

Country: Bolivia

Year: 1945

Leader: Villarroel

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Villarroel's party affiliation as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). ). Huber and Stephens identify MNR as center-left (2016: 9). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR's ideology as "Center-right" (0.646) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in MNR in 1979.

Year: 1946

Leader: Gutierrez

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHILSOLS identifies Monje Gutiérrez's party affiliation as none. La Patria (2013) identifies Monje Gutiérrez as leftist, writing that he "*abrazó ideas socialistas, por lo que fundó el Centro Intelectual de Izquierda "Agustín Aspiazu"*". [embraced socialist ideas, for this reason he founded the Intellectual Center of the Left "Agustin Aspiazu"]. Alexander and Parker (2005: 16) identifies Monje Gutiérrez as a socialist, writing, "Monje Gutierrez proclaimed himself an adherent of scientific socialism. He wrote that the capitalist system had to be abolished, that 'convinced of this truth and of the deviant evolution through which capitalism oppressed humanity, our primordial effect is directed toward extirpating it, so as to extinguish economic privileges.'"

Years: 1947-1948

Leader: Herzog

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Hertzog's party as Partido de la Unión Republicana Socialista (PURS). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PURS and identifies the party as rightist. Lentz (1994: 93) corroborates party affiliation and ideology, writing, "[Herzog] was the candidate of the Social Republican Union in the president election held in January of 1947... Herzog's government arrested and deported many leaders of the National Revolutionary Movement. His first year as president was also plagued by numerous labor strikes." Lentz later identifies PURS as rightist, writing "[Urriolagoitia] was the head of the rightist Social Republican Union party."

World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PURS and identifies PURS as right of center.

Years: 1949-1950

Leader: Urriolagoitia

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies

Urriolagoitia's party Partido de la Unión Republicana Socialista (PURS).

Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PURS and identifies the party as rightist. Lentz (1994: 93) corroborates, writing, "[Urriolagoitia] was the head of the rightist Social Republican Union party." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PURS and identifies PURS as right of center.

Year: 1951

Leader: Ballivian Rojas

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Ballivián Rojas' party affiliation as none.

Years: 1952-1955

Leader: Paz Estenssoro

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Paz

Estenssoro's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Although

Manzano (2017) codes Estenssoro as right, Huber and Stephens corroborate HoG, coding MNR as center-left (2016: 9). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as center-right. Lentz (1994: 94) writes that Paz Estenssoro "was a founder and leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)" and "led the MNR-supported coup against the government that installed Gualberto Villaroel as president on December 20, 1943." World

Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as centrist. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) writes, "The most important leader of the MNR, Víctor Paz Estenssoro, was president of Bolivia in 1952-56 and instituted the most revolutionary part of the party's program. In 1956 he was replaced by the more conservative Hernando (Hernán) Siles Zuazo." Hernán Siles Zuazo is identified as leftist by HoG and Political Handbook of the World (2012). In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR's ideology as "Center-right" (0.646) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in MNR in 1979. Funke et al. (2020: 85) identify Paz Estenssoro as a "left-wing populist," but also clarify, "Due to the shift in rhetoric and policies, we do not code

his last leader spell (1985-89) as populist. By that time, ‘he represented the political establishment’ (Solfrini 2001, 129) and is described as ‘orthodox’ and economically ‘neoliberal’ rather than left-wing populist (Estellano 1994, Leaman 1999, Solfrini 2001).”

Years: 1956-1959

Leader: Siles Zuazo

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Zuazo’s party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Although Manzano (2017) codes Zuazo as rightist, Huber and Stephens corroborate HoG, coding MNR as center-left (2016: 9). Political Handbook of the World (2012) also identifies Zuazo as leftist, writing, “At the 1979 election, Siles Zuazo, the nominee of a center-left coalition, obtained a bare plurality (36.0 percent to 35.9 percent) over former president Paz Estenssoro, who headed a new MNR coalition that included a number of leftist groups.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.646) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in MNR in 1979. Funke et al. (2020: 86) identify Zuazo as a “left-wing populist,” but also clarify, “As with Estenssoro, we do not code the 1980s term of Siles Zuazo (1982 to 1985) as populist... Like Estenssoro, he no longer campaigned as left-wing populist in this era. His policies in office in the 1980s are described as ‘neoliberal’ and relying on ‘economic ‘shock treatment’” (Brienen 2007, 22).” Brienen (2007: 22, 30) writes, “Certainly, [Morales’s] policies constitute a notable departure from the neo-liberal policies of the preceding period, such as the economic ‘shock treatment’ implemented by Siles Zuazo in the mid-1980s... In this vein, the neo-liberalism that is now fundamentally discredited served in the same capacity in the aftermath of hyperinflation and the military corruption that characterized the 1970s. The ‘shock-treatment’ introduced by Siles Zuazo came as the answer to the failed policies of his predecessors and was wholly revolutionary in its own right...”

