

## Latin America Political Leadership Program: Bolivia Party Reform Projects

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<b>U.S. GRANTEE:</b>	<b>National Democratic Institute for International Affairs</b>	
<b>DATES OF PROJECT:</b>	<b>April 1, 2003 to March 31, 2004</b>	
<b>AMOUNT:</b>	<b>Direct Costs:</b>	<b>\$60,731</b>
	<b>Indirect Costs:</b>	<b>\$14,515</b>
	<b>Total Costs:</b>	<b>\$75,245</b>

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### I. BACKGROUND

Over the past twenty years, free elections and the peaceful transfer of power between rival parties have characterized Bolivia's democracy. In spite of this stability, the latest elections indicate the demise of several traditional parties and the rise in popularity of inexperienced, anti-systemic, and neo-populist parties.

Amidst the weakening credibility of political institutions and economic stagnation, presidential and congressional elections were held on June 30, 2002. Because no first-round candidate won an absolute majority of the votes, following the Bolivian constitution, the Congress selected the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) candidate Gonzalo "Goni" Sanchez de Lozada as the president over coca growers' leader Evo Morales. As has been the case with every new government since 1982, the MNR was able to secure the presidency by forming a coalition with an opposition party, this time with rival Jaime Paz Zamora's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

The results of the June 2002 elections indicate significant erosion in the support for traditional parties. The inability of these parties to "deliver" on promises of political inclusion, transparency, and economic growth has triggered a growing anti-party, anti-political sentiment among the populace. In 1997, the five parties that dominated national elections (MNR; MIR; ADN; Conscience of the Fatherland-- CONDEPA; and UCS) together received 88.5 percent of the vote in presidential elections. Five years later, three of those parties, the ADN, UCS and CONDEPA, had all imploded and garnered less than 9 percent of the total vote. The collapse of these parties left a political void that was filled by three new parties (Movement to Socialism—MAS; New Republican Force—NFR; and Pachakuti Indigenous Movement-- MIP) with limited legislative experience and populist tendencies. Together, these newcomers garnered nearly 50 percent of the presidential vote.

In response, traditional parties need to reform themselves, restructure their internal organization, and rebuild credibility and popular support. They need to communicate their policies

and maintain contact with their constituents. They also need to incorporate underrepresented sectors of the population into the party structure, specifically indigenous, women and youth.

Emerging parties need to address similar themes, including consolidating their political structures and developing consistent agendas. In order to maintain their role as important institutions in the democratic process, all political parties must engage in a continuous process of internal reform, which will lead them to be truly democratic, representative and responsive institutions.

NDI has received requests from Bolivian parties to address this need for internal reform and stronger, more representative and transparent structures. Given waning levels of popular support for traditional parties, MNR and MIR leadership have been increasingly receptive to support in the areas of internal reform, voter outreach and strategic planning. NDI considers work to promote continued democratic reform within the established parties an imperative and the current context of receptiveness by the traditional parties an opportunity that cannot be ignored.

Similarly, NDI hopes to work with the NFR on its continued construction. The NFR must focus on strategies that will aid in the creation of a decentralized and viable national party structure. The party's leader, and presidential candidate in 2003, Manfred Reyes Villa has already expressed interest in collaboration with NDI. NFR leadership has identified technical support as a necessary step to construct its party and avoid the pitfalls of political exclusion, corruption and inefficiency that have plagued the traditional parties.

### **NDI Experience in Bolivia**

Responding to requests for technical assistance, NDI has conducted party-related activities in Bolivia since 1990. In 1993, NDI conducted an international seminar on political party legislation pertaining to the topics of party fundraising, constitutional recognition of political parties and internal party democratization.

NDI has continued to support party-strengthening initiatives in Bolivia through the Political Leadership Program, a regional program that seeks to strengthen the leadership skills and ability of emerging political leaders to promote the modernization and renewal of political parties. Since 2000, 19 young political leaders have participated in this program, representing ADN, MNR, MIR, and UCS. Project results include: improved grassroots and youth organization, and increased outreach to and political participation of women, indigenous and civil society.

### **Political Leadership Program**

Latin American countries enjoy a tradition of some of the oldest and most sophisticated political parties in the world - parties that played key roles in the wave of democracy that swept the region in the 1980s and early 1990s. In recent years, however, polls have reflected a growing "crisis of confidence" in parties and the collapse of parties altogether in some countries such as Venezuela and Peru. The 2002 *Latinobarometro* poll results reflect an ongoing trend that political parties have the least amount of credibility of all democratic institutions among the people of the region. These

trends are confirmed by the rise of populist leaders like Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Lucio Gutierrez in Ecuador, and Alberto Fujimori in Peru. As a result, NDI has prioritized the area of political party strengthening in the region.

