JOURNAL

kept by the historian
Joseph Holtey

La Paz, Bolivia 1973

Discusses:

VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO
RENE BARRIENTOS ORTUÑO
AUGUSTO CESPEDES
GERMAN MONROY BLOCK
HERNAN SILES ZUAZO
JOSE HUGO LOPEZ AVILA
MARY ARANCIBIA PONCE

May 31, 1973

I went to Pay's office at about 10:30 A.M. It was in the same building ("La Pay Hotel" Bld) as last year but the elevator did not work. It was a tiring walk up six stories.

The same ordinary looking middle-aged secretary was in the tiny first office. When I told her my name her face woke up and she immediately went through the door to the office of Pay's personal secretary - Eduardo Olmedo - she returned shortly and ushered me into Olmedo's office.

I had met Olmedo last year but this time he was quite a bit more congenial. He told me that he expected me on the next day (Friday, June 1) and had my name

in Pay's appointment book - I saw it. He apologized for not having written in reply to my last two letters but explained by saying that since I wrote that I would definitely come it seemed unnecessary. He also commented something about how much mail Pay receives and how little can be even read.

Señor Olmedo asked me to wait for Pay. About 15 minutes later Pay passed through Olmedo's office - a distance between doors of perhaps 10 feet. I saw him only for an instant. Olmedo entered Pay's office, returned, and told me Pay would receive me at his home on Monday, June 3, at 5 PM.

Av. 20 de Octobre # 2619
Tel. 28067

June 3, 1973

Pay's home luckily was less than three blocks from where Ana and I were staying on Calle 6 de agosto (Residencial Italiana). I walk up the hill to Pay's home and saw three men at the entrance to his house. They approached me from behind the gate and I told one that I had an appointment at 5 PM. He said Pay had left. Another man quickly approached and said something to the effect that indeed Pay did have an appointment open for a certain historian. I was then permitted to pass through the gate and into the house.

I was shown into an elegantly (but conservative) furnished room where I met Maria (Pay's

15 year old daughter) who was with a boyfriend. They seemed a bit uncomfortable being interrupted but greeted me and shook hands. They continued talking in short joking sentences in a low voice. After about 15 minutes the young fellow left. About 10 minutes later Moira came in and we talked for about 15 minutes. She goes to an English (American) school here. She said there are fewer Americans teaching of late so "that lowers the quality of teaching." (We spoke in Spanish)

She said she was 6 yrs old when her father and the family fled ~~Cuba~~ in 1964. She likes Lima very much and misses it. She commented that she probably would not have

decided to go to school in Canada (Toronto) had they stayed in Lima. She thought Lima's universities were fine.

Her mother and youngest sister (Silvia Valentina - preferred "Silvia") are in the U.S. Her oldest sister - Patricia - will be home soon as summer vacation from the university in Toronto begins soon.

Lee seemed to have bored of speaking with me as the telephone rang and after answering it she did not return.

Pay finally arrived about 6. He said he regreted being late but that President Banzer had phoned and wanted to see him (see clipping).

We sat down on the coach and Pay was cordial as usual.

...ncargado de ...negocios ...anda en Bolivia, Adrián Tos... ...u realizó ayer una visita al Minis... ...tro de Agricultura y Ganadería.

...bajada de Checoslovaquia para que las hagan llegar a sus destinatarios.

Víctor Paz Estenssoro:

El FPN no es perfecto, pero sí puede considerarse satisfactorio

El jefe del Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario considera que el Frente Popular Nacionalista no ha llegado a una perfección en cuanto a su función como organismo suprapartidario, pero teniendo en cuenta que está formando por dos partidos antes contrarios puede decirse que su funcionamiento es satisfactorio.

El Dr. Víctor Paz Estenssoro conversó brevemente con periodistas al término de una entrevista que sostuvo ayer con el Presidente de la República en el Palacio de Gobierno. Se consultó al jefe movimientista cuál era su opinión sobre algunas críticas, como las formuladas por las juventudes del MNR y de FSB y por el Gral. Zenteno Anaya que hicieron observaciones al FPN, se obtuvo la siguiente respuesta: "No es en su funcionamiento perfecto, pero dentro de lo que es el concepto de una alianza de partidos que durante tantos años habían sido antagónicos, creo que en general, puede considerarse satisfactorio. Esto no quiere decir que no debamos hacer, como lo estamos haciendo, un esfuerzo para mejorar aún más su operabilidad". Añadió que precisamente este último había sido uno de los temas sobre los cuales conversó con el Gral. Hugo Banzer Suárez, intercambiando ideas sobre cómo dar al FPN una mayor operabilidad.

Paz Estenssoro señaló igualmente que durante la audiencia que le concedió el Primer Mandatario charlaron sobre varios temas políticos "pero sobre ninguno especial que pueda tener mayor interés para la prensa". Agregó que había expuesto al Jefe del Estado algunos de sus puntos de vista y había escuchado otros explicados por el Gral. Banzer Suárez.

¿CONSTITUCIONALIZACION?

Finalmente, al consultarse al jefe nacional del MNR cuál era su criterio sobre la constitucionalización del país, respondió: "No hemos tocado sese tema en absoluto"

El Presidente Banzer Suárez, y el Dr. Paz Estenssoro conversaron alrededor de media hora, ayer a horas 17. El jefe movimientista calificó a su entrevista como rutinaria.

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He explained his delicate operations of late October - early November in Boston. He was in the hospital until December. He commented that the symptoms he suffered before the operations were corrected and that although he was still thin from the ordeal he feels fine.

Here he commented on how he used to work 10-12 hours/day while now he is down to 8 hrs/day.

He took a look at my "Plan de la Obra," saying he'd give me a card of introduction so that I might use the private collection of MNR propoganda held by Gastón Velasco - he says it is the best collection in Bolivia. Pay was quite excited as he hurried to a book shelf in the hall and pulled off three bound volumes of MNR folletos.