Years: 1960-1963

Leader: Paz Estenssoro

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Paz Estenssoro’s party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Although Manzano (2017) codes Estenssoro

as right, Huber and Stephens corroborate HoG, coding MNR as center-left (2016: 9). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as center-right. Lentz (1994: 94) writes that Paz Estenssoro “was a founder and leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)” and “led the MNR-supported coup against the government that installed Gualberto Villaroel as president on December 20, 1943.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as centrist. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) writes, “When Paz Estenssoro returned to the presidency in 1960, he further consolidated the achievements of Siles.” Hernán Siles Zuazo is identified as leftist by HoG and Political Handbook of the World (2012). In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.646) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in MNR in 1979. Funke et al. (2020: 85) identify Paz Estenssoro as a “left-wing populist,” but also clarify, “Due to the shift in rhetoric and policies, we do not code his last leader spell (1985-89) as populist. By that time, ‘he represented the political establishment’ (Solfrini 2001, 129) and is described as ‘orthodox’ and economically ‘neoliberal’ rather than left-wing populist (Estellano 1994, Leaman 1999, Solfrini 2001).”

Years: 1964-1968

Leader: Barrientos Ortuño

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Barrientos Ortuño’s party as none in 1964 and 1965, then Movimiento Popular Cristiano (MPC) in 1966 and finally Frente de la Revolución Boliviana (FRB) from 1966 to 1969. While Manzano (2017) codes Barrientos Ortuño as left, Hudson and Hanratty corroborate HoG, writing “Although the MPC was not very successful, [Barrientos] won the election with a coalition of conservative politicians, the business community, and the peasants”. Perspective Monde (2019) further corroborates HoG, coding the MPC as Barrientos Ortuño’s party from 1966-1968 and identifying the party as center-right. Political Handbook of the World (2012) references tension between Barrientos’s regime and unions, writing, “Supported by the armed forces and a strong coalition in Congress, his regime encountered intense opposition from the tin miners, who charged repression of workers’ unions.” Lentz (1994: 95) writes, “In 1967 revolutionary Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara led a guerilla uprising in Santa Cruz. Barrientos’ government withstood the challenge, and Guevara was captured and executed in October of 1967.”

Year: 1969

Leader: Ovando Candia

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Ovando Candía's party affiliation as none. While Manzano (2017) identifies Ovando Candía as leftist, Young (2017) corroborates HoG, writing that General Ovando "sought economic modernization and opposed redistribution", and "favored nationalization [of oil] as an alternative to redistribution". Lentz (1994: 96) writes, "Ovando led the armed forces in a struggle against leftist guerillas led by Ernesto 'Che' Guevara."

Year: 1970

Leader: Torres

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Torres' party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) codes González as left. Political Handbook of the World (2012) corroborates this, writing, "The Torres regime came to power with the support of students, workers, and leftist political parties." Lentz (1994: 97) corroborates ideology, writing, "When Ovando was forced to resign on October 6, 1970, under the threat of a right-wing military coup, Torres led a left-wing countercoup with the support of workers and students and was sworn in as president the following day."

Years: 1971-1977

Leader: Banzer Suarez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Banzer Suárez's party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) codes Suárez as right. Lentz (1994: 97) writes that Torres "retained office until August 22, 1971, when his government was ousted by another right-wing military coup led by Hugo Bánzer Suárez." Lentz elaborates, "Bánzer led an unsuccessful coup against Torres on January 10, 1971, and went into exile in Argentina after the coup's failure. Bánzer was arrested when he reentered Bolivia on August 18, 1971. This touched off a rightist revolution that succeeded in ousting Torres after violent street fighting on August 22, 1971." As president, he "conducted a campaign against leftist supporters of the deposed president."

Year: 1978

Leader: Padilla Aranciba

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Padilla Arancibia's party affiliation as none.

