



Centro Andino de Estudios Estratégicos

CENAE

**Geoestrategia de la
desestabilización: caso Bolivia**

Trilogía IRI-NDI-USAID injiriendo en Bolivia

tercera entrega

Mario Ramos

julio 2013

**Programa de Estudios sobre la Desestabilización y Amenazas
al orden Constitucional y Democrático de los países Latinoamericanos**

Trilogía IRI-NDI-USAID injiriendo en Bolivia (3)

Con esta tercera entrega¹, en el marco de nuestro *Programa de Estudios sobre la Desestabilización y Amenazas al orden Constitucional y Democrático de los países Latinoamericanos*, queremos centrarnos en el examen de determinadas acciones que está ejecutando la trilogía IRI-NDI-USAID en Bolivia con el objetivo de injerir en las elecciones del 2014 y afectar su proceso democrático y revolucionario.

En nombre de la ‘cooperación’

En los dos documentos que anexamos² se visualiza claramente una constante metodológica de actuación que hace mucho dejó de ser secreto, pero que sin embargo, los gobiernos progresistas y de izquierda, a pesar de la abundante información que existe al respecto, al parecer, no acaban de comprender y dimensionar el impacto que produce en nuestros procesos políticos. El objetivo fundamental debería ser, proceder a dismantelar toda la arquitectura de injerencia y desestabilización que permite al *país sin nombre* ejecutar sus planes intervencionistas.

Desde nuestro punto de vista, ese es el problema principal y no el espionaje masivo al que ha sido sometida media humanidad por parte de las agencias de seguridad estadounidenses. A qué nos referimos, espionaje siempre ha existido y seguirá existiendo a pesar de las denuncias del joven Snowden. La prepotencia del imperio no se corrige con exigencias cándidas o ingenuas declaraciones, el mundo real no funciona en base al derecho internacional. Eso se remedia tomando las respectivas medidas de seguridad. Sólo los organismos de inteligencia inútiles no sabían que el *país sin nombre* tenía la capacidad tecnológica de inmiscuirse en todas las comunicaciones. Otra cosa es, y ese es el verdadero centro de gravedad, permitirles que implementen toda una infraestructura que les facilita engendrar procesos de desestabilización de nuestras democracias. Esto es lo que realmente debe escandalizarnos. Lo que no debe tolerarse.

Con grandilocuentes nombres, programas como los que se detallan en los documentos anexos, confirman que el *país sin nombre* no descansa un minuto en su afán de torcer una vez más la historia de nuestros pueblos, no deja de emplear todos los procedimientos posibles para volver a someter a nuestros países.

¹ En las dos anteriores entregas analizamos varios elementos sobre la estrategia y modalidad de injerencia y desestabilización que emplea el *país sin nombre*.

² Anexos 2 y 3

Es revelador que se mencione que uno de los objetivos del programa es enseñar a construir coaliciones políticas, ya que es la única forma de ganar una elección a Evo Morales. Este objetivo político, construir una coalición, ya lo consiguieron en Venezuela, lo intentaron en Ecuador y lo seguirán haciendo, en especial en las elecciones seccionales del 2014 y en particular en ciudades claves como Quito, y buscan plasmarlo en las elecciones el próximo año en Bolivia.

Otro aspecto importante, que tampoco es un secreto, es que con el pretexto de la cooperación y usando sus herramientas predilectas, las ONGs, sería imposible insertarse, infiltrarse en nuestras sociedades, crear redes que luego facilitan la creación de toda clase de organismos sociales o políticos y logran obtener éxitos como por ejemplo, ‘entrenar’ a 6500 profesores en estudios sociales, como se señala en los documentos anexos, incluso, embaucando al mismo Ministerio de Educación.

Lo que sucede es que muchas veces la trilogía IRI-NDI-USAID no siempre actúa directamente, sino que se vale de ONGs vinculadas o empresas contratistas que permiten camuflar sus actividades. Así por ejemplo, la USAID suele apoyarse en instituciones de sus colonias europeas, como el danés Partido Alianza Liberal o el Instituto Danés para Partidos y Democracia³, que en estos momentos en Bolivia desarrolla un programa **encaminado a fortalecer a los partidos de oposición y en especial a ‘los verdes’ del separatista Rubén Costas. Para lo cual cuentan con un fondo de 2’011.000 coronas danesas.**

Tras el lenguaje de la transparencia en procesos electorales, campañas de educación cívica o electoral, democratización, etc., se esconden proyectos subversivos. Por eso se explica que Evo haya expulsado a la USAID, pero el problema es que ésta sigue actuando de manera indirecta.

El programa en mención se ha propuesto llegar a audiencias más amplias desplegando **varias tácticas como promover supuestamente el ‘periodismo responsable’** y capacitación a periodistas, en especial de radios comunitarias. En los documentos anexos se informa que el IRI ha logrado crear una fuerte red de radios urbanas en nueve departamentos de Bolivia. Además no descuidan la realización **de estudios de opinión pública y el ‘media training’**. Asimismo ponen especial énfasis en la forma de cómo se deben seleccionar los candidatos.

³ Ver anexo 1

De esta forma, de acuerdo a los documentos anexos, el IRI ha logrado llegar a más de 250 organizaciones de la sociedad civil (asociaciones de vecinos, sindicatos, organizaciones de maestros) a través de todas las actividades que desarrolla.