He showed me the volumes, saying this was not a complete collection. He politely said he could not loan them to me.

Somehow we started talking about the military. He quite emphatically stressed that the military is quite divided between those officers who finished military officers training school before 1952 and those who finished after 1952. Zenteno was of the pre-1952 group. The new officers from "teniente coronel y para abajo" are of a different thinking.

He suggested I buy El Poder Minero, primer tomo, por Albarracin. Also some book on the Bolivian land reform by Luis Caldaron Sagarnaga.

He suggested interviewing José Fellman Velarde, Eduardo

Olmedo Augusto Céspedes
(a friend of Pay until 1964 in the sense of thinking alike - they had a falling out since that time but are still on speaking terms. I suggested at this point that Pay always took a middle-of-the-road approach but Pay corrected me saying that he agreed with Céspedes until 1964. He also suggested my interviewing Monroy Black.

He said Patch is very partial in his writing on Bolivia.

Pay was quite enthused - he took Malloy + Thorn's edited book and pointed out where Cole Blasier wrote about the hoax of the "Nazi Putsch" Peñaranda accusation of the 1940s. He went through the footnotes page by page at the end of Malloy's

(the one he wrote alone) pointing out to me the bibliography - I was quite surprised at Paz's great interest in the whole matter of bibliography. He was apparantly proud and impressed at the literature in English on Bolivia since 1932.

Paz told me to meet his office the day after tomorrow at 10 AM and we'd set up at that time a schedule for interviews.

Upon leaving the house, I met Paz's body guard and about 5-8 other men at the entrance gate. Apparently there were added forces to those I met before Paz arrived.

I returned to the Residencial about 7 P.M.

Thursday
at
P.M

Wednesday June 6, 1973

I was at Pay's office at 10 AM. The secretary looked in her book and did not see my name. She inquired in Olmedo's office. A girl in black, about 27 years old motioned from Olmedo's office for me to enter. I sat down.

After about ten minutes my turn came up and I entered Pay's office. From behind his desk he greeted me, we shook hands, and I sat down. He got straight to the point (Olmedo at his side with the appointment book) and set up dates running into late June. Mostly they were Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday appointments always at his home from 4:30 to 6 or 6:30 P.M.

Pay made a comment on us setting up a chronological structure from which to work. I pointed out the start of just such an approach on the three revised sheets I gave him a moment before.

He also asked me to leave my address and phone # with Alfredo upon leaving.

We shook hands and I left — we were together only 5-10 minutes.

P.S. The Indian with the machine gun was in the first office just like last year when I visited. I had not noticed him on May 31st. He must be there only when Pay is present.

I will see Pay at his home at 4:30 PM on Friday (June 8th).

Friday, June 8th

I went to his home once again. By now his guards know me. He had a visitor so I waited a moment or two – his main body guard finally showed me into the house. I was a bit uneasy as just inside the door I stood – about 15 feet away Pay was arguing with his servant. Apparently he treats his servant (male) well or he would not have dared talk back.

Pay asked me to wait in the usual room, the first to the left upon entering the house (to the right a stairway, to the front a door). He disappeared into the back of the house with the servant. He returned about 15 minutes later. He suggested we begin with a chronological outline which we made out but first he

corrected my 20-page paper. He was kind to say that I have an ability to make concise and summaryi as does Klein.

He spoke of the plans before August, 1971, overthrow of Torres. He even went upstairs to show me the Lima-Buenos Aires correspondence he had with Mario Gutiérrez but returned saying he could not locate the correspondence.

We went on until about 6:20 and he said he had a later appointment.

One small point. His daughter at one point in the interview walked by the door and he asked "where are you going" and added "a dónde vas."

I gave him the perfume saying it was for his wife. He said he'd give it to Moira. I was happy with that.

Monday, June 11

Arriving [redacted] 30 sharp as usual after my three-minute walk from 2548 Av 6 de agosto to Pay's home, I had to wait a couple minutes for two Franciscan priests to complete their visit with Pay.

This interview was quite short. Pay looked at his watch already about 5:00 and then I had problems with the 2-hour tape which I finally solved after a few minutes. He then started looking at his watch again so I suggested we end for the day. He agreed (about 5:40) and asked me to leave a set of questions with him the next day so he could study them before our next scheduled interview on Wednesday. He

Presencia June 14, 1973. p 11

Victor Paz Estenssoro:

EL GOBIERNO CUMPLIO CON PLANES TRAZADOS PARA DOS PRIMEROS AÑOS

A juicio del Dr. Víctor Paz Estenssoro, Jefe Nacional del MNR, hasta la fecha se han venido cumpliendo, de acuerdo a lo previsto, los planes y programas trazados por el gobierno del Gral. Hugo Banzer Suárez. El dirigente movimientista respondió así una pregunta que indagaba su criterio en torno a la actual situación económica y social del país, a dos meses del segundo aniversario del actual regimen gubernamental.

Paz Estenssoro fue recibido ayer durante una hora por el Primer Mandatario, pero al término de la entrevista, Hs. 17, el jefe movimientista, en breve conversación con los periodistas que esperaban su salida de la casa de gobierno, dijo que sólo se había tratado de otra de las visitas periódicas y rutinarias que hace al Jefe del Estado para intercambiar ideas acerca del acontecer nacional. Agregó que su conversación no tocó aspectos que puedan ser considerados noticia.

