,125 <sup>[5]</sup> (6th)
• Density	25/km <sup>2</sup> (64.7/sq mi) (200th)

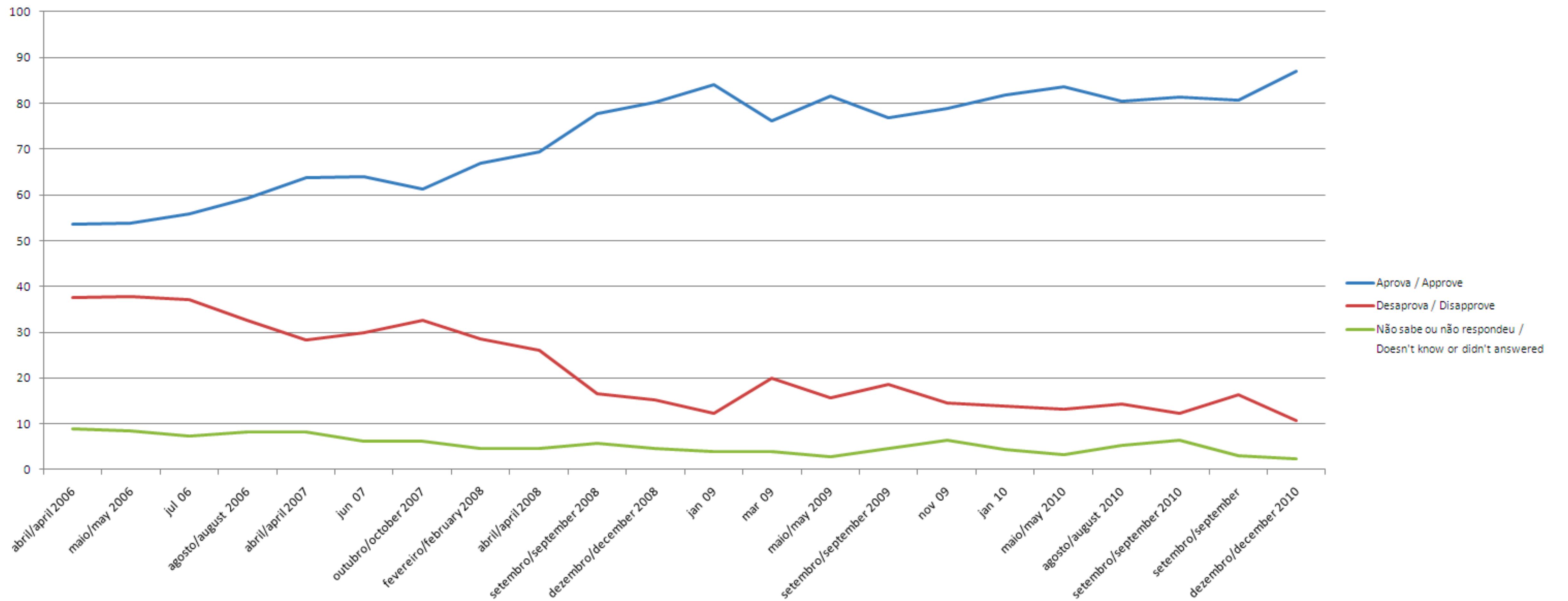
### GDP (PPP)

• Total	2020 estimate ▲ \$3.596 trillion <sup>[6]</sup> (8th)
• Per capita	▲ \$17,016 <sup>[6]</sup> (80th)

In 2019, the unlikely Jair Bolsonaro (surprisingly) wins presidency



After 13 years of continued PT rule headed by extremely popular Lula



Lula leaves office in 2010 with  
(unprecedented) 80% approval rating

# Back to regular programming



≡ The New York Times

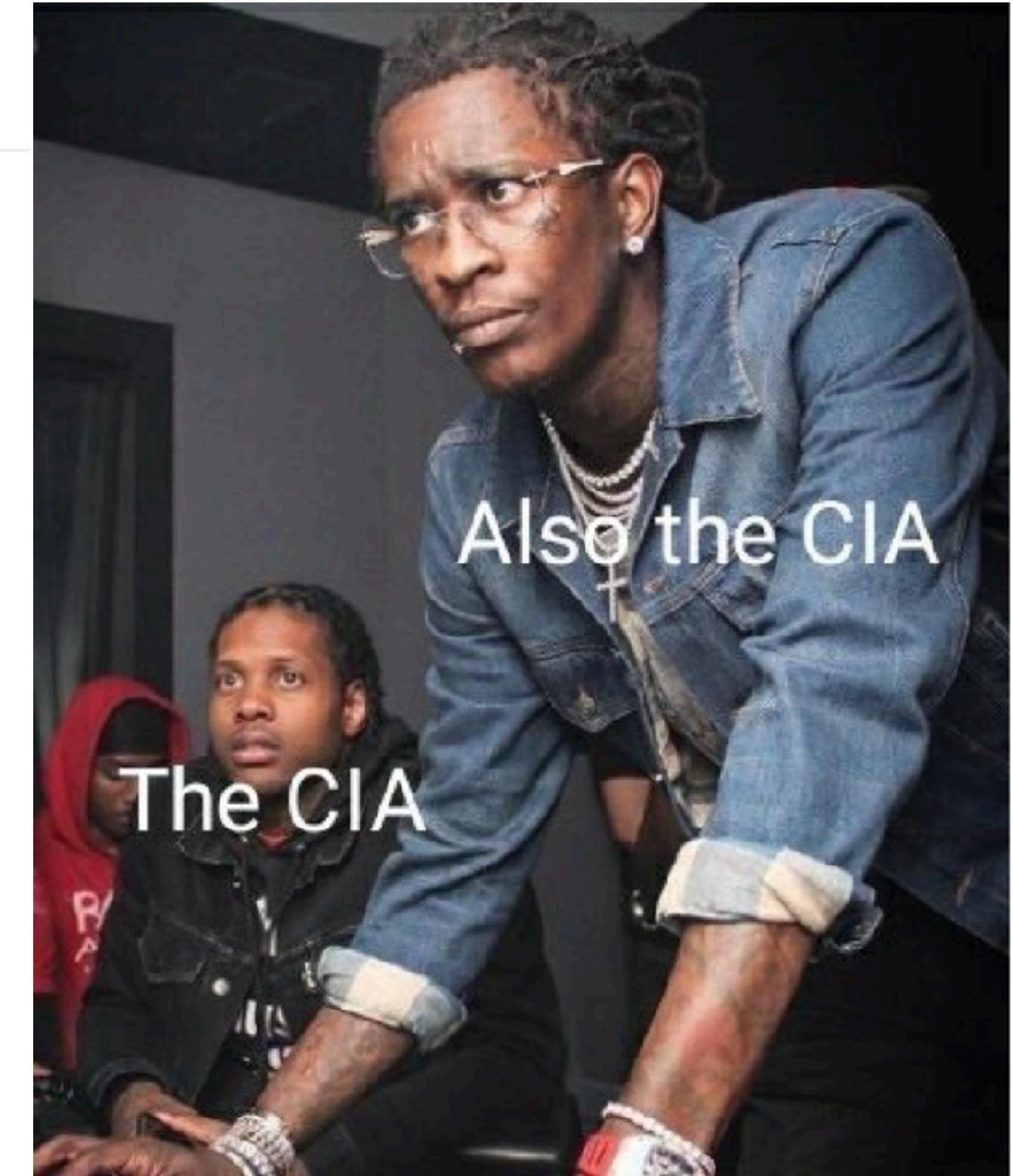
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*C.I.A. Says It Has  
Found No Link  
Between Itself and  
Crack Trade*



By [Tim Weiner](#)

Dec. 19, 1997



# Corinto, Colombia



Clip from “Edge of democracy”



Bolsonaro wins with minuscule PSL  
(had one seat in 2014)

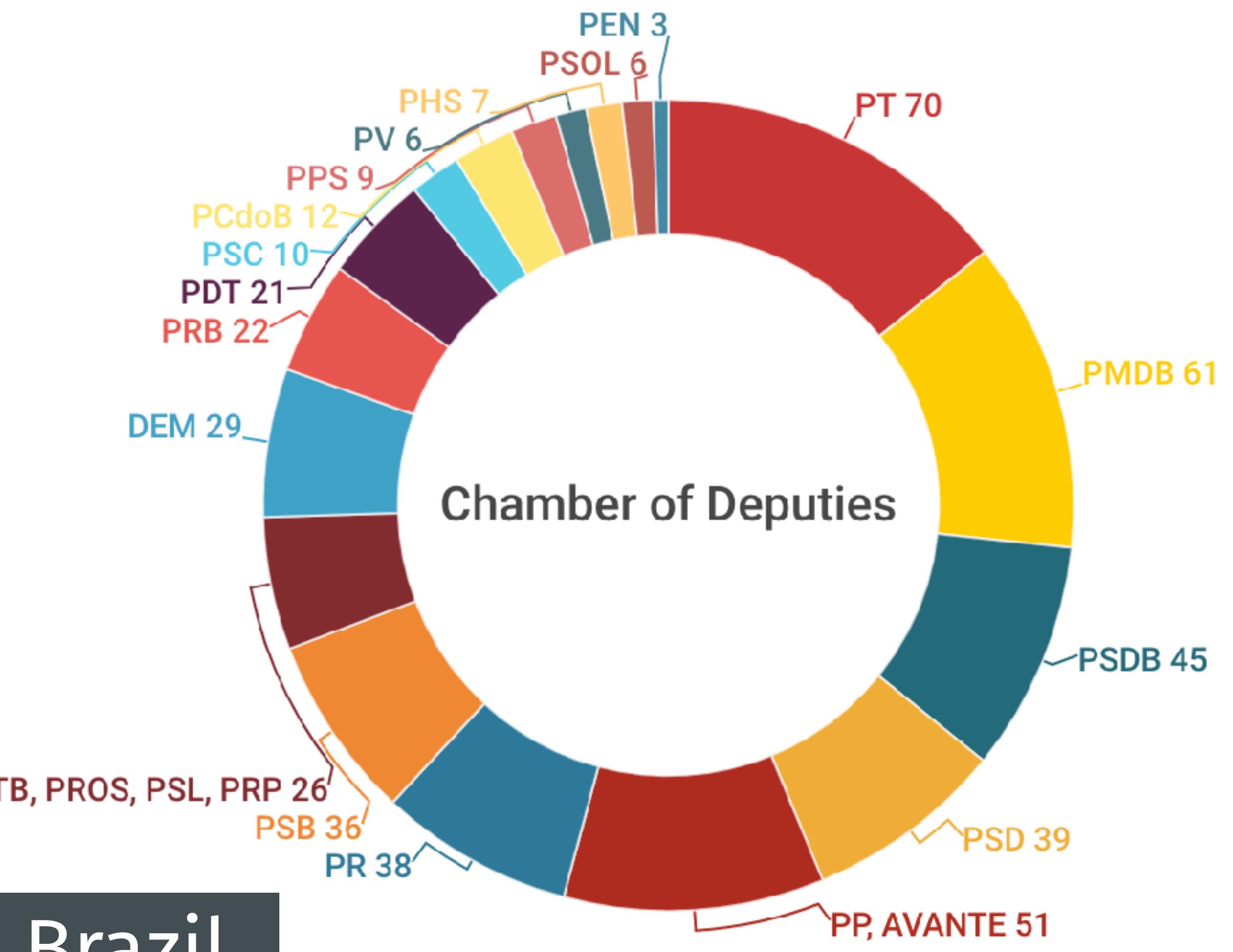
AT&T

# When You Already Have 35 Political Parties, What's 63 More?

Tired of corruption and dysfunction, Brazilians are forming new parties dedicated to everything from fighting illegal dog breeders to electing a soccer coach president.

