

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ / МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

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THE FOOD SOVEREIGNTY POLICY IN THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

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Abstract

Aim. To identify the features of the formation and implementation of the food sovereignty policy in the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Methodology. The author used a retrospective analysis to establish the reasons for the integration of the concept of food sovereignty into the legal space of the Bolivia. With the help of the method of historical and logical unity, the author determined the role of social movements in the process of institutionalization of the idea of food sovereignty. The author used the method of secondary data analysis and an institutional approach to classify official documents, identify executive authorities and describe programs that contribute to the implementation of the food sovereignty policy in the country. The position of the Bolivia in the global process of production of genetically modified soybeans was recorded and characterized by the method of statistical observation and visualization.

Results. Based on the results of the study, the author concluded that the policy of food sovereignty was inconsistent, characterized by asymmetry in land ownership, disproportion in socio-economic development, financial prioritization of large agro-industrial business, monopolization of markets, export-oriented extractivism and illegal production of biotechnological cash crops.

Research implications. The author identified the key aspects of the state's food sovereignty policy, noted its strengths and weaknesses, outlined the contours of further development.

Keywords: Bolivia, Latin America, food sovereignty, food regime, food security, globalization, international relations, world politics

ПОЛИТИКА ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВЕННОГО СУВЕРЕНИТЕТА В МНОГОНАЦИОНАЛЬНОМ ГОСУДАРСТВЕ БОЛИВИЯ: ПРИЧИНЫ И СЛЕДСТВИЯ

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Аннотация

Цель. Определить особенности формирования и реализации политики продовольственного суверенитета в Многонациональном Государстве Боливия.

Процедура и методы. С помощью ретроспективного анализа были установлены причины интеграции концепции продовольственного суверенитета в конституционно-правовое поле Многонационального Государства Боливия. Опора на метод единства исторического и логического способствовала определению роли общественных движений в процессе институционализации идеи продовольственного суверенитета. С помощью метода анализа вторичных данных и институционального подхода были классифицированы официальные документы государства, определены уполномоченные органы исполнительной власти и описаны профильные программы, способствующие реализации политики продовольственного суверенитета. С помощью метода статистического наблюдения и метода визуализации зафиксирована и охарактеризована позиция Боливии в глобальном процессе производства генетически модифицированной сои.

Результаты. По итогам исследования сделан вывод о непоследовательной траектории политики продовольственного суверенитета, характеризующейся асимметрией в землевладении, диспропорцией в социально-экономическом развитии, финансовой приоритезации крупного агропромышленного бизнеса, монополизацией рынков сбыта, экспорто-ориентированным экстрактивизмом и нелегальным производством биотехнологических «денежных культур».

Теоретическая и/или практическая значимость. Отмечены ключевые аспекты политики продовольственного суверенитета, выявлены её сильные и слабые стороны, очерчены контуры дальнейшего развития.

Ключевые слова: Боливия, Латинская Америка, продовольственный суверенитет, продовольственный режим, продовольственная безопасность, глобализация, международные отношения, мировая политика

Introduction

Today, about 800 million people are suffering from a shortage of quality food, which is necessary for their active and healthy lifestyle¹. The problem of food shortage remains relevant for 7% of residents of such a dynamically developing historical and geographical region as Latin America and the Caribbean². The Plurinational State of Bolivia is one of the leaders of this negative regional trend owing to the fact that 1/4 of its population suffers from hunger and malnutrition³. The

state authorities used the policy of Food sovereignty [4, p. 1; 6, p. 667; 25, p. 106] as developmental solution capable of correcting the current unfavorable position. Actually, this article will be devoted to the study of the main components of the food sovereignty policy.

The following features and patterns were revealed by the academic literature' analysis. Firstly, the number of studies devoted to the problem of food sovereignty policy as an alternative to the neoliberal strategy for achieving food security is steadily growing [4; 6; 8; 9]. At the same time, the geography of scientific research is rapidly expanding and covering both global [17; 18] and regional discursive spheres [21; 22]. A set of academic sources related to the relationship between the Bolivian state and the Corporate Food Regime are investigated [18; 19; 28], as well as scientific articles devoted to authentic concepts of social, environmental and food sustainability of the country [1; 2; 7; 8]. At

¹ FAO. The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2022. Repurposing food and agricultural policies to make healthy diets more affordable. Rome, FAO UN, 2022. P. 129.