VISITA DE DOS JEFES DIPLOMATICOS

Durante la jornada que cumplió ayer en su despacho presidencial el Gral. Hugo Banzer Suárez, recibió también la visita del Embajador de la República del Ecuador, Miguel Angel Saay, posteriormente, cerca al mediodía, la del Encargado de Negocios de la Embajada Argentina, Marcelino Chuburu Lastra, actualmente a la cabeza de esa legación diplomática. Ambos visitantes indicaron que se había tratado de un saludo protocolar. Sin embargo, en torno al primer caso, trascendió en círculos de Palacio que el señor López conversó con el Primer Mandatario sobre la visita que debe efectuar éste al Ecuador, la misma que se cumpliría muy pronto.

O NUEVO DIACONO :SUS DE MACHACA

e convirtió desde el domingo pasa- nsagración dio lugar a una solemne roquia de Jesús de Machaca, a la le los pobladores de las comunida-

ıcono fue el Obispo Auxiliar de La quien expresó que el suceso tenía ınrar el Día de Pentecostés y, por nto de parte de la Iglesia a uno de . servido por más de diez años me- or de sus semejantes.

al igual que en las dos ocasiones ızaron en comunidades campesinas ırnos emotivos tanto por el ritual

ERNEST SIRACUSA SERA EMBAJADOR EN EL URUGUAY

was quite right in suggesting that he get the questions a little ahead of time so he could get his answers prepared. So I went back to the residencia.

Tuesday, June 12, 1973, I delivered a set of questions to his house at about 3 P.M. He was apparently home but I simply left the questions with one of his guards.

Wednesday, June 13, 11 A.M. I received a phone call. The women secretary asked if I was José Holtey and the connected me with Doctor Olmedo who said Pg had an important appointment and wished to "suspender" the meeting for that afternoon - "¿conforme?" and I said "conforme."

Mary Arancibia called early in the afternoon - actually I guess it was about 4PM as I was in bed with my "grype". She told me Pay was meeting with Banger. We set a meeting for Friday, 7:30 PM.

Thursday, June 14, 1973. I see in the newspaper that Pay met with Banger yesterday afternoon just about the time we were supposed to meet.

Thursday, June 14, 4:50 PM

I was in bed resting from a cold when Ana excitedly informed me that Pay's car had come to pick me up! I jumped out of bed and told her to tell the two men that I would be there in five minutes. I had forgotten or rather mistakenly thought the meeting was for Friday (the 15th)

Pay was in the usual sitting room. As he greeted me he made some comment about North American punctuality. It was 5 P.M. I apologized as best I could.

We covered a lot of ground. Ana's copy of the interview was over 6 typed pages. I returned about 6:30.

Monday ~~August~~ 18th

I arrived at 4:30 sharp. Pay's body guard informed Pay I was there. Pay was in a meeting. The guard asked if I was over my resfris. I said yes. He was quite cordial.

I waited by the telephone and looked at the books (2) of Malloy (one edited with Horn) on Pay's shelf. Malloy had sent them to Pay with a note in the inside cover that he had appreciated Pay's help in writing a part of the book.

Before I sat down Pay had opened the door to the sitting room + excused the fact that he was making me wait. This was quite encouraging for me as I was still apprehensive from Thursday.

Pay is amazing cordial and forgiving - apparently.
We had an excellect session of about one hour, 20 minutes (4:45-6:05) covering two pages of questions.
He informed me that he had a meeting on Wednesday at 4 PM that would go until at least five so he asked if we could postpone our meeting until about 5:30. He will call me when he finishes his 4 PM meeting. Tel 22818

Femenina en favor del Niño", en la entrega de una moderna piscina en el barrio 'Las Delicias'

M. N. R.

CITACION

.De conformidad a lo acordado en la primera reunión plenaria de las Comisiones de Trabajo para la redacción del "Plan de Acción Inmediato" en que han de concretarse las Bases Programáticas (Documento Político No. 9), se cita a todos los integrantes de dichas Comisiones a la segunda reunión plenaria que tendrá lugar el día de hoy martes 19 de los corrientes, a horas 18.00, en las oficinas del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional (Edificio Krsul 6to. piso).

La Paz, 19 de junio de 1973.

Juan José Rivera Salinas
SECRETARIO GENERAL DEL CEN

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Tuesday June 19

Mary came in the afternoon about quarter of 5.

Her 15 year old son died last year. She has two daughters and a son living with her yet in her mother's home. One of the girls has a son about 8 months old.

She told me about a Raúl Murillo y Olaga who apparently was at one time editor of "La Calle." She said she'd find out if he had an archive of that paper.

She agreed with me the VP had a fantastic memory, adding that he first knew her as a small child and meeting her about ten years later he remembered her first name. She said he is the same with campesinos.

the meeting yesterday was to let back into the party those who had left it - including Walter Guevara Arze. She was a bit apprehensive that these old fall-aways would assume leadership positions in the party. She was not invited to the meeting - special invitations were sent out to those invited.

She described the FSB as rightist and of the philosophy of the former latifundistas and terratenientes. Some of the younger members tend more toward the left.

As a young girl she remembered how campesinos were not allowed on the calle Comercio and police guarded the approach to Plaza Murillo. Neither Cholas nor campesinos could go there - not on buses either.

She also recalled seeing the sign "Se vende llama coca y pongo." Pongo was the campesino who collected the llama manure for fuel.

Her grandparents owned a big piece of the Yungas. She remembers how their family sometimes wanted extra help in the house so campesinos had to come and fulfill their "mita"

June 20, 1973

Pay had told me he would call at about 5:30 after the 4PM meeting he had planned at his home.

At 6:15 I was quite concerned so I called 28067 and I'm quite sure Moira answered. I told her I was concerned because I live in a residencial and the line might have been busy when her father called. She said he was still in meeting.

Finally about 7:15 he called — personally — and said it was impossible to met but that tomorrow at 4PM would be OK.

June 21, 1973

This was probably the best of any of the interviews. I arrived right on time and the friendly guard talked with me about the cold weather for a few moments while I waited to be received. I could see the handle of a pistol sticking out from under his sport coat. Against the wall in front of the house was a machine gun near a man sitting on a stone bench.