By Samantha Pearson

August 21, 2017



“Parties for rent” phenomenon in Brazil

# Minimal campaigning following stabbing

NEWS



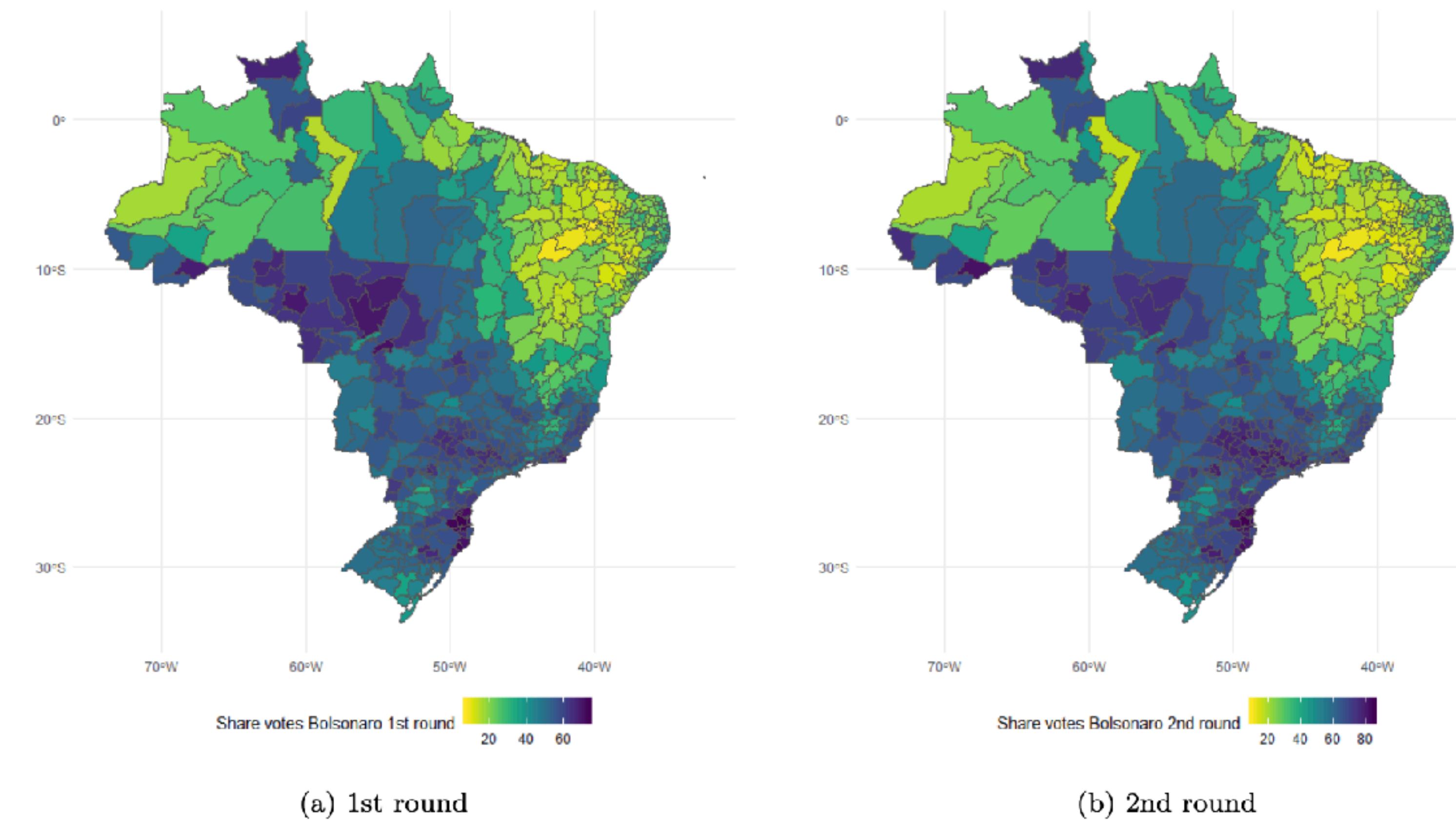
**TABLE—BRAZIL’S 2018 PRESIDENTIAL-ELECTION RESULTS  
(% OF VALID VOTES)**

Candidate (Party)	1 <sup>st</sup> Round	Runoff
Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)	46.03	55.13
Fernando Haddad (PT)	29.28	44.87
Ciro Gomes (PDT)	12.47	—
Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB)	4.76	—
João Amoedo (Novo)	2.50	—
Cabo Daciolo (Patriota)	1.26	—
Henrique Meirelles (MDB)	1.20	—
Marina Silva (Rede)	1.00	—
Other Candidates (5)	1.50	—
<b>Totals</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Source:* Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, <http://www.tse.jus.br>.

Not just victory for Bolsonaro but collapse for center-left (PT), center-right (PSDB)

# Wins among all income groups except poorest



**Figure 2:** Bolsonaro, % of votes by election round

Notes: % of votes for Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) by microregion and election round. Own calculations from TSE.

College graduates, Christians, South and Southeast

**So why did he win?**

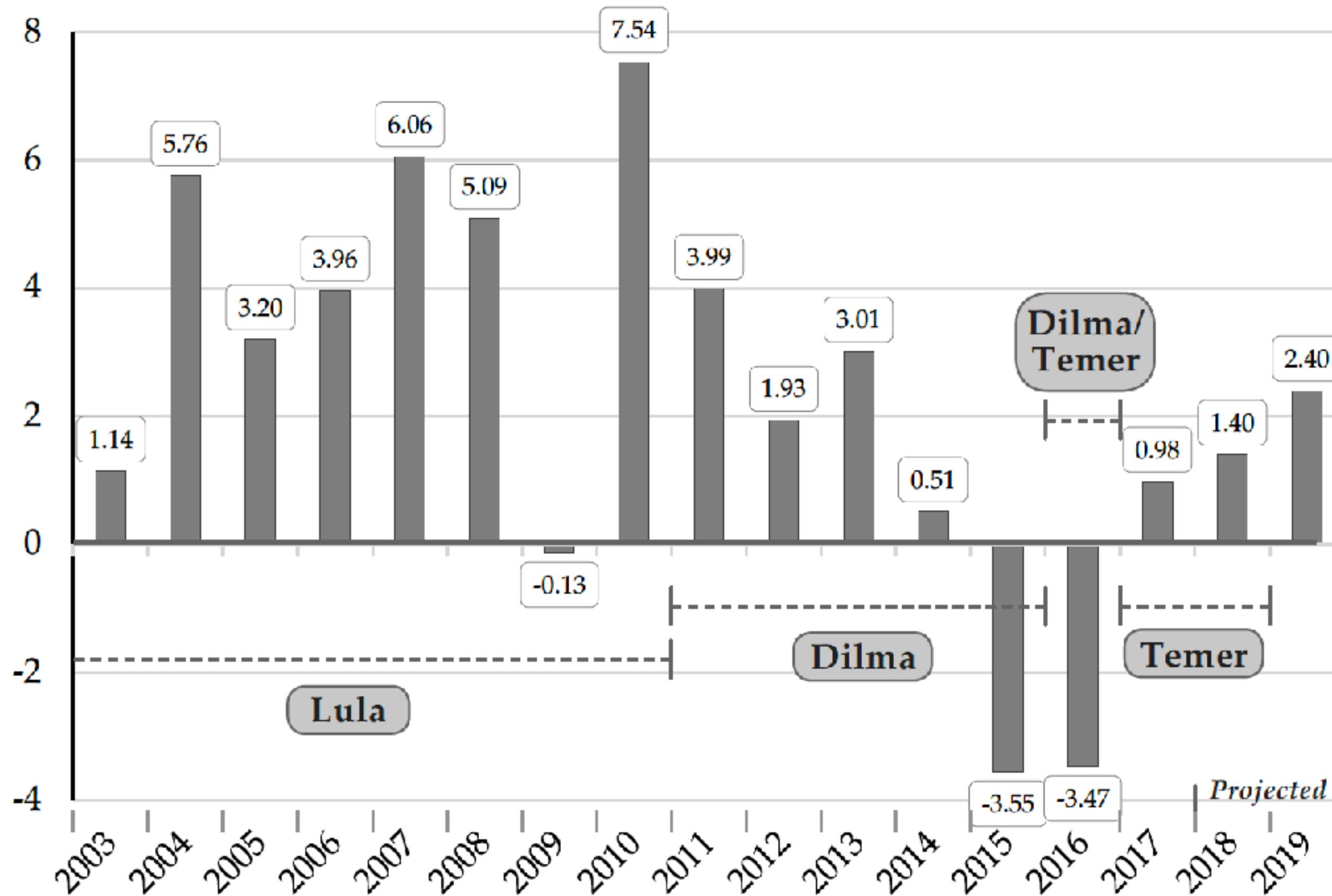
**Economic downturn**

**Anti-corruption efforts (“chicanery” in some cases)**

**Anger towards rising crime, insecurity**

# Boom times come to an end

FIGURE 1—BRAZILIAN GDP GROWTH, 2003–19 (%)



Sources: Data for 2003–17 are from the World Bank ([data.worldbank.org](http://data.worldbank.org)). Data for

2015–2016 (arguably) worst recession in  
Brazilian history

# Takes place almost entirely during Dilma Rousseff's (PT) tenure





**Enormous protests in 2013, emphasis on  
corruption, appetite for change**

In 2017, seventeen of the fifty most violent cities in the world were in Brazil

Murder rate in Brazil

32 per 100,000 people



Growing **frustration** with state's inability to curb crime

## ‘Largest-Ever’ Police Corruption Case Unfolds in Brazil’s Rio de Janeiro

BRIEF Written by Tristan Clavel - JUNE 29, 2017

Brazil Police Reform

Source: Brazilian Forum on Public Safety (FBSP)

# Could corruption investigations undermine democracy in Latin America?

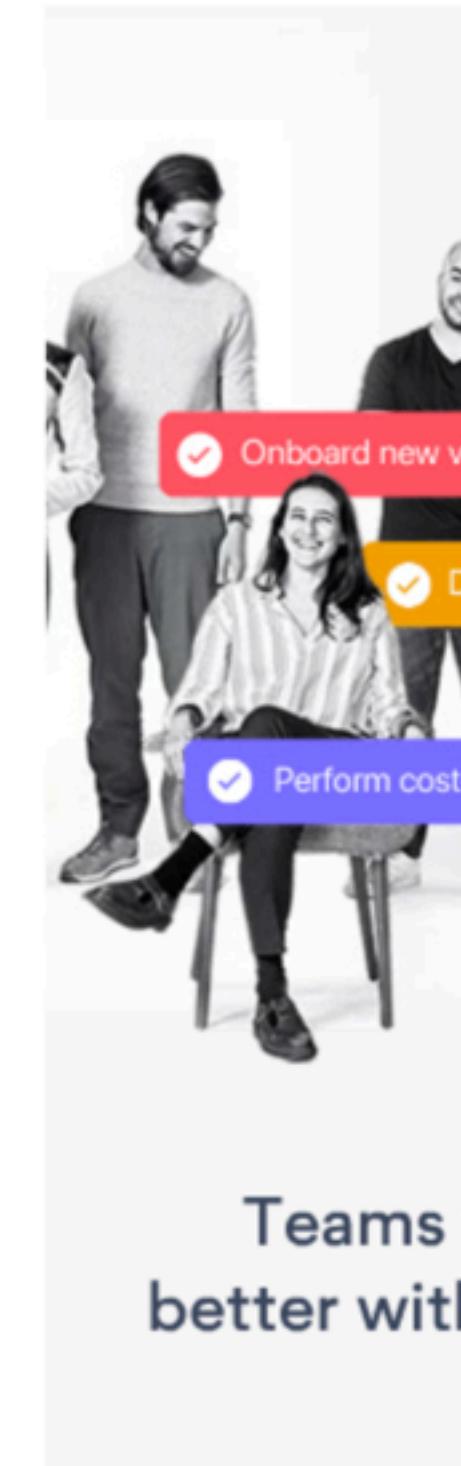
Anti-corruption efforts in Latin America may be backfiring.

