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**Izquierda democratica or democratic left: A case study of
the origins, philosophy, organization and quest for power of a
political party in Ecuador**

Ehlers, Jessica Anne, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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IZQUIERDA DEMOCRATICA OR DEMOCRATIC LEFT:
A CASE STUDY OF THE ORIGINS, PHILOSOPHY,
ORGANIZATION AND QUEST FOR POWER OF
A POLITICAL PARTY IN ECUADOR

by

JESSICA A. EHLERS *A*

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York.

1988

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ABSTRACT

Izquierda Democratica or Democratic Left: A Case Study of the Origins, Philosophy, Organization and Quest for Power of a Political Party in Ecuador.

By Jessica A. Ehlers

Adviser: Professor Bogdan Denitch

This dissertation is a study of the Izquierda Democratica or Democratic Left political party in Ecuador. The research starts in 1968 when the Izquierda Democratica was born as a political movement and ends with the 1984 presidential elections.

There is an overview of the ecuadorian political scenario, covering the years 1968 to 1984. This provides the readers with a perspective of what took place in that country during that period of time. We will analyze the significance of different social science theories in relation to the patterns of social structure and change characteristic of developing societies, as well as, theories of the State, party formation and the party's role in the political process.

We will focus on the Izquierda Democratica party by studying its origins and formation as a political movement. It continues through the years of consolidation until its recognition as a political party. This process of political formation took place between 1968 and 1978. Then the research centers on the development of this party and its influence on ecuadorian politics in the period between 1978

and 1984. Afterward's we will describe the party's organizational structure based on its Statutes and its philosophy and ideology based on its principles.

The research reviews the concepts of socialism and democracy. It proceeds to describe the development of the Socialist International and its influence on world socialism, as well as, the weight of this organization in Latin American politics. The study concludes by focusing on several theoretical concepts of democratic socialism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation represents a whole life of interest and dedication towards a better understanding of the socio-political processes. Having been born and brought up in Latin America provided me with a special fondness and sensibility for the area and an interest to study its problems.

There are many persons I would like to express my sincere thanks throughout the many years of hard work. I would like to start by thanking all my professors who believed in me and provided the necessary support in pursuing my interests and achieving my goals. I want to thank the members of my dissertation committee and my special thanks to Professor Bogdan Denitch who provided the necessary encouragement to complete this project.

The initial work for this dissertation was done in New York. I then had to travel to Ecuador to start the required fieldwork. In this process there were many persons who showed interest in my work and who gave generously of their time. I want to thank all those members of the Izquierda Democratica party who willingly gave their time and knowledge to fill the gaps in my study.

I would like to express my special thanks to my family that had to put up with a long and sometimes frustrating process. However, the person to whom I want to dedicate this dissertation is my daughter Melissa. She was often

deprived of the necessary time and attention required by a four-year old. Nevertheless, it was her who provided me with the strength needed to complete this academic endeavor.

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Chapter One

Overview of the Problem

The purpose of this research is the analysis of the origins, philosophy, organization and quest for power of an ecuadorian political party called Izquierda Democratica or Democratic Left. It is the researcher's objective to establish the feasibility that a political party with the characteristics of the Izquierda Democratica has to obtain access to political power in Ecuador, i.e. control of the Executive branch through the electoral vote. And, once in power, will it be able to maintain the popular support to make the needed transformations.

The research covers the historical period from 1968 to 1984. The reason for the selection of this timeframe is due to the fact that the Izquierda Democratica was born as a political movement in 1968 and ever since then it has gained organizational strength. The 1984 presidential elections, on the other hand, mark the end of this research.

Why chose the Izquierda Democratica as the political party for this case study? There are several reasons. Since its origins in 1968, the Izquierda Democratica is the progressive party that constitutes the strongest political force in Ecuador. By progressive is understood to mean a party whose aim is to modify the present status quo in the economic, political, cultural and social fronts within a democratic framework. Its strength can be measured based on

several indicators: it is the most organized political party at the national level; it has the largest membership of any political party; it has the largest number of representatives elected to Congress of any political party; and, it has the largest number of elected officials to local and regional posts. Despite these objective measures of popular support, its weakness lies in the fact that it has not yet been able to achieve access to the Executive branch of government through the electoral vote. This latter phenomena will be a subject of analysis in this reasearch endeavor.

The Izquierda Democratica claims to be a Democratic Socialist party. A study of its philosophy, ideology and political programs and actions will enable us to place it within what is understood to be a Democratic Socialist tendency.

The Ecuadorian political scene has been characterized since its independence from Spain in 1830, by the domination of two major political parties, the Conservative and the Liberal. These parties have historically represented the interests of the country's dominant groups. The Conservative party had its origins in the geographical region known as Sierrra or the highlands whose main city is Quito, the political capital of Ecuador. The Liberal party had its origins in the Costa or lowlands, whose main city is Guayaquil, the economic hub of Ecuador.

The conflict of interests between the Liberal and

Conservative parties has been mainly on issues such as defense of regional interests, separation of Church and State, education and juridical principles. However, neither party has placed a priority on modifying the country's status quo.

The breakdown of the rural society as the basis of power created new political, social and economic conditions in Ecuador. Vast numbers of peasants migrated into the cities creating a new popular presence which, in turn, brought about a number of major problems: urban congestion, unemployment, underemployment, malnutrition, poverty, lack of adequate housing, water and electricity among others.

The traditional political structure was unable to assimilate this new urban populace. This brought about the emergence of populist parties that promised to channel the aspirations of this uprooted rural population. Velasquismo, named after its leader Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, is an example of this political phenomena. He was able to capture the discontent of the marginal sectors and was elected President of Ecuador for five times.

In the 1960's, Ecuador joined other Latin American countries into a modernization period. In the midst of this economic expansion the role of the military took a different route. They developed a strong corporate identity and through successful military coups became a new actor in the political milieu. In Ecuador, military governments took over power for a period of eight years, from 1963 to 1966

and again from 1972 to 1978.

During the late 1960's and early 1970's young members of the Liberal party, Socialist party and independents began to assemble in order to create a new political movement with a democratic socialist tendency and break away from the traditional parties. In 1970, in order to participate in local elections, the Izquierda Democratica came into being as a political movement. The party was officially recognized on May 5th, 1978 and immediately entered the 1978 presidential elections where it obtained a fourth place. The next presidential elections were scheduled for 1984. The Izquierda Democratica obtained the first place in the first electoral round that took place on January 1984. However, unable to obtain the majority of votes plus one, it had to enter into a second electoral round that took place on May 1984 where it was defeated by a coalition of center-right parties by a margin of 82,620 votes that represented 3.08% of the total valid votes. Despite this inability to obtain access to the Executive branch of power through the electoral vote, the party achieved numerous sectional government positions and obtained the largest number of seats in Congress.

The second chapter of this research deals with the ecuadorian political context from 1968 to 1984. This places the reader in the scenario of national politics characterized by a cycle of democratic, authoritarian and military governments which indistinctly gained access to

power.

In 1968 Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, a civilian caudillo, characterized by a personalistic, authoritarian and charismatic leadership was elected by the ecuadorian people as its president for a fifth time. Claiming that he did not have enough political consensus to deal with the social and economic problems affecting the country, he proclaimed himself dictator on June 1970, with the support of a group of civilians and loyal officers within the armed forces.

Presidential elections were scheduled for June 1972. However, on February 1972 a military junta, conformed by the commanders of the army, navy and air force, deposed Velasco Ibarra's government through a bloodless coup. The military junta proceeded to suspend the forthcoming presidential elections and expressed their intention of remaining in power. They proclaimed their government to be Nationalistic and Revolutionary and started to take the initial steps to make significant changes within the ecuadorian society, especially in the agrarian field. This style of government was opposed by interest groups within the civilians, as well as, a more conservative tendency within the armed forces.

On January 1976, a Supreme Government Council conformed by the heads of the army, navy and air force replaced the former military government of General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara. Their intention was announced to be to return power to a civilian government within two years through free popular elections. During this timeframe, there were

several conspiracies within the armed forces and some civilian groups to stop the process of a return to a democratic government. Nevertheless, on January 15, 1978, after a stretching of the political process, in which three juridical commissions were conformed with the task of reforming the 1945 Constitution, elaborating a new Constitution and creating a Law of Parties and Elections, the ecuadorian people underwent the first step towards a return to democracy. A National Referendum took place to determine the Constitution that would oversee the next electoral process. The new Constitution won with 45% of the vote.

On July 1978, national elections were held and Jaime Roldos Aguilera, representing Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares (CFP) a populist party, obtained first place. However, the party did not obtain a majority plus one votes. This implied that a second electoral round would take place on April 1979. During these nine months numerous political maneuvers and alliances, especially from the right, dominated the electoral scene.

Jaime Roldos Aguilera, won the second electoral round and was inaugurated as President of Ecuador on August 10th, 1979. His government was characterized by a leadership crisis derived from a struggle between the Executive and Legislative powers that paralyzed the effectiveness of the government. This young democracy suffered a setback when on May 1981, President Roldos died in a plane accident. His

Vice President, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, leader of a small party by the name of Democracia Popular, that had formed an alliance with the CFP for electoral purposes, was named President.

Hurtado's government lacked the political legitimacy and popular support that the former president had. His main objective was to maintain the democratic order in the midst of constant attacks by the right, headed by its main spokesman, Congressman Leon Febres Cordero. Nevertheless, Hurtado completed the mandate for which the ecuadorian people had elected him.

Presidential elections were called for January 1984. The Izquierda Democratica and its candidate, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, obtained the first place but did not obtain the needed majority plus one votes. This, in turn, implied that a second electoral round would take place in May 1984. The other contender was Leon Febres Cordero, candidate of the Social Christian party and representing a coalition of center-right movements and political parties by the name of National Reconstruction Front. The months between the first and second electoral round were characterized by a heated political climate, where leftist and rightist forces fought for the control of political power. The ecuadorian people casted their vote and gave the victory to Leon Febres Cordero, who was elected President of Ecuador and inaugurated on August 10th 1984.

This, in summary, constituted the political climate

that reigned in Ecuador during the period from 1968 to 1984. During these sixteen years, Ecuador experienced an amalgam of political regimes from an authoritarian caudillo, to a reformist military government, to a conservative military government, to a freely elected populist President, who died in a plane accident and was replaced by his Vice President and, finally, to a conservative President.

The third chapter of this research deals with an analysis of the Izquierda Democratica. It studies its origins and formation as a political movement since 1968. It continues through the years of consolidation, until its recognition as a political party in 1978.

The next section focuses on the development of the party and its influence in ecuadorian politics from 1978 until the 1984 national elections.

In this chapter we will also analyze the organizational structure of the Izquierda Democratica party, based on its Statutes. The last section is a review of the philosophy and ideology of the party, based on its Principles and general literature.

The fourth chapter provides an analysis of what is understood to be Democratic Socialism. It starts by reviewing the concepts of socialism and democracy, considered as key elements in this political model. It follows by studying the origins and historical development of the Socialist International and its influence on world socialism. It then focuses specifically on the influence of

the Socialist International in Latin America and its repercussion on the region. The latter part studies the concept of democratic socialism and its differentiation from other types of socialist tendencies.

In summary, an attempt will be made to establish whether the Izquierda Democratica is a viable political model for transforming the society of a particular country, Ecuador.

Significance in Relation to Social Science Literature

Social scientists have tried to explain the patterns of social structure and change characteristic of developing societies and the failure that democratic political systems, as are known in the West, experience in these societies.

Mainstream scholars have acknowledged that Latin American countries lack the political culture or maturity that is a requirement for a democratic system. Seymour Lipset in his book, *Political Man*, explores the conditions necessary for democracy in nations and organizations based on voting records and public opinion polls from around the world. The central argument of his study is the proper balance between conflict and consensus. Lipset argues that democracy is linked to the state of economic development. The more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy. Voting then is the key mechanism of consensus in a democratic society. Lipset states that democracy requires institutions which support conflict and

disagreement as well as those which sustain legitimacy and consensus.

Samuel Huntington in his book, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, undertakes an effort to establish the conditions under which societies undergoing rapid and disruptive economic change may attain political stability. He argues, that political order depends in part on the relation between the development of political institutions and the mobilization of new social forces into politics. Violence and instability are in large part the product of rapid social change and the rapid mobilization of new groups into politics coupled with the slow development of political institutions. Political parties and the party system are important to absorb and organize rural masses into the process of modernization and maintain political stability. Organization becomes the road to political power. His main argument rests on the importance of institution building and participation through political parties. Strong parties could be the only alternatives to instability resulting from rapid social change.

Both authors focus their main efforts in highlighting the importance of institutional building and political participation as the key factors that will enable societies to obtain political stability and maintain a democratic tradition.

Radical scholars have focused their attention and analysis on the dependent position that Latin American

countries occupy within the international capitalist system. According to dependency theorists such as Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy and Andre Gunder Frank, the peripheral status of underdeveloped societies in the world capitalist system is the single most important determinant of their structure and dynamic. The dependency theorists stress that the economic relationships that have developed between the central powers, i.e., the United States and Western Europe and the periphery, i.e., Latin America are of a two-way nature. They argue that while the central powers have exerted economic domination over the periphery, this has not precluded a certain degree of development within the latter area.

The political responses of the area are based on the international economic situation. The core areas and the periphery are tied into an international capitalist market economy. Latin America was not able to industrialize on time and became the provider of raw materials and cheap labor for the core areas. The consequences of this situation have been a disadvantageous economic position that has maintained the Latin American countries in a state of economic subordination, with a heavy reliance on imported capital and technology.

The Western powers that supply this capital and technology are able to infiltrate the Latin American economies in greater proportion. All Latin American countries share some conditions which favor this foreign

penetration. "They all lack market power in international trade; they are all subject to the virtually undisputed military, political and economic hegemony of the United States; they are all dependent on foreign capital; and they are all dependent on technologies that have originated in countries that are capital-rich and labor scarce, and from which many of their role models, consumption expectations and ideological influences have been derived."¹

This extreme dependency on the outside powers creates a pressure to conform to the expectations imposed by the developed countries. The development process in the periphery then becomes dependent on the interests of the core areas.

The dependency theorists do not see the national bourgeoisie as a critical force to be used to break away from dependency, but as an instrument of imperialist domination. According to Gunder Frank, "national capitalism and the national bourgeoisie do not and cannot offer any way out of underdevelopment in Latin America."² He continues by saying that "the contemporary structure of capitalism does not provide for the autonomous development of a national bourgeoisie independent enough to lead a real national liberation movement or progressive enough to destroy the capitalist structure of underdevelopment at home."³

Fernando Henrique Cardoso is concerned with the question of development as a matter of national survival. For him, it is of utmost importance to incorporate mass

participation in social decisions. He argues that the dynamic groups in Latin America are elitist and tied to international capitalism, therefore, excluding mass participation. The style of development expounded by these groups produces goods mainly for middle-class consumption, leaving the bulk of the population in the rural and urban areas outside this type of development. Cardoso believes that it is important to strengthen the social organization outside of the state system. This should be done from the bottom up by the masses rather than from the top down. Cardoso and Faletto argue that attention needs to be focused on the role of the State and the internal classes in the process of maintaining, transforming or destroying underdevelopment.

Pablo Gonzalez Casanova has developed the theory of internal colonialism. He states that the political, social, economic and social power are centered in the urban areas of Latin American countries, depriving the rural areas from an equal access to power. The rural areas become producers of goods and services for the center. Income distribution tends to become highly differentiated between the urban and rural population. Internally, there is the same dependency of the periphery from the core areas that is present at an international level.

Guillermo O'Donnell argues that modernization in Latin America does not necessarily imply political democracy but the establishment of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes.

These regimes involve a coalition of forces which exclude the popular sector. According to him, in Latin America, the State, the national bourgeoisie and international capital have formed an alliance in which the national bourgeoisie acts as the main link between the State and the international capital, abandoning any possibility of an autonomous leadership position and excluding the popular sectors from participating.

These three sectors maintain a tense alliance in which each sector negotiates to the benefit of its own interests, but always with the intention of maintaining sufficient power as a whole to be able to exclude the popular sector. The internal and external powerful sectors resort to the threat of communism as a way of legitimizing the takeover by the armed forces, as a last alternative of controlling what they consider to be social desintegration.

Peter Evans has also addressed this model based on the alliance between international capital, local capital and state capital in what he calls the Triple Alliance. According to Evans, all three groups benefit from capital accumulation while excluding the popular sector.

James Petras has elaborated the theory of State Capitalist Development. He argues that "the key strata initiating and seeming to direct the conversion from neocolonialism to state capitalism are the state sector employees."⁴ Their main weapon is not property ownership but their political capacity expressed as their ability to

take hold of the state machinery, alter the distribution of social power and reorganize the economy.

The weakness of the workers and peasant movements aids in the emergence of state capitalism. An important aspect addressed by Petras is that "because its original base is so narrow, state-capitalism as the political-economic project of the intermediary strata requires a military regime and/or a one party state to sustain it."⁵

Petras notes that "under mounting international pressures from the imperial centers, with their voracious appetites for raw materials and growing capacity to absorb local markets, the nationalist state remains the last barrier to total subordination and fragmentation in the new international division of labor."⁶ He sees the possibility that the class-struggle within the state-capitalism model will lead to a socialist take over of the state power.

In summary, we can establish that a crucial problem in Latin America is its economic dependent position in relation to the central powers. The Latin American countries entered into the international market from a disadvantaged position, under adverse conditions, as suppliers of raw materials and minerals.

Even though there is a certain degree of development in Latin America under present market conditions, this type of development benefits some sectors of society to the detriment of others, creating a greater internal gap between those who are able to benefit from this development and

those who are not.

The relative benefits that the national bourgeoisie has acquired through the degree of development within their countries places them in an antagonistic position vis-a-vis the working class. The national bourgeoisie in Latin America is not interested in joining a revolutionary movement but in taking advantage of the economic conditions to improve their position in society.

In Latin America "genuine economic development that includes social progress is impossible without firm political direction and such political direction is impossible without mass support from a citizenry willing to make the necessary sacrifices because they are steps towards a more just society."⁷ Only through a combination of internal and external redirections can the desired change for egalitarianism, integration and autonomy be attained in Latin America. Growth per se will not bring about a transformation of the present political, economic and social inequalities present in these societies. What is required is a revolution in ways of thinking about development.

The dependency theorists are interested in achieving an understanding of the problems of dependency in Latin America in order to provide a framework for the explanation of underdevelopment and development. Their main emphasis is to develop a sound theory of dependency that will enable others to use it as a starting point for political action.

Along the lines of a Theory of the State, party

formation and the party's role in the political process we will study the works of Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Gramsci. This will enable us to obtain a better understanding of the role of the state and the political party in the process of transformation.

Hegel's political ideas are forged as the result of the social events and political transformations of his time and place. Hegel's concept of the state rests on his writings of his most comprehensive political work, *Philosophy of Right*.

Hegel searched for a theory of the state that would allow a balance between individual liberty and a coherent and integrative political system. In his analysis of the state he makes an important distinction between civil society and the state. The former is the network of private relationships which we categorize as the economic sphere. However, there are certain activities that civil society cannot perform and these form part of the political sphere or the state. The state constitutes the higher authority, family and civil society are dependent on it. While individuals have duties to the state they have also rights against it. It is the union of duty and right that is vital to the inner strength of the state.

