



GEOSTRATEGIC INTERESTS

BOLIVIA

A BLOW FOR THE LITHIUM

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Geostrategic interests

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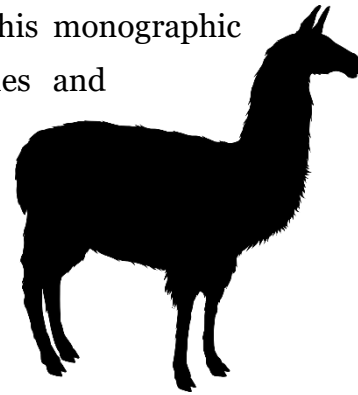
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PROLOGUE

The purpose of this research is to analyze the case study on the interests of the United States of America in the 2019 Coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia. Knowing the causes and consequences of the conflict and crisis that was unleashed in the government presided over by President-elect Evo Morales, in the last elections held in that country, resulting then in a political-military coup d'état, promoted by national opposition groups, with agendas of interest groups abroad, specifically from the United States of America, in which it was evident, the financing, interference and intervention, of that country in the sociopolitical and institutional crisis experienced in the Andean country. It has been noted that Washington's foreign policy is increasingly hostile to non-cooperating countries in the interests of the Western Capitalist Establishment, developing subversive strategies in unconventional political wars, to implode and destabilize countries, and establish their geopolitical, economic and geostrategic agendas, in a structuring of the domination of natural resources of entire continents. For the elaboration of this monographic investigation, books, newspapers, interviews, magazines and online blogs have been consulted in depth, on the central theme, in which different points of view and interpretations were analyzed, on historical antecedents of the Bolivian country, theories, phenomena and scenarios.



Introduction

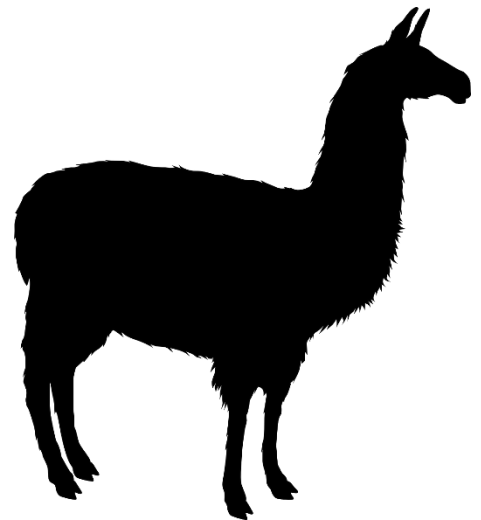
This research presents the case study on the interests of the United States of America in the 2019 coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia. It has been evidenced that the US establishment has a direct and indirect involvement in the Bolivian crisis, leading to a coup d'état perpetrated by political, economic and military groups of neoliberal tendency in that country, against the reelected President Evo Morales, motivated through geostrategic and geopolitical interests of Western multinational elites.

The example of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia, has been of great relevance to contemporary Latin American history. The government presided over by President-Elect Evo Morales, since 2006, was elected with the Movement towards Socialism (MAS) party. He led a project of nationhood, which marked a before and after in that country. He brought a political, economic and social model different from those that the neoliberal thought had imposed in the region.

This advance in the last decade led to the realization that the political worldview was different from what the regional hegemony established, and its success was synonymous with threat, even more so when the region was experiencing an ideological growth and expansion of the progressive left in the first years of the 21st century, worrying Washington's interests, since Bolivia represents a great relevance for its natural resources, for the capitalist interest of the West, headed by the United States.

Once again, this country is looking at various phenomena of interference and intervention by national neo-liberal political groups opposed to the progressive government guided by the White House. They are the architects of a new coup d'état in that country, motivated by a regional agenda, against progressive, nationalist and leftwing governments.

Although the study analyzes the historical background of the crisis, knowing the social, cultural and political reality of Bolivia, equally the causes and consequences of the social explosion that led to a political-military coup d'état, taking into account as research epicenter, the geopolitical dynamics that are being implemented in South America.





Chapter 1

Political History

Political history of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

In order to know well the history and origin of Bolivia, as a nation-state, it is very important first to know a little about how it is and what its geographical situation is: separated from the Pacific Ocean by Peru and Chile, in South America, Bolivia borders Peru to the west, Paraguay and Argentina to the south. To the Southwest with Chile and to the Northeast and Southeast with Brazil. (Switzerland., 2020) As reflected in the following map.

Map 1: Geographic Sketch of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia, in the South American region



Source: Organization of American States Colon Library, 2016

Foundation of the capital of Bolivia

Of all the American regions that became dependent on the Spanish crown from the 16th century onwards, its current territory did not seem to arouse the interest of the colonizers. The abrupt nature of the terrain, the great elevation of these Andean highlands and the struggles among the conquistadors delayed the establishment of the newcomers; but the discovery of the silver of Potosi changed the attitude of Spain. (Ibid.)

Thus, the foundation of the capital of Bolivia, La Paz, in 1548, and the creation of the Audiencia of Charcas in 1561, represented the beginning of several centuries of domination of a province called Alto Perú. The people of the altiplano, Aimaraes and Quechuas, worked in the mines. They were later exploited by the big landowners after the Independence. Even today, they live almost like those ancestors who were subjects of the Inca Empire. But the Indians seem to survive the vicissitudes of history, and along with their social demands appear the old cults to the Sun, the offerings to Mother Earth, and the stillness of life in the highlands. (Switzerland., 2020)

Bolivia's Colonial Period

After the defeat of the Incas by Francisco Pizarro, the territory of Nueva Toledo (Bolivia) was attributed to Almagro, who showed little interest in these lands, absorbed first by the expedition to Chile, and on his return, by the struggles against Pizarro.

The wars between Pizarristas and Almagristas delayed colonization. It did not begin in a systematic way until the end of these struggles, with the foundation of La Plata (Chuquisaca) in 1538, and the discovery of the Potosi hill. In 1548 La Paz was founded and in 1561 Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The publication of the Ordinances of Barcelona by Carlos V, by which the encomiendas were suppressed, clashed with the interests of the colonizers who, under the command of Gonzalo Pizarro, unleashed the civil war. Although they were defeated, they achieved the practical annulment of the Ordinances. (OAS.ORG, 2008)

Charcas Audience

Administratively integrated in the viceroyalty of Peru, it was created in 1559, the Audiencia de Charcas, installed in 1561 in La Plata. This Audience, structured and organized by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1570), would constitute the framework of the current Bolivia. The mining production of Potosi had started to decrease since 1560. Francisco de Toledo reorganized the mita, with which he managed to provide abundant labor to the mines. The production increased until reaching 860,000 pesos in 1582; in 1650, the population of Potosi reached 160,000 inhabitants. (OAS.ORG, 2008)

In 1776, the Audiencia of Charcas was incorporated into the Viceroyalty of the River Plate. The introduction of the mita caused the uprising of the Indian masses, led by Tupac Amaru, a descendant of the Incas. The revolt was brutally repressed by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. A similar movement did not take place until the 18th century. In 1781, Tomás Catari revolted the Indian masses of Oruro, Cochabamba and La Paz.

Shortly after, the Creole population, led by the Rodriguez brothers, tried to prevent the election of Spaniards to the Oruro chapter, calling in their support to the Indians, who took over the city.

They were expelled, but the revolt was reproduced both in the north, led by José Gabriel Túpac Amaru, and in the south, where the masses led by Tomás Catari and those raised by Julián Apasa, who proclaimed himself viceroy with the name of Túpac Catari and tried to take possession of La Paz. After a few months, the viceroyalty authorities managed to control the situation and the main chiefs were executed (1781). (OAS.ORG, 2008)

Bolivia as a Republic

Bolivia was founded as a republic in 1925, after a long war of independence with the Spanish Crown. During its first century of existence numerous political and warlike events occurred that marked the Bolivian history, among them are: the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), warlike conflict with the neighboring country of Chile, the

Federal War (1898-1899), which involved the sectors of the north of the country (liberals) confronted against those of the south (conservatives) and derived in the transfer of the seat of government to the city of La Paz, and the War of the Acre (1899-1903), series of confrontations sustained with Brazil. (UNDP, 2019)

Economically, during that time the mining extractive sector was lifted, after it was partially dismantled, as a consequence of the political instability brought by the first years of the Republic. This is how a productive cycle linked to the extraction of silver emerged at first, and at the beginning of the 20th century, a new one focused on tin. (Ibid.)

At the end of Bolivia's first centennial, the country experienced two processes that redefined its political and social situation: the Chaco War with Paraguay (1932-1935), and the National Revolution of 1953, which led to the implementation of an Agrarian Reform, the nationalization of the tin mines and the creation of a new educational reform. This period was characterized by great economic growth, especially between the late 1960s and early 1970s. (UNDP, 2019)

After a series of coups d'état that elevated different military leaders, Bolivia began a new stage in 1982 with the return of democracy. Nevertheless, in 1985 the economic situation reached a state of crisis, giving rise to one of the greatest hyperinflations registered in the world; the government at that time decided to liberalize the economic regime with the application of D.S. 21060¹, which determined, among other things, the application of the law of supply and demand in the labor market. (Ibid.)

Since then, there have been different moments in which different approaches to the political and economic administration of the State have been taken, but always

¹ In the legal order, DS 21060 is a "virtual constitution" that changed the social system into a liberal system. DS 21060 of August 29, 1985 was promulgated during the government of Victor Paz Estenssoro. (Perez, 2008)

within the framework of compliance with the political constitution and the democratic political regime. (Ibid.)

Bolivian Multiethnic Political Culture

Indigenous peoples in Bolivia have played an outstanding role in breaking the order governed by traditional political parties and the economic and political elite that had denied them access. In this way, they project themselves onto the national stage as protagonists of their own political project by laying the foundations of a democracy in which the State could include indigenous citizenship, reaffirming ethnic identity and interculturality, facts that had been overshadowed and denied by mestizo-creole nationalism. (Chong, 2015)

Despite the solidarity that it manages to forge in the dynamics of popular uprisings, for example, as a form of pressure to "democratize" the government of Evo Morales, the indigenous movement is not homogeneous, as can be seen in the other states under study, in the sense that there are at least two fundamental roots: "the Aymara Katarism of the altiplano and the mostly Quechua movement of the coca producers of the Chapare" (Makaran, 2013: 162)

These roots generated three currents that have significantly influenced the Aymara-Quechua political culture, namely: the Pachakutik Indigenous Movement (mip) with Felipe Quispe Huanca as its founding leader; the Movement to Socialism (mas), in which Evo Morales brought together the coca growers, and the political activism of the lowlands with the Confederation of Indigenous of Eastern Bolivia (Cidob), which is a representative of the jungle peoples and a member of the Coordinating Body of Indigenous Organizations (Coica). The Single Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (csutcb), constituted as a "peasant union," is the force that manages to coordinate the various currents mentioned, according to Makaran's analysis. (Ibid)

Currently, Quispe's Katarism does not participate in the national political arena and has chosen to establish a direct policy with the communities and peoples. Meanwhile, Evo Morales' MAS has positioned itself as the main force since the 2005 triumph. In the middle of 2014, Morales has been re-elected for a second time, which will take him to govern until 2020. That is why his permanence in power has implied the opening up of his political project, so that in addition to emphasizing indigenous issues he incorporated aspects of national interest and characteristic of the welfare state such as "national sovereignty, gender equity, social justice, health and social security, democratization and decentralization of the State, strengthening of local powers, cancellation of the foreign debt, alternative economic models, equitable redistribution of income, etc." (Makaran, 2013: 172-173).

The refounding of the State through the convening of a new constituent assembly has been the initiative with the most impact from President Morales, since it is the one that gave birth to the New Political Constitution of the State in 2009, whose most outstanding characteristic is the recognition of a plurinational and intercultural State as the work of the capacity for indigenous and peasant mobilization. (Chong, 2015)

According to analyst and political historian, Francisco Bautista Lara. In the interview conducted for this research he relates:

When I arrived in Bolivia in 2006, precisely the year in which the government of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS), presided over by Evo Morales, began this process, I saw in the people the effervescence and the hope for political change and for the social processes that are being developed in the preliminary stage of the new administrative and political management. I had contact with the population, the majority of whom are indigenous, because I was mostly in La Paz, and I also went to Cochabamba, Potosi, Sucre, Santa Cruz, etc.