By Lindsay Mayka and Amy Erica Smith | May 17, 2018, 11:10am EDT

f  SHARE



The former president of Brazil, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, faces press questions about a corruption scandal, in March. | Victor Moriyama/Getty Images

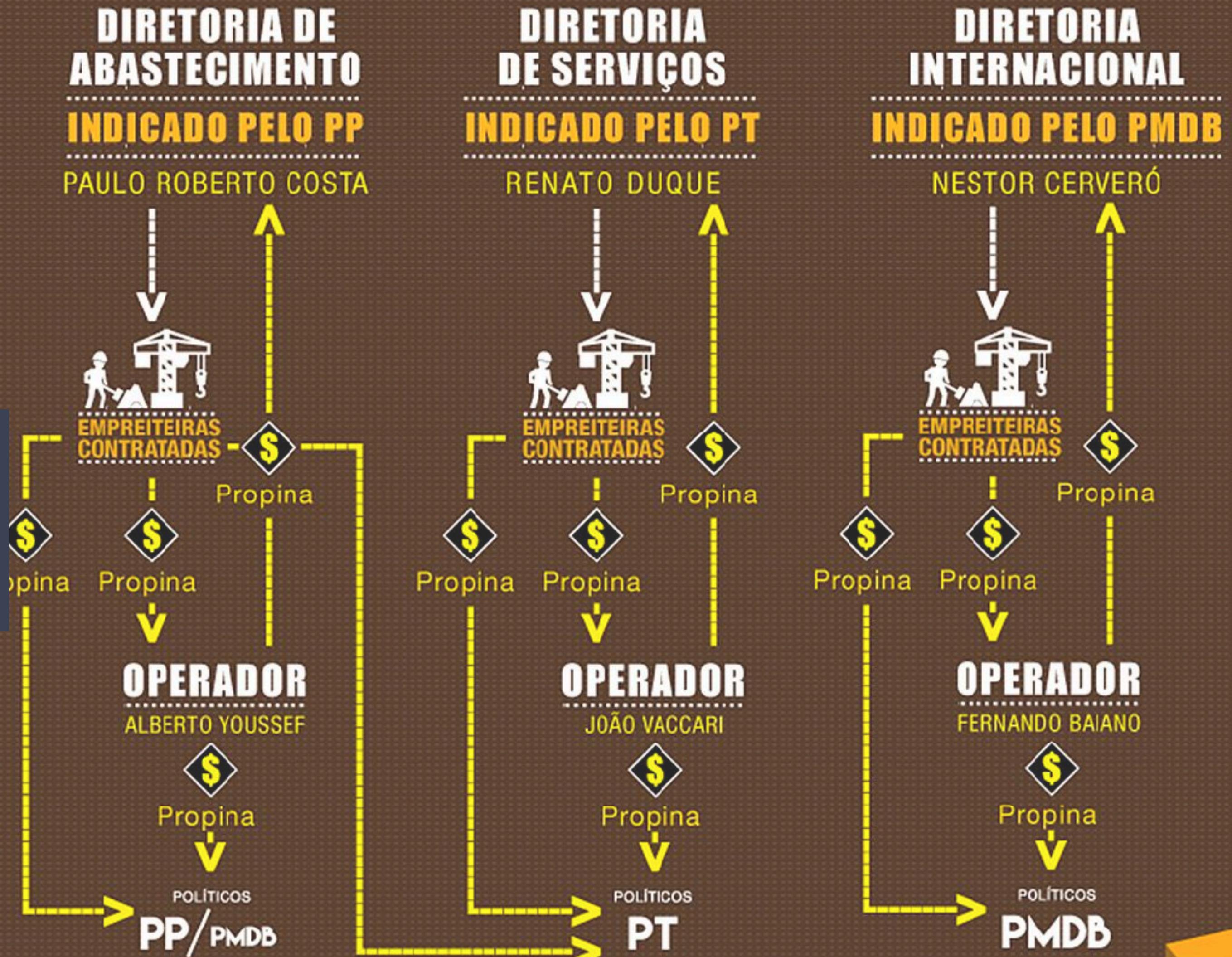


And then there's the corruption scandal

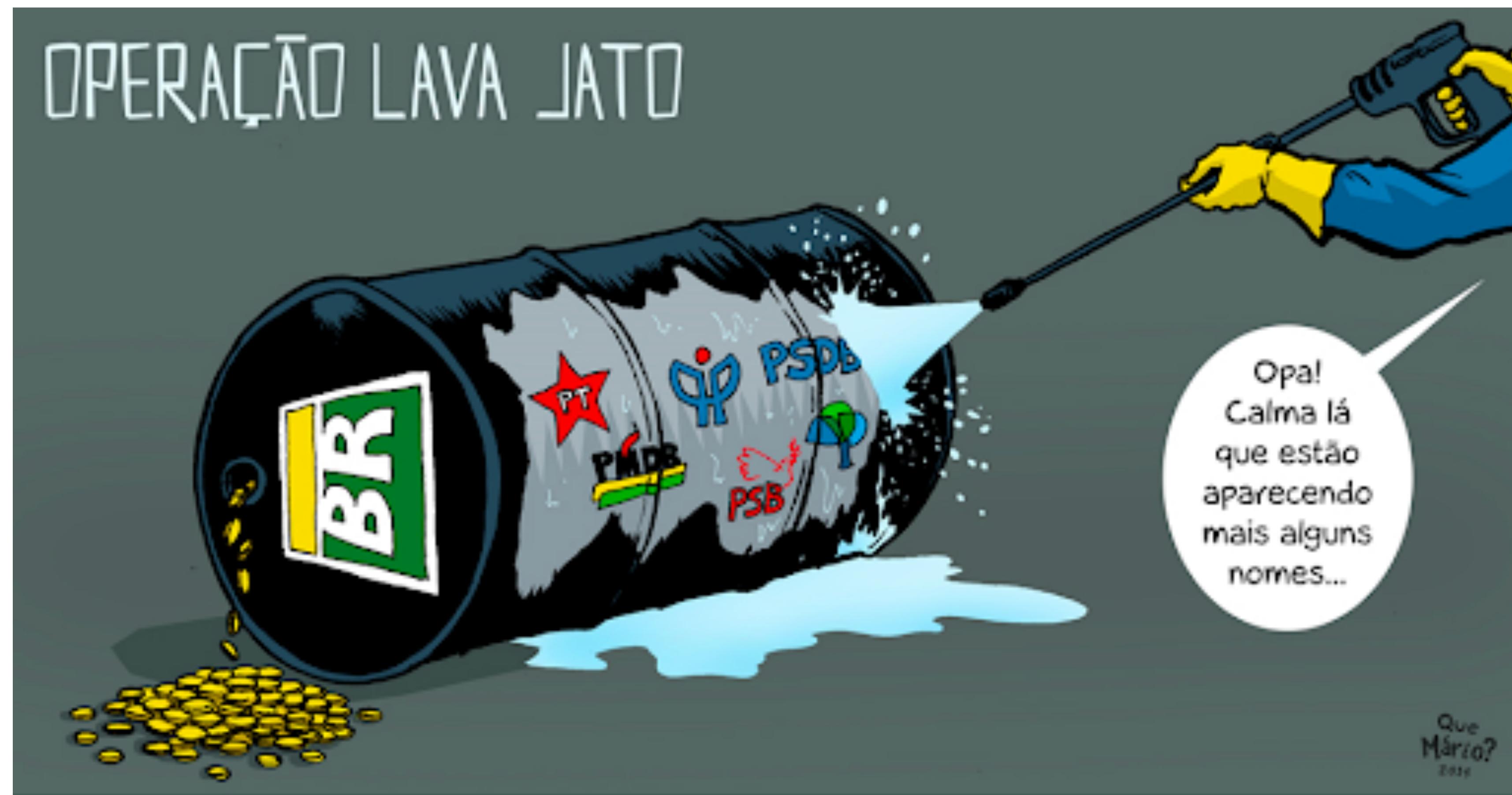
# ***Lava Jato: money laundering through auto-service stations***

**Expands to include corruption in national oil company**

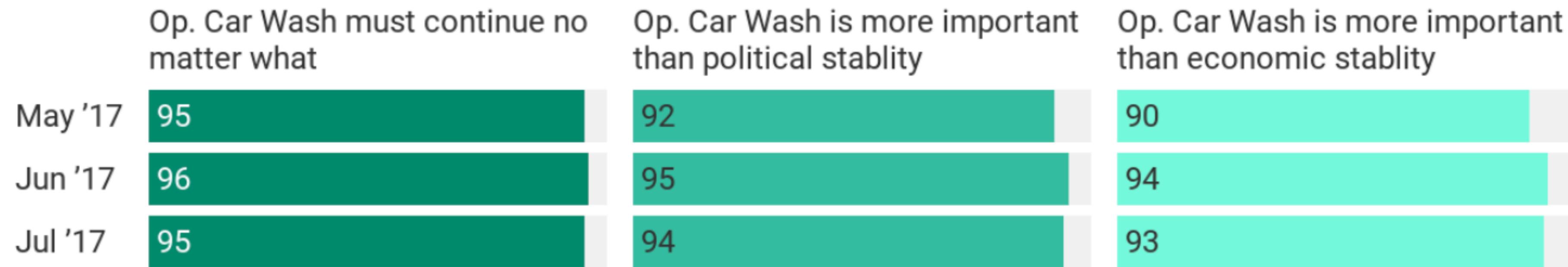
**1000 arrests, 125 convictions**



# Politicians of all stripes caught up in corruption, but Worker's Party (PT) hit especially hard



# Investigations have high credibility, extremely popular, near-daily updates



## Who is Sergio Moro, the judge making Brazil's headlines?

An investigation into corruption and money laundering in Brazil - Operation Car Wash - began in 2014, but it was not until recently that the man in charge of the inquiry became a household name in the country.

Federal Judge Sergio Moro has attracted both praise and criticism for his recent actions, which have put some of Brazil's top political figures in the spotlight.

BBC Monitoring takes a closer look at Judge Moro.

Produced by Alexi Peristianis and Fran Hunter; images courtesy of Thinkstock, Getty Images

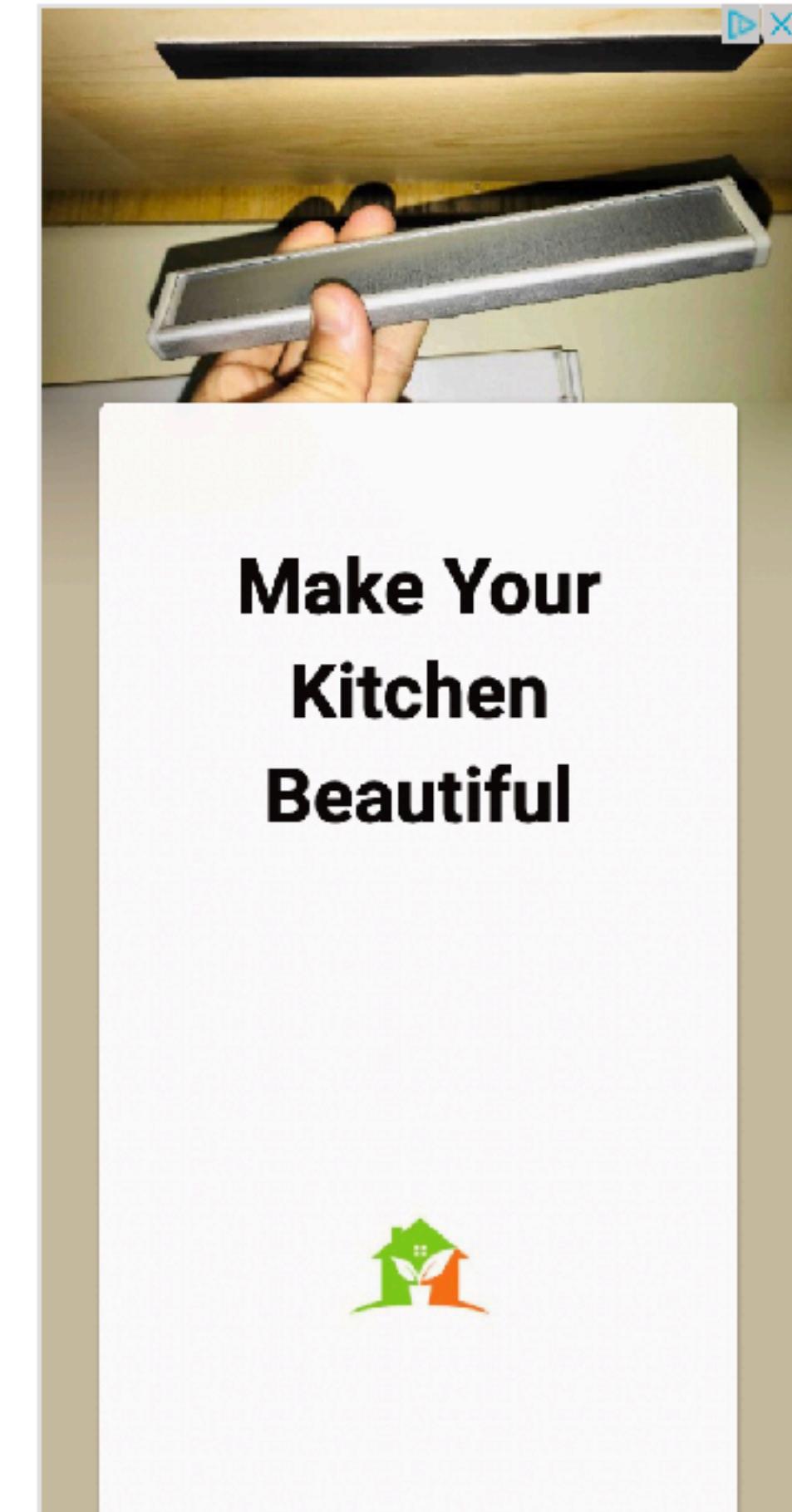
**BBC Monitoring** reports and analyses news from TV, radio, web and print media around the world. You can follow BBC Monitoring on Twitter and Facebook.

