

Unity is
Strength?

BOLIVA



MUNUUC 35

Model United Nations of the University of Chicago

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CHAIR LETTER

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC 35! My name is Hugh Barringer, and I will be serving as your chair for Unity is Strength: Bolivia, 1978. As your chair, I will be guiding debate throughout the conference, first in the GA sessions, where you will form blocs, draft and ratify a constitution, and then in crisis sessions, when you will be writing directives responding to rapidly-evolving crises.

Outside of MUNUC, I am double majoring in Business Economics and Political Science. I am also involved with ChoMUN, UChicago's college MUN conference; The Blue Chips, an investment club; and I have ridden the entire metro system in Chicago in one run.

I hope that you are as excited as I am to simulate a crucial time in Bolivian history, where you will hopefully lead your country out of dictatorship and towards a better future. Please, always remember to be respectful to both your fellow delegates and the historical material with which we will wrestle. Furthermore, please keep in mind the dark recent past that the country is emerging from and do not return to the practices of that time period. I am confident that we will have an awesome committee where everyone will have a great time and learn a lot.

Best,

Hugh Barringer

hbarringer@uchicago.edu

CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC! I'm Juan, and I am so excited to be your crisis director for MUNUC 35. I am a second year majoring in Political Science and minoring in Human Rights and Astronomy. As the name of the conference implies, I am doing so here at the University of Chicago. This will be my first time helping out in MUNUC, and I could not be any more hyped for it. Fun might or might not come to die at UChicago, but Hugh and I hope to revive it for your MUNUC experience.

Here are a few things about me: I am from Colombia although I have lived in the United States since 2013. I absolutely love aviation and soccer, so if anyone would be inclined to have a chat about either topic during any breaks, I am always down for it. On campus, I am also involved, among other clubs, in the Society of International Relations and the Organization of Latin American Students.

I've been doing MUN since my freshman year of high school, and I have loved every aspect of it. MUN has always struck out to me not just because the themes of this activity match what I study, but because of its ability to bring people together to craft solutions. Through debate, negotiation, and delegate-led twists and turns, I find MUN to be the awesome place to see so many creative solutions blossom, and as a Crisis Director, to ensure you guys have the right tools to maximize all of this; and, in the context of this committee, to address the many challenges Bolivia faced throughout its history.

I trust you all to be respectful to both each other and to the possibly sensitive events we will be discussing in this region of the world. Remember the events we will be enacting affected very real people with real consequences. But overall, Hugh's and my goal is to provide you all with a committee that is as interesting as it is fun and educational. With that in mind, if you have any questions regarding the committee or its expectations, feel free to email us! For now, can't wait to get this show on the road with you all!

Sincerely,

Juan Leal-Mendoza

jlealmendoza@uchicago.edu

COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AND MECHANICS

Our committee is a hybrid, which means that it will be divided into two phases. The first phase is the constitution writing phase, which will last two sessions and follow a traditional, general assembly format. During this phase, delegates will be tasked with drafting a new constitution for Bolivia. Debate will begin with opening speeches, where delegates will communicate their positions on key issues to the rest of the committee. After the speeches, delegates will debate issues surrounding the constitution through a series of moderated and unmoderated caucuses, which they will motion for with some guidance from the chair. Throughout the constitution writing phase, the chair will ask for working drafts of constitutions to ensure that drafts are completed by the end of the second session.

While writing constitutions, delegates will be expected to form alliances (called “blocs”) with other delegates and compromise on ideas. While there will be no specific mechanism, delegates are strongly encouraged to mix and match ideas forwarded by different blocs. In their constitutions, delegates will have to address issues such as the structure of the government, the rights guaranteed to citizens, recognition of Bolivia’s large and diverse indigenous population, moving beyond and recognizing Bolivia’s recent history of military dictatorship, and Bolivia’s place in the world. Delegates will have to submit completed constitutions by the end of the second session. The chair will accept a maximum of two constitutions. The third session will open with the introduction of the constitutions. The chair will distribute copies of the constitutions so that delegates will fully understand all of their options. The leaders of the blocs will then give speeches introducing their constitutions, after which they will have to answer delegate questions. After this is finished, each bloc will select a delegate to give a final 1-minute speech, giving them one last chance to make the argument for their constitution. After this, delegates will vote on all of the constitutions through a system of approval voting. The chair will ask delegates to vote either for or against each constitution. The constitution that receives more votes will come into effect immediately. The vote that a delegate casts with regards to one constitution will have no impact on how they can vote on the other one, meaning a delegate could vote in favor of both constitutions.

During the first two sessions, delegates will also write one note per session. They are strongly encouraged to use these notes to build resources to use in the crisis-focused sessions, which will begin as soon as delegates pass their constitution. During the crisis section, delegates will have to solve a wide variety of challenges, which will be communicated to them through crisis breaks. They will do so by collaborating to write shorter documents called directives. The crises will come from a variety of places, including directly from the backroom, specifics of the delegates' constitution, and successful delegate arcs. This section will run until the end of the conference.

TOPIC: UNITY IS STRENGTH? BOLIVIA, 1978

History of the Problem

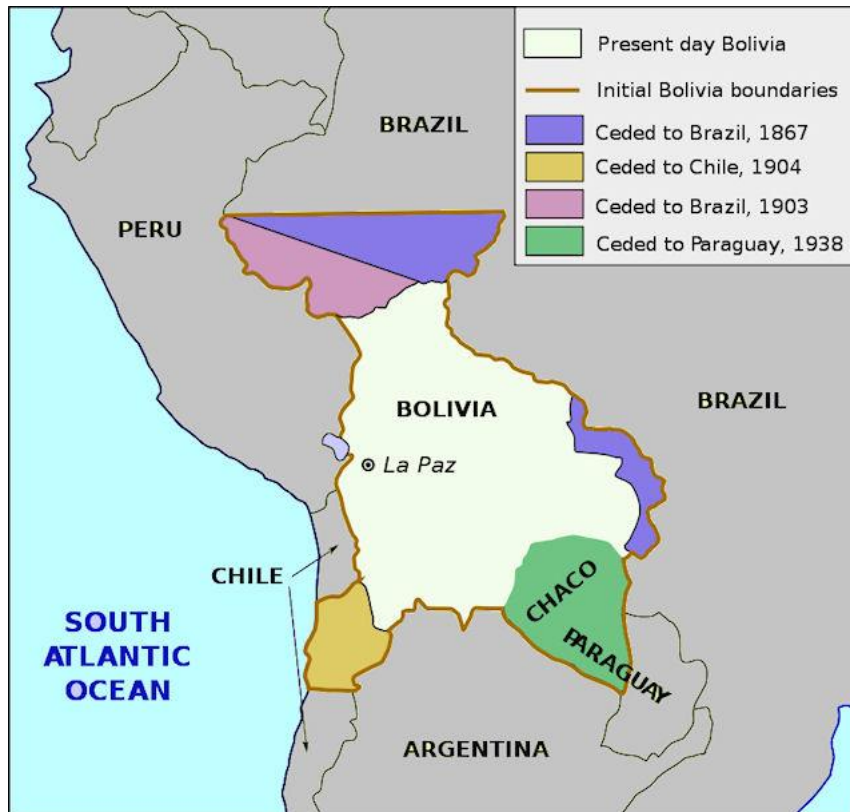


Fig. 1: Map Bolivia Territorial Loss¹

Early history and colonization

Bolivia's history is rich and diverse, and it begins much earlier than when the country itself was founded. Civilization in the region can be traced back to the 7th century, when the Tiwanaku empire controlled the highlands that encompass modern Peru and Bolivia.² This dominion did not last forever, and by the 1200s the local Aymara kingdoms became the main civilization in the region.³ However, eventually the Quechua-speaking Incan empire established a central authority, which

¹ Map Bolivia Territorial Loss courtesy of Wikimedia, 3 May 2010.