Year: 1979

Leader: Lidia Gueiler Tejada

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. While CHISOLS identifies Gueiler Tejada's party as Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacionalista (PRIN), Di Tella (2004: 159) identifies Gueiler Tejada's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Histórico (MNRH). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephen's (2016: 9) identify the later named MNR's ideology as leftist. Perspective monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as PRIN but identifies the party as leftist as well. Lentz (1994: 99) writes that Gueiler Tejada "joined the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) in 1946 and was active in the revolution in 1952. She subsequently served as private secretary to President Victor Paz Estenssoro." Later on, after she was exiled as a result of the military coup of 1964, "she developed a friendship with Salvador Allende Gossens, the president of Chile who was killed during a military coup in 1973." World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as PRIN and identifies the party as left-wing nationalist.

Years: 1980

Head of Government: Luis García Meza Tejada

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies García Tejada's party as Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacionalista (PRIN). DPI does not identify party ideology. While World Statesmen (2019) identifies PRIN as left-wing nationalist, Manzano (2017) codes Meza as rightist. Lentz (1994: 99) concurs, writing "General Garcia Meza led the right-wing military coup that ousted President Lidia Gueiler Tejada in order to prevent the selection of Hernan Siles Zuazo as president."

Year: 1981

Leader: Torrelio Villa

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Torrelio Villa's party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) codes Villa as right. Rulers.org also points to a rightist coding, writing, "Torrelio's actions in promising an increased role for foreign firms in the mining, metallurgical, and petroleum sectors, freedom from fears of nationalization, and acceptance of an International Monetary Fund presence in running the economy marked him as someone who rejected the nationalistic economic model in place in Bolivia since 1952."

Year: 1982-1984

Leader: Siles Zuazo

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Siles Zuazo's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario de Izquierda (MNRI). Political Handbook of the World (2008) identifies MNRI as leftist: "An offshoot of the MNR, the MNRI was the principal element in the organization of the center-left Democratic Popular Union (Unión Democrática y Popular—UDP) before the 1978 balloting." Political Handbook also states that Zuazo was "the nominee of a center-left coalition" in the 1979 election. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as MNRI and identify the party as leftist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 9) identify UDP as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNRI's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.923) in 1985. Funke et al. (2020: 86) identify Zuazo as a "left-wing populist," but also clarify, "As with Estenssoro, we do not code the 1980s term of Siles Zuazo (1982 to 1985) as populist... Like Estenssoro, he no longer campaigned as left-wing populist in this era. His policies in office in the 1980s are described as 'neoliberal' and relying on 'economic 'shock treatment'' (Brienen 2007, 22)." Brienen (2007: 22, 30) writes, "Certainly, [Morales's] policies constitute a notable departure from the neo-liberal policies of the preceding period, such as the economic 'shock treatment' implemented by Siles Zuazo in the mid-1980s... In this vein, the neo-liberalism that is now fundamentally discredited served in the same capacity in the aftermath of hyperinflation and the military corruption that characterized the 1970s. The 'shock-treatment' introduced by Siles Zuazo came as the answer to the failed policies of his predecessors and was wholly revolutionary in its own right..."

Years: 1985-1988

Leader: Paz Estenssoro

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Paz Estenssoro's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Although Manzano (2017) codes Estenssoro as right earlier years, Perspective Monde (2019) corroborates HoG, coding MNR as center-right in these years. Lentz (1994: 94) writes that Paz Estenssoro "was a founder and leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)" and "led the MNR-supported coup against the government that installed Gualberto Villaroel as president on December 20, 1943." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR but identifies the party as centrist. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) describes the country's government at the time as conservative, writing, "The country's conservative government also shut

down most of its tin mines and laid off some four-fifths of its tin miners in response to a sharp drop in international tin prices and Comibol's large deficits." Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify MNR as center-right since 1985. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR's ideology as "Center-right" (0.656) in 1985. Funke et al. (2020: 85) identify Paz Estenssoro as a "left-wing populist," but also clarify, "Due to the shift in rhetoric and policies, we do not code his last leader spell (1985-89) as populist. By that time, 'he represented the political establishment' (Solfrini 2001, 129) and is described as 'orthodox' and economically 'neoliberal' rather than left-wing populist (Estellano 1994, Leaman 1999, Solfrini 2001)."

Years: 1989-1992

Leader: Paz Zamora

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Paz Zamora's party as Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). Political Handbook of the World (2008) also identifies Zamora's party as MIR and identifies MIR as leftist: "Affiliated with the Socialist International, the MIR is a non-Communist Marxist party that organized as a splinter of the PDC and has a history of cooperation with the MNRI." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MIR. Lentz (1994: 100) writes that Paz Zamora founded the MIR, and later states, "Despite his leftist background, Paz Zamora continued to pursue his predecessor's free-market policies." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MIR and identifies the party as social-democratic. Huber and Stephens (2016: 9) identify MIR as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MIR's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.933) in 1989.

