

absent, the Assembly illegally promulgated a draft constitution whose final approval will signal whether the MAS has succeeded in consolidating a new political and social order in Bolivia.

These are also events in a narrative stretching back to at least 2000, when social movements mobilized to prevent the privatization of water supplies in the city of Cochabamba and also later in El Alto, a settlement overlooking La Paz that is home to many migrants from rural areas. Two years later, the social movements, including the highly organized coca growers (*cocaleros*) in the Chapare region of the department of Cochabamba, persuaded large numbers

of their fellow Bolivians to cast ballots for *cocalero* leader Evo Morales. In the presidential election later that year, Morales—a former deputy whom a legislative majority had stripped of his congressional seat earlier in 2002—nearly outpolled first-place finisher Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, an ex-president who was running as the candidate of the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR). Three-and-a-half years (and two presidents) later, Morales won 53.7 percent, dispensing with the need to hold a runoff in Congress. Armed with a majority in the lower house and a near-majority in the Senate, Morales swiftly acted upon his mandate to nationalize the country's bountiful natural-gas deposits, reverse market-friendly policies, and convene elections for a Constituent Assembly to "refound" Bolivia.

This radical turn to the left put a definitive end to Bolivia's fifteen-year stint as a "model country" that combined democracy with market-friendly policies. Between 2003 and 2008, the Bolivian political system fell from the 31st to the 74th slot on the Bertelsmann Management Index, a composite measure of the success of 116 political systems to advance an agreed-upon set of development goals within a stable democratic framework.² Morales's election also marked the start of yet another revolutionary experiment in one of South America's poorest countries, and one in

MAP—BOLIVIA'S DEPARTMENTS