² FAO. The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, agrifood systems transformation and healthy diets across the rural-urban continuum. Rome, FAO UN, 2023. P. 155.

³ FAO. The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, agrifood systems transformation and healthy diets across the rural-urban continuum. Rome, FAO UN, 2023. P. 156.

the same time, critical studies related to the review of power are analyzed [16; 17; 19; 26], as well as studies that emphasize the protest nature and the power of public organizations in the country [14: 16: 9; 10; 23; 39; 30].

From a methodological point of view, the author uses a synthesis of retrospective, critical, institutional and prognostic approaches. With the help of this theoretical and methodological complex, the reasons for the integration of food sovereignty into the legal field of the multinational State of Bolivia are studied. The discursive relationship between the idea of Food sovereignty and the concept of Vivir Bien is fixed by using the method of deconstruction and comparative analysis. With the help of statistical observation and visualization method, the position of Bolivia in the global production process of genetically modified soybeans is determined.

The geopolitical background

In Latin America food security and food sovereignty are two competing approaches to food policies [21, p. 898]. Bolivia is a ba-

sic example of a State for which the institutionalization of the concept of food sovereignty was a radical response to the complex of neoliberal reforms of the 1980's – 1990's [3, p. 503]. Thus, the adoption in August 1985 of the New Economic Policy based on the principles of the Washington Consensus assumed the implementation of Structural adjustment: macroeconomic stabilization; privatization of state property; financial and tax restructuring and liberalization of international trade. In accordance with the new policy, state support for the primary sector of the economy was discontinued and all kinds of barriers to imported goods were eliminated. The peasants left without state support, who still make up 1/3 of the country's population (Fig. 1), were unable to compete with the flow of foreign agricultural products that flooded the domestic food markets [13, p. 50].

The process of reducing the incomes of the peasantry took place with the process of strengthening the positions of large export-oriented producers of agricultural products

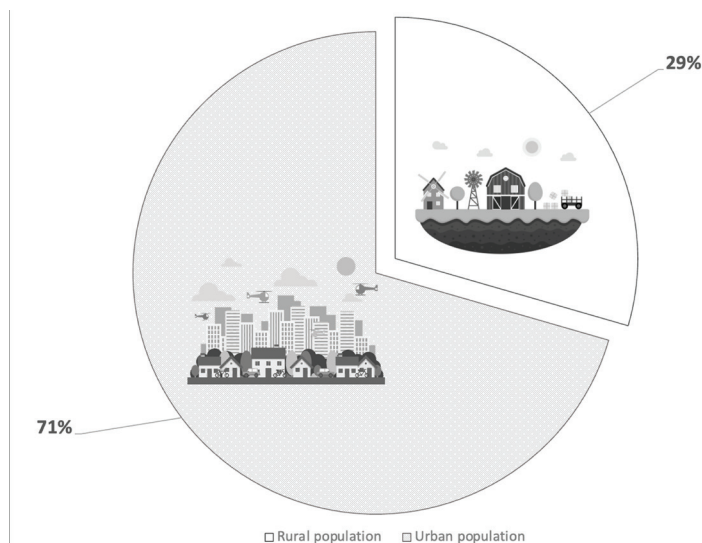


Fig. 1 / Рис. 1. The proportion of urban and rural population in the Plurinational State of Bolivia in 2021/ Соотношение городского и сельского населения в Многонациональном Государстве Боливия (в % на 2021 г.)

The source: compiled by the author on:

FAO. The Food and Agriculture Organization Corporate Statistical Database. Abstract at: <https://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#country/19> (accessed: 04. 09. 2023)

[28, p. 70]. The rapid influx of foreign capital (Argentine, Brazilian and North American), as well as targeted investment programs initiated by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank [14, p. 380] were strengthened the position of agribusiness dynamically cultivating cash crops.

The conditions dictated by the Corporate Food Regime [15, p. 1079; 18, pp. 725–729], were unacceptable for most small Bolivian farmers. The high competition with their *vis-a-vis* (agro-industrial agents) and the inability to compensate for their own production costs forced the peasants (mainly representatives of the indigenous population) to leave their lands [28, p. 72]. Large agricultural producers successfully practiced the method of “accumulation by disposal” [12, p. 64], accelerated the processes of peasant migration and consolidation of land resources.