Years: 1993-1996

Leader: Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Sánchez de Lozada's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR and identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR and identifies the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify MNR as center-right since 1985. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR's ideology as "Center-right" (1.093) in 1993. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MNR in 1993. Ortiz de Zárate (2020) writes, "Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, un potentado industrial que heredó de Victor Paz Estenssoro el liderazgo de centroderechista Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR),



mostró a lo largo de su trayectoria política un firme compromiso con la modernización económica de Bolivia con arreglo a un modelo nítidamente liberal que aplicó primero como ministro y luego en sus dos presidencias discontinuadas.” [Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, an industrial potentate who inherited from Victor Paz Estenssoro the leadership of the center-right Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR), showed throughout his political career a firm commitment to the economic modernization of Bolivia according to a clearly liberal model that he applied first as minister and then in his two discontinued presidencies.] Ortiz de Zárate (2020) also writes, “Sánchez, que gustaba definirse como un ‘conservador en lo fiscal’ y un ‘social liberal’...” [Sánchez, who liked to define himself as a ‘fiscal conservative’ and a ‘social liberal’...]

Years: 1997-2000

Leader: Banzer Suarez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Banzer Suárez’s party as Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN). Manzano (2017) codes Suárez as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) identifies Nationalist Democratic Action (Acción Democrática Nacionalista—ADN) as rightist.

Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ADN and identifies the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ADN and describes the conservative party PODEMOS (Poder Democrático y Social) as formerly ADN. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PODEMOS as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify ADN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 1997.

Year: 2001

Leader: Jorge Quiroga Ramirez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Quiroga Ramírez’s party as Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN). Political Handbook of the World (2012) identifies ADN as rightist. Political Handbook also states that Quiroga founded a rightist party in 2005: “The right-wing Podemos was launched in 2005 under the leadership of former president and former ADN leader Jorge Quiroga before the December 2005 balloting.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ADN and identifies the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ADN and describes the conservative party PODEMOS (Poder Democrático y Social) as formerly ADN. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PODEMOS as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify ADN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 1997.

Year: 2002

Leader: Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Sánchez de Lozada's party as Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR and identifies the party as center-left. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MNR and identifies the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify MNR as center-right since 1985. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MNR's ideology as "Center-right" (1.513) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in MNR in 2002. Ortiz de Zárate (2020) writes, "Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, un potentado industrial que heredó de Victor Paz Estenssoro el liderazgo de centroderechista Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), mostró a lo largo de su trayectoria política un firme compromiso con la modernización económica de Bolivia con arreglo a un modelo nítidamente liberal que aplicó primero como ministro y luego en sus dos presidencias discontinuadas." [Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, an industrial potentate who inherited from Victor Paz Estenssoro the leadership of the center-right Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR), showed throughout his political career a firm commitment to the economic modernization of Bolivia according to a clearly liberal model that he applied first as minister and then in his two discontinued presidencies.] Ortiz de Zárate (2020) also writes, "Sánchez, que gustaba definirse como un 'conservador en lo fiscal' y un 'social liberal'..." [Sánchez, who liked to define himself as a 'fiscal conservative' and a 'social liberal'...]

Years: 2003-2004

Leader: Carlos Mesa

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Mesa's party affiliation as none.

Year: 2005

Leader: Enrique Rodriguez

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Rodríguez Veltzé party affiliation as none.

Years: 2006-2018

Leader: Juan Morales

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Morales Ayma's party as Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS). Political Handbook of the World (2015) corroborates MAS as Ayma's party and identifies MAS as leftist: "Traditionally a minor leftist grouping, the MAS contested the 1997 election as a component of the United Left." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MAS and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MAS and identifies the party as socialist and left-wing nationalist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 9) identify MAS as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MAS's ideology as "Left" (-2.192) in 2005, 2009, and 2014. DPI identifies MAS's ideology as leftist.

Years: 2019

Leader: Anez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify leader. Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Anez's party as Movimiento Demócrata Social (MDS) and identify the party as center-right. The European Parliamentary Research Service (2015: 2) also identifies MDS as center-right, writing, "MDS, led by Rubén Costas, is also in the centre-right spectrum..."

Years: 2020

Leader: Arce

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Movement for Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo – MAS). World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as MAS and identifies the party as socialist and left-wing nationalist. Perspective monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as MAS and identifies the party as leftist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 9) identify MAS as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify MAS's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.599) in 2019. DPI identifies MAS's ideology as leftist.

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