The country, at that time (2006), had a little more than 9 million inhabitants, today there are 11 million. Before those years, only about 35% of the population identified themselves as indigenous or native peoples, describing themselves as belonging to different ethnic groups. The Bolivian nation has 35 indigenous peoples, 35 different languages, in addition to Spanish. In a territory of 1 million square kilometers, twice the size of Central America as a whole, that is, a very low population density: one million square kilometers, with 11 million inhabitants, barely more than the population of Nicaragua. The government of Evo opened up racial and social inclusion in the political system, and state as such, in favor of those forgotten sectors, but at the same time exploited by the previous governments of the white caste and neoliberal. (Lara, 2019)

Since 2005, and with greater emphasis with the re-election of President Evo Morales in December 2009, Bolivia has been going through a period of political transition and reorientation of the State with the promotion of a model of intercultural participatory democracy, guided by the mandates of the New Political Constitution of the State, which includes profound changes in the areas of human rights, gender equity and recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. (UNDP, 2019)

In view of the above, the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia has a vast and extensive political culture, due to the ethnic factors found in the region, this has led throughout its history, various negative scenarios for these ethnic groups, peoples and nations, leading them to anonymity by the political heritage or political circle Creole, where they have been divided between the "White", "Mestizo" and "indigenous", and that over the years, still live these racial discrepancies, reflected in national politics. After the victory of Evo Morales in 2005, the participation of ethnic groups in the political system was opened up, implementing laws that included them in citizen participation. However, it has become evident that the racist supremacism of the Santa Cruz region has resurfaced, leading to different confrontations, the underlying motive being racial and ethnic, and then ideological, political and economic.

Coups d'état in the history of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

Despite 178 years of republican life (currently 193 years), Bolivia still lives under the sign of state precariousness, anchored in the past and without a plausible project for the future, from the neoliberal caste, which does not propose positive changes, but the same script of decades of neoliberalism. With a disjointed geography, without a basic productive structure, ethnically and politically hidden and submerged in a dramatic picture of secular poverty, it is currently marching on the edge of social collapse without apparent peaceful resolution. ² (Quintana, 2004)

For a long time, Bolivia's political history forged the stigma of a chronically unstable country, dominated by civil and military caciques facing provincial struggles and stimulated by unlimited greed. Today, with no military on the political horizon, the situation seems no better than when they left power in 1982. Not even the National Revolution, inaugurated in 1952 and cancelled by a military coup d'état in 1964, managed to build a stable society. On the contrary, its defeat produced the greatest political turbulence capitalized by military and fragmented regimes that, in a leap of faith, remained in power for almost two decades. (Ibid.)

The transition from the authoritarian cycle to a representative democratic regime, initiated in 1978 and closed in October 1982, expressed one of the moments of greatest conflict in the Bolivian political history of the 20th century. In less than four years, ten presidents and a military junta occupied the presidential chair in the midst of two civilian provisional governments. (Quintana, 2004)

After almost seven years of uninterrupted government, General Banzer (1971-1978) inaugurated the process of redemocratization, leading to three failed elections between 1978 and 1980, and two of the bloodiest coups d'état in Bolivian history in the last century. Until October 1982, when democracy was reinstated, the country went through a traumatic experience of military coups, civil conspiracies and civil-military counter-coups that placed the country on the verge of civil war. (Ibid)

² The police mutiny of April 2000, which triggered one of the largest episodes of urban violence, which had not been repeated until the coup d'état in 2019

Currently, Bolivian society is experiencing the longest period of continuous democratic life in its entire republican history since the MAS came to power, although it has been in the balance of coups d'état. On August 6, 2002, the sixth legally elected government was inaugurated. Since 1985, the celebration of "governability pacts" between the most important political parties (Right-wing) has become almost a rite of passage. (Garcia O. , 2016)

After having concluded the New Economic Policy (NEP) that transformed the state structure, the political agreements were proposed as a goal of sustaining the right-wing liberal model, which led to the monopolization of U.S. transnationals in natural resources, such as gas, oil, copper, silver and rare earths, all under the margins established by the Washington Consensus³. In which, the new government of 2005, presided over by Evo Morales, led to the implementation of progressive economic measures, away from the multinationals of Washington, nationalizing the resources, leaving aside the neo-liberal economic system. (Ibid.)

Bolivia has accumulated 189 military coups in its history. In 1971, progressive General Juan José Torres was overthrown by a bloody coup d'état led by General Hugo Banzer Suárez, a former student of the Argentine Military College. Several military governments and some civilian governments followed until 1980, when General García Meza, with the support of Argentine military advisors, led the bloodiest coup in Bolivian history to prevent Hernán Siles Suazo from taking office. 1,500 people were killed. It was not until 1982 that Bolivia would recover constitutional normality. (Due, 2009)

Bolivia is the country with the most governments imposed through coups d'état in Latin America, in the last seventy years. The resignation of former president Evo Morales is added to more than 20 cases in which a head of state left power in a forced manner, due to this antidemocratic practice.

³ The Washington Consensus is a set of ten economic policy recommendations formulated in 1989 by British economist John Williamson, which were intended to guide developing countries in the midst of economic crisis to find their way out of it. (BANDIERI, s/f)

The South American country experienced 23 coups d'état between 1945 and 2015, according to the databases of political scientist Edward Luttwak and researchers Jonathan Powell and Clayton Thyne analyzed by internationalist Ethan Ayala Hernández in his thesis: Causes and evolution of coups d'état in Latin America (1945-2015): from the Cold War to the present. (Racamierr, 2019)

In their database, Powell and Thyne define coups d'état as "illegal and overt attempts by the military or other elites within the state apparatus to unseat the incumbent executive" (2015). Of the total number of cases in Bolivia, 11 were successful and 12 failed. The sum of these figures exceeds 20 coups d'état in Argentina, 16 in Haiti, 13 in Ecuador and the cases of the rest of the Latin American countries in the same period. (Ibid.)

Rodrigo Salazar Elena, Doctor in Political Science, explains that Bolivia is the country with the most coups d'état in the region because its institutions are weak and that fragility causes the army to be autonomous, that is, the military only responds to its own commands and not to any civilian authority. At different times in the history of the Andean nation, members of the army organized themselves to overthrow a government as did President and military man Hugo Banzer Suárez, who coordinated a coup d'état to replace President Juan José Torres González on August 21, 1971. (Salazar, 2010)

The also professor and researcher of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (Flacso) Mexico assures that another reason why Bolivia had so many coups d'état is because its army is very divided. (FLACSO, 2020)

In addition, Bolivia is in the second region with the most coups d'état between 1950 and 2018. There were 146 cases in Latin America, representing 31.9 percent of events worldwide in that period, according to Powell and Thyne's count up to July last year (2019). Of the total, 48.3 percent were successful. (Ibid)

The region is only surpassed by Africa, a continent that added 176 hits. In a distant third place is the Middle East with 77 cases, followed by Asia with 62 and Europe with 13. Professor Salazar Elena comments that Latin America is a region that from the 1950s to the 1980s was characterized by military governments that took power violently. (Ibid)

The FLACSO researcher adds that the coups were executed by armies formed by the national security doctrine, trained by US personnel (Pentagon) and with a strong anti-communist tendency, specifically in South America.

"They are armies that carry out coups d'état against leftist governments, however, there were also leftist military dictators who took power with coups in the Andean region, but they are exceptional" (Salazar, 2019)

Bolivia in the 21st Century: The Before and After of Evo Morales in the Presidency

The leader Evo Morales has taken the nation of Bolivia to first class economic and social indicators, has maintained popular support and continues to put his indigenous roots on high ground. However, some people outside this reality, from different latitudes, have criticized and opposed the decision of the leader to run for a fourth term in 2019, ignoring the undeniable support of the people of all ethnic and social classes, and the figures that undoubtedly ratify his success. The former president of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia is not criticized for his good economic, political and social management, but for his reelection, where some political groups antagonistic to the MAS have carried out various strategies to discredit his image and management. (García A. L., 2019)

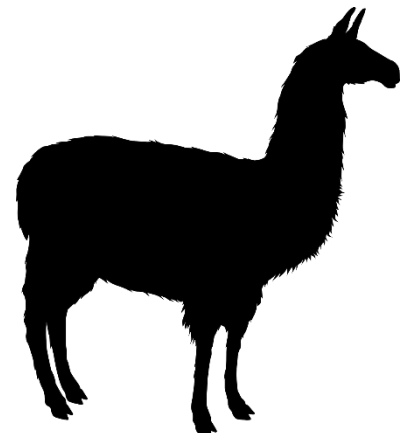
BOLIVIA BEFORE EVO

A timely commentary in the Mexican newspaper *La Jornada* recalls how in Bolivia a few owners of capital exploited the Aymara, Quechua, Guarani and other native peoples, ethnic groups that make up the Bolivian universe and who saw how their simplest rights were disrespected. (García A. L., 2019)

The newspaper states that 90% of the rural population lived in poverty, which meant that this nation, together with Honduras and Haiti, formed a triad with an uncertain future and the worst human development indices in the region. At the same time, the companies that were once public after the arrival in power of oligarchic governments since 1952, became private, and presidents of the time made their fortunes by mortgaging the welfare of the people and the assets they were supposed to protect, not misappropriate. (Ibid.)

However, as specialist Darío Restrepo indicates in a study carried out by the National University of Colombia, with the arrival to power of Morales, a program contrary to the one that has prevailed during the last 30 years in Bolivia was initiated. (Ibid.)

"Instead of exclusive representative democracy, he demanded power for communities, peoples and indigenous, peasant and popular organizations; instead of claiming to be the president of a modern, Western and liberal Bolivia, he expressed the desire for a multinational Bolivia, critical of the "colonial state" and of liberal and bourgeois democracy. (Restrepo, 2019)



BOLIVIA WITH EVO

According to the Chilean newspaper *La Tercera*, in the last 12 years the Bolivian economy has grown 4.9% annually, far exceeding the regional average of 2.7% and tripling its GDP from 11,520 million dollars to the current 37,776 million dollars. (García A. L., 2019)

Figure 1: Strategies, investment, projects and plans promoted by Evo Morales' government from 2008 to 2017



See in this figure, the project of nation and investment of the government of Evo Morales in his first two periods as President. Investing in urban and rural infrastructure, as well as creating more hospitals and schools in areas that in previous governments were abandoned, or that were not benefited by the development budget. As well as housing programs and solidifying the educational system, both in primary and

secondary schools. (Ibid.)

Figure 2: Growth and economic development, led by the government of Evo Morales and Alvaro Linera, from 2009 to 2017.



This publication, represented in this figure, also assures that, according to the country's National Institute of Statistics (INE), inflation registered a rise of only 2.7% in 2017, the lowest figure in ten years, while the labor market strengthened. (García A. L., 2019) Figure source: (Granma, 2019)

On the other hand, in an interview with the Bolivian president by BBC Mundo, Evo commented as another

of the battles won by his government, the fact that for three or four consecutive years his nation was the first in economic growth in all of South America. "That never happened since the foundation of the Republic," he reaffirmed. (García A. L., 2019)

Another great achievement under his leadership has been the reduction of the most underresourced sector. According to Telesur, in 2017 Bolivia made considerable efforts to reduce poverty, falling to its lowest historical level of 36.4%. The minimum income has increased to 127% and the minimum wage for workers is the second best in Latin America. (Ibid)

Figure 3: Projects and investments of the Evo Morales Government, from 2010 to 2017

PROYECTOS EN GOBERNACIONES Y MUNICIPIOS	MONTO (en millones de dólares)
Accesos Seguros para vivir bien: para proyectos propios de infraestructura de maquinaria y equipo Beneficiados: 8 gobernaciones y 2 municipios	116,8
Contrapartes Locales: para obras concurrentes con el Gobierno Nacional en obras públicas, servicios básicos. Beneficiados: 8 gobernaciones y 81 municipios	463,6
Contrapartes Locales: para proyectos con 50 % de avance. Beneficiados: 2 gobernaciones y 9 municipios	103,5
Universidades Públicas Autónomas: proyectos de inversión e infraestructura	6,9
<i>Total.....</i>	690,8

This figure shows the extent of the investment made by the Morales government, in its second stage in office, increasing the budget for financing projects for governments and municipalities, resulting in one of the highest investments in the political and state history of Bolivia, thanks to the good growth and economic development that the Andean country was

experiencing. (García A. L., 2019) Source of figure: (Granma, 2019)

But the population did not only benefit economically. As the Bolivian President said in that interview: "The most humiliated and marginalized sector, which was that of women of all social classes and indigenous people, now has a space in the Plurinational State. We all have the same rights and duties" (Morales, 2017), he emphasized.