The current situation provoked a surge of public discontent, characterized by the deep internationalization of the domestic economy, the expansion of large landowners and the intra-state conflict along the East-West axis (historically dating back to the days of the Chako War between Bolivia and Paraguay). This led to a mass protest action labeled as the “March for Territory and Dignity”. Peasant activists walked six hundred kilometers (between the cities of Trinidad and La Paz) for pay the government’s attention to territorial problems, as well as to issues of cultural and biological diversity. As a result of this protest campaign, the issue of indigenous peoples was integrated into the official agenda of the Government. Moreover, a new executive body of State power (the National Institute of Agrarian Reforms) was established. However, the process of civil mobilization was not slowed down by these measures.

Case studies of social mobilization: The War for Water

The idea of the special status of natural resources has been actively developed in Bolivia by various social movements since the

beginning of the 21st century. Thus, “water” became part of the public domain as well as “natural gas” became a necessary element of national sovereignty [24, pp. 834–854]. The desperate resistance of the Bolivian society against the liberalization and privatization of natural resources was transformed into a five-year cycle of revolts of the indigenous population [30, p. 181].

The so-called “War for Water” (span., *La Guerra Del Agua*) took place in 2000. In the city of Cochabamba, widespread protests broke out against the four hundred percent rise in prices of water tariffs for the population and the privatization of the state water management company *SEMAPA* by the North American corporation Bechtel [Lucero 2008, p. 154]. The former president of the country, H. Banzer Suarez, canceled the contract on the denationalization of *SEMAPA* due to large-scale actions of collective disobedience coordinated by public organizations [16, p. 843].

The “War for Water” was the trigger of political transformations in the fate of Bolivian social movements, which became the global logo of the anti-liberal struggle. Moreover, representatives of indigenous peoples activated the discourse of traditional practices of natural resource management, considered as a cultural heritage instead of a market commodity [10, p. 161].

Case studies of social mobilization: The Gas War

Three years after the end of the “Water War”, the government announced its intentions to export natural gas to North American countries through the Chilean ports of Tocopilla and Mejillones. Indigenous residents of the northwestern city of El Alto (through which a key section of the main gas pipeline was planned to pass) did not accept the decision of the Bolivian authorities [10, p. 162]. Thus, the demands for the nationalization of gas fields were the reason for new mass protests [29, p. 118].

“The Gas War” that broke out in October 2003 [11, p. 144], led to the resigna-

tion of former President G. Lozada, who immediately fled to the United States [22, pp. 191–201]. The government of the successor (Vice-President C. Mesa) adopted a new “Law on Energy Resources” increasing royalties to 50% [11, p. 145]. However, the financial compromise failed to calm the public, which was skeptical of the authorities promoting the hegemony of foreign capital [22, pp. 191–201]. Protest actions dedicated to corruption, land ownership imbalances and increasing poverty were resumed again [Perreault 2006, p. 150]. The decline of trust in the authorities stimulated another surge of radicalization of society. The revolt favored the integration of various public organizations that integrated into the alliance called the Unity Pact (span., *Pacto de Unidad*) [19, p. 1190]. The coalition of civil society forces, fiercely resisting neoliberal transformations (especially in the agricultural sphere), officially expressed confidence in the political views of E. Morales. E. Morales (an ethnic Aymara Indian, leader of the “Movement for Socialism” and the first peasant president in the country’s history) started constructing a new “economic model of a socially productive community”, implying the development of all segments of society based on the reasonable exploitation of natural resources, the fair redistribution of state revenues and the eradication of poverty [8, p. 68].

“Agrarian Revolution” and other humanitarian priorities of E. Morales

Newly elected President E. Morales promised to implement radical economic, social and political transformations. Specifically, to re-nationalize the oil and gas industry, stop the war against domestic coca producers, grant equal rights to indigenous peoples and implement the “Agrarian Revolution” [19, p. 412; 9, p. 140]. Ridding the state of external dependence that hinders the development of Bolivian society was the main goal of the presidential reforms. To overcome these difficulties meant to abandon the universality of the Eurocentric model of social organization, absolutizing

the ethical principles of capitalism, pragmatism, utilitarianism and egocentrism. The paradigm of “Living well” (span., *Vivir Bien*) was proposed as a new socialist alternative based on the provisions of Catharism. The emergence of such an ideological trend symbolized the beginning of a new “special path” for the Bolivian state.