# Is the impeachment trial of Brazil's Dilma Rousseff a coup?



Activists supporting the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff take part in a protest in Sao Paulo, Brazil on April 17. (Nelson Almeida/AFP/Getty Images)

By Amy Erica Smith



This is where things get murky

# Lula investigated, charged, and jailed in controversial process



Allegedly given an apartment as a **bribe** in exchange for Petrobras contracts

WORLD NEWS MARCH 6, 2018 / 11:59 AM / 2 YEARS AGO

## Lula would easily win Brazil's October election: poll

3 MIN READ



### Prevents Lula from running for third term



# Evidence to suggest his investigation highly partisan



## Sergio Moro ultimately appointed Minister of Justice by Bolsonaro

# In flux

## Brazil's Ex-President 'Lula' May Run for Office Again as Court Cases Are Tossed

A decision by a Supreme Court justice sets the stage for former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to run against President Jair Bolsonaro in next year's presidential contest.



Former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva is widely expected to run against President Jair Bolsonaro.  
Rahel Patrasso/Reuters

RIO DE JANEIRO — A Supreme Court justice in Brazil on Monday tossed out several criminal cases against former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, restoring his right to seek the presidency again, in a decision with the potential to reshape Brazil's political future.

A screenshot of a Twitter post from the account of Fernando Collor (@Collor). The post features a profile picture of Collor, a checkmark indicating verification, and a blue checkmark. The tweet reads: "No Brasil, até o passado é incerto!" (In Brazil, even the past is uncertain!). Below the tweet is the text "Translate Tweet". The timestamp is "3:42 PM · Mar 8, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone". At the bottom, engagement metrics are shown: "317 Retweets" (with a speech bubble icon), "125 Quote Tweets" (with a reply icon), and "3,241 Likes" (with a heart icon).

# *Transcript Suggests a Plot Behind Effort to Oust Brazilian President*



President Michel Temer's planning minister said he would step down after the leak of a recording in which he discussed impeding Brazil's corruption scandal. Eraldo Peres/Associated Press

By Vinod Sreeharsha

May 23, 2016



RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazil's interim president, [Michel Temer](#), on

## Impeachment a way to derail Petrobras investigations

[corruption investigation](#) by pursuing the impeachment of [President Dilma Rousseff](#).

Dilma Rousseff not actually linked to Operation Car Wash corruption scandal

But combination of **extremely low popularity + frenzy of anti-corruption measures** create calls for her impeachment

Ultimately impeached for making federal budget appear balanced by delaying transfers to gov't bank

Among the often impassioned statements they gave, one touched a raw nerve in Brazil and highlighted divisions in the country's society.

It was made by Jair Bolsonaro, a right-wing MP from Rio de Janeiro state.

"You lost in 1964 and now in 2016," he said referring to the coup which led to 21-year-long military rule in Brazil.

Mr Bolsonaro, a former army captain then dedicated his vote to "the memory of **Colonel Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra**, the terror of Dilma Rousseff".

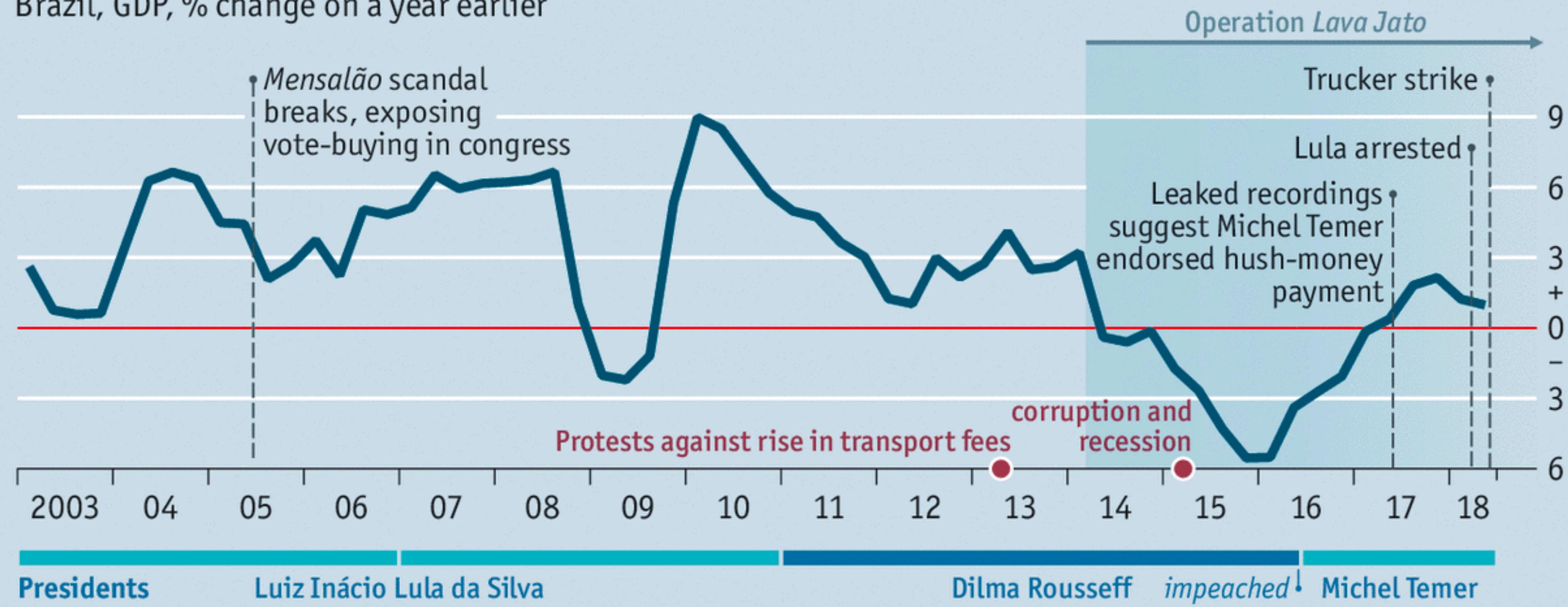


Brazilian MPs voted on Sunday on an impeachment motion against President Rousseff



## Fluctuating fortunes

Brazil, GDP, % change on a year earlier

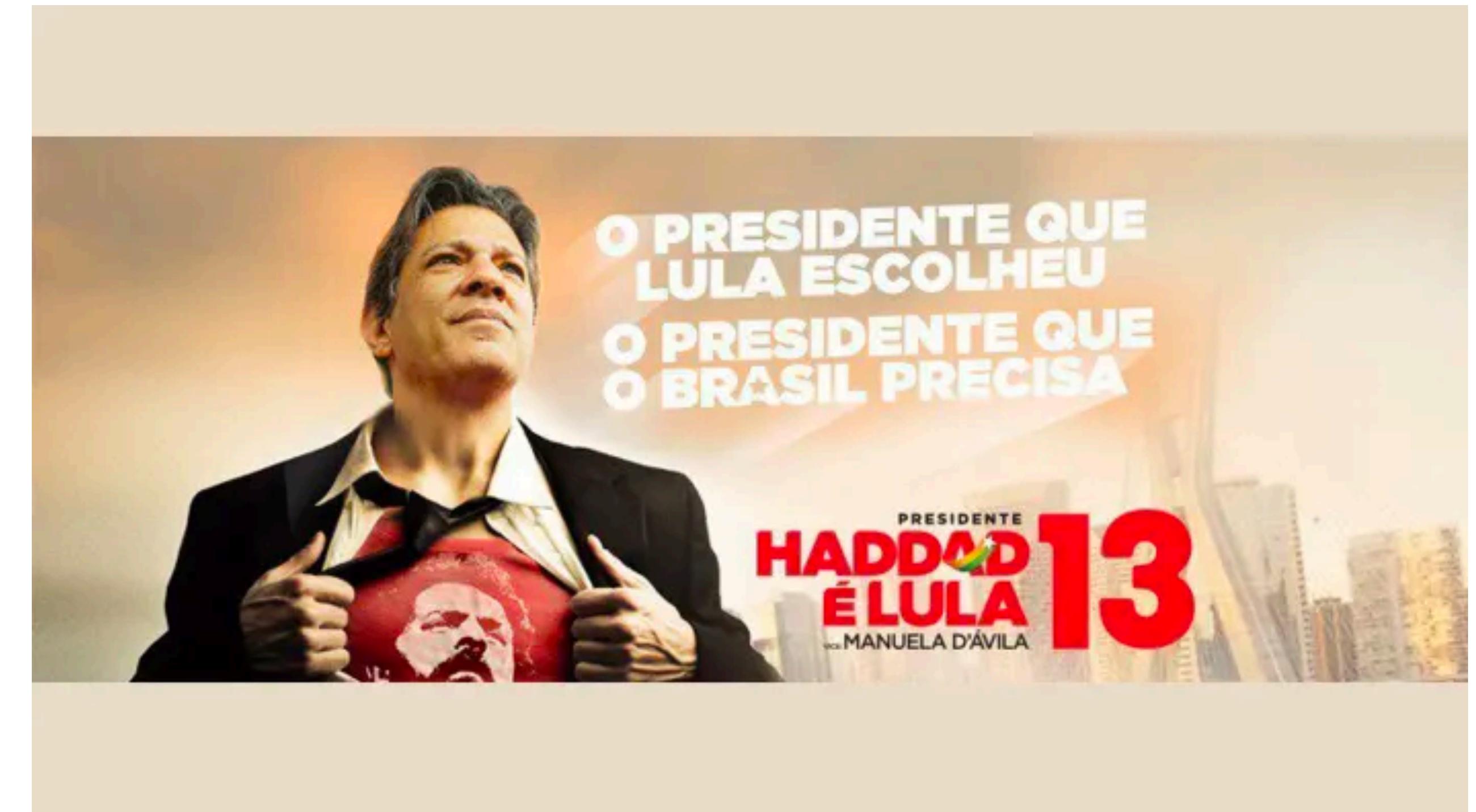


Sources: Haver Analytics; *The Economist*

The Economist

Interim president, Temer, also widely seen as corrupt

# PT enters 2018 election with impeached president, no Lula



Last-minute substitute Haddad tries to draw connections to Lula repeatedly

# This is where Jair Bolsonaro enters the picture

[www.independent.co.uk](#) › News › World › Americas ▾

## [Who is Jair Bolsonaro? Brazil's new president is far-right ...](#)

Mar 19, 2019 - Jair **Bolsonaro** – the **far-right** congressman who became Brazil's president-elect in January – has been dubbed "Trump of the Tropics" by the ...