Within Hegel's concept of the state as the total community there are three types of bonds which unite men within its confines: political, social and ethical.

On the political arena men are united in a geographical

territory and subjected to a public authority, namely the political state. It is the legal rules and commands of the supreme authority which integrates the population into a community.

On the social arena men are united by a series of acts and relationships based on a system of interdependence created by men who have to satisfy their needs on improvement of their economic and social spheres, namely civil society.

On the ethical arena men share ideals and principles which form the base of a particular culture that has been handed down by generations, namely ethical life.

While these three components of the state work together there is harmony, however friction between them can result in instability. When the state no longer responds to the needs of the community as was the case of France in 1789, the socio-political structure is disrupted and a new one is built.

For Hegel the interaction between the political structure and the ethical community is paramount to the stability of the state. The bond that holds a community together is its ethical life, a complex of concepts, rules and principles. The task of the political state is to establish laws and institutions that incorporate the values of the community into a coherent whole. It is when the state no longer reflects the needs of the community that the political apparatus becomes a target of attack.

Hegel's concept of the state is that of a community as opposed to an institution. The state is not only a political entity but an ethical community. Rather than just attributing the existence of the state to its political apparatus, he takes into consideration what constitutes the community within the particular state, what holds its members together, how does duty and right interact to make the socio-political process effective and responsive to change. The sense of community runs deep and strong in Hegel's concept of the state.

Hegel's political state represents a delicate balance of power based more on consensus amongst similar groups than on conflict between opposing factions. His political organs consist of a well orchestrated and homogeneous rule by those who were born to rule.

Fundamental to Marxism is the concept of historical materialism, the proposition that events are primarily the product of material conditions and economic interests. "In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production." These relations of production are the basis for the economic structure of society. According to Marx, this constitutes the foundation on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond.

According to Marx, the state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. The state is a bourgeois state. It is a repressive force for the suppression of the oppressed class.

On March 1871, a socialist republic known as the Paris Commune, was proclaimed in the city of Paris against the French Government sitting at Versailles. The bourgeoisie proceeded to defend its interests and with the use of force crushed the revolutionary process and destroyed the Commune. This historical situation led Marx to advocate that the aim of the proletarian revolution should be to smash the bureaucratic-military machine and not only take over. This concept constitutes an important thesis in Marx's theory of the state. He believes that the "revolution is necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because only in a revolution can the class which overthrows it rid itself of the accumulated rubbish of the past and become capable of reconstructing society."

Marx expressed in the Communist Manifesto "that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." He continues by saying that "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest,

by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." ¹¹ The state, after the revolution, becomes the proletariat organized as the ruling class. Once all class distinctions have disappeared and force is no longer necessary, since there are no classes to be oppressed, the state will no longer exist and wither away.

Marx's political theory envisions the inevitability of a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once all classes have been abolished a classless society will be born in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." ¹²

According to Marx, only when the state ceases to exist it is possible to speak of freedom. However, his vision of an ideal society in which classes would be abolished and the human spirit would be free has not materialized.

Lenin's political theory was highly influenced by the writings of Marx and Engels. Lenin's concern with the question of the state was not only theoretical but of a practical nature. In 1917 when *State and Revolution* was written, the Soviet Union was experiencing a revolutionary upheaval.

In order to assume and maintain political control,

Lenin strengthened the role of the Bolshevik party in the political process and centralized its power. The party proceeded to destroy the existing state machine and constitute a regime in which the party became the ruling group, the representative of the interests of the proletariat.

The destruction of the state machinery is a key element in Lenin's political theory. Lenin strongly manifests that the revolution constitutes a violent act whose main object is to seize power at the same time that it proceeds to destroy the bourgeois state. The gaining of political control and the subsequent smashing of the bureaucratic-military state machinery is the most important task of the proletariat in relation to the state during the revolutionary process. He argues that "if the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonism, if it is a force standing above society and increasingly separating itself from it, then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class and in which this separation is embodied." ¹³ The revolution should transform, not reform society.

According to Lenin, "during the transition from capitalism to communism, suppression is still necessary; but it is the suppression of the minority of exploiters by the

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majority of exploited." He continues by saying that "only communism renders the state absolutely unnecessary, for there is no one to be suppressed--no one in the sense of a class, in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population."

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While we can argue that in the communist countries the state as is known in the capitalist countries has disappeared, the state, to my knowledge has not withered away. On the contrary, the state through the party remains as an instrument of domination over the masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become the dictatorship of the party over the proletariat.

Lenin firmly believed that it was the industrial proletariat by virtue of its organization and daily contact with capitalist exploitation that would constitute together with the intelligentsia the vanguard of the revolution in the form of a party with centralized political power. He disregarded the role of the peasants in the revolutionary process.

Lenin's merit rests on his exceptional qualities as a revolutionary leader and organizer, as well as, a political theorist. He searched to combine theory and praxis in a country rampant with inequalities, corruption and misery.

Antonio Gramsci was strongly influenced by Lenin and the triumph of the Russian revolution. On a slight departure from Lenin's concept of the state, Gramsci argued that "the system's real strength does not lie in the

violence of the ruling class or the coercive power of its state apparatus, but in the acceptance by the ruled of a conception of the world which belongs to the rulers." He¹⁶ endeavored to understand how the ruling class has managed to win the consent of the subordinate classes.

His concern with the concept of cultural hegemony or how the ruling classes control the media and education was behind his arguing for the importance of a communist education and the training of organic intellectuals among the working classes. The lack of national consciousness and the traditional role of the intellectuals has left the working class without a collective will or consciousness. He, therefore, believes that it is important to educate the working class so that the proletariat gets rid of bourgeois ideology.

Gramsci stated that the superstructure is divided into "civil society, i.e. all the organisations which are commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society or the State', which corresponds to the function of 'hegemony' which the ruling class exercises over the whole of society and to that of 'direct rule' or of command which is expressed in the state and in 'juridical' government."¹⁷ After the conquest of power by the working class it is of paramount importance to undertake a cultural struggle.

In agreement with Lenin, Gramsci emphasized the importance of the party as the agent of the revolutionary process. The party constituted the vanguard of the

proletariat. He based his analysis on Machiavelli's, The Prince, and stated that "the modern prince, the myth-prince, cannot be a real person, a concrete individual; it can only be an organism; a complex element of society in which the cementing of a collective will, recognised and partially asserted in action, has already begun. This organism is already provided by historical development and it is the political party."¹⁸

Gramsci argued that party discipline is important. The party must have a solid base in a particular social group. There are three elements that justify its historical existence: the rank and file, the leadership and the party cadres. One of the problems of the working class is that it has always relied on assimilated leadership versus leadership from its own class. The development of organic leadership was an important issue in Gramsci's political theory.

Gramsci was a strong believer in the organizational capacity and strength of the working class; however, he argued that even though the revolutionary impulse originated in the cities, its success depended on support from the rural areas. The incorporation of the peasantry into the revolutionary political process was never overlooked by him.

According to him, "the State is the whole complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its rule but manages to win the active consent of the governed."¹⁹ He

acknowledged the fact that there exist rulers and ruled, leaders and led. Historically, the parties have been the source of leadership and that is one of the reasons why the working class must constitute a party of its own.

For Gramsci, the state constitutes the economic-political organization of the bourgeois class. The aim of the working class must therefore be not only to conquer the state but to replace it and ultimately abolish it. The socialist state cannot be embodied in the institutions of the capitalist state. The socialist or workers state must have its own institutions and ultimately this will lead to the withering away of the State.

Underlying this study is the basic assumption that in Latin America the Left has two clear options to achieve political power. First, through revolutionary uprisings of an urban or rural type as was the case in Cuba and more recently in Nicaragua. The second alternative is through the formation of mass oriented political parties that can gain access to power through the electoral vote as was the case of Allende in Chile and is presently the case of Garcia in Peru.

Notes.

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Chapter Two

In this chapter we will briefly describe the political life of Ecuador from 1968 to 1984. This analysis will provide the reader with an understanding of the different political factors and situations which gave way to the formation of new political movements. These new movements crystallized into political parties that started to gain force against those traditional parties such as the Conservative and Liberal.¹

The first section provides an overview of Velasquismo and its leader, Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, who became President of Ecuador five times. From his first electoral victory in 1934, to his last one in 1968, he was a major influence in ecuadorian politics.

The second section analyzes the access to power by a military government who claimed to be nationalistic and revolutionary. At the same time, it traces the development of a new corporate mentality among the members of the armed forces.

The third section describes the internal conflicts that developed within the armed forces, as well as, the external pressures that led to the ousting of the initiators of the military dictatorship by a new group of more conservative and traditionalist officers. It also follows the process undertaken by this new military government to return power to a popularly elected civilian government.

The fourth section studies the government of Jaime Roldos Aguilera, leader of the populist party, Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares. The conflict that developed between the Executive and Legislative branches and the premature death of this popularly elected President.

The fifth section follows the continuation and conclusion of the democratic regime by his Vice President, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea. It takes the reader through the electoral campaign and the 1984 Presidential elections that culminated in the triumph of Leon Febres Cordero, candidate of the Social Christian party.

Velasquismo 1968-1972

On June 22nd 1968, Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra was elected President of Ecuador for the fifth time.² Dr. Jorge Zavala Baquerizo, a member of the Liberal Party, was elected Vice President.³ They assumed power on September 1st 1968. As opposed to previous landslide victories by Velasco Ibarra,⁴ this time the victory was narrow.

Velasquismo was a populist movement, whose leader demanded personal loyalty from his close associates. Velasco was against organized political parties and in favor of political movements. His support came from the marginal groups, mainly slum dwellers, in the coastal region. The oligarchy financed his political campaigns and assured itself of obtaining key political posts. Velasco was able to attract two contradictory groups, the urban marginals and

the oligarchy.

The government maintained the internal equilibrium of the dominant block, but it was not able to stop the development of a political crisis. The Liberal party having one of its members as the Vice-President, requested greater access to power and signed the "Pacto Mordore" which caused major defections in the Liberal party.⁵

This period in ecuadorian history is of utmost importance since the country started to shift from a banana exporting economy to an oil exporting economy. With the knowledge of future greater economic wealth, key dominant groups started to vie for positions and power. The upcoming Presidential elections represented a threat to their desire to remain in control.

By 1969, the social and economic crisis became unbearable. On the economic front, Ecuador underwent a critical fiscal crisis due in part to the difficulty in commercializing local products abroad. The government took repressive economic measures that caused popular strikes and violent confrontations. The marginal groups felt betrayed. Workers and students demonstrated against the regime.

On June 22nd 1970, fifteen days after general sectional elections, Velasco proclaimed himself dictator with the backing of dominant economic groups and the Armed Forces. Velasco handed some political posts to the military.

By the end of March 1971, due to attacks made to the Armed Forces by the dominant groups, the crisis grew

stronger. The Armed Forces overtook all key political posts and decided to maintain Velasco Ibarra's civilian dictatorship. However, the political climate grew worst. There were violent street protests and the state university was closed. Jorge Acosta Velasco, the dictator's nephew and right hand, was ousted as Minister of Defense. This action marked the demise of Velasco's government.

The modernizing changes in the socio-economic structure, due to the upcoming oil bonanza, were reflected in the political life of the country. The traditional political parties, Liberal and Conservative, were unable to channel the aspirations of the new socio-economic forces. It was during these years that new political movements came into being, such as, the Democracia Cristiana and the Izquierda Democratica. These political movements claimed to represent the emerging social forces.

The chaos and corruption prevalent in Velasco's government and a popular discontent with the inability of political parties to govern the country, gave way to the military to appear as the country's redeemers. On the other hand, Assaad Bucaram, a populist leader of Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares (CFP), was considered to be the strongest candidate for the upcoming 1972 Presidential elections. Velasco aided his popularity by removing him as Provincial Director of Guayas, sending him to exile and questioning his ecuadorian nationality. Bucaram's possible electoral victory was feared by the dominant groups who saw in the

Armed Forces the only institution that could stop his triumph.

The civilian-military accord had a brief duration due to the clash between the military's modernizing stance and the traditionalism of Velasco Ibarra and his collaborators. Velasco Ibarra was unable to overcome the contradiction between his populist position and the real power structures in the country. The representative crisis led the corporate group to push a non-democratic way out, isolating Velasco Ibarra's figure that represented the inability of party organs to control the way in which the political scene was unveiling.

The hegemonic crisis was overcome by a bloodless coup in which a civilian dictatorship was replaced by a military one. Velasco Ibarra's populist experiment came to an end and the military took control of the government in a crucial new economic stage for the country.

General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara 1972-1975

In 1972 Ecuador enters into a new economic stage. Oil was discovered in the amazon region bringing along the possibility of exporting its production and increasing the country's revenues.

The Armed Forces, headed by General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, overthrow Velasco Ibarra's government on February 15th 1972. The military immediately define their government as Revolutionary, Nationalistic and of Autonomous Development,

Social Humane and Disciplined.

The government of General Rodriguez Lara started a series of changes and transformations. It recuperated the sovereignty over hydrocarbon resources which had been in the hands of foreign companies. This area became from August 1972, the main source of income for the Ecuadorian economy. The government firmly defended the 200 miles of territorial waters, provoking a confrontation with the United States which resulted in the expulsion of the american military mission. It also tried to produce changes in the structure of land ownership, promulgating a new agrarian law.

When the Armed Forces assumed control of the nation in 1972, their apparent objective was to avoid the presidential elections that should have taken place that year and stop the triumph of the populist leader Assaad Bucaram. The populist danger was the ideological element that unified all sectors that supported the military coup. Nevertheless, behind this excuse was the Armed Forces need to obtain more weight within the block of hegemonic social and economic forces and to capture a share of the national wealth.

The Armed Forces claimed their ideology to be Nationalistic, Revolutionary and of Autonomous Development. The government's orientation was towards the achievement of national control over natural resources and state control over enterprises. This caused the development of a new institutional project for the country.

The military believed that the state's political

apparatus was in a profound crisis, presented as a crisis of representativeness in which traditional parties had lost their strength and convokation power. The Conservative party was weakened with an internal division which gave birth to the Social Christian party and later on to the Christian Democracy. These new groups constituted more progressive alternatives within the conservative wing. The Liberal party was also weakened and divided by the creation of two new movements, the Izquierda Democratica and the Frente Radical Alfarista.

The political parties had lost their legitimacy and the social groups started to voice their opinions and exert pressure through guilds, syndicates, Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, as well as, the Universities. This multiplicity of forms diluted the leading capacity of the parties.

General Rodriguez Lara defined his government as an expression of the middle class, nationalistic and revolutionary but without compromise with any ideology. The new government was not the direct expression of any of the fractions of the dominant class but the result of the distance that the officers had taken from them.

The first proclamations and government measures gave the feeling that an antioligarchic, progressive and nationalistic project was under way. Several members of the bourgeoisie suspect of fiscal fraud and turbulent business deals during Velasco Ibarra's regime were judged, sentenced

and sent to jail. Agrarian and fiscal reforms were announced. The new government tried to enforce price controls. It also stated the need to revise former oil concessions.

What granted originality to this government was its decision to renegotiate the dependency status with foreign capital. Through a revision of contracts for oil concessions, celebrated by previous governments, it was able to obtain better rates and royalties for the country.

The government forced a historical project that favored the industrial and commercial sectors. These sectors expanded due to the widening of the internal and external markets and an unprecedented accumulation of foreign currency that allowed an increase in imports. This process strengthened the sierra's bourgeoisie as well as a bureaucratic technology that administered a State economically powerful. This, in turn, seriously threatened the traditional hegemony of the agrarian-export groups from the coast.

However, the oil boom aggravated the social contradictions already prevalent in Ecuador. Facing the worsening of this situation, it seemed difficult that the military government could maintain for much longer its progressive position.

The 1972 Nationalist Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces in its Plan of Action proposed substantial transformations in the socio-economic and juridical order

and energetic actions against economically privileged social groups. The government, nevertheless, stayed short of executing such ambitious propositions. On the contrary, due to inflation and economic growth, social and economic structures consolidated, which permitted a significant affirmation of new economic groups, especially the most modern, whose power increased considerably.

Foreign relations and natural resource policies followed a progressive orientation: the government maintained its independence from the United States, it defended the 200 maritime miles, it voted in the Organization of American States for the re-entry of Cuba; and, at the United Nations it aligned itself with the Third World. These nationalistic efforts during the first two years of government gave way to a reaction by the oligarchy and local and foreign pressure groups, pressured by oil multinationals, which forced General Rodriguez Lara to change the course of his government. The "Philosophy and Action Plan" of the Nationalist Revolutionary Government was filed away.

Three elements were important in the formation and access to power of the Nationalist Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces. In the first place there was a new source of wealth, oil. This provided the government with sufficient income to undertake changes and transformations. Secondly, the almost sure triumph on the upcoming Presidential elections of the populist leader Assaad

Bucaram, vetoed by the Armed Forces and rejected by all powerful social and economic forces. Thirdly, the influence of the military dictatorships throughout Latin America and, particularly, the 1968 Peruvian revolution considered by most officers to be a valid model to transform the ecuadorian society.

Since the beginning the military government faced structural political obstacles. The alliance that gained access to power represented a group of different interests, opinions and tendencies within the Armed Forces. The other obstacle was the influence and pressure exerted by the traditional social forces within the Armed Forces. The group that took over power in 1972 slowly lost its dominant character.

In 1974, the authoritarian group within the Armed Forces started to crystallize and gain strength. The military group in power became a mere administrator of the struggle within the Armed Forces. The government found itself with partially blocked projects, prisoner of internal contradictions and different pressure groups. Despite the purges within the Armed Forces, these were deeply divided between a rightist tendency and a nationalistic-reformist one. The point of convergence among the different military groups had been achieved first through a progressive external policy and second with the postponement of promised reforms, such as the Agrarian Reform.

Agrarian production diminished to the point of causing

alarm among the people and forcing the government to import food. Landowners, frightened with the new agrarian reform, exerted pressure. On May of 1974, the Minister of Agriculture was ousted. This marked the stallment of the agrarian reform process.

On October 1974, Gustavo Jarrin Ampudia, Minister of Natural Resources, who had directed the progressive government oil policy fell. Internal and foreign pressure groups aided to his ousting. Oil companies introduced a boycott and exports started to diminish. This produced an economic crisis. The Armed Forces started to lose their internal unity and contradictions started to flourish.

By the middle of 1975, the regime started to lose its initial impetus. General Rodriguez Lara concentrated all power without giving a firm date for national elections and a return to a democratic government. The promised revolution did not take place and the attempt to undergo a tough Agrarian Reform, which was one of the government's original main objectives, did not materialize. The country started to experience social unrest.

On August 31st 1975, General Raul Gonzales Alvear, Chief of the Armed Forces Joint Command, backed by a group of civilians headed a revolt against the government of General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara. After twelve hours of combat among members of the Armed Forces, General Rodriguez Lara and his followers dominated the uprising. The balance left 17 persons dead, 80 wounded and most critically a

strong division among the members of the military. The adventurism of the coup was underlined by the atomized civilian support. There was no organized political or civilian movement that provided support. For the general public, the attempted coup represented a military spectacle that had nothing to do with them. The failure of the coup was not Rodriguez Lara's triumph but the victory of all his enemies. Everyone was conscious that the regime had to end, even though not all were in agreement on the type of political formula for replacement.