The butler showed me in and shortly Pay came in. We had about a 2 hour session covering 1943 - December, 1946.

VPE sure does puff hard on his pipe. As the last time he began the session by filling his pipe and smoking it energetically. Today he kept his glasses on

during the entire session. Still at times of excitement he would be seen opening his eyes showing the whites of his eyes around his brown eyes.

One interesting point - he keeps his lighter in a felt bag that fits tightly around it. It is rectangular + gold in color.

I returned to the apartment at 6:10 PM.

Viernes 22 de junio 1973

Ana (U.D.D.G.) and I had gone downtown sadly and when we returned at 1:30 Juanita said the VPE had called about something "urgente." I immediately called his house but he was eating - Maura told me to call back in ½ hr. I goofed by waiting longer to give him time to eat. I called - said he had gone. In ½ hr more I called - Maura went to get him but returned saying he was resting. I said I'd call again at 4:30. On the way to the phone here it rang - it was VPE. He said he had not called. He said it must have been his office 42501. Doctor Olmedo told me Monday's interview was "suspendido."

CIRCULA OFICIALMENTE NUEVO ESTATUTO ORGANICO DEL MNR

El Movimiento Nacionalista Boliviano ha puesto en vigencia el nuevo Estatuto Orgánico, cuyo texto circula al presente dentro de esa organización política partidaria.

"El espaldarazo oficial al documento fue dado por la Jefatura Nacional y por el Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del MNR.

El nuevo Estatuto del MNR contiene veinte capítulos y 158 artículos. Fue aprobado en grande durante la Convención Extraordinaria de febrero de 1972; su redacción final se encomendó al Jefe del Partido, Dr. Víctor Paz Estenssoro y a las máximas autoridades de dicha Convención.

El Estatuto del MNR empieza definiendo a ese partido como "una organización política nacida de imperativos históricos y conformada por todos los hombres y mujeres de Bolivia interesados en la Revolución y comprometidos con el destino de la Patria".

En este mismo capítulo, el documento manifiesta que "como organización de masas, con estructura democrática, el MNR es un instrumento de lucha y formación política del pueblo, cuya meta es la independencia económica, la justicia social, el desarrollo liberador y la soberanía de la Nación".

"El MNR postula la construcción del Estado Nacional, popular y democrático a través de la aplicación creadora de la doctrina revolucionaria a la realidad concreta de nuestro país", expresa otra parte del nuevo Estatuto y prosigue: "Son fundamentos de esa doctrina el anti-imperialismo, la lucha contra todo sistema de opresión semi feudal, y el desarrollo económico y social de Bolivia, a fin de alcanzar la liberación de todo sistema interno o externo de opresión, y crear las condiciones objetivas para el pleno desenvolvimiento de la individualidad del hombre boliviano, como miembro de la colectividad nacional".

AL PODER POR LA VIA ELECTORAL

El Estatuto Orgánico del MNR dispone que esta organización política, "como partido que responde esencialmente a los intereses de los campesinos, obreros y gente de las clases medias persigue el poder político a través del sufragio universal, con el objetivo de realizar los principios de la doctrina nacionalista revolucionaria, en beneficio de las clases que constituyen el Partido sirviendo a los superiores intereses de la Nación".

El documento que reglamenta la existencia y las actividades del MNR contiene la estructura de ese partido, conservando un orden jerárquico. Dispone también la celebración de reuniones periódicas; la organización de 8 Comisiones Nacionales y otras normas propias de un partido político moderno.

MARTES 26 de junio Página 12 1973

DIRECTIVA

CONFEDERACION DE CONSTRUCTORES.- En Sucre el Jefe de Cooperación Sindical del Ministerio de Trabajo posesionó la directiva de la Confederación de Constructores, elegida en su congreso ordinario. Está integrada por las siguientes personas:

Strio. Ejecutivo, c. Rufino Pinto; Strio. General, c. David Ortega; Strio. Relaciones, c. Miguel C. Verástegui; Strio. Hacienda, c. N. Mayser; Strio. Conflictos, c. Sindolfo García; Strio. Conflictos, c. Antonio Jimenez; Strio. Organización, c. Carlos Pacheco; Strio. Organización, c. Luis Hurtado; Strio. Actas, c. Sinforiano Cabrera; Strio. Cultura, c. Jorge Zubieta; Strio. Estadística, c. Evaristo Rocha; Strio. P. Propaganda, c. Mario Burgos; Strio. cooperativas, c. Nicanor Velásquez; Strio. Capacitación Sind., Benigno Pizarro; Strio. Consejo Vivienda, Alfonso Melgar; Strio. C.N.S.S., Juan Cervantes; Strio. Permanente, Walter Torrez.

PRIMER ....

(Viene de la página 3)

les va a ser el más válido y profundo apoyo para los Señores Vicarios Apostólicos, serán como la presencia viva de una Iglesia que se reconoce auténticamente tal en cada uno de sus miembros, será la vivencia en corresponsabilidad del servicio a Dios y a los pueblos que la Iglesia quiere dar no ya solamente en la persona y en la función jerárquica, sino en cada uno y por cada uno de sus miembros.

Con una palabra de aliento y de corresponsabilidad, me uno y solidarizo con todo vuestro esfuerzo y vuestro trabajo, esperando, de acuerdo con mi función específica en la Iglesia, estar siempre a vuestro lado, dispuesto a ayudaros en todo cuanto pueda. Quiero concluir, pues, con un augurio que os formulo de todo corazón: que pronto, a través de vuestro trabajo y gracias a vuestros sacrificios, se arraigue en forma definitiva la Iglesia en estos hermosos parajes, de tal manera que la madurez de la Iglesia local, se reafirme y se confirme aún mediante nuevas estructuras eclesiásticas para que todo el pueblo de Dios convocado en nuestra Bolivia, sienta más hondamente la presencia vivificadora del Espíritu de Cristo y pueda, en esta forma ofrecer un grande himno de alabanza a Dios Padre.

