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A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF BOLIVIAN POLITICAL LIFE

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Political Science
Faculty of the University of Texas at El Paso
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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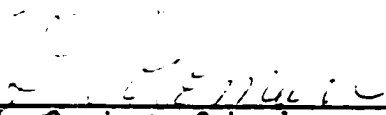
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A Systems Analysis of Bolivian Political Life

Chapter I

Scope and Method

This study is an attempt to identify patterns of political behavior in Bolivia through the quantification of data collected from Bolivian newspapers. In doing this work an effort has been made to incorporate methods and techniques that have developed in the study of American politics and to apply them in the study of comparative government. Robert C. North, et. al., Content Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963) was used as a guide to the systematic research among documents which record events, as well as Kenneth Janda, Data Processing (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965) in designing the data collection sheet which appears in Appendix I for the possible processing of information with a computer. More importantly, an endeavor was made to meet the criticisms of comparative studies as recorded by Almond and Powell.¹

In dealing with an underdeveloped country in Latin America efforts have been made to advance beyond the parochialism which has characterized comparative studies in the past, many of which

are European-oriented. In addition, the mere description of institutions has been avoided by examining structures and processes involved in politics and policy making. In the search for precision in dealing with the dynamic forces in politics, available data has been quantified. And finally, in the interest of subsequent hypotheses and additional research, a broad frame of reference has been sought. It is hoped that the efforts that follow can be a contribution to the general field of comparative government.

David Easton's theory of systems analysis of political life provides the methodological framework for the analysis of Bolivian politics that follows in this thesis.²

It is not the purpose of this thesis to examine the entire theoretical approach used by Easton to explain the functioning of political systems. Rather, the purpose is to develop those concepts which constitute the central part of Easton's theory. In keeping with this plan, the first step is to describe the intra-societal environment which reflects the attitudes, values, and behavior that help shape the pattern of Bolivian politics. Those social sub-systems which affect political life have been considered; namely, the agricultural sector, the labor sector, the educational sector, the administrative sector, the political sector, private groups, and others.

An analysis is undertaken of demands as a type of input as well as a source of stress in the Bolivian political system.

These demands have been classified as economic, political, social and other. Also examined is the issue of how demands are voiced within the system; that is to say, the characteristic means and methods through which demands are expressed, and how they are presented to the appropriate authorities.

Finally, as a logical result of this process, the conversion of demands into outputs by the occupants of authoritative roles, namely, the authorities themselves, is detailed.

In brief, the following relevant sequence in the functioning of Bolivian politics is described: (1) the intra-societal environment which created a wide variety of stimulus in the system, (2) demands as a major input and as a source of stress, (3) means and methods through which demands are expressed, voiced, and presented to the authorities, and finally, (4) the way in which authorities convert demands into outputs.

The data were collected from daily newspapers published in La Paz, Bolivia. These were "El Diario" and "Presencia," both morning dailies, and "Ultima Hora," an evening newspaper. These papers are considered to be the more reliable reporters of daily events in Bolivia. In keeping with their availability, the following periods were covered in the analysis:

1964, November - December	"El Diario" "Presencia" "Ultima Hora"
1965, January - December	"El Diario" "Presencia"
January - May	"Ultima Hora"
1966, January, February, October, November	"El Diario" "Presencia"
1967, January - December	"El Diario" "Presencia"

The periods noted are not chronologically complete from month to month nor from day to day; however, it is felt that the material available provides sufficient data for drawing reliable conclusions.

The data collection sheet includes four principal areas of interest which guided research, three of which have already been mentioned. These areas are:

1. Demands as inputs classified into four categories.
2. Those demands that come from different sectors of Bolivian society, and that are channeled through specific organizations such as labor unions, cooperatives, and political parties.
3. Means and methods through which demands are voiced; for example, strikes, public demonstrations, and armed marches.

4. Finally, the governmental attitudes toward these demands, as outputs of the political system.

The analysis of this material has led to conclusions which may serve as points of departure for further research.

Chapter II

The Intra-societal Environment

Political life cannot be effectively isolated from overall social systems except, perhaps for purposes of theoretical analysis. Normally the political system is surrounded by different social sub-systems -- the economic sub-system, the cultural sub-system, and so on -- that make up the intra-societal environment. These influences are constantly shaping the characteristics of the political system which is thus exposed to some kind of stream of events coming from its environment. In this way, a wide variety of social conditions, under which the political system operates, are constantly being created.

In describing the intra-societal environment, the following sectors have been determined to be representative of the most important sub-systems within Bolivian society:

1. Agricultural Sector
2. Labor Sector
3. Educational Sector
4. Administrative Sector, or Public Administration
5. Political Sector
6. Private Groups
7. Others

Each one of the sectors listed has a specific meaning within the context of this work and a brief description of each follows.

Agricultural Sector. The term "Agricultural Sector" applies only to the Bolivian native rural population, their organizations and institutions. Other groups, such as foreign-owned agricultural enterprises, are not included.

While agricultural activities in Bolivia engage the labor of over three-fourths of the economically active population, they only account for approximately one-third of the Gross Domestic Product.¹ Nevertheless, of the country's total land area, only 0.5 percent is actually cultivated. The remainder consists of forest areas, wasteland, and natural pastures.² The tremendous contrast between the percentage of labor engaged in agriculture and its low productivity forces the country to import foodstuffs and other agricultural commodities. Furthermore, most rural Bolivians live an existence marginal to the national economy. The generally low level of rural economic development is reflected in the following conditions:³

1. Rural economy: Most of the Bolivian rural population lives at a bare subsistence level, in which contact with cash markets is the exception rather than the rule. A typical peasant family satisfies its limited needs mostly through its own labor, lands, or animals. This

economic isolation, together with the problems created by the large concentration of the rural population on the highest and most unproductive lands, stands as a barrier to social development. The Agrarian Reform of 1953 changed, to a certain extent, the patterns of Bolivian agriculture; however, a low standard of living still prevails in the rural areas.

2. Housing conditions: Rural housing patterns have remained virtually unchanged since colonial days. Minimal shelter and a lack of adequate service and sanitary facilities characterize the peasants' dwellings.
3. Diet and nutrition: With poverty affecting the country's rural population, undernourishment is a principal cause of the high mortality rate in the rural areas. Qualitative as well as quantitative nutritional standards are extremely low.
4. Education: Topography, economic and political instability, and conservative social traditions have been some of the factors preventing the extension of education to the masses, especially in the rural areas. By 1961, almost ten years after the National Revolution, the country's illiteracy rate was still 70 percent, and in the rural areas it had reached 80 percent. The Revolutionary

Government (1952-1964) considered literacy campaigns a "civic task of national scope." The legal basis for this action was the Education Code of 1955. However, in spite of this official concern for the educational needs of the rural population, there were many conditions working against it. There is no information available regarding the scope and effectiveness of this work, though it seems doubtful that the literacy campaigns reached other than a small part of the rural population.

The principal characteristics of the agricultural sector have been discussed. Now the political importance of this sector in Bolivian society will be examined.

It must be recognized that although the term "agricultural sector" has been applied to the bulk of the Bolivian rural population, the latter includes ethnically diverse groups and cultures. These variables can be expected to affect patterns of social behavior.

Generally speaking, the rural population of Bolivia has its origins in three major ethnic groups, the Aymara-speaking Indians of the highlands (Altiplano), the Quechua speakers concentrated in the valleys, and the generally white Spanish-speaking natives of the eastern plains (Oriente).⁴ Traditionally, each of these

groups has been effectively isolated from the mainstream of national life. The Aymara and Quechua Indians have been relegated to an inferior social status, while the lowlanders of the eastern plains, owing to a serious lack of adequate transportation facilities and to a long tradition of social and cultural regionalism, have remained virtually out of touch with the rest of the nation.

Historical barriers of language, cultural differences, regionalism, and even racial prejudice continue to plague Bolivian society. However, in spite of these conditions and the profound resultant internal divisions, Bolivian peasants constitute a potential economic and political force. The Bolivian rural population is 66.8% of the country's total population.⁵ Moreover, in the National Revolution of 1952, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR, Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario) provided this group with a new socio-political orientation.

In its efforts to build mass support, the MNR promoted the organization of the agricultural labor force. Since 1952 peasant organizations have been the government's principal political prop. These organizations were so successful that the peasant unions (sindicatos campesinos) probably embraced the total adult male rural population. However, it should be noted that owing to their

nature and functions, peasant unions are not to be identified with a real unionized movement, but are instead organized pressure groups. At the national level, these groups are subordinated to the National Confederation of Bolivian Rural Workers (Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia), while the Ministry of Rural Affairs (Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos) is directly in charge of their welfare and control.⁶

Finally, given its peculiar conditions and characteristics, the agricultural sector becomes subject to political manipulation by whatever regime is ruling the country. This sector was the most politically active during the revolutionary period, in sharp contrast to previous historical stages. Lately, this sector constitutes, along with the military, the principal support of the current regime.