According to the analyst Hugo Siles, "the contemporary history of Bolivia is divided in two: before and after Evo Morales". In addition, he emphasizes for *La Nación Diario*, that:

"Bolivia has changed substantially in the last decade, there is a before and after Evo Morales. It is a very different nation socially, economically and politically. The arrival of Morales implied a 180 degree change in issues such as natural resource management and the inclusion of indigenous peoples". (Siles, 2018)

At the same time, Siles acknowledges that much remains to be done, especially on issues related to reforms or changes in the judicial system and greater recognition of the LGBT+ population.

This simple man from a humble family, who had to work as a brickmaker, baker and trumpeter to pay for his studies, was branded a terrorist and demonized by the opposition to curb his political aspirations. However, in 2005 he won the presidential elections with 53.7% of the votes, support that he continues to garner today. (García A. L., 2019)

According to the analyst Bautista Lara (2019), he gives an explanation of what he calls "The Evo factor in Bolivia (and in the region)" in the political history of development and economic growth: There is a lot of unoccupied space in that territory: from one town to another it is hundreds of kilometers, you have to travel by plane to cover long distances. Part of the territory is the Amazon, and within it there are multiple indigenous peoples, small communities, who live with the traditional schemes, are older peoples.

The country had the qualification of being highly indebted, and one of the four poorest countries of the American continent. It was at a low level of development, what happened after this period, what were the figures in 2018?

The Gross Domestic Product went from 9 billion dollars to 43 billion: almost five times more. Bolivia was the South American country with the highest economic growth. (Lara, 2019)

Where did that income go? So here comes an indicator that economists know well: the Gini Index of Inequality. That index, in 2005, was 0.585, and it went down to 0.42 in 2018, meaning 0.175 less. (Ibid)

The Gini index can be interpreted as follows: total inequality (1), Total Equality (0), 0.40 is considered a reference barrier, above are considered negative inequality levels, below forty inequality is reasonable, for example, Chile, is at 45; but here in Bolivia inequality fell to 42, it fell after being at 58.5, that is, a significant reduction in inequality, which means that economic growth from 9 to 43 billion dollars, had a more equitable distribution that allowed the extreme gap to be reduced. (Ibid)

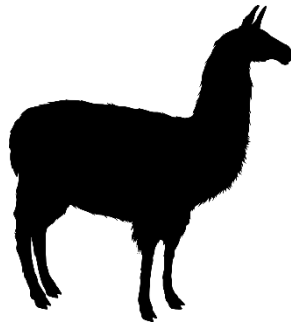
The Human Development Index in Bolivia was at a low level, it went from 0.623% to 0.693%, it improved by 0.07. Its position of human development, according to the United Nations report, passed the position 150; last year it concluded in the position 118 in relation to 190 countries of the world, that is to say, the global indicators of human development, of life expectancy, the literacy was reduced to 10%, almost half of what it was before, the people learned to read and write and improved their quality of life. (Lara, 2019)

And the per capita income, which is a dangerous average because it hides the extremes of exclusion, but I mention it, although it can hide the inequalities: in 2005 it was \$1,300 per person, and in 2018, it ended up with \$3,500 per person, it practically increased three times. Poverty was 56.6%, it was reduced to 36.4%, and it dropped 20.2 percentage points, a significant reduction. (Ibid.)

Criminal violence remained at 5 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, one of the countries with the lowest criminal violence indicators in Latin America, better than Nicaragua, similar to Uruguay and Chile, with larger economies. The situation of Bolivia from 2005 to 2018, changed from the social and economic point of view in a significant and evident way according to the official and non official figures, of multilateral organisms and any international entity. Bolivia stopped being a highly indebted country, it left the schemes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it assumed with dignity the responsibility of its debt, without any external imposition, and without hegemonic parameters of the prevailing economic models. (Ibid.)

Lara explains that over the last decade Bolivia has developed a successful political, economic and social model. The logical thing is that one must applaud it for achieving success, but, from the logic of interference and imperialism, one must applaud it when the success fits the hegemonic model, however, one must crush it when it happens outside, then, the mortal sin of Bolivia, of MAS and of the government of Evo, is that this success "was dangerous for Latin America", it did not obey the traditional project adjusted to exogenous interests, it became an objective to observe and discredit. They had to frustrate the success of the other, because it was not achieved with the parameters they accepted, aligned with the political and economic model imposed. The problem is not that the project fails, but that it prospers, that it has social success, that it reduces poverty and improves equity that is dangerous. The key, the mortal sin of the MAS administration, is to have succeeded. (Lara, 2019)





chapter 2

Foreign Policy.

The Foreign Policy of the United States of America in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

With the consolidation of the United States as the first world power after 1945, its foreign policy faced new and more challenging tasks, never before in its history. Not only the reconstruction of Europe and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a world force, but also Asia, the Middle East and Latin America -in that order- became important for the United States for two reasons: the failed alliance with the Soviet Union, whose goal was to strengthen peace for the term of fifty years, and the consolidation of a world trade that was highly liberalized. The Cold War became the main feature of the world political scene and determined the relations of the United States, also with the Third World. (Abendroth, 2005)

The fear of Soviet expansionism, which led to the anticommunism deployed in Latin America and was inherited from the Truman government, became, at the latest since 1954, the central axis of Eisenhower's policy in the region. During his first government he tried to convince Latin Americans to align themselves with his political worldview, the influence of the Cold War on post-war international relations and that the inter-American system should become an anti-communist alliance. (Ibid)

Although that intention was codified in the Caracas Declaration of 1954⁴, the region opposed applying it to its internal affairs. The "irresponsibility" of that position would lead the United States to intervene in Guatemala and overthrow the social-reformist government, this blow being for the benefit of the transnational, United Fruit Company.

⁴ From March 1 to 28, 1954, the X Inter-American Conference of Caracas (or Anti-Communist Conference of Caracas) was held as a result of U.S. pressure against the government of Jacobo Arbenz (in Guatemala), constituting a violation of the principle of non-intervention, and a pretext that a communist regime in the region implied a threat to the inter-American system. "It inscribed anti-communism in the definition of PanAmericanism. (EcuRed, 2013)

In this context, the U.S. In this context, the United States foresees the resurgence of governments, with Marxist, progressive and leftist worldviews, which are antagonistic to the Monroe Doctrine, with the Cuban Revolution (1959) being the beginning of a hostile foreign policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean, in parallel, the attempt of the US transnationals to monopolize and privatize the essential natural resources, in the logistical support of a cold war, among them the war in Vietnam, where tin and the minerals of the Bolivian soil were needed, Bolivia being a fundamental piece, in its military-technological supply. (Ibid)

The determining factors of U.S. foreign policy towards Bolivia were predominantly economic. It had to transform itself in the face of new political thinking, which was distancing the country from Washington's geo-strategic orbit in South America. There are two important episodes in Bolivian history in the last decades of the 20th century: *The National Revolution* of 1952 and the *dictatorship of the military man*, Hugo Banzer Suárez, from 1971 to 1978, this being part of the strategy called "Plan Cóndor", promoted by the White House through the CIA and the former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, for South America. This had the direct support of the United States, for its declared anti-communism. (Ibid.)

He was a dictator for seven years, leaving behind countless allegations of human rights abuses. In the face of these two events, Washington's hand had its first impact on the sociopolitical processes of the Bolivian nation, more so in the economic sphere than in the political one, since the multinationals of the time had a strong interest in the resources of the Andean country. (Abendroth, 2005)

For the last decade of the 20th century, the White House had strong alliances with the economic and political elites of Bolivia, where they adapted and opted for the norms of the Washington consensus, through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), where the transnationals had many privileges in the extraction of gas, mining and rare lands, which were having relevance, given the time of the technological and information revolution, in a semi-unipolar world. (Ibid.)

However, for the new 21st century, in a context of a multipolar, post 9/11 world, since the rise of MAS in 2005, relations between Bolivia and the United States have taken a major turn.

Anti-imperialist and counter-hegemonic thinking and the intensification of contacts with Venezuela and Iran, were causing a certain amount of mistrust in the administration of George W. Bush (son), so that the Bolivian-US relationship was becoming hostile and conflictive, since Bolivia was moving away from the norms that US foreign policy had imposed on it for years. (Ceppi, 2014)

During 2008 (*a turbulent year for the Morales administration*) two events occurred that favored the bilateral crisis to be in crescendo: the declaration of persona non grata of the then U.S. ambassador in La Paz, Philip Goldberg, on September 10 of that year; and the suspension for an indefinite period of the activities of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) in the territory. (Ibid)

It is worth remembering that all of 2008 was a critical year for Bolivian society, where the confrontations between the government and the opposition put the country's institutional strength at stake. The bids for the approval of the constitutional text and the demands for departmental autonomy of the so-called crescent -Santa Cruz, Tarija, Pando and Beni caused multiple moments of tension and violence, which in a certain way, sowed doubts about the capacity of the Morales government to continue with its administration, which was already forming a violent opposition of the ultra-right, which was evident in the year 2019, in the antechamber of the Coup d'Etat. (Ibid)

It was in this context that the Executive Branch made the decisions noted above, under the argument that the United States, through its ambassador and its anti-drug agency, sought to destabilize it. Morales pointed out that the contacts of these figures with opposition sectors and their espionage activities were indications that the United States was conspiring, not only against his government, but also against democracy and social stability. (El Mundo, 2008)

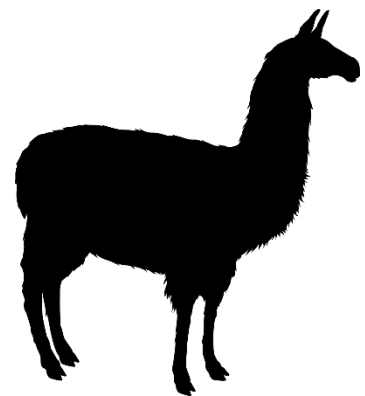
In view of the crisis in the bilateral relationship, since May 2009, officials from both countries held a series of meetings with the aim of solving the existing problems and initiating a new period in the relationship. After several meetings and exchanges of opinions, the governments of Bolivia and the United States signed on November 7, 2011, a Framework Agreement of Mutual Respect and Collaboration. (ibid.)

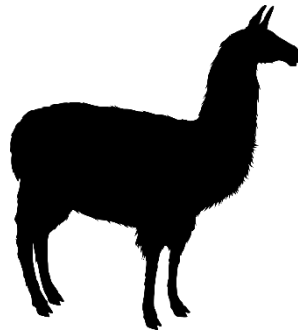
Among its main goals was the promotion of joint trade and shared responsibility in the fight against drug trafficking -not including the issue of ATPDEA- while respecting the sovereign equality of states and non-interference in internal affairs. (Ibid)

In spite of the attempts to recompose the diplomatic and political link, it again entered a tense stage due to the negative US foreign policy towards President Morales by the Obama administration in September 2012; the expulsion of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) from Bolivian territory in May 2013, after being accused of financing ultra-right extremist groups in the destabilization of his government, and the Edward Snowden case. (Golinger, 2016)

Regarding the latter, it is important to mention that Evo Morales was returning to his country after a meeting of gas exporting countries in Moscow, when four European countries -France, Spain, Italy and Portugal- decided to deny, due to "technical issues", the authorization for the presidential flight to cross their respective air spaces. However, the Bolivian Foreign Ministry informed that, in reality, the diversion of Morales' plane was based on the suspicion that it was carrying the former CIA technician, who was in Russian territory, for revealing that the United States carries out international espionage through its agencies and NGOs. (Ceppi, 2014)

Although the foreign policy of the United States towards the country of Bolivia has been purely with economic interest, for its natural resources, bilaterally, the country has had in one way or another, certain links with the White House, since the economic and political elite, of Creole heritage, have opted for the sympathy of the Monroe Doctrine and the Manifest Destiny, as with the American Way of Life (American Way of Life), although this has clashed with the reality of the political culture they live in the Andean country, given that this has led to critical moments in Bolivian history, however, at present, multinational and transnational U.S., look relevant and important to that country, for the raw material that can be extracted from their land, resulting in the same objective they had 70 years ago, having Washington and its form of intervention, as an instrument to obtain such resources.