Declaran que el objetivo general es ayudar a los partidos políticos de América Latina a identificar y corregir las deficiencias que impiden su desarrollo como representantes efectivos y exitosos en procesos electorales. Para lo cual imparten seminarios en gestión política, liderazgo y estrategia política. Además se proponen ser el engranaje entre esos partidos y grupos sociales marginados que no han sido beneficiados por las políticas públicas del gobierno boliviano. Increíblemente gracias a esa capacidad camaleónica, en los mencionados documentos se informa que han trabajado con el partido de gobierno, el MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo), además de PODEMOS, MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario) y HSH.

Señalan que el IRI se propone trabajar con los partidos políticos de nivel local, la formación de sus grupos de trabajo. Indican que es importante trabajar en ese nivel de la organización para que las partes puedan comenzar a fortalecerse desde un enfoque de abajo hacia arriba. Como vemos tienen paciencia y visión estratégica. Recalcan que si los partidos políticos no tienen representantes locales confiables y capacitados, éstos seguirán teniendo debilidades estructurales.

Estimado lector, tómese el tiempo de leer los documentos anexos y saque sus propias conclusiones. Si no lee en inglés, le sugerimos usar un traductor en internet, los textos se traducen lo suficientemente bien.

Mario Ramos
DIRECTOR
Centro Andino de Estudios Estratégicos
09/julio/2013

ANEXOS

Anexo 1:

La siguiente noticia es tomada de 'El Diario Nacional', Bolivia, 22 de noviembre de 2012
Disponible en http://www.eldiario.net/noticias/2012/2012_11/nt121122/nacional.php?n=70

Partido de Costas firma convenio con Instituto Danés de Democracia

Santa Cruz.- Buscando desarrollar la formación de líderes políticos y el fortalecimiento organizacional de la democracia, la institución política Verdad y Democracia Social (VERDES) firmó un convenio de cooperación con el Instituto Danés para Partidos y Democracia.

Rubén Costas, presidente de VERDES, selló el acuerdo con el Instituto Danés que tiene el objetivo de brindar toda la asistencia técnica e instrumentos para impulsar el respeto a los derechos civiles. "Sentimos que es un privilegio el haber sido seleccionados por esta importante institución que podrá colaborarnos en la tarea de fortalecer la institucionalidad y democracia en nuestro país. El apoyo será invertido en la formación de líderes jóvenes para estructurar nuestra organización y apoyo a las demás regiones del país, en la búsqueda de fortalecer la democracia, mejor calidad de vida para llevar prosperidad", dijo Costas.

Por su parte, Mette Bock, jefa de Misión de la Alianza Danés, informó que tras un largo análisis decidieron incursionar en Bolivia, por ser un país de muchas oportunidades, que tiene muchos partidos políticos importantes, de los cuales resolvieron apoyar a la organización política VERDES, por tener las aptitudes necesarias para generar los cambios necesarios en el país.

"Sabemos que las próximas elecciones serán el 2014 y tenemos la esperanza de que VERDES pueda lograr una oposición de alianza de varios partidos políticos para lograr un frente. Conocimos a usted (Rubén Costas) y estamos convencidos que puede lograr la diferencia para este país, estamos emocionados de apoyarlo, y las decisiones que usted tome para lograr un gran futuro para Bolivia con más libertad", dijo la jefa de la misión Danés.

Anexo 2:

CEPPS

Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening



Bolivia: Strengthening Political Parties and Processes

U.S. GRANTEE: Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening/
International Republican Institute (CEPPS/IRI)

DATES OF PROJECT: July 2, 2012 – April 28, 2013

BUDGET AMOUNT: \$ 630 ,000

TYPE OF FUNDING: Associate

**COOPERATIVE
AGREEMENT:** Associate Award No. TBD

CONTACT AT CEPPS/IRI: Stephen Johnson, Regional Director, Latin America and the Caribbean;
Colleen House, CEPPS/IRI Liaison

Authorization:

The Executive Project Council (EPC) for the Consortium for Election and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) has authorized the International Republican Institute (IRI) to expend funds and conduct the program specified in the attached proposal.

I. BACKGROUND

Political Context

Since Bolivia's transition to democracy in 1983, the country has worked toward consolidating its institutions, achieving economic and political stability and strengthening representative democracy. However, throughout this effort the country has struggled to maintain the confidence and public support for its institutions and elected officials.

While some progress over the past three decades is evident, it has been a slow uphill battle. Specifically, the political events of 2000 appear to be symbolic of the recent political history. A growing erosion of trust in the government, political parties and elected officials has left Bolivia's democratic institutions weak. It is evident that people feel estranged from the political system as they come to realize many deficits and absences in political representation. The political system has decayed to a point where it is no longer inclusive or representative. Problems continue to grow within political parties as citizens realize the lack of reliable communication and improbability of campaign promises translating into effective policies and programs once officials are elected.

In reaction to this loss of confidence in political parties and government institutions, civil society has begun to make decisions outside of the political system and forming independent citizen interest groups. Additionally, citizens are becoming increasingly critical of government inefficiency and more demanding of government officials –leading to increased levels of public violence and civil demonstrations.