Lunes, 25 de junio 1973

About 11 AM Doctor Olmedo called and said Wednesday's meeting would have to be delayed ½ hr. We will meet at 5 PM.

Mercoles, 27 de junio de 1973

I got to Pay's home at 5 PM and I met yet another guard — maybe they change at certain hours. The guard disappeared, returned, showed me to a chair next to the telephone. Pay appeared quickly.

We entered the meeting room, sat down, and without further ado went to work. He kept looking at his watch. The telephone rang about 4 times. Once he talked to some minister in the government; another time to some big wheel in the MNR. He kept his glasses on

during the entire one-hour interview. Once his oldest daughter walked by - Patricia gained a lot of weight in Universita as she looked 10-20 pounds heavier than the picture of here in the receiving-room. Once I also heard some loud North American music but just for a short time.

About 6PM a group of about 15 men arrived for a meeting. Pay kept on talking right up to the moment they arrived.

I asked him if we meet tomorrow (jueves) and he said yes.

Página 7

La Paz, Bolivia, viernes 29 de junio de 1973

Dirigente movimientista fue muerto en Santa Cruz

Santa Cruz, 29 (PRESENCIA).- David Trapero, dirigente del MNR en esta ciudad, murió esta noche después de haber sido gravemente herido de bala por disparos que le hizo Gumercindo Arce, dirigente gremial de FSB.

El hecho de sangre se produjo a mediodía en un local del Frente Popular Nacionalista donde, según informaciones iniciales, ambos políticos discutían acaloradamente. Dos balas que Arce disparó con un revólver calibre 32 y que se incrustaron en la frente de Trapero fueron el epílogo de ese entredicho. De inmediato el herido fue trasladado a la Clínica Lourdes donde a horas 15.30 se le practicó una intervención quirúrgica.

Hasta esta noche el dirigente movimientista seguía en estado de coma y su estado era considerado muy grave.

Poco después del incidente Gumercindo Arce se presentó en la Dirección de Investigación Departamental (DID) donde quedó detenido juntamente con Mario Antelo otro dirigente gremial.

El suceso que causó malestar en los dos partidos integrantes del Frente Popular Nacionalista y a los cuales pertenecían ambos protagonistas, dio lugar a una reunión de emergencia en la Prefectura del Departamento; asistieron a ella el Prefecto, el Alcalde, los jefes departamentales del M.N.R. y de FSB, autoridades del FPN y el Comandante de la VII División. No hubo información oficial sobre los resultados de esta reunión.

COMUNICADO DEL MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR

Con relación a ese hecho de sangre el Ministerio del Interior emitió anoche el siguiente comunicado:

El Ministerio del Interior, comunica a la opinión pública del país que en un lamentable incidente ha perdido la vida el señor David Trapero, militante del M.N.R. de la ciudad de Santa Cruz.

Este Despacho, lamenta este luctuoso suceso en el que perdió la vida un partidario de uno de los partidos políticos integrantes del F.P.N.

Las circunstancias del hecho, por instrucciones del Ministerio del Interior son motivo de una exhaustiva como rápida investigación.

El autor del hecho señor Gumercindo Arce, ha sido detenido, quien, una vez cumplidas las labores de investigación, será puesto a disposición de la Justicia Ordinaria.

El Ministerio del Interior, advierte que no serán toleradas actividades que pongan en peligro la vida y seguridad de los ciudadanos y que la sanción con todo el rigor de la Ley, será aplicada sin distinción de colores políticos a toda persona que atente contra la tranquilidad y el órden público.

En Oruro se construirán talleres artesanales destinados a menores

ORURO, 28 (PRESENCIA).- A un costo de 24.000 pesos bolivianos, la Corporación de Desarrollo de Oruro, construirá en el hogar - granja de Capachos, un galpón destinado a talleres de carpintería y mecánica para la instrucción de los menores que se albergan en ese establecimiento, dependiente del Consejo Departamental del Menor (CODEME).

La información fue proporcionada por el doctor Abel Ramos Sologuren, Director de CODEME, quien señaló que técnicos de la CDOR efectuaron ya una inspección para verificar la necesidad de ese galpón y el lugar de su ubicación. Sin embargo, el Director de CODEME recalcó que la decisión final para que se preste esa cooperación a la entidad que dirige, depende del Presidente de la Corporación, coronel Antonio Ovando.

El doctor Ramos Sologuren ha sugerido que el galpón sea construído donde se levanta actualmente el frontón de pelota de mano de Capachos, local que se encuentra en proceso de deterioro por el derrumbe de sus muros.

Jueves 28 de junio de 1973

I arrived promptly at 4:30 PM and was shown into the usual room just to the left after entering the house.

Doctor Paz was seated and rose to present me to José Fellman Velarde. He looked quite young but VPE later told me he was about 55. He wore glasses, was short and a bit stocky, and apparently prefers gray clothing. VPE introduced me as a professor from the U.S. Fellman said his biography went up to 1952 so I could begin from there. VPE mentioned that Fellman had out a three-volume history of Bolivia. He also said Fellman was in the process of writing a social study of Bolivia. I asked from when — Fellman answered from the beginning,

from the time of Tiahuanacu.
The conversation was brief - probably five minutes before Fellman left.

Pay showed me a dissertation someone from Harvard U. had sent him. It was quite large; Written by some Wilfield or some name ~~that~~ like that. I should have paid more attention to the author. Pay said I could "entreterruse" with it while he had something to do. I think he went to drink a quick tea with his little daughter.