Labor Sector: In a real sense a country's labor force would include agriculture and related occupations, mining, transportation, commerce and finance, public administration, professional services, domestic services, manufacturing, and so on. However, as a methodological convenience and for a better understanding of the Bolivian intra-societal environment, the term "Labor Sector" will refer exclusively to organized labor in the mining, manufacturing, and petroleum industries. Occasionally, transporta-

tion, communication, and services other than those specifically listed in the data collection sheet will be included, but their frequency and importance within the labor sector are not as significant as those industries mentioned before.

The mining industry is Bolivia's principal source of revenue since over 93 percent of its exports corresponds to raw materials in which minerals (primarily tin) are included. However, mining activities utilize only 4.2 percent of the total labor force. The Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL, Corporacion Minera de Bolivia) is a government-owned agency which operates the nationalized mines and employs the largest number of mine workers.⁷

The petroleum industry accounts for 3.9 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. The exploitation of petroleum deposits and petroleum products has been nationalized, and is administered by the Bolivian Public Petroleum Enterprise (YPFB, Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos). Together with mining, petroleum industry activities are supervised by the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum (Ministerio de Minas y Petróleos).⁸

Manufacturing industries employ approximately 7 percent of the total labor force and accounts for 13.6 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. Bolivia is a country where the process of industrialization is just beginning to emerge. La Paz and

Cochabamba are the only cities considered as relatively important industrial centers. Industrial production includes foodstuffs and beverages, textiles, leather goods and footwear, tobacco products, chemicals, and some others. This segment of industry has the second largest membership among the country's labor force, since artisans and self-employed craftsmen are included.⁹

It is important to note that because of the country's agrarian-oriented economy, labor as an organized movement has developed with difficulty. Historical as well as political and social conditions have contributed to deviations and manipulations of the movement. Since its early years, labor unions have been engaged in constant political turmoil, having effected little, if any, improvement in the living conditions of the workers. During the MNR government the party attempted to promote the role of labor in national affairs. Accordingly, the principle of co-government (cogobierno) was created by President Victor Paz Estenssoro. Beginning in 1952, the Bolivian Workers Confederation (COB, Central Obrera Boliviana) played a decisive role in MNR administrations.¹⁰ However, internal political divisions and rivalries continued to work against unity in the labor movement. Lately, ideological and personal differences have led to the weakening and loss of prestige of the Bolivian labor movement, its demise coinciding with the fall of the MNR

regime in 1964.¹¹

The most influential trade unions are The Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia (FSTMB, Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia) with approximately 120,000 members; the General Confederation of Factory Workers of Bolivia (CTFB, Confederación de Trabajadores Fabriles de Bolivia) with about 35,000 members; the Trade Union Confederation of Railway and Airline Workers and Workers of Related Occupations (Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Ferroviarios Transportes Aereos y Ramas Anexas) with over 20,000 members; the Trade Union Confederation of Drivers (Confederación Nacional de Choferes); the Trade Union Confederation of Construction Workers (Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Construcción); and the Confederation of Petroleum Workers (Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Petroleros).¹²

Ideological influences within the labor movement come primarily from political parties, especially those that are leftist oriented.

The main characteristics of the labor sector may be summarized as follows:¹³

1. Because of the unequal distribution of the labor force throughout the diverse geographic regions of the country (highlands, valleys, and eastern plains), and the inability of industries to absorb the surplus of workers

in urban areas, mining and manufacturing industries face problems of overstaffing.

2. The vast majority of the labor force is unskilled. The shortage of professional and specialized labor contributes to low productivity .
3. Closely related to the lack of skill of over 90 percent of the Bolivian labor force is the poor quality of formal education. A large percentage of the workers are illiterate while the remainder have scarcely completed an elementary education. Vocational and specialized training programs are inadequate and limited in number.
4. Living conditions for the majority of the workers in Bolivia remain at the primitive level. Workers' demands for higher wages and other social benefits have not been met, either by the 1942 Labor Code or by the National Revolution which manifested a serious concern for the improvement of their living conditions.

Educational Sector: The Educational Sector includes the various teacher and student organizations found throughout Bolivia, for example: elementary education teachers, secondary education teachers, university professors, secondary education students, and university students.

Other educational groups like the National Teachers' School (Escuela Normal de Maestros) in Sucre, the Institute for Higher Education (Instituto Superior de Educación) in La Paz, and the Catholic Teachers' School (Escuela Normal Católica de Maestros) have also been considered.

Both teachers and students have strong and well organized unions to express their demands and opinions. These unions are: the National Teachers' Federation (Federación Nacional de Maestros); the National Rural Teachers' Federation (Federación Nacional de Maestros Rurales) which includes elementary and secondary education teachers; the National Federation of Secondary Education Students (FES, Federación de Estudiantes de Secundaria); and the Federation of University Students (FUL, Federación Universitaria Local). These unions are organized at the local, departmental, and national levels.¹⁴

University professors are also organized; however, owing to the principle of university autonomy, each group is organized independently under different names, e.g., Professors' Trade Union of the University of San Simon (SIDUMSS, Sindicato de Docentes de la Universidad Mayor de San Simón) in Cochabamba. Only the National University Council (Consejo Universitario Nacional), which has been created by the National Code of Education, represents an effort to coordinate University education at

the national level, though it is exclusively for academic purposes.¹⁵

Detailed educational statistics are limited; however, an idea of the proportion of the total population attending schools, and the corresponding number of teachers in service, can be obtained from the following figures.¹⁶

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1962</u>
Teachers	9,498	17,782
Students	226,931	532,238
Schools	2,495	4,767

Although the 1952 National Revolution saw the number of teachers, students, and schools double, only 12 percent of the total population benefits from educational opportunities, while the majority, especially in rural areas, remains lacking.

Teacher training institutions operate separately for urban and rural teachers. In this respect the country's problem is qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. The national government is continually faced with the problem of overcoming the numerous limitations and deficiencies in the Bolivian educational system. The Education Code prescribes policies designed to change the structure and content of the country's educational system; however, economic, technical and administrative obstacles inhibit educational improvements for the near future.¹⁷

Distinguishing characteristics of the Bolivian educational sector are as follows:¹⁸

1. The educational system touches a very limited number of the country's population.
2. Historical tradition and European influences on the system have made the task of reorganizing the educational structure a difficult one. Bolivian universities are especially hampered by old patterns in curricula and organization.
3. Adequate economic resources have been chronically absent from the nation's budget for education. Educational facilities and opportunities are lacking. For this reason the government is constantly facing demands for improvements in this area.
4. While various legal provisions emphasize education as principal task for the political authorities, this responsibility is assumed to a large extent by an increasing number of private institutions, lay and religious, engaged at different levels of the educational system. Although this relieves the government from pressures to provide immediate and better educational services, in the long run the situation does not favor the development of public education in Bolivia.

5. Teachers and students tend to be highly politicized, to the extent that they have become important pressure groups within the country. As in the case of workers and peasants, political parties frequently act through student or teacher union organizations. In the past, students and teachers have been directly involved in revolutions, coups, civil wars, and lesser types of political agitation.

Administrative Sector: All those persons working under the supervision of governmental agencies have been included in the Administrative Sector. Public services account for 9.3 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, and the country's public employees are also unionized.¹⁹

Constitutionally, Bolivian governmental organization is characterized by a unitary governmental structure, separation of powers, constitutional relations between the President and the Cabinet, unifunctional ministries, and similar provisions. Territorially, Bolivian governmental structure is composed of nine Departments (Departamentos), five National Delegations (Delegaciones Nacionales), 87 Provinces (Provincias), 175 Sections (Secciones), over 100 Municipalities (Municipalidades), and over 800 Cantons (Cantones).²⁰ All these are tied together in an orderly hierarchy, depending ultimately on the chief execu-

tive. Thus, one of the problems of Bolivian public administration is the weakness of local government with its limited freedom for initiative and experimentation. The overcentralization of public administration in the executive branch is a greater disadvantage due to the country's geographical diversity, unequal population densities, and the lack of adequate means of transportation and communication.

A summarized view of Bolivian public administration would include the four most important levels of government: national, departmental, decentralized entities, and municipalities. Their principal characteristics are as follows:²¹

1. The administrative structure is not organic. This means that little coordination exists among governmental entities at different levels. The national government, consisting of 12 ministries, lacks rationally well-defined delimitation of functions and attributes. In turn, this has led to conflicts of jurisdiction and a corresponding duplication of cost and effort.
2. Administrative decentralization seems to be arbitrarily interpreted since the central government has allowed excessive freedom to certain agencies, while municipal and departmental governments are closely controlled. As a result, polarization of services and functions in the

hands of the central government gives rise to deficient public services in most communities with the possible exception of departmental capitals where government is traditionally established.