Effectively it was this scenario that laid the groundwork for the emergence of populist leaders with campaign promises rich in government criticism and proposals for changing the political status quo. These leaders have been able to rekindle social class conflict embedded in ethnic and racial inequalities. This populism is divisive, intolerant and anti-pluralistic.

The new citizen interest groups dominating the current political arena are characterized by having specific, short-term interests and tend to be sectarian. Additionally, they have a propensity for organizational weakness, absent of long term goals and national programs. Because of this, it is imperative to offer assistance in developing responsive and well-governed organizations while redeveloping traditional political parties. This will encourage a plural and competitive political arena facilitating the development of national socially responsible work agendas.

As noted in the USAID/Bolivia's 2010 Program Description (PD) Strengthen Political Processes in Bolivia, "upon entering office, one of President Morales' first acts was to call for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly, whose principal task is the development and approval of a new national Constitution.

IRI 2011 Programming

Over the past year, IRI implemented comprehensive voter education programs focused on Bolivia's general elections and constituent assembly. IRI has implemented a civic education campaign (workshops, popular fairs, radio programs) involving different groups of civil society,

with a particular emphasis on reaching out to first- and second- time voters. The campaign themes focused on how to participate in the elections and how to select a candidate. IRI also assisted the participants in organizing civic education activities (radio programs and forums).

IRI's civic education campaign also focused on promoting political tolerance, conflict resolution and peaceful political dissent mechanisms. The activities were concentrated throughout Bolivia in El Alto, La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Sucre and Tarija. IRI is working with civic society organizations, the media, political parties, National Electoral Court, electoral departmental courts, schools and universities. In total, over 250 civil society organizations have been involved in IRI activities, including neighborhood associations, unions, and teacher organizations. The civic education component of the project provided teachers from public and private schools and universities, with the tools to expand and share their knowledge throughout the country. It also includes other channels to reach leaders from local grass-roots organizations and citizens.

Additionally, several Bolivian political parties have participated in IRI's regional political party modernization program. The overall goal is to assist Latin America's political parties in identifying and correcting the weaknesses that block their development into effective and successful representatives of their constituents. In addition to seminars on specific issues such as internal democratization and grassroots involvement, the participating political parties have been exposed to "best practices" used by political parties in other countries. These trainings are complemented by online coursework dealing with political management, leadership development and political strategy.

IRI continued work in Bolivia focused on helping traditional parties connect with marginalized groups. A cycle of conferences entitled: "The Challenge of Political Representation in Bolivia II" was organized in order to train political parties in areas of strategic alliances, electoral strategies, and citizen engagement. A total of 17 seminars were held in Santa Cruz and La Paz under this theme.

A total of 215 participants (122 from La Paz, and 93 from Santa Cruz) attended all 17 seminars. Some of the seminars included members of civic associations who expressed an interest in attending. Eighty-nine percent of all participants viewed the seminar's relevance as "high" or "very high" to the political work they conduct on a daily basis. Leaders from seven political organizations recognized IRIs contribution to strengthening political party systems in Bolivia, and requested further trainings.

Within this context, IRIs work with civil society at the national and local level provides a unique ability to address political party development.

II. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. To offer support to develop more responsive, well-governed Bolivian political parties and citizen groups.

III. PROGRAM NOTES

A. Targeted Populations

People

IRI will work with political parties in both urban and rural areas. A special emphasis will be placed on incorporating indigenous women, youth and the poor into all components of the program. Urban and rural political representatives will also be encouraged to participate in political party trainings. This component will also work with political party representatives at the grassroots level and elected officials. Moreover, while IRI implements the civic education component alongside political parties, special focus will be given to impoverished neighborhoods, rural areas, and other vulnerable communities.

Localities

IRI will conduct activities in El Alto-La Paz, Tarija, Potosi, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. However, political parties in all nine departments will be encouraged to implement a civic education component with IRI assistance. Communication manuals, radio programs and centralized trainings will all serve as accessible resources for participants not located in urban areas.

Program Partners

A. Political Parties

IRI has developed strong working relationships with many political parties currently active in Bolivia. These relationships will continue to grow and strengthen our outreach to new and traditional political parties. Political parties include, but are not limited to: MAS, PODEMOS, MNR, and MSM.

B. Sister Organizations

IRI will continue to foster good relations and consistent communications with NDI and USAID in-country offices. The permanent coordination and sharing of information amongst our organizations is vital to the execution of strong and diverse programs benefiting a wide range of populations and officials.

C. Other Local Entities

IRI has established strong partnerships with the National Electoral Court, departmental electoral courts and media. These partnerships will continue to flourish throughout this program as IRI incorporates representatives of these entities in the implementation of the political party training and civic education component.

IV. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

OBJECTIVE 1: To offer support to develop more responsive, well-governed Bolivian political parties and citizen groups.

Over the past four years IRI has worked with political parties throughout Bolivia under the Regional Party Renovation Program funded by DRL. Specifically, efforts were focused at the national and regional level, in an effort to better organize their fragile infrastructures. Most recently, IRIs regional program held seminars to prepare leaders for the reconstruction of the political party system.

With this experience and the continued assistance of local partners, IRI will work with political parties and citizen groups to develop public opinion research, coalition building, constituent outreach, and communication skills. IRI will focus its efforts on strengthening the parties' outreach to indigenous women, youth, and the poor. Public opinion research will be used to pinpoint specific social needs and concerns that traditional political parties are no longer able to accurately gauge. Participants will include party representatives currently in office and local party and citizen group representatives that work directly with constituents.