The dissertation was in the field of Political Science and on the topic of the MNR. I skimmed it reading about 80 pages of theory after theory and condensed verbosity in the form of comparasions of theories.

When Pay returned and asked me

about it I said it was quite theoretical.

We worked until about 6:10 and he was called out of the room and returned shortly with his long coat and a scarf on saying he had to go to his office. Upon leaving and getting into his car he asked me where I lived apparently thinking to drop me off. I said just a block away. He left in his car.

lunes 2 de julio de 1973

I arrived on time at 4:30 and we immediately entered the small office to the right upon entering. It was poorly lighted and the table was half full of piles of magazines and papers. It was also quite cool. While he filled his pipe I mentioned that I was sorry to hear of the loss of his friend in Santa Cruz. His reaction was very slight if any but he in no way seemed offended or anything like that.

While we were taping I missed the tape's having run out. Upon turning it over he repeated very conscienciously the entire 3-4 minutes that had not been recorded.

Once we were interrupted by the butler - I think he said

some minister was calling. Pay became angry and balled the man out; I presume and I think he said he wanted not to be disturbed for any reason.

He said we could not meet Wednesday as he would be in Santa Cruz with Pres. Banger to meet Stroessner of ~~Argentina~~ Paraguay. Uncertain as to whether he would return ~~Wednes~~ Thursday evening or Friday A.M. he asked me to call his office on Friday A.M. I said I would call punctually at 11:30 A.M.

As I had commented that I worked in the library reading in preparation for said interview he commented that this would give me time to return to the library. We shook hands as usual and I departed: about 6 P.M. or 6:15 P.M.

Viernes 6 de julio de 1973

I called the office at 11:30 but Olmedo and UPE were in a meeting. I called again at noon but still in meeting.

At 3:30 I called; Olmedo told me they had been very busy and there was no chance to discuss my next interview. He asked me to call back tomorrow (Saturday at 11AM.)

Sábado 7 de julio de 1973

I was downtown at 10:30 so I went to the office. I met Ciro Humbolt, the subjefe - looked a lot older than in the pictures. The secretary introduced me - very cordial.

I called at 11:30 and the next interview is set for Friday, 13 of July at 4:30 PM.

Friday, July 13, 1973

I got to VPE's house right on time. Being admitted I met Moira and a friend (Patricia) in the drawing room or meeting room and we greeted and shook hands.

Pay came in shortly having come down the stairs. He greeted me with a long face and slightly swollen jaw. He had had a molar pulled and was obviously quite uncomfortable. He said it would be impossible to meet today. I told him I'd have to call as I was moving - he asked me where and I said I did not know. We left it with a tentative 4:30 Monday appointment with me calling to check for sure at 9:30 A M on Monday. Pay said to my suggestion to call his office that Monday was a holiday. I was in the house a

total of less than ten minutes.

One thing I failed to note in the beginning, I finally saw Pa's wife as just as I was walking up the hill to his house she drove by with the family car - the only as far as I knew - with a guard in the front seat.

Monday July 16, 1973

I called Pay promptly at 9:30 AM. The girl that answered told me I should come to the house immediately. Saying I'd be there in 15 minutes, I rushed back to my room, threw on some good clothes, and dashed out. Luckily I found a taxi which got me to the house even before 15 minutes. The guard showed me directly in and Pay ushered me toward the back of the house to a glassed room which was quite warm from the sunshining in.

He was dressed casually but still quite elegantly, with gray pants and sport coat and a gray turtleneck sweater. He was quite relaxed, probably more so than I had ever seen him before.

First he showed me some small

fossils that he had collected the day before high in the mountains - "cinco mil metros." Especially well preserved was an egg-shaped stone which when divided in two held two halfs of a clearly outlined fossil.

We sat down and he prepared his pipe but quickly set it aside for the rest of our visit (about 9:45 - 12:00 noon - on my way down the street I noticed it was 12:05 PM). Very relaxed he looked over nearly 50 pages of Ana's typing, correcting names and even a couple spellings.

I asked him about Tarija - he said tio Jorge was sick and the trip was not worth my while.

My recorder did not work as apparently the batteries were dead. He called Silvia and she ~~st~~ brought an adaptor so we could plug in my recorder. Luckily there

was a 110 outlet within reach of the cord for my recorder. Silvia looked thinner than the last time I saw her dash through a door.

Pay completed the questions - taking about 35-40 minutes - up until the end of his description of his work in Lima as professor. He said he had a compromiso so I left, greeting the guards in front of the house and about 3-4 more across the street with "hasta luego."

VPE told me to call his office tomorrow for our next appointment.

Tuesday, July 17, 1973

I called the office at 11:30 but Olmedo said he was at a meeting - having been called out to the Presidential Palace.

Following the secretary's advice I called at 12:45 and Olmedo told me our next appointment was set for Thursday, July 19th, at the usual time and place.

I told the secretary the first time I called about my moving to here - Calle Alfredo Ascarruny 2620 3rd piso Tel 51288. Señor de Salinas. Actually all I gave him was the phone # and told him I no longer lived at either 6 de agosto or Residencial Ambassador.

Thursday July 19, 1973

I arrived a couple minutes early but was shown directly into the house. Pay showed me once again to the back of the house where it was considerably warmer under the glass roof of that corner room.

I asked him for a foto copy of the January 25, 1941 document and he went and got it and I photographed it. At various times during our visit he showed me publications: a seven volume work put out by the Institute where he taught in Lima - it was actually not a "work" since these volumes contained the class outlines of the various professors, including Pay, of the institute. He also showed me two thesises - one was very large - written by three professionals the course had professionals -

architects and engineers from all over Latin America. It was a post-graduate course.

