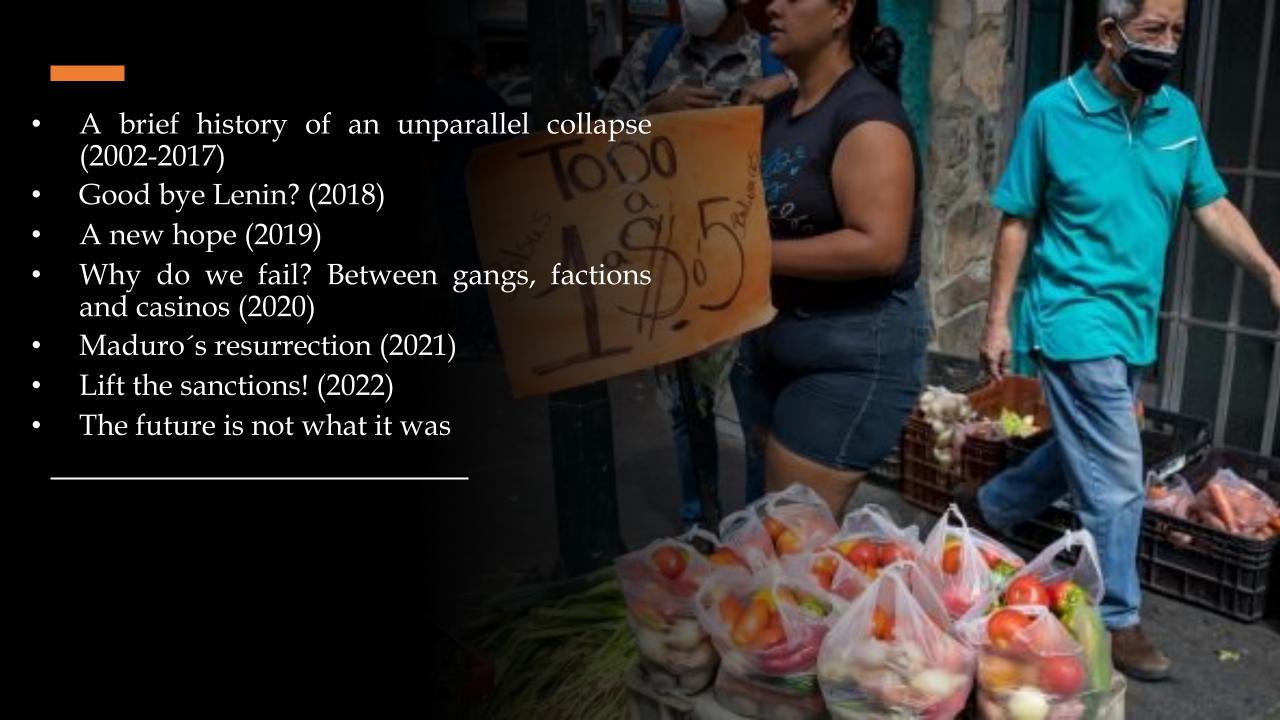
Venezuela: rise and collapse of a democratic transition

Yale Law School March 30, 2022

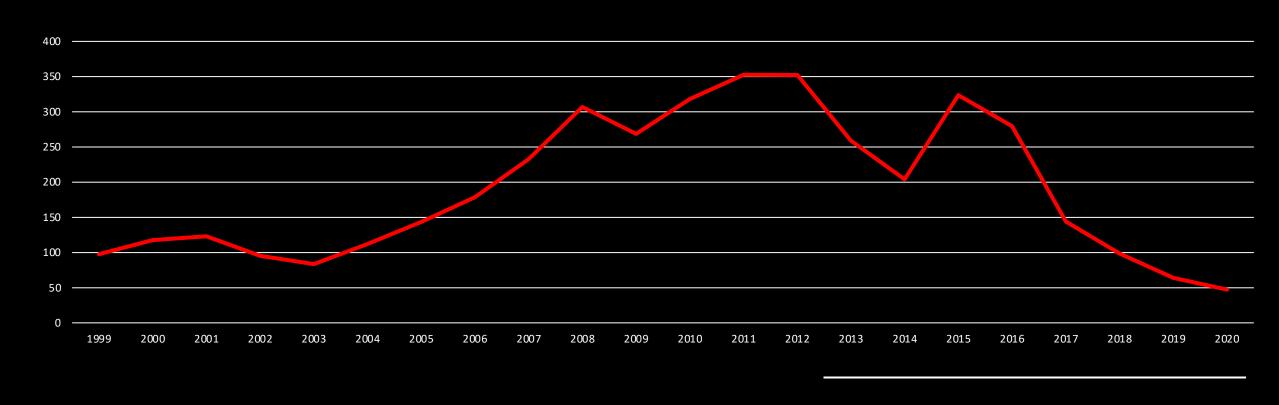
José Ignacio Hernández G. Growth Lab at Harvard Kennedy School