IRI will partner with political party and citizen group representatives throughout Latin America in an effort to share similar experiences. Experiences from Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru can show how political parties in these countries have reinvented themselves or have learned from mistakes. Individuals from these countries will be paired with Bolivian political parties and citizen groups and work on issues of coalition building, constituent outreach and communications.

IRI proposes to additionally work with political parties on the local level, training the working groups of political parties and citizen groups in urban and rural areas. It is important to work at this organizational level so that parties can begin to strengthen from a bottom-up approach. If political parties do not have credible and trained local representatives they will continue to have structural weaknesses throughout their organization.

Public Opinion Research

Public opinion research is a widely and often used tool in Bolivia. Various organizations have recently conducted public opinion surveys to identify citizen's needs and opinions regarding political parties and the democratic process. Since public opinion data already exists, IRI will consolidate this information into a national study of political trends, particularly focusing on political parties.

Public opinion research will be applied to political parties especially in the category of political identity. Sound research encourages realism on behalf of the parties. This data subsequently forces the parties to view themselves as the public sees them, not as the parties imagine they are seen. Research can then help identify people's expectations of the parties, and gauge the level of voter confidence in a party promises before election day. This allows parties to slowly build an identity or "brand" themselves, in a way that wins votes and builds voter trust.

IRI will use this consolidated document to work with parties and citizen groups. This effort will be applied both at the municipal, prefecture and national levels as these groups will likely face a referendum on the new Constitution and subsequent elections depending on the outcome of the referendum. If parties better identify themselves and the issues important to their constituents, Bolivia will have a more effective, accountable government.

Coalition Building

IRI will work with political parties, civil society groups and other citizen groups to illustrate the importance of forming issue-based coalitions. A key focus will be placed on showing that it is not necessary to sacrifice the party's overall agenda to achieve a particular goal. The lesson will be based on the premise that politics does not have to be a dividing factor between parties, but a

lesson in compromise. This is an area where Bolivian political entities and civil society has great room for improvement.

Communications

One of the main obstacles facing political parties in Bolivia is creating an effective, consistent and reliable channel of communication with constituents. More specifically, the lack of a reliable source of information from any of the parties has further eroded any of the public's confidence in political parties. To address this issue, IRI will conduct trainings, with the assistance of international political party communication experts, focused on helping party officials understand the importance and value of this dialogue. IRI will work with elected officials as well as the administrative core of parties at the local level to develop a stronger connection with constituents. Topics of the trainings will include message development, exploration of additional media outlets, website construction and voter database instruction.

Public and Constituent Outreach

IRI will offer comprehensive public and Constituent Outreach program to participating political parties and citizen groups. This program will emphasize the importance of reaching out to *all* constituents and taking a pro-active (versus passive) approach to day-to-day district activities. IRI will meet with the parties to develop a work plan for implementing this training utilizing IRI staff and expert trainers. Trainings will be conducted at centrally convenient locations for each region.

V. Program Management

- *NDI*: IRI will coordinate efforts with NDI, both geographically and thematically, to ensure an effective division of work between the two institutes and thereby avoid any unnecessary duplication of activity. IRI will work with a distinct but complementary strategy for assistance from that of NDI.
- *Partnerships*: It will be an underlying priority of IRI in this project to seek partnerships when possible with other organizations, both local and international, to increase the impact of activities implemented. As explained above, IRI will make particularly strong efforts to incorporate relevant domestic NGOs into the design and implementation of all program activities, to maximize the use of their acquired knowledge and experience, and further strengthen their institutional capacity.
- *Shared Partner Costs*: IRI will emphasize a culture of shared partner costs when designing and implementing program activities. When IRI does not assume all of the costs that go into carrying out a certain activity, it requires IRI partners to demonstrate a real commitment to the process and generates incentive for them to make the most out of IRI's technical assistance. This strategy is cost-effective and has worked well in the past in revealing those parties and individuals who are worth investing in for long-term change and impact.

VI. EVALUATION PLAN

Objective 1: To offer support to develop more responsive, well-governed Bolivian political parties and citizen groups.

Result 1: The establishment of political parties that have clear platforms, effective communication systems and consistent dialogue with constituents.

Indicators

- Political parties have a clear and current understanding of citizen's needs and perceptions along with a system in place to monitor changes in public sentiment.
- Political parties have written work agendas that address the needs of the electorate and general population.
- Parties make efforts to build coalitions and regain public confidence in their organizations.
- Communication from the parties is directed at rekindling public trust in their platforms.

VII. BUDGET and BUDGET NOTES (see attached)

Anexo 3:

CEPPS

Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening



Support for Electoral Processes in Bolivia

U.S. GRANTEE: Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening/
(CEPPS/NDI/IRI)

DATES OF PROJECT: 10/19/12 – 10/19/13

BUDGET AMOUNT: \$912,400

TYPE OF FUNDING: CEPPS

GRANT NUMBER: RFA 511-07-129

CONTACT AT IRI: Stephen Johnson, Regional Director, Latin America & the Caribbean.