² "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

³ "Historia Del Pueblo Aymara." *Aymara Uta*, 1 Jan. 1995, <https://aymara.org/1995/historia-aymara/>.

governed the central Pacific coast of the continent. Though the Empire had an Emperor at helm, it was significantly backed by local administrators, which allowed a degree of local autonomy.⁴ This was particularly true among the conquered Aymara peoples, as they were one of the strongest kingdoms the Incas conquered. Thus, the Aymara retained their identity despite Incan attempts to force the adoption of Quechua. This allowed for Aymara to be one of the most spoken native languages in modern day Bolivia, alongside Quechua.⁵

Life in the region would change dramatically in the 16th century as Spanish Conquistadors arrived in South America. First contact between these two worlds rapidly devolved into a war of conquest by the Spanish, led by Francisco Pizarro. He took advantage of Incan political turmoil and conquered the Incan capital of Cuzco by 1533.⁶ As a result, Bolivian indigenous groups were forced to serve their new imperialists, and European rule was solidified in the region for the next few decades. During most of Spanish colonial rule, modern-day Bolivia was administered under the Viceroyalty of Peru (known specifically as Upper Peru), but it soon became a critical region in Spain's growing empire. Massive silver mines were discovered in Potosi and Oruru, which became both the largest in the world and the lifeblood of the Spanish Empire's wealth.⁷ Settlements such as La Paz and Cochabamba were established to supply the rapidly expanding silver trade. However, this came at a terrible human cost: indigenous peoples were forced to work in the dangerous mines under the *mita* system, as the Spanish worked to culturally monopolize Bolivia.⁸

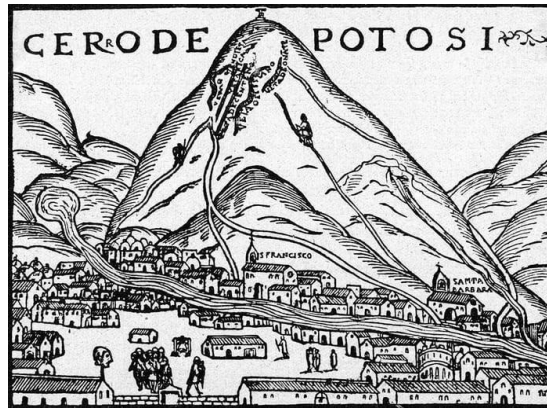
⁴ Cartwright, Mark. "Inca Government." *World History Encyclopedia*, World History Publishing, 21 Oct. 2015, https://www.worldhistory.org/Inca_Government/.

⁵ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁶ Cartwright, Mark. "Pizarro & the Fall of the Inca Empire." *World History Encyclopedia*, World History Publishing, 1 July 2016, <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/915/pizarro--the-fall-of-the-inca-empire/>.

⁷ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁸ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.



Potosí the first image in Europe Pedro Cieza de León 1553⁹

A few years later, Bolivia became the epicenter of economic and social malaise felt throughout the Spanish Empire due to hyperinflation caused by the overproduction of silver.¹⁰ At a socio-political level, Native and *Criollo* (American-born colonists with European ascendancy) resentment grew stronger, which made Spanish rulers become more repressive. The first breaking point came through a series of rebellions in the 1770s and 80s, mainly featuring Tupac Amaru II's rebellion, which, despite its eventual failure at the hands of a brutal Spanish response, was essential in sparking further pro-independence sentiment in the overextended Viceroyalty of Peru.¹¹ It would take time, but the locals found this opportunity in Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808, as the overthrow of the old leadership in Madrid and the rejection of the new puppet leadership allowed a unique opportunity for pro-independence forces. The resentment of Spanish rule found its drums of war through the Chuquisaca and La Paz rebellions in 1809, which began the struggle for Bolivian independence, and the beginning of Latin American wars for independence.¹² This war, however, was more akin to a series of bloody, stretched out campaigns as the Spanish sent reinforcements from Peru while pro-independence fighters from Argentina fought a guerilla war in the highlands.¹³ By 1817 it seemed the Spanish would ultimately gain the upper hand, especially as pro-independence forces became

⁹ Potosí the first image in Europe Pedro Cieza de León retrieved from Wikimedia; courtesy of A.Skromnitsky. Uploaded October 18, 2009

¹⁰ Fischer, David Hackett. "The Great Wave." *Internet Archive*, Oxford University Press, 1 Jan. 1996, <https://archive.org/details/greatwavepricereofisc>.

¹¹ "Epoca Colonial: La Independencia." *Embajada De Bolivia En Canadá*, Estado Plurinacional De Bolivia, 6 Mar. 2018, <http://bolivianembassy.ca/bolivia/historia/epoca-colonial-la-independencia/>.

¹² "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

¹³ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

divided between rebels led by legendary South American liberator Simon Bolivar, and more neutral Conservative *Criollos* led by General Pedro Antonio de Olañeta; all the while, there were debates on whether an independent Upper Peru should become a part of either Peru or Argentina.¹⁴ However, a combination of Bolivar's decisive victory in the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824 (with the help of General Antonio Jose de Sucre) and the death of de Olañeta in 1825 was enough to decisively turn the tables in favor of independence forces, and a decided Upper Peruvian legislature declared the independence of Bolivia on August 6, 1825.¹⁵



Simón Bolívar¹⁶

¹⁴ Idib.

¹⁵ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

¹⁶ *Bolívar* retrieved from Wikimedia.



Antonio José de Sucre¹⁷

Independence and the young republic

Independence did not mean the end of Bolivia's challenges, but rather a new chapter of them. Economically, the country's richness in natural resources was betrayed by a backwards economic situation at the time of independence. The overextended silver mining enterprise that left the Spanish economy saturated was gone for good, resulting in the country being plagued with abandoned mines and little market demand to change that.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Bolivia's economy remained stagnant compared to neighboring countries due to a lack of infrastructure to export what other resources it could get its hands on. In turn, Bolivia's government became dependent on taxing the mostly Native peasant general population, which helped further the country's regressive economic status for much of the 19th century.¹⁹

Economic troubles accompanied an undeveloped political apparatus. Simon Bolivar became the country's first president, through which he promulgated the proposed *Vitalic Constitution*: a constitution more-or-less based on the American Constitution, with an executive, judicial, and a

¹⁷ Antonio José de Sucre painted in 1895 and retrieved from Wikimedia.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

tricameral legislative branch, extended suffrage to the people, but with Roman Catholicism as the State Church.²⁰ This Constitution was approved by the national legislature, but ultimately, never used as General Antonio Jose de Sucre succeeded Bolivar before the end of 1825, as the latter left the country.²¹ What followed was a period of rule by military strongmen, with different degrees of power and centralization of power, a pattern that would go all the way into the late 19th century. This included the short-lived Peru-Bolivia confederation, which was established by Andrés de Santa Cruz in 1836 but broken up in 1839 by Chilean and nationalist Peruvian forces.²²

Socio-economically speaking, the country had much nation building to do. Bolivia's independence was led by a *criollo* elite, meaning that early governments had minimal representation from Natives and other large demographic groups in the country.²³ This resulted in a lack of accountability for policies that disproportionately affected the lower classes (such as the previously stated regressive tax policies), and a systematic prioritization of developing regions that were favored by the *criollo* elite, such as the Altiplano. Meanwhile, the country went at odds with the Catholic Church when President Sucre confiscated its property in the country and exiled many of its members (a major breakaway from the ideas of Bolivar's Vitalic Constitution), creating a rift with Conservative and Religious sectors of the country.²⁴ Finally, Bolivia's large territory (from the northeastern Amazonian Acre region to the southwestern coastal Litoral Department) and its small population presented a decentralization problem, as the central government struggled to assert its authority throughout its vast territory, and allowing some de-facto decentralization of power, which favored the continued existence of many of the diverse groups in the country.²⁵

²⁰ "La Constitución Vitalicia." *Educa*, 17 Nov. 2014, <https://www.educa.com.bo/independencia-de-bolivia/la-constitucion-vitalicia>.

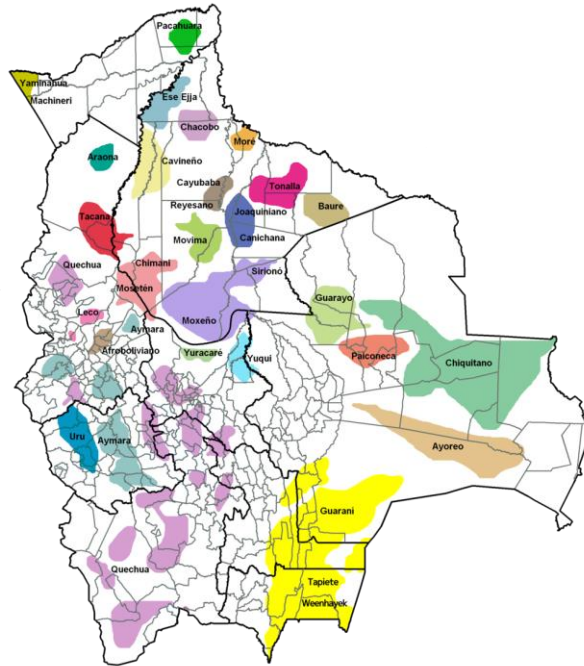
²¹ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

²² "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ "Epoca Colonial: La Independencia." *Embajada De Bolivia En Canadá*, Estado Plurinacional De Bolivia, 6 Mar. 2018, <http://bolivianembassy.ca/bolivia/historia/epoca-colonial-la-independencia/>.

²⁵ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.