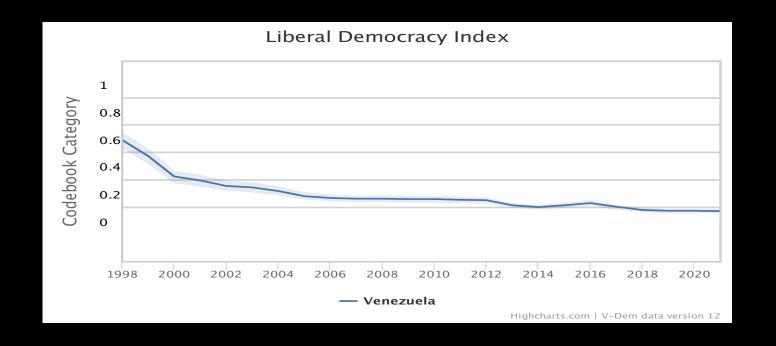


A brief history of an unparallel collapse (2002-2017)



Venezuela GDP 1999-2020, current prices, USD billions
Source: IMF

A brief history of an unparallel collapse (2002-2017)

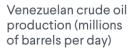


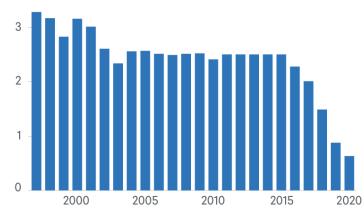
Venezuela Liberal Democracy Index 1999-2021 Source: V-DEM

A brief history of an unparallel collapse (2002-2017)

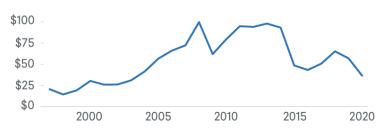
Oil production and price Source: CFR

Venezuela: From Oil Boom to Bust





Price of crude oil per barrel (West Texas Intermediate)



Note: Data from 2020 represents the average over the first six months of the year.

Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; U.S. Energy Information Administration.

COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

A brief history of an unparallel collapse (2002-2017)

Venezuela humanitarian crisis of migrants and refugees
Source: R4V

Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants in the World

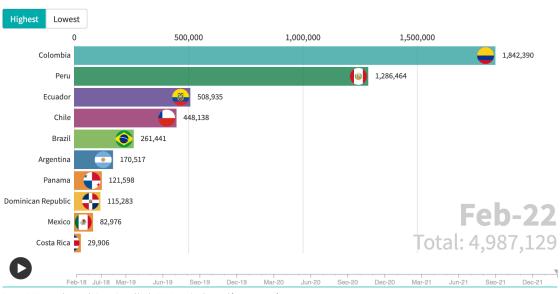
6,041,690

Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean

4,992,215

Last updated 8 February 2022

EVOLUTION OF THE FIGURES IN THE R4V 17 COUNTRIES



Source: R4V Venezuelan population registered by the R4V. Reporting dates and frequency vary from country to country.

Good bye Lenin? (2018)

• The destruction of the oil production and the state collapse reduced the capability of the Government to enforce centralized controls

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- In the "areas of limited statehood" emerged informal institutions, such as a de facto dollarization (the local currency lost its functions due to hyperinflation)
- The Government tolerated private imports
- The increasing economic informalization changed the image of empty shelves
- With imported candies also came illicit financial activities (illicit mining activities, money laundering)
- Imported candies didn't alleviate poverty and inequality

A new hope (2019)

- In 2019 the speaker of the National Assembly was recognized as interim president by approximately 60 countries
 - US imposed sanctions and criminal indictments
 - Maduro was deemed as a criminal regime, responsible for gross human rights violations
 - The de facto dollarization process, though, continues its path

A new hope (2019)

Myths

- Guaidó declared himself president
- The opposition adopted a zero-sum strategy
- The opposition threatened Maduro with criminal actions
- The opposition abandoned domestic pressure

Reality

- The National Assembly appointed Guaidó as president
- The strategy was based in powersharing mechanism
- Transition justice as a core component
- The domestic pressure continued



Why do we fail?