To respond to this crisis of confidence, in August 1995 NDI and the then-Ministry of the Presidency of Chile brought together 45 senior political party leaders from 14 countries to discuss common challenges facing parties throughout the hemisphere. At the conclusion of the conference, the leaders identified the need for:

- New leadership and ideas for political parties throughout the hemisphere;
- More young people in political parties and leadership opportunities for women and youth;
- Internal democratization of political parties; and
- An exchange of training resources and ideas about party renewal among political parties in the region.

In response, in 1999 NDI launched the regional Political Party Leadership Program to promote the modernization and renewal of political parties by strengthening the democratic leadership skills of emerging political leaders and party activists. Following a rigorous selection process, the Leadership Program begins with an intensive leadership development seminar in Washington, D.C. and continues in-country with the leaders as they implement concrete party-strengthening projects.

As the first component of the annual Political Leadership Program, the leadership development seminar is designed to enhance the participants' leadership skills, including their ability to develop and carry out party-strengthening projects. Drawing on Latin American, European and U.S. political party experiences, the seminar helps emerging political leaders develop skills in areas such as strategic planning, communication, and political negotiation, to apply to their own party strengthening efforts. Participants also explore mechanisms to democratize parties and strategies to enhance political participation and representation of under-represented groups.

Using a competitive application process, NDI selects emerging political leaders, who range in age from 25 to 35, on the basis of five years of political experience and a track record of leadership and political activism. NDI chooses up to three participants per party, emphasizing a balance in internal party movements, gender, ideologies and key geographical regions. Graduates of the 1999 - 2002 programs have featured 100 political leaders, including mayors, municipal councilors, legislators, legislative advisors, indigenous political activists and leaders of youth movements, among others. Through this program, NDI has worked with emerging leaders from 28 major political parties in eight Latin American countries (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela.)

As part of the Leadership Program, participating leaders must develop and implement projects to strengthen and improve operations within their respective parties - from enhancing indigenous political participation in Guatemala, reforming party statutes and internal democracy structures in Colombia and Venezuela; promoting women and youth participation in political parties

in Mexico to building the communication and outreach capacity of local branches of political parties in Bolivia, Colombia and Paraguay. NDI provides technical assistance, including expert trainers, to strengthen these follow-on programs. While genuine party reform is a long-term effort, evidence of progress is already emerging. Please see the attached interim assessment for specific program results.

In order to demonstrate their commitment to political parties, the LP2003 participants were required to develop party strengthening projects. These projects will be implemented with the support of at least one senior leader within their party. NDI will, in turn, draw on its international network of political party activists and materials from the Political Party Network to help the young leaders implement their projects. NDI seeks NED funding to support the party strengthening projects of the six Bolivia participants.

## II. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the program is to foster long-term changes in party structures and practices in Latin America and the Caribbean by providing reform-minded political party leaders with leadership skills, practical strategies and materials for advancing reform and modernization efforts. More specifically, NDI hopes to achieve the following objectives:

- Provide Bolivian parties with skills to advance reform and modernization efforts from within, including incorporating transparent, inclusive and accountable procedures; and
- Foster a new generation of reform-minded political party leaders in Bolivia who can develop a network of mutual support and expertise and can advance reform within their respective parties.

## III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Six emerging Bolivian leaders were selected to participate in the 2003 class of the Leadership Program (four women, two men). Participants represent the two most important political parties in Bolivia: MIR and MNR, a traditional party that is on the decline - ADN, and a new movement on the rise -NFR. Participants include a Director of Training, a Sucre council member and former Minister of Indigenous and Rural Affairs, the President of the parliamentary group of the MIR, a Secretary of Organization and an Advisor to the Departmental Governor of Tarija. Participant projects focus on training and mobilizing youth, fostering social action and increasing the leadership and political participation of women. Please find below brief summaries of the background and proposed projects of the six participants.

- **Alex Douglas Ardiles (MNR)** – Member of the La Paz campaign brigade, Ardiles proposes to incorporate new sectors into the MNR party structure in order to break the barriers of social exclusion. Project activities will include seminars, workshops, and fieldwork through

which new leaders will be trained to engage various sectors of the MNR. Ardiles will also work with civil society leaders in 20 districts of La Paz.