Map of Locations of Indigenous Settlements in Bolivia²⁶

Coastline, Chaco and Coups: The three C's of Bolivian political shocks

The year 1879 brought with it Bolivia's arguably greatest national shock. Tensions with Chile had been escalating since the 1840s over commercial exploitation rights of mineral reserves in Bolivia's nitrate-rich Litoral department.²⁷ As a result, war began in 1879 after Chile occupied the city of Antofagasta in response to Bolivia increasing taxes on a Chilean mining company operating in the region.²⁸ Bolivia found itself with Peru as an ally (having signed a secret alliance beforehand), but Chilean victories in both the land and the sea proved decisive in the war. Chile signed a victorious armistice with Peru in 1883 and with Bolivia in 1884, which gave Chile sovereignty over Bolivia's coastal department of Litoral.²⁹ It wasn't until 1904 that a formal peace deal was signed through the

²⁶ Map of Locations of Indigenous Settlements in Bolivia retrieved from Wikimedia.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Berg, Stephanie van den, and Aislinn Laing. "World Court: Chile Not Forced to Negotiate over Bolivia Sea Access." *Reuters*, Thomson Reuters, 1 Oct. 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bolivia-chile-worldcourt/world-court-chile-not-forced-to-negotiate-over-bolivia-sea-access-idUSKCN1MB2YR>.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship.³⁰ However, its title is a misnomer: Bolivia's flag still includes ten stars representing its ten departments even though the country only has nine, with the final star representing its former province, a traumatic open wound to national pride that is still a source of Bolivian nationalist rancor.³¹

In many ways, the defeat was a socio-political earthquake. The ruling elites of the country were distressed as mining operations in the country were forced to pivot from nitrate to silver and then toward tin; by 1900, tin exports accounted for more than half of Bolivia's income.³² The tin industry became Bolivia's main industry, led by new mining barons with a more cosmopolitan outlook. This new economic prowess, combined with the discrediting of military rule after the defeat against Chile, led Bolivia to its first true period of civilian rule, starting with President Narciso Campero in 1880.³³ This new political era was defined by the Conservative and Liberal parties; the former was associated with the silver producing elites in Chuquisaca (modern day Sucre), while the latter based their support on the tin producing elites from La Paz.³⁴ Both parties had a similar economic outlook but mainly diverged in social policies, an unsurprising remark when one considers that both parties represented the vision of the economic elites instead of the country's peasant, native class.³⁵ Bolivia's new civilian rule period wasn't procedurally perfect either, as an initial Conservative dominance was overturned by the Federal Revolution of 1899, through which the Liberals seized power.³⁶ Bolivia's time under Liberal rule (primarily under President Ismael Montes) was a time of relative calm and economic growth derived from tin exports, which acted as a catalyst for the collapse of the Conservative Party. However, it was marred by the loss of the rubber-rich Acre territory, when a Brazilian-backed rebellion proved to be too much for the Bolivian government, resulting in the sale of the region to Brazil in 1903. The money from the sale was partially used to develop Bolivia's lacking railway infrastructure, which contributed to the period of relative calm in

³⁰ Ames, Edward Winslow. "Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Chile and Bolivia - Translation." UW-Madison Libraries, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 28 Mar. 1905, <https://images.library.wisc.edu/FRUS/EFacs/1905/reference/frus.frus1905.i0011.pdf>.

³¹ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

³² "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

the nation.³⁷ Ultimately, Liberal rule ended much in the same way it rose through power: a bloodless coup in 1920, courtesy of the reorganized upper and middle class conservative elements reorganized under the recently formed Republican Party.³⁸

Republican Party rule returned political uncertainty to Bolivia. Contrary to previous Liberal and Conservative dominance periods, the Republicans weren't even unified as a party. The party was divided into three splinters, each defined by the personality of their leaders rather than ideological differences: the Republican Socialists under Bautista Saavedera, the Republican Nationalists led by Hernando Siles Reyes, and Daniel Salamanca's Genuine Republicans.³⁹ The rivalry, particularly between Saavedera and Salamanca, dominated Bolivian politics through the 1920s, but climaxed in 1930 after a coup backed by the Liberals and Genuine Republicans removed the Republicans from power, and led to Salamanca's rise to the presidency in 1931.

Salamanca's presidency was nothing short of catastrophic. While the Genuine Republicans were aided in their rise to power partially due to the collapse of the Bolivian economy because of the start of the Great Depression in 1929, they were then extremely unsuccessful in combating the downfall in economic production and investment, which worsened when the Liberals abandoned their support of Salamanca.⁴⁰ Seeing his mandate disintegrated, Salamanca resorted to ramping up tensions with Paraguay over the disputed Chaco Boreal region in order to achieve a rally around the flag effect. These tensions led to border clashes, and eventually, war. Salamanca believed that Bolivia's larger and European-trained army would win the Chaco War (as it is known now) and conquer the disputed territory. However, the Paraguayan army's better organization and tactics won them decisive victories which led to a humiliating end to the war in 1935 for Bolivia. Paraguay escaped with even more territory than it originally claimed.⁴¹ The war's end brought tumultuous change to the political system in the country, catalyzing the spread of far-left and far-right ideas as officers became

³⁷ Lambert, Tim. "A Brief History of Bolivia." *Local Histories*, 14 Mar. 2021, <https://localhistories.org/a-brief-history-of-bolivia/>.

³⁸ Arnade, Charles W. "Historia De Bolivia." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Duke University Press, 1 Aug. 1956, <https://read.dukeupress.edu/hahr/article/36/3/399/161533/Historia-de-Bolivia>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁴¹ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

disillusioned with establishment politics; it also brought about the end of decades of continuous civilian rule through a military coup led by Colonel David Toro.⁴²



Bolivian Political Map⁴³

The arrival of populist politics and Modern History

David Toro's junta brought important changes to the country. Through his "military socialism" policy, Standard Oil assets in the country were nationalized, labor codes were updated, and a more socially progressive constitution was enacted. All of his changes were upheld (and to a degree, masterminded) by his successor, German Busch.⁴⁴ The 1938 Constitution would also represent an important step in the status of natives in Bolivia, as it was the first one to recognize the legal existence of indigenous communities, and the State's duty to provide them with education.⁴⁵ These political changes came in tandem with the development of new, anti-establishment political parties. Chief among these were the Marxist Party of the Revolutionary Left (PIR) and the middle-class based and quasi-fascist Nationalist Revolutionary Party (MNR).⁴⁶ The PIR tried and failed to find ruling partners throughout this period, and it eventually dissolved itself into the Bolivian Communist Party.

⁴² "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁴³ Bolivian Political Map retrieved from Wikimedia.

⁴⁴ Idib.

⁴⁵ "Bolivia: Constitución Política De 1938, 30 De Octubre De 1938." *Lexivox*, Portal Jurídico Libre, LexiVox, 22 Oct. 2015, <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-CPE-19381020.xhtml>.

⁴⁶ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

The MNR, however, had an identity crisis after it backed the rise of Colonel Gualberto Villaroel to the presidency. Villaroel became despised and eventually executed due to his alleged fascist sympathies.⁴⁷ The MNR rebranded itself from its far right sympathies toward a populist movement with support from mine workers, indigenous groups and middle class mestizos, allowing it to have a monumental impact in Bolivia's political memory.

In a rejection of traditional parties and military rule, the MNR launched a coup in April of 1952 with help from its vast working class coalition and sympathetic members of the National Police. MNR's leader, Víctor Paz Estenssoro, was consequently catapulted to the presidency in Bolivia's National Revolution.⁴⁸ Economically, the Revolution led to the redistribution of agricultural land, nationalization of silver and tin mines, and the subsequent weakening of the power of the mining elite through greater worker empowerment in the nationalized industries, and education reforms fundamentally transformed the base of Bolivia's modernizing economy.⁴⁹ Socially, Estenssoro legitimized the indigenous population as a permanent political force through the aforementioned land redistribution, the end of the borderline servile labor codes, and the distribution of weapons to these groups.⁵⁰ Estenssoro's successor, Hernan Siles Zuazo, watered down some of the most radical economic reforms, including privatizing certain sections of nationalized industries, in order to combat rampant inflation, all done with considerable economic aid from the United States.⁵¹ Siles was succeeded by Estenssoro himself, however, this time he wasn't as lucky as in his first term. A combination of continuous economic problems, the collapse of peasant and middle class support of the MNR, and Estenssoro's attempt to run for a third term resulted in yet another military coup in 1964. This time led by Vice-President René Barrientos, it ended Bolivia's National Revolution, but not before it showed lower-class Bolivians they could have a voice in the political and economic system.⁵²

⁴⁷ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

⁴⁸ *Idib.*

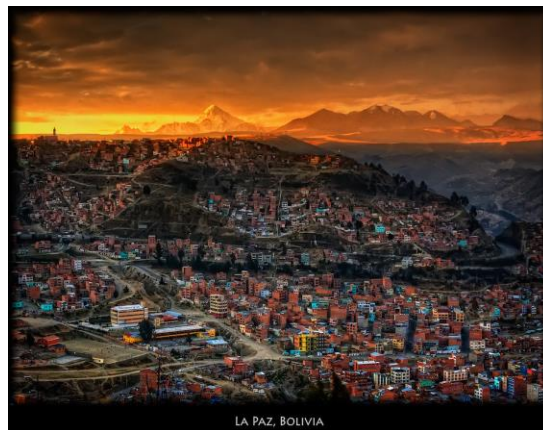
⁴⁹ Morales, Waltrud Q. "A Brief History of Bolivia." Internet Archive, New York : Facts On File, 1 Jan. 1970, <https://archive.org/details/briefhistoryofboooooomora/page/196/mode/2up>.