We taped only 15-20 minutes even though I did not leave until 6 PM.. We spoke of my interviewing Liberman - who Pay described as extremely intelligent with all the talent of a Jew. He said Liberman could give me a copy of that large book with pictures of the events of July 21, 1946 and of Pay's first 4 yrs. He also gave me a card of introduction to see ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~. Gastón Velasco - the coleccionista of MNR publications.

I took some notes since very little was taped.

I gave him my address + phone # and asked him to have Olmedo call me when I could get a family picture.

July 24, 1973
Biblioteca Municipal
Talk by Augusto Céspedes
7-8:30 PM

I got there about 6:15 and a few minutes later Dr. López Avila and his friend Maldonado arrived with another friend.

López pointed out to me la señora de Carlos Montenegro who is a sister of Augusto Céspedes. He also pointed out Augusto Céspedes' wife who sat directly in front of us. Céspedes married quite late in life and has no children.

Also present were Eduardo Olmedo and Libermann and some young fellow - I think Rivero who was another official of the MNR.

The place was packed with former big wheels of the MNR and

also present were MNR people who today hold positions in the government.

On the way out I saw the uncle of Silvia who I've seen in the house of tia Eugenia.

July 25, 1973

Today I went to see López Avila at 10 AM. We talked for an hour and a half and then went to the library of congress.

On the way we met Fausto Reinaga - he gave me his card and said call him any time.

At the Library I met Señor Burgoa. He was close to López A. as he showed us everything and said he would help me in any way possible.

Upon leaving the Congress building we met Señor Avelino Paredes who is in charge of the first floor of the building where the Redatores are located. He also offered his services.

August 11, 1973

Interview with Germán Monray Block at his home - calle Jauregui 2269 3rd. floor - telephone 26374.

Rosario's brother-in-law (married to her sister), Armando Perez Cueto MD (tel. 22626) introduced me to Block at 5 P.M. - I left his house at 7:30 P.M. It was his daughter's birthday.

Just like Pg described him - short and with a full face and a bit of a tummy but not super fat - wore tinted glasses.

He proudly showed me his collection of folletos - has an especially good bound group of folletos from the Senenio and also copies of social legislation passed during the Villarroel years.

Monray started right from the beginning in clear Spanish and chronological order.

Interview 8-11-73 MONROY BLOCK BORN 1914 LA PAZ 54

He is quite a bit younger than Paz and a year behind Siles Zuazo in the university. Fernando Iturralde Chinel was his classmate in the University in La Paz. Monroy graduated as abogado in 1940 and entered the Cámara de Diputados as deputy from Irgavi - which was an area of manufacturing up on the altiplano between Uncia and Huanuni.

This group of founders - intellectuals used to meet and talk. Guevara Arze, Paz Estenssoro, Augusto Céspedes (who is the oldest of the group) used to gave excellent discursos. Monroy finally said they must turn their theory into practice.

Monroy began by organizing factory workers. At that time they were controlled by Communists - international orientation - toward Russia. The leaders were camión and taxi chofers. They were divided between Bacunin and

Lenin - Trotskyite factions. Monroy drilled them that talking about Russia was not solving the laborer's problems of wages and working conditions. He brought a large part of the workers over to the MNR. This of course alienated the leadership who later joined in the massacre of Villarroel in July, 1946.

The MNR elected about 6 in 1940 - maybe he said 1942.

The party was founded. Towards the end of 1942 and in 1943 a group of militares including Villarroel - all of rank mayor or below - visited the Chamber of deputies and saw they agreed with the nationalism of the MNR diputados.

Here I might add that Monroy agreed with López Avila by saying that Paz was made leader because of his knowledge of economics which brought down to earth the idealistic thinking of the other MNR intellectuals.

Villarroel was not accepted until

Paz explained to the multitude that this was their war for president - a military man - nationalistic.

The Rosca found the Radepa group vulnerable to rumor and accusations that the MNR wanted to take over.

These military men, after the November 20 scandal thought it best to bring the MNR back into the government.

With Paz as Minister of Hacienda and Block minister of Trabajo the social legislation moved quickly through the MNR dominated Congress. The 8 hr day and rent law (that is still in effect today) and anti-child labor legislation and yearly bonus and voluntary retirement all went through during this 1945-46 period. This legislation tended to alienate the powerful upper class of latifundo owners and the mining class.

Monroy repeated exactly Paz's description of their escape at Villarroel's downfall. He added that when he turned off the

radio - nervous over the odds to catch him and Pay alive so they could be hanged alive - he found Pay in the adjacent room with his radio and shaving with a straight razor. Murray called it controlled fear.

Here Murray added that Pay is sharp but he is a bit slow in making decisions.

He also spoke of Pay's great energy and his desire to reorganize the party as soon as possible. They were in asylum 100 days - were the last to leave the country.

He described Pay's great energy in getting folletos printed and coordinating and mailing them himself.

Block returned to Bolivia on the 10th of abril, 1951, - he was sent to the south of Bolivia to work with regimentos there.

He said Pay's two attempts to return (Paraqpa-Braiff) impressed the

Bolivian populace very much - he said Bolivians are sentimental although at times brutal.

Pay's reception was incredibly grand - greeted as a god.

Monroy noted that Villarroel's and his aides' hangings set a precedent in Latin America for cruelty; that the only other example was in Ecuador.

He said Céspedes' tel. is 41876 - he lives at the end of Av. Arce - ~~calle~~ San Jorge (district) frente al Automobil Club. He commented on Céspedes' lack of a library or even a copy of his books and of his disorganization + how publishers cheat him.

Monroy gave me a poster showing the founders and also duplicate folletos he had:

"Revolución y Contrarrevolución en Bolivia"

"Proceso y Sentencia contra la Oligarquía Boliviana"

"El Escándalo de la Junta Militar"

Pay + Monroy worked together as partners for 3 yrs in the 1940s

His comments on the founders -
Alberto Mendoza Lopez - spoke Aymara y Quechua so good with campesinos, also an abogado.