- **Elsa Guevara (MIR)** is a Congresswoman, representing the department of Chuquisaca and President of the MIR Parliamentary Group of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies. With her project, she proposes to increase the political participation of women and indigenous in the MIR through training activities.
- **Virginio Lema Trigo (MIR)** is the General Advisor to the Departmental Governor of Tarija. Previously, Lema served as the General Director of the editorial board of the *Nuevo Sur* newspaper, Chief of Staff of the Departmental Governor of Tarija, and Advisor to the Ministry of Government. He also participated as the first candidate on the *plurinominal* list in the department of Tarija. With his project, Lema proposes to increase political participation through the establishment of a training institute for MIR youth in Tarija.
- **Véronica Lema Ramos (MNR)** is the spokesperson and General Coordinator of MNR youth in La Paz. With her project, Lema proposes to foster new leadership within the party in La Paz and El Alto by conducting leadership training and developing social and community action plans.
- **Cynthia Prado Quiroga (NFR)** is the Training and Gender Secretary of the NFR party in Cochabamba. Since becoming a member of the party, she has run for the municipal council of La Paz and as Auxiliary Deputy in Cochabamba. She has also held the position of Director of Gender Issues at the Viceministry of Gender and Family Affairs. With her project, Prado proposes to increase the political participation of women in party structures through candidate training and the enforcement of party quota regulations.
- **Tomasa Yarhui (ADN)** is a Council Member of the municipal government of Sucre and former Minister for Indigenous Affairs during the administration of President Jorge Quiroga Ramírez. With her project, Yarhui proposes to increase new leadership within the party through training with under represented sectors, particularly women and indigenous.

Under the proposed program, NDI would conduct follow-on activities in Bolivia that would target enhancing leadership skills and encouraging changes in party structures and practices that foster more credible, representative and transparent institutions. This technical assistance would include expert trainer visits to Bolivia. These visits would often include trips to the cities of La Paz, Sucre, Tarija and Cochabamba given that the participants come from different regions.

The assistance would address the specific focus areas of participant projects: increased empowerment and political participation of women, youth and indigenous, and outreach to new sectors. The assistance would include individual consultations, training visits of international experts, workshops with the parties and their training institutes, and the provision of training

materials and advice to the parties. The follow-on projects would also be designed to enable the emerging leaders to share the skills and information they have learned with fellow party members.

During the Washington seminar, NDI staff worked with the participants to strengthen and focus their projects. Participants must now return to their parties and obtain leadership and financial support for project implementation. NDI will communicate regularly with the participants to identify appropriate experts and methodologies for the projects. During the project year, NDI expects to travel to Bolivia at least three times to provide this technical assistance. Technical assistance is usually provided in the form of training workshops organized by Leadership Program participants. Workshops are usually four to eight hours in duration and include an average of 40 participants. During a week-long visit to the countries, NDI usually collaborates in the organization of five to ten workshops pertaining to participant projects, depending upon the duration of the workshop and the number of cities visited. NDI would work closely with the participants to develop the most appropriate project target audiences within the parties.

#### **IV. EVALUATION PLAN**

A NDI staff member would actively manage follow-on work. He or she would maintain regular contact with program participants, assist with the planning of activities, and regularly assess follow-on work. More specifically, this project would be evaluated based upon the following factors:

*Objective:* Foster long-term changes in party structures and practices in Bolivia by providing political parties and reform-minded political leaders with leadership skills, practical strategies and materials for advancing reform and modernization efforts.

*Measurement:*

- LP participants share new knowledge, materials and skills with party colleagues through the implementation of project activities, to be measured by the number of activities and participants;
- Participants advance within their parties as they apply new skills;
- Participants propose reforms to party practices; and
- LP projects foster long-term changes in party structures and practices.

In addition, the individual follow-on projects will be evaluated on the basis of their ability to meet original project goals: the number of women trained and recruited and incorporated into party structures, improved enforcement of NFR gender quotas, improved party outreach to new sectors, the successful establishment of a training center for MIR youth, and the number of action plans implemented with MNR youth. NDI will gather feedback on contributions made by the participants to their parties through interviews with senior political leaders and party mentors.

#### **V. BUDGET**

A budget for \$75,245 and budget notes are attached. Amounts are based on actual costs incurred by NDI in the implementation of previous Leadership Program follow on activities in Bolivia.