[www.vox.com](#) › [jair-bolsonaro-president-brazil-trump](#) ▾

## [Jair Bolsonaro is Brazil's new far-right president. Here's what ...](#)

Jan 2, 2019 - His inauguration day remarks tapped into what appealed to Brazilians about **Bolsonaro** during his presidential campaign. The **far-right** firebrand ...

[apnews.com](#) › ... ▾

## [Brazil's Bolsonaro keeps to far right, faces tough 2nd year](#)

Dec 31, 2019 - SAO PAULO (AP) – Heading into his second year as Brazil's president, Jair **Bolsonaro** has held firm to his combative culture-warrior policies ...

### Videos



[How Jair Bolsonaro brought the far-right to power in Brazil](#)



[This Far-Right Politician Could Be Brazil's Next President](#)



[Jair Bolsonaro: Brazil's far-right leader sworn in | Al Jazeera ...](#)

Bit of an enigma: served 27 years in Chamber of Deputies  
(i.e., House of Reps), but never held executive office nor  
party leadership before president

Seen largely as an **outsider** due to outsized personality,  
extreme opinions, even if no super clear **ideology**

# Famously called for execution of (then president) Cardoso for **privatizing state companies**

do you think grace is barbarity of this work for quality is to privatize

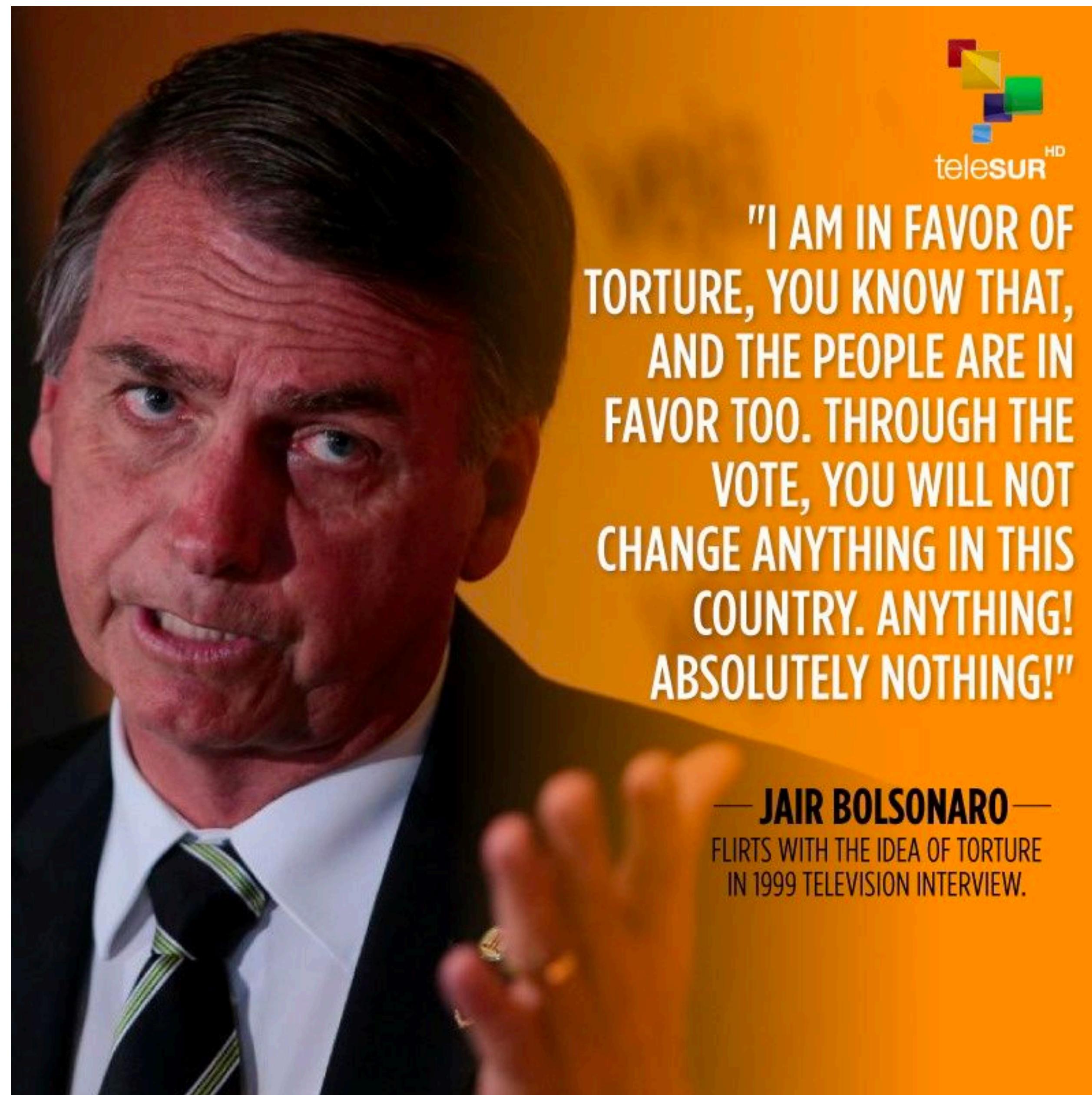
▶ ▶ 🔍 0:30 / 0:59 CC ⚙️ 🎧

Bolsonaro pediu o fuzilamento de Fernando Henrique Cardoso

85,104 views • May 6, 2013

657 131 SHARE SAVE ...

# Note too who is making these!





**"I WOULD BE  
INCAPABLE OF LOVING  
A HOMOSEXUAL CHILD.  
I'D RATHER HAVE A  
SON OF MINE DIE IN AN  
ACCIDENT THAN  
APPEAR WITH  
A MUSTACHE  
NEXT TO HIM."**

---

**JAIR BOLSONARO**

---

PROMOTES HOMOPHOBIA IN A 2011  
INTERVIEW WITH PLAYBOY MAGAZINE





**"SHE DOES NOT  
DESERVE TO BE  
RAPED BECAUSE  
SHE IS VERY BAD,  
BECAUSE SHE IS  
VERY UGLY."**

— JAIR BOLSONARO —

JOKES ABOUT RAPING WORKERS'  
PARTY LEGISLATOR MARIA DO  
ROSARIO IN DECEMBER 2014.



“Elections won’t change anything in this country. It will only change on the day that we break out in civil war here and do the job that the military regime didn’t do: killing 30,000. If some innocent people die, that’s fine. In every war, innocent people die.”

From a [1999](#) interview on Brazilian television.

Main thrust of his candidacy was idea that Brazilian society has become **too permissive or “soft”**

Permissiveness undermines ability of state to combat crime, corruption

## Crime

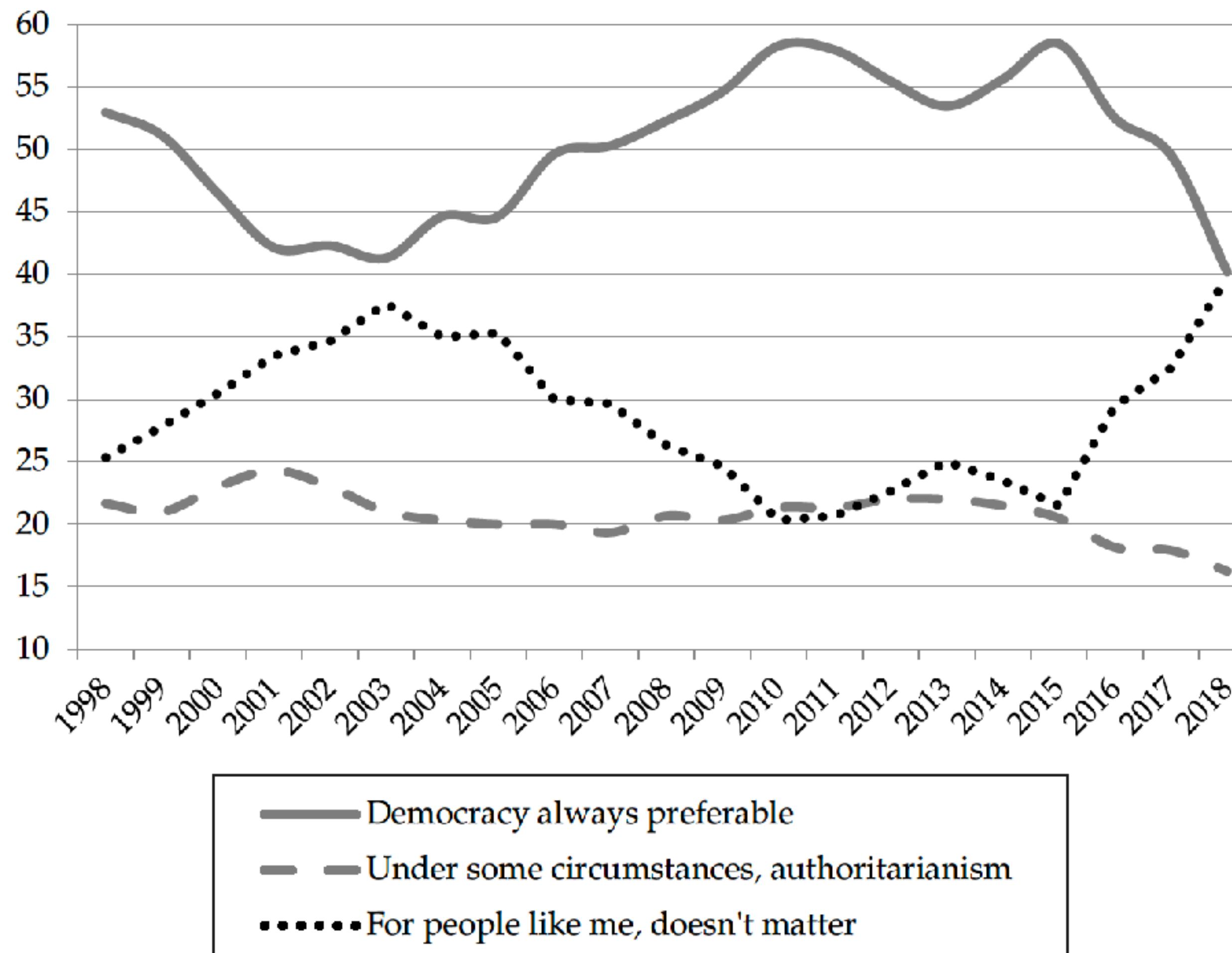
“I’m going to give carte blanche to the police officers to kill,” he said at a gathering in a restaurant in Deerfield Beach, Florida, in 2017.