⁵⁰ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁵¹ *Idib.*

⁵² *Idib.*

Just like that, military rule returned to Bolivia, but with a changed political landscape. A string of military regimes followed until 1978, with most of them emphasizing internal order, modernizing the economy (particularly the mining sector), and upholding Bolivian sovereignty.⁵³ Legitimacy of military governments was sustained primarily by strong economic growth (guided by yet another rise in global mineral prices), and some military/political victories to retain the support of their peasant and conservative base, chief of these victories being the killing of legendary Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara by Bolivian troops after a failed rural uprising attempt.⁵⁴ Most of the military leaders during this time were associated with right-wing politics, but two leaders, Alfred Ovando Candia and Juan Jose Torres, were rare Latin American left wing military dictators. The former nationalized American Gulf Oil Company holdings in the country, while the latter attempted to establish a Soviet-style National Assembly.⁵⁵ Ultimately, this left-wing military movement was noticed by forces both home and abroad, so Torres was removed in a bloody coup led by Colonel Hugo Banzer in 1971. Banzer's infamous regime brought the most repression the country had ever seen: brutal crackdowns on civilian and worker opposition, full suspension of civil rights, and forced military involvement in economic activities (often by gunpoint) would lead Bolivia to an unprecedented era of tyranny, with seemingly little hope for a return of democracy.⁵⁶



La Paz, Bolivia⁵⁷

⁵³ "History of Bolivia." *One World Nations Online*, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Bolivia-history.htm>.

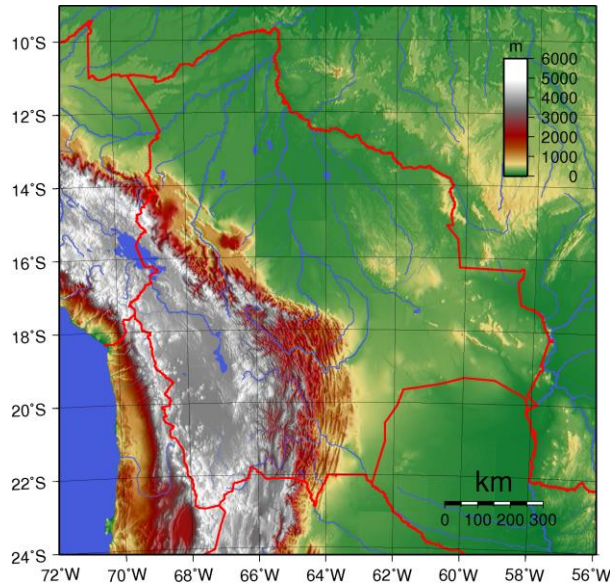
⁵⁴ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ La Paz, Bolivia retrieved Wikimedia.

Statement of the Problem



Bolivian Topography⁵⁸

The geographical and geopolitical situation

Much of Bolivia's situation can be attributed to its geography. Bolivia is renowned (or infamous) for its landlocked status, but this does not detract from its geographic richness. Its western regions are primarily mountainous and contain the most densely populated and mineral rich regions of Bolivia. This area shares mountainous boundaries with Chile and Peru, which for the latter includes the unique Lake Titicaca. Rainforests abound in the northeast, while the southeast is filled with grasslands (primarily used for agriculture). The eastern regions border Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina. This geographic division between the east and the west represents the dichotomy of modern Bolivia: the growing eastern agricultural regions (centered around Santa Cruz) are slowly growing in importance compared to the more traditionally powerful minery based west, centered around La Paz and Sucre. At the same time, all share vast cultural and resource diversity.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Bolivian Topography retrieved from Wikimedia; courtesy of Sadalmelik; created on 12 June 2017.

⁵⁹ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

Bolivia is a member of many inter-american organizations, such as the defensive Rio Pact and the dialogue-based Organization of American States. Bolivia's commitment to these organizations has been chaotic at best with the constant government change at home. This change is best reflected in its difficult relationship with Chile, dating back to the 19th century. The two countries fought in the War of the Pacific, which resulted in Bolivia losing its coastal department of Litoral, a source of tensions to this day.⁶⁰ Yet, the Banzer regime tried to reach an agreement with Chile for a coastline. Under the agreement, Bolivia would have given Chile an equal amount of land and access to fresh water in exchange for sea access. However, this failed because of a 1929 agreement that gave Peru veto power over such land swaps. Peru objected because the deal would have lessened their maritime territory. After the deal fell through, relations with Chile soured again.⁶¹ Bolivian nationalism is still shaken by the loss of the coastline, so delegates will have to ask themselves what they see in future relations with Chile.

Bolivia has more than just one cranky neighbor to address, though. On November 28, 1975, military leaders from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay met secretly with the American CIA to set up what would be known as Operation Condor.⁶² Consequently, thousands of dissidents disappeared in Bolivia and other South American dictatorships with covert US backing. However, this relationship with the US changed following the election of Jimmy Carter. The United States provided significant financial support to Bolivia at the time and therefore had a great deal of leverage, cementing distrust of the Americans among Bolivians. Carter used said leverage to pressure Banzer to accept democratic elections, which ended his rule.⁶³ A successful Bolivian transition to democracy could embolden democratic movements in other South American countries, possibly backed by the United States, too. On the flipside, other Condor juntas were furious to see a

⁶⁰ Berg, Stephanie van den, and Aislinn Laing. "World Court: Chile Not Forced to Negotiate over Bolivia Sea Access." *Reuters*, Thomson Reuters, 1 Oct. 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bolivia-chile-worldcourt/world-court-chile-not-forced-to-negotiate-over-bolivia-sea-access-idUSKCN1MB2YR>.

⁶¹ Morales, Waltrud Q. "A Brief History of Bolivia." *Internet Archive, New York: Facts On File*, 1 Jan. 1970, <https://archive.org/details/briefhistoryofboooooomora/page/196/mode/2up>.

⁶² "Operation Condor." *CELS*, CELS Centro De Estudios Legales y Sociales, <http://www.cels.org.ar/especiales/plancondor/en/#una-asociacion-ilicita-para-reprimir-opositores>.

⁶³ "Telegram From the Embassy in Bolivia to the Department of State." *U.S. Department of State - Office of the Historian*, U.S. Department of State, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v24/d125>.

model for their downfall come to fruition, and worked to deny this from happening. As such, Bolivia's transitional era is multifaceted, and it is up to delegates to determine which path the country takes.

The Fall of the Banzer Regime and the winds of (constitutional) change

By the end of Hugo Banzer's Regime in 1978, the government faced unprecedented domestic and foreign pressure due to political and economic malaise. This meant the dictator had no option but to call for elections, set for July 9. Coalitions from all sides of the Bolivian political spectrum (establishment and insurgent alike) set their sights on becoming the first elected regime in the country in more than a decade. However, like many things with military regimes, this was a sham. The military regime's favorite candidate (Juan Pereda) won a majority of the vote in an electoral environment that was highly biased.⁶⁴ The nation's Electoral Court rapidly investigated the results, and annulled them based on the evidence of rigging they found. However, this would only be a short term outcome, as on July 21 the winner of the annulled vote, Juan Pereda again, launched a military coup in order to not lose his chance for the presidency (at any costs), in what was a death blow to the dream of a democratic Bolivia.⁶⁵

During his time, Pereda faced an immediate lack of domestic or foreign support due to the bluntly rigged and self-serving circumstances that surrounded his rise to power. Furious protestors from every walk of life and an immediate halt of American aid put the Pereda administration in an unsustainable position.⁶⁶ Despite giving vague promises for "future elections," he had even lost considerable military support, and Pereda was overthrown by another military coup on November 24.⁶⁷ This coup was launched by a group of pro-democracy military officers led by General David Padilla, who pledged to hold legitimate elections and "the Bolivia that was dreamt of by past generations."⁶⁸ Padilla's authentic call to return to democratic practices, coupled by a stance of returning to military neutrality in politics captured the attention of many new and old participants of Bolivian politics. With an institutional system that is barely existent, many believed the system must

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Morales, Waltrud Q. "A Brief History of Bolivia." *Internet Archive, New York: Facts On File*, 1 Jan. 1970, <https://archive.org/details/briefhistoryofboooooomora/page/196/mode/2up>.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Nohlen, Dieter. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook*. II, Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁶⁸ United Press International. "Coup Ousts Pereda." *The Albany Herald*, 24 Nov. 1978, pp. 10A.

be begun from scratch. And with this, legislators, governors, magnates, and social leaders have decided to come together and become delegates in the rewriting of Bolivia's future, one that truly seeks to achieve Strength Through Unity, as the often overlooked motto of the Republic hails.

The current political situation

The current Constitution of 1967 was passed under the rule of René Barrientos. It emphasizes Bolivia's "unitary" status, with a legislative, judicial and executive branch.⁶⁹ However, reality was a far cry from those promising texts. Barrientos had this Constitution passed in no small part due to his need to find any form of democratic authority after he had overthrown the former MNR government in a military coup.⁷⁰ Furthermore, ever since fellow Air Force Commander Alfredo Candia rose to the Presidency (and de facto military dictator), the 1967 Constitution had not been enforced as the military ruled by decree and whim, a pattern continued under Banzer.⁷¹ Delegates can be inspired by many documents, ranging from Bolivar's *Vitalic Constitution* to parliamentary government styles. However, with a lack of legitimate constitutional authority, it is the priority of delegates to write a new constitution that will not only stand on its feet but that will also be able to deter aspiring demagogues from undermining it.