I BACKGROUND

Chronic turmoil remains the hallmark of Bolivia's political life. In the last three and a half years alone, two presidents have been forced out as mob rule gained the upper hand. The country's ability to break this pattern of undemocratic activity continues to be severely tested by two primary factors. One is the absence of strong and credible governmental and political institutions. The other is the extreme poverty that is the lot of three-fifths of the population. Most of these persons are of indigenous origin, and their plight has been ignored for centuries by the country's successive elitist rulers.

Further fanning the fires of popular discontent is the widespread belief among the poor and middle classes that the country's large hydrocarbons resources could provide a quick fix for the severe socioeconomic ills that beset the nation. This belief has been a pivotal factor in the rise of extremist movements and parties, and their growing presence in the nation's political life. By far the most important of these groups is the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) led by Evo Morales of the coca growers' union.

Morales won in the December 2005 presidential election and he's the first person to declare his presidential candidacy for Bolivia's December 2014 elections. Elections for congress and state prefects will be held simultaneously.

IRI's Political and Civic Education Programs in Bolivia

As noted in the USAID Program Description since 2003, IRI and NDI have been working through a CEPPS agreement, to "support the legitimacy of political parties in Bolivia." The focus of IRI's activities has centered on political and civic education. In light of the violence that led to the resignation of former President Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada in November 2003, IRI developed several complementary activities to channel civic interest into more constructive avenues of communications and participation in the country's political life. Concurrently, IRI worked to improve relations between civil society and political parties, as well as to deepen citizens' understanding of the democratic process and of key national issues on which they would be voting.

To promote stronger civic engagement in Bolivia's political system and government activities, IRI developed specific programs to educate the public on a critical referendum on the ownership of the oil and gas industry, the issues and personalities involved in the last municipal elections, and the complex details entailed in the upcoming constituent assembly. To this end, IRI organized many informational forums throughout the country, radio programs, media trainings, and high-school civics projects to both equip Bolivians with essential knowledge on these critical issues and to encourage their participation in these critical national events. Civic and political participants, government officials, political party members, the media and international experts actively participated in these programs. These activities were carried out in all of Bolivia's nine departments.

A major highlight of the program was the development of an interactive manual for the high school classroom that explores the civic concepts of responsibility and authority. The manual was designed to complement the civic-education curriculum developed by the Ministry of Education.

IRI trained some 6,500 social studies teachers in the use of this manual and distributed 25,000 copies of the book nationwide for use in the 2012 academic year.

Additionally, several Bolivian political parties have participated in IRI's ongoing regional political party modernization program. The overall goal is to assist Latin America's political parties to identify and correct the weaknesses that block their development into effective and successful representatives of their constituents. In addition to seminars on specific issues such as internal democratization and grassroots involvement, the participating political parties have been exposed to "best practices" used by political parties in other countries. These trainings are complemented by online coursework dealing with political management, leadership development and political strategy.

II PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. Supporting transparent and informed electoral processes in December 2014
2. Enhanced understanding of tolerance and respect for divergent opinions.

III PROPOSED ACTIVITIES

IRI will continue to support democracy in Bolivia by working with civil society to strengthen democratic values, practices and principles. IRI believes that the current threats to democracy in Bolivia demand the participation of a more active, informed and responsible civil society.

To this end, IRI will undertake a multilateral campaign in civic education involving different groups of civil society, with a particular emphasis on reaching out to first- and second-time voters. The campaign themes will focus on the general elections - how to vote and how to choose a candidate; the Constituent Assembly - how to participate, how to have your voice heard; and development of tolerance and peaceful dissent capabilities.

The activities will concentrate in the metropolitan areas of El Alto-La Paz, Santa Cruz and Cochabamba, with some activities reaching Tarija and Sucre. IRI will reactivate its links with strategic allies from civic society organizations (CSOs), the media, electoral departmental courts, the Ministry of Education, schools and universities.

The civic education component of the proposed project will provide teachers from public and private schools with the tools to expand and pass on their knowledge to students. It will also include other channels to reach leaders from local grass-roots organizations and citizens in general.

IRI will continue to use radio programs to reach a broader audience and engage citizens in informative debates. Specific media trainings on the different issues will be considered to continue promoting responsible journalism in Bolivia.

In order to implement the proposed program initiatives, IRI will re-open a field office in La Paz. IRI will communicate on a regular basis with NDI representatives and USAID officials to ensure a coordinated and effective program. This permanent presence will allow for the consolidation of relationships with counterpart organizations, CSOs and other appropriate entities.

During previous programs, IRI forged close partnerships with the Ministry of Education, the National Electoral Court, departmental electoral courts, political parties and congressional members. More than 200 civil society organizations were involved in IRI activities, including educators, universities, *juntas vecinales* (neighborhood councils), labor unions, civic committees and teacher organizations. IRI plans to use this built-in capacity to develop the activities.

Result 3: First- and second-time voters informed and capable of exercising their right to vote and participate in the December 2014 general elections.

On December, 2014, Bolivians will be electing their president, vice-president, senators and congressmen. The country is now preparing to hold general elections on December, 2014.

IRI's target citizens will be first- and second-time voters. According to data from the National Electoral Court, there will be 160,000 first-time voters taking part in the general elections scheduled for December 2014. It is estimated that 130,000 people voting in the presidential election will be second-time voters, together representing eight to ten percent of the total electoral population.