Mainstream politicians are too corrupt to do anything about this

Draws on military background to contrast instability of present moment with nostalgia for dictatorship



**FIGURE 2—POPULAR SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN BRAZIL, 1995–2018  
(THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE, %)**



**Growing perception of democracy at odds with governance**

# Jair Bolsonaro courts Brazil's evangelical Christians

Presidential frontrunner turns to rising political might of conservative churches

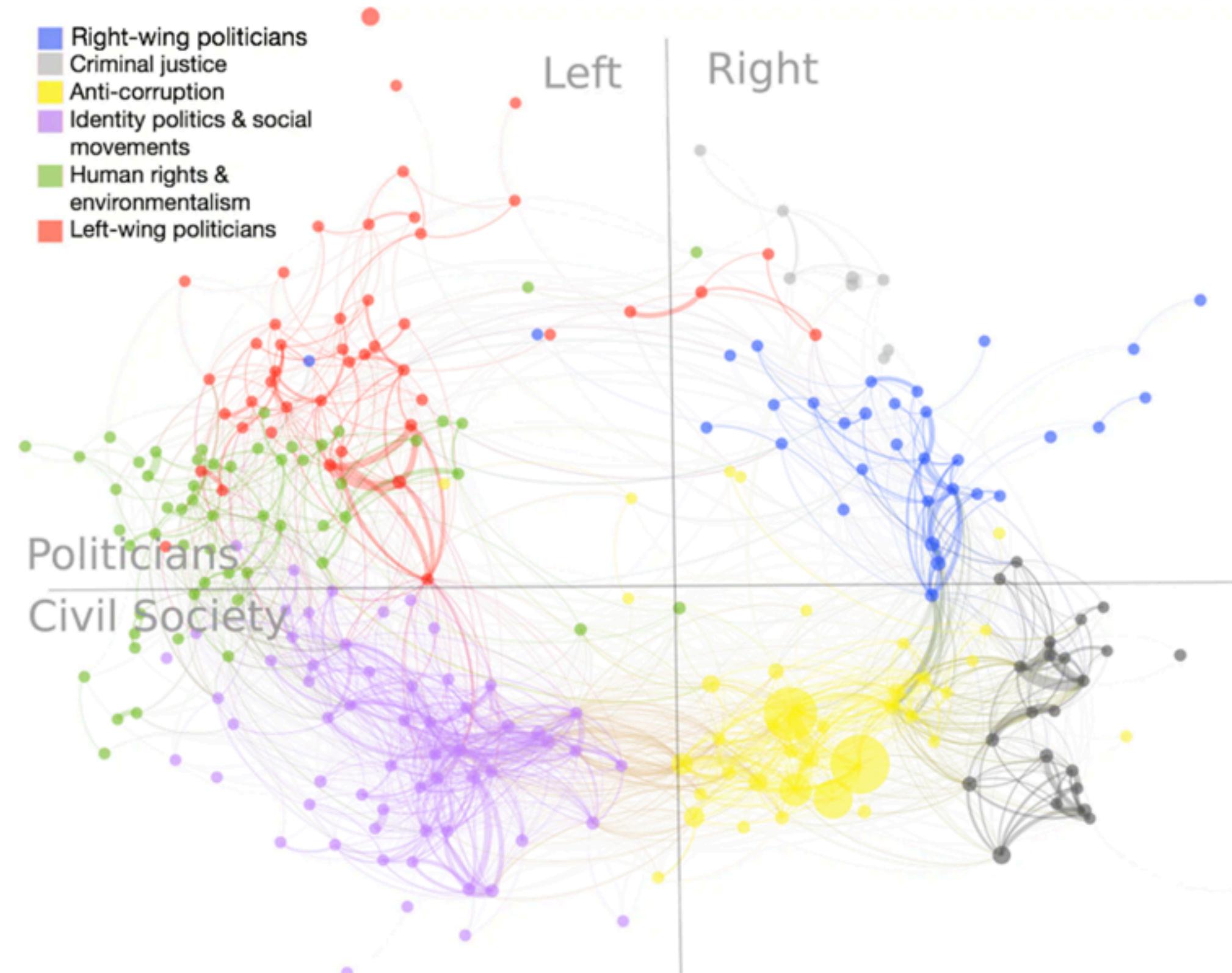


Supporters of Jair Bolsonaro attend an evangelical mass at a church in Rio in October © Reuters



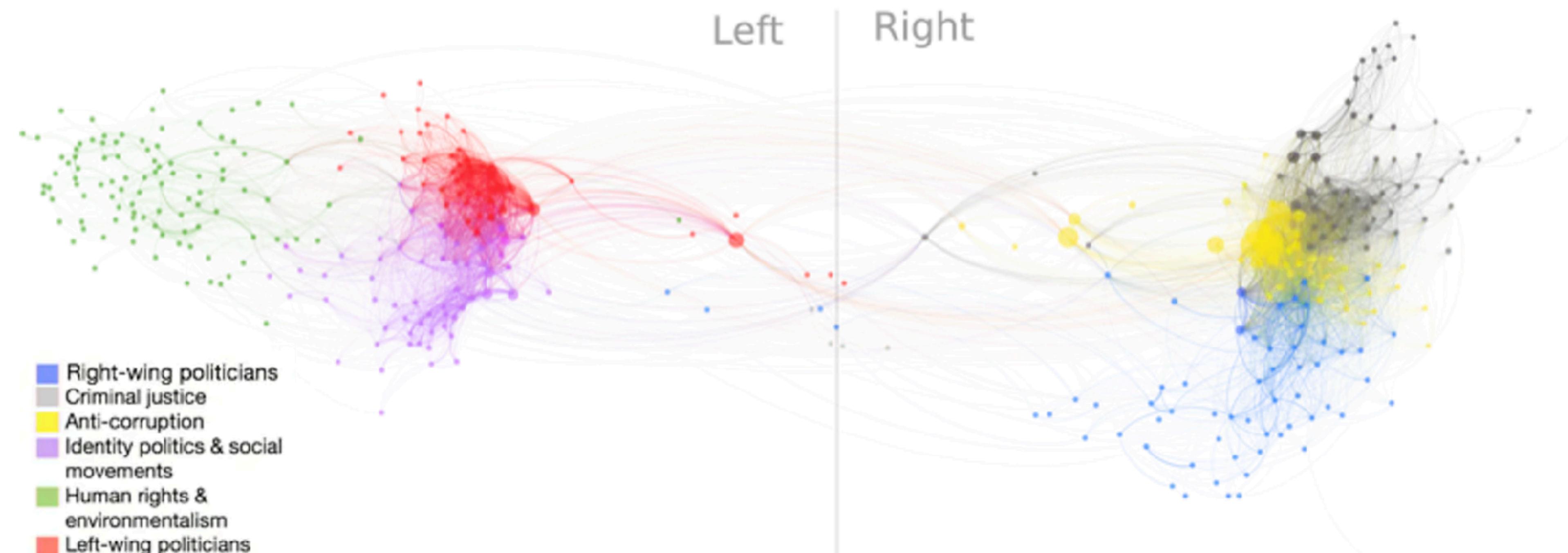
O deputado é batizado Foto: Reprodução de vídeo

Also makes important links to growing Evangelical groups



A weighted graph of Brazilian Facebook users before June 2013. Each node represents a Facebook page. Larger nodes are more popular pages. Two nodes are linked and grouped when users like a post from both pages, so a cluster of nodes represents a community of users interested in similar topics. The horizontal axis indicates political ideology from right to left. The vertical axis distinguishes civil society organizations from politicians and political parties. Pablo Ortellado and Marcio Moretto Ribeiro, CC BY

# Brazilian Facebook in 2013



By 2016, Brazilian Facebook users had become strongly polarized. Users who once comprised six visibly distinct communities of interest had separated into just two groups with very little overlap: progressives and conservatives. Pablo Ortellado and Marcio Moretto Ribeiro, CC BY

# Brazilian Facebook in 2016

# Bolsonaro wins

Presents himself as “law and order” candidate who is also **outsider**

Benefits massively from Dilma’s **ousting**,  
Lula’s **imprisonment**

Unpopular PT (left) vs. Bolsonaro (right)

So was Dilma's ousting a “coup”? What constitutes a coup?

Impeachment driven by **partisan interests**, removed because **unpopular**; and yet her removal legal

What if whenever a D (R) held office and R's (D's) had numbers to impeach them, they did?

Brief detour on questionable  
impeachments

The Dilma impeachment looks pretty sketchy

But is this new? Not really...

**IMPEACHMENT OR BACKSLIDING?  
Threats to democracy in the twenty-first century\***

**Aníbal Pérez-Liñán**

University of Notre Dame (ND), Indiana, USA. E-mail: aperezl1@nd.edu.

DOI: 10.1590/339801/2018

**Arguably, impeachments functionally equivalent to coups**

sued by congress: Fernando Collor (1992) and Dilma Rousseff (2016) in Brazil, Carlos Andrés Pérez (1993) in Venezuela, Abdalá Bucaram (1997) and Lucio Gutiérrez (2005) in Ecuador, Raúl Cubas (1999) and Fernando Lugo (2012) in Paraguay, and Otto Pérez Molina (2015) in Guatemala.<sup>1</sup> Two Peruvian presidents – Alberto Fujimori (2000) and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (2018) – also resigned anticipating an impeachment process.

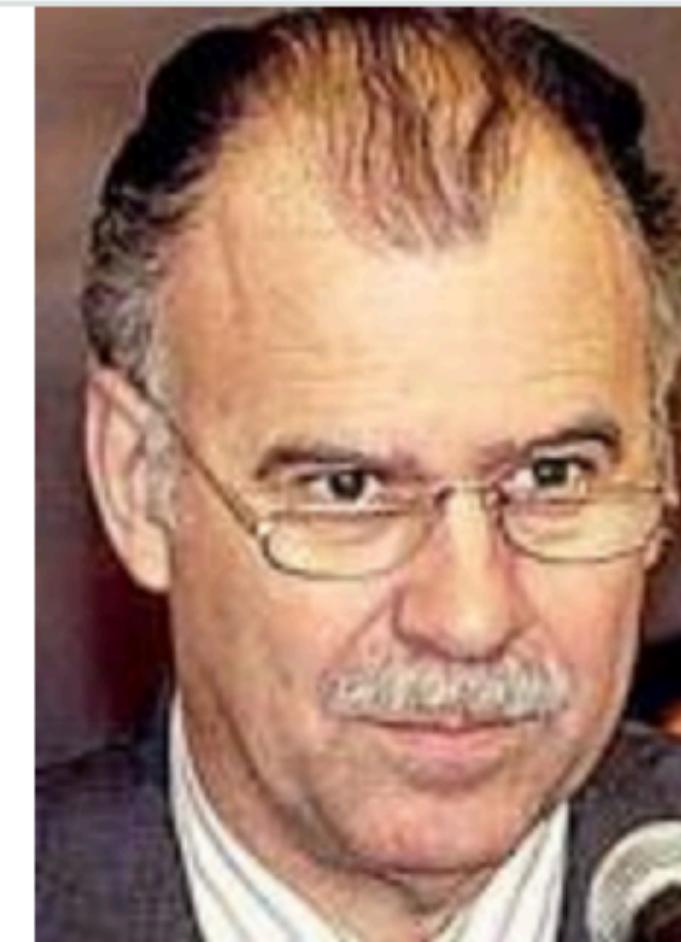
8 impeachment + removal  
between 1992 and 2016

Impeachments often rely on “creative” interpretation of constitution, or post-hoc justifications for removal

# Widespread suspicion that Cubas had his vice-president murdered

## Raúl Cubas Grau

Paraguayan Politician



Raúl Alberto Cubas Grau is a Paraguayan politician. He served as the President of Paraguay from 1998 until 1999. [Wikipedia](#)



## Huge protests, support plummets

But impeachment is technically over  
“contempt of Court”

Chamber of Deputies vote modified to  
redefine 2/3 majority as 66.5%

of just one vote. According to people I interviewed,  
one of the deputies willing to support the president  
was locked in a restroom to prevent him from voting.

# The Madman who loves

Bucaram was classic example of  
“bait and switch”, populist  
implementing **austerity**

Huge protests, no support in  
Congress



February 1997, just six months after he took office, Ecuador's National Congress voted to remove him, deeming him mentally incompetent to govern. He fled to Panama, where he was granted political asylum. Fabián Alarcón, Ecuador's interim president, filed charges against Bucaram for the mishandling of public funds during his presidency.

Removed for insanity but no actual diagnosis

Insanity clause in Constitution only needs simple majority, not 2/3 (which opposition did not have)

# What's the point?

Impeachment as a **political tool** to push out an unpopular, or ill-behaved (but not criminal) president

Common factor is **loss of popular support, mobilizations, and collapse of congressional coalition**

But these factors are all common to **coups** as well!

# So the line between **coup** and **impeachment** is pretty blurry

**Table 1**  
**Opinions on Rousseff's Impeachment and Military Coups**

The impeachment	A Military Coup would be	Total
Was	Justified	Not justified
A Coup	[1] 537	[2] 603
	47%	53%
Normal element of democratic process	[3] 572	[4] 467
	55%	45%
Total	1109	1070
		2179

$\chi^2 = 17.3$  ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Source: A Cara da Democracia (2018).