The country's splintered gubernatorial situation is also reflected in its politics on the ground. There were four key coalitions in the botched 1978 general elections. The Nationalist Union of the People (UNP) is the right-wing, pro-military electoral coalition that represented most of the military, a key factor for its controversial success.⁷² It was led by then-presidential candidate (and now leader of Bolivia) Juan Pereda and vice-presidential candidate Alfredo Franco Guachalla (pro-military MNR defector), and it has a conservative base that supports it, primarily in the Santa Cruz region.

The Democratic and Popular Union (FUDP) is the broad left wing coalition, encompassing anywhere from moderate left-wing defectors of the MNR to former militant socialists (which, barring the

⁶⁹ "Bolivia: Constitución Política De 1967, 2 De Febrero De 1967." *Lexivox*, Portal Jurídico Libre, LexiVox, 22 Oct. 2015, <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-CPE-19670202.html>.

⁷⁰ "Constitutional History of Bolivia." *ConstitutionNet*, International IDEA, 2019, <https://constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-bolivia>.

⁷¹ *Idib*.

⁷² "Bolivian Election Campaign Begins to Stabilize." *Wikileaks*, 27 Feb. 1978, https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978LAPAZ01644_d.html.

Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left [PRIN], lost momentum after the death of Che Guevara). Regardless of background, this coalition is particularly popular among the lower classes as a backlash against the oppressive political and economic measures by consecutive right wing military regimes.⁷³ Their Presidential candidate is left wing MNR defector and former president Hernan Siles Zuazo, while their vice-presidential candidate was former Minister of Agriculture Edil Sandoval Morón.⁷⁴

The Democratic Alliance of National Revolution (ADRN) represented more or less the centrist democratic establishment, which meant the loyal factions of the MNR. Unsurprisingly, this coalition's presidential candidate was former president Víctor Paz Estenssoro (in his second attempt to run for a third term), and their vice-presidential candidate was Wálter Guevara Arce from the Authentic Revolutionary Party.⁷⁵ As the most direct successors of the MNR's revolution, they still carry strength in their union worker support, while their previously undisputed support from the middle class has moved towards the right and their former peasant supporters moved to the left. The final voting coalition was René Bernal Escalante's coalition of conservative Christian Democratic and Rural Interests party (the smallest party of the four). Ultimately, these four coalitions point toward a fragmented political state of affairs, where no party has enough popular support to form a true majority. In the 1978 general election, the UNP won a majority of the votes, although it is widely accepted this was only possible through electoral manipulation. Siles Zuazo's FUDP was the best of the rest, with 25% of the votes, while the ADRN and PRB coalitions received a measly 11% and 8% of the vote, respectively.⁷⁶

It is also important to point at the power of old institutions in this election, as most coalitions had either at least one military candidate involved, or someone with a previous relationship to the (now fragmented) MNR involved.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the military manipulated the election and its surrounding

⁷³ "La UDP Boliviana Propone UN Gobierno De Transición Cívico-Militar." *El País*, 28 May 1981, https://elpais.com/diario/1981/05/29/internacional/359935215_850215.html.

⁷⁴ Linarez, Iblin. "Murió Edil Sandóval Morón a Los 84 Años." *La Razón | Noticias De Bolivia y El Mundo*, 8 Sept. 2013, la-razon.com/nacional/2013/09/08/murio-edil-sandoval-moron-a-los-84-anos/.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Nohlen, Dieter. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook*. II, Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁷⁷ Krause, Charles. "Government-Backed Candidate Favored in Bolivian Election." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 9 July 1978, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/07/09/government-backed-candidate-favored-in-bolivian-election/7892c329-e15f-4f3d-a1d0-17dc1abc3957/>.

media to ensure Pereda, the military's candidate, had the most coverage, benefiting his candidacy.⁷⁸ The military will not go down if it is not outmaneuvered in the constitutional convention, but this is very well possible if the multiple democratic coalitions can work together, and see through the cracks exposed in the aborted elections. Delegates must find a way to curb down the military's power in politics, while ensuring that the latter does not attempt to undercut the consolidation of Bolivian democracy in this new era.

The socioeconomic situation

Bolivia is at an inflection point economically. The economy has grown throughout most of the military rule period since the 1960s, courtesy of successful social programs and an increase in prices of minerals such as tin. Successive right wing military regimes used this to push for hardline right-wing reforms, including the bloody suppression of organized labor and the privatization of mineral extraction companies.⁷⁹ Banzer then expanded these laissez-faire minded reforms, outlawing strikes and passing investment laws which both forced foreign companies to do business in Bolivia and increased the number of foreign loans. None of this considered how it would affect Bolivia's lower classes.⁸⁰ These short-term solutions (particularly from foreign loans) eventually became an explosive accumulator of debt and stagnation for the vulnerable Bolivian economy, which eventually crashed.

This was not the only economic legacy Banzer left in Bolivia. Banzer was also the first President to favor the agricultural producers in the eastern Santa Cruz de la Sierra department. Already a growing region before his presidency, favoritism toward that department led to remarkable growth of the cash crops and oil/gas production in the area.⁸¹ But again, this was only meant to favor the elites, and presented a new clash within elites: the old money of the Western mining elites (centered around La Paz) versus the new blood of the Eastern agricultural elites (centered in Santa Cruz). For now, mining remains the largest industry in Bolivia (led by the Mining Corporation of Bolivia, COMIBOL), but the

⁷⁸ Idib.

⁷⁹ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

⁸⁰ Morales, Waltrud Q. "A Brief History of Bolivia." *Internet Archive, New York: Facts On File*, 1 Jan. 1970, <https://archive.org/details/briefhistoryofboooooomora/page/196/mode/2up>.

⁸¹ Idib.

dynamism and momentum of the agricultural sector favor them long term.⁸² Both of these industries, however, share similar problems: chiefly outdated equipment and practices (caused by both corruption and inefficiency), volatility of market prices and demand for its sustainability, and retention of skilled workers. Both schools of thought employ a historical lack of hesitation to bribe their way out of their problems with officials when necessary. Delegates ought to push for economic reforms that regain the trust of both mistreated workers at home, and unsure potential partners abroad, while keeping Bolivia an economically competitive country.

Bolivia's social situation also presents a country at a crossroads. As of Bolivia's latest official census in 1976, the country has roughly 4,613,486 people.⁸³ However, foreign estimates put that number up to 5,344,946 as of 1978.⁸⁴ The 1976 census gives a clear image of Bolivia's plurinational nature, with up to 54% of the population identifying themselves as Indigenous, and only 33% of the population having Spanish as their maternal language, while Quechua is that for 35% of the population and Aimara is for 26%.⁸⁵ Additionally, 58.5% of Bolivians live in rural areas, while 41.5% live in urban areas, while religiously, the country's population is around 67% Roman Catholic.⁸⁶ Finally, 60% of the population is illiterate.⁸⁷

These are all important factors when contextualizing the social situation of Bolivia. President Estensorro's reforms during the MNR's Bolivian National Revolution empowered the Indigenous majority to be politically and economically active, however, they remain mostly passive as power is still entrenched in economic and military elites.⁸⁸ Any successful political movements would need to seek political support from this majority. Bolivia's pluralistic nature comes with strengths and weaknesses. For instance, a plethora of different cultural backgrounds may bring different,

⁸² Idib.

⁸³ "El Censo De 1976." *Educa*, 20 Nov. 2014, <https://www.educa.com.bo/militarismo-1964-1978/el-censo-de-1976>.

⁸⁴ "Population Pyramids of Bolivia (Plurinational State of) 1978." *PopulationPyramid.net*, Dec. 2019, <https://www.populationpyramid.net/bolivia-plurinational-state-of/1978/>.

⁸⁵ "El Censo De 1976." *Educa*, 20 Nov. 2014, <https://www.educa.com.bo/militarismo-1964-1978/el-censo-de-1976>.

⁸⁶ Idib.

⁸⁷ Krause, Charles. "Government-Backed Candidate Favored in Bolivian Election." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 9 July 1978, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/07/09/government-backed-candidate-favored-in-bolivian-election/7892c329-e15f-4f3d-a1d0-17dc1abc3957/.L>

⁸⁸ "Bolivia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia>.

innovative ideas to address singular issues, but it may be hard to find solutions that satisfy everyone. Compromise will be critical in the new Bolivia.

At the same time, elite interests have, for the majority of Bolivia's history, been the main vectors of change, and they cannot be ignored. These elites may feel like faceless self-interested suits, but they are also concerned with the development and economic prosperity of the nation, albeit for their own reasons. If one's cards are played right, they may become allies (even if it's just out of common interests) to craft the tools to solidify reforms.

Character Biographies

Victor Paz Estenssoro - Leader of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), former President

Congressman, Minister, two time President, leader of the Bolivian National Revolution, and exiled leader turned Presidential candidate. He started his political career as a representative (in both congress and the 1938 Constitutional Convention) for Tarija, riding off the wave of discontent after the defeat in the Chaco War. He used this same discontent to found the National Revolutionary Movement, which would eventually catapult him to the presidency in two different terms, under the greater concept of the left-wing Bolivian National Revolution.