3.1 Informative Pamphlets.

IRI will design a ***How to vote*** pamphlet to educate citizens on the voting process for the coming elections. IRI will coordinate efforts with the Departmental Electoral Courts (DECs), particularly with the civic education members, to design the content of the document. IRI successfully coordinated similar activities with the DEC in preparation for the natural gas referendum and municipal elections last year.

The ***How to vote*** pamphlet will highlight the right and responsibility of voting and the consequences of not doing so; the importance of identifying the appropriate polling station ahead of time and how to do so; and the steps citizens need to follow during the voting process. The pamphlet will also provide information about the three different ballots citizens will be using for the general, congressional and prefect elections.

An additional pamphlet, ***How to choose a candidate***, will provide citizens with information on the different elections taking place, describe the role of each elected position, and suggest effective mechanisms to help citizens learn more about the candidates and their campaign platforms. This pamphlet will equip citizens with the tools to contrast and evaluate candidate proposals, and make an educated choice among the different candidates. IRI will use similar initiatives implemented in Nicaragua and Venezuela to develop the guide and adapt it to the political situation in Bolivia.

Pamphlets will be distributed to all training recipients and others as described below.

3.2 Workshops

IRI will prepare materials and organize trainings that will provide recipients with a comprehensive understanding of the components and steps involved in the voting process, and ways to evaluate the different options. The trainings will take place in the metropolitan areas of Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, El Alto and La Paz.

The pamphlets described above will be used in “train the trainer” workshops through which participants will become familiar with the content of the workshops and be able to replicate what they have learned to at least five other people. Teachers will receive sufficient pamphlets to distribute to their students.

IRI will bring together a group of trainers in each city and prepare them to facilitate half-day workshops on the material contained in the pamphlets. In El Alto, La Paz and Cochabamba, IRI will employ trainers from CDC (*Capacitación y Derechos Ciudadanos*). CDC provided the trainers who implemented the civic education workshops with teachers during IRI’s previous program in Bolivia. In Santa Cruz, IRI will use trainers from CEBOFIL (*Centro Boliviano Filantrópico*), a CSO with which IRI has also worked in the past.

IRI will target the following three groups to participate in the workshops:

1. *University Students*

IRI has successfully organized trainings and activities with universities in La Paz, such as Universidad Nuestra Señora de La Paz, Universidad Católica Boliviana and Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz; in El Alto, with Universidad Popular del Alto; in Cochabamba, with Universidad San Simón and the Centro de Estudios Superiores; and in Santa Cruz, with Universidad Privada de Santa Cruz and Universidad NUR de Santa Cruz.

University students in Bolivia have shown a strong interest in civic education and an eagerness to learn and to share the information with others. IRI will build on its previous work with these students by organizing five training sessions in each city, for a total of 20 trainings. At least 480 university students will participate in these trainings.

2. *School Teachers*

Through the previous civic education program, IRI established successful relationships with teacher federations, school networks and university principals. These contacts continue to express their interest in receiving further trainings on democracy issues. IRI will train teachers from public and private schools, who will in turn share the information with students voting in the December elections.

Additionally, IRI will coordinate workshops with *institutos normales* and alternative education schools organized under CARE Bolivia. Alternative education schools enroll adult students who are completing their formal education requirements through night courses. IRI will implement nine trainings per city, for a total of 42 trainings, involving at least 926 high school teachers with a background in the social sciences. Considering that a teacher generally manages a classroom of approximately 40 students, IRI plans to reach at least 38,400 students by means of these teachers.

3. Community Leaders

IRI constructed partnerships with organizations from El Alto and La Paz (such as *juntas de vecinos*—neighborhood committees) that work with community leaders, and coordinated activities with them on civic campaigns in the previous program. IRI will resume its work with these organizations by organizing training workshops for local leaders, placing a special emphasis on the participation of women and indigenous groups. IRI will organize trainings in Santa Cruz and Cochabamba, inviting CSOs that have participated in previous forums, trainings and radio programs organized by IRI. IRI also will contact other USAID partners, such as Partners of the Americas, to acquire lists of CSOs in the area and invite them to the workshops. A total of four or five trainings per city will target 577 local leaders.

3.3 Media Training

Media training in the previous IRI program covered the various facets of a solid story, the developmental and investigative timeline necessary to ensure thoroughness and other fundamental journalistic tools. Specific to elections, IRI's training emphasized that stories on candidates should provide the public with insights into their background, life experience and vision, and not just speculations about the electoral contests. Participants of these trainings gave IRI positive feedback and effectively applied the skills and knowledge taken from these workshops in the municipal elections, reflecting a human-interest perspective of the municipal candidates and a genuine effort to report in an unbiased fashion.

The proposed media trainings will be for journalists from the four target cities, especially those from community radios. IRI will invite an international expert to discuss the importance of journalistic responsibility in electoral environments and motivate participants to lead an informed debate on the important issues of the campaign. IRI will consider using the material produced by the International Journalist Center (IJC) on election coverage for these trainings - "*Libres y Justas: guía del periodista para mejorar la información electora II.*" Two trainings per city will train 270 journalists.

3.4 Radio Programs

IRI's previous program made special use of the media to complement other program activities. IRI conducted 33 radio programs on the referendum, Ley de Agrupaciones Ciudadanas and municipal elections in all nine departments. These radio programs served as reinforcement to the informational forums and as opportunities for citizens to receive local information on these issues.