3. Undercapitalization is another problem that public administration has yet to solve. Consequently, low wages tend to promote migration toward private activities, inefficiency, corruption, lack of motivation for improved education and training, multi-career system and a dispatory type of fiscal administration.
4. The influence of external factors such as political instability, is important to the administrative process since the mobile status of officials affects to a large extent functional administrative continuity. Ineffectiveness and politicization of the public bureaucracy represent a serious limitation on the administrative capability of the State.
5. Inflexibility in public administration is reinforced by intricate administrative regulations and laws. Red tape, centralization of decision-making power over routine matters, multiple internal checks, and approvals and signatures required for even the most trivial matters are

characteristic of the country's administrative procedures.

6. A number of encouraging changes have occurred. These are the establishment of the National Civil Service Office (Oficina Nacional del Servicio Publico) with the task of reorganizing the civil service system; legal provisions creating an Administrative Reform Commission (Comisión de Reforma Administrativa); and other improvements in recruitment methods, job classification, tax laws, and the reorganization of the postal system.

Political Sector: Within this sector have been included the most important political parties in Bolivia, as well as a limited number of governmental offices, political alliances, and others.

The term "governmental offices" refers to a specific branch of the central government which fulfills a specialized political role, such as the legislature, which consists of a Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. It is appropriate to consider this particular governmental sector here because its members belong to one or another political party and, in a country such as Bolivia, these members tend to represent a particular political orientation rather than the interests of the general electorate. All formal pacts signed or proclaimed by a political party with other parties or groups supporting common objectives have also been included.

In the "other" classification are organizations which are not

formally recognized as political parties, but which engage in sporadic political activities in support of their particular interests. Examples of these organizations are the Civic Movement for National Unity (Movimiento Cívico de Unidad Nacional); the Chaco War Veterans' organization (Bloque de Ex-combatientes de la Guerra del Chaco); and the Institutional and Democratic Alliance (Alianza Democrática Institucionalista).

In June 1966, Bolivia had 31 political parties and "civic groups," only 13 of which were recognized by law. Of these, the most significant are listed below.²²

The Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB, Falange Socialista Boliviana): The FSB was founded in 1937 by Oscar Unzaga de la Vega. Although it has manifested considerable change since then, the party was initially influenced by Spanish fascism and strong nationalist feelings. The party is anti-communist in orientation and identifies strongly with Christian and Socialist movements. Its membership comes mainly from the middle classes and secondary school and university students. Peasants and workers are not significant in its ranks. The FSB has been characterized as an active opponent to the Bolivian government and has engaged in various coups and revolutions, though has never obtained power. After the fall of the MNR in 1964, the FSB became a member of

the Front of the Bolivian Revolution (FRB, Frente de la Revolución Boliviana), an alliance between the military and other political parties.

Revolutionary Party of the Nationalists Left (PRIN, Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacionalista): The PRIN emerged in 1964, following the MNR convention, with left wing MNR support. Mine workers, through their labor unions and national organization -- Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia -- and the Bolivian Workers Confederation have provided the principal support to this political party. The PRIN emphasizes its national character and thus refuses to identify openly with a Marxist orientation. After its break with the MNR, the PRIN undertook an active campaign to criticize governmental policies. In view of its anti-labor attitudes, PRIN has assumed the role of active opponent of the Bolivian government.

Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR, Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario): MNR was another party which appeared in the Bolivian political arena after the Chaco War in 1940, almost simultaneously with the Party of the Revolutionary Left. It was initially influenced by Nazism (anti-semitic, anti-capitalist, and anti-oligarchical), but Marxist-Leninist tendencies were also found within the organization. The MNR led the controverted

Bolivian National Revolution of April 9, 1952, which basically changed the economic, social, and political order of the country. The Revolutionary government's most important measures were agrarian reform, nationalization of the mines, universal suffrage, and educational reform.

The MNR had almost absolute support from the popular sectors, e.g., labor and peasant groups, as well as significant support from the middle classes. Due to ideological confusion and personal differences, the party was divided into three distinct wings; the PRIN, the Authentic Revolutionary Party (PRA, Partido Revolucionario Auténtico), and those who remained loyal to the MNR itself. During the party's fourth period of constitutional government, the MNR was overthrown by a civil-military coalition headed by General René Barrientos Ortuño in 1964.

Social Democratic Party (PSD, Partido Social Demócrata): This party was founded in 1944, as Social Democratic Action (Acción Social Demócrata) but became a formal political party in 1947. PSD has been recognized as a moderate socialist movement within the neo-liberal orientation. It supports free economic competition and social democracy while rejecting all types of violence. Its members are mainly upper class professionals and businessmen. Terms such as "reactionary" and

"oligarchical" have frequently been applied to this party. PSD has been an important collaborator of the recent government. Bolivian Vice-President Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas, elected in 1966 with President Rene Barrientos Ortuno, is one of the outstanding PSD leaders.

Christian Democratic Party (PDC, Partido Democrática Cristiano): This party was founded in 1964 as the Social Christian Party. Although there were other political parties which claimed to follow the social doctrines of the Catholic Church, the PDC was the first party to clearly embrace social Catholicism as its own. PDC is considered among the socialist and progressive movements which support radical changes as necessary for the achievement of social justice; however, this party rejects coups and violent means as a way of political life. Being a relatively new party its membership is relatively small, and for the most part is supported by young people, professionals, students, and urban workers.

Party of the Revolutionary Left (PIR, Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria): PIR is one of the more interesting political movements which appeared in Bolivia after the Chaco War. Originally, its leadership included outstanding young intellectuals of the 1940's who sponsored a nationalist and pro-

gressive platform gaining significant political support. However, personal rivalries and political miscalculations contributed to the subsequent loss of prestige. Its ideological orientation has been Marxist-Leninist although the interpretation of principles has been flexible. PIR's ideological program contains ideas which the MNR implemented as its own. This party has lately cooperated with Bolivian military supported administrations.

Authentic Revolutionary Party (PRA, Partido Revolucionario Auténtico): This political party emerged in 1961 as a separate and independent branch of the MNR. Wálter Guevara Arzø, its founder and theorist, held cabinet and diplomatic posts in several MNR administrations (1952-1960). PRA supports the National Revolution, but from a more "democratic" and "anti-Marxist" position. Its membership consists primarily of former MNR members. PRA also joined the Front of the Bolivian Revolution in 1966.

Communist Party of Bolivia (PCB, Partido Comunista de Bolivia): This party splintered in 1950 from the PIR with a clear Marxist-Leninist orientation. Even though the country's popular masses are often responsive to the party's appeals, internal divisions have prevented the PCB from gaining support among Bolivians. Communism in Bolivia has always been a divided

force antedating the world controversy between Peking and Moscow. Like any other Communist party, the PCB seeks proletarian revolution and national liberation coupled with the disappearance of capitalism. The Communist Party in Bolivia has always been an active opponent of all regimes in the past.

Revolutionary Workers Party (POR, Partido Obrero Revolucionario): This party came into existence with the birth of the country's labor movement in 1934 as the Chaco War was being fought. POR considered itself the vanguard of the proletariat and grew as a reaction to "intellectual socialism." Ideologically, the POR follows the Trotskyite Fourth International. Its doctrinal postulates are almost the same as those of the PCB, however significant differences exist in strategy since the POR seeks a worker-peasant alliance as a model for revolutionary government. This party gained labor support for a limited period of time, especially from mine workers under the leadership of Guillermo Lora. The POR played an active role during the National Revolution, but later became a strong critic of the MNR due to that party's compromises and political vacillation.

Popular Christian Movement (MPC, Movimiento Popular Cristiano): After the MNR government was overthrown in 1964 by a military coup, the Popular Christian Movement appeared in

answer to political pressures and interests. General René Barrientos Ortuño, Vice-President during the last MNR period, emerged as the leader of former MNR members. The party's ideological position is yet to be defined. The term 'movement' appeals to the peasants who associate it with the MNR. On the other hand, the MPC considers itself to have a "popular" orientation while opposed to extremist doctrines. Since the 1966 national elections, in which the MPC supported the successful military junta candidate, this party has functioned as the official party. President René Barrientos Ortuño boasts the massive support of the peasants and the military.

Liberal Party (PL, Partido Liberal): The Liberal Party, a traditional political group, had a decisive influence on Bolivian political development between 1899 and 1920. In keeping with its doctrinal origins in French liberalism, the PL supports basic human rights and freedoms while it promotes social progress through free competition and private initiative. Its influence has diminished considerably and its political participation is reduced to alliances with other groups or parties. It generally opposes military governments.