Though the Revolution was put to a stop by a combination of military coups and the splintering of the MNR, Estenssoro is not done yet. This was demonstrated by his participation in the 1978 election, despite getting third place. He still carries huge political support, particularly among the working class that saw the greatest improvement in quality of life under him, while still being the leader of the most organized political movement in the country. However, Estenssoro must be careful of being politically outmaneuvered, like when Hernan Siles Suazo took control of the more left-wing supporters of the MNR when the party split.

Hernan Siles Zuazo - Former President, Leader of FUDP

Hernan Siles Zuazo started his political career as a reformist congressman, and he found his home in the then-burgeoning National Revolutionary Movement, where he would eventually rise in ranks to become Vice-President and later President once Estenssoro's first term ended.

But not all stories are meant to end in such a simple manner. As President, Zuazo slowly found himself de-aligning from Estenssoro's core politics, and he later broke from Estenssoro and the moderate MNR after the latter ran for a third presidential term—a split finalized after the 1964 military coup. 14 years later, Zuazo led his own leftist movement (FUDP) in the 1978 elections, in what many believe to be a victory denied on paper by the military, or even Estenssoro's rigging. Now, in the making of Bolivia's new government, his FUDP movement is in a strong position, with

pluralities of support both among legislators and congresspeople. Zuazo should handle this support wisely in pushing for his desired reforms, as it does also mean there is a large political target behind his back.

Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz - Socialist activist

Marcelo Quiroga can be described as a jack of all trades. He began his career as congressman for his native Cochabamba for the quasi-fascist Socialist Falange Party, but he was arrested by the forces of dictator Rene Barrientos in the 60s for his denouncement of the killings of protesting miners. During his imprisonment, he shifted his ideology toward the left, and he had a triumphant return under President Alfredo Ovando Candía. He appointed Quiroga as Minister of Mining and Energy and became the mastermind of nationalization of the assets of US-based Gulf Oil. However, he would be exiled again after the rise of Hugo Banzer.

To many, Quiroga is an anti authoritarian hero even in exile. This is backed by his decision to found the *Socialist Party-1* during his exile and to become a prominent regional writer, having won the PEN/Faulkner Award for fiction in 1964. With the promises of democratization under Padilla, Quiroga has returned to his native Bolivia to bring a democratic socialist vision with him. His Socialist Party may be small, but it has a loyal, well-spoken following in no small part due to Quiroga's unique background. Quiroga himself is well connected to the world of publishing and journalism, which may help him get his vision far and wide in this new Bolivia. He also enjoys some connections in the mining sector (both from workers and state officials) from his previous position as Minister of Mining and Energy.

Juan Lechin - Major Union leader

Juan Lechin is the President of the Bolivian Workers' Union, the Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers and a prominent left wing activist. He grew up working around the mines, and seeing the destitution of workers there led him to left wing politics. While he was (and still is) a Trotskyist at heart, he decided to align with the MNR and eventually become an unsung leader in their Bolivian National Revolution. His advocacy for the betterment of working conditions and the distribution of weapons to workers made him extremely popular within the MNR, to the point President Victor Paz

Estenesorro appointed him as Vice-President in his second, non-consecutive presidential term (in no small part to reassure worker support after Hernan Siles's more conservative presidential term).

Lechin's position would collapse after he left the MNR to found the Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left and then unexpectedly decided to support the 1964 military coup. This would lead to an on-and-off exile from his homeland, while still having influence through the two Unions he presided over. He returned in 1978 at the sight of democratic reopening, and aspires to bring a left-wing vision into the new Bolivia. Lechin will see the support of mine-workers & their organized union wings in this mission; however, this could also be counteracted by MNR loyalists, who see him as a traitor to the wellbeing of the democratic movement, and the wellbeing of the country.

Raul Botelho Gozalves - Minister of Foreign and Religious Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign and Religious Affairs is a peculiar combination of positions (and a bit of a leftover from Banzer's era), but few people doubt Raul Botelho Gozalves's unique qualifications to lead this position. Born and raised in a well-off Catholic family in La Paz, he studied in Catholic Schools (and wanted to become a priest). However, he became really interested in politics, and his family sent him to study abroad in the United States. There, he learned international politics with a concentration on democratic concepts. He built a name for himself in Bolivia's meager Foreign Service when he came back and he quietly rose through the ranks (with much political cunning skills on his side), until Padilla saw him as the best man for this position.

As Minister of Foreign and Religious affairs, Gozalves can use foreign connections to push deals that favor Bolivia, should he negotiate adequately. At the same time, he can use his position to sell the world that the new version of Bolivia is here to stay. However, given the constant government changes the country has faced, there is a question of credibility and legitimacy he must answer to the international audience. He will also have to reconcile his generally pro-religion beliefs with a government that is moving towards secularism, or he might try to advocate for religion since the country has greater things to worry about.

Raul Lopez Leyton - Minister of Interior, Migration, and Justice

Raul Lopes Leyton is the current Minister of Interior, Migration and Justice. A graduate in public policy from the University of San Andres, he entered the military and was later honorably discharged after a major injury in the battlefield. However, he still wanted to serve in the armed forces, and he did so as one of the heads of equipment supply, a position at which he excelled. It was this way that Padilla met him and appointed him Minister.

As Minister of Interior, Migration, and Justice, Raul is expected to have a sizable influence over various aspects of domestic policy, as he has a strong cabinet position that is a direct repercussion of the centralization of power by the former military rulers in La Paz. Questions on federalism, resource management, and minority group protections all will come into question in both his position and the way he wants to exert his influence in the making of the new government. Raul has been surprisingly quiet about his political stances throughout his career, more concerned on doing his job right, regardless of who is his higher up. But it may be time for him to reveal his real stances to the world.

Hugo Céspedes Espinoza - Minister of National Defense

Hugo Céspedes Espinoza is the minister of National Defense, and he is in charge of managing Bolivia's armed forces. He was a career official, having joined the Bolivian Armed Forces in his early 20s, so he knew the army inside out. He has made many friends and acquaintances within the armed forces, people that he can trust and that can help reform some of the most antiquated practices and materials that plague Bolivia's armed forces.

However, what won him this spot as Minister is his loyalty towards democratic principles, just like Padilla when he took reins of the government, a rare trait particularly in an established military dictatorship. Espinoza also believes the army is best kept separate and subordinate to the government in order to maintain individual professionalism of both institutions. However, that is much easier said than done in a country where armed forces have been the government of the country in many different times, with or without popular consent.

Blanca Alba Quiroz - Minister of Finance

Blanca Alba Quiroz represents a curious demographic that supported the social democratic style of capitalism from the Banzer era: the middle class. Born in a middle class family in La Paz, Quiroz received a good education in foreign-sponsored schools and spent time working in some of Bolivia's largest banks. However, Quiroz was always mindful of the poverty that surrounded her comfortable living conditions. Through the years, she has risen to become one of the leaders of the bank "Banco Mercantil," an impressive achievement in itself, especially considering the social conservatism of Bolivian society.

Quiroz was appointed to the position of Minister of Finance by President Padilla for her strong leadership at Banco Mercantil. She wants to forward her vision of a country with less jarring inequities. Her main goal is economic redistributionism, leading to better lives for the poor of the country, while defending the established capitalist system from extremists. Blanca also has strong connections with the Latin American financial sector from her time working in Banco Mercantil, which may be useful to push her proposals forward.

Jose Olvis Arias - Minister of Education and Culture

Jose Olvis Arias was born in a rural mountain village where few could read. However, his love of learning was sparked by Catholic Missionaries who came to bring education to his village. Building on this, he moved to Sucre to further pursue education and became a teacher in a rural community. Eventually, he moved into an administrative role, overseeing a program similar to the one that had first taught him to read through the diocese of El Alto.

Given his success with the diocese of El Alto and his strong Catholic ties, President Padilla appointed him into the position of minister of education. His mandate is similar to his past work, bringing literacy to a broader swath of Bolivian society. However, Olvis is also a major advocate for broadening access to higher education, and he must reconcile these two priorities.

Ariel Ascarrunz Hurtado - Minister of Transportation, Communications, and Aviation

Ariel Ascarrunz Hurtado is the owner of the largest trucking company in Bolivia and was a major bankroller of dissenting voices during the Banzer regime. Good with machines from a young age, he was one of the few people in Bolivia who could drive and fix trucks, which he took advantage of, using his first mover advantage and business acumen to create the largest trucking company in Bolivia. Through this experience, he is very aware of the country's manifold infrastructure needs.

President Padilla appointed Ascarrunz Hurtado precisely because of his extensive knowledge of the country's infrastructure needs. While better infrastructure does help the truckers, it also provides immense help to local residents. There is a limited infrastructure budget, which Ascarrunz Hurtado intends to use to improve domestic transportation and connections with the outside world. While building out the country's transportation network benefits all, when something new opens, it especially benefits the particular region where the infrastructure is located, which could be both a blessing and a curse politically for Ascarrunz Hurtado.