Chapter 3

Coup d'Etat- 2019

The Coup d'Etat in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia in 2019

Causes of the Coup d'Etat in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

The socio-political crisis experienced in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia, which unleashed several chaotic moments of violence and death, caused by an atmosphere of ungovernability, until the consummation of a civic/military/police coup d'état, as many analysts have called it, after the resignation of the reelected president Evo Morales, accused of "violating Bolivian democracy", by carrying out an electoral fraud. This being the casus belli (war motive) for the overthrow of the president and the persecution of him, his cabinet and supporters.

However, it is evident that this argument is not the essence or the main reason that caused the crisis and the coup d'état after the November 2019 elections. The reasons for the overthrow of President Evo Morales, has a very broad spectrum and transcendence, where the ideological, cultural, political and global geopolitics of the XXI century, have much relevance, and are part of the framework of the real causes of this case.

According to Dr. Bautista Lara, one of the essential causes of the discontent towards Evo Morales, beyond a government or person, is a conflict that comes from the same ancestral Bolivian political culture.

There was a successful political, economic and social model, but that model has a characteristic that becomes a factor of conflict, and that is that it is not a hegemonic project, it does not obey the norm of those who consider themselves capable of determining what is good and what is bad, what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. These elements are the starting point of the key to the conflict in Bolivia, but I want to add a third element: Bolivia dared to say something that can be "dangerous", in the face of the traditional hegemonic scenarios, it said: "We are going to re-found Bolivia", and they created a new political constitution and it was called "Plurinational State of Bolivia", when we see this, it may not occur to us, because we live in Nicaragua, and not in Bolivia. There it is a multicultural reality of 35

different nationalities, with 35 languages, with ancestral traditions. Bolivia is one of the two countries in Latin America whose majority of the population is made up of native peoples, only Guatemala and Bolivia. In the rest, our native peoples were exterminated and today they are minorities. In Nicaragua, no more than 5% of the population, the rest are us mestizos or whites, but in Bolivia 62% are still native peoples, the same in Guatemala: they are unique and different realities. (Lara, 2019)

The political decision to re-found Bolivia, with a new political constitution, and to call it the Plurinational State of Bolivia, with new conceptual approaches to multiculturalism, the coexistence of peoples, the legitimate right to speak their language and practice their religion, traditions, customs and lifestyles, strikes at the colonial, conservative, oligarchic and Catholic Bolivian imposition.

Let's see Bolivia, the territory of one million square kilometers with eleven million people, has at least two large regions: One the altiplano, in the Andes mountain range, where is La Paz, the airport "El Alto", the highest in the world, almost no plane or pilot dares to land there, at almost 4,000 masl. This territory is home to the majority of the native population. The other region covers Santa Cruz and Sucre, which has a particular colonial historical origin. (Ibid.)

Sucre represents, together with Santa Cruz, an axis of white-mestizo majority: more than 25% of the country's population lives here. The other percentage is in the rest of the national territory. The orthodox Bolivian oligarchy resides there, and it is precisely called Sucre, in honor of one of the pro-independence leaders of that necessary historical moment. (Ibid.)

The Political Constitution of Bolivia, (not the current one, but the old one from the XIX century), defined the capital as Sucre, and many probably think that it was La Paz. No, the constitutional capital of Bolivia is Sucre, but as the power had to be balanced, the seat of the executive power is La Paz, so the power is divided. (Ibid)

The president is located in La Paz, and Sucre, the constitutional capital of the country, was left as a result of the 19th century conflict. The predominance in Sucre is conservative, oligarchic, catholic, colonial and pro neoliberal. This has influence and relevance in the Bolivian political culture, and is undoubtedly one of the reasons and causes of the crisis of 2019, where again the social, ethnic and racial classes clash, in favor of particular interests of power groups and popular interests, inclusion and social justice. (Lara, 2019)

The problem is aggravated, because it turns out that the majority indigenous population and the peasants gave their vote to an indigenous leader, which Santa Cruz sees as an aberrant thing for its excluding, historical interests, that is to say, the presidency of Evo Morales in La Paz, becomes a disturbance to the particular and traditional interests of Santa Cruz, and of Sucre. Lara explained.

First, there is a successful political and social model; second, this model does not obey a hegemonic project; third, the model imposes a re-foundation of the state, it becomes the "Plurinational State of Bolivia" which exacerbates the cultural, historical problems accumulated in the colonial society; fourth, this country has a million square kilometers, that is, the territory is gigantic, and it happens to have abundant natural resources that the world had perhaps not been interested in 100 or 50 years ago. (Lara, 2019)

The immediate points of the coup

The United States needs a justification to act, the oligarchy needs a justification, and it needs to undermine constitutional power in the face of the above circumstances.

The first argument begins with the reelection; *the second*, with the denunciation of "fraud". It is necessary to disqualify the electoral process, to create within society a fissure to provoke the crisis, that leads to a process of violence and confrontation, under the CIA manual, of the soft coup, a violence that is mounted with disinformation and manipulation where social networks (Politics 2.0⁵) and large information companies play a fundamental role. (Lara, 2019)

In this scenario they need a fundamental ally: to revive the historical Santa Cruz - Sucre conflict, to use that historical political platform as an instrument, and to provoke the crisis. Finally, in this relationship they need to break the loyalty of the army and the police. (Ibid.)

In order to sustain a successful political project, political strength is not enough; it requires additional real support for it to exist and subsist, and the real support consists of three fundamental parts, which from Dr. Lara's point of view, he specifies in such a way:

- The political and social organization that legitimizes the project.
- The economy that sustains it, leading to changes in wealth distribution, growth and equity.
- The military and public security forces.

⁵ Politics 2.0 is the virtual or digital political environment that unfolds on the Internet, preferably in bidirectional media such as forums, blogs and social networks, and that allows participation and interaction between citizens and politicians during election seasons. With this policy, voters are linked, participate and are heard. (360, 2017)

Dr. Lara explains:

In my opinion, MAS made a lot of progress in the former, because the origin of Evo Morales is unionist, organizer, mobilizer, talking to the people, creating social capacities, and recovering dignity and giving voice to the citizens and the native peoples, this process is extraordinary. In addition, it clashes with a cultural political process that is inserted in people's heads. The indigenous people have traditionally been taught that they are incapable of governing themselves, so that is why presidents have always been white until now with Evo Morales.

That is why, in Guatemala, until today, all presidents are white or mestizo, despite the fact that the majority of the population is of Mayan origin. Why didn't they vote for Rigoberta Menchu? Do you know why? Because she is a woman and indigenous, because the indigenous people themselves did not vote with her, because in their minds, in the collective imagination of these peoples, they still consider themselves subordinate to the traditional and colonial political power, and breaking that scheme is not easy.

Evo broke it, he won and advanced a lot; he advanced in economic improvement, the figures are evident; he nationalized natural resources, gas, lithium, minerals, but he did not advance in the political transformation of the armed forces nor of the security forces. (Lara, 2019)

So, the dilemma of this formality, "election or reelection", "to vote or not to vote", is subject to the result: whether the hegemonic power likes it or not, and if it is in their interests and economic agendas, through their media and international organizations, such as the OAS, they will legitimize it as valid, and if not, they will demonize it.

And what is less liked is the country's ability to dispose of its natural resources, especially when they are of strategic importance to the world, such as lithium from the Uyuni salt flats. (CLACSO, 2020)

Instruments of destabilization implemented for the coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

According to the Argentine political scientist, Enrique Javier Diez Gutierrez, in his article "*What hides the coup d'état in Bolivia*" (2019), he explains about the coup d'état, somewhat different from the previous ones, this one has non-traditional margins with traditional ones, however, it has the same purpose:

The background of this coup d'état is the distribution of wealth in Bolivia and the US geostrategic control over its resources, encouraged with supremacist racism. It is a new chapter of the hybrid war against the poor in the international arena, where the threads of a destabilization operation organized from abroad are revealed, using internal groups linked to the Bolivian oligarchy, in order to overthrow a government not in line with the geostrategic interests of the dominant power in the area, in this case the US. A "soft" coup d'état by non-conventional means, with psychological, social, economic, media, political, etc. weapons. (Gutiérrez, 2019)

The international analyst, Dr. Alfredo Jalife Rahme (2019), described in *Behind Back Doors*, several weeks in advance, the details of the planning from the United States of the past coup d'état in Bolivia, in 2019. He already gave then the names and surnames of those involved: Bolivian politicians living in the USA, leaders of the Bolivian opposition and of the opposition association "Coordinadora Nacional Militar", composed of former officers of the Bolivian army, responsible for managing the funds that have been sent from the United States for this operation. (JalifeRahme, 2019)

This plan, in three stages, was designed to break up and divide the Bolivian army and the national police, causing these forces to rebel against President Evo Morales (recruiting high command of the army, those who would support the coup d'état and assume the presidency of the country, in a civil-military coalition in the transition period). (Ibid)

He expected to count, as it has been, also with the support of related embassies and the Evangelical and Catholic Church, which the United States uses as a strategic cover in a habitual way in the "soft coups". Financing discrediting campaigns against the Government, using a media structure with opposition media press, fake media and accounts in social networks, created specifically to support the coup, activists in social networks with massive fake news (focused on the inversion of the sense of the facts: the aggressors are presented as attacked, and vice versa; videos of atrocities of criminal gangs are shown as violent actions of government supporters, all under the so-called: cyberactivism, in Politics 2.0). (Jalife-Rahme, 2019)

As well as the support of international organizations controlled by the United States, such as the OAS, to delegitimize Evo's electoral victory, accuse him of electoral fraud and demand, if necessary, an international intervention in Bolivia. In order to move on to the third phase, whose intention was to generate a state of social crisis in the country, unleashing a wave of violence and repression that would shock the population that supports President Evo Morales, and impose a parallel government that would take advantage of this state of shock to impose drastic reforms, without democratic endorsement, which otherwise would never have been accepted. (Ibid.)

**Phases of the Soft Coup d'Etat in the presidential elections in Bolivia,
2019**

The war of the XXI century has taken a transmutation and evolution with the passing of decades and centuries, after the 9/11 of September 2001, many political and military analysts have seen this event as a before and after in global geopolitics and military strategies, going from conventional warfare to unconventional and asymmetric, where the Pentagon and Washington have been adapting to the times, and have adapted to their interventionist and interventionist strategies, stealthy methods and instruments to destabilize uncooperative governments, to their hegemonic agendas, through the phenomenon of technologies, in the information age, as well as through media corporations, international organizations and nongovernmental organizations, as a war front, or non-conventional military bases.

Talking about terms such as "Soft Coup d'Etats", two decades ago, was difficult to define or know, since strategies such as these belonged to the spectrum of military counter intelligence, where covert instruments were used to overthrow governments, or create chaos, and thus implement measures that are in accordance with the interests of the attacker. This method or doctrine to destabilize governments is attributed to the American political scientist Gene Sharp, who wrote a manual of more than 100 ways to destabilize, not only a government, but also a society, the State and the nation itself, disrupting the economic, political, social and psychological foundations of a country.