Civil Groups: This classification includes associations of citizens not specifically included in other sectors. These associations may have civic, cultural, religious, or social

objectives and they may assume different forms in keeping with circumstances and the nature of specific problems. "Private Groups" are those in which citizens organize themselves, for instance, as neighborhood councils (Consejos Vecinales) in order to improve sanitary conditions and to ask for improved public services. Another example of this type of organization would be housewives' associations which sometimes make demands for better sanitary conditions on market places, or lower prices for certain products. "Civic Groups" are those associations which have specific tasks and internal regulations. These associations may seek to promote the general welfare or civic education in their communities. "Governmental Commissions" are all those groups which are generally appointed by governmental authorities to solve or report on a specific problem. Once their purpose has been accomplished the commissions may cease to exist. In one case, popular demands gave rise to special commissions (Comisiones Investigadoras) which were established after the fall of the MNR to investigate the maladministration of public funds. "Deliberative Bodies" refers to a very old institution whose origins are found in colonial governmental practices such as the townhouse meeting (Cabildo Abierto). This is a public deliberative body which considers the most important problems affecting the local community. On

occasion, this old institution, with modifications, can still be observed in Bolivia and is used as a means of expressing demands or considering important issues. Due to its public character and massive attendance, the influence of these deliberative bodies can be considerable.

In spite of their variety, "civil groups" do not exert as much influence as political parties or labor unions.

Other Sectors: The industrial and business sectors include Bolivian private employers and private capital investors who operate national enterprises. Foreign enterprises such as the Chaco Petroleum Company or the Bolivian Gulf Oil Company have not been classified even though their economic role may be greater than that of their Bolivian counterparts.

Bolivian industrial and business groups are organized through the National Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Cámara Nacional de Industria y Comercio).

"Professional Organizations incorporate such groups as the Bolivian Medical Confederation (COMSIB, Confederación Médica Sindical de Bolivia), Lawyers Association (Colegio de Abogados), pharmacists, dentists, journalists, architects, and similar groups. These organizations are of recent origin in Bolivia; however, their impact on the social system is especially important when their activities are related to certain public services

such as medical service through social security agencies, or support to the administration of justice. Journalists and other news media employees are of primary importance because of their impact on public opinion. In brief, the professional organizations are assuming an increasing significance, either as professional private interest groups, or as contributors to public services and activities.

Chapter III

Demands as Inputs And As A Source of Stress

According to David Easton, there are a variety of influences, events, and conditions which are continuously operating in the environment and which are capable of producing alterations, modifications, and, at times, drastic changes in the political system. All these influences are sources of possible stress in the political system, and thus are inputs linking the political system with other social systems as well as with the total environment.¹

The concept of "input" is a useful tool for theoretical purposes because it mirrors and reveals the important behavior patterns underlying political systems. Therefore, while it is convenient to interpret this concept in its broadest sense, that is to say, as any external influence coming from the environment, only certain kinds of inputs (key indicators which represent and summarize the most important influences coming from the already described intra-societal environment) will be developed. These environmental influences are demands as a major input.

Demand has been defined by Easton as ". . . an expres-

sion of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so."² Thus, the scope and content of a demand may be quite narrow, specific, and simple, such as a worker's demand for salary increase, or general, complex, and vague, as in the case of a demand for the overall improvement of living standards. According to Easton, however, there are two features which characterize a demand. In the first place, it must be potentially stressful to the political system. This means that a demand must be presented by a person, a group of persons, or organizations of the type previously described, and the demands must possess strength and the probability of being heard "by those who are responsible for doing so." Second, once demands have been introduced into the political system, they should be directed toward the authorities, who are viewed as persons responsible for day-to-day business and who act in the name of society. The point is that due to their directionality and the fact that they are often oriented to secure the support of society, demands assume a political character.³

In this way demands act as continuing inflow which constitute the raw material for the operation of the political system. This is the function that demands perform within the going sys-

tem in spite of stress. The nature, diversity, and frequency of demands might vary according to the operating system and its characteristics. However, if the system is to persist at all, it must tolerate a minimum number of demands in order that it may function.⁴

On the other hand, demands may be a source of stress to the political system when they remain unfulfilled due to an output failure, or when regardless of the authorities' efforts to cope with them, they act directly as a demand input overload due to excessive volume or content. The more time consumed by demands due to volume, content, or output failure, the more stress there is on the system's stability. This situation may become worse when the demands of politically relevant members or groups remain unfulfilled.⁵

Using these concepts, the different types of demands made by the various sectors in the Bolivian intra-societal environment may now be examined. Demands may be expressed orally, in writing, or by numerous actions such as voting, joining organizations, participating in public demonstrations, and so on. Demands may also vary in content, ranging from those motivated by narrow self-interest to those inspired by ideals of common interest or general welfare. According to their nature, demands may be classified into four major categories; economic, social, political, and others

(mixed demands).

Economic demands: Under economic demands may be found all those petitions which seek material means to satisfy human desires as presented by groups or organizations to the authorities.

These are:

1. Salary increase: This demand includes all petitions for higher basic wages and salaries.
2. Return to previous wage scale: This type of economic demand occurs when the basic wages of workers, teachers, or other employees have been reduced by the government or by private employers as a matter of public policy or economic necessity.
3. Social benefits: These include all supplementary payments authorized by the Labor Code and Social Security Laws. Among these benefits are family allowances (beneficios familiares), bonuses (bonos), profit shares (primas), year-end bonuses (aguinaldo), and seniority dividends (bono de antigüedad o categoría).
4. Employment opportunities: These cover all petitions for the creation of new employment opportunities. In general these are demands for the expansion of the national labor market.

5. Reposition of public funds: This includes all demands asking the authorities to restore public funds that may have been misappropriated.
6. Increased national production: This type of demand refers to governmental measures and policies to promote the economic development of the country. This demand is often made by political parties, businessmen, private capital investors, and industrialists.
7. Taxes: This deals with petitions asking the government for the modification of tax legislation, or the creation of new taxes.
8. Implementation of economic policies: This refers to all demands for the fulfillment of certain promises made by the authorities. Generally, this type of demand arises after the government has solved a conflict by promising the implementation of some economic policies.

As shown in Table 1, 86 economic demands were recorded during the periods covered by this research. From this total, the following sectors voiced demands in decreasing order:

Labor Sector	30, or 34.88 percent
Educational Sector	26, or 30.23 percent
Administrative Sector	12, or 13.72 percent
Civil Groups	11, or 12.79 percent
Political Groups	5, or 5.8 percent
Agrarian Sector	1, or 1.16 percent
Others	1, or 1.16 percent

As far as the type of economic demand is concerned, salary increases represent the most frequent petition. Thus, the labor sector made 12 salary increase demands, the educational sector 9, "others" 3, while the administrative sector made 1. Demands for social benefits may also be found, although less frequently. The same could be said of return to previous wage scale demands made by three of the most important sectors -- administrative, labor, and educational.

The demand for implementation of economic policies has been made by five of the seven sectors listed, including labor, educational, agrarian, civil, and others. The fact that the educational sector voiced 11 of these is significant since elementary and secondary education teachers receive various supplementary payments. It may be also noted that the agrarian sector made only one economic demand. Demands for increased national production were made only by the political sector and civil groups. "Other" demands such as taxes, employment opportunities, reposition of public funds, have been voiced by a significant number of sectors, including labor, administrative, civil, and others.

Social Demands: These include four principal types of demands essentially related to public services.

1. Recognition of juridical personality: This demand is frequently voiced by organizations which seek to function

on a legal basis. This means that those labor unions, political parties, or civic groups which have a juridical personality can enjoy rights and privileges provided by law.

2. Membership in Social Security Agencies: This type of social demand reflects requests for affiliation with the National Social Security Agency (Caja Nacional de Seguridad Social) or its local branches. Not all labor enjoys social security benefits in Bolivia.
3. Improvement of public services: This type includes petitions made with reference to qualitative or quantitative improvements in public services. This demand is usually made by citizens' groups, neighborhood councils, or similar organizations.
4. Reinstatement of jobs: This demand is voiced by groups of workers or public employees who have lost their jobs because of economic or political considerations.

As may be seen from Table 2, the volume of social demands is less than that of other types of demands, probably because they tend to be incorporated with the group labelled "Other demands." It might also be that economic demands are directed to satisfy more basic needs and therefore gain priority as petitions.

The results show that a total of seventeen social demands were presented. From these, the following were made by the different sectors in decreasing order:

Civil Groups	8, or 47.23 percent
Labor Sector	3, or 17.64 percent
Administrative Sector	3, or 17.64 percent
Agrarian Sector	2, or 12.1 percent
Educational Sector	1, or 5.87 percent

It is significant to note that almost 50 percent of the total social demands were made by civil groups. As mentioned earlier, this sector is mainly constituted by citizens organized in different neighborhood councils, housewives' organizations, and civic groups. They are normally concerned about public services and governmental activities related to common welfare. Also of interest is the fact that from a total of 17 social demands presented, 11 corresponded to "Improvement of Public Services." This means that over 65 percent of the total number of social demands occurred in this particular area.

The demand for reinstatement of jobs appears to be associated primarily with the labor sector and the agrarian sector, both of which depend mainly on the government for employment, and to a lesser extent on private employers.

"Recognition of juridical personality" and "Membership in Social Security Agencies" were least frequent as demands. However,

it is interesting to note that rural workers (agrarian sector) who live under the worst economic conditions and are subject to numerous social and political disadvantages, were not favored by social security or labor legislation. In spite of this situation, no demand was recorded in which this sector sought such benefits.