Food sovereignty and the principles of Andean idealism

The change of the political course based on the ideals of Indian ancestors was intended to construct a new humanitarian reality in which the harmony of the community (the whole) was more valuable than the well-being of an individual (one part). In this regard, the concept of “Living well” (span., *Vivir Bien*) was used. This concept emphasized the advantage of the collective good instead of the individualistic impulse to live better than others [1, p. 134; 2, p. 100]. *Vivir Bien* means to benefit from material goods in harmony with Mother Earth (*Pachamama*) and society (Fig. 2), because people do not live in isolation, but in a diverse social and natural environment [1, p. 136].

Therefore, it is unacceptable living well at a time when the rest of society is in extreme need, and nature is in decline. Moreover, the simplification of the biosocial and agroecological wealth of the planet is unacceptable because it provokes poverty of forms and a shortage of species. Thus, *Vivir Bien* was a symbol of another Bolivian society that takes care of nature, protects biodiversity, protects traditional knowledge and practices from the destructive force of globalism. The idea of food sovereignty (which fully shared the Indian principles of harmonious existence) was proposed as a strategic tool with which society could living well. Thus, the concept of food sovereignty was integrated into the legal field of the Bolivian State.

Institutionalization of food sovereignty

The new political orientation towards *Vivir Bien* logically demanded drastic changes in the agricultural sector. In this regard, the

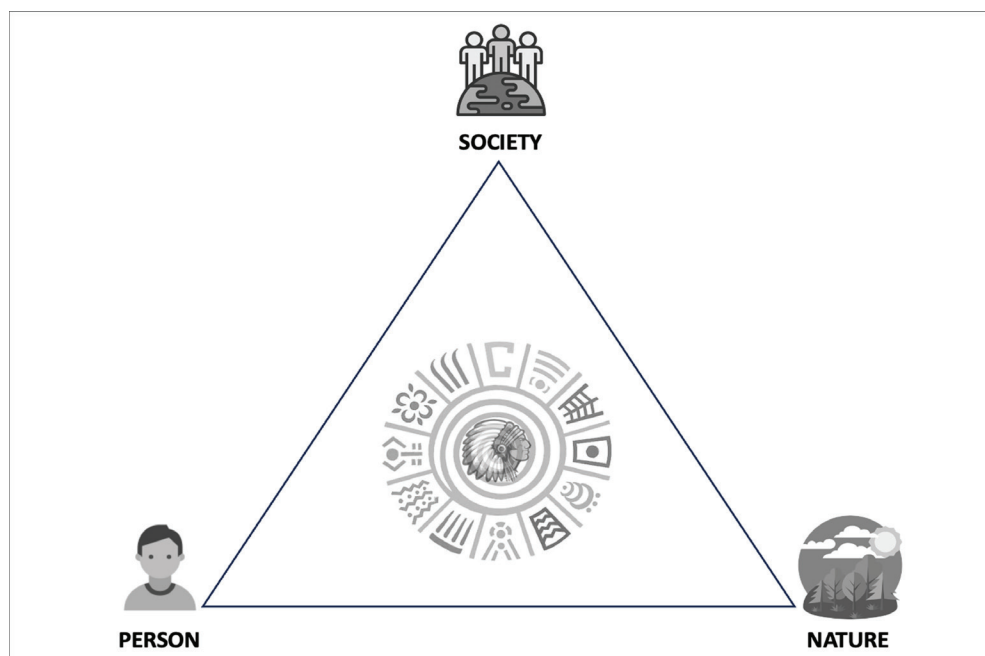


Fig. 2 / Рис. 2. The trinitarian model of harmonious coexistence of man, society and nature (*Vivir Bien*) / Тринитарная модель гармоничного сосуществования человека, общества и природы (*Vivir Bien*)

The source: compiled by the author

government of E. Morales left the model of agricultural production based on the principle of “export or die” (span., *exportar o morir*).