"The nature of warfare in the 21st century has changed." This has long been stated by political scientist Gene Sharp, who reminds us that "we fight with psychological, social, economic and political weapons." (Maira, 2019)

Bolivia has been one of the countries with more coups d'états in the history of Latin America, with 189 coups, (190 with the one of 2019), where the military force and military leadership has been the cause of the last ones, where it is the army that has decided who governs the executive. However, this last one, in the XXI century, has a combination of a military coup d'état with a non-conventional coup, given that before reaching the consummation of a military coup, a soft coup was structured and designed to destabilize the governmental structure, which the reelected Evo Morales had presided for more than 10 years. Technology and psychological strategies were fundamental for the consummation of the overthrow of Morales and Linera.

According to Gene Sharp, *the Soft-Strike Doctrine or Manual* is based on five fundamental phases, where the more than 100 destabilizing forms can be used to create the following phases, these are:

- Stage 1: Softening.
- Stage 2: Delegitimization.
- Stage 3: Confrontations in the streets.
- Stage 4: Destabilization.
- Stage 5: Institutional Fracture.
- Completion: The overthrow of the President and his cabinet. (Sharp,1993)

As mentioned above, these stages and phases will be analyzed through a timeline of the events that took place during pre and post elections, adapting them to the Bolivian political reality, the instruments used and the actors that orchestrated them.

However, according to Dr. Jalife, due to the context, the state force, the actors and the exact strategies to carry out the *soft coup* quickly in 72 hours, the five phases resulted in only three phases, however, methods such as the *fourth generation war*, in this case the *media war*, and the *fifth generation war*, referring to the *psychological war*, which were subjected to the Bolivian people, led to the events being almost instantaneous.

Phase 1: Psychological softening and delegitimization

This phase is to promote non-violent actions to generate and promote a climate of unrest in society, highlighting among them denunciations of corruption, promotion of intrigues or dissemination of false rumors. (Sharp, 1993)

Since the beginning of 2019, the right-wing media have been publishing articles on the "future fraud" perpetrated by the Morales government, softening national and international public opinion. Since the large U.S. media corporations, which control the editorial lines of some pro neoliberal media, such as: CNN, Telemundo, Univision, CBS, ABC, Fox News, equally Latin American media, among others, solidify the media campaigns, with an anti-left and anti-progressive agenda, the same ones that had been used in the cases of attempted Soft Coup in Venezuela, since 2016, and in Nicaragua in 2018.

The editorial and propaganda lines that were from the beginning of 2019, until the election season were:

- Criminalization of the Morales government, with a huge media campaign, before the beginning of the electoral campaign.
- Accusation of the existence of government planning for electoral fraud.
- Presentation of confusing data on the electoral polls as the media preparedness grew, inciting citizen mobilization against the possible fraudulent election of President Morales.
- Organization of civil platforms supposedly outside the opposition parties, for the realization of denunciations against the government. They called for a punishment vote against Evo Morales and, at the same time, anticipated the existence of a future fraud in the voting. (Maira, 2019)

Although the *coup d'état* in Bolivia has been in the *traditional* way, as usual in Latin America and in Bolivian history, with military force, new actors influenced this destabilization process, given the technological era and the "information or digital" era in which we live, the media were allied to the traditional coup, leaving psychological repercussions in the population, using methods of terror, persuasion and disinformation.

The Media War was present long before the elections, where the population was bombarded by headlines with half-truths, demonizing the reelection of Evo Morales and Álvaro Linera, overshadowing or obviating the good governmental management, which led the Plurinational State to its best economic period. The Soft Coup is also associated to the Fourth Generation Wars, where according to historian and Doctor in Military Sciences, Martin Levi Van Creveld, the new wars are initiated by the media and are ended by an intervention or military forc e.

According to Dr. Alfredo Jalife, he analyzes them as follows:

PREPARATORY PHASE

Already executed: Its purpose is to prepare and organize the field for the subsequent stages. It was developed between April and July 2019, where they established political alliances to form a single opposition front, held coordination meetings and actions to be carried out in stages 2 and 3, agreed to start discrediting campaigns against the Government, using the structure of international media and alliances, which includes opposition media, ad hoc media⁶, activists in social networks (Through Politics 2.0), as well as the achievement of formal complaints, before international bodies. Such as the OAS, IACHR and the European Union. (HispanTV, 2019)

The strategy in social networks and fake news were led by Bolivian citizen Ra ul Reyes Rivero, one of the main mobilization activists of the opposition. These presented actions and plans of the democratic platforms and civic committees against the government, for the overthrow of President Evo Morales. (Ibid)

Social networks were one of the important and fundamental instruments for the impeachment of the MAS government, since experts in Digital Marketing, were working in computer laboratories, professionals in Big Data, both Facebook, and Twitter, where, a month ago before the elections, there were thousands of articles in all social networks, with defamations and headlines, Fake News (Noticias Falsas),

⁶ Ad hoc means "for this purpose" or "for this". It is a Latin phrase often used to indicate that a certain event is temporary and is intended for that specific purpose. (Meanings, 2017)

which discredited President Evo Morales, these through Bots mechanism or clone profiles, covered the Bolivian and South American cyberspace. (Brieger, 2019)

Politics 2.0 is a tool, where the interaction of candidates with their voters takes place, the virtual or digital political environment, which is developed on the Internet, preferably in bidirectional media such as forums, blogs and social networks, and allows participation and interaction between citizens and politicians. With this policy, voters are linked, participate and are heard. This type of political marketing strategy was implemented by the neoliberal opposition in Bolivia, where they were trained by the Center for Applied Non Violent Action and Strategies "CANVAS" (Center for Applied Non Violent Action Strategies). In which the Santa Cruceña Youth, of which the opposition politician Luis Fernando Camacho is leader, were trained in what they call: "Cyber political activism". These courses are sponsored by the Foundation for the Development of Democracy (NED), which has financial ties with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). And these are part of the political alliance that the extreme right-wing governments of Latin America have. (Code, 2019)

From the social networks, the first protests were organized in public places, one day before and during the elections. Both Carlos Mesa and Fernando Camacho, through Twitter, were encouraging the population to take to the streets, and that the armed forces should not support "the fraud". This platform was key to the coup d'état.

Image 1 - 2: Examples of some Twitter statuses of ultra-right-wing opponent

Luis Fernando Camacho



Source: (Camacho, 2019)



From this platform, the subconscious of the population and the MAS followers was softened, creating anxiety, seeing the violence and intimidation in the streets. The same

strategy of disinformation and media manipulation created the delegitimization of the process and the government of Evo Morales. Image source: (Camacho, 2019)

Both the media war that was implemented by the international media, pro Washington and Neo Liberal, since before the elections began, took the position that it was developing a possible scenario of electoral fraud, and gave special coverage of the first clashes, with a partial position of the case, This media strategy led to this psychological clash, and in the process of destabilization, the media war created a

psychological war, where the dark side of the Bolivian political culture, racism and white supremacism, resurfaced.

Once again, the ancestral cultural conflict was present in a new coup d'état, where technology was being a double-edged sword for the society of the Plurinational Republic.

At the same time, the opponents and the economic leadership of Santa Cruz, from abroad and inside the country, sought support for the overthrow of the leftist government. For example, former president and opponent Jorge Quiroga, was in charge of seeking support and a declaration from regional and international institutions, such as the OAS, the European Union and some others, to delegitimize Evo's electoral victory, declare it unconstitutional and respond for an international intervention in Bolivia. (HispanTV, 2019)

Phase 2: It was the combination of stage 3 and 4 / Confrontation in the streets and destabilization

According to Sharp's manual. It focuses on the active struggle for political and social demands and on the manipulation of the collective, so that it undertakes demonstrations and violent protests, threatening institutions. (Sharp, 1993)

This stage ignites or activates an atmosphere of ungovernability and anarchism within society, opening the field to a number of chaotic events, both for the population and for the government, as media and psychological warfare become tangible in the masses.

At this point, operations of psychological warfare and destabilization of the Government would be carried out, creating a climate of "ungovernability", according to Sharp's manual, which is in line with what happened in the Plurinational Republic, social networks showed videos of clashes, torture to MAS supporters, also, showed social chaos and citizen convulsion, the civic climate was not being suitable for the elections to take place calmly, However, the protests against the government of Evo, had been coming since his nomination for another presidential term, since

2017, there were signs of mass uprising in protests and road closures, when the year 2019 arrived, these marches organizations took more boom, as the organizers of the same, were preparing a scenario to boycott the elections in November of that year.

In these stages, Gene Sharp refers to the following:

Violence is not as efficient", Sharp believes, given that power is not monolithic and that "in governments, if the subject does not obey, the leaders have no power". (Sharp, 1993)

The methods are, for him, legitimate by nature, such as racism, hatred, violence, the exercise of power by the strongest, the emptying of the legitimate power of the majorities. Where these instruments and methods to destabilize, are properly matched with the political realities of each country, likewise, we can see the cases of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 2016, that the attempted soft coup, was opened with the justification of the reelection of Nicholas Maduro, and the economic crisis, that the attempts of economic and financial blockade by Washington, were creating in that society.

And in the Republic of Nicaragua in 2018, by an environmental crisis, then by a controversy in the social security. These reasons, were the triggers for the beginning of a destabilization process, where they did not have, and the ultimate goal, which according to the manual is: The overthrow of the president and the government he presides. (Sharp, 1993)

However, in the Bolivian political culture, there were sequels of the years of ethnic exclusion that the neoliberal Creole thought had ingrained in the collective imaginary, racism and supremacism were the motivators that created a fratricidal environment⁷, and led to the coup d'état.

⁷ Fratricide is the crime of deliberately killing a brother. In some countries it is also condemned as fratricide to put to death a fellow soldier. (RAE, 2015)

INTENSIVE PHASE

Operation: its objective is to generate convulsions and social instability in the country. According to Sharp's Manual (1993).

According to Dr, Jalife, it began to take effect in July, growing little by little until October and reached its climax in November, in electoral season, in 2019. This established a state of social crisis in the country, through violent and peaceful public demonstrations, barricades and strikes, using for this purpose civic committees, university students, the medical sector and others from civil society. Indirectly, they were trained by NGOs, which were close to the NED and Freedom House. (JalifeRahme, 2019)

The Santa Cruceña Youth, had a strong protectorate, of the Episcopal Conference of Bolivia, it is here that the role of the phenomenon: Religion, gives opening, not only to the softening to the masses, but opening, the psychological outburst and confrontations, as in the time of the Middle Ages and the holy war. (ibid.)

Juan Flores, president of the Cochabamba civic committee, is the political advisor of Carlos Sanchez Berzain and Manfred Reyes Villa in Bolivia, had the responsibility of generating a social gathering on a national scale, for which he links the civic committees and affiliates the former. Army and police officers, together with retired colonel Oscar Pacello, subtly manipulated the intention of generating a turning point that would generate violence and social upheaval. (HispanTV, 2019)

Since October 10, 2019, discreet meetings were being structured for the elaboration of a plan to boycott the national elections. In such a way, that from that date, they were organizing in the social networks, massive where they called the Bolivian population to confront the Government and in this way destabilize the electoral process. (Ibid)

A month before the elections, different sectors of society were organizing in these mobilizations. The protests and demonstrations were successful, gathering the masses on September 20 (nationally), September 26 (in La Paz) and October 4 (in Santa Cruz and La Paz). (Ibid)

Another objective of the manual, at this stage, was to fragment the armed state institutions, mainly the National Police and the Army. These were a fundamental piece for *Sharp's Soft Coup*, which would evolve into a *traditional military coup d'état*.

With this objective in sight, the recruitment of high-ranking officers in active service within the army took place, those who would support the coup d'état and assume the presidency of the country in a civil-military coalition, already formed, in the transition period. All this under the supervision of the US Southern Cone Command. (Gutiérrez, 2019)

A month before the coup, conversations and speculations had already been leaked, that the Pentagon from the Southern Cone Command, was having discreet conversations with the Bolivian General Staff, likewise, Colombia, was interacting in the conversations, at the same time, the Intelligence service of Argentina, already had notion of a possible coup in Bolivia, where the outgoing President Mauricio Macri, had been consulted. (News E. C., 2019)

It is a known fact that there was a group of army officers recruited, people very close to President Evo, who from their positions would allow the achievement of the actions examined in the plan, using disinformation for the president. The plan or conspiracy as Evo Morales himself called it, was underway, a month before the elections, which called on the international community to respect and support the elections, with transparency, respecting the self-determination of the people, which did not have a positive response, This was evidenced in this phase, in a climate of ungovernability, anarchism, violence, chaos and death, little by little, the institutional fracture was taking place, until the psychological damage and damage to the morale of citizens, led to the creation of a scenario conducive to the coup or final stage.