Throughout the series of programs, IRI developed a strong network of urban radios in the nine departments, including additional networks of community radios in the eastern, altiplano and Amazonian regions. IRI was able to coordinate further work with IRFA radio in Santa Cruz. These built-in capacities will greatly facilitate the launching of the proposed radio programs.

IRI will implement a series of two radio programs using the *How to vote* pamphlet as a guide, and invite civic education members of the Departmental Electoral Court to go over the steps and clarify doubts citizens might have.

The first program will concentrate on civic responsibility, the right to vote and how to locate polling stations. It will also provide a comprehensive overview of the different elections taking place and invite people to investigate and evaluate the candidates and their platforms. IRI will carry out this program in the last week of October. One radio program will be held in each city.

The second program will focus on how to cast a vote, explaining once again the different elections taking place, and using open phone lines to address citizens' concerns about election day. This second series of four programs will take place two weeks before the elections.

3.5 Popular "Ferias"

In coordination with the Departmental Electoral Court in La Paz, IRI organized and carried out civic fairs in the cities of El Alto and La Paz. These fairs were designed to hand out information to citizens about the natural gas referendum, explaining and clarifying doubts about the process. IRI successfully reached more than 2,000 people through these activities in a short period of time.

IRI will replicate this open fair methodology through coordination with the Departmental Electoral Courts, civil society and *juntas de vecinos*. Four fairs per city will be organized, for a total of 22 fairs reaching 5,200 people (236 per fair).

3.6 Election Day Simulations in High Schools

IRI will promote responsible civic participation among Bolivian youth by familiarizing them with the election process in their local high schools. This will be achieved through practical exercises simulating the steps taken on election day.

The Departmental Electoral Courts (DECs) of La Paz and Cochabamba have previous experience performing this type of activity. The great amount of work dedicated to the electoral process, however, prevents the courts from performing a more systematic and organized effort in this area.

In coordination with the Departmental Electoral Courts, IRI will organize and support Election Day exercises in high schools, whereby first-time voters will become familiar with the steps, the ballots and the overall voting process. The materials needed and guidelines specified for setting up a voting table will be similar to those utilized in the actual electoral process. Trainers who participate in the workshops will also implement these exercises in coordination with trainers from the DECs.

In each city, IRI will carry out these activities in six public or private schools.

Result 9: Civil society groups are capable of monitoring and providing independent oversight to Constituent Assembly deliberations.

Bolivians are anxiously anticipating the election of a constituent assembly that will allow them to take part in the revision of fundamental principles of the composition, administration and function of the state. Conflicting citizen demands with respect to this process have radicalized and divided the country, provoking the resignation of two consecutive presidents in two years.

Members of the constituent assembly will face the challenge of finding consensus points that represent the interests of all sectors and regions of Bolivia's population. The process will also require a dynamic and well-informed civil society, capable of comprehending the issues being discussed, and formulating and voicing constructive proposals.

IRI will design a civic education course to address the essential issues of the constituent assembly and describe how to actively engage in it. IRI will also invite civil society organizations to nominate prominent members to take the specialization course (*diplomado*) on the assembly. The list of civil society invitees will include members from entrepreneurial groups, the Association of Journalists, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Industry, labor unions, civic groups, federations of *juntas de vecinos* and other groups recommended by USAID partners.

IRI will use the experience from the courses developed in coordination with the *Escuela de Gobierno Tomas Moro* (EGTM) for its regional political party program to assist the development of this project. The e-courses provide sustained and substantive political training on targeted issues, such as leadership development, political management and political strategy. To date, more than 200 participants from across Latin America have enrolled in the courses. Students credit IRI with arming them with the tools necessary to positively affect their nation's democratic development.

9.1 Civic Education Course: *Constituent Assembly for Citizens*

In coordination with a recognized university in La Paz, IRI will design a four-module civic education course. The first module will address issues pertaining to the constituent assembly such as fundamental rights and principles; division of powers; and political, economic and social structure. The course will briefly look at a number of recent case studies, highlighting both the challenges and opportunities that these processes have faced in other countries throughout the region.

The second module will concentrate on strengthening the leadership capacities of the participants and their organizations. Course topics will include management abilities, advocacy and negotiation techniques, team work, decision-making, problem-solving and ethics.

A third module will develop strategic and analytical abilities, empowering student capacity in the areas of analysis and synthesis, risk assessment, strategic thought, strategy for confronting and solving problems and organization of thought.

The fourth module will cover communication techniques for leaders, and provide tools to effectively structure, communicate and discuss their ideas. This module will also provide participants with guidelines for disseminating information to large groups of people. Themes will cover social and political investigation (both qualitative and quantitative), means of communication, public relations, message-building, media and publicity and communication strategies.

Following completion of the module design, the specialists will teach the course in six weekend sessions. Each course will have 35 participants, who will be selected from the nominations provided by the civic organizations.

To receive the course certificate, participants will need to apply what they have learned by organizing and participating in civic education activities in their cities. These activities will include public debates, forums, radio programs, newsletters and other events addressing issues on the

constituent assembly. IRI will provide the technical guidance and follow-up to ensure that the activities meet the proper standards and give feed-back to the students in order to improve their skills and knowledge on the subject.