Relying on the strategic potential of food sovereignty, the authorities announced the reorientation of the state towards self-sufficient provision of all Bolivian citizens with environmentally friendly food at fair prices¹. In accordance with this, food sovereignty was included in the draft of the new constitution, which was successfully ratified in 2009. The idea of food sovereignty (articles of the Constitution No. 255, No. 309 and No. 407) was officially integrated into the national development plans by two presidents of the

state: E. Morales (in 2006², in 2010³, in 2014⁴, in 2016⁵) and L. Arce Catacora (in 2021⁶).

Special executive bodies were authorized to implement the goals set out in official programs. Among the main specialized institutions, ministries, departments and

² Ibid.

³ Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan del Sector Desarrollo Agropecuario denominado “Revolución Rural y Agraria” 2010–2020, 23 de noviembre de 2010. La Paz, 2010. Available at: <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/bol148581.pdf> (accessed: 06.09.2023).

⁴ Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan del Sector Desarrollo Agropecuario 2014–2018 “Hacia el 2025”. La Paz, 2014. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/en/c/LEX-FAOC141698/> (accessed: 15.09.2023).

⁵ Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social en el marco del Desarrollo Integral para Vivir Bien 2016–2020. La Paz, 2016. Available at: <http://www.planificacion.gob.bo/pdes/pdes2016-2020.pdf> (accessed: 05.09.2023).

⁶ Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social 2021–2025. La Paz, 2021. Available at: <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/bol209070.pdf> (accessed: 15.09.2023).

¹ Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo: Bolivia digna, soberana, productiva y democrática para Vivir Bien. Lineamientos Estratégicos 2006–2011. La Paz, 2006. Available at: <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-MISC-DS29272.html> (accessed: 15.09.2023).

committees, we list the following: 1) Ministry of rural development and lands (span., *MDRyT*). Task: contribute to the sustainable development of the country's agricultural sector in accordance with the principles of food sovereignty; 2) Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy (span., *MDPyEP*). Objective: to increase the productivity of the economy by strengthening artisanal, industrial and agro-industrial production in harmony with nature; 3) Ministry of Environment and Water (span., *MMAyA*). Task: water resources management to ensure food security in accordance with the principle of *Vivir Bien*; 4) Vice ministry of Environment, Biodiversity, Climate Change and Forest Development Management (span., *VMABCCIGyDF*). Task: Design and implementation of strategies, norms, plans aimed at the sustainable use of natural resources and environmental protection; 5) National Institute for Agrarian Reform (span., *INRA*). Task: coordination of the process of agrarian reform, implying the distribution and registration of ownership of agricultural land; 6) National Council of Ecological Production (span., *UC-CNAPE*) and National Service for Animal Health and Food Safety of Bolivia (span., *SENASAG*). Task: certification and promotion of organic production; 8) Coordinator of Integration of Indigenous Peasant Economic (span., *CIOEC*). Objective: To promote the sustainable development of the country and strengthen the capacity of small food producers by promoting the economy of solidarity, self-government and food sovereignty.

Programs promoting food sovereignty

In accordance with the national strategy Food Security of Nutrition with Sovereignty (span., *Seguridad Alimentaria Nutricional con Soberanía*), the executive authorities created the special programs:

1) The Direct Support Program for the Creation of Rural Agri-food Initiatives (span., *CRIAR-PASA*). Purpose: financial support for small-scale farming focused

on the production of food for the domestic market;

2) Food Production Support Company (span., *EMAPA*). Objective: to promote food security with sovereignty by supporting national production and stabilizing prices on the food market; purchase wheat, rice and corn from local producers in order to replenish national reserves and provide basic foodstuffs to vulnerable groups of the population;

3) National Programme of Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture (span., *PNAUP*). Objective: development of urban and suburban family farming as a means of increasing food security with sovereignty;

4) Agroecological fair "BioBolivia". Purpose: To support the production and consumption of organic food; to create a space for meetings and knowledge exchange between consumers and producers of agroecological goods; to inform about the negative impact of agrochemicals on human health and the environment.

Violation of the food sovereignty policy: causes and consequences

Bolivia occupies the tenth position (Fig. 3) in the ranking of states cultivating biotechnological crops, even despite the legislative ban (Article No. 15¹). According to data for 2019, the sown area intended for biotechnological crops was equivalent to 1.4 million hectares (Fig. 3), which accounted for 50% (2.5 million hectares) of all arable land in Bolivia².