Final Phase: The combination of Stage 5 and the final objective of the Manual, Institutional Fracture / the overthrow of the President and his cabinet

At this stage, according to the manual, the objective is to force the resignation of the President in office, through street riots to control the institutions, while maintaining pressure on the streets. At the same time, the ground is prepared for a military intervention, while a prolonged civil war (Casus Belli) develops and the international isolation of the country is achieved. (Ibid)

Comparing the attempts of Soft Coups d'Etats, which were also implemented in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Republic of Nicaragua, being in the same decade of 2010-2020. It is that the institutional and organizational strength maintained by the governments in power, helped to withstand the ravages, resulting in a permanent hostility to Washington's provocations, with sanctions, economic blockades and isolation in international organizations, without reaching an overthrow as such.

The key factor in Bolivia was the position of the General Staff and the armed forces (police, military and Bolivian intelligence agents). It was previously mentioned that the army has played a fundamental role in the political culture of the Andean country, since of the 189 coups d'états (190 with that of 2019), in 182 years of independence, 22 have been by military means, only in the 20th century. Once again, the army takes an autonomous position, away from the dictates of the executive, it should be noted that this armed entity has links with the private enterprise of the Bolivian white caste, as well as with the DEA, the General Staff of Chile, Brazil and Colombia, also with military training from the same command of the Southern Cone of the Army-US. (Girondo, 2019)

FINAL PHASE (fully executed): The Proclamation of electoral fraud and imposition of a parallel government, de facto, was already planned. Only the opposition was waiting to see if the plan to overthrow Evo Morales was going to be successful, but they were right, explained Dr. Alfredo Jalife. (HispanTV, 2019)

The assessments and predictions made by the U.S. State Department and other agencies on the probable results of the October 20 presidential elections, is that President Evo Morales will win the elections. However, in a climate of ungovernability and media manipulation, a coup d'état, a "popular insurrection", could be legitimized through the OAS and its member states, as well as the European Union.

In view of this scenario, the US Embassy was secretly creating the objective and subjective conditions for the proclamation of an electoral fraud. Likewise, congressmen such as Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, were following up, through said embassy in LA PAZ. (Ibid)

Even the US ambassador in Bolivia, Mariane Scott, had had meetings a month before with the opposition and with the diplomatic sector of the other embassies of the countries of the Lima Group⁸, encouraging the message of illegitimacy and fraud in the elections, in which she managed to convince other countries, through their media, diplomatic corps and by the messages of the Secretary General, Luis Almagro, who during the coup d'état, published a message on the social network, Twitter, that there was a coup d'état, but it was a "self-coup d'état" since the reelected President Evo Morales had committed fraud, violating the Bolivian constitution and democracy.

⁸ The Lima Group, is a multilateral instance that was established after the so-called "Declaration of Lima", on August 8, 2017 in the homonymous capital, where representatives of 14 countries met with the aim of following up and seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis in Venezuela, from the point of view of the Latin American Right. (Morales, 2019)

Image 3-4: First Twitts (messages), by re-elected President Evo Morales, hours after the elections, November 2019, warning the international community of the orchestrated Coup d'Etat



Image source: (Morales, 2020)

In this final stage, the Unión Juvenil Cruceñista, played a fundamental role, where they implemented violent actions, once the first final electoral results were given, which was evidenced, that they hired gang members, to create extremely violent clash groups, to disperse Evo's supporters, who raised voices, to defend their votes, these groups considered extreme right wing and radical, were used as spearheads in these clashes and violent actions against state institutions. (Gutiérrez, 2019)

Juan Martin Delgado, member of this youth organization, was in charge of organizing these violent activities. They were also supported and led, by candidate Luis Fernando Camacho, president of the Civic Committee of Santa Cruz, who in turn received indications and advice from U.S. government employee, Rolf A. Olson, and contacts in Colombia. (HispanTV, 2019)

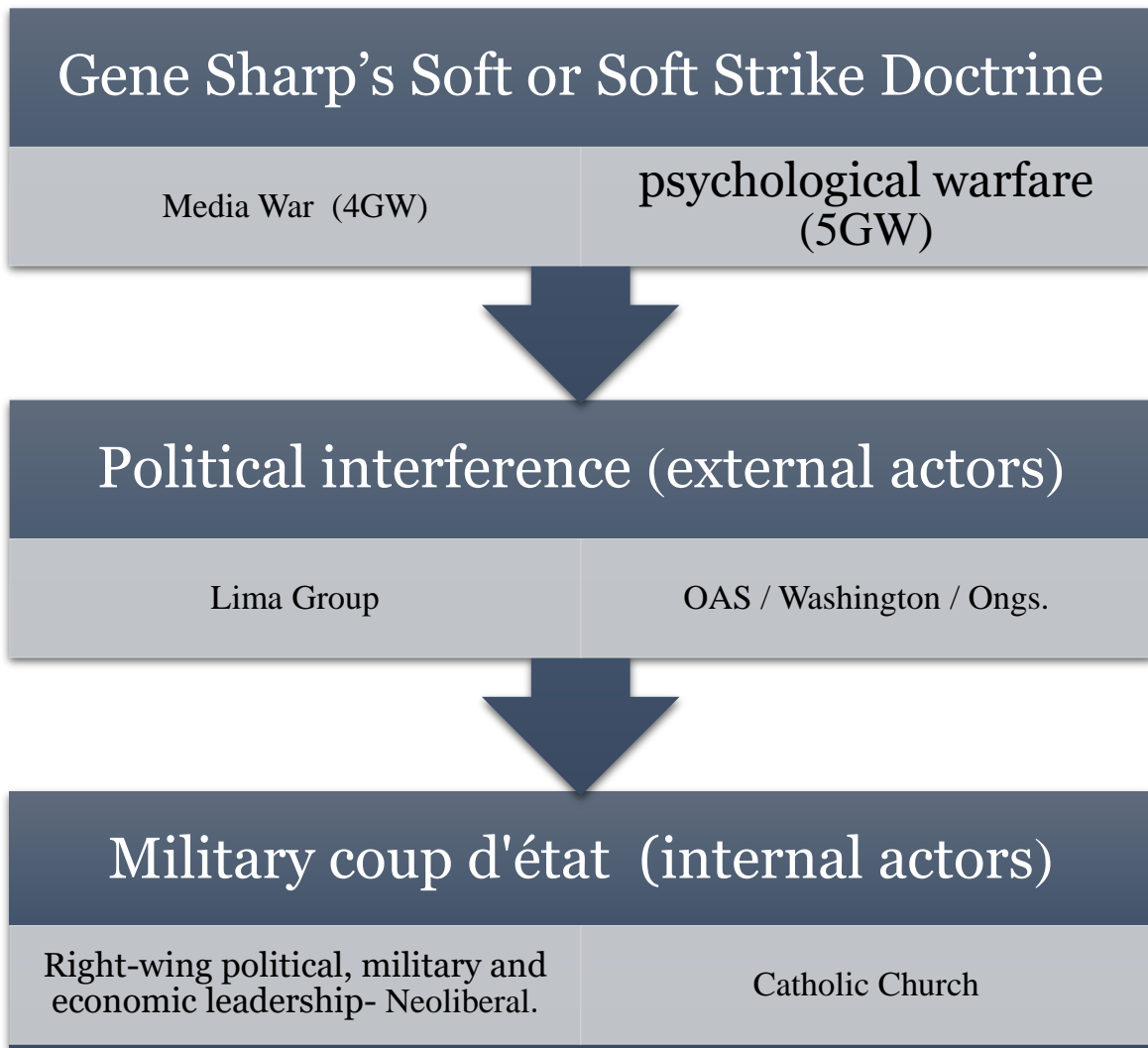
The climate of terror and panic experienced in Bolivia was unprecedented, since a "Christian" anti-indigenous crusade was implemented (the ancestral ethnic and racial clashes resurfaced again), where so many MAS sympathizers, as well as mayors and deputies of Evo's party, were persecuted and tortured, others were threatened with death, and even the relatives of the President and Vice-President, With the climate of anarchism and ungovernability, where ballot boxes and voting centers were burned, the Bolivian army and the national police turned their backs to the executive, and the soft coup concluded with the announcement that *the Bolivian General Staff and the armed forces were requesting the resignation of the reelected President Evo Morales and his cabinet.*

Under military and psychological pressure, the MAS leader, in a press conference the day after the elections, resigned from his post, due to the persecution of indigenous leaders, the violence, chaos and death to which the Bolivian people were subjected. A de facto leadership, imposed by the armed forces, regained power. He went into exile, received by the Government of Mexico, of President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, through its Foreign Ministry, also supported by the newly elected President of Argentina, Alberto Fernandez.

Although the Soft Coup in Bolivia, came to the conclusion of a traditional military coup, many experts consider it to be a civilian-police-military coup d'état. The soft coup d'état manual, devised by Gene Sharp, which has been used by the CIA and some NGOs to destabilize left-leaning governments in Latin America, is fully evidenced, it is no coincidence that there have been several attempts of unconventional coups in the ALBA member countries, since Washington, has implemented for the new century, a kind of hybrid warfare, where the instruments or weapons are in the fourth generation wars (media) and in the fifth generation wars

(psychological), adapted according to the political reality of the country, in favor of the interests of Washington, its transnationals and multinationals (Establishment).

Figure 1: The instruments of destabilization implemented, external and internal actors, for the realization of a coup d'état, against the reelected President Evo Morales and Vice President Alvaro Linera, November 2019.



Consequences of the Coup d'Etat in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia

The scenario after the indigenous leader Evo Morales and his cabinet were declared legitimate president of Bolivia by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. This announcement was accompanied by protests promoted by the ultra right wing of Santa Cruz, led by the opposition, Luis Fernando Camacho and the hegemonic media, which built the context for a future report by the Organization of American States. (Telesur, 2020)

On November 11, the OAS releases a report alleging "electoral fraud". This report is used by different voices to start a campaign against the government of Evo Morales that ends with his resignation, caused by media pressure from the conventional proneoliberal media, and in social networks, where many MAS supporters were threatened with death and intimidated. Faced with a chaotic and terrorist scenario, against the indigenous nations-ethnicities, the leader is forced to leave the country in the face of threats to his life and that of those close to him, including leaders of Evo's party. (Ibid)

The intervention of the government of Mexico, through President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador through the Mexican Foreign Ministry and intelligence services, it is made known, that there are assassination attempts against Morales, the joint participation of the newly elected President of Argentina, Alberto Fernandez, were successful, in safeguarding the life of former Bolivian president, after the coup. (World, 2019)

The following day, in an eventful session of the Parliament and without quorum, the second vice-president of the Senate, Jeanine Áñez, proclaims herself as the transitory president of Bolivia, after the resignation of several leaders of the Morales government. This fact was endorsed by the Constitutional Court, although several analysts indicate that it is a coup d'état, backed by the highest echelons of the army and the armed forces. On November 24, the de facto president Jeanine Áñez signed a law calling for new elections, which in principle were set for May 3, 2020. (HispanTV, 2019)

After the coup d'état, the climate of ungovernability and violence did not cease in the different cities of the Cochabamba region, where the majority of citizens were indigenous, the army took to the streets, transforming the country into a de facto military government with curfew, where there was a power vacuum, this led to the reopening of the ancestral wounds of racism and xenophobia in Bolivian society, which had been healed with the national project of social inclusion that the government of Evo Morales has maintained since 2005.

Once again, in the political history of Bolivia, **the 190th coup d'état** is the 24th military coup d'état, but as mentioned above, given the political and military dynamics of the new century, it is considered a hybrid coup, where it had much relevance, in effect of conventional and non-conventional media, in the latter, we refer to social networks, which were one of the platforms where "legitimacy" was given to the coup (politics 2.0), both as an instrument of the soft coup and the fourth and fifth generation wars, which damaged the social and humanist conscience of the population, leading them to a fratricidal confrontation.