Since the very beginning General Rodriguez Lara was confronted with a difficult alternative. In order to stop the opposition by the traditional social forces he had to continuously try to divide them. The government had to arrange compromises with some of the dominant social forces which debilitated its posture and prevented it from carrying out its reformist project. It was clear that for all the social forces, the final objective was the return to a civilian government through popular elections.

The regime had a doble characteristic: it was one of the few real modernizing alternatives in the political horizon and, at the same time, it dragged along the weakness of any reform project to be initiated. The State initiated this modernizing, antioligarchic process without real aid from civil society.

The 1972 military dictatorship brought an identification between State, Armed Forces and Oil and

placed in the hands of the military institution the direct control of the largest national resource. The State's sphere of action grew.

The process that took place in 1972-1975 generated an opening to new options, one of which was political reformism. For the first time a political regime assumed a political and social role against the oligarchical power. The military regime established important bases for social change. However, it was not a process with enough force and duration to establish that traditional and oligarchic sectors had backstepped definitively.

General Rodriguez Lara had proposed a reformist program sufficiently radical to have along its existence constant attacks by traditional groups. The regime never looked to establish a base of political support in the masses, having only a superficial backing by the intellectual left and civilian technocrats. In summary, the government was isolated from the people and had no strong support groups to aid in carrying out its reform program.

Supreme Government Council 1976-1979

On January 11th 1976, the Supreme Government Council conformed by Vicealmirant Alfredo Poveda Burbano, Brigadier General Guillermo Duran Arcentales and Brigadier General Luis Leoro Franco replaced the government of General Rodriguez Lara through a bloodless military coup. The new government claimed that it would oversee the process for a

return to democracy and started conversations with several political groups. The military junta announced their intention to return power within two years to a democratically elected civilian government.

The new military government found support in progressive elements who, in turn, rather than opposing the government decided to obtain some political power in the new structure in order to direct the return to a democratic order.

Coronel Richelieu Levoyer, of a nationalist-revolutionary tendency, was placed in charge of administering the return to a constitutional order. The political dialogue conducted by the Minister of Government for approximately two months introduced a new type of consultation to the civilian sector. The majority of organized sectors and political parties participated and voiced their opinion on the best way to handle the process for the return to a democratic regime. Forty-eight of the sixty-eight organizations consulted, among them political parties, labor and entrepreneurial groups, neighborhood federations and peasant organizations, pronounced themselves against the option of convoking a Constitutional Assembly to take charge of the return to democracy.

After the military-civilian dialogue, the Supreme Government Council proposed a complex process by the name of "Plan of Juridical Restructuring of the State". On June 1976, the Minister of Government announced the different

phases of the Plan.

The previous steps consisted on maintaining a climate of national harmony and a constant dialogue with political parties and organizations.

The phases of execution consisted of renewing the electorate identity cards and producing the electoral polls. Three juridical commissions would be conformed, by citizens representing different political tendencies, that would have the task of reforming the 1945 Consitution, elaborating a new Constitution and creating a Law of Parties and Elections.

Once the commissions had their tasks completed the next phase was to divulge in a simple form the contents of both Constitutional projects and convoke and execute a Referendum. Both Constitutional projects would be submitted to popular consensus.

The next phase was to declare in force the Constitution approved by popular vote in the Referendum; proclaim the Law of Elections and Parties; and, conform a Supreme Electoral Tribunal which would oversee the upcoming Presidential elections.

The last phase of execution consisted of holding the Presidential elections and handing over power to the new popularly elected officials.

The military government was able initially to displace the block of traditional political parties and lessen their possibilities for controlling the process. There had been

resistance to the continuation of this process by military authoritarian groups and traditional civilian sectors. Nevertheless, the pressure exerted by these groups resulted in the removal from office of the progressive Minister of Government on June 12th 1976.

Coronel Bolivar Jarrin Cahuenas, a conservative element, was designated as the new Minister of Government. This gave an indication of the internal conflicts within the Armed Forces, the strengthening of the more conservative groups within the military institution; and, the outside pressure exerted by the traditional sectors.

The new Minister of Government started to look for support from the traditional political parties. The delay in negotiations between both groups started to weaken the government's legitimacy. The naming of the Commissions announced for October was postponed to November. The delay in the execution of the different phases of the Plan created an atmosphere of high instability during the last months of 1976.

The process was reassumed on December 17th 1976, when the Supreme Government Council promulgated a Decree that conformed the Juridical Commissions. This was an important step under the Plan of Juridical Restructuring. The formation of the Commissions signified the displacement of the direction of the process of political reordering to the Commissions, represented by the majority of parties and labor and entrepreneurial organized groups.

Coronel Jarrin Cahuenas asked three names to all recognized political parties, as well as the collaboration of prominent citizens and various institutions. The recognized political parties were those that had been inscribed for the June 7th 1970 elections. Three Commissions were formed. The first one to elaborate a new Constitutional Project. The second one to reform the 1945 Constitution. The third one to elaborate the Law of Parties and Elections. The Commissions were conformed of eleven principals and three substitutes. Their members were representatives of political parties, syndical organizations, chambers of production, commerce and agriculture and university professors specialized in constitutional law. Coordinator of the Commissions, composed exclusively of civilians, was General Rafael Rodriguez Palacios.

The Commissions started their work in early 1977 in a general atmosphere full of pessimism. However, the Commissions undertook the job entrusted to them in a six-month period and handed over the Constitutional projects to the government by mid-1977. This caused a surprise within some civilian and military sectors who wanted the continuation of the military dictatorship.

Important changes to the Electoral Law were introduced by the Commissions. If the winning party did not obtain a majority of votes plus one, a second electoral round would take place between the candidates that obtained first and

second places. The electoral expense would be controlled and political parties would receive public financing. Parties that did not obtain at least 5% of the vote in both rounds would be eliminated.

The military government accepted both Constitutional projects elaborated by the Commissions. The next step, as stated in the Plan, was to convoke to the Referendum. However, without any good reason the popular consultation was rescheduled for January 15th 1978.

In this interim, an anti-democratic group started a conspiracy to stop the popular consultation and the forthcoming Presidential elections. This conspiracy had its origins when the Minister of Government, Coronel Jarrin, was able to have some parties, headed by the Conservatives and the Liberals, to publicly ask for the interruption of the democratic process and the organization of a new government to analyze other ways to return to a democratic regime. However, this proposition did not materialize.

For the first time, the Ecuadorian citizens had to make a decision and vote for one of two Constitutions. The political parties were divided among three options. Supporting the 1945 Constitution with reforms, voting for the new Constitution or casting a null vote to express a rejection to the military government.

The National Referendum took place on January 15th 1978. This event constituted the turning point towards the continuation of the process and political reform. The new

Constitution won with 45% of the vote, the second place was obtained by the 1945 Constitution with reforms with 32% of the vote; and, the third place by the null votes with 23% of the vote. ⁷ The new Constitution granted the vote to the illiterates, as well as, established two presidential electoral rounds if no candidate was able to obtain a majority of votes plus one in the first round.

During the first three months of 1978, the outlook was confusing. The government conformed the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, headed by former President Galo Plaza, to oversee the upcoming electoral process. However, the original members were replaced by new ones in order to manipulate laws and disqualify candidates and political movements. The new Supreme Electoral Tribunal, headed by Rafael Arizaga Vega reformed the Law of Elections violating the constitutional reforms approved in the Referendum. A new requisite of having an ecuadorian mother and father in order to become Presidential candidate was approved. This requisite was directed towards eliminating Assaad Bucaram, presidential candidate of the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares (CFP) party, from the electoral race. His ousting of the electoral contest provoked a series of restructurings and new political alliances. Between January 15th, when the Referendum took place and February 20th, when Assaad Bucaram was disqualified, the electoral scene was characterized by great disorder.

The following candidacies were finally announced.

Sixto Duran-Ballen representing a conservative coalition by the name of Constitutional Front, Francisco Huerta Montalvo of the Liberal party, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos of the Izquierda Democratica, Abdon Calderon Munoz of the Frente Radical Alfarista, Camilo Mena of the Movimiento Popular Democratico, Rene Mauge of the Frente Amplio de Izquierda and Jaime Roldos Aguilera of the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares.

The strongest characteristic of the political dynamics of this period was a tendency to the formation of alliances and associations to back up a candidate. This phenomenon revealed the relative organizational and programmatic weakness of certain groups and political parties and the fragmented character of the national political culture. The Izquierda Democratica party decided to present itself on its own. Its main objective was to strengthen the party and place it as an independent political force.

On the following weeks after the candidacies were announced, the military dictatorship pressed the Supreme Electoral Tribunal and this organism disqualified the candidacy of Francisco Huerta Montalvo of the Liberal party and promoted that of his uncle Raul Clemente Huerta, thought to have better electoral possibilities. The juridical recognition of the Democracia Popular party was denied. This resulted in an electoral alliance between the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares and the Democracia Popular party. Camilo Mena's candidacy, representing the

Movimiento Popular Democratico, was also denied.

Sixto Duran-Ballen of the Constitutional Front and Raul Clemente Huerta of the Liberal party were the favorite candidates according to the polls. Despite all these factors, on July 16th 1978, Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea of the CFP-DP alliance, (List 4) obtained first place with 27.70% of the vote, Sixto Duran-Ballen (List 6) came in second with 23.86%, Raul Clemente Huerta (List 2) third with 22.67%, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos (List 12) fourth with 12.01%, Abdon Calderon Munoz (List 14) fifth with 9.03% and Rene Mauge (List 9) sixth with 4.74%.⁸

At these results, some reactionary sectors insisted that an electoral fraud had been committed. The President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal resigned, asking on a public radio and television announcement that the Armed Forces nullify the elections. The Council of Generals of the Armed Forces decided to accept the resignation and the designation of a new Supreme Electoral Tribunal to continue the electoral scrutiny and proclamation of the results.

The Supreme Electoral Tribunal confirmed the victory, on the first electoral round, of Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea of the CFP-DP alliance with 381,215 votes out of a total of 1,376,451 valid votes.⁹

The period between the first and second electoral rounds was characterized by political maneuvers by defeated rightist groups trying to alter the results of the elections. There were attempts to nullify the elections

stating there had been a fraud. There was also an attempt to change the candidacy of Sixto Duran-Bailen, of the Constitutional Front, for that of Raul Clemente Huerta of the Liberal party, believed to have a better electoral option. Duran-Bailen rejected this maneuver and entered as candidate for the second electoral round. A campaign was launched by the opposition, accusing the Vice-Presidential candidate Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea of being a communist, to diminish the possibility of an electoral victory. Instead of getting into a fighting posture, Roldos and Hurtado explained their government program and captured the voters sympathy.

On November 1978, the head of the Frente Radical Alfarista, Abdon Calderon Munoz, who had run as presidential candidate in the first electoral round was assassinated. There were accusations that the government and, in particular, the Minister of Government were responsible for this act. This created a popular response against the government. The only possibility that the Armed Forces would remain in power was to keep guaranteeing the fulfillment of the Plan. By December 1978, they became the guarantors of the last phases of the Plan.

The second electoral round was postponed to April 29th 1979. The ecuadorian people after nine months between the first and second electoral rounds casted their vote. Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea were elected as their President and Vice-President.

The National Congress was conformed by 69 deputies. CFP obtained 29 seats, the Izquierda Democratica 15 seats, the Conservative party 10 seats, the Liberal party 4 seats, the Social Christians 3 seats, Coalicion Institucionalista Democrata 3 seats, the Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario 2 seats, the Frente Amplio de Izquierda 1 seat, the Movimiento Popular Democratico 1 seat and the Partido Federacion Nacional Velasquista 1 seat.

The electoral victory of Jaime Roldos Aguilera on April 29, 1979 confirmed the consolidation of a new type of political direction in Ecuador. It represented the beginning of a stage in which the democratic theme predominated on the political scene and were bases were established for the prevailment of a new type of civilian regime.

On August 10th 1979, the Supreme Government Council handed over power to the newly elected officials. The results of the 1978 and 1979 elections made clear the democratic and reformist impulse that took hold of the country after ten years of authoritarian governments. The traditional forces were weakened in all fronts. Their presidential formulas failed and they obtained few congressional seats as well as weak provincial, municipal and cantonal power.

Jaime Roldos Aguilera 1979-1981

The triumph of Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo

Hurtado Larrea was mainly due to the support of the middle sectors and small bourgeoisie, as well as, the popular sectors in the coastal region controlled by CFP. The economic expansion originated by oil, had fortified the industrial and financial bourgeoisie and weakened the power structure of the agro-exporting groups and their political expression through the traditional political parties.

Assaad Bucaram the CFP leader and Roldos' political uncle, started to maneuver to achieve the Presidency of Congress by allying with the Conservative and Liberal forces. He was named President of Congress and rather than working jointly with the Executive there was a constant struggle and blocking of projects. Bucaram felt that he was the one to order and lead the politics of the regime since it was his backing that gave Roldos the political support to obtain the Presidency of Ecuador. This struggle paralyzed the effectiveness of the government. Roldos was not able to stop the conformation of a majority opposition block in Congress which aided in strengthening Bucaram's figure and those parties which lost the 1978-1979 elections.

Roldos' government experienced a leadership crisis derived from the struggle between the Executive and Legislative powers. Bucaram had strong political support due to his caudillist posture within CFP and the years of struggle and exile imposed to him during the military dictatorship. On the other hand, Roldos represented a new political style, he had a reformist conception of the system

and political action. The conflict within CFP was caused by an ideological crisis and a crisis of political styles. While one group, headed by Roldos, was experimenting an ideological revolution; another group, headed by Bucaram, remained in a traditionalist-populist line. President Roldos finally broke away from CFP and created a new political movement named "Pueblo, Cambio y Democracia."

Jaime Roldos was confident of the support of the Izquierda Democratica which had a considerable force in Congress but an agreement was never reached. The Izquierda Democratica maintained its medium and long term strategy that it had expressed since its beginnings: independence from alliances and strengthening of the party apparatus to obtain autonomous power in the political scene. This meant keeping a distance from Roldos' government. The democratic socialists opted for not taking part in the Executive branch despite many offers for Cabinet posts. There was just some diffuse collaboration in specific projects presented to Congress. The Izquierda Democratica reserved its critical participation in the political scene and consequently was part of a potential opposition front.

Roldos and Bucaram became firm in their positions. On March 8th 1980, Roldos announced his intention to call a Plebiscite to break-off the political stalemate. A "Commission of Notables" mediated the situation and dissuaded Roldos from convoking the Plebiscite.

On Sunday May 24th 1981, Jaime Roldos Aguilera, his

wife and several Government members died in a plane accident. This unfortunate event curtailed his government program. Despite the intentions of change proclaimed by Roldos, no progress had been registered in the way of a real transformation of the socio-economic structures.

The conflictive atmosphere during the Roldos-Hurtado government was mainly due to the struggle between Roldos and Bucaram which led to an Executive-Legislative impasse. The CFP-DP alliance, born out of an electoral need, also had ideological, programmatic and personal inconsistencies. This led to a weakness of the government and the consequent strengthening of the traditional forces. At the same time, the government felt the opposition of the workers that saw in the government the instrument to solve its demands and problems and accused it of abandoning its reformist principles.

Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea 1981-1984

Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea, until then Vice-President and a member of the Popular Democratic party, assumed the Presidency after Jaime Roldos' death. Raul Baca Carbo of the Izquierda Democratica and then President of Congress assumed the Vice-Presidency until Congress named a new Vice-President. After a long and heated Congressional session, Leon Roldos Aguilera, brother of the deceased President, was named Vice-President.

Hurtado assumed power confronted with a financial

international crisis that found Ecuador in a difficult situation of international private and public credit compromises, as well as, the premature death of Jaime Roldos within a recently elected democratic regime. On the other hand, Hurtado's party, the Democracia Popular, was relatively small and without strong popular support.

The political opposition was immediately launched. Leon Febres Cordero, member of the Social Christian party, became the spokesman of the rightist forces in Congress. He headed the campaign to ouster two of Hurtado's Cabinet members, Carlos Feraud Blum, Minister of Government, and Eduardo Ortega Gomez, Minister of Natural Resources. The Izquierda Democratica helped this political maneuver by contributing the votes to destitute these Ministers. However, the party was not able to project the opposition image presented by Febres Cordero.

Hurtado's main objective was to maintain the democratic order in the midst of constant attacks. His access to the Presidency through succession and not election was detrimental since he did not have a solid party base or strong popular support. His government lacked the political legitimacy obtained through a direct election. The government had to execute conservative policies and, at the same time, try to preserve the image of a popular and reformist regime. The flexibility shown by the government to establish a dialogue with the organized social groups and give in to their demands constituted a main element in its

global political strategy to contain the conflicts and preserve the democratic system.

In summary, the complex political project of the government, tried by Roldos and executed by Hurtado, was founded in obtaining a delicate equilibrium amongst three social groups: the entrepreneurs or private sector, the workers and the marginal groups. With this scheme, the government was able to maintain the democratic order, despite the crisis and conflicts encountered.

The electoral victory of the CFP-DP alliance revealed that it was not so difficult to achieve power, but the difficulties appeared when the winners were confronted with the governing task.

During 1983, the political campaign for the upcoming 1984 Presidential elections started to be born with alliances and preparations to launch an offensive once the Supreme Electoral Tribunal opened the propaganda period. The themes that became pillars of the campaign were an outgrowth of this period. According to the conservative forces, they had the experience and capacity to handle the crisis in which Ecuador was submerged. According to the Izquierda Democratica, the problem was due to the concentrating accumulation model.

The 1984 Electoral Campaign

The traditional right went divided to the 1978 Presidential elections and their defeat became a lesson for

future political action. Leon Febres Cordero, an industrialist from the city of Guayaquil, was candidatized by the Social Christian party as their presidential option for 1984. He proceeded to conform the National Reconstruction Front, an electoral alliance of several movements and political parties representing center and rightist tendencies. Blasco Penaherrera Padilla, a member of the Liberal party was chosen as Febres Cordero's Vice Presidential candidate. CFP had lost political strength after the death of its two leaders, Jaime Roldos in 1981 and Assaad Bucaram in 1982. The party was not able to form alliances and presented a weak electoral ticket conformed by Angel Duarte and Luis Rosania. The Izquierda Democratica nominated Rodrigo Borja Cevallos. The Frente Radical Alfarista launched the candidacy of Jaime Aspiazu Seminario. The Democracia Popular nominated Julio Cesar Trujillo. The Democratic party nominated Francisco Huerta Montalvo. The leftist parties presented three fronts. Frente Amplio de Izquierda with Rene Maugue. Movimiento Popular Democratico with Jaime Hurtado and the Socialist Front with Manuel Salgado. Nine political parties entered the electoral race.

The reformist parties were atomized. Even though they had no responsibility in the measures taken by Hurtado, the National Reconstruction Front opened a campaign accusing all of them of being responsible for the crisis.

The campaign of the reformist parties was centered around two issues, a critique of the oligarchy and its

representative, Leon Febres Cordero; and, a statement of the distance maintained from Hurtado's government.

The campaign messages of the National Reconstruction Front and the Izquierda Democratica, the strongest electoral forces, were equally abstract. While the first one stated "Yes, it is possible", the Izquierda Democratica stated, "Rodrigo, the people are with you".