Glyphosate-resistant soybeans, which account for more than 12% of total export revenues (Fig. 3) is the most popular transgenic plant in the country. Since 2005, the use of GM technologies has received a new impe-

¹ Ley de la Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria, No. 144 de 26 de junio de 2011. Available at: http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=253033 (accessed: 05.09.2023).

² Ministerio de Planificación del Desarrollo. Plan Nacional de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación del Sistema de la Universidad Boliviana 2017–2026. La Paz, 2017. Available at: <http://dipgis.umsa.bo/wp-content/uploads/PLAN-NACIONAL-DE-CIENCIA-Y-TECNOLOGIA-SUB.pdf> (accessed: 05.09.2023).

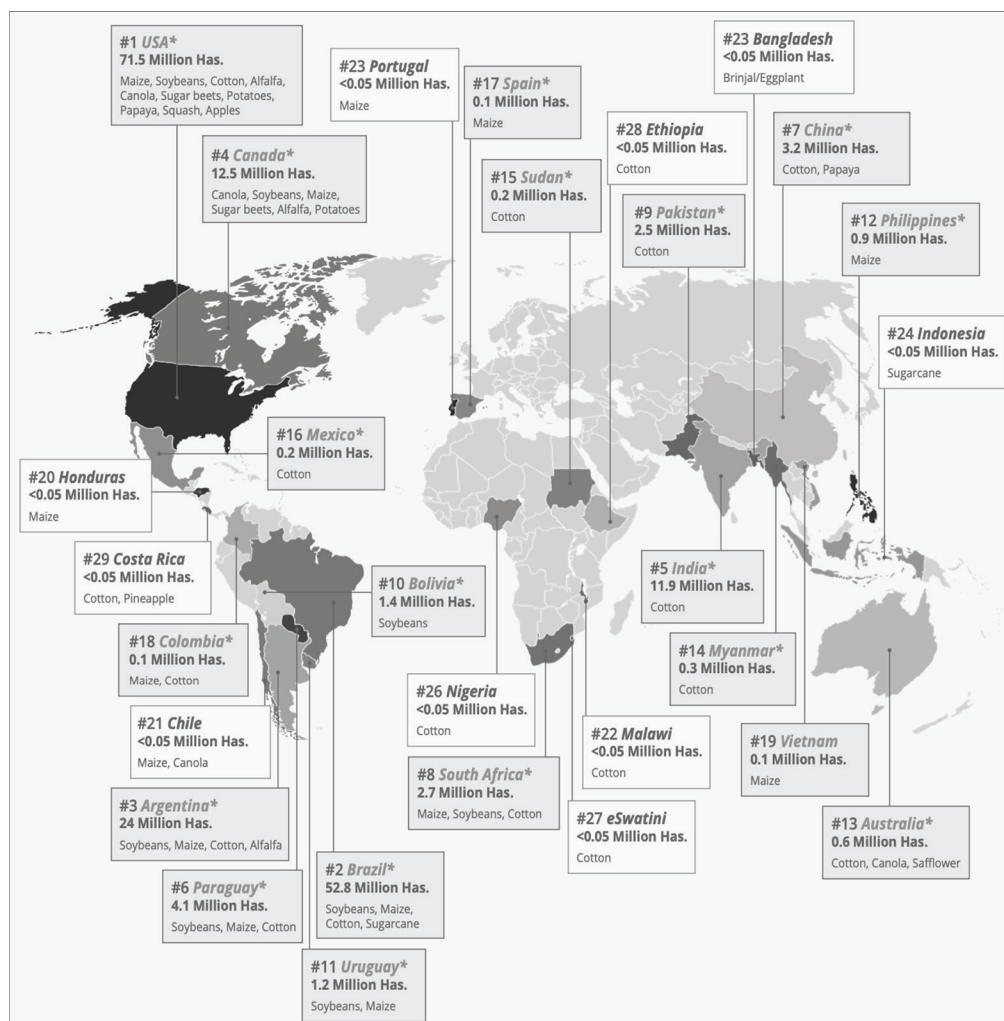


Fig. 3 / Рис. 3. Global area of biotechnological / GM crops in 2019: by country (million hectares) / Мировые площади биотехнологических культур/ ГМ-культур в 2019 году: распределение по странам (в млн га)

Source: ISAA. Global status of commercialized biotech/GM crops in 2019: biotech crops drive socio-economic development and sustainable environment in the new frontier.