In this atmosphere, one of the most abhorrent events occurred after the coup d'état and the exile of Evo Morales to Mexico. As the weeks went by, several violent confrontations with police forces left some 32 civilians dead. Many of those killed were followers of former President Evo Morales, repressed by the de facto politicalmilitary government. These events were classified as massacres by international organizations.

The **Senkata and Sacaba massacres**, which left more than 38 dead and hundreds wounded, occurred after military interventions in the face of social protests that emerged after the inauguration of Áñez to the presidency. (Telesur, 2020)

The main **cities of the country were militarized** in view of the demonstrations called for the Plurinational State Day, maintaining a military state. On January 24, 2020, the de facto president Jeanine Áñez breaks her word and announces that she will run for the presidential elections, until July 2020. (ibid)

The de facto government was not forceful in all areas of its administration one month after its installation. Undoubtedly, the area in which Jeanine Áñez, anointed president on November 12, 2019, has intervened most rapidly and profoundly was in foreign policy. On the very day of her inauguration, she gave clear signals that her government - presented as "transitional" - would align the country, without fissures, to the US mandates, that is, reestablishment of diplomatic relations with that country and allies (Israel), entry of cooperation agencies, such as USAID and DEA, exit from regional integration organizations (Unasur and Alba) and hostile diplomacy against leftist or progressive countries (Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico, Nicaragua, Argentina and Spain). (CELAG, 2020)

Regarding the management of internal politics, Áñez has oscillated between negotiation with potentially conflictive sectors, such as trade unions, continuity with respect to programs and projects implemented by the government of Evo Morales (such as bonds and housing construction), and the persecution and demonization of the previous administration and its representative figures. In effect, the president - in her capacity as interim and, later, candidate - chose not to take measures that could generate major social conflicts, since she lacks representative legitimacy. For example, she kept the vast majority of public employees in their positions, did not eliminate social programs that reach broad strata of the population and negotiated - rather promised - social and labor improvements and public works, such as hospitals. (Ibid)

In **economic matters**, the Government, in the first months after the coup, did not make strong decisions to change the course, for the same reasons that it did not do in the rest of the areas; rather, it has maintained the guidelines of the previous administration, given that it did not have a government plan, but only came to the executive to "fill a power vacuum", due to this and other incongruities, the de facto government lost credibility very quickly. However, in some aspects it fertilized the ground for the neoliberal and capitalist turn of the country, which will undoubtedly materialize if MAS does not win the 2020 elections.

A clear example of this has been, on the one hand, the appointment of liberal officials and businessmen in strategic public companies, such as Boliviana de Aviación, and, on the other hand, the formation of a cabinet with an overrepresentation of figures linked to the powerful Santa Cruz agro-livestock complex. (Ibid)

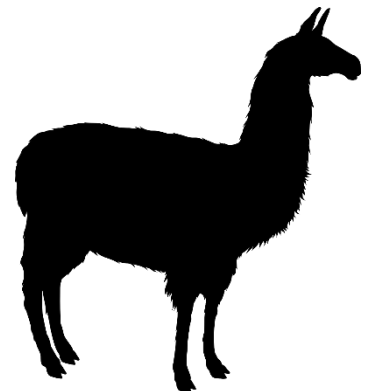
Only a month after the coup, U.S. transnationals and multinationals were setting up privatization projects in Bolivian natural resources and minerals, the same aforementioned, extremely strategic. One of them, the company of the technological magnate, Elon Musk, of the company TESLA, where a contract was established to extract Bolivian lithium at a comfortable price, at the same time monopolizing the reserves it owns in Chile, Bolivia and Peru, also with interests in Brazil, for its battery and electric car company. (Rabágo, 2020)

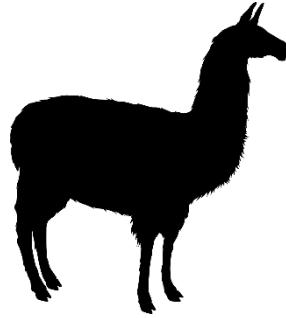
Likewise, after the socioeconomic crisis caused by the coup d'état, the de facto government asked the International Monetary Fund for loans for the first semester of the year 2020, in the amount of 327 million dollars, and once again the IMF returned to Bolivia, with its respective indications, which are merely neoliberal. (Flores, 2020)

As a result of the post-coup crisis, economic growth and development, praised by the world's international political and financial organizations, was in a *gradual recession*. (Ibid.).

The arrival of a government of Facto imposed in a political system and a national project different from the neoliberalism of the Bolivian right, led to clashes in the institutionality, however, it was notorious, the interests of the White House and multinationals, to return so quickly in Bolivia, opting to try to eliminate the ideology of MAS, and that nationalist thinking, which distanced them from their interests, taking them back to their geopolitical, geoeconomic and geostrategic spectrum. (Gutiérrez, 2019)

It is evident, the protagonism of Washington in Bolivia, for its natural resources, beyond the ideological, again, as a kind of historical cycles, U.S. multinationals of gas, mining and now Lithium, look at the Andean country, as one of the most important points to obtain geostrategically, in their worldview of the Monroe Doctrine, in the neo-colonization in Latin America, motivated by the imperialist desire, to face, in a multipolar context, in an economic and technological war, which it has against the People's Republic of China, in favor of a planetary geopolitical and economic race in the XXI century.





Chapter 4

Geostrategic Interests

Washington's relevance and interests in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia behind the coup d'état

From a historical perspective, we must first analyze the evolution of the geopolitics of Bolivia, since its independence and the foreign policy exercised from the western vision, economic interest groups. From the time of the conquest and Spanish colonialism, where this country, was exploited by the gold, silver and copper mines, which until today, these minerals are still of great importance, in the recolonization of Washington, in the continent, to this are added the large reserves of lithium and gas, which is of vital relevance to the South American continent, in its winter seasons. Although Bolivia has no access to the sea, its geopolitical relevance lies in the continent's geo-economy. (Ceppi, 2014)

According to political analyst Luciano Wexell Severo in his thesis on the *Geopolitical Importance of Bolivia and South American Integration (2013)*, he specifies the geostrategic relevance of the Andean country in the region. In the territory of Bolivia there were a series of "geographic contradictions with geopolitical results" related to its location with respect to the three main geological features of South America: the Andes mountain range, which divides the continent from east to west and the basins of the Amazon and La Plata rivers, which condition a north-south division. (Severo, 2013)

According to this point of view, in the territory of Bolivia, in the region, which between 1559 and 1825 was known as "Audiencia de Charcas", the "slopes" of the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean meet and touch the two main hydrographic basins of the region. Bolivia would therefore be the only country in South America that simultaneously occupies or exercises projections over the four spaces. Tensions over Bolivian territory are concentrated in the area between the cities of Santa Cruz de La Sierra, Cochabamba and Sucre. (Ibid.)

A "strategic triangle" existed between these cities, which included the important mining cities of Oruro and Potosí, as a legacy of European colonialist exploitation. Precisely in this area, according to Severo, the interests of Brazil ("Amazonian influences") and Argentina ("Platino influences") openly confronted each other for the geopolitical supremacy of the subcontinent. He points out that: "the key to these problems lies in the economic triangle, the true sign of Bolivian wealth", the same triangle that in the 21st century is called the Lithium triangle, where the Andean country has the largest reserves. (Ibid)

It is worth noting that Mackinder⁹ took the idea of the Heartland to speak of a central Mediterranean zone that would give the state dominating it, the ability of mobility and projection in all directions of Eurasia. At the same time, it was a natural fortress. The case of Bolivia is similar. A central Mediterranean area that can be considered a natural fortress, a high plateau between two mountain ranges. It is in fact a projection platform in all directions and, at the same time, it is subject to threats from all directions. (Navarro, 2014)

The big question is *why didn't the Bolivian State use these potentialities, decades ago?* The answer is that even the raw material from the salt flats was not so necessary for that time, before the technological revolution, and the mines and extraction of natural resources were monopolized by U.S. multinationals, where the State itself did not have the capacity or the necessary machinery to extract these raw materials, When a progressive and nationalist government arrived in the first years of the XXI century, the economic paradigms changed, and in the context of globalization, in the era of technology, they took advantage of this strategic point, nationalizing natural resources, which is one of the reasons why the government of Evo Morales, reached this historic economic growth and development. (Ibid.)

⁹ In the year 1919 Mackinder summarized this theory with this sentence, "Whoever rules Eastern Europe will rule the Heartland; whoever rules the Heartland will rule the WorldIsland; whoever rules the World-Island will rule the world." The Centric Point of a continent. (Tiline, 2020)

Washington and Bolivia, a coup d'état over lithium and other minerals

The Mineral Commodity Summaries¹⁰ and the U.S. Department of the Interior and the U.S. Geological Survey, published a report that allows visualizing the importance of Latin America's strategic mineral reserves in relation to total world reserves. The import data provided by the report shows the vulnerability of the U.S. and the centrality of Latin America as a source of supply. (Jordan, 2018)

Bolivia is among the main exporters of antimony, tin, tungsten and boron, of which the USA shows a high shortage. While in 2015, the USA was the main destination for Bolivia's mining exports, with a 28% share, by 2017 it ranked fifth (10.7%), after India (17.8%), Japan (16.1%), South Korea (13.2%) and China (11%). Despite this decline, the USA is the main buyer of Bolivian tin, tungsten, iron and antimony, and is an important destination for copper, silver, gold and zinc exports. The US is also the main buyer of refined minerals and bismuth alloys, silver, antimony, copper, tin and metallic gold. (Miranda, 2017)

On the other hand, until 2016, according to the president of the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (Comibol), José Pimentel, around 75% of the production of concentrated minerals left Bolivia to be processed in U.S., Spanish or Asian smelters. It was then marketed. This historical dependence was intended to be progressively annulled by the government of Evo Morales, for example, through the installation of zinc smelting and refining plants, from which a highly strategic mineral such as indium is extracted, with an investment of 77 million US dollars. (Ibid)

In relation to lithium, a fundamental mineral for the economy and technology in the coming decades and of which the US has high vulnerability, imports are made from Argentina, Chile and China. However, Bolivia is the country with the main reserves of this evaporite, estimated at more than 10 million tons. According to the ViceMinister of High Energy Technologies, Luis Alberto Echazú, in the quantification carried out years ago by a French agency, only the first layer of the salt flat was studied.

¹⁰ Journal of the Geological Survey of the United States of America.

The Government of Morales, hired a U.S. company to conduct a new study in 2019 and the certification of the reserves, was that not even half of the salary, is extracted, becoming incalculable. (Duty, 2018)

Map 2: The Salar de Uyuni, or Lithium triangle in South America



Image source: (News I. , 2017)

Three privileged countries make up the so-called lithium triangle, a geographical area that includes the north of Argentina, the north of Chile and the south of Bolivia, where 65% of the world's lithium reserves are located. Argentina alone has almost 10% of the world's total reserves. Contrary to what might be assumed, this metal is not extracted through the exploitation of conventional mines, as it was in the past, but from the salt flats of the altiplano in the Andes Mountains.

The most important are the Uyuni Salt Flat in Bolivia, the Atacama Salt Flat in Chile and the Arizaro, Pocitos and Salinas Grandes in Argentina.