On January 29th 1984, the first electoral round took place. The two frontrunners were the Izquierda Democratica that obtained first place with 634,327 votes or 28.73% and the National Reconstruction Front that obtained second place with 600,563 votes or 27.20% of the total valid votes.¹²

The National Congress was conformed by 71 deputies. Izquierda Democratica obtained 24 seats, Social Christian party 9 seats, CFP 7 seats, Conservative party 2 seats, Liberal party 4 seats, Frente Radical Alfarista 6 seats, Partido Democrata 6 seats, Democracia Popular 3 seats, Frente Amplio de Izquierda 2 seats, Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano 3 seats, Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario 1 seat, Movimiento Popular Democratico 3 seats and Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano 1 seat.¹³

The National Reconstruction Front did not accept the results of the first electoral round and advanced the thesis of an electoral fraud. They tried to divert the popular attention from the results to the legitimacy of the election. The Izquierda Democratica attributed the results to an electorate which was voting against the right and for

a center-left tendency.

The political scenario was opened for the second electoral round to take place on May 6th 1984, between both finalists. The National Reconstruction Front was shocked by the electoral results and reoriented its electoral campaign. It placed emphasis on two issues. A better presidential candidate with "experience" in the private sector and "better preparation" in the economic sector that would enable him to get the country out of the crisis. The second issue was the presumed collaboration and identification of the Izquierda Democratica with Hurtado's government. While Leon Febres Cordero was presented as the candidate of the opposition, Rodrigo Borja was supposed to be the "ally of the government". A slogan stating that "no one will resist four more years of the same" was utilized by the National Reconstruction Front against the Izquierda Democratica.

An aggressive and elaborate media campaign took place. A concrete electoral message was promulgated by the National Reconstruction Front: "Bread, Roof and Employment". This took away the ideological sense of the campaign and reached a more heterogeneous populace, not compromised with the right. Febres Cordero displayed a direct contact campaign, especially in the coastal region. This method helped to create an image of a down-to-earth man and not the oligarch that the opposition presented. At the same time, Febres Cordero stated that he was being a subject of government

persecution.

The National Reconstruction Front undertook a campaign based on regionalistic issues. It attacked the Izquierda Democratica stating that it was a party of the sierra region that would not benefit the coastal region. It also accused the Izquierda Democratica of being a marxist and communist party and heavily played on religious issues.

Febres Cordero stressed the fact that the decision for the second electoral round should be based on the candidates' personal style rather than on ideological issues or party orientation. Since he came from a well-to-do position it was also stressed that he would not steal during his government. These concrete themes reached the populace, combined with a frontal attack at Hurtado's government and his presumed collaborators, the Izquierda Democratica.

In sum, Febres Cordero skillfully intensified the personalist and leadership character of his campaign and presented the Izquierda Democratica as an ally of the government. The National Reconstruction Front played its cards in terms of a government-opposition situation. It also attacked the Izquierda Democratica by stating that its leaders were "young and inexperienced theorists".

The Izquierda Democratica did not change substantially its political theme for the second electoral round. It argued that the right, represented by the National Reconstruction Front through its presidential candidate Leon Febres Cordero, was the cause of the present crisis. It

called for a vote of the center-left. However, while the right was firmly united based on the experience from the previous presidential elections, the center-left was unable to join forces.

The Izquierda Democratica assumed that despite all the monies utilized by the right in the campaign, the electorate was voting against that option. They also believed that the political parties had great control over its members. A high political conscience on the part of the voters was implied.

The Izquierda Democratica felt that by winning the first round the second electoral round would bring more voters to their side. They counted on the collaboration of the leftist parties, and their consequent rejection of the rightist option.

The message sent by the center-left to the voters was diffuse. There was a lack of a concrete, clear and precise definition of an ideological and political party line. There was an absence of a consistent political project that would reach the masses. The Izquierda Democratica did not take seriously the possibility of a strengthening of the National Reconstruction Front for the second electoral round. There was also a mistaken belief between real and perceived electorate and tendencies. The Izquierda Democratica tried to reach a more mature political electorate.

On May 6th 1984, Leon Febres Cordero candidate of the

National Reconstruction Front, won the elections with 1,381,709 votes or 51.54%. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, candidate of the Izquierda Democratica, obtained second place with 1,299,089 votes or 48.46% of the total valid votes.¹⁴

The 1984 elections brought the return to power of the traditional parties after several years of being in the background. Basically, there was a mistaken belief on the weakness of the rightist tendency and the strength of the center-left tendency within ecuadorian politics. It was also assumed that after the first electoral round the right did not have more room to grow. However, the right's ability consisted on intensifying the opposition to the government and giving their campaign a populist tone.

On August 10th 1984, Leon Febres Cordero and Blasco Penaherrera were inaugurated as President and Vice-President of Ecuador. This setback experienced by the reformist forces taught them a political lesson. If they are to gain access to power realignments and unification are extremely necessary. The right will use any tactic to defend their interests. It also demonstrated the importance of educating the voters to enable them to understand the issues and programs of the political parties to avoid voting on the basis of personalistic styles. In a political electoral reality as complex as the ecuadorian, a group of variables such as regionalism, religious issues, threat of communism, populist messages, government opposition, candidate's style and an elaborate media campaign have more influence on the

results than a party's ideology or government plans.

The above analysis provides the reader with a brief overview of the ecuadorian political scenario during the 1968-1984 period. This enables us to obtain a better understanding of the political complexity in which a political party, in the case of this research the Izquierda Democratica, has to develop, grow and ultimately obtain access to power.

Notes.

1. For a list of ecuadorian political parties, their abbreviation and corresponding list number, see Table 1
2. Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra was elected President of Ecuador on five occasions: 1934, 1944, 1952, 1960 and 1968.
3. The President and Vice President were elected on separate ballots. This gave way to the possibility of having the President and Vice President representing different political parties as was the case in 1968.
4. Velasco Ibarra won the 1968 Presidential election by 17,651 votes.
5. The "Pacto Mordore" as is known in political circles was an agreement whereby the Liberal party would not attack the government and its policies in exchange for greater share of government posts.
6. See, Gobierno Revolucionario y Nacionalista del Ecuador, "Filosofia y Plan de Accion del Gobierno Nacionalista Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas." March 11, 1972. Quito, Ecuador.
7. El Comercio, January 16, 1978.
8. See Table 4.
9. See Table 3.
10. Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea received 1,025,148 votes or 68.49% out of 1,496,805 total valid votes.
11. See Table 7.
12. See Table 8.
13. See Table 12.
14. See Table 13.

Chapter Three

In this chapter we will study several key aspects of the Izquierda Democratica party, which constitutes the main object of this research. The Izquierda Democratica is a Socialist Democratic party that in spite of its relatively short existence in Ecuador, has gained an important place in the country's political context.

The first section provides a description of the origins and formation of the Izquierda Democratica as a political movement since 1968. It then follows through the years of consolidation, until its recognition as a political party in 1978.¹

The second section studies the development of the party and its influence in ecuadorian political life from 1978 until the 1984 presidential elections. It focuses on the 1978 and 1984 electoral rounds. These two elections are important bastions to determine the growth of the party. The 1978 elections constituted the first time that the Izquierda Democratica intervened in the presidential electoral process. The 1984 elections, presented a strong and organized political party that obtained the first place in the first electoral round only to be defeated by the National Reconstruction Front, a coalition of center-right parties, in the second round by 82,620 votes that represented 3.08% of the total valid votes. These two key electoral processes provide a view of the growth achieved by

the Izquierda Democratica during its existence as a recognized political party.

The third section is an analysis of the organization and structure of the Izquierda Democratica party. It reviews its Statutes that constitute the basis of the party's foundations.

The fourth section studies the philosophy and ideology of the Izquierda Democratica. It takes into consideration its postulates on several issues established in the Principles of the Party. It also analyzes ideas stated by Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, leader of the party, held on several conferences and speeches ranging from Human Rights to Freedom and Democracy.

Izquierda Democratica's Origins 1968-1978

There is a man behind the origins of the Izquierda Democratica in Ecuador whose name is Rodrigo Borja Cevallos. The name Izquierda Democratica appears for the first time in the Ecuadorian political scene in 1964, as a reference in a book published by Borja under the title "Derecho Politico y² Constitucional".

Borja claims that ever since then he had an obsession of creating a political party with that particular ideological orientation. There existed, according to him, a political vacuum in Ecuador where neither the right nor the left offered any viable alternatives. Borja believed that Ecuador needed a new political party to satisfy the

requirements of a huge silent social conglomerate that wanted social change without abandoning the privileges of political freedom. This need could no longer be interpreted by the traditional parties, not even by the Liberal party considered as center-left; but that had become more identified with a rightist tendency.

There is much confusion in Ecuadorian politics as to when the name Izquierda Democratica was used in the political scene for the first time. In 1968, Andres F. Cordova, a liberal was nominated as Presidential candidate supported by a coalition of liberals, independents and socialists. The name under which his candidacy was launched was called "Frente de Izquierda Democratica" or "Democratic Leftist Front".

Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra won the 1968 presidential elections while Dr. Andres F. Cordova came in second place. Nevertheless, the Vicepresidency was won by Dr. Jorge Zavala Baquerizo, a liberal that was running on Cordova's ticket.³ The liberals stated that they had obtained 50% of the political power since their vice-presidential candidate won the elections and, therefore, should be granted greater political power in the new government. A compromise was reached between velasquistas and liberals, known as "El Pacto Mordore". In summary, this agreement entailed that the liberals would be given access to key political posts with the understanding that they would not create opposition to the government.

This pact produced a crisis within the Liberal party, especially amongst the Liberal youths. Rodrigo Borja, who was a member of the Liberal youths, resigned from the party in August of 1968. A public letter was published on August 30th, 1968 in which he suggested that citizens of the center-left should conform the great popular party of the Izquierda Democratica.

In 1969, Rodrigo Borja published a pamphlet entitled "Historia de una Claudicacion". In it he denounced the collaboration of the Liberal party with Velasco Ibarra and insisted on the need to form a great mass political party, to incorporate the leftist and democratic popular forces.⁴

In the beginning of 1970, a group of individuals amongst them former liberals, socialists and independents started to congregate and called their movement "Izquierda Democratica".⁵ In March, this movement decided to take part in the upcoming sectional elections scheduled to take place in the month of June. Since it was a newly found movement, it presented candidates only in the provinces of Pichincha and Azuay.⁶ The Izquierda Democratica was identified with the letter C for electoral purposes. However, at the last minute, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Pichincha changed their identification to the letter D, creating confusion amongst the electorate.

In the midst of the campaign, in a popular assembly on June 4th 1970, in the Plaza de San Francisco, a traditional square in the city of Quito considered to be a political

thermometer depending on the number of people congregated in it, Rodrigo Borja asked all those people supporting the movement to stay together no matter the electoral results in order to form a great mass party known as Izquierda Democratica. According to Borja, this new party would express the desires and aspirations of the manual and intellectual workers of Ecuador.

On June 8th, 1970 the results were made public. In the Province of Pichincha the Mayor's office was won by Arq. Sixto Duran-Ballen of a movement known as Popular Civic Integration with 60,502 votes while Manuel Cordova Galarza of the Izquierda Democratica came in second place with 50,306 votes. The Prefect's office was won by Alvaro Perez of the Izquierda Democratica with 42,673 votes.⁷

In the Province of Azuay, the Mayor's office was won by Dr. Alejandro Serrano Aguilar of the Conservative Party with 16,720 votes while Arq. Teodoro Gonzalez Munoz of the Izquierda Democratica came in second place with 10,774 votes. The Prefect's office was won by Gerardo Martinez Espinosa of the Conservative Party with 19,824 votes while Arturo Cordova Malo of the Izquierda Democratica came in second place with 16,968 votes.⁸

The Izquierda Democratica was able to place two deputies in Congress, representing the Province of Pichincha, Dr. Luis Pallares Z. and Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos.

This electoral exercise constituted a major victory for

a newly found movement since it was able to place several candidates in political offices in its first incursion into national politics. Nevertheless, the loss of the Mayor's office in Quito by one of its leaders, Manuel Cordova Galarza, constituted a major setback to its members. Cordova, as President of Pichincha's Provincial Council, had worked effortlessly for the Province and had high hopes of being elected Mayor.

Following the June elections and after several meetings, around seventeen members of the movement elected Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos as their Provisional Director, to promote the idea of a party called Izquierda Democratica at a national level. Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos was named Sub-Director and Edmundo Vera, Secretary. Other members elected were Alvaro Perez, Camilo Gallegos D., Efren Cocios, Marco Landazuri, Alfredo Buendia, Fidel Jaramillo, Carlos Villamar and Luis Pallares.

On June 22nd of that same year, Velasco Ibarra proclaimed himself dictator and dissolved Congress. He declared a state of siege and prohibited any political activity. It was during this period of repression that the Izquierda Democratica started its fight against the dictatorship and gained visibility and popular support for its independent and critical stance. The leadership of the Izquierda Democratica was constantly being persecuted by the dictatorship. The movement started to slowly build its support by forming block organizations.

The political discussions until then were of a historical nature, a constant fight between conservatives and liberals on clerical and secular stands. The Izquierda Democratica started to bring into the political discussion concrete economic issues such as regional integration, balance of payments problems, inflation, devaluation, etc. This caught the attention of the people, coupled with a constant fight and exposure against the economic wrongdoing amongst the members of Velasco Ibarra's government. This continual attack on the dictatorship enabled the movement to be known and recognized at the national level. According to Borja, the Izquierda Democratica was the first political movement that brought economic and social issues to the political arena. It called for the organization of the popular masses and youth in a modern leftist and democratic party that would fight for the establishment of social justice and economic development.

Velasco Ibarra announced that a Plebiscite would take place to vote on the 1946 Constitution and based on the results a return to a constitutional government. The Izquierda Democratica started a campaign to vote NO in the upcoming Plebiscite as a sign of protest against the government. The immediate popular response was against the government's proposition and the Plebiscite did not take place.

Members of the Izquierda Democratica started to travel to several cities to divulge the ideas and philosophy of

this new movement. The Izquierda Democratica expressed that its interest was not merely of an electoral nature but that it wanted to organize its membership, analyze the country's problems and formulate a program of action to solve these problems. Only when this purpose was achieved would the movement name candidates for presidential elections. Following this objective the Izquierda Democratica organized conferences for its members on key national issues.

For the upcoming 1972 presidential elections the Izquierda Democratica decided to enter the electoral race and started to look for a political alliance. It chose to hold conversations with Assaad Bucaram, leader of the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares party (CFP) and exiled in Panama. CFP was a party whose slogan was "people against oligarchy". However, it was a populist movement with a personalistic leader and not a party with political theses; one with which the Izquierda Democratica could join forces to work on a political project. There were members of the Izquierda Democratica that were opposed to this type of approximation with CFP. According to one of its leaders, the reason for the alliance was not to become stronger with CFP in order to obtain political power, but to put together a program of opposition to the dictatorship. On December 6th 1971, a committee of the Izquierda Democratica conformed by Dr. Luis Pallares Z., Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos and Luis Moreno Cordero flew to Panama to return with the exiled Bucaram.

On January 16th 1972, Izquierda Democratica and CFP broke their agreement stating major differences of opinion. CFP then decided to form an alliance with the Liberal party for the forthcoming presidential elections. Bucaram was nominated as presidential candidate and Luis Hidalgo, a Liberal, as vice presidential candidate. The experience of this first attempt to form a political alliance with another party would become a major factor for the Izquierda Democratica's future independent posture.

The Izquierda Democratica then proposed the formation of a center-left front in which the progressive and popular forces would be included. During the month of February 1972, several political parties started to hold conversations for possible electoral alliances. The Frente Radical Alfarista (FRA) invited the Izquierda Democratica to join forces. However, on February 15th 1972, a military government deposed Velasco Ibarra's dictatorship. General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, Army General Commander, was named President and the commanders of each force became members of the Government Council.

The Izquierda Democratica approved the overthrow of Velasco Ibarra's government. The movement adopted a critical independent position against the military government, it backed certain measures and attacked others. The government plan turned out to be reformist rather than revolutionary, as was initially proclaimed. Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, Sub-Director of the Izquierda Democratica stated

that the government must identify itself ideologically as there were two contradictory currents, one progressive and one conservative.

The Izquierda Democratica preferred to pass from an unconditional dictatorship, as was the case of Velasco Ibarra's government, to a nationalistic one as a transition to proceed towards a new model of development in the country. The movement lowered its confrontation posture because, according to some of its members, the country needed some breathing room. Throughout this period, the Izquierda Democratica prepared its leaders, as well as, proposed charging Velasco Ibarra and former Cabinet members for financial wrongdoing.

On August 6th 1972, the Province of Pichincha's Council and Municipality were reorganized by the military government. Dr. Rodrigo Borja was nominated councilman for Quito by the military government. However, he declined the appointment citing that as Director of the Izquierda Democratica's movement, political independence must be preserved.

The Izquierda Democratica had been accused of collaborating with the dictatorship. What occurred was that when the government called for a change in sectional governments and some of the Izquierda Democratica's members were nominated, the movement thought that young element had to take advantage of this opportunity since no one knew how long the dictatorship would be in power. Furthermore, a law

was passed known as "Mandatory Civil Service Law" by which civilians could not deny their services to the government in lieu of losing their citizenship rights.

On the first anniversary of the military government, the Izquierda Democratica started to openly criticize its policies. It stated that it had been an uncertain and unsteady year and that the Armed Forces should not stay in power for too long and demanded that a concrete style of political action be adopted by the government. The Izquierda Democratica believed that the lengthening of the Armed Forces in power possessed risks such as institutional bureaucratization, loss of prestige, development of a new oligarchy and danger of internal division within the armed forces. According to the Izquierda Democratica, the government had not fulfilled its promises of a radical transformation in a short period of time.

On July 1973, the Izquierda Democratica published a bulletin in which it proposed a program for the return to a constitutional government. During 1974, the Izquierda Democratica expressed its displeasure at the lack of willingness by the government to hand over power to civilian hands. It stated that the government had lingered too long in taking steps to stop inflation. The two most acute problems at the time, according to the Izquierda Democratica, were inflation and demographic explosion. While inflation continued at high levels, according to Rodrigo Borja, it was impossible to obtain social

development. The 1972-1975 period constituted valuable time for the consolidation of the Izquierda Democratica, it was a period of political tranquility for the movement. The Izquierda Democratica decided it was time to fortify its organization at a national level. Rodrigo Borja and some members of the movement started to travel throughout the provinces to convey their message and strengthen its bases.

On August 31st 1975, Army General Raul Gonzales Alvear, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, headed a rebellion against the government of General Rodriguez Lara. On September 1st, after a bloody confrontation that left 17 people dead and 80 wounded the government of General Guillermo Rodriguez was able to control the situation, restore order and remain in power.

Rodrigo Borja stated that Ecuador must rupture its historical cycle of dictatorships, plans of return and constitutional regimes in order to advance to a democratic order. Andres Vallejo, member of the Izquierda Democratica, also expressed the need to establish a democratic government. The Izquierda Democratica stated that the government had failed in initiating the promised revolutionary process.

On January 11th 1976, after the resignation of General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, the Armed Forces Joint Command conformed by Vicealmirant Alfredo Poveda Burbano, General Guillermo Duran Arcentales and Brigadier General Luis Leoro Franco, assumed power under the name of Supreme Government

Council. The new military government stated that power would be handed over to a popularly elected government by December 1977.