# No way to remove an **unpopular** president before term ends

## THE PERILS OF PRESIDENTIALISM

*Juan J. Linz*

*Juan J. Linz, Sterling Professor of Political and Social Science at Yale University, is widely known for his contributions to the study of authoritarianism and totalitarianism, political parties and elites, and democratic breakdowns and transitions to democracy. In 1987 he was awarded Spain's Principe de Asturias prize in the social sciences. The following essay is based on a paper he presented in May 1989 at a conference in Washington, D.C. organized by the Latin American Studies Program of Georgetown University, with support from the Ford Foundation. An annotated, revised, and expanded version of this essay (including a discussion of semipresidential systems) will appear under the title "Presidentialism and Parliamentarism: Does It Make a Difference?" in a publication based on the conference being edited by the author and Professor Arturo Valenzuela of Georgetown University.*

But maybe “going through the motions” of an impeachment is **better** than a coup?

Because it still **acknowledges** importance of democratic norms?

Or maybe it’s actually **bad**? Because it is openly **cynical** and undermines belief in democracy?

# The other big story: the fall (and return) of Evo in Bolivia



# Bolivia's former President Evo Morales arrives in Mexico after accepting political asylum

By Natalie Gallón, Tatiana Arias and Julia Jones, CNN

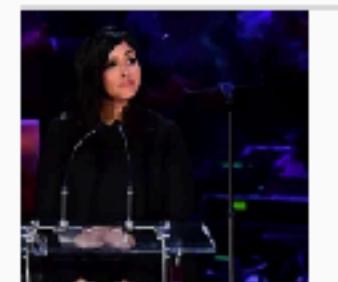
⌚ Updated 8:15 PM ET, Tue November 12, 2019



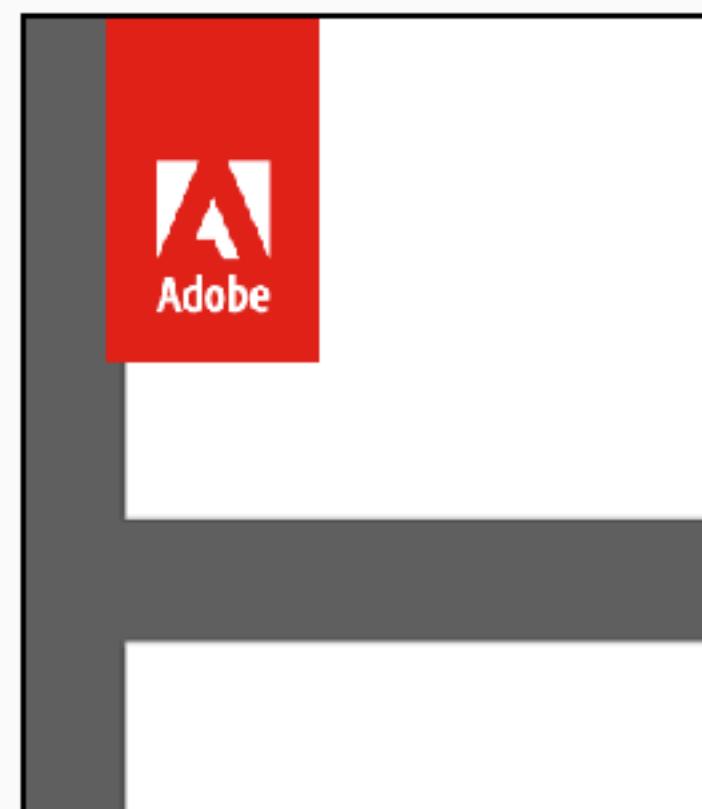
## More from CNN



Pita Taufatofua Tongan,' just q his...



Vanessa Bryan by allegations 1 photos...

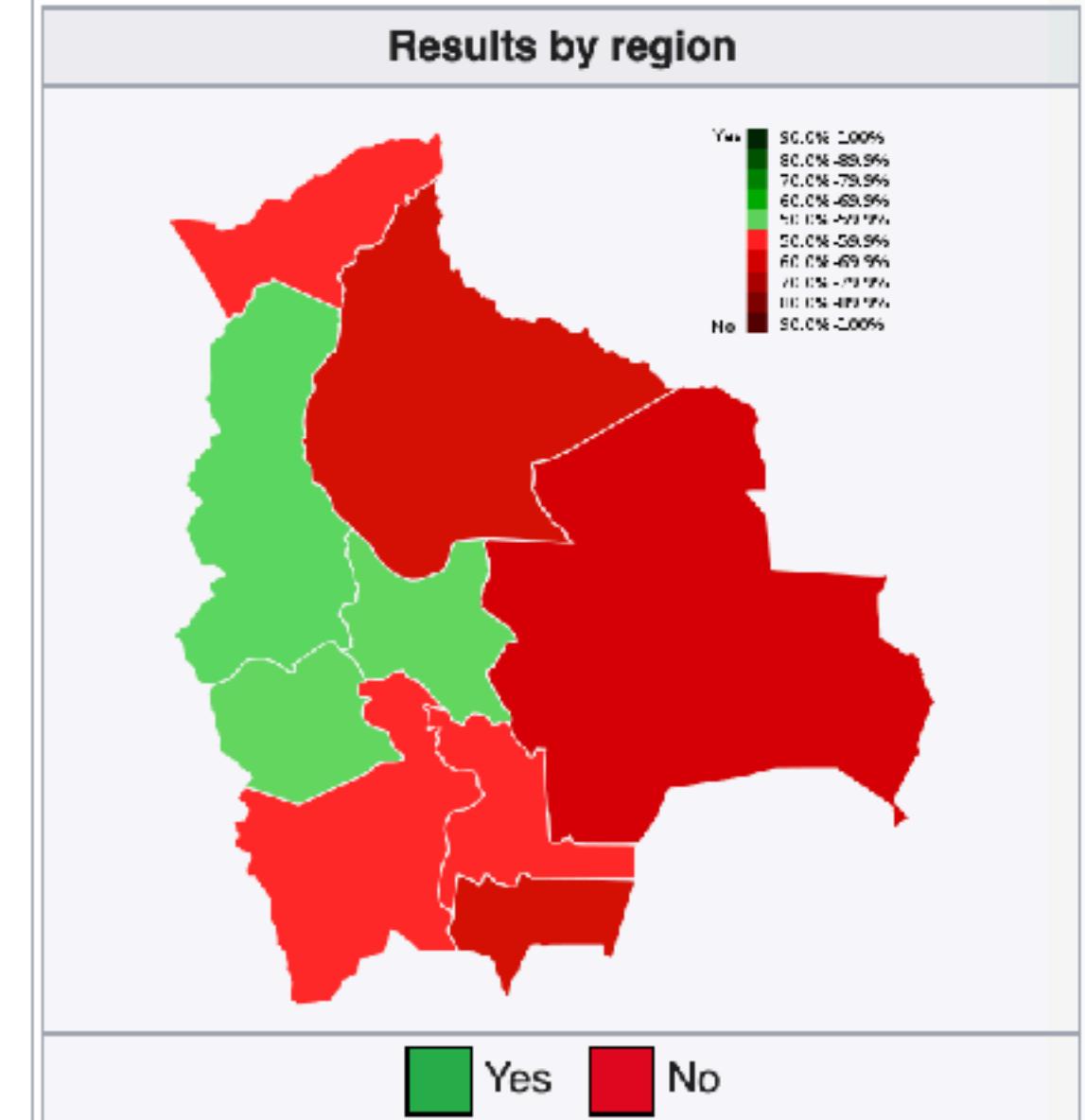


# What happened?

New constitution in 2009 limits president to two terms

In 2016, MAS sponsors failed referendum for amendment **three terms** in office

Results		
	Votes	%
✓ Yes	2,546,135	48.70%
✗ No	2,682,517	51.30%
Valid votes	5,228,652	95.22%
Invalid or blank votes	262,267	4.78%
Total votes	5,490,919	100.00%
Registered voters/turnout	6,502,069	84.45%



# 2017 Constitutional Court

Evo goes to (friendly) Supreme Court,  
which **strikes down** two-term limit as  
unconstitutional

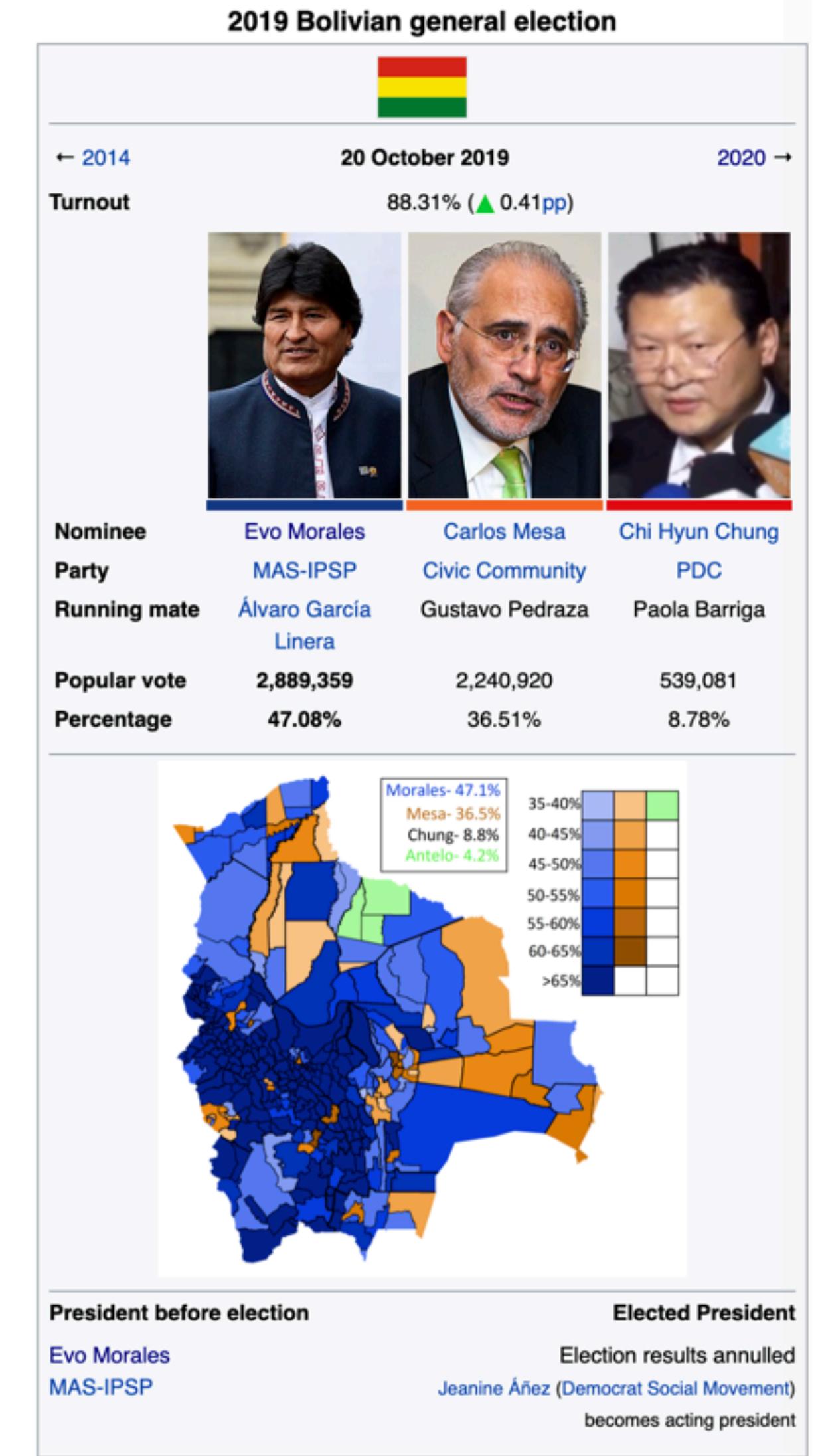


# October 2019 Elections

First pass the post + 10% to avoid runoff election, **weird pause** while tallying, followed by Morales victory

Opposition disputes results; Org of American States claims fraud

Morales agrees to new elections but **military/police** pressure him to leave, before his term ends



# OAS fraud claim

Key moment: pause in vote counting when results were coming in

The screenshot shows the official website of the Organization of American States (OAS). At the top, the OAS logo is displayed with the tagline "More rights for more people". Below the logo, there is a navigation bar with links to "About the OAS", "Topics", "Strategic Partners", "Member States", "Media Center", "Documents", "Accountability", and "Calendar". A search bar and social media icons are also present. The main content area features a large image of a conference room with many international flags. Below the image, a news headline reads: "Press Releases » E-109/19 Final Report of the Audit of the Elections in Bolivia: Intentional Manipulation and Serious Irregularities Made it Impossible to Validate the Results December 4, 2019". The text of the press release states: "The General Secretariat of the Organization of American States (OAS) presented today the final report of the audit conducted on the general elections held on October 20 in Bolivia. The conclusion is that **there was "intentional manipulation" and "serious irregularities"** that make it impossible to validate the results originally issued by the Bolivian electoral authorities." It also mentions that the full report and its annexes are available [here](#). A quote from the Secretary General, Luis Almagro, is included: "the final audit report represents the integrity of the work of the Organization. It was an evolutionary process that began many months ago, and at each step of which the Organization fulfilled its task with responsibility, affinity to its values and principles, and adherence to the different agreements signed with the Bolivian government. The Bolivian people and their government needed certainty regarding their electoral process and for that they requested the support of the Organization. Neither they nor the rest of the OAS member states deserved any response other than the exceptional and professional work of the audit team reflected in this report."