Political Demands: Within this group may be included all those petitions presented to the authorities and having the following specific political content:

1. Freedom of speech and press: This demand refers to basic political rights guaranteed by the Constitution, along with other freedoms such as that of assembly. These freedoms acquire special importance for politically active groups.
2. Legal immunities: This demand deals with petitions for recognition of special legal status of union officials in the course of legitimate trade union activities. This recognition is also extended to labor union leaders and certain public officials such as senators and deputies (Fuero sindical e inmunidades parlamentarias) as well as to some autonomous entities such as the universities and municipalities.
3. Freedom of political leaders: This type of demand occurs

when the government has arbitrarily apprehended a political or trade union leader.

4. Political amnesty: This refers to those demands made by political parties or other groups in support of freedom for their activities. More specifically, the demand is intended to effect the return of exiled political leaders to the country. The President and the Congress are authorized by law to declare political amnesty under certain conditions.
5. Fulfillment of legal requirements: This category includes all those petitions made by the different sectors asking authorities to observe the norms and regulations protecting citizens' rights. This demand is usually voiced in times of stress when the government is arbitrarily using its power and authority, for example, the declaration of a "state of siege" without compelling reasons. On the other hand, it might also be used when the authorities are not fulfilling their economic, social, or other legal responsibilities. A common source of stress develops when the government does not raise teachers' wages. Although this would normally be an economic demand, the demand becomes political when the government is accused of inhibiting public education,

one of government's principal responsibilities.

6. Replacement of public officers: This type of political demand refers to those cases which seek replacement of inefficient, arbitrary, or unpopular public officials.

According to Table 3, the volume of political demands reflects the active participation of almost all sectors in the nation's political affairs. However, this "participation" should not be understood in terms of a highly developed social democracy or equality of opportunity, but as political activism on the part of many organizations. The following are the frequencies of political demands by sectors, in decreasing order:

Labor Sector	22, or 29.72 percent
Political Sector	20, or 25.98 percent
Educational Sector	12, or 15.56 percent
Agrarian Sector	11, or 14.45 percent
Civil Groups	9, or 11.68 percent
Others	2, or 2.59 percent
Administrative Sector	1, or 1.29 percent

The order of the sectors listed above mirrors to a large extent the relative political importance of each. It is very significant to note that the administrative sector which is completely under government control, made just one political demand. On the other hand, the labor sector shows a larger number of political demands than the political sector which is supposed to be the most active in this area. This can be interpreted as ex-

cessive political activity on the part of the labor sector, partially reflecting its manipulation by political parties.

With reference to the types of political demands, fulfillment of legal requirements is the most frequent and numerous. This demand constitutes the majority of the total number of political demands, 54 of 77. It should also be pointed out that this particular type of demand is found in six of seven sectors, and that these demands represent the largest percentage of those included in each sector, though tending to be concentrated primarily in the political and labor sectors. The marked insistence on the fulfillment of legal requirements may be explained by the traditional arbitrary conduct of public officials on the one hand, and on the indiscriminate use of this argument against the authorities on the other.

Freedom of leaders is the next type of political demand and was identified in five of seven sectors. Of these, the labor and educational sectors had the greater numbers. This reveals the extent of political activism in both sectors when their leaders are subject to imprisonment by the authorities. The agrarian sector made only one demand of this type in spite of its politically important role; however, since the agrarian sector constituted the principal support for the Bolivian government during the period examined, it is understandable that

this type of demand would be infrequent for the sector at this time.

Legal immunities have been demanded precisely by those sectors for which special privileges exist by law. Thus, labor sector union leaders enjoy a special legal status during the course of legitimate trade union activities. This legal immunity is called fuero sindical which is also applicable to any kind of union, be it for teachers, workers, or peasants. Universities and municipalities are recognized by law as autonomous institutions, and university and municipal autonomy guarantees special privileges to their members -- students, teachers, and employees. Finally, some public officials such as senators and deputies enjoy inmunidad parlamentaria, a special legal status that the political parties may exploit when the government uses its authority arbitrarily against these public officials. Sometimes professional and business people find it necessary to voice this appeal while engaging in political activities, especially when their leaders are affected.

Replacement of public officials and Political amnesty have occupied a relatively unimportant place as political demands and for this reason have been categorized in "Others."

Other Demands: These are mixed demands incorporating two or

more types in a single demand. For example, through their labor unions, factory workers may ask for higher wages and membership in the social security agency. Frequently miners and teachers have presented economic demands, e.g., higher wages and social benefits. However, because of its chronic budget deficit, the government is unable to cope with this demand. As time elapses, increasing pressure will be applied to the government, until a critical point is reached. The authorities may then decide to apprehend the leaders, and thus the demand becomes mixed when the miners' and the teachers' unions ask for increased wages and freedom for their leaders at the same time.

A great variety of mixed demands were presented by the different sectors and no method of classification was feasible. Out of a total number of 33 mixed demands, the following were made by sectors, in decreasing order:

Labor Sector	16, or 48.5 percent
Political Sector	5, or 15.2 percent
Civil Groups	5, or 15.2 percent
Educational Sector	4, or 12.1 percent
Administrative Sector	1, or 3.03 percent
Agrarian Sector	1, or 3.03 percent
Others	1, or 3.03 percent

These represent the total mixed demands presented in the tables that appear as Appendix II.

Chapter IV

Characteristic Means and Methods of Expressing Demands

Up to this point attention has been focused on the necessity for demands being voiced by some member or group in order to enter into the political system. These members or groups are called gatekeepers, according to Easton, and the assumption is that each one of them plays a political role. Just by voicing a demand gatekeepers are participating in some way in the political process.¹

For the purposes of this study the concept of gatekeepers may be applied to those organizations through which the various sectors have expressed their demands. It is important, therefore, to determine what kinds of mechanisms these organizations use to accomplish their purposes. In this context the characteristic means and methods of expressing demands will be described.

The following kinds of means and methods of expressing demands are recorded in the data collection sheet:

1. Resolutions: These refer to all written documents published by the petitioners. Usually they are called Votos

Resolutivos or Comunicados. Through these publications, which are generally addressed to the public at large, the different organizations justify their petitions or present arguments supporting their behavior.

2. Complaints to news media: This method of expressing demands involves the cooperation of radio stations and newspapers.
3. Armed marches: Demonstrations of this type were frequent during the governments of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and were utilized to obtain the support of miners and peasants. Later, both groups continued to use this practice for different purposes but mainly to express their demands. Other groups used it occasionally.
4. Public demonstrations: Both peaceful and violent public demonstrations are included in this category. In the case of peaceful demonstrations the group using this method of protest seeks to express its demands and to get the support of public opinion. In the case of violent protest, the group organizing these demonstrations deliberately seeks open clashes with the police or other governmental representatives. This method is generally used when the government has ignored demands

and the petitioners wish to increase their pressure.

5. Road blockades: This method of expressing demands has usually been used by rural peasants. Since transportation routes in Bolivia are few, this manner of expressing demands is a very effective and forceful one.
6. Hunger strikes: This way of expressing demands is intended to marshal public moral support and attention.
7. Strikes: This method of expressing demands refers to the basic right guaranteed by law to all organized labor movements as long as legal causes for such action exist. However, most unions rarely submit their problems for conciliation and arbitration, although the law requires that these devices be used before a strike is declared.
8. Boycott or sit-down strike: This refers to the workers' deliberate decision to stop their activities while being present at their jobs in the factory.
9. Threat to strike: This method is used when previous petitions have been ignored. The petitioners then set a time limit after which they will formally declare a strike if the demands are not met.
10. Limited work stoppage: Usually this means of expressing demands is used as symbolic homage to a special holiday

or anniversary (paro simbolico). Limited work stoppages may also take place when different organizations want to express their protest against governmental policies, or when they support the demands of other groups.

11. Scaled work stoppage: This usually involves several organizations within two or more sectors joining efforts for a common objective. Thus, a work stoppage will increase in importance as more organizations gradually unite in the protest.
12. Meetings with public officials: This method of expressing demands takes place when the petitioners through their leaders or representatives decide to have a formal meeting with local authorities or other governmental officials to whom they present their demands directly.

According to Table 4 the following means of expressing demands have been used in a decreasing order of frequency:

Complaints to News Media	76, or 30.33 percent
Resolutions	65, or 20.52 percent
Strikes (hunger strikes and boycotts)	38, or 10.05 percent
Public Demonstrations (peaceful or violent)	23, or 9.09 percent
Stoppages (limited and scaled)	17, or 6.07 percent
Threats to Strike	15, or 5.93 percent
Meetings with Public Officials	8, or 3.09 percent
Armed Marches	6, or 2.03 percent
Road Blockades	5, or 1.09 percent

The table shows that the most frequent means of expressing demands is that of complaints to news media, followed by resolutions. Both methods reveal a tendency to present demands as nothing more than protests. As a general rule, this is the way demands begin, but later these demands are expressed through more powerful means. In fact, strikes and public demonstrations occupy the next place in frequency as means of expressing demands. Obviously these means exercise greater pressure on the authorities in view of their nature and consequences.