On February 1976, the Izquierda Democratica presented a Constitutional plan to the military government. It suggested creating a Commission to write a new Constitution; the establishment of electoral organizations; the elimination of the Constitutional Assembly; and, the return to a popularly elected civilian government. While traditional parties proposed a Constitutional Assembly to vote on the 1945 or 1967 Constitutions and elect a President indirectly, the Izquierda Democratica proposed the elaboration of a new Constitution approved through a popular referendum.

The Supreme Government Council asked for the collaboration of community leaders to conform special commissions to study and write the new political constitution. Dr. Rodrigo Borja excused himself stating that a constitution cannot be subjected to a dictatorship and the Izquierda Democratica did not take part in the Commissions.

The Izquierda Democratica insisted on the consolidation of a civilian-military government to oversee the Referendum process and expressed its opposition to have the military stay in power once the Referendum was over. Once the 1945 Constitution with reforms and the new Constitution were accepted by the military government, the Izquierda

Democrática stated that the new Constitutional project was better and asked its members and sympathizers to vote for it.

The Izquierda Democrática's district leaders met to discuss several issues concerning the upcoming referendum. The Izquierda Democrática nominated Alfredo Pareja Diez-Canseco, Eduardo Durán Díaz and Guillermo Serrano Galarza to opt for a place in the Supreme Tribunal for the Referendum. Responding to a government statement that the Referendum would take longer to be executed due to delays in identity card processing, the Izquierda Democrática stated that the people were losing faith in the government, therefore, power must be handed to a civilian with a progressive outlook to direct the constitutional process.

On December 10th, 11th and 12th 1976, the First National Meeting of Izquierda Democrática leaders took place in Quito. It was during this three-day meeting that the "Project of Declaration of Principles" and the "Project of Party Statutes" were presented. This First Meeting enabled the Izquierda Democrática to fortify its organization and officially structure its Provincial Directories.

The Izquierda Democrática's Declaration of Principles was published on January 1977 and received favorable and positive press coverage. Dr. Rodrigo Borja stated that political parties promoted popular participation and were indispensable democratic elements. Therefore, if the democratic system was to be fortified the political parties

had to be strengthened.

During the Supreme Government Council's stay in power, two members of the Izquierda Democratica, Andres Vallejo and Marco Landazuri were renamed Councilmen. Dr. Rodrigo Borja opposed this collaboration. A meeting took place in which members were asked to cast a vote in favor or against this motion. Dr. Rodrigo Borja stated that if the vote in favor of them staying in public positions won, he would resign as Director of the Izquierda Democratica. The vote in favor won by a margin of 11 to 3. Dr. Rodrigo Borja left the leadership of the movement and Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, who was Sub-Director, was named Director.

On August 27th, the Izquierda Democratica's National Executive Council approved the Party's Statutes that would be presented for approval in the First National Convention to take place in Quito during the month of November. This convention would declare the party officially established, elect national representatives, approve the Declaration of Principles, Government Plan, Statutes of the Party and define its electoral strategy for the forthcoming elections.

The Izquierda Democratica asked its members to attend district meetings to elect delegates to the National Convention.

The First National Convention of the Izquierda Democratica took place in Quito on November 18th, 19th and 20th 1977. Its main theme was "Social Justice with Freedom". The main speakers were Rodrigo Borja, Enrique

Delgado, Xavier Ledesma and Jorge W. Cevallos.

The Convention unanimously elected Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos as their Presidential candidate and Dr. Gonzalo Cordova Galarza as their National Director. It was approved that the Executive Council as well as the National Director would stay in their functions for two years. Five committees were constituted to examine the ideology, statutes, political orientation, party's constitutional declaration and analysis of activities for the past seven years.

The Convention approved the Declaration of Principles, Statutes and Government Program. It also approved to present the necessary documents and affiliation cards to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, for its formal recognition as a political party and assignment of a corresponding number.

On November 28th, the Izquierda Democratica elected its Executive Committee in the Province of Guayas, Xavier Ledesma was named Director and Fernando Larrea, Sub-Director.

On December 22nd, the Izquierda Democratica informed that its National Executive Council approved a financial plan in which all its members would contribute to the political activities of the party. This popular financial contribution would free the Izquierda Democratica from powerful economic groups. It would also provide stronger links between the members and the party as candidates would be elected for their merits and not on the basis of their

economic capacity.

On December 24th, the Izquierda Democratica published a booklet entitled "Declaration of Principles" which was approved in the First National Convention.¹⁰

On May 5th 1978, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal after an examination of the required documentation resolved to recognize the Izquierda Democratica as a political party and inscribe it in the corresponding register assigning it the number 12. The party's official life had begun after its initial years of formation. The Izquierda Democratica was now qualified to enter into national politics.

Izquierda Democratica's Political Life 1978-1984

Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, was officially nominated as the Izquierda Democratica's presidential candidate for the upcoming July 1978 elections. The next and most difficult task was to find a Vice-President for the electoral ticket. There were numerous conversations with Raul Baca Carbo, mayor of the city of Guayaquil and former Provincial Prefect for the Province of Guayas. Just one month before the elections, Baca agreed to accept the Vice-Presidential nomination. This did not leave much time to carry out a thorough electoral campaign. Without major financial resources, the candidates started to request invitations to schools, universities and unions to deliver their political message.

The Izquierda Democratica's main objective was to

strengthen the party at a national level, rather than aspire to win the electoral contest. The results of the July 16th 1978 presidential elections proved that the Izquierda Democratica was gaining strength. The party obtained a fourth place with 165,258 votes, equivalent to 12.01% of the total valid votes.¹¹

The electoral results indicate that in the highland region, considered to be the stronghold of the Izquierda Democratica, it obtained 130,909 votes that represented 16.78% of the total valid votes in this region. In the coastal region it obtained 31,505 votes that represented 5.55% of the total valid votes in this region. In the other two regions that have a lower concentration of population, the Izquierda Democratica obtained 2,695 votes in the amazonic region that represented 9.92% of the total valid votes of the region and in the insular region it obtained 149 votes that represented 13.75% of the total valid votes of the region.¹²

The Izquierda Democratica obtained the highest percentage of its votes in the highland region with 79.21%. The percentage of its votes in the costal region was 19.06%, 1.63% in the amazonic region and .09% in the insular region. Its strength undoubtedly was concentrated in the highlands.¹³

The three provinces with the highest number of voters in this election were Pichincha in the highland region and Guayas and Manabi in the coastal region. They represented

54.25% of the total voters. The Izquierda Democratica obtained first place in Pichincha, fifth place in Guayas and fifth place in Manabi.¹⁴

Overall, taking into consideration that the party had been officially recognized only two months before the elections the general results were quite satisfactory. The other parties that had obtained the first three places, the CFP, the Liberal and the Conservative had had thirty, seventy and one-hundred and fifty years of political life. The Izquierda Democratica had achieved its major goal, to be known as a political party at a national level.

After the first electoral round since no political party had obtained a majority the first two contenders, the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares (CFP) and the Conservative party went into a second electoral round to define who would become the new President and Vice President of Ecuador. The Izquierda Democratica's National Executive Council resolved to support the CFP's formula of Jaime Roldos Aguilera and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea and asked its members and sympathizers to vote for them. This support came along with the understanding that the Izquierda Democratica would not intervene in the new government or imply any political identification with the regime.

The II National Party Convention took place in Guayaquil on January 26th and 27th 1979. It considered some of the important actions to be:

- a) Drive a new affiliation campaign.

- b) Make an effort to extend the party's organization to all areas of the nation, both urban and rural.
- c) Organize special nucleus conformed by professionals, women, students, workers and peasants to strengthen the Party.
- d) Establish an activity calendar so that the party can count with serious and analytical documents related to major national problems and possible solutions.
- e) Determine actions to follow by the Provincial Executive Councils and have them function on a regular basis. The Director would try to contribute as best as he can so that all Provincial Councils have permanent offices.
- f) Establish a membership contribution. The amount of the contribution should not be as important as its regularity.
- g) Establish an internal communications organ. Part of its financing can be accomplished by sales to its members.
- h) Organize courses and seminars in all provinces to prepare leaders and discuss internal aspects of the party.
- i) Provide the party with its own headquarters.
- j) Conduct a study to determine the convenience of organizing a section or corporation parallel to the Izquierda Democratica for the functioning of an indoctrination center that could have a radio station.
- k) Analyze the convenience of whether the Izquierda Democratica should join the Socialist International.

On April 29th 1979, the second presidential electoral round took place. Jaime Roldos Aguilera of CFP and Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea of the Popular Democratic party won the elections and became the new President and Vice President of Ecuador.

The ecuadorian people also casted their vote to elect twelve national representatives and fifty-seven provincial representatives to the Chamber of Representatives or Congress. The Izquierda Democratica was able to place two national representatives and thirteen provincial representatives to the Chamber of Representatives. The Izquierda Democratica became the second electoral force at a national level with fifteen deputies after the CFP that obtained a total of 29 deputies.¹⁵

Several accomplishments had been achieved in this 1978-1979 period. The Izquierda Democratica had managed to create a basic structure at the provincial levels, its legal recognition was obtained, it participated in the Presidential elections obtaining a considerable number of votes for a new party; and, it became the second electoral force after the CFP on the 1979 elections in the Chamber of Representatives.

The III National Party Convention took place in Machala, Province of El Oro, on January 19th and 20th 1980. It considered the following accomplishments.

- a) The Izquierda Democratica has Executive Provincial Councils in the twenty provinces.

- b) There are approximately 70,000 members.
- c) The lack of financial resources has prevented the realization of seminars and conferences relative to national problems and formation of leaders.
- d) The Izquierda Democratica was admitted on October 31st, 1979 to the Socialist International as a member with full rights.
- e) The party supports the thesis of economic integration and backs up the process of planned interdependency of the Andean Group countries.
- f) The party supports the OPEC and its stand to increase the negotiation capacity of the Third World.
- g) The Izquierda Democratica calls for Ecuador's membership in the group of Non-Aligned countries.
- h) The Izquierda Democratica defends the right to the country's 200 miles of territorial waters.
- i) The Izquierda Democratica supports the ecuadorian thesis of rights to the geostationary orbit 37,500 kilometers above its territory; and, condemns the occupation of the orbit by communication satellites of the developed nations.

On August 10th 1980, Raul Baca Carbo, former Vice Presidential candidate for the Izquierda Democratica and member of the Chamber of Representatives was elected its President. This act provided the Izquierda Democratica with the leadership of the Legislative branch.

The IV National Party Convention took place in Ibarra,

Province of Imbabura, on April 1981. It resolved to pass to the opposition of Jaime Roldos' government. The decision came about two months after the government decreed an increase of 200% on the price of gasoline. A few weeks after, Jaime Roldos died in a plane accident. Osvaldo Hurtado, his Vice President and a member of the Democracia Popular party became the new President of Ecuador. The Izquierda Democratica decided to review its position with respect to the new government when there was a search for a Vice President and Raul Baca Carbo, an Izquierda Democratica militant and President of the Chamber of Representatives, had serious options. However, Leon Roldos Aguilera, the former President's brother was elected Vice President.

A "political truce" took place with the new government. On August 10th 1981, Raul Baca Carbo was re-elected President of the National Chamber of Representatives.

The Izquierda Democratica started to oppose the government's actions and voted in Congress for the impeachment of the Minister of Government, Carlos Feraud Blum and the Minister of Natural Resources, Eduardo Ortega Gomez. With these acts the party started a constant critique of the government's policies. The Izquierda Democratica did not want to be seen as a collaborator of the regime but to present an opposition front taking into consideration the forthcoming presidential elections.

The V National Party Convention took place in Portoviejo, Province of Manabi, on February 6th 1982. 281

delegates attended the Convention. Its members expressed the need to unite forces in view of the political weakness of the government in charge. They confirmed the hope of winning the upcoming 1984 presidential elections. Enrique Delgado Copiano was elected President of the Convention. The main object of the Convention was to review the Statutes and Regulations of the Izquierda Democratica party, as well as, prepare its delegates for the upcoming electoral exercise.

The VI National Party Convention took place in Guayaquil on July 14, 1983. Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos was nominated for a second time as the Izquierda Democratica's presidential candidate for the 1984 national elections.

The first stage of this pre-electoral period was full of conversations and meetings. There was a hope that the left would present only one candidate to oppose the candidate of the rightist forces, Leon Febres Cordero. However, this option did not materialize. The Izquierda Democratica's National Executive Council decided around mid-August, to establish an electoral agreement with the Pueblo, Cambio y Democracia party. Dr. Aquiles Rigail, a member of this party and who had served as Minister of Work under Jaime Roldos' government, was nominated as the vice presidential candidate.

The following months of 1983, constituted an active period of electoral campaign. During this stage, the candidate of the right, Leon Febres Cordero did not want to

accept invitations to a television debate. He stated that as he was certain he would obtain first place it was not proper to consider him as just one more candidate and that his debate should be with the people.

On January 29th 1984, the ecuadorian people casted their vote to elect President and Vice President of the country. To the surprise of the electorate, Izquierda Democratica obtained the first place with 634,327 votes representing 28.73% of the total valid votes.¹⁶ This implied that since it did not achieve a majority plus one votes, the Izquierda Democratica had to enter into a second electoral round. The other contender that would enter was the National Reconstruction Front, an electoral alliance of several center-right parties and movements.

An analysis of the electoral results indicates that the Izquierda Democratica obtained 394,366 votes in the highland region, representing 34.17% of the regional vote. It obtained 218,676 votes in the coastal region or 21.91% of the regional vote. In the amazon region it obtained 20,353 votes or 38.30% of the regional vote and in the insular region it obtained 932 votes or 42.48% of the regional vote.¹⁷

Once again, the Izquierda Democratica obtained the highest percentage of its votes in the highland region with 62.17%. It obtained 34.47% in the coastal region, 3.21% in the amazon region and .15% in the insular region.¹⁸

The three most important electoral provinces Pichincha

in the highland region and Manabi and Guayas in the coastal region casted 55.45% of the total national vote. The Izquierda Democratica obtained first place in Pichincha,¹⁹ first place in Manabi and third place in Guayas.

The Izquierda Democratica was able to place 3 national and 21 provincial deputies to the National Legislature, It was followed by a distant Social Christian Party with 9 deputies. The Izquierda Democratica had become the first electoral force at a national level placing the highest number of representatives in Congress.²⁰

The second electoral round between the Izquierda Democratica and the National Reconstruction Front was scheduled for May 6th 1984. During the months of February, March and April both groups tried to capture the people's vote. It was a heated and agressive political period.

On May 6th 1984, to the dismay of the Izquierda Democratica, Leon Febres Cordero and Blasco Penaherrera of the National Reconstruction Front won the elections with 1,381,709 votes or 51.54% against 1,299,089 votes or 48.46%²¹ of the Izquierda Democratica a difference of 82,620 votes.

An analysis of the electoral results establishes the following. The Izquierda Democratica obtained 48.46% of the total national vote. In the highland region it obtained 750,569 votes representing 56.09% of the regional vote. It obtained 503,596 votes in the coastal region or 39.59% of the regional vote. In the amazon region it obtained 43,786 votes or 64.04% of the regional vote and in the insular

region it obtained 1,138 votes or 53.33% of the regional
²²
 vote.

The Izquierda Democratica obtained the highest percentage of its votes in the highland region with 57.78%. It obtained 38.77% in the coastal region, 3.37% in the
²³
 amazon region and .09% in the insular region.

The three most important electoral provinces, Pichincha in the highland region and Manabi and Guayas in the coastal region casted 1,647,905 votes representing 55.59% of the total national vote. The Izquierda Democratica obtained first place in Pichincha and second place in Manabi and
²⁴
 Guayas.

On August 10th 1984, Leon Febres Cordero and Blasco Penaherrera of the National Reconstruction Front took office as President and Vice President of Ecuador. The Izquierda Democratica had once again lost the possibility of capturing the Executive power.

Organization and Structure

The purpose of this section is to analyze the organization and structure of the Izquierda Democratica party. Ever since its origins as a movement in 1968, one of the principal objectives of its founders has been to create a party with a solid and permanent organizational structure in order to strengthen it and transform it into the best organized political party in Ecuador.

The following description aids in understanding the way

in which the Statutes and Regulations of the party conceive the organizational structure.

Organs of Party Structure

According to the nature and function that they serve within the organic life of the party, four different types of organisms are established: Decision, Execution, Advisory and Control.
25

A. Decision Organs

The first and highest level organ is the Decision organ and is conformed as follows:

I. The National Convention. The National Convention meets ordinarily once every year and on other occasions, considered to be extraordinary, whenever it is convoked by the National Executive Council. It constitutes the party's highest authority and has unlimited attributes to reform the Statutes, the Declaration of Principles, determine its political line and solve all matters pertaining to the interests of the Nation and the party. It is conformed by the National Executive Director, members of the National Executive Council and the Provincial Delegates.

II. The Executive Councils: National, Provincial, Cantonal and Parrochial.

II.1 The National Executive Council. Is the party's highest permanent direction organ. It meets ordinarily every fifteen days and extraordinarily as many times as necessary, by convokation of the National Executive Director. It is

integrated by the National Executive Director, that presides it and by a delegate or a vocal of each one of the provinces, all of them elected by the National Convention, every two years. It totals twenty-one members. Each principal has a substitute.

II.2 The Provincial Executive Council. Has jurisdiction in the corresponding province. It is a collective corps that has a Director and ten principal members, all of them elected by universal and democratic vote by the party members affiliated in that province.

II.3 The Cantonal Executive Council. Has jurisdiction at the cantonal level. It is conformed by a Director and six principals. It functions in all the cantons, except in the provincial capital.

II.4 The Parrochial Executive Council. Is a reproduction of the same organism, described at a Cantonal level, with the same number of members, elected by democratic and direct vote by the party members. The Parrochial Executive Council can be of an urban or rural nature.

II.5 Base Cells. Is the most important party organization. It is a popular action base organism found in city neighborhoods, precincts and rural settlements. Cells can be established in workshops, factories, study centers, etc.

II.6 Nucleus. The party has determined the need to establish other organisms, known as nucleus, to aid in the

attainment of its goals. In the first chapter of the Statutes it is established that, without prejudice to the existence of the base, intermediate or superior organisms, specific nucleus can be formed based on the activities of its members in the productive apparatus. Therefore, the following nucleus have been formed: Professional, Sindical, Craftmanship, Peasant, Youth, Women, Cultural, Sports, Cooperative, and Educators.

B. Execution Organs

The task of administering the party and putting into effect the decisions of the Convention, application of a political line and concrete tasks that have been resolved by the highest party organism and the National Executive Council, correspond to the following:

I. The National Executive Director. Is elected by the party's National Convention for a two year period. Through the National Executive Director, the National Executive Council sends to the lower execution organs, the instructions to apply the party's political line and the permanent organizational tasks. It is his responsibility to make sure that the lower execution organs comply with the regulations, political line and tasks resolved by the decision organs.

II. The Provincial, Cantonal and Parrochial Executive Directors. Are exercised unipersonally and respectively by those persons who have been elected by direct and secret vote for those functions.

III. Executive Secretariats. The National and Provincial Executive Councils will have Executive Secretariats, in charge of executing specific activities, such as: Administration, Organization, Press, Propaganda, Technical Matters, etc.

Functions:

Administrative.- In charge of maintaining the internal activities of the party. It is the first auxiliary executor of the political line determined by the respective Executive Council.