ISSA Brief No. 55. Ithaca, ISAAA, 2019. P. 5.

tus for the historical expansion of the “soy border” in Bolivia [14, p. 380]. Government support for the profitable “soy complex” was expressed in the provision of production loans under beneficial bank loans, as well as in the provision of preferential access to innovative means of production.

However, the chemical-intensive, high-cost and mechanized production process was the privilege of the “agro-industrial

aristocracy”. According to the data, 78% of small Bolivian farmers (up to 50 hectares) control 9% of the land intended for growing soybeans; while only 2% of large producers (1,000 hectares or more) have 71% of agricultural land in private ownership [17, p. 416].

Taking into account the fact that 98% of all soybean plantations are located in the eastern department of Santa Cruz (which ac-

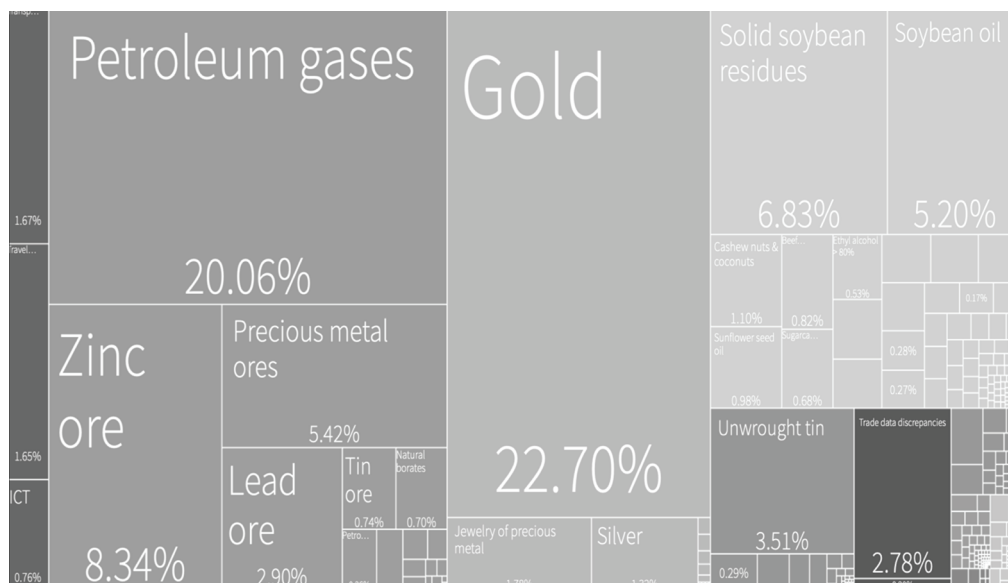


Fig. 4 / Рис. 4. The main products in the structure of Bolivian exports in 2021 / Основные товары в контингенте боливийского экспорта, 2021 г.

The source: compiled by the author on: ATLAS of economic complexity.

Center for International Development at Harvard University.

Available at: <https://atlas.cid.harvard.edu/countries/31/export-basket> (accessed: 21.09.2023)

counts for more than 2 million hectares of all cultivated land in the country), land ownership and class contradictions were intensified by specific disagreements in the direction of the ethnic confrontation “West-East” [27, p. 440; 28, p. 70].

Intensification of GM soybean production in the eastern plains of the country (coordinated by the interests of private capital) intensified the degradation of ecosystems. Since 2011, Bolivia has been among the top ten countries with the highest rates of deforestation (300,000 hectares per year) [27, p. 443]. The reason for the complete disappearance of unique tropical forests and shrubby thickets was the introduction of high-tech and mechanized farming practices focused on the diversification of the “soy complex” [14, p. 377]. According to statistics, in the first years after the transformation of forest areas into land without tree cover, the fertility of the land increases significantly. However, in the near future, the production capacity of soils is rapidly falling

due to the active use of agrochemistry. In this regard, since the cultivation of GM soybeans, the use of pesticides and herbicides in Bolivia has doubled¹.