Stoppages (both limited and scaled) and threats to strike are much less powerful and therefore less effective for those groups presenting the demands. For this reason they are not used frequently. Finally, meetings with public officials, which might be considered the most legal and peaceful means of presenting demands, have been used in very limited capacities as compared with the others. The reason for this may be that experience has shown the ineffectiveness of such measures, or it may reflect a deeply rooted tradition of conflicting relations between authorities and social groups. Armed marches could be one of the most powerful means of expressing demands; however, they were not used as frequently as during the MNR governments. These practices were largely effected by miners and peasants.

Insofar as the number and frequency of means of expressing

demands by each sector is concerned, the following observations are applicable:

1. The labor sector used practically all the methods listed. The total number was 90, of which over 50 percent was made up of resolutions and complaints to news media. However, since the other means of expressing demands are also more frequent in number, as compared to the other sectors, it can be concluded that the labor sector is the most active in voicing petitions.
2. The educational sector also used all the listed means of expressing demands. The total number is 64, of which resolutions and complaints to news media are as important as strikes, public demonstrations, stoppages, and threats to strike. These latter methods appear to be used more by this sector than by the labor sector. Thus, in terms of frequency of use and methods of expressing demands, the educational sector occupied a second place in political activity.
3. The political sector used 29 opportunities to express demands, of which the great majority were complaints to news media and resolutions. This can be interpreted as reflecting the tendency of political parties to engage in exaggerated verbosity. Public demonstrations in this

sector are not as frequent as might be expected. More will be said about this later.

4. The administrative sector used four means of expressing demands on 15 occasions. Of these, the majority fell under complaints to news media and resolutions. The remainder corresponded to strikes and threats to strike. As was mentioned earlier, the limited activity in the administrative sector is a result of the control exercised by the governmental bureaucratic structure.
5. Civil groups included under "Others" made a total of 16 demands, using five principal methods in doing so.
6. Finally, it is important to note that the agrarian sector used both the least number and the least effective means to express their demands. In fact, this sector used four means of expressing demands for a total of 13, nine of which corresponded to complaints to news media and resolutions, and the remainder to armed marches and road blockades.

Chapter V

The Conversion of Demands Into Outputs

The inflow of demands may be reduced through structural and cultural mechanisms. However, any political system must face the task of processing demands in spite of its limited capacity to deal with the total. This situation requires political systems to create several responses to cope with possible stress. A major response by which the political system manages to persist is called outputs.¹

In this context, outputs may be viewed as a flow coming from the authorities and having consequences in the total environment. Therefore, they cannot be considered as the terminal point in the complex process through which demands are being transformed. On the contrary, in keeping with Easton's image of the political system as an open reality, outputs may be considered as transactions within the system itself, or as exchanges between the system and its environment. Easton emphasizes that in spite of all their potential effectiveness and ability to diminish stress upon the system, outputs per se are unable to guarantee success to the system.

This goal is approximated through the return of information about outputs to the authorities. The author calls this phenomenon feedback, and the channels used by it the feedback loop.²

It is beyond the scope of this study to apply the whole concept of outputs as described by Easton. Instead, an analysis will be made of the conversion of demands into outputs in the Bolivian political system within the period covered by the available source material.

In keeping with the data collection sheet, the following have been identified as outputs emanating from the authorities:

1. Ignored demands: In this category no solutions were given by the authorities to the demands presented. Authorities completely ignored the petitions introduced into the system.
2. Immediate peaceful solution: This classification includes all those demands which were immediately and peacefully solved by the authorities through negotiation or mutual agreement with the petitioners.
3. Postponed peaceful solution: In this type of response the authorities generally predicate solutions to future conditions or events. Therefore, demands tend to remain latent until agreement or disagreement is reached.
4. Detention of leaders: In this situation the authorities

decide to keep the leaders under arrest until the problem is resolved, regardless of the affected group's reaction, or the time that it will take to reach an understanding with them.

5. Temporary detention of leaders: This kind of output includes all those governmental measures in which leaders of labor unions, political parties, or civil groups are temporarily apprehended by the authorities. Their detention is conditioned by the degree of pressure that petitioners may exercise upon the government, and the impact of the government's action on the group.
6. Peaceful armed intervention: Included here are those governmental armed interventions in which the authorities prevent the outbreak of violence. Normally, peaceful armed interventions will take place suddenly when petitioners least expect them, and as a result the petitioners are not prepared to resist them.
7. Violent armed intervention: The government may send the army or any other security force to intervene at any place where "subversives" may be located. This measure has been used primarily against mine workers and students.
8. Exile of leaders: In this situation the authorities decide to exile political party leaders or others involved

in political activities. Usually the government takes this action when political turmoil has reached a critical point.

9. Relocation of leaders: Here the authorities determine a specific place within the country, and usually away from urban centers where leaders are forcibly held and deprived of communication with anyone. This process is known as residenciación or confinamiento.
10. Legal measures: This action involves laws, decrees, regulations, and ordinances with which the government expects to satisfy articulated demands.

From Table 5 the demands converted into outputs by the authorities can be listed as follows, in decreasing frequency:

Ignored Demands	97, or 48 percent
Postponed Peaceful Solution	46, or 23 percent
Immediate Peaceful Solution	18, or 9 percent
Legal Measures	17, or 8 percent
Detention of Leaders	10, or 5 percent
Armed Intervention	10, or 5 percent
Exile of Leaders	4, or 2 percent

The list suggests that the most common behavior pattern by Bolivian political authorities with reference to demands is to ignore them. This particular kind of output constitutes the largest percentage of governmental attitudes recorded. Moreover, outputs listed as "postponed peaceful solution" reflect the tendency to leave demands without an immediate solution,

and consequently to promote indirectly social turmoil originating in unsatisfied needs. The volume of other outputs recorded decreases considerably as compared with those described. Immediate peaceful solution as the ideal kind of output accounts for a limited percentage. Legal measures, which most of the time represent long term solutions, cannot be considered as very practical means to alleviate stress upon the political system. Detention of leaders, armed intervention and exile of leaders all together represent violent attitudes to the petitions presented. These account for a considerable percentage of the outputs recorded, especially if we keep in mind their nature and their impact upon the system as a whole.

The results presented in Table 5 confirm some of the observations that have been made previously. Thus, the labor and educational sectors required the greatest number of outputs from the political authorities. It may be noticed that the labor sector experienced each of the different outputs listed, while the educational sector encountered but one. In both cases, however, the ignoring and postponement of demands constituted the greater percentage of governmental outputs. One detail that should be emphasized is that armed interventions as an output has been applied almost exclusively to the labor sector. In fact, from a total of 10 armed interventions registered, nine took place in

the labor sector and the remaining one in the educational sector. These armed interventions in the labor sector occurred as a result of a military invasion of the nationalized mines, as the mine workers demanded a return to previous wage scales in 1966. In another case, the army intervened during a strike declared by the petroleum workers who demanded higher wages.

Similarly, the labor sector experienced the exile of leaders four times. Other sectors did not encounter this type of action.

It may be added that the political sector did not seem to have either the political importance or the capacity to influence the authorities, as might have been expected. This sector shows a total of 27 outputs, of which 19 are ignored demands.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

The analysis of the material and the interpretation of the tables in the preceding chapters lead to the following general conclusions:

1. Within the Bolivian political system most demands are channeled through union organizations. This means that demands are introduced into the system through labor, agrarian, teacher, student, public employees, and professional peoples' organizations.
2. The labor and educational sectors have proven to be the greatest sources of stress for the political system through the volume and content of their demands. Both sectors are traditionally the best organized and, as such, constitute the most effective pressure groups in Bolivia.
3. The political sector is characterized by a large number of political parties. In spite of their organization, the multiplicity of political parties reflects a weakness in the political organization of the country. The

Communist Party and the Trotskyite Workers Revolutionary Party (PC and POR), which might be expected to be highly active in this sector, are the parties which presented the fewest petitions. This may be a result either of the strong support given by the military to the Bolivian government during the period reported, or because the parties can successfully manipulate the educational and labor movements to present their demands.

4. There is little relation between the number and nature of the agrarian sector's demands and the sector's importance and needs. As the largest and most deprived social group in the country the demands presented by this sector are few when compared to other sectors. Nevertheless, the fact that most of the demands were political in nature, rather than economic, suggests the political manipulation of the agrarian unions by other forces.
5. The highest number of demands corresponds to economic and political classifications. Among economic demands, the most common were salary increase, return to previous wage scale, and social benefits. The priority of economic demands clearly reflects the nation's poverty at different levels. Among political demands, the fulfillment of legal requirements was articulated most frequently. This

suggests the tendency in Bolivian politics for both government and interest groups to seek legal arguments to justify their behavior.