Organization.- Has under its responsibility the promotion and improvement of the political structure of the party. It must keep the register and control of the organizations established in the Statutes and Regulations.

Press.- Has under its responsibility the publication of press bulletins, organization of a press department, with the aid of journalists, journalism students and press photographers.

Propaganda.- Its functions correspond to the effective use of political propaganda media through radio, press, television, posters, road advertisements, etc.

Electoral.- Has under its responsibility the diffusion of the electoral Laws and Regulations, inscription of candidates, preparation of delegates for the electoral tables, information to the Directors and installation of a computer center during election days.

Sectional Matters.- Its function correspond to the

maintenance of a coordinating action between the Provincial Executive Council and Sectional Authorities.

Technical Matters.- Its function is to provide specialized information about technical and scientific matters to the Executive Provincial Council and to the candidates during the electoral campaigns.

IV. Presidents of Cells and Nucleus. Are elected according to the corresponding regulations and must exercise their duties in the cells and nucleus.

V. Institute of Political Training "Manuel Cordova". Is a special organism dedicated to the formation of party cadres that has been established to achieve the improvement of leaders and to divulge the ideology and principles of the Izquierda Democratica.

C. Advisory Organs

The National, Provincial or Cantonal Executive Organs can integrate Advisory Commissions to cooperate with the development of specific activities. This commissions will be conformed by the number of persons deemed necessary. It is understood that each executive organ must structure commissions to have the necessary advice in the following activities: Ideology, Politics, Government Plan, Organization, Press, Propaganda, Communications, Sectional Matters, International Matters and all other areas that each Executive Council deems necessary.

D. Control Organs.

In order to supervise the different levels of

execution, the party counts with two organisms elected by the National Convention and one by the National Executive Council. They have specific tasks related to the organic structure, application of the political line established by the party and the investment of its goods and resources.

I. Electoral Tribunals. There is one National Electoral Tribunal, twenty Provincial Electoral Tribunals, and as many Cantonal Electoral Tribunals as where there exists party membership. Their tasks are:

a) Organize and supervise the elections of the Provincial, Cantonal and Parrochial Executive Councils, by universal, direct and secret vote, in which all party members of that particular jurisdiction have a vote.

b) The integration and functioning of the provincial electoral bodies that have the faculty to: Designate the candidates for popular election (Deputies, Mayors, Prefects, Councilman, Counselors). Designate the Provincial Discipline Tribunals. Designate the Provincial Delegates to the National Convention.

c) Direction of the National and Provincial Electoral Matters that comprise: Inscription of lists. Preparation of delegates to be present at electoral tables. Juridical defense of results and preparation of party members for the electoral days.

II. Discipline Tribunal. Exists at the National and Provincial level only. Is the organism in charge of supervising under its jurisdiction that the Statutes and

party's political line are followed by its members. Its members are elected by the Convention.

III. Fiscalization Tribunal. Is the organism in charge of controlling the party's goods and resources that are administered by the execution organs. It only exists at a national scale and its members are nominated by the National Executive Council.

Organizational Instructions

Besides the partisan work that each Organism provides to enrich the party tasks, the following must be accomplished:

1. Identification of the place where the organism will have its residence.

2. The local must display, the party color, orange. The party identification, ID. The Party number, 12 and a raised left fist.

3. It is indispensable that the administrative structure is perfectly defined through the directives, elected according to what is established in the Statutes and regulations. Each organism or nucleus must have persons responsible for programming a work plan, collecting funds, delivering propaganda, providing information, strengthening the organization and carrying out proselitist activities.

Members Identification

The Izquierda Democratica party provides its affiliates

with an identification card that has the name of the person, his ecuadorian identity number, the date of affiliation and the membership number assigned by the party.

Every affiliate is also required to contribute to the party's funds by voluntarily giving a monthly sum ranging from S/. 10 to S/. 1.000, according to the member's financial possibilities.

The party has computerized records of all its affiliates with the following information: name, cell location, identity number, sex, place of birth, date of birth, status, workplace, address, telephone, date of affiliation and amount of monthly contribution.

The development and success of the Izquierda Democratica party rests on a large scale on the organizational level that it can achieve with its members. It is considered of utmost importance that the members undertake a permanent work action in favor of the party.

Philosophy and Ideology

The purpose of this section is to study the philosophy and ideology of the Izquierda Democratica party. In other words, what is contained in its principles and what is understood by democratic socialism within the Ecuadorian political context.

"The Izquierda Democratica Party is a democratic revolutionary party that expresses and promotes the desires, ideas and aspirations of the intellectual and manual workers

of Ecuador. Within the ideological framework of Democratic Socialism it promotes the creation of a new State, based on free popular decisions, that can become an agent of economic and social development of the Ecuadorian people, of the redistribution of income, of the full and rational use of its natural resources and the rupture of external dependence." ²⁶

In summary, the following are the main points addressed in the Izquierda Democratica's principles.

Freedom.	One is not free if one does not have the economic means to become such.
Social Justice.	Is a profound transformation of the structure of society.
Democracy.	Is a system of social organization offering just participation in the political decision making within the state.
Biological Development.	It fights against biological underdevelopment.
Cultural Development.	Independent development of our national culture must be promoted.
Education.	Elaborate a plan for the education of the masses, to eliminate illiteracy.
Scientific, Technological Development.	Rupture of the scientific and technological dependence.
Property Relations.	A social conditioning must be imposed to property and it should be limited by a common utility cause.
Separation of Church and State.	It proclaims the separation of Church and State.
Agrarian Reform.	The agrarian reform must constitute a major part of the global project for the economic reordering of the State.

Social Security.	It promotes social security as a system of integral protection of health, capacity and well being of the worker and his family.
Administrative Reform.	Global reform of the political-administrative structure of the State.
New Division of Powers.	Distribution of public authority within four government branches: legislative, administrative, political control and judiciary.
Petroleum and Energy.	The domain of the State over hydrocarbons including exploration, exploitation, transportation, storing, refining, industrialization and commercialization.
Balanced Development.	It fights against the country's unequal development characterized by economically advanced centers and a backward periphery.
Industrial Development, Employment Policy.	It promotes the country's industrial development, particularly the small industry, the agroindustry and arts and crafts.
Economic Integration.	It proclaims the convenience of regional and subregional economic integration.
Multinational Corporations.	It demands strict control measures for multinational corporations in Ecuador.
Consumer Protection.	It fights for the suppression of monopolist and oligarchical practices in the goods and services market that seriously affect the interests of the consumer.
Foreign Investment.	It defends the need to control foreign investment.
Foreign Relations.	It proposes that Ecuador must maintain friendly relations with all countries.
New International Economic	It promotes the creation of a new international economic order, that will do justice to Third World

Order. countries.

What type of ideology does the Izquierda Democratica have? "Our ideology is democratic socialism, national, libertarian, popular, pluralist, policlasist, antidogmatic, inserted within the scientific and technological modern phenomena."²⁷ Why does the party call itself Izquierda Democratica? "Our party is named izquierda by the vocation to social change, compromise with the humble and the wish to modify the organizational bases of an unjust society. And we are democratic because we want this change without sacrificing human rights, without taking away from the people their right to freely elect their leaders."²⁸

The following are some of the thoughts of the Izquierda Democratica on important issues:

Social Justice with Freedom.- The party is not interested in establishing an authoritarian regime, that excludes opposition and discrepancy. We believe in the power of freedom. We want social change plus freedom and not social change instead of freedom. We look for social justice with freedom and not social justice instead of freedom or freedom without social justice.

Freedom and Pluralism.- Freedom is one of the great conquests of history. As a projection of that freedom we reject the one-party system and we defend ideological pluralism and pluri-partidism. Let there be as many parties as there are streams of thought in society and that the party that seduces the soul of the people triumphs. It is

inadmissible the existence of one party.

National Left.- We are a national and popular left. This takes us to fight against foreign dependency, against imperialism and against internal cultural desintegration. This does not oppose, the formation of blocks of States that share common interests to obtain negotiating power vis-a-vis the rich countries. It does not oppose as well to the solidarity that we owe to those countries that fight for their independence, recovery of democracy, enforcement of human rights and defense of natural resources.

Technological Gap.- The seed of dependency is the technological abyss that separates us from the industrial powers. Modern socialism must be a socialism of the 20th Century. Political ideologies must be actualized, they cannot stay behind.

The technological gap is the source of all dependencies. The external dependency to which the poor countries are subjected is global. There is dependency in political ideologies, economic theories, cultural values and consumer models. This has led to the development of a dualist society, with a developed economic center, formed by modern and internationalized productive activities and a huge backward periphery of primitive productive systems desintegrated from the central production system.

Social Layers.- In Ecuador, as in any immature and desintegrated society, there are no social classes but social layers. The industrial proletariat is incipient and

a party that wants to be its political expression will not be enough to be a mass party. In Ecuador, there is a tendency towards the fractioning of social strata in numerous segments and overimposed layers, each one with its own and distinct interests. The ecuadorian proletariat has not reached the structure of a true class. The proletariat is not a social class but a multiplicity of heterogenous layers, fractioned and incoherent. In the middle classes it is even worse. No homogeneity exists in them. Our societies have not been able to consolidate true social classes, with autonomy of interests and consciousness.

Overimposed Stages.- According to Marx, there are five stages of social development that should have taken place in relation to the different modes of production of the society: primitive collectivism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and ultimately socialism. In Ecuador, one can find modes of production from primitive collectivism to capitalism.

Democracy: An Ideological Category.- To democratize a society implies subordinating the totality of the social trama to specific democratic juridical norms, that is to say, to norms that promote the real participation of the social conglomerate in the public tasks of the State and the enjoyment of the socio-economic goods and services.

Tridimensional Democracy.- We state that democracy is an organizational form of society. That is to say more than a form of government, more than the ordering of public

magistratures--within which there are efficient, positive and concrete methods of popular participation not only in the taking of political decisions within the State but in something more important: in the enjoyment of goods and services generated by the collective work.

What defines and distinguishes democracy is popular participation. If there is no participation, there is no democracy. For us, democracy is a system integrated by economic, social and political elements. Democracy is more than a form of government: it is a form of organizing society in its entirety.

The political aspect of democracy entails: popular participation in the political activity of the State, through freedom of thought, suffrage, militancy in political parties and other means of expressing popular will. The economic and social aspect of democracy entail: equitable distribution of the national rent and popular access to social goods and services, such as welfare, work, social security, medicine, recreation and others. We are taking about a tridimensional democracy that has a political, social and economic aspect.

Democracy and Populism.- Our democratic project has to confront two new and additional threats: the demographic aspect and the development of mass communications media. The demographic explosion of the poor countries places difficulties to the democratic system. Demographic rates superior to 3% annually against growth indices of 2% produce

a dangerous disequilibrium between the explosive increase of social needs and the limited capacity of democracy in order to satisfy them.

In a state of affairs in which the democratic order is not sufficiently effective to solve the increasing popular demands there is social discontent. The masses, under these circumstances, are very sensitive to rhetoric speeches, they follow demagogic baits and populism emerges, a phenomenon with economic roots and political effects.

The other aspect, is the development and formidable extension that the mass media, especially television, has reached in the last decade. The Latinamerican watches other ways of life, makes comparisons and considers that poverty is not inevitable. This starts the mental process of a judgement value about poverty which can end in the defiance of the masses, challenging the system.

Political parties and democracy.- In the fight for democracy in Latin America--for the political, social and economic democracy--the political parties play a predominant role. The political parties are indispensable in the democratic system, to the point that there is no democracy without parties nor parties without democracy.

Even though, parties are formed to conquer power, not because they do not obtain that power they have less important tasks to perform within the democratic State. Parties are also instruments of fiscalization and control of the government function, called to maintain a permanent

critical attitude towards government acts. To them is entrusted one of the most important responsibilities within the democratic State which is to exert opposition. Political parties should be the teachers of democracy.

The moment that we saturate society with democratic habits, the moment that we promote democracy to all the pores of the social body, we will come closer to libertarian socialism, because libertarian socialism is only the extension of democracy in all orders of social life.

Human Rights.- Respect of human rights is not only the absence of political repression: the respect of human rights is also a dynamic action of services in the economic and social aspects in favor of the less privileged sectors. We propose the alternative of democratic socialism, that harmonizes social justice with freedom. Any other solution is incomplete, the freedom of dying of hunger or the economic equality with chains.

It is necessary to democratize continuously and progressively the political, economic and social life of the community. Democracy, to its ultimate consequences is libertarian socialism.

Democratic Socialism and Social Democracy.- Social Democracy is a socialist version of highly developed countries. On the other hand, we look for a fundamental change to create the social and economic infrastructure of democracy. Little is what we have to defend and a lot what we have to conquer.

Democratic Socialism and Marxism.- Ideology is not an immutable dogma for us, we do not accept an ideological universal model. We think that without freedom there is no socialism, we maintain partisan pluralism instead of an only party, we reject the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are not aligned in the cold war. We consider that estatification does not imply socialism, that the estatification of the modes of production degenerates in a deficient economic system. That government control of the instruments of production transforms into a "class interest" of the bureaucracy that becomes a new dominant class. That State capitalism retains many defects of private capitalism, that society can be democratized through the income produced by the means of production in private hands.

There is no socialism without freedom or freedom without democracy or democracy without socialism. Socialism is the extension of democracy to all facets of social life.

Reformism and Revolution.- The left can be revolutionary or reformist, according to the methods employed to achieve the social transformation. The end is the same, structural transformation, but the means are different.

The reformist left prefers pacific means, it looks for power based on a multitudinary action and it proposes to instrument the transformation with the mechanisms of political power. The reformist left is the only possible in the ecuadorian case.

There exists the reformist alternative. To obtain access to power, not through violent means, but by the votes of the masses and from there with the elements of political power, produce substantial changes needed by society.

Reformism means profound social change, accelerated and irreversible. It is the revolution minus the violence. Reformism can obtain the same goals of social transformation than the revolution but through different paths. Reformism, then, can go as far as revolutionarism, but through a pacifist path. It is the substantial change obtained from power, using the same mechanism of public authority. Reformism is the profound change of society to enable economic and social development.

Notes.

1. Material for this period is based primarily on newspapers and personal interviews. See Appendix for Calendar of Events.
2. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, Derecho Politico y Constitucional, volume 2, second edition, 1971. p.29
3. The president and vice-president belonged to two different parties. There was one ballot to elect president and another to elect vice-president.
4. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, "Historia de una Claudicacion", October 1969, 32pp.
5. The initial members of the Izquierda Democratica were:

Manuel Cordova	- Liberal
Rodrigo Borja	- Liberal
Rene Astudillo	- Independent
Alvaro Bermeo	- Independent
Efren Cocios	- Liberal
Hugo Garcia Espinosa	- Socialist
Andres Vallejo	- Independent
Octavio Mancheno	- Liberal
Lucho Jarrin	- Liberal
Marco Landazuri	- Liberal
Juan Neira	- Independent
Cira Carlota de Vera	- Liberal
Hugo Caicedo	- Independent
Miguel Espinosa	- Liberal
Eduardo Garcia	- Liberal
Gustavo Espinosa	- Liberal
Homero Espinosa	- Liberal
Freddy Espinosa	- Liberal
Alfredo Buendia	- Socialist
Arturo Jijon	- Liberal
Gustavo Chavez	- Independent
Edmundo Rosero	- Independent
Gonzalo Arauz	- Liberal
Carlos Villamarin	- Independent
Guillermo Ortega	- Independent
Marco Ordonez	- Independent
Julio Cesar Mora	- Socialist
Sergio Sevilla	- Liberal
Daniel Montoya	- Independent
Amable Sevilla	- Independent
Alejandro Flores	- Independent
Fidel Jaramillo	- Socialist
Edmundo Sandoval	- Independent
Juan Sandoval	- Independent
Plutarco Cedeno	- Liberal
Julio Aulestia	- Liberal

William Jaramillo	- Independent
Fernando Calderon	- Independent
Jaime Mera	- Independent
Gustavo Vallejo	- Independent
Jorge Arevalo	- Independent
Magdalena Suarez	- Independent
Carlos Rivadeneira	- Independent
Alvaro Perez	- Independent
Efrain Baus	- Liberal
Jorge W. Cevallos	- Socialist
Camilo Gallegos D.	- Liberal

6. In the Province of Pichincha Dr. Manuel Cordova Galarza, who had also left the Liberal party and was President of Pichincha's Provincial Council, was nominated as candidate for Mayor of Quito and Alvaro Perez, as candidate for Prefect of Pichincha.

The candidates nominated in the Province of Pichincha for deputies were: Dr. Luis Pallares Z., Dr. Rodrigo Borja C., Prof. Ricardo Sarzoza, Lcdo. Efrain Baus, Dr. Jose Perez, Samuel Guzman, Carlos Villamaria, Lcdo. Efrén Cocios, Crnel. Sergio Giron and Lcdo. Gilberto Campana. In the same province, the candidates for councilmen were: Miguel Espinosa, Dr. Alfredo Buendia, Joel Muela, Lcdo. Alejandro Moreano, Jose Pantoja, and Jorge Hernandez. For counselors: Dr. Camilo Gallegos D., Ing. Joaquin Larco, Jose Jervis, Augusto Navas and Rafael Zambrano.

In the Province of Azuay, the Izquierda Democratica presented the following candidates. For Mayor, Arq. Teodoro Gonzalez Munoz and for Prefect, Ing. Arturo Cordova Malo.

7. El Comercio, June 8, 1970.
8. El Comercio, June 8, 1970.
9. This constituted the first incursion of the movement into the presidential race. It was a courageous action to launch a presidential candidate a few months before the elections. The movement did not have major financial resources for the campaign and there were a number of Provinces where there was no party structure.
10. See, "Declaration of Principles" in Appendix.
11. See Tables 3 and 4. Graph 1
12. See Tables 3 and 4. Graph 2
13. See Table 5. Graph 3

14. See Table 6. Graph 4
15. See Table 7.
16. See Tables 8 and 9. Graph 5
17. See Tables 8 and 9. Graph 6
18. See Table 10. Graph 7
19. See Table 11. Graph 8
20. See Table 12.
21. See Table 13.
22. See Table 13. Graph 9
23. See Table 14. Graph 10
24. See Table 15. Graph 11
25. See Table 16.
26. Izquierda Democratica, "Declaration of Principles", Quito, p. 4.
27. Rodrigo Borja, Socialismo Democratico, Otavalo:Ecuador, Gallo Capitan ed., n.d. p. 14.
28. Ibid,, p. 18.

Chapter Four

In this chapter we will focus on what is understood to be socialism and democracy and its practical applications. There are different interpretations and some confusion as to the meaning of socialism and democracy in our time. While some socialist parties have opted to follow a social democratic line others have endeavored to follow a democratic socialist tendency. The first section will cover the origins of the Socialist International, which took place in Europe in the 1800's. This organization is considered the root of all modern socialist parties. We will trace the historical development of the Socialist International and its influence on world socialism.

The second section will deal specifically with the influence of the Socialist International in Latin America. It will also follow the historical development of this organization and its effect on the socialist parties of the region.

The third section will study the concept of democratic socialism. The main emphasis will be to establish the meaning of socialism and democracy and; at the same time, the possibility that these two concepts can be applied on a practical level to achieve a transformation of Latin American societies through democratic socialism and, in particular, the ecuadorian case.