Reyslberto Armaya Lopera - recently working for El Diario newspaper.

Carlos Montenegro - very intellent and more organized than Céspedes.

Claudio del Castillo - more of a secretary - disappeared from the scene rather early.

Armando Arce lives in Buenos Aires

Fernando Iturralde Chinel - from a very upper class family

José Cuadros Quiroga - lives in Cochabamba

Arturo Pacheco - died 2 yrs ago

Monroy said I should get a copy of the Magrader report of 1944 sobre las minas and the Mexican-American Ernesto Galarce's "El Caso de Bolivia" published by Par Am. Union in 1946

Martes - Jueves - #289 Lima - L.A.

Oficina Internacional del Trabajo
Los Problemas del Trabajo en Bolivia

Informes de la Comisión Mixta
Bolivianos - Estadounidense
del Trabajo
Texto español e inglés

Montreal 1943
Calvert Magruder -

Simón I Patiño por Manuel Carrasco
Un Prócer Industrial
Jean Grassin Éditeur
50, Rue Rodier Paris - IX
1960

The Case of Bolivia
Ernesto Galarce

Dep. de Estado: notas a la Embajada en Buenos Aires para impedir el desembarco del Mayor Elías Belmonte, acusado en el "putsch nazi" de 1941.- Diciembre 1946 o enero 1947.

escrito por
para don Augusto Céspedes

13 de agosto 1973 in his house

We spoke a lot of Radepa-MNR in 1943-1946. Céspedes agrees with my position. Said even Villarroel complained about the "retiro voluntario" law - saying that everyone would retire and leave the dueños without workers.

The other founder commented about the "noche triste" of April, 1952 - Low Siles received a phone call while the

group of about 13 were in the university. This founder said that he told the person beside him to say that all was not lost - that the revolution had changed into a civil revolution with the pueblo fighting along side the MNR.

Céspedes said that this was a rare case in L.A. that an ejército was destroyed - the Mexican, Cuban, and Russian might be parallel examples.

Regarding July, 1946, Céspedes says his book shows clearly telegrams from APRA people who congratulated the oligarchy for the fall of Villarroel.

The 3rd founder also said that the Communistas killed Villarroel.

All agreed that Irofuentes was pro-nationalista and this the R1

Interview with V. Paz Estenssoro

No pensamos en elecciones todavía. It will be one year or maybe 2 or 3 before elections, before we have a congress functioning again.

He said he is not acesoro del gobierno but the his party MNR is working together with the military government and the FSB to govern. 6-8 months yet that will be critical. necesito un año para arreglar las cosas
He said Banzer is un hombre capáz y muy inteligente

Actually mutún is still in the exploración stage - they are not yet exploiting this iron ore reserve.

The country has now passed the stage of "revolución" to that of "desarrollo." The reforms have been made and it is now a time of development and maturation for the country.

From the time of Barrientos all the projects of the country have been todos son proyectos del tiempo de MNR - all from the period of MNR government.

Told me about the review of Jorge Salazar Mostajo in #51 Semana de Ultima Hora 5-11 de mayo

I asked him about Barrientos' connection with Radepa and he said that just the previous month el 21 de junio he had asked

General Nogales - ministro de minas and former associate of Barrientos and the General told Pay that Barrientos was <u>not</u> but that he was of a group called Abarca - "a lesser group of military men who of course looked to the Radepa for leadership" era de un grupo más bajo que dependía en la Radepa

Interview with Mary Arancibia Ponce
Friday -

When she was secretary to Pay E. Barrientos got to know her and found her attractive - she was recién divorciado - he called her at 7AM, 12AM, 6PM, finally after she refused him all these many times he called her and told her that he would pick her up at 630 PM and they were going to go to eat, go to the movies, and dance. If she refused he would force her at gun point.

The next day Pay Estenssoro called Mary into his office and before she even was seated he began to ball her out for going out with Barrientos - at that time Barrientos had a

reputation as a lady man - told her never to go out again with Barrientos,

She did because he even gave her his U.S. airforce academy ring - which she later returned in one of her angry moments.

Barrientos did not drink hard liquor Both Mary and Roberto Valda Palma said the same thing.
Mary told me that Pay does not either - he drinks mineral water.

Barrientos did not have what Pay called "carisma" says Mary - someone with carisma could captivate crowds when speaking - when Barrientos spoke the gente began to bostesar - he was not so charismatic as a he was personally captivating.

In January (1972) she presented her renuncia to Pay because she disapproved of his compromising with the FSB and military - Pay refused - he tore it up before her eyes and he talked with her for 4 hours, trying to calm her down.

In our talk she said that Lehch may have secretly returned to Bolivia. Mary described him as insanely rightist - a real savage. He has done terribly inhuman things to leftist students.

During Pay's years Mary claims that Pay was unaware of the really horrible things done to opponents.

Fortún Sanjinés was in the office

on Thursday - maybe when I entered to talk to Pay - he is un viejo con lentes.

Pay Estenssoro's first wife was an alcoholic. Pay suffered a great deal from this sad fact. Carmela's younger brother got the doctors for her and not Pay - says Mary. Carmela finally died in ~~1955~~ ~~1953~~ December 7, 1953

Pay married a second time and has three daughters from his second marriage.

His son, Ramiro (must be from the first marriage) is completely different politically from his dad. He worked for the OAS in Chile and refused to be transferred. Mary had an embarrassing moment one time at the airport when she suggested Pay greet his son.

Hugo Bedregal (author of the book on the militares de Bolivia) was elected. Siles Zuazo probably got lots of votes but the guy reading the ballots put in Bedregal's name. There was a recount but Paz forced through Bedregal.

Siles Zuazo had written some sort of letter against Paz for earlier Siles had been approached by a messenger of Paz asking him to join the new MNR.