6. Demands are introduced into the political system primarily as resolutions and complaints to news media. This method of voicing demands constituted the largest percentage of means used. It appears that all groups first presented their demands peacefully through resolutions and complaints. When this was the only means available to introduce claims, the method was found to be ineffective. However, when organized groups used supplementary measures of a more violent nature they were assured of at least minimal attention by the authorities.
7. The conversion of demands into outputs by political authorities suggests three basic attitudes; ignore, postpone, and repress demands. Few demands were converted into outputs peacefully and immediately. Generally speaking, government's behavior toward demands assumed two basic patterns. With reference to well-organized, powerful groups, the government acted immediately, sometimes violently. Normally, however, the government postponed petitions, partially satisfied them, or left them unfulfilled. Second, other less powerful groups, such as the administrative

sector, received practically no attention to their claims. By ignoring them, the government knew that no real problem would develop since all those groups were easily controlled through official pressures.

The fact that most demands were channeled through many pressure groups tends to confirm the observation that there is an absence of social pluralism in the Bolivian political culture which may contribute to political instability. The absence of overlapping membership keeps each group compartmentalized and politically isolated in pursuing objectives. The Bolivian government is faced with the task of satisfying wants routed independently from the various groups. The failure of the government to deal adequately with these matters invariably creates resentments against it with varying degrees of intensity. The manifestation of resentment can lead to actions threatening the government's continuity.

The labor and educational sectors proved to be the most active and effective groups. Other than presenting greater organization, labor and education also provide the greater number of able bodied male citizens who can effectively participate in a show of force. As such, political parties infiltrate these organizations in the hope of controlling and using them on a given occasion. The result in the labor area is the emergence of professional organizers who become more concerned with political purposes than economic

objectives, and who tie the welfare of the trade union to the uncertain destiny of political groups. By the same token, elections in student and teacher organizations can become political contests supported in varying degrees by interested political groups. Consequently, Bolivian universities have failed to become specialized seats of learning and often appear as political arenas for national parties.

A principal characteristic of political parties in Bolivia is their tendency to approach social issues and opportunities often with little organizational cohesion and discipline. Many times politics is little more than a struggle for the spoils of office with particular interests prevailing over national interests. There has also been a tendency to form organizations in order to achieve short range political objectives. This may account for the large number of political parties recorded. As previously noted, the accessibility of labor and educational groups for political action diminishes the need for political activism by the parties themselves.

The initiation of universal suffrage by the National Revolutionary government of 1952 has made the large rural population of Bolivia highly vulnerable to political groups which aspire to power. The traditional master - serf (patrón - peón) relationship which was discarded with the agrarian reform legislation in 1953

has tended to be replaced by the agrarian union leader - agrarian union member relationship. Thus, in practice, little modification has been made of traditional authoritarian patterns. It is significant then, that this study shows the agrarian sector involved primarily with political demands, even though its economic needs are so great. This suggests that, like the labor and educational sectors, the agrarian sector is subject to political manipulation. This indicates that the improvement of the Bolivian peasant's lot continues to receive secondary consideration in the political life of the nation.

The nature of the principal demands recorded reflect a less than dynamic national economy and a high preoccupation with legalism and constitutionalism. On the other hand, these demands lend themselves more readily to diffusion through news media, the most common means of voicing demands according to this study. This suggests that many of the demands may be raised as trial balloons to see what effects they might have in terms of governmental response or public support. In the Bolivian context, it may well be that the announcement of demands is intended to furnish the authorities a floor for subsequent negotiation. In keeping with growing public support, and the government's neglect in satisfying demands, demonstrations, strikes, and civic disruption then become the tools for showing a power capability. These can be helpful in

negotiations with the authorities; however, substantial damage to public and private property may bring brutal governmental suppression with the possibility of intensifying public opposition. In other words, it would appear that legal channels of communication between the governed and the governors are inadequate, and that informal methods are perceived to be more effective. These actions, however, can lead to increasing threats to governmental stability.

The pattern in Bolivian political life that emerges from this study is one of manipulation and negotiation on the part of both government and private groups. Because of the large semi-autonomous groups voicing demands, the government is able to play one group against the other, thus manipulating them by fragmenting their political power. Given the large number and variety of demands, the Bolivian government must set some priorities in keeping with the power capability that each group represents. During the period reported, the military, as the strongest power factor in the equation, served to dwarf all other public contenders and thus support the government. However, given disunity in the military, the input of demands may be more than the Bolivian authorities can satisfactorily process. The future can only promise continued political instability for the nation.

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2. Foreign Areas Studies Division, Special Operations Research Office, United States Army Area Handbook for Bolivia (Washington: The American University, 1963) p. 455.
3. Ibid., pp. 161-211
4. Ibid., pp. 81-113
5. USAID-BOLIVIA, Table IV, p. 7
6. Foreign Areas Studies Division, Special Operations Research Office, op. cit., pp. 465-466.
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8. Sergio Almaraz, Petroleo en Bolivia (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Juventud, 1958); Enrique Mariaca Bilbao, Mito y Realidad del Petroleo Boliviano (La Paz, Bolivia: Empresa Editora Universo, 1966).
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10. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 121-140
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12. Foreign Areas Studies Division, Special Operations Research; op. cit., pp. 550-554.
13. Ibid., pp. 517-559.
14. Ibid., p. 209.
15. Ibid., p. 223.
16. Bedregal, op. cit., Appendix 4.
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18. Ibid., Chapter 8.
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21. Oscar Gandarillas, La Administracion Publica como Instrumento del Desarrollo (Washington: Departamento de Asuntos Economicos de la Union Panamericana, 1966), pp. 21-40.
22. Mario Rolon Anaya, Politica y Partidos Politicos en Bolivia (La Paz, Bolivia: Libreria Juventud, 1966), Part III.

Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, pp. 37-69.
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Table 1. Demands as inputs: Economic Demands

SECTOR	NUMBER OF DEMANDS	ORGANIZATION	DEMANDS	NUMBER
AGRARIAN	1	Agrarian Unions Cooperatives	Implementation of Economic Policies	1
LABOR	30	Labor Unions Cooperatives Others (e.g., political alliances)	Implementation of Economic Policies Return to Previous Wage Scale Social Benefits Salary Increase Others	3 14 5 12 6
EDUCATIONAL	26	Teacher Unions Student Unions Other Educational Groups	Salary Increase Implementation of Economic Policies Social Benefits Return to Previous Wage Scale	9 11 4 2
POLITICAL	1	Political Parties Governmental Offices Political Alliances	Increased National Production	1
ADMINISTRATIVE	12	Public Employees' Unions	Salary Increase Social Benefits Return to Previous Wage Scale Others	1 5 2 4
CIVIL GROUPS	5	Social and Civic Groups Governmental Commissions Private Groups	Implementation of Economic Policies Increased National Production Others	2 2 1
OTHERS*	11	Professional Organizations National Chamber of Industry and Commerce	Salary Increase Social Benefits Implementation of Economic Policies Others	3 3 3 2
TOTAL	86			86

* Industrial, Business and Professional Sectors have been included.



Table 2. Demands as Inputs: Social Demands

SECTOR	NUMBER OF DEMANDS	ORGANIZATION	DEMANDS	NUMBER
AGRARIAN	2	Agrarian Unions	Improvement of Public Services	2
LABOR	3	Labor Unions Cooperatives Others (e.g., political alliances)	Reinstatement of Jobs Recognition of Juridical Personality	2 1
EDUCATIONAL	1	Teacher Unions Student Unions Other Educational Groups	Improvement of Public Services	1
POLITICAL	-	Political Parties Governmental Offices Political Alliances	-	-
ADMINISTRATIVE	3	Public Employees' Unions	Membership in Social Security Agency Reinstatement of Jobs	2 1
CIVIL GROUPS	8	Social and Civic Groups Governmental Commissions Private Groups	Improvement of Public Services	8
OTHERS*	-	Professional Organizations National Chamber of Industry and Commerce	-	-
TOTAL	17			17

* Includes Industrial, Business and Professional Sectors

Table 3. Demands as inputs: Political Demands

SECTOR	NUMBER OF DEMANDS	ORGANIZATION	DEMANDS	NUMBER
AGRARIAN	11	Agrarian Unions Cooperatives	Freedom of Leaders	1
			Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	9
			Replacement of Public Offices	1
LABOR	22	Labor Unions Cooperatives Others (e.g., political alliances)	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	12
			Freedom of Leaders	4
			Legal Immunities	2
			Others	4
EDUCATIONAL	12	Teacher Unions Student Unions Other Educational Groups	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	7
			Freedom of Leaders	3
			Legal Immunities	1
			Others	1
POLITICAL	20	Political Parties Governmental Offices Political Alliances	Freedom of Leaders	1
			Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	18
			Legal Immunities	1
ADMINISTRATIVE	1	Public Employees' Unions	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	1
CIVIL GROUPS	9	Social and Civic Groups Governmental Commissions Private Groups	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	7
			Others	2
OTHERS*	2	Professional Organizations National Chamber of Industry and Commerce	Legal Immunities	1
			Freedom of Leaders	1
TOTAL	77			77