Gangs

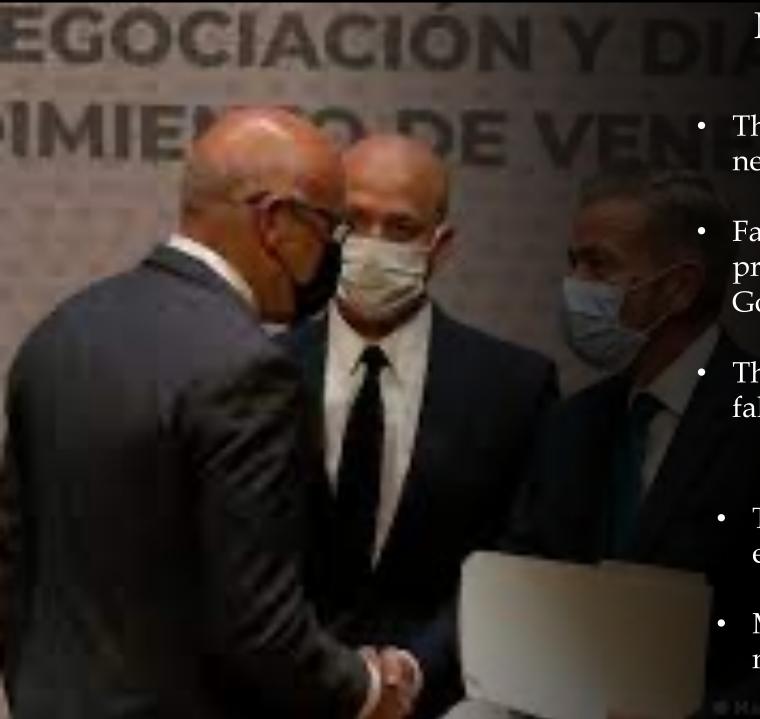
• The transition was based on political incentives, but Maduro was mostly a criminal organization

Casinos

• The political narrative ignored the economic transformation

Factions

- The opposition never had a unitary strategy
- Internal factions hindered the Interim Government action



Maduro's resurrection (2021)

- The stalled transition led to suggest a new start for the opposition
- Factions within the opposition proposed to eliminate the Interim Government and recognize Maduro
- The de facto dollarization created a false image of pro-market policies

- The 2021 regional and municipal elections were seen as an opportunity
- Mexico talks renovated the hope for a new political understanding

Maduro's resurrection (2021)

- The regional and municipal elections failed (42% turnout, Maduro won all but three states)
- The EU EOM ratified the structural deficiencies of the electoral system

The Barinas effect?

- The opposition won (twice) in Barinas, Chávez native state
- Maduro displaced the *chavista* elite in Barinas
- Maduro stripped off the main competencies of the Barinas governor
- The Barinas victory is not a genuine step towards democratization



Lift the sanctions! (2022)

- A "new (partial) political arrangement" is based on Maduro's recognition, waiting for the 2024 presidential election
- Sanctions, thus, should be lifted
- The Ukraine invasion created the hope of a return of the Venezuelan oil

- But Mexico negotiations are suspended....
- Maduro's main concerns: avoid foreign and international criminal investigations

The future is not what it was

- There are two opposed strategies in the opposition:
 - ✓ Recognize Maduro, lift the sanctions and wait until the 2024 presidential election
 - ✓ Maintain the status quo of the Interim Government
- Neither of those strategies can promote a credible transition path
- Without pressures and incentives, Maduro will not tolerate free and fair elections (not now, not in 2024)
- The 2019 transition strategy failed: maintaining the status quo will not change that
- Waiting until 2024 to promote a transition is not an option: the humanitarian crisis cannot wait

The future is not what it was

- Avoid partial solutions: work on a comprehensive and feasible plan
- A multilateral approach towards Venezuela
- Neither vengeance, not impunity: the transitional justice and human rights victims' reparations
- The EU EOM has a guide to restore electoral integrity conditions
- The Venezuelan opposition must be deeply restructured: too many factions, too little leadership
- A humanitarian framework regarding sanctions
- The Interim Government should be preserved with a brand-new organization, as part of the incentives towards transition