Lithium began to be in strong demand three decades ago, hand in hand with the boom of the Walkman and portable batteries. It is a market that is growing at 15% per year, and although today it is driven by laptops, its immediate future depends on the evolution of the automotive industry, where lithium is on the podium of fuels for new electric cars. (News I. , 2017)

After the failed political negotiations and social conflicts that prevented the exploitation of the Salar de Uyuni in Bolivia in 1992, the U.S. FMC Lithium and its Argentine subsidiary Minera del Altiplano S.A. activated the lithium extraction project in Salar del Hombre Muerto in 1997. In Chile, the US company Albemarle (formerly Rockwood Lithium), which has been operating in the country for more than 30 years, renewed a contract to extract 262 thousand tons until 2044. For its part, Ensorcia Metals from the USA has a projected investment of US\$400 million for the construction and operation of two industrial lithium plants, one in Argentina and the other in Chile. In April 2018, the company signed an agreement with the Chilean government to start production in 2021 and, in August 2018, a company representative visited Argentina with the objective of defining the best location for the plant. The geopolitical outlook is further complexified by the recent discovery of large lithium reserves in Peru. (AFP, 2018)

Bolivia, unlike the projects of neighboring countries that cover primary exploitation, through a sovereign policy - which involves the industrialization of lithium throughout the production chain - aims to reach the batteries as the first major objective, acquiring cutting-edge technology. For this purpose, with an investment of 900 million dollars, pilot plants were initially built (first phase), the inauguration of the potassium chloride industrial plant was in September 2019, and the construction of the lithium carbonate industrial plant (second phase), to be built by the company China Maison Engineering, was planned for the end of 2020. Both plants are wholly state-owned. The lithium ion battery industry will be carried out in partnership (51% Bolivian State-49% German partner) with the German group ACI Systems. (Sputnik, 2018)

In terms of hydrocarbons, Bolivia has 10.7 trillion cubic feet (TCF) of natural gas and 240.9 million barrels of liquids, volumes that were quantified and certified by the Canadian company Sproule International Limited and were released at the end of August 2018, guaranteeing that the country will be able to maintain the current volumes of gas production and exports for the next 14 years, at the current rate of exploitation. At a press conference, the company's representative explained that proven plus probable reserves total 12.5 TCF, while the volume of proven, plus probable and possible reserves is 14.7 TCF. (Varela, 2018)

Given all the details about the geostrategic resources that Bolivia possesses in the region, the interest of Washington and its multinationals is paramount for its "national security", meaning, this term, for the pro-imperialist economic interests that it possesses, not only for the Andean countries, but for the entire continent, including the Caribbean.

The international analyst, Atilio Borón, assured: *that there is a conspiracy exercised by the United States against Bolivia, aiming to take over lithium due to a need and an "excessive interest" in the change of the energy matrix.* (Borón, 2016)

The increase in the international price of lithium places Bolivia with a good perspective, taking into account that it has 80% of the world's reserves. At present, Bolivia generates significant economic resources for the State through the exploitation and export of natural gas, a fuel that, together with oil, is still the world's energy base. (Golinger, 2016)

"The interest of the US is to regain control of resources and all geopolitical changes. They want to control strategic resources in Latin America, to maintain their hegemony as an empire" (Borón, 2016).

According to Dr. Jalife, beyond the accusation of electoral fraud, being this the apparent (media) reason for the coup d'état against Evo Morales, the most exact reasons are to be found in the defiant posture of the Bolivian leader, before the empire of the transnationals and the economic and technological lobbies of the West (such as TESLA, APPLE, MICROSOFT), by altering the pro-capitalist geopolitics of the region, it is there where Washington takes a hostile stance against the government of the MAS, the government of Evo Morales: TESLA, APPLE, MICROSOFT), by altering the pro-capitalist geopolitics of the region, it is there, where Washington, takes a hostile stance against the MAS government, by being merely anti-neoliberal-anti-capitalist. The Western Establishment, having Venezuela out of its spaces, in the exploitation of gas and oil, it was also necessary to obtain the Bolivian mineral resource, to face the geopolitical race it has with an emerging China, as an economic power, number one in the continent, and more, when it is planned that the new silk road, will pass through Latin America (Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico). In view of all the above, the coup d'état was a coup for lithium and gas, and other minerals, but the first two are the fundamental ones.

Beyond the ultra-reductionist sociological approach to the police/military/media coup d'état in Bolivia, with the blessing of the United States and the OAS - based in Washington and whose 60 percent of its budget is financed by Washington - its profound reasons emerge in the multidimensional geopolitical analysis that reveals a litigation-coup. (Rahme, 2019)

The signing by the government of Evo Morales with China of a contract for one billion dollars to exploit lithium indisposed the United States, with whom the Asian nation is waging a trade war. The Anglo-Saxon mining transnationals of the United States and Canada, which control the OAS, were even more indisposed by the launching of the Quantum electric car of entirely Bolivian manufacture: a partnership of the state-owned Yacimientos de Litio Bolivianos (YLB) with Quantum Motors, of Cochabamba. (Rahme, 2019)

The coup opens Bolivia's Salar de Uyuni, the world's first global lithium reserve, wide open to Anglo-Saxon mining companies. According to Common Dreams, the coup comes less than a week after Evo Morales halted (sic) the lithium mining deal with German firm Acisa due to weeks of protests in the Potosí region - whose population demanded fewer disadvantages - which contains "between 50 and 70 percent of the world's lithium reserves in the Salar de Uyuni." (ibid)

The anti-neoliberal government of Evo Morales had already annoyed the gas/oil/aquiferous transnationals, due to his successful nationalization of gas/water/electricity/mining/telecommunications, which gave him the second highest economic growth in the entire American continent compared to neoliberal "model" countries, such as Chile, Colombia and Peru. (Ibid)

According to Dr. and international analyst, Leonardo Gonzales in the interview given for this research, he mentions that lithium in 2019 for Bolivia and the USA means the transformation of the exchange system in the world, it is the mineral that will determine the energy system, hydrocarbons and oil will not be an energy alternative. From lithium, all current digital realities will be transformed, that is, lithium will become the new energy resource and the United States has a superior interest to conquer and continue colonizing the sources of wealth in Bolivia, through its transnationals and multinationals, which since the middle of the twentieth century, have had an impact on the Bolivian territory. (Gonzales, 2020)

Washington's interest in Bolivia, behind the 2019 coup d'état, is purely economic and geostrategic, beyond the ideological factor, the relevance of its largest incalculable lithium reserve in the world, is one of the strongest interests of the Washington Establishment in the American continent.

In a multipolar context, where technological power is as important as the economic power provided by oil on the planet. The United States of America and its capitalistglobalist leadership seeks survival and the status quo as a world power in all areas (economic, political, military, technological and space), which was granted after World War II and Post Cold War. However, at present, with the People's

Republic of China as an emerging economic and technological superpower and the Russian Federation, with an exponential evolution in the military technological area, it is necessary to obtain and monopolize all natural resources, which are used as raw materials in technological devices, such as in the energy industry.

The purpose and desire of Washington is evidenced and exposed in the Doctrine of American Full Spectrum Domination for the new century, elaborated by the Pentagon, the Washington Establishment and the globalists, which in summary is to obtain, control and dominate all possible ranges and spectrums, motivated by the mystical thought of Manifest Destiny, in the absolute dominion of the planet's natural resources, even in the expansion for the control of the terrestrial atmosphere and outer space.



Conclusion

The case study on the interests of the United States of America in the coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia in 2019, from the perspective of Geopolitics and International Relations. The in-depth analysis on the research topic, of the military coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic, to the reelected progressive and leftist president Evo Morales and the vice president, Alvaro Linera, in the elections of November of that year, with the false flag of an "Electoral Fraud", evidenced a number of interests and strategies of political war, through national and international actors, which have a clear agenda against governments and leaders, who do not share the neoliberal and capitalist ideology of Washington.

The Republic of Bolivia, came to be in this new political transition from the neoliberal right to the progressive left, in 2005 came to power a political leader, of ancestral Bolivian indigenous caste, President Evo Morales, came with an inclusive vision, with a nationalist vision of re-founding the nation, making the most of natural resources for the people, He also established a political-economic system that would provide growth and economic development to the country, which was a resounding success, taking advantage of the new multipolar order in the international arena, totally distanced from the dictates of the White House, taking away the monopoly of gas, rare earths and oil, which Washington had held since the middle of the twentieth century.

Refounding a neoliberal Bolivia after 50 years, to a Plurinational Republic, inclusive and progressive, with the thought of the common good with social justice, led this nation to be placed in the sights of the United States, having a changing region, antineoliberal and anti-capitalist, pro-socialist, this led Washington to resume hostile and coercive strategies, endorsed by its foreign policy for the continent, restoring the Monroe Doctrine, motivated by the mystical thought of manifest destiny.

For this reason, once again, Bolivian society was faced with an ideological clash over geostrategic interests.

This investigation revealed the causes of the military coup d'état in the Plurinational Republic, where Washington, through external agents and international organizations, stipulated a destabilizing plan to overthrow the government of Morales, through NGOs such as USAID, Ned, among others, in the financing of ultraright political groups in the region of Sucre (Santa Cruz) and La Paz, led by the opponents Fernando Camacho and Carlos Mesa, electoral opponents of the leader of the Movement for Socialism (MAS).

Since the beginning of 2019, a scenario was prepared to delegitimize the reelection of Morales and Linera, pronouncing an "electoral fraud" long before the election season, the U.S. pro-neoliberal media and computer groups in social networks, softened public opinion, demonizing the leftist government. Likewise, the Organization of American States (OAS) found itself biased in the agenda of the legitimacy of the coup.

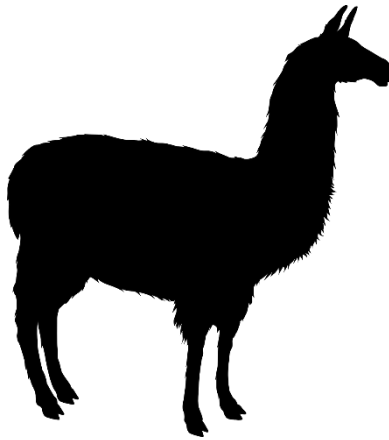
The consequences of the coup led to the fracturing of society and the democratic governmental system in Bolivia, which was subjected to unconventional warfare, such as 4GW (media warfare) and 5GW (psychological warfare), damaging the conscience of the people, as well as the international agenda of intelligence services such as the CIA, against the Latin American left, promoted the manual or doctrine of the soft coup, which in essence, results in social implosion, in order to create chaos, damage and deaths, to the countries that are implemented, and then set the stage for a military intervention or military rebellion, and thus end the soft coup, with a military coup d'état.

Likewise, the socio-political crisis reopened the wounds of racism, persecution, torture, assassinations and social inequality, after a de facto government was imposed by the armed forces, placing the opposition deputy, Jeanine Añez, as the new transitional president, who is totally ultra-right wing and neoliberal, pro Washington.

The relevance and geostrategic interest of the Plurinational Republic of Bolivia in the region for Washington is incalculable, since it has the largest reserves of lithium in the world, which is of utmost importance in the technological era, which is pursued

by U.S. multinational mining and technology companies, as well as gas, copper, cobalt, manganese and tin.

In a multipolar world, the United States has a technological and economic race with the People's Republic of China, and the Bolivian raw material is one of the resources most desired by capitalism and global imperialism for the 21st century.



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A través de una investigación, en el análisis del estudio de caso sobre los intereses de los Estados Unidos de América, en el Golpe de Estado en la República Plurinacional de Bolivia del año 2019. Conociendo las causas y consecuencias del conflicto y crisis que se desencadenó en el gobierno presidido por el presidente electo Evo Morales, en las últimas elecciones realizadas en dicho país, resultando luego un golpe de Estado político-militar, promovido por grupos opositores nacionales, con agendas de grupos de interés en el exterior, específicamente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, en el cual se evidenció, el financiamiento, injerencia e intervención, de dicho país en la crisis sociopolítica e institucional vivida en el país andino. Se ha constatado que la política exterior de Washington, está siendo cada vez más hostil contra los países no cooperantes a los intereses del Establishment Capitalista de Occidente, elaborando estrategias subversivas en guerras políticas no convencionales, para implosionar y desestabilizar países, e instaurar sus agendas geopolíticas, económicas y geo estratégicas, en una estructuración de la dominación de los recursos naturales de continentes completos. Para la elaboración de esta investigación, se han consultado a profundidad libros, periódicos, entrevistas, revistas y blogs online, sobre la temática central, en la que se analizaron diferentes puntos de vistas e interpretaciones, sobre antecedentes históricos del país boliviano, teorías, fenómenos y escenarios.

Tipo de obra Narrativa, Ensayo / Etiquetas: política

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