

BOLIVIA

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
1X	BOL	-3	11	8	6	1825	12	15	1836	3	3	6
1Xa	BOL	-3	2	12	16	1836	1	20	1839	4	1	6
1Xb	BOL	-3	2	1	21	1839	6	30	1841	3	3	6
1Xc	BOL	-66	0	7	1	1841	11	20	1841	-66	-66	-66
1Xd	BOL	-3	23	11	21	1841	12	28	1864	3	3	6
1O	BOL	-7	7	12	29	1864	11	27	1872	4	1	1
2X	BOL	-88	1	11	28	1872	5	7	1873	-88	-88	-88
2Xa	BOL	1	3	5	8	1873	5	4	1876	7	3	6
2O	BOL	-7	4	5	5	1876	1	1	1880	4	1	1
3X	BOL	1	56	1	2	1880	5	17	1936	7	3	6
3Xa	BOL	-5	15	5	18	1936	7	21	1951	3	1	6
3Xb	BOL	-6	1	7	22	1951	4	11	1952	3	2	3
3Xc	BOL	4	4	4	12	1952	11	4	1964	7	5	6
3O	BOL	-4	1	11	5	1964	1	3	1966	4	2	3
3Oa	BOL	-4	3	1	4	1966	9	25	1969	5	2	3
3Ob	BOL	-4	2	9	26	1969	10	6	1970	4	2	3
3Oc	BOL	-5	1	10	7	1970	8	22	1971	4	1	3
3Od	BOL	-7	7	8	23	1971	11	24	1978	4	1	1
3Oe	BOL	-4	2	11	25	1978	7	17	1980	5	2	3
3Of	BOL	-7	2	7	18	1980	10	10	1982	4	1	1
4X	BOL	7	3	10	11	1982	8	6	1985	7	7	7
4O	BOL	9	18	8	7	1985	2	11	2003	8	7	9
5X	BOL	8	6	2	12	2003	2	6	2009	8	7	7
5Xa	BOL	7	10	2	7	2009	99	99	9999	8	6	7

PITF Problem Events: none

3Xc) April 12, 1952 (elected government) – General elections held in May 1951 were hotly contested and resulted in a plurality for the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) presidential candidate, Victor Paz Estenssoro, who had run *in absentia*. However, the lack of an electoral majority moved the final decision to the National Assembly. In order to avoid further escalation of the crisis, President Mamerto Urriolagoita, instead, turned over executive authority to a junta of senior army officers who selected Gen. Hugo Ballivian as president. Ballivian was subsequently overthrown by a popular revolt which broke out on April 9, 1952, and lasted for three days. The “National Revolution” was led by Señor Hernán Siles, one of the leaders of the MNR, with the support of Gen. Antonio Selene, the police forces, and a considerable part of the Army. Dr. Paz Estenssoro returned from exile on April 15, the 1951 election results were upheld, and he assumed the presidency on 16 April. The MNR government initiated a series of reforms, including provision of universal suffrage (21 July 1952), land redistribution, nationalization of tin mines, and attempted depoliticization of the military; they also outlawed the former-ruling party, the Socialist Falange. In the run up to the June 1956 general elections, President Paz Estenssoro announced an amnesty for all traditional parties, including the Socialist Falange. Siles stood as the MNR candidate as Estenssoro was constitutionally barred from running for a second consecutive term. Under Siles’ rule the MNR fragmented into conservative and leftist blocs, with the former favoring a more powerful military and the latter further Marxist reforms. Estenssoro was elected for a second term in 1960. Faced with a disintegrating party, President Estenssoro gained approval for a revised constitution in 1961 that would allow consecutive terms. In gaining the party’s candidacy for an additional term, he caused a split with Vice President Juan Lechin, the leader of the mine workers’ union, who split off and formed a rival party. Estenssoro ran unopposed in May 1964 elections boycotted by opposition parties.

30) Date of Change from Factional-Autocratic: November 5, 1964 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From: On November 4, 1964, President Paz Estenssoro was overthrown at the start of his third term in a coup led by the Vice-President, Gen. Barrientos, and the commander of the armed forces, Gen. Ovando. Barrientos had co-opted many of the country's peasant labor unions, giving him substantial support from the left. Barrientos and Ovando established a "co-presidency," effectively a military junta, which ruled until elections scheduled to be held in 1966.