The Socialist International

The First Socialist International meeting took place in London on September 29, 1864. Karl Marx was the inspirator and intellectual leader of the International. He wrote the Statues and Manifesto. When it seemed that Marx's orientation was about to win and that the International saw rapid progress, a factor that in the long-run would conduct to a split appeared, the presence of Mijail Bakunin, the russian revolutionary anarchist.

In the midst of this situation, the worker's insurrection took place in Paris and the Paris Commune was proclaimed on March 18, 1871. The Commune was defeated by troops loyal to the Versailles government. The repression that followed was directed towards the groups that conformed the International.

From 1871 onwards, the internal contradictions of the International became marked between those followers of Marx and those of Bakunin. On September 1872 in The Hague, Holland, the last Congress of the First International took place.

The 80's became the decade of the creation of working class political parties in several european countries. The first significant step in this direction was given by the german working class with the foundation of the Social Democratic party in 1875. From then on the german social democracy would be at the forefront of the international socialist movement as the strongest and best organized party

and with the greatest experience and widest theoretical knowledge.

The Second International was founded in a Congress celebrated in Paris on July 14, 1889. The years 1889-1896 mark a division between socialist and anarchists within the socialist movement. The years 1896-1904 mark the ascent of revisionist and reformist tendencies. The years 1904-1914 find the organization in bankruptcy.

During 1914 to 1918, which coincided with World War I, the socialist movement started to show its division in three tendencies. The right with Bernstein, the left with Rosa Luxembourg, Mehring, Liebknecht and Lenin. The center with Bebel and Kautsky. World War I did away with the Second Socialist International as each country adopted social patriotic postures.

During the 1930's and due to the world economic crisis, a major shift took place within the socialist movement. Achievement of full employment became the issue of the day, as well as, a commitment to economic growth.

A meeting was held in Paris in 1949 with the purpose of creating a new Socialist International which had been dormant during World War II. The main resolution approved in this meeting was to reinforce the international action of democratic socialism.

On June 30, 1951 in a Congress held in Frankfurt, Germany, a new Socialist International was founded. It was established that the new International would not impose

political lines to the affiliated parties.

This Congress approved the fundamental principles of the social democratic movement. A summary of the economic, political, social and ideological propositions follows.

In the economic aspect the Declaration stated that the immediate economic objectives of the socialist politics are: full employment, increase in production, improvement of the level of life, social security and a just distribution of income and goods.

In the political aspect it emphasized the defense of bourgeois democracy and considered that without freedom there cannot be socialism. Democracy is understood to be the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

In the social area, the Declaration stated that socialism is the satisfaction of human needs.

In the ideological field, the Declaration emphasized a strong anticommunist tone. It stated that socialism is an international movement that does not require a rigid uniformity in its conceptions. Everyone fights for the same end, a system of social justice, a better life, freedom and world peace.

According to Harrington, during the 1950's there was a wave of socialist revisionism when the political parties sympathizing with socialism rewrote their programs in response to the new situation of relative prosperity and Cold War. In other words, there was a tendency to move

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towards the right.

The XIII Congress of the Socialist International celebrated in Geneva, Switzerland in 1976, constituted the beginning of a new stage in the life of the organization. This Congress proclaimed to do away with the eurocentrism that had prevailed since its conception and place emphasis on an effective opening towards the Third World countries. Social democracy was seen as an alternative against the rapid growth of revolutionary forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In general, this Congress stressed the role of democratic socialism against capitalism and communism.

Willy Brandt was elected president of the Socialist International. "Brandt accepted the office on two conditions: that the major leaders of Eurosocialist parties would personally and actively participate in the International's work; and that there would be a concerted attempt to reach out to the Third World, to free democratic socialism from its European ghetto."²

The Socialist International in Latin America

In 1955, a Secretariat of the Socialist International for Latin America was established in Montevideo, Uruguay. Its biggest accomplishment was the editing of a bulletin which served as a connection among the socialist parties and movements of the region. Nevertheless, the fifties were characterized in Latin America by authoritarian regimes of a civilian and military nature. The Secretariat lasted until

1961.

Since the 1951 Congress in Frankfurt and the weak relationship established through the Secretariat for Latin America, the ties of the European socialist movements with their counterparties in Latin America were sporadic and inorganic. For the first time, and as a result of the IV Congress of the Socialist International that took place in London on July 1956, a message was sent to the Latin American workers. The Congress expressed its solidarity in their fight for economic equality, social democracy and human freedom in the region.

During the sixties, the Latin American countries continued to experience authoritarian types of governments. The Socialist International established a Permanent Committee for the Developing Areas in order to coordinate the policies of the Socialist International in the Third World countries. However, until the seventies, the Socialist International had centered all its efforts in Europe.

The impact of president Salvador Allende's assassination in Chile and the consequent repressive military regime that followed, as well as, the military regimes that took over in Argentina and Brasil drew attention to the critical political situation in Latin America. The European socialists started to consider the need to turn their attention to this region.

On May 1976, a conference for political leaders of

Europe and America to foster international democratic solidarity took place in Caracas, Venezuela. Among those political leaders present from Europe were Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, Olaf Palme, Mario Soares and Felipe Gonzales. Latin America was represented by Romulo Betancourt, Carlos Andres Perez, Jose Figueres, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, and Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, leader of the Izquierda Democratica movement in Ecuador.

This first meeting of Latin American leaders was the beginning of a political encounter that from then on would be present among those politicians that sympathized with the ideological pronouncements of the Socialist International. It marked the presence of socialism and democracy in the region.

The main points contained in the Declaration of Caracas were: condemnation of all types of dictatorships, emphasis on local social democracy, social democracy in international politics, regional integration, aid to those persecuted and a global concerted action for political and ideological exchange.

During 1977 the Socialist International presence in Latin America was fortified through regular visits of political missions to the region on a continuous basis. In the meeting that the bureau of the Socialist International held in Madrid in 1977, a motion was approved to establish a Latin American Committee of the Socialist International. Its mission was to prepare proposals to be considered by the

bureau.

On November 1978, the XIV Congress of the Socialist International took place in Vancouver, Canada. It was the first Congress of the International to take place in America since its foundation. The Congress resolved the creation of a Committee of the International Socialist for Latin America and the Caribbean. This resolution was ratified by the Socialist International bureau on its meeting in Lisbon, Portugal in 1979. Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, leader of the dominican PRD party, was elected as president.

The Committee of the Socialist International for Latin America and the Caribbean held its first meeting in the Dominican Republic on March 1980. The meeting counted with the presence of Willy Brandt, Francois Mitterrand and Mario Soares, as well as, the majority of Latin American parties that in one way or another were related to the Socialist International.

The Declaration of Santo Domingo established the importance of this meeting that brought together the leaders of the socialist and democratic parties and movements of the region. It called for the unity of the socialist and antimperialist forces of the area and for a concerted effort to work together for the achievement of the Socialist International principles.

Socialism and Democracy

A democratic socialist party bases its foundations on

two main concepts, socialism and democracy. Throughout modern history many thinkers have tried to come to grips with the meaning of these two concepts. We will proceed to examine several definitions of these concepts and their historical applicability.

According to Schumpeter, "a socialist society is an institutional pattern in which the control over means of production and over production itself is vested with a central authority--or, as we may say, in which, as a matter of principle, the economic affairs of society belong to the public and not to the private sphere."³ This definition implies that socialism will come about through a change in economic institutions. It assumes that all other changes are based on the economic structure of the society in question.

Robert Michels argues that "the problem of socialism is not merely a problem in economics. In other words, socialism does not seek merely to determine to what extent it is possible to realize a distribution of wealth which shall be at once just and economically productive. Socialism is also an administrative problem, a problem of democracy, and this is not in the technical or administrative sphere alone, but also in the sphere of psychology. In the individualist problem is found the most difficult of all that complex of questions which socialism seeks to answer."⁴

The classical doctrine of democracy is defined by

Schumpeter in the following terms. "The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will." In other words, it declares the common good and the will of the people in the decision making process. However, according to Schumpeter, another definition of democracy can be stated in the following terms "the role of the people is to produce a government, or else an intermediate body which in turn will produce a national executive or government." He continues by saying that "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." While in the first definition the main point is the deciding of issues by the electorate in the second definition the role is reversed to the election of the men who are to make the decisions.

Robert Michels took the German Socialist Party of his time to demonstrate the incompatibility of democracy and mass participation. He rests his case on the fact that behind the democratic experience based on free elections of its leaders, members tend to renew indefinitely their leaders and name successors to the candidates elected by their predecessor. In other words, this is known as the Iron Law of Oligarchy.

The Iron Law of Oligarchy rests on the assumption that in any social and complex organization there is a tendency towards the formation of an oligarchy. There is a need for a leader or group of leaders. This, in turn, results in the concentration of power at the top. The leadership becomes removed from the base and ceases to represent the interests of the masses. Large organizations, Michels argues, whether a political party or a trade union, develop a bureaucratic structure with a concentration of power at the top.

Michels states that the structure of a large-scale organization requires the development of bureaucratic patterns of behavior. The lack of interest on daily activities by the members facilitates the development and establishment of an oligarchy that is reluctant to relinquish power. The political party involves organization. This, in turn, entails a bureaucracy in which a group of leaders develops. The organization then becomes oligarchical.

Michels argues that "the political party is not necessarily identifiable with the totality of its members and still less so with the class to which these belong. In a party it is far from obvious that the interests of the masses which have combined to form the party will coincide with the interests of the bureaucracy in which the party becomes personified."⁷ Michels' study contains valuable and perceptive insights into the structure of organizations and, specifically, political parties.

After reviewing these definitions of socialism and democracy we will proceed to analyze what has occurred within the socialist movements. In other words, what arrangements have taken place in reality. Are socialism and democracy compatible?

Socialist movements had their origin in Europe and it has been in this continent where major developments have taken place. These movements have experienced a division between a reformist and a revolutionary tendency. According to Denitch, "even today socialist parties attract on the one hand supporters who are willing to follow the Fabian task of reforming, alleviating and humanizing the existing social order while others are attracted to the vision of an egalitarian, classless society representing a sharp discontinuity from the existing social order."⁸

The term social democrat appears in Germany in the 1800's. Social democracy has three characteristics. It is a mass party with a great number of members that receive political formation, collaborate in a militant action and participate in the naming of leaders and candidates. The discourse and practice are reformist, it tends to improve the capitalist regime in a favorable sense for the popular classes without presupposing that this capitalism will give way to an economic collective system. It unites almost all citizens that support socialism within a pluralist democracy.

The german social democracy was marxist and

revolutionary in its beginnings. However, it was slowly taken over by revisionism. It is now considered one of the most moderate of present day social democracies. The German social democracy maintained during a long period of time a revolutionary discourse every time more removed from its reformist behavior. This brought about within the socialist movement the duality between rhetoric and reality.

Hobsbawm expresses that all socialist parties and regimes are committed in theory to democracy, but today we can no longer assume that the words socialism and democracy or phrases such as "democratic socialism" are self-explanatory. The meaning of these words and the realities they designate are not at all a settled matter.

According to Maurice Duverger, there have been two forms of effective socialism. Totalitarian socialism as is the case of Eastern Europe and reformist socialism as is the case of Western Europe. But he argues that a third way of socialism is possible. This third way he calls democratic socialism.

Duverger states that democratic socialism is the model that pretends to associate the collective economy that defines socialism with political pluralism that characterizes western democracy. Only pluralism places stops to the arbitrariness of those who govern. A collective economy, on the other hand, cannot be but an economy directed by all the collectivity, necessarily expressed by the State. Is such a system of production compatible with

political pluralism? That is the problem.

For the socialist the essential point is to establish that a collectivist system is more efficient for the economy and is not incompatible with pluralism. The problem continues to be the coexistence of a collective economy and political pluralism.

Democratic socialist parties are parties committed to western democracy. Democratic socialists are committed to socialist values. Freedom is understood as the active participation of the citizen and not only his right to be left in peace. Justice is understood as more equality and social security. Solidarity is meant as greater emphasis on communal needs.¹¹

The concept of government of the people, by the people and for the people has been central to the socialist tradition since Marx. But what is at stake is not so much theoretical as practical in nature. "The real issue of modern democracy, as Marx and Lenin saw, is how the masses of people can be directly involved in governing themselves on a large-scale level, since small territorial entities¹² allow more easily for direct participatory democracy."

Hobsbawn states that "Old assumptions concerning the 'automatic' transition to socialist democracy resulting from the public ownership of the means of production have not stood the test of historical experience. What kind of social relations ought to exist under socialism? What would a socialist culture look like? How can the distribution of

wealth and resources become more equitable? What changes in educational practice, social planning and political organization must take place in order to qualify a society as being genuinely socialist? ¹³ These constitute important issues that need to be addressed.

A living socialist party needs the ideologist as well as the practical politician. Without the ideologist, it ceases to produce cohesion and commitment among its members and followers; without the pragmatist, it ceases to be relevant to the political issues of the day.

According to Franklin, in many presently underdeveloped countries there is a rigid class-state connection derived from precapitalist institutional atavism. In these societies, the Leninist approach of "smashing" the state apparatus is viable, especially because of the absence of ¹⁴ any strong, democratic political tradition.

However, there is the need that the people acquire an ideological coherence before achieving political power in order to change the economic order. In other words, as stated by Gramsci, the working class must first be a ruling class in the political, cultural and ethical fields before it acquires state power. Franklin brings to light the concept of political versus economic power within the State, or the ruling versus the governing class. According to him, a conceptual understanding of the origin of the capitalist state requires distinguishing between a ruling class and a governing class.

While the governing class administrates, legislates and adjudicates in behalf of the state, the ruling class is in the private domain and is outside the direct public purview. The latter owns the means of production and is an appropriator, accumulator and prime allocator of society's surplus. It possesses an inordinate amount of power for its relatively small numerical size.

Franklin states that "the needed integration between ruling and governing that socialists envision involves a change in the ownership and control of the means of production. This change involves socializing production from the bottom (democratizing the workplace through worker's control), and nationalizing production (integrating industry decisions into a national plan)."

He continues by saying that "the reformist road to transforming capitalism is possible, although not without intense struggle and possible setbacks, precisely because managing the state does not automatically mean usurping those who rule." This implies that "when socialists achieve governing power via the electoral process . . . their capacity to succeed in transforming capitalism needs tremendous majoritarian support and a highly self-disciplined populace. If these are not present, governing socialists . . . can readily prove inadequate to the tasks of overcoming the circumstances that brought them to power." These constitute important issues to be considered by those socialist parties who want to transform

the existing status quo through the reformist road.

According to Denitch, all great social revolutions, at the point when they are genuinely revolutionary became stronger by expanding rather than limiting democracy. Thus, democracy is the central weapon in the struggle for the expansion of popular power.¹⁸ Thus, a socialist government should place a strong emphasis on democracy and popular participation.

According to Petras, the problems of democracy and socialism in the western world imply the failure of the western social democratic parties to create alternatives to capitalist-dominated structures and political institutions.¹⁹ Or, as Franklin states, the fundamental weakness of democratic socialism . . . is its failure to grasp the kinds of tactics and strategies necessary to transform Third World societies.²⁰ This is a difficult and important point to be taken into consideration by aspiring socialist parties.

Petras argues that it is essential to distinguish three distinct but inter-related aspects in the discussion of the relationship between democracy and the transition to socialism: establishing the foundation of the new social system; initiating the process of institution-building; and creating the sources of participation and legitimation.²¹ Two social groups are clearly established: the beneficiaries of the transformation and the adversaries. According to Petras, the process of foundation-building

involves profound political and social polarization, intense conflict, and frequent resort to force as neither the displaced groups nor the newly established democratic regime share a common set of values, interests or political framework to resolve their differences. For the democratic regime authoritarian measures are the order of the day and continue to operate as long as the political survival of the regime is in question. Political victory establishes the basis for foundation-building.

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The basic problem in socialist transition is precisely the difficulty that rests in the process of conversion from the period of foundation-building and defense with its authoritarian structures to the period of institutionalization of democratic pluralism. The process of institutionalization is decisive for the development of democracy.

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Petras argues that historically there have been efforts to incorporate capitalist cooperation in the transition to socialism as was the case of Chile under Allende and Jamaica under Manley. These resulted in capital responding by massive illegal and legal transfers of capital, running down plant and equipment, and working together with international capital to destabilize and erode the popular base of the democratic-socialist regime. Therefore, he states that socialist transitional strategies must fashion a notion of pluralism that does not count on capitalist cooperation if they hope to preserve the

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democratic process.

Peter Roman argues that Petra's theory needs clearer definition and delineation of each transitional step, and a more realistic notion of the time-frame for each. He argues that importance should be accorded to democratic features unique to socialism, such as economic democracy, the increased percentage of political leaders drawn from the working class and peasantry and political participation through existing mass organizations and trade unions.²⁵

Another important set of views on the question of the road to democratic socialism are provided by Nicos Poulantzas. He argues that history has provided us with two types of concrete examples: the traditional social-democratic experience of a number of Western European countries, and the Eastern example of what is called 'real socialism'. Both, according to him, are marked by statism and a profound distrust of mass initiatives, in short by suspicion of democratic demands.²⁶

According to Poulantzas, "The essential problem of the democratic road to socialism, of democratic socialism, must be posed in a different way: how is it possible radically to transform the State in such a manner that the extension and deepening of political freedoms and the institutions of representative democracy (which were also a conquest of the popular masses) are combined with the unfurling of forms of direct democracy and the mushrooming of self-management bodies?²⁷ In other words, how can democratic socialism

radically transform the State and provide democratic channels for the popular masses.

The democratic road to socialism is a long process whereby the popular masses must take over State power and modify the relationship of forces within the State apparatus. This implies a political struggle in which the enemy has greater possibilities of putting an end to the democratic socialist experiment. Therefore, there must be a reliance on popular support. This process does not imply a peaceful transformation.

There has not yet been a successful historical experience to prove the success of the democratic road to socialism. The few experiments that have taken place have not had a positive outcome. One thing is clear, the road to socialism is not an easy one. It demands enormous sacrifices on the part of its members who will be constantly attacked by those forces that resist to give away the privileges they have usurped.

The different views expressed above point out to the notion that a third way is possible, and this is democratic socialism. However, the road is not easy or short, it implies a series of struggles and confrontations. There is a need for serious research on this front, especially because history has not yet proven the success of such a political model. The combination of a collective economy and pluralism is not an easy task. Besides obtaining broad popular support to take over the State, the socialist

government must maintain this support and achieve sweeping State transformations, always keeping in mind that there is an enemy ready to strike back.

For purposes of this research, and in particular, the case of the Izquierda Democratica in Ecuador, it is my contention that even though it is possible that the party can obtain access to power through the electoral vote, the problem resides in the mass support it must rally and maintain to undertake the needed transformations. The party must be clear on whether it will opt for a reformist or revolutionary way of conducting the government. In other words, will it be a social democracy or a true democratic socialism.

Notes.