Vito Ramírez López - Minister of Labor and Union Affairs

The Minister of Labor and Union Affairs, Vito Ramirez Lopez, hails from the mining region of Potosi. Like almost everyone else in his community, he started working in the mines at the age of 14, and many of his childhood friends still do to this day. However, Ramirez organized protests and strikes among the miners, helping them form a union. After forming a union in his hometown, he helped miners in other locales organize and repeat what he had done.

President Padilla's appointment of such a staunchly pro-union voice has caused alarm from business leaders across the country. However, Ramirez is such a hero to Bolivia's miners that he will have a natural upper hand in any negotiations with them. However, Ramirez Lopez's career has not exactly been lucrative, making him susceptible to bribes from the business leaders on the other side of the negotiations.

Óscar Jaime Pammo Rodríguez - Minister of Industry, Commerce and Tourism

Óscar Jaime Pammo Rodríguez is the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Tourism. Óscar is a deeply respected national vehicle dealership owner (“AutoMas”), who made headlines for setting a gold standard in terms of working conditions in Bolivia, going against the tide of deregulated conditions during military regimes, and more importantly, being an outspoken economic figure in favor of democratic reforms during the military regimes. Some see it as a miracle he was never persecuted by the military, but having friends in the military (including President Padilla) plus being an important vehicle supplier to the military kept him safe (what some see as an act of hypocrisy).

Óscar is expected to set Bolivia’s stagnant economy back on track after stagnation derived from worsened working conditions and foreign distrust of Bolivia’s constantly changing government. He believes political harmony can only start with economic harmony. It is expected in the making of the new government he will push for liberalized economic regulations, while retaining the worker autonomy that made him beloved among his workers. Óscar has also previously butted heads with congressional leaders on economic policy proposals, which could become a factor in pushing policy in his ministry.

Jorge Echazú Aguirre - Minister of Energy and Mining

Jorge Echazú Aguirre, the Minister of Energy and Mining, is either Bolivia’s leading expert in mining production or a corporate sell out: it all depends who you ask. What none can disagree on is that he has years of experience in this field, mainly due to being involved in the executive side of mining companies since he graduated from college after studying in La Paz. He is one of the few cabinet members that were involved in the cabinet of previous regimes (including military ones), which may reflect on either his political ideologies or on his reliability to get the job done.

As Minister of Energy and Mining, Jorge must ensure that he can provide an adequate balance between profits and adequate working conditions; the latter’s brutal suppression during the Banzer regime created massive working discontent against the regime, a lesson for future governments. In the creation of the new government, Jorge would also be interested in his Ministry retaining the broad regulating authority it has over Bolivia’s most important industry. However, each of his moves

is analyzed by mining magnates, which watch nervously as more and more workers move towards the eastern agricultural industries.

Rolando Saravia Ortuño - Minister of Agriculture and Peasant Affairs

A long-time bureaucrat in the Bolivian government's agricultural department, Roland Saravia Ortuño has extensively covered the rise of agricultural industries in the Santa Cruz region, where he has deep family connections. As this department has risen in importance in the past few decades, Padilla chose to trust a man that rose within the ranks for this position.

As Agricultural Minister, Rolando has the power to set policy goals for the growing agricultural sector. He may find he has surprisingly big leeway on this, as this sector is growing, profitable, and attractive for foreign investors. He must also answer to labor law regarding working conditions. However, depending on how he manages these two topics he may find friends or enemies in the local producers and the business sector. Rolando must also answer questions on the lack of legislation on agricultural working conditions, and how this may play out long term on the living conditions of working-class people in Bolivia.

Luisa Rivera Palacios - Minister of Health and Social Security

Luisa Rivera Palacios is the current Minister of Health and Social Security. She was born into an agricultural family in the center of the country, but when she was 15 her family moved to the city of Sucre for better job opportunities. In her time living in Sucre, she saw the precarious health conditions rural and urban working-class people faced in the country, a passion that remained with her through her higher education and public service in Sucre.

Eventually, Padilla appointed her into the aforementioned position for his transitional cabinet. This position has grown in importance since Luisa was a kid, as many of the social programs of the Bolivian National Revolution were created and still are in place, despite having been rocked by the country's military dictatorships. She hopes to use her position in the creation of the new Bolivian government to procure a strong safety net for the people of the country, despite opposition from some more conservative forces.

Maria Salomón Soria - Minister of Housing and Urbanism

Maria Salomón Soria was born in a rural part of the country and moved to La Paz at the age of 18 for better job opportunities. Upon moving to the city, she encountered the awful conditions of La Paz's sprawling slums. Attending night classes, Soria was able to acquire an education and work her way up in society, but she never forgot her first city home and has always fought to improve conditions in the slums of La Paz.

Her years of fighting paid off, with the La Paz state government creating a program to bring running water and electricity to urban slums, and the residents of the poor areas credit her for improving conditions. She is well positioned to take strong leaps toward her goals given her strong track record of good governance and high popularity among urban poor populations.

Victor Aguilar Dorado - Minister of Press and Information

Victor Aguilar Dorado has served in just about every governmental position imaginable. While as a kid he dreamed of being a writer, he started off as a representative of his hometown to the Beni Departmental Council and worked his way up once he got noticed as a political talent by national political figures from the MNR. Along the way, he spent time working for the MNR when it was both the ruling and opposition party. Under the MNR, he was usually assigned as an attache to answer questions from the press on national and regional matters. From these experiences, he became heavily invested in the free discourse of ideas, and by extension, strong views on freedom of the press.

Coming into the convention, Aguilar is a strong supporter of the freedom of the press. He also wants to use his position to create more channels for the distribution of information, especially bringing radio signals to rural areas such as the one that he hails from. To accomplish all of this, Aguilar has a network of MNR politicians and journalists that spans the country. However, many of his connections may just be merely transactional relationships, so it is important for Aguilar to define who his real friends are.

Guillermo Gandarillas Suárez - Mayor of Santa Cruz

The rise of Guillermo Gandarillas Suárez as mayor of Santa Cruz goes hand in hand with the rise of his hometown. As the son of a family that had worked the fields for generations, he decided to flip the script and work as a social organizer in the city of Santa Cruz. He became mayor in the early 70s in an upset election, backed by his support from the agricultural sector and his unmissable charisma. Under his guidance, the city's population and economy grew rapidly, which brought Suárez into a role of national prominence. He also remembers his humble rural upbringing and the importance of Bolivia's agricultural sector to national success (and his political success).

As the popular mayor of a major city, Suárez has strong backing from residents of his hometown, as well as the farmers who he has backed. He also has the resources of his position as mayor, including the ability to give people jobs and a police force. With the city council filled with loyalists, his word is essentially the law in Santa Cruz, which some in the opposition criticize as too close to the authoritarian legacy Bolivia is trying to move away from. However, using these resources in a way that the people disapprove of could hurt his personal popularity— his biggest strength as of now, but could become a weakness if mishandled.

Juan Mantilla Medina - Mayor of La Paz

Juan Mantilla Medina is the Mayor of La Paz. He was born to a hard working, indigenous family that lived in the outskirts of La Paz, and he had to work from a young age in order to provide for his family. Motivated to break the cycle of poverty in his city, he ran for city council, and eventually became mayor. He is a figure that is deeply respected by many as he was mayor through multiple dictatorships, and managed to keep the city government as independent as he could from the hand of military rule, demonstrating his relentless iron will. This is marred slightly, however, by a slowdown in the city's economy, partially out of political retaliation, and partially out of economic uncompetitiveness when compared to the growing eastern regions.

Medina focused his mayorship towards infrastructure development, particularly in impoverished, semi-rural areas in the outskirts of the city. He hopes to use the creation of this government to guarantee improved infrastructure and civil standing for working class groups, especially in

underrepresented areas. Many pundits also expect a rivalry with Guillermo Gandarillas Suárez (the mayor of Santa Cruz) to develop, given Medina has worked hard to try to retain the La Paz's status as Bolivia's chief economic center, a title that each day is harder to maintain against the booming eastern city that Gandarillas governs.

"The Great Shadow" - Guarani Native Rights Leader

"The Great Shadow" is a deeply respected Native leader, and activist for Native rights. While Mburuvichaguau Bonifacio Barrientos Lyambae is his birth name, that is a fact known to only a few of his tribe, and is referred to almost exclusively by his epithet. He is a part of the Guarani tribe in eastern Bolivia, but divides his time between his homeland and the western population centers to tirelessly advocate for Native rights, which has made him a hero among the Indigenous majority of the country. It is an open secret that he is planning to organize a national Indigenous Congress (The Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia, or CIDOB), but the Padilla reforms have created an even greater opportunity to achieve his goals.

As a part of this committee, The Great Shadow looks to integrate his indigenous congress ideas into the new government, in order to achieve increased representation of Indigenous people (& protection of their land and property) regardless of how politically connected they are to the traditional government in La Paz. Spirits are high, but a lack of organization among native groups may present a challenge to gain the backing needed to achieve these goals. However, few doubt The Great Shadow's abilities to overcome these challenges in the name of the people he represents.