# Political scientists step in

Mebane says: not enough fraud to account for Morales win

Evidence Against Fraudulent Votes Being Decisive in  
the Bolivia 2019 Election\*

Walter R. Mebane, Jr.<sup>†</sup>

November 13, 2019

\*Thanks to Alvaro Molina and Zach Gan for assistance, and to Diogo Ferrari and Kirill Kalinin for comments.

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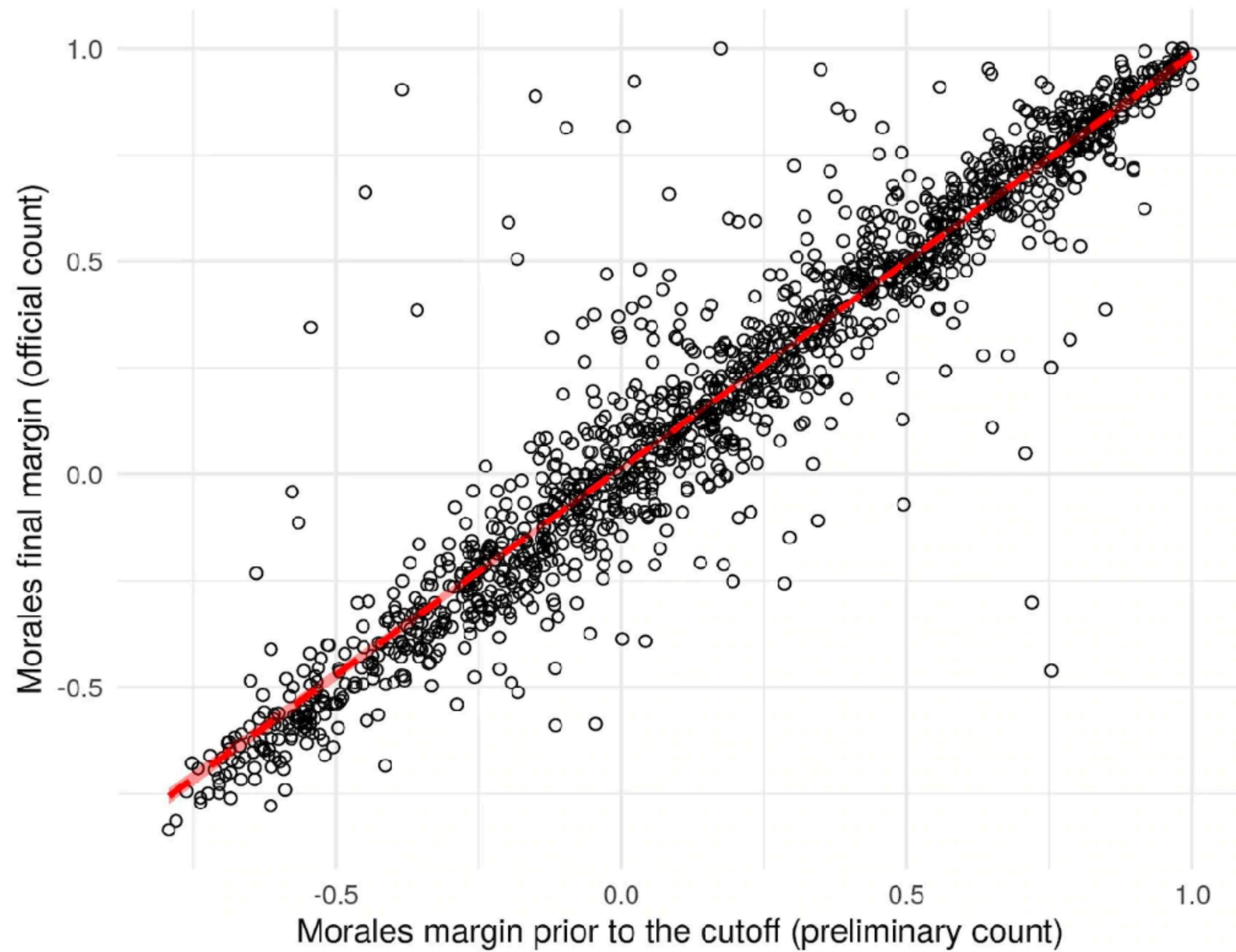
# More poli sci

Monkey Cage • Analysis

## Bolivia dismissed its October elections as fraudulent. Our research found no reason to suspect fraud.

Bolivians will hold a new election in May — without ousted president Evo Morales





The x-axis shows the margin for Morales before the cutoff within the preliminary count of 1,477 precincts that reported data before and after the cutoff, and the y-axis is their final margin, as reported within the official count. The high correlation between preliminary count and final vote results suggests no significant irregularities in the election count, or Morales's final vote margin. (Jack Williams. Data from Tribunal Supremo Electoral, 2019.)

*Was there no fraud?*

**If not, was this some kind of coup?**

[www.nytimes.com](#) › 2019/12/05 › world › americas › evo-morales-elect...

## [Election Fraud Aided Evo Morales, International Panel ...](#)

Dec 5, 2019 - An independent international audit of **Bolivia's** disputed **election** concluded that former President **Evo Morales's** officials resorted to lies, manipulation and forgery to ensure his victory. ... An unexplained delay in the vote count, however, triggered a wave of protests across ...

[www.bbc.com](#) › news › world-latin-america-50685335 ▾

## [Evo Morales: Overwhelming evidence of election fraud in ...](#)

Dec 6, 2019 - An independent international audit of **Bolivia's** disputed **election** in October has detailed "deliberate" and "malicious" efforts to rig the vote in ...

[www.theguardian.com](#) › world › dec › bolivia-election-evo-morales-v... ▾

## [Bolivia: 'overwhelming evidence' of vote rigging in favor of ...](#)

Dec 5, 2019 - Regional body describes 'malicious' steps to rig October **election** in ... **Bolivia:** 'overwhelming evidence' of vote **rigging** in favor of **Morales**, OAS ...

Important question given role of media  
in potentially legitimizing removal

Line of succession falls to Jeanine Áñez,  
a not-well-known opposition Senator

Originally would only serve as interim,  
but now running in 2020  
(likely a strong candidate)

**Christian Conservative** with strong  
antipathy to indigenous-based MAS

**Jeanine Áñez**



Áñez in 2016

**66th President of Bolivia**

**Incumbent**

Recent developments in Bolivia are concerning

Society becoming deeply polarized over issues related to MAS

# Añez uses decree to give police/military legal immunity in response to protests, killings + massacres of MAS



Delia Calle mourning the death of her cousin, Omar Calle, at a hospital in the province of Sacaba on Friday. Several protesters were killed by the Bolivian police during clashes. Victor Moriyama for The New York Times

# Bolivia opens probe into 600 former Morales officials



Issued on: 08/01/2020 - 21:54 Modified: 08/01/2020 - 21:53

La Paz (AFP)

Bolivia's interim government said Wednesday it would launch a corruption probe into nearly 600 officials of the former government, including ex-president Evo Morales

New investigations into MAS-era corruption

# Fall of Morales also bringing ethnic tensions front and center



# Añez appoints all-white cabinet, contrasts Christianity and “indigeneity”

Jeanine Añez Chavez

@JeanineAnez

Seuraa



Que año nuevo aymara ni lucero del alba!!  
satànicos, a Dios nadie lo reemplaza!!

8.15 - 20. kesäk. 2013

63 uudelleentwiittausta 25 tykkäystä



# Opposition seems aggressively pro-Christian, blatant anti-indigenous sentiment

Camacho entered the government palace in La Paz, and placed a Bible on the Bolivian flag. The pastor by his side then said that the Pachamama (the Andean Mother Earth goddess) will “never return to Bolivia. Bolivia belongs to God.”

**Luis Fernando Camacho**



**President of the Civic Committee of Santa Cruz**

Polarization growing in country,  
increasingly making choice  
between:

Poorer, more rural, indigenous

Middle (and upper) class, white,  
Santa Cruz

Concerns about MAS accepting transition, formation of “civilian militias”

Lots of questions about October 2020 elections: will/should MAS participate? What if they lose? Will election be seen as legitimate?

MAS does run with Luis Arce, win, take both chambers (compare to boycotts!)



# MAS is back

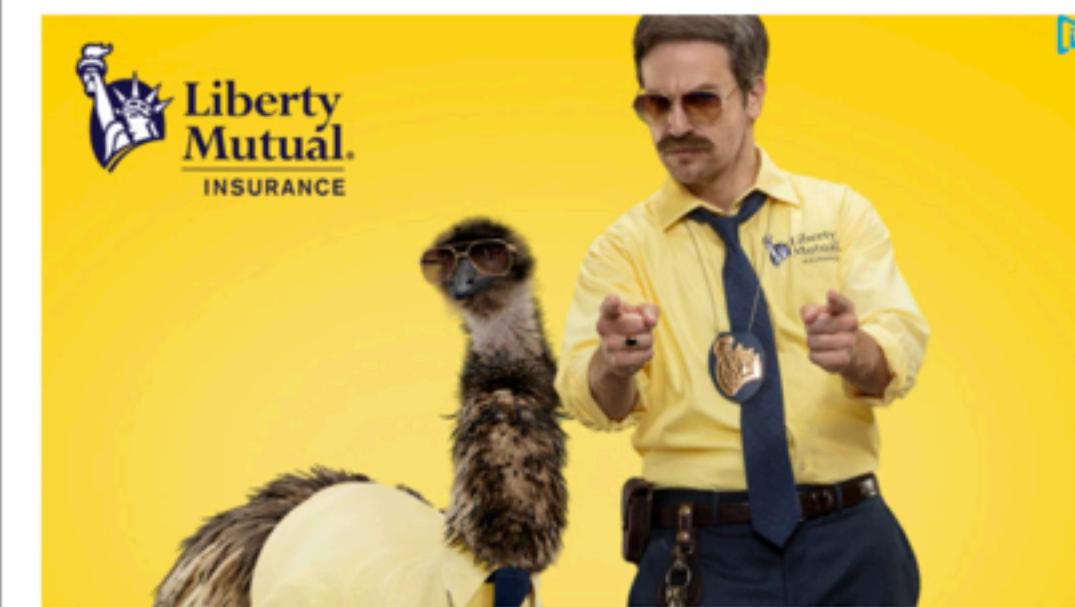
The Americas

## Socialists claim massive victory in Bolivia, one year after being ousted



Exit polls on Oct. 19 in Bolivia declared Luis Arce, the hand-picked candidate of former leader Evo Morales, the victor in the country's presidential election. (AP)

Advertisement



# Evo also returns

## Evo Morales Makes Triumphant Return To Bolivia

November 9, 2020 · 3:35 PM ET



PHILIP REEVES



Former Bolivian President Evo Morales (middle) greets supporters during a welcoming ceremony after he crossed the border from Argentina after one year in exile on Monday, in Villazón, Bolivia.

# Return of MAS



Do you *need* to have alternation of parties or even presidents for a healthy democracy?

Why would Morales be resistant to a MAS successor?