Changes within Factional-Autocratic Period:

30a) January 4, 1966 (executive-guided transition) – On January 4, 1966, co-leader of the military junta Rene Barrientos announced his resignation in order to become a candidate in presidential elections scheduled for July 3. This left General Ovando as sole member of the junta. After winning the support of the armed forces and a coalition of political parties, Barrientos won the election with 62% of the vote. Barrientos was inaugurated on August 6, 1966, with Christian-Democrat Luis Adolfo Siles as his vice president, and Ovando returned to his post as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

30b) September 26, 1969 (military coup) – President Barrientos was killed in a helicopter crash on April 27, 1969, leaving Luis Siles to assume the presidency in accordance with the constitution. Gen. Ovando executed a bloodless coup on September 26, 1969, overthrowing President Siles and establishing a "revolutionary government," with himself as head-of-state. Ovando assumed a leftist orientation in his new role, initiating several socialist reforms, including the nationalization of Bolivian operations of the Gulf Oil Corporation,

30c) October 6, 1970 (military coup) – Although his socialist policies won him some initial support, General Ovando was unable to manage the increasing demands of skeptical leftists, especially among students and the working class. Moreover, Ovando faced fragmentation of the military into leftists and anti-Communist camps and had also lost the support of the economic elite. On October 6, 1970, conservative Gen. Rogelio Miranda launched a coup, leading to armed conflict between conservative and leftist elements of the military. Miranda's forces were defeated by those of Gen. Juan Jose Torres, an ally of Gen. Ovando. When Ovando declined to return to power, Torres installed himself as president.

30d) August 22, 1971 (military coup) – Like Gen. Ovando, Gen. Torres was unable to garner the approval of either the leftist or conservative elements of the political system. On August 19, 1971 a right-wing rebellion broke out in east-central Bolivia, when demonstrators freed 30 persons who had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in subversive activities. Among them was Col. Hugo Banzer, who had been exiled when Gen. Torres seized power. Banzer gained substantial support among the military, which came to his aid. On August 22, the armed forces reached La Paz and engaged in a sixteen-hour battle with militia and workers loyal to President Torres. Torres took refuge in the Peruvian Embassy, and by nightfall the military coup had succeeded both in the capital and throughout the country. On the same day it was announced that Col. Banzer had assumed the Presidency of Bolivia. Banzer's rule was marked by

widespread political repression: Banzer banned all leftist political parties and closed the country's universities; by 1974, all political activity had been banned.

30e) November 24, 1978 (military coup) – In response to increasing international and domestic pressures, President Banzer's government agreed to hold elections on July 9, 1978. The election was contested by Gen. Juan Pereda Asbun, official nominee for Banzer who was constitutionally disqualified, and former President Herman Siles, leader of a left-leaning coalition. The election was marked by widespread allegations of fraudulent voting practices in favour of Gen. Pereda, and Banzer responded by annulling the elections on July 19. Gen. Pereda thereupon instigated an uprising from Santa Cruz with the help of civilian and military elements and demanded that his victory should be recognized. Gen. Pereda forced Gen. Banzer to resign from the presidency prematurely and to hand over power to a military triumvirate, which immediately installed him as president on July 21, 1978. On November 24, 1978 Pereda was himself overthrown in a coup led by Gen. David Padilla, leader of a group of democratically-minded military officers. Gen. Padilla immediately announced new elections to be held in July 1979.

30f) July 17, 1980 (military coup) – The elections in July 1979 produced no clear winner, sending the contest to the legislature for a decision, as per the constitution. When the legislature deadlocked, a compromise agreement was reached that appointed President of the Senate Walter Guevara to the presidency until new elections could be held in 1980. Gen. Padilla transferred power to Guevara on August 8, 1979, but Guevara was overthrown in a coup, led by Gen. Alberto Natusch, on November 1. Natusch was unable to consolidate power in the face of widespread uprisings and labor strikes, and resigned on November 17 in favor of another provisional president, Lidia Gueiler. Presidential elections were held on June 29, 1980, with Hernon Siles of the Democratic Popular Front (UDP) gaining only a plurality; however, the military again took power on July 17, 1980, by the "cocaine coup" led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza. Meza established an extremely repressive dictatorship, banning all political activity, exiling opposition leaders, silencing the press, and using arrests and forced disappearances to maintain order.

4X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: October 11, 1982 (new government, return to civilian rule)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

Gen. Meza was forced to resign in August 1981, following intense international scrutiny over human rights violations and alleged drug trafficking by government forces. Meza was replaced by Gen. Celso Torrelio, who ruled for less than a year before being replaced by Gen. Guido Vildoso in July 1982, who was directed by the military leadership to return the country to democratic rule. Vildoso announced that elections would be held the following April, and began opening the political system. Vildoso's plans were abandoned in the face of widespread unrest and labor strikes, and the government decided to recall the 1980 Congress. On September 23, 1982, the electoral court announced that the 1980 elections, in which Dr. Siles won a plurality of votes, were valid, making Siles the rightful president. General Vildoso transferred power from the armed forces to the civilian administration on October 10, 1982. Politics in the period