* Includes Industrial, Business and Professional Sectors

Table 4. Means and Methods of Expressing Demands

Sector	Resolutions	Complaints to News Media	Armed Marches	Public Demonstrations**	Road Blockades	Strikes*	Threat to Strike	Stoppages***	Meetings with Public Officials
AGRARIAN	4	5	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
LABOR	25	20	2	7	2	20	5	5	4
EDUCATIONAL	11	11	1	9	1	11	8	10	2
POLITICAL	7	16	-	4	-	-	-	-	2
ADMINISTRATIVE	2	7	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
CIVIL GROUPS	10	12	1	2	-	-	-	1	-
OTHERS	6	5	-	1	-	3	-	1	-
TOTAL	65	76	6	23	5	38	15	17	8

* Includes strikes, hunger strikes and boycotts

** Includes peaceful and violent public demonstrations

*** Includes limited and scaled work stoppages

Table 5. The Conversion of Demands Into Outputs

Sector	Demands Ignored	Immediate Peaceful Solution	Postponed Peaceful Solution	Detention of Leaders*	Armed Intervention**	Exile of Leaders***	Legal Measures
Agrarian	6	3	4	1	-	-	1
Labor	26	6	16	5	9	4	5
Educational	20	2	19	1	1	-	2
Political	19	3	1	2	-	-	2
Administrative	9	2	1	-	-	-	2
Civil Groups	11	1	2	1	-	-	2
Others	6	1	3	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	97	18	46	10	10	4	17

* Includes detention of leaders and temporary detention of leaders

** Includes violent and peaceful armed interventions

*** Includes exile and relocation of leaders

1. AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Total Demands: 15

Organization	No.	Economic	NATURE OF DEMANDS				No.	Other
			No.	Social	No.	Political		
Peasant Unions	13	Implementation of Economic Policies	1	Improvement of Public Services	2	Freedom of Leaders	1	
Cooperatives	2					Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	9	1
						Replacement of Public Officials	1	
TOTAL	15		1		2		11	1

Political	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
Demand of Students	1		Complaints to News Media	5	Postponed Demonstrations	6
			Resolutions	4	Immediate Peaceful Solution	3
Demand of Requirements	9	1	Road Blockades	2	Detention of Leaders	1
			Armed Marches	2	Postponed Peaceful Solution	4
Demand of Officials	1		Armed Group Conflict	2	Judicial Processes	1
			Threat to Institutions			
11		1	15		15	

2. LABOR SECTOR

Total Demands: 62

Organization	No.	Economic	NATURE OF DEMANDS				
			No.	Social	No.	Political	No.
Labor Unions	59	Salary Increases	12	Recognition of Juridical Person	1	Freedom of Speech, Press	1
		Return to Previous Wage Scale	4			Legal Immunity	2
Cooperatives	1	Social Benefits	5	Reinstatement of Jobs	2	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	12
Alliances	1	Employment Opportunities	2				
Private Groups	1	Reposition of Public Funds	1			Freedom of Political Leaders	4
		Taxes	1			Replacement of Public Official	3
		Implementation of Economic Policies	5				
TOTAL	62		30		3		22

Political	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
of Press	1	16	Resolutions	25	Demands Postponed	26
Community	2		Complaints to News Media	20	Postponed Peaceful Solution	16
ment of require-			Armed Marches	2	Immediate Peaceful Solution	6
	12		Public Demonstrations	3		
			Road Blockade	2	Detention of Leaders	5
					Exile of Leaders	2
of Pol- Leaders	4		Threats to Institution	1	Relocation of Leaders	2
			Hunger Strikes	4		
			Strikes	15		
ment of Official	3		Boycotts	1	Peaceful Armed Intervention	4
			Scaled Work Stoppages	1	Violent Armed Intervention	5
			Limited Work Stoppages	4	Legal Measures	5
			Violent Public Demonstrations	4		
			Peaceful Public Demonstra- tions	3		
			Threat to Strike	5		
			Meetings with Public Officials	4		
	22	16		94		71

3. EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

Total Demands: 42

Organization	No.	Economic	NATURE OF DEMANDS			Political	No.
			No.	Social	No.		
Teachers Unions	15	Salary Increase	9	Improvement of Public Service	1	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	7
Students Unions	25	Return to Previous Wage Scale	2			Freedom of Leaders	3
		Social Benefits	4			Legal Immunity	1
Other Educational Groups	2	Implementation of Economic Policies	11			Replacement of Public Officials	1
TOTAL	42		26		1		12

ical	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
lment of Require-	7	4	Resolutions	11	Demands Postponed	20
			Complaints to News Media	11	Postponed Peaceful Solution	19
om of rs	3		Armed Marches	1	Immediate Peaceful Solution	2
			Armed Group Conflicts	1		
			Strikes	11		
Immunity	1					
ement of c Offi-	1		Threat to Strike	8	Detention of Leaders	1
			Public Demonstration	9	Legal Measures	2
			Scaled Work Stoppage	1	Violent Armed Intervention	1
			Limited Work Stoppage	9		
			Legal Measures	1		
			Blocking of Streets	1		
			Meetings with Public Officials	2		
	12	4		66		45

4. ADMINISTRATIVE SECTOR

Total Demands: 13

Organization	No.	Economic	NATURE OF DEMANDS			Political	No.
			No.	Social	No.		
Labor Unions	5	Social Benefits	5	Membership in Social Security Agencies	2	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	1
		Return to Previous Wages	2	Reinstatement of Jobs	1		
Governmental Agencies	6	Reposition of Public Funds	2				
Private Groups	2	Increased National Production	1				
		Salary Increase	1				
		Imp. Economic Policies	1				
TOTAL	13		12		3		1

ical	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
ment of equire-	1	1	Resolutions Complaints to News Media Hunger Strike	2 7 1	Demands Postponed Immediate Peaceful Solution	9 2
			Strikes Boycotts Threat to Strike	2 1 2	Postponed Peaceful Solution Judicial Processes	1 2
	1	1		15		14

5. POLITICAL SECTOR

Total Demands: 22

Organization	No.	Economic	NATURE OF DEMANDS			Political	No.
			No.	Social	No.		
F. S. B.	9	Increased National Production	1			Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	18
P.R.I.N.	8						
P.S.D.	5					Freedom of Press, Speech	1
P.D.C.	6						
M.N.R.	6					Legal Immunities	1
P.I.R.	4						
P.R.A.	3						
P.O.R.	2						
M.P.C.	2						
P.C.B.	1						
P.L.	1						
Governmental Off.	3						
Political Alliances	2						
Other	2						
TOTAL			1				20

cal	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
ment of require-	18	5	Resolution	7	Demands Ignored	19
n of Speech	1		Complaints to News Media	15	Immediate Peaceful Solution	3
ies	1		Violent Public Demonstra- tions	3	Postponed Peaceful Solution	1
			Peaceful Public Demonstra- tions	1	Detention of Leaders	2
			Meetings with Public	2	Legal Measures	2
					Cabinet Crisis	2
	20	5		28		28

6. CIVIL GROUPS

Total Demands: 18

Organization	No.	Economic	N A T U R E O F D E M A N D S			Political	No.
			No.	Social	No.		
Private Groups	14	Increased National Productions	2	Improvement of Public Service	9	Fulfillment of Legal Requirements	7
Civic Groups	1	Taxes	1			Replacement of Public Officials	2
Social Groups	1	Implementation of Economic Policies	2				
Governmental Commissions	1						
Townhouse Meetings	1						
T O T A L	18		5		9		9

Political	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
Political demands	7	5	Resolutions	10	Postponed Demands	11
			Complaints to News Media	12	Postponed Peaceful Solution	2
Political actions	2		Armed Marches	1	Immediate Peaceful Solution	1
			Limited Work Stoppage	1	Detention of Political Leaders	1
			Peaceful Public Demonstra- tions	2	Judicial Processes	1
			Counter-Public Demonstra- tion	1	Legal Measures	1
	9	5		27		17

7. OTHER SECTORS*

Total Demands: 12

Organization	No.	NATURE OF DEMANDS			Political	No.
		Economic	No.	Social		
Professional Organizations	7	Salary Increase	3		Legal Immunities	1
		Social Benefits	3			
		Increased National Production	1		Freedom of Leaders	1
Civic and Social Organizations	5	Implementation of Economic Policies	4			
TOTAL	12		11			2

The following Sectors have been included: Industrial, Business and Professional

ical	No.	Others	Kind of Protest	No.	Conversion of Demands	No.
ties	1	1	Resolutions	6	Postponed Demands	6
			Complaints to News Media	5	Postponed Peaceful Solution	3
m of s	1		Peaceful Public Demonstrations	1	Immediate Peaceful Solution	1
			Strike	3	Legal Measures	3
			Limited Work Stoppage	1		
	2	1		16		13