The relationship between certified GM seeds and pesticides turned out to be negative for both the land and water resources of Bolivia. For example, one thousand tons of water is required to produce one ton of soybeans. Thus, the economic efficiency of the “GM-soy complex” not only accelerates deforestation, increases the degradation of soil cover, but also wastes the freshwater resources of Bolivia. These facts tell us about the ambiguity of the commercial success of the soy complex, which led to problems of socio-economic and ethno-political inequality, as well as dynamized the process of ecosystem degradation.

¹ FAO. The Food and Agriculture Organization Corporate Statistical Database (FAOSTAT). Available at: <https://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/RP/visualize> (accessed: 10.09.2023).

Research implications

The theoretical importance of the study is confirmed by introducing into the scientific discourse new information about the nature of global, regional and local food problems and the factors of their actualization. The conceptualization of food sovereignty is a step towards the institutionalization of the field of international political economy – Global Agri-food Political Economy, emphasizing the need to use theoretical and methodological tools of political science to evaluate decisions in the agri-food sphere.

The practical significance of the article is confirmed by the ability of the research results to become a theoretical basis for the formation of new bills in the field of agrarian policy. The findings of this study can be used as a methodological and reference base for the preparation of various policy documents, reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations. The conclusions of the research can be implemented in the main professional programs of educational institutions, as well as used in the preparation of courses on international relations and world politics, international political economy, economic geography, international and national food security.

Conclusions

Contrary to the patriotic rhetoric about the inviolable values of “Andean idealism”, the government that was replaced in 2005 methodically continued the integration of the Bolivian state into the global system of division of labor.

Even the socio-economic reforms of former President E. Morales (had a positive humanitarian effect) did not signal a retreat from neoliberalism and neocolonialism. Moreover, the organizational model of “Communitarian socialism”, proclaimed by the government actually took the form of “Andean-Amazonian capitalism” (a utilitarian way of converting income from the activities of nationalized industries into the promotion of socially significant projects). However, even the original form of capita-

lism meant maintaining the former dependence on “export-oriented extractivism” (a process where most of the natural rent is redistributed among socially vulnerable segments of the Bolivian population without significantly changing the basic relations in the spheres of production, property and power [17, p. 420]).

Due to the current political situation, the introduction of food sovereignty into the legal field of Bolivia did not contribute to fundamental transformations in the agricultural sector of the country. The ambitious project of the “Agrarian Revolution” failed to eliminate inequality in the national agricultural structure, which marginalizes the majority of small farmers. Despite government actions aimed at re-distribution of land resources, reduction of injustice in the countryside, elimination of rural poverty and the organization of agro-ecological fairs, about 95.7% of small farmers (less than 10 hectares) have ownership rights to 47.5% of agricultural land [7, p. 200]. Inequality in land ownership, established as a result of partnerships between the state and agribusiness, due to the influence of the corporate food regime [20, p. 13], allowed large agro-industrial agents to occupy a privileged socio-economic position in the country. Confirmation of this “peculiarity” was the fact that even the legislative ban on the use of GM organisms did not block the way to commercial interests that ignore the sustainability of ecological systems and human health.

The lack of attention to the domestic consumer market led to the fact that in the period from 2006 to 2015, food imports increased by 146¹, while prices for foreign food products increased by a disproportionate

¹ Instituto de Ciencia, Economía, Educación y Salud (ICEES). Bolivia importa alimentos por cerca de 50 millones de dólares. 2016. Available at: <http://www.icees.org.bo/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/bolivia-importa-alimentos-por-50-millones-de-dolares-por-Fundacion-Jubileo.pdf> (accessed: 15.09.2023); NODAL. Bolivia produce el 95% de sus alimentos para consumo interno. Available at: <https://www.eldeber.com.bo/bolivia/Bolivia-produce-el-95-de-sus-alimentos-para-consumo-interno-20170730-0021.html> (accessed: 15.09.2023).

92% [McKay 2018, p. 416]. The increasing neo-extractivism [26, p. 626] and dependence on food imports with intensive exploitation of ecosystems indicates a deviation from the constitutional principles of food sovereignty. This “trend” will not tolerate changes as long as the current government, headed by L. Arce Catacora (a fellow party

member of E. Morales), uses a wide arsenal of special means (co-optation of leaders of social movements, political clientelism [17, p. 420]), contributing to the retention of power and the maintenance of a mutually beneficial alliance between the state and agribusiness.

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