immediately following the transition was intensely factional and highly personalistic, but in general all three significant factions (supporters of Estenssoro, Siles, and Banzer, respectively) maintained support within the economic elite.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and Supporters of Paz Estenssoro* — Broad based party founded by Hernán Siles Zuazo and Victor Paz Estenssoro that led the 1952 revolution. Initially leftist in ideology, the party gradually shifted to the right, and at the time of the 1982 civilian government advocated neoliberal economic reforms. Siles had split with Estenssoro following the 1952 revolution, forming his own party and support base, leaving Estenssoro to represent the MNR during this period.
- *Leftists and Supporters of Hernan Siles* — Leftists formed the dominant opposition to military governments during the period of military rule, and continued to operate competitively after the return to civilian control in 1982. The Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) was formed in 1971 with the merger of a left-wing faction of Bolivia's Christian Democratic Party and a more radical faction of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). Hernán Siles, leader of MIR and one-time founder of MNR, won the presidency in 1982. The MIR split in 1985, with more liberal members forming the Free Bolivia Movement and those loyal to Siles renaming the MIR the Revolutionary Left Movement-New Majority.
- *Supporters of Hugo Banzer* — Economic conservatives and supporters of former dictator Hugo Banzer operated under the right-wing political party that Banzer had created in 1979: the Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN). The ADN repeatedly formed coalition governments with MNR.

4O) Date of Change from Factional-Autocratic: August 7, 1985 (democratic consolidation)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Facing a severe economic crisis and hyperinflation, the legislature obliged President Siles to hold early elections in 1985. Former President Estenssoro came in second to former dictator Hugo Banzer, but Banzer failed to win a majority, sending the decision to the congress. The legislature elected Estenssoro over Banzer, and he was inaugurated on August 7, 1985. Economic elites and political rivals, fearful of an increasingly active and mobilized indigenous population, unified around Estenssoro and the electoral system, effectively ending the factional nature of political competition during this period.

5X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: February 12, 2003 (mass demonstrations)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

The majority indigenous population grew increasingly active in the late 1990s, threatening the historically-European economic elites based in Santa Cruz. The indigenous peoples, which had come to dominate labor unions and had formed several increasingly powerful political parties, launched mass protests in La Paz beginning February 12, 2003, signaling the initiation of a period of polar factionalism. These protests were ostensibly in response to President Gonzálo

Sánchez de Lozada's budget proposal, one of the most austere in Bolivia's history, but in practice had followed a series of increasingly violent protests in cities dominated by indigenous peoples, and were fed by a number of factors, including government plans to pipe natural gas through Chile, crackdowns on coca-production, the dominant economy among the indigenous-controlled mountainous areas, and further neoliberal economic reforms. In September the government was challenged with a series of strikes and highway blockades initially organized by the Confederated Union of Rural Workers (CSUTCB), which was dominated by the Aymara indigenous people. Mass protests continued to intensify and widen through mid-October, escalating to calls for the President's resignation; the protests were joined by the Bolivian Workers' Central (COB) and the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS), both representing primarily indigenous groups. President Sanchez de Lozada resigned and was replaced by Carlos Mesa, who resigned following the gas protests of 2005. Mesa was replaced by Supreme Court Chief Justice Eduardo Rodriguez until presidential elections could be moved up to 2005; the 2005 elections were won by Evo Morales, leader of the leftist indigenous party MAS.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Indigenous Peoples* — Forming a substantial majority of the Bolivian population, indigenous peoples control much of the country's mountainous terrain and dominate the city of La Paz. In the late 1990s, faced with crackdowns on coca production, their primary economic activity, and neoliberal reforms that threatened their labor unions, the indigenous peoples became political mobilized with a strong leftist agenda, and created three prominent political groups centered around labor unions: *Single Union Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB)*, dominated by the Aymara people. *Bolivian Workers' Central (COB)*, the chief trade union federation in Bolivia, and the *Movement Towards Socialism (MAS)*, a left-wing indigenous party led by Evo Morales. Morales won the 2005 presidential election, becoming the first indigenous head of state in Bolivia in the country's history.
- *Europeanized Economic Elites* — The country's economic elites, generally of European descent, have historically controlled the plains and low-lying areas of Bolivia, centered around Santa Cruz. Although in the past this faction had repeatedly splintered, the political threat posed by indigenous mobilization provided an impetus for unification in the late 1990s. In the 2005 elections the elites in general backed the center-right *Social and Democratic Power (POMEDOS)* party, led by former president Jorge Quiroga. One sign of this unification was that the historically-powerful *MNR* was unable to pit a major candidate against either POMEDOS or MAS in the 2005 election.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

5Xa) February 7, 2009 (new constitution) – A new constitution was approved by referendum and enacted that allows a second consecutive term for the president and increases influence of the majority indigenous population and reduces constraints on executive authority in central governance (the constitution also increases regional autonomy).