Felicia Barrientos - Women's rights activist

Felicia Barrientos is a rising social activist, advocating for Women's Rights in the historically patriarchal political society of Bolivia. She is part of the Guarani-Isoseño tribe, a position from which she has gotten national attention for her work to protect the rights of women within tribes from external forces (particularly the military, which also made her gain the favor of pro-democratic thinkers). In the Indigenous Congress organized by The Great Shadow, she is projected to become one of the few female representatives, in addition to becoming a representative in the creation of Bolivia's new government.

In this convention, she aims to draft constitutional provisions that ensure equality between genders, guarantee social safety nets, and ensure proper representation in government. Public support for this can be achieved by connecting with other pro-female empowerment social activists in the country. She will have to be attentive to work with representatives from other minority groups (particularly with fellow Guarani tribespeople) in order to achieve their common goals, particularly in breaking the traditional societal orders.

Alfaro Montes - President of the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL)

Alfaro Montes is the President of COMIBOL, the largest minerals-related company in Bolivia by export volume. In many ways, he is the final iteration of the mining magnates that dominated Bolivia's economy for so long. Born from a family involved in the mining business, he stood out for a genuine interest in the topic beyond just money, and eventually outmaneuvered his competition in his rise to power. This passion saw him do well in his mining enterprises, to the point he was voted as president of COMIBOL in the 1960s.

As president of COMIBOL, Alfaro manages a workforce that is critical to the economy of the country. This gives him a considerable influence when pushing for favorable economic policies to the new Bolivian government. However, he is also aware of growing worker discontent with the tough working conditions in COMIBOL's mines. He dislikes Eastern agricultural companies, which have accelerated the decline in importance of mining in Bolivia (and by extension, of his wealth and influence).

Jorge Campuzano - Agriculture magnate, owner of Productos Bolivianos del Campo

Jorge Campuzano represents the new generation of wealth in Bolivia. He started his agricultural management days as the inheritor of his family's large plantation, which he rapidly modernized into a commercial venture. Through personal friendships with the Governor of Santa Cruz and at the time and favorable government contracts, he managed to grow his farm into multiple ones, and then into the important agricultural corporation known as Bolivian Products from the Fields (Productos Bolivianos del Campo, or PBC), which exports most of Bolivia's agricultural produce.

PBC is a key company in the East of Bolivia, employing many people in rural areas; this includes natives, who often pressure Campuzano for greater autonomy within their workfields. With the intense working conditions in PBC's fields, it will be important to find a balance on working conditions and profits in order to retain PBC's cohesion, which is the envy of many other companies. PBC's growth has also been heavily subsidized by favorable government agreements, so it is up to Campuzano to play his cards right should he want to continue to see his company grow. It goes without saying that the stubborn western mining elites might have a thing or two to say about this, and they may not necessarily be in Campuzano's favor.

Lidia Gueiler Tejada - President-elect of the Chamber of Deputies

Lidia Gueiler Tejada is the President-elect of the Chamber of Deputies, and a high ranking member of the Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left. She was born in Cochabamba, and then studied in the American Institute of Cochabamba. She started her career as a member of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, representing her hometown in Congress during the Bolivian National Revolution. However, like many left-wing politicians in Bolivia, she eventually lost favor with the MNR after the military coups of the 1960s, and refused to become second in command of Juan Lechin's Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left.

Respected as a titan (in both integrity and resilience) in Bolivian legislative politics, the Padilla government did not think twice to name her as the President-elect of the reformed Chamber of Deputies, despite political disagreements. In her new position, she faces the challenge of returning legitimacy to a congress that has been politically butchered by continuous rule by strongmen. Additionally, she dreams of pushing a stronger social agenda than the one passed during the National Revolution.

Marcelo Pérez Monasterios - President of the Confederation of Private Entrepreneurs of Bolivia (CEPB)

Marcelo Perez Monasterios is the President of the largest coalition of small businesses in Bolivia, CEPB. He has been in this position since 1977. He comes from a well connected family in Oruro. However, he always possessed strong economic intuition, which enabled him to make a fortune and name through investments in grocery and convenience stores in the Department of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (in addition to his native Oruro), which only grew after the Santa Cruz region became the fastest growing department of the country.

As President of CEPB, Marcelo is meant to stand up for positions that favor the growth of small business in the country, meaning he is wary of excessive government regulation. He can count on the support of other CEPB members, an institution which is still shaken up from the abrupt end of the more conservative business reforms from previous juntas. His stores are also known for loyal connections among the employer hierarchy, which could be a great tool in assessing the situation of Bolivia's fledgling political and economic system on the ground. This is one of his best tools to push for the changes he desires.

Oscar Lugones Encinas - Member of the Supreme Court

Oscar Lugones Encinas is a long time lawyer, and a recent appointee to the Bolivian Supreme Court by President Padilla. He had a middle class upbringing and conducted excellent academic and volunteer work as a high schooler, which led him to a national scholarship to study Law in the University of Buenos Aires. During that time he met some of his closest and trusted friends. He is one of the most respected lawyers in the country, and combined with his activism for *Supremacia de la Ley* (an underground network of anti-Banzer lawyers, which Lugones helped build), Padilla saw him as a qualified candidate for the Supreme Court.

However, the Supreme Court has a long road before being able to reach the gravitas its name should inspire. For a long time this institution was either a rubber stamp to endorse military rule, or outright ignored when the military rulers didn't hear exactly what they wanted to hear. And the leftover Supreme Court justices may just be described as autocratic lackeys—an oxymoron for their

position. As such, it is up to Lugones and his network of like-minded judges and lawyers to bring some semblance of order to the judicial system of Bolivia in the near future.

José Clemente Maurer - Roman Catholic Cardinal and Archbishop of Sucre

José Clemente Maurer is the longtime serving Roman Catholic Archbishop of the city of Sucre. Though he is German-born and studied in Switzerland and Luxembourg, he moved to Bolivia in 1926 after doing missionary work in La Paz a year after he was ordained to priest in 1925. He was named in 1950 both Auxiliary Bishop of La Paz and Titular Bishop of Cea by Pope Pius XII. His rise would not stop there, as he would be appointed Archbishop of Sucre on October 21, 1957, which is his current position.

Due to his meteoric rise in Catholic ranks in Bolivia, it is no secret he is one of the key players of the Church in the country. Maurer was also an attendant of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, reflecting his position as a well-connected figure (particularly with his European peers) in the Catholic World. Maurer's position in this Constitutional convention alludes to the importance of faith amongst the Bolivian population, regardless of background, and his desire that any new kind of government retains a favorable position for the Church.

Carlos Otero - Bolivian Representative to the OAS, former Ambassador to the USA

Carlos Otero comes from a long line of Bolivian diplomats, and was put on his career path from a young age. Educated in England, he worked his way up through the foreign service to eventually become the Ambassador of Bolivia to the United States. While in his position, he received accusations of forgetting about his roots and becoming "too American." He raised his children in the United States, and he stayed there when Hugo Banzer appointed a new Ambassador after coming to power.

Though Otero needed a slightly lower-profile appointment, President Padilla could not leave Otero's diplomatic acumen unused, so he appointed him to the position of Ambassador to the Organization of American States. There, Otero closely follows US positions in hopes of gaining more aid and assistance from the far larger and wealthier United States.

Gonzalo Lamar - Ambassador to Chile

Gonzalo Lamar was born in a wealthy family in La Paz and was educated in the United States. He was a strong opponent of the Banzer regime, though he was never persecuted for his positions through his crafty apologies and backtracking, making him a legend among Bolivia's foreign service. His staunch opposition and wit has landed him in one of the most difficult places in Bolivia's international relations: the ambassadorship in Santiago, Chile.

Appointed by the new Padilla regime, Lamar must fix the mess left by President Banzer regarding Bolivia's sea access. He acknowledges that this is no longer feasible, but he wants to salvage the relationship. He recognizes that he will not be the one to restore the access to the sea, but he wants to cultivate the relationship such that future generations might be able to get some sort of deal. For now, though, Lamar just wants to get along with Chile, which is a big challenge considering the vindictive dictator Augusto Pinochet remains in power in this country.

Jose Francisco Martins - Dean at the Higher University of San Andrés (Universidad Mayor de San Andrés)

Jose Francisco Martins is the Dean of the University of San Andres, Bolivia's most important university. He started his professional career (after graduating from the same university) as the principal of a public high school in La Paz, and eventually became an education advisor to the governor of La Paz. He did not think twice about taking the position of Rector of the University he studied in, and he would later keep a steady rise, as it was just a few months after he took the Dean position that Rene Barrientos' 1964 military coup took place.

Martins' tenure would clash with the military's fixation to suppress free speech. Hugo Banzer would get to the point that he would order the shutting down of all universities lest they were regulated by the military, a move Martins forgave the armed forces for. It is this distrust and his commitment to curb military influence in Higher Education that led him to become a part of these government-creating sessions. Beyond that, Martins hopes to secure higher funding levels for education in general, where he hopes to see the next generation of political and economic leaders of the nation to appear from.

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