9.2 Forums: *Constituent Assembly and the Citizens*

Civic organizations that participate in the courses will organize open forums to discuss the importance of the constituent assembly. IRI will work with them to design and revise the methodology for the organization of the events. The participating civic groups will be expected to organize at least two forums per month during May, June and July 2012.

9.3 Radio Programs: *Constituent Assembly and the citizens*

IRI will work with civic organizations to organize and launch a series of radio programs, through which course participants and their organizations will discuss themes and citizen concerns regarding the constituent assembly. IRI will work closely with the civic organizations in designing and revising the methodology, and in organizing the events. The participants will be expected to organize at least two radio programs per month during May, June and July, 2012.

9.4 Complementary Activities on the Constituent Assembly

IRI will motivate organizations to agree on and coordinate an additional monthly activity in each city. These additional activities could be replicating the course to other members of their organizations, elaborating and distributing newsletters, or conducting meetings with congressmen or political parties to discuss the constituent assembly.

Result 10: Acceptance of the December 2014 electoral results by target sectors of the population provide needed time for new authorities to productively address collective problems.

The high school civic education component of IRI's previous Bolivia program was especially successful. IRI developed an interactive manual for the high school classroom that explores the civic concepts of responsibility and authority. The manual was designed to complement the interdisciplinary theme of civic education being incorporated into a new high school curriculum under development by the Ministry of Education. This project marked the first time any national or international organization had successfully collaborated with the Ministry in the production of civic education materials. IRI trained some 6,500 social studies teachers in the use of this manual, constituting nearly 90 percent of subject area instructors. The 98 trainings were held in La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, Tarija and Santa Cruz. Given the average classroom size of 40 students, more than 180,000 students will be affected by this project. More than 25,000 copies of the manual were distributed for use during the 2012 academic year.

10.1 Civic Education Manual – *Tolerance II*

IRI will consult with the Center for Civic Education for a recommendation of an international expert to develop, together with a national expert, a manual on tolerance, and to propose the methodology to train teachers. IRI intends to continue utilizing the methodology applied by the Center because it has been acknowledged by the Ministry of Education and was successfully adopted by teachers in the previous IRI program.

The manual will discuss the importance of developing values that foster respect towards that which is different, strange, foreign and unfamiliar. It will promote an appreciation of diversity and multiculturalism, and the capacity to work and coexist with people who are different. The manual will cultivate values of political tolerance that encourage people to freely express themselves.

10.2 Trainings

A series of trainings will be developed through IRI's previously constructed alliances with teacher federations, schools networks and other civil society organizations that will be able to effectively replicate the trainings. As mentioned above, IRI will employ the trainers from CDC (*Capacitación y Derechos Ciudadanos*) to facilitate half-day workshops in the cities of El Alto, La Paz and Cochabamba. In Santa Cruz, IRI will use trainers from CEBOFIL (*Centro Boliviano Filantrópico*).

IRI will target high school teachers, university students and community leaders to participate in the trainings.

Additionally, IRI will continue to train civil society leaders, empowering them to reproduce the materials acquired in the training workshops and to share them and their expertise with their local communities and organizations.

10.3 Debates at University level

IRI will organize intra-city debates with universities from the four metropolitan areas. Universities will select and train their students on debate techniques. IRI will develop training material for the universities with standard guidelines and procedures for effective debating. Through debate activities, university students will gain an understanding of the importance of being open to different ideas, debating arguments, respecting the rules and efficiently organizing and communicating their ideas.

Universities will choose their most accomplished and committed students to compete against teams from other universities, fostering a debate culture among students. IRI and the participating universities will invite the media to cover these activities.

First and second place winners from each city will participate in a national debate contest. A group of outstanding leaders from civil society, recognized for their civic participation and moral values, will be invited to participate as judges. IRI will coordinate and ensure the transmission of the final event on live TV.

IRI will provide the technical guidance and support to universities to motivate students to participate. Proper recognition will be given to the universities that win at the different levels of the competition.

10.4 Media Campaign on Tolerance

IRI proposes to develop a radio campaign on tolerance issues following the general elections and before the constituent assembly takes place.

Once the civic education manual on Tolerance is completed, IRI will use the publication to develop a story that massively disperses the concepts of tolerance in daily life activities. This story will be produced for radio format in Spanish, Aymara and Quetchua. The series will be transmitted in radios with urban and rural coverage for a period of three months.

IV EVALUATION

Result # 3: First- and second-time voters informed and capable of exercising their right to vote and participate in the December 2014 general elections.

Indicator 3.1 Bolivian voters receive information on the voting process and candidates through pamphlets, trainings and other outreach means.

Indicator 3.2 Participants in trainings create and carry through on action plans to train others

Indicator 3.3 Media reports on candidates are monitored and analyzed, and reflect unbiased perspectives.

Result #9: Civil society groups are capable of monitoring and providing independent oversight to constituent assembly deliberations.

Indicator 9.1 Participants of the civic education courses apply their new knowledge of the Constituent Assembly through means such as: public debates, forums, radio programs and newsletters.

Result #10: Acceptance of the December 2014 electoral results by target sectors of the population provides needed time for new authorities to productively address collective problems.

Indicator 10.1 Teachers explain the importance of tolerance to students.

Indicator 10.2 Students participate in proposed debates.

V BUDGET

See attached budget and budget notes.