1. Michael Harrington in Democratic Socialism ed. Bogdan Denitch, (New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., Publishers, 1981), p. viii.
2. Ibid., p. ix.
3. Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1976), p. 167.
4. Robert Michels, Political Parties, (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 350.
5. op.cit., p. 250.
6. Ibid., p. 269.
7. Robert Michels, Political Parties, (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 353.
8. Bogdan Denitch, ed. Democratic Socialism, (New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., Publishers, 1981), p. 2.
9. Eric Hobsbawn, "Socialism and Democracy in the Contemporary World: the European Scene" in Socialism and Democracy, Fall 1984, No.1, p. 38.
10. Maurice Duverger, Los Naranjos del Lago Balaton, (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1981), p. 39.
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12. Eric Hobsbawn, "Socialism and Democracy in the Contemporary World: the European Scene" in Socialism and Democracy, Fall 1984, No.1, p. 57.
13. Ibid., p. 59.
14. Raymond Franklin, "Party, Class, and State: A Leninist and a Non-Leninist View" in Democratic Socialism, (New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., Publishers, 1981), p. 73.
15. Ibid., p. 72.
16. Ibid., p. 77.
17. Ibid., p. 77.
18. Bogdan Denitch ed., Democratic Socialism, (New Jersey:

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19. James Petras, "Authoritarianism, Democracy and the Transition to Socialism" in Socialism and Democracy, Fall 1985, No.1, p. 5.
 20. Raymond Franklin, "Party, Class, and State: A Leninist and Non-Leninist View" in Democratic Socialism, (New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., Publishers, 1981), p. 61.
 21. op. cit., p.10.
 22. Ibid., p. 12.
 23. Ibid., p. 14.
 24. Ibid., p. 15.
 25. Peter Roman, "A Critical Response to Petras" in Socialism and Democracy, Fall 1985, No.1, pp. 30-32.
 26. Nicos Poulantzas, State, Power and Socialism, (London: Verso Editions, 1980), p. 251.
 27. Ibid., p. 256.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

A crucial problem in the history of Latin America has been its dependent position in relation to the central powers. The Latin American countries entered into the international market from a disadvantaged position, as suppliers of raw materials and minerals. This economic dependence resulted in a cultural and political subordination.

Even though under present circumstances there is a relative degree of development in Latin America, this type of development benefits some sectors of society to the detriment of others. This has created an internal gap between those who are able to benefit and those who are not. O'Donnell rightly argues that modernization in Latin America does not necessarily imply political democracy but the establishment of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes that involve a coalition of forces which exclude the popular sector. The national bourgeoisie has not played a liberation role in these societies and cannot be counted as a force to lead a revolutionary movement. Its main interest has been to become the junior partner of international capital and improve its economic position. A transformation of the inequalities present in Latin American societies will not come about solely with economic growth. There is a need to educate the people about development alternatives.

Ecuador's history constitutes part of the Latin American experience. The country has been traditionally governed by a small group that has controlled the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. The conflicts between the members of this group resulted in a high degree of political instability since the country's independence from Spain in 1830. During the sixteen years, from 1968 to 1984, covered by this research the ecuadorian people have experienced an amalgam of political regimes from an authoritarian caudillo, to a reformist military government, to a conservative military government, to a freely elected populist President who died in a plane accident and was replaced by his Vice President; and, finally to a conservative President.

The turbulent political history of the country has contributed to the lack of a democratic culture or tradition. The democratic process has been frequently interrupted by civilian or military dictatorships. In electoral stages there has been a tendency towards the formation of alliances and coalitions to back-up a candidate, without regards to political ideologies or principles. This phenomenon reveals the fragmented character of the national political culture and the organizational and programmatic weakness of the political parties. The ecuadorian people have not been given the opportunity to develop a democratic culture.

A political party, if it wants to develop and gain

strength within the ecuadorian political reality must fight a number of obstacles. Its first and most important goal must be to educate the voters to enable them to understand the issues and programs of the party so that they vote according to political principles and programs and not on the basis of personalistic styles.

In a political electoral reality as complex as the ecuadorian with seventeen political parties and several movements vying for power, a group of variables such as regionalism, religious issues, threat of communism, populist messages, candidate's style and an elaborate and sometimes offensive propaganda campaign, that intensifies between the first and second electoral round, seem to have more influence on the results than a party's ideology or government plans.

Within the above context the main emphasis of this research has been to study a political party called Izquierda Democratica or Democratic Left. The study has focused on its origins, formation, philosophy, ideology and quest for political power.

The Izquierda Democratica had its origins in 1968 in the city of Quito, when a group of young members of the Liberal party, some independents and socialists decided that there was a need to conform a political party that would fill a political space that the traditional parties were unable to cover.

The Izquierda Democratica entered into the electoral

race in 1970 where it won important sectional positions. The party entered the presidential race for the first time in 1978 because the democratic political process had been interrupted for several years due to military dictatorships that had taken control of the government. In this occasion the Izquierda Democratica obtained a fourth place with 12.01% of the total valid votes. Its strength was concentrated in its place of origins, the highland region, where it obtained 79.21% of its votes.

In the 1979 sectional elections, the Izquierda Democratica was able to place 15 national and provincial representatives to Congress, out of a total of 69 positions. The party became the second force, after the populist party Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares (CFP), in Congress.

In the 1984 presidential elections, the Izquierda Democratica obtained first place in the first electoral round with 28.73% of the total valid votes. Once again, its strength was concentrated in the highland region where it obtained 62.17% of its votes. In this election the party was able to place 24 national and provincial representatives to Congress, out of a total of 71 positions. The Izquierda Democratica became the party with the highest number of representatives in Congress.

During the second electoral round in the 1984 presidential elections, the Izquierda Democratica faced a conservative candidate from the coastal region. The party was defeated and prevented from obtaining access to the

Executive branch of power. The Izquierda Democratica obtained 48.46% of the total valid votes. In the highland region it obtained 57.78% of its votes. The above statistical results prove that the Izquierda Democratica was able in a short period of time to strongly increase its share of political power.

Despite the fact that this research ends with the 1984 presidential elections, it is important to note that the Izquierda Democratica was able to obtain first place in the first electoral round in the 1988 presidential elections with 24.48% of the total valid votes. It now faces as its opponent for the May 1988 electoral round, a populist candidate from the coastal region. The polls give an advantage to the presidential candidate of the Izquierda Democratica, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos.

The Izquierda Democratica constitutes the largest and best organized political party in Ecuador. It is the only party that maintains an organization in all twenty provinces. The party has captured most national posts and has had the largest number of representatives in the Legislative branch. It is a party that tries to live an internal democracy, proof of this is the internal electoral process that took place among its members to name the presidential candidate for the 1988 electoral race. It is also a party that functions during non-electoral times and searches to avoid improvisations.

The Izquierda Democratica claims to be a democratic

socialist party. One of the major drawbacks of the party has been to convey what is exactly meant by democratic socialism. The messages expressed in electoral times are characterized by generalizations and diffuseness. This creates confusion and disillusionment among the electorate. There is little profundization of what the party really represents. Its slogan "Social Justice with Freedom" has not reached the popular masses. This lack of doctrinal clarity has been detrimental to the party.

An important aspect in the development of democratic socialism is the establishment of a significant power base among the labor force. The Izquierda Democratica does not have this support. This can be adduced to the fact that ecuadorian labor has been disorganized and divided and has proven to be ineffectual as a political force. This group has been marginal as a modernizing or unifying force.

Social democratic experiments have had greater success in Western Europe. This continent in general presents a different set of circumstances than Latin America or other Third World countries. The former are mature capitalist economies with a large, educated and active working force. Most workers belong to labor unions and there is a long history of democratic procedures with a high level of political participation. This is not the case of Ecuador.

The democratic road to socialism involves a long process, a political struggle. The electoral victory can be the beginning towards a radical transformation of the

society. However, the majority of the population must be willing to support this transformation and be able to fully participate in the political process. It is important to control national economic groups and foreign economic interest that can strangle the economy. The armed forces, with a tradition of political intervention, are also a force to be watched.

There are several aspects that have characterized the ecuadorian political scene and that tend to become more prevalent during electoral times. There is a strong populist current, especially in the coastal region, where a large percentage of the vote is concentrated. The illiterates, who also have access to the vote, tend to cast their vote not for the organized party with government plans but for the candidate that offers to satisfy their immediate needs whether these needs are actually fulfilled. There is also a marked tendency to use regionalist issues, especially among the candidates of the coastal region. The fact that the Izquierda Democratica was founded in Quito and has its main base of support in the highland region is used to identify it by the opposition as a regional and not national party. The Izquierda Democratica is also accused by its opponents of being anti-clerical and communist. This play on religious issues, in a country where the Catholic religion is predominant, has also helped to rest votes to the party. The fact that Rodrigo Borja Cevallos has been postulated as the Izquierda Democratica's presidential

candidate on three consecutive occasions has been used by the opposition to argue that the party lacks enough leaders. The opposition has also linked the Izquierda Democratica to Salvador Allende's government in Chile, Daniel Ortega's government in Nicaragua and Alan Garcia's government in Peru. They are given as examples of the chaos and unrest that the Izquierda Democratica will bring about to the country.

It is against the above set of circumstances that the Izquierda Democratica has to fight its political battle. The party must gain conscience of the importance of educating the voters to enable them to understand the issues and programs of a political party and stop them from voting on the basis of personalistic styles. The party must analyze the lower voting numbers obtained in the coastal region and devote its energies to penetrate this region and search for good and reliable leadership.

If the Izquierda Democratica obtains access to the Executive branch of power through the electoral vote, it will have to do away with many of the above ghosts that plague it. The party will have to confront many opposition groups and govern with extreme caution. At this point, the party will have to deliver clear and frontal messages to the people. It will have to spell out the steps that the government will take on major issues such as: education, housing, unemployment, agrarian reform, electricity, water, transportation, international politics and the external

debt, among others.

For purposes of this research, it is my contention that even though it is possible that the Izquierda Democratica can obtain access to the Executive branch of power through the electoral vote, the problem resides in the governing task. The party must rally and maintain mass support to undertake the needed transformations. If this support is not obtained then pressure from different sectors will undermine its governing and transformation process.

The Izquierda Democratica must place itself in the type of socialism it represents. Will it opt for a reformist or revolutionary way of conducting the government? In other words, will it be a social democracy or a true democratic socialism.

TABLE #1
 ECUADORIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

LIST	PARTY	ABBREVIATION
1	PARTIDO CONSERVADOR ECUATORIANO	PCE
2	PARTIDO LIBERAL RADICAL ECUATORIANO	PLR
3	PARTIDO DEMOCRATA	PD
4	CONCENTRACION DE FUERZAS POPULARES	CFP
5	PARTIDO DEMOCRACIA POPULAR	DP
6	PARTIDO SOCIAL CRISTIANO	PSC
7	PARTIDO PUEBLO CAMBIO Y DEMOCRACIA	PCD
8	PARTIDO REPUBLICANO	PR
9	PARTIDO FRENTE AMPLIO DE IZQUIERDA	FADI
10	PARTIDO ROLDOCISTA ECUATORIANO	PRE
11	PARTIDO NACIONALISTA REVOLUCIONARIO	PNR
12	PARTIDO IZQUIERDA DEMOCRATICA	ID
13	PARTIDO ACCION POPULAR REVOLUCIONARI	APRE
14	PARTIDO FRENTE RADICAL ALFARISTA	FRA
15	PARTIDO MOVIMIENTO POPULAR DEMOCRATI	MPD
16	PARTIDO DEL PUEBLO	PDP
17	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA ECUATORIANO	PSE

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #2

ECUADORIAN REGIONS AND PROVINCES

AMAZONIC REGION	MORONA SANTIAGO NAPO PASTAZA ZAMORA CHINCHIPE
COASTAL REGION	EL DRO ESMERALDAS GUAYAS LOS RIOS MANABI
INSULAR REGION	GALAPAGOS
HIGHLAND REGION	AZUAY BOLIVAR CAÑAR CARCHI COTOPAXI CHIMBORAZO IMBABURA LOJA PICHINCHA TUNGURAHUA

TABLE #3
1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978

PROVINCES	LIST 2	LIST 4	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	T.V.V.
AZUAY	13483	13447	26882	5516	12204	3953	75485
BOLIVAR	5879	5069	7648	736	1799	2084	23215
CANAR	2709	8750	8199	1432	1619	1811	24520
CARCHI	12210	6343	11216	1091	1399	837	33096
COTOPAXI	8399	10855	8581	2097	4626	2525	37083
CHIMBORAZO	10685	13703	14940	3023	5356	4497	52204
EL ORD	14241	15148	13986	3670	4801	14675	66521
ESMERALDAS	11529	6388	4298	987	1667	1200	26069
GALAPAGOS	143	367	367	31	149	27	1084
GUAYAS	51321	148293	45293	10035	12962	26154	294058
IMBABURA	7256	12898	13098	2027	5582	1620	42481
LOJA	29168	4947	36912	1171	1509	3355	77062
LOS RIOS	9045	17487	7950	2474	3276	15653	55885
MANABI	50391	21801	30137	3241	8799	11144	125513
M. SANTIAGO	2303	930	3493	151	427	357	7661
NAPO	1848	1831	2098	296	1330	291	7694
PASTAZA	1648	1118	1281	288	849	420	5604
PICHINCHA	64600	73578	68181	23220	84767	26690	341036
TUNGURAHUA	12618	18015	20955	3648	12048	6695	73979
Z. CHINCHIPE	2507	247	2946	53	89	359	6201
NATIONAL TOTAL	311983	381215	328461	65187	165258	124347	1376451
REGIONS							
AMAZONIC	8306	4126	9818	788	2695	1427	27160
COASTAL	136527	209117	101664	20407	31505	68826	568046
INSULAR	143	367	367	31	149	27	1084
HIGHLANDS	167007	167605	216612	43961	130909	54067	780161
NATIONAL TOTAL	311983	381215	328461	65187	165258	124347	1376451

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #4
 1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
 FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978
 %

PROVINCES	LIST 2	LIST 4	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	T.V.V.
AZUAY	17.86	17.81	35.61	7.31	16.17	5.24	75485
BOLIVAR	25.32	21.84	32.94	3.17	7.75	8.98	23215
CANAR	11.05	35.69	33.44	5.84	6.6	7.39	24520
CARCHI	36.89	19.17	33.89	3.3	4.23	2.53	33096
COTOPAXI	22.65	29.27	23.14	5.65	12.47	6.81	37083
CHIMBORAZO	20.47	26.25	28.62	5.79	10.26	8.61	52204
EL ORD	21.41	22.77	21.02	5.52	7.22	22.06	66521
ESMERALDAS	44.22	24.5	16.49	3.79	6.39	4.6	26069
GALAPAGOS	13.19	33.86	33.86	3.41	13.75	2.49	1084
GUAYAS	17.45	50.43	15.4	4.77	4.41	8.89	294058
IMBABURA	17.08	30.36	30.83	1.52	13.14	3.81	42481
LOJA	37.85	6.42	47.9	1.52	1.96	4.35	77062
LOS RIOS	16.19	31.29	14.23	4.43	5.86	28.01	55885
MANABI	40.15	17.37	24.01	2.58	7.01	8.88	125513
M. SANTIAGO	30.06	12.14	45.59	1.97	5.57	4.66	7661
NAPO	24.02	23.8	27.27	3.85	17.29	3.78	7694
PASTAZA	29.41	19.95	22.86	5.14	15.15	7.49	5604
PICHINCHA	18.94	21.57	19.99	6.91	24.86	7.83	341036
TUNGURAHUA	17.06	24.35	28.33	4.93	16.29	9.05	73979
Z. CHINCHIPE	40.43	3.98	47.51	.85	1.44	5.79	6201
NATIONAL TOTAL	22.67	27.7	23.86	4.74	12.01	9.03	1376451
REGIONS							
AMAZONIC	30.58	15.19	36.15	2.9	9.92	5.25	27160
COASTAL	24.03	36.81	17.9	3.59	5.55	12.12	568046
INSULAR	13.19	33.86	33.86	2.86	13.75	2.49	1084
HIGHLANDS	21.41	21.48	27.77	5.63	16.78	6.93	780161
NATIONAL TOTAL	22.67	27.7	23.86	4.74	12.01	9.03	1376451

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #5
1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978

PROVINCES	%						T.V.V.
	LIST 2	LIST 4	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	
AZUAY	4.32	3.53	8.18	8.46	7.38	3.18	5.48
BOLIVAR	1.88	1.33	2.33	1.13	1.09	1.68	1.69
CANAR	.87	2.3	2.5	2.2	.98	1.46	1.78
CARCHI	3.91	1.66	3.41	1.67	.85	.67	2.4
COTOPAXI	2.69	2.85	2.61	3.22	2.8	2.03	2.69
CHIMBORAZO	3.42	3.59	4.55	4.64	3.24	3.62	3.79
EL ORD	4.56	3.97	4.26	5.63	2.91	11.8	4.83
ESMERALDAS	3.7	1.68	1.31	1.51	1.01	.97	1.89
GALAPAGOS	.05	.1	.11	.05	.09	.02	.08
GUAYAS	16.45	38.9	13.79	15.39	7.84	21.03	21.36
IMBABURA	2.33	3.38	3.99	3.11	3.38	1.3	3.09
LOJA	9.35	1.3	11.24	1.8	.91	2.7	5.6
LOS RIOS	2.9	4.59	2.42	3.8	1.98	12.59	4.06
MANABI	16.15	5.72	9.18	4.97	5.32	8.96	9.12
M. SANTIAGO	.74	.24	1.06	.23	.26	.29	.56
NAPD	.59	.48	.64	.45	.8	.23	.56
PASTAZA	.53	.29	.39	.44	.51	.34	.41
PICHINCHA	20.71	19.3	20.76	35.62	51.29	21.46	24.78
TUNGURAHUA	4.04	4.73	6.38	5.6	7.29	5.38	5.37
Z. CHINCHIPE	.8	.06	.9	.08	.05	.29	.45
NATIONAL TOTAL (absolute #'s)	311983	381215	328461	65187	165258	124347	1376451
REGIONS							
AMAZONIC	2.66	1.08	2.99	1.21	1.63	1.15	1.97
COASTAL	43.76	54.86	30.95	31.31	19.06	55.35	41.27
INSULAR	.05	.1	.11	.05	.09	.02	.08
HIGHLANDS	53.53	43.97	65.95	67.44	79.21	43.48	56.68
NATIONAL TOTAL (absolute #'s)	311983	381215	328461	65187	165258	124347	1376451

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #6
 1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
 FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978
 %

LISTS	LIST 2	LIST 4	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14
PROVINCES						
GUAYAS	16.45	38.9	13.79	15.39	7.84	21.03
MANABI	16.15	5.72	9.18	4.97	5.32	8.96
PICHINCHA	20.71	19.3	20.76	35.62	51.29	21.46
NATIONAL TOTAL	22.57	27.7	23.86	4.74	12.01	9.03

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #7
 REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS
 APRIL 29, 1979

REPRESENTATIVES	L.1	L.2	L.4	L.6	L.8	L.9	L.10	L.11	L.12	L.15	TOTAL
NATIONAL	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	12
PROVINCIAL	9	3	25	2	2	1	1	1	13	0	57
TOTALS	10	4	29	3	3	1	1	2	15	1	69

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #8
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

PROVINCES	LIST 3	LIST 4	LIST 5	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	LIST 15	LIST 17	T.V.V
AZUAY	11840	4003	6517	23624	5531	47527	4668	8024	1783	113517
BOLIVAR	2065	1207	1992	6405	1398	9264	1285	1121	173	24910
CANAR	2434	1696	1485	6561	2120	16591	1674	2311	251	35123
CARCHI	2840	846	4419	12185	1559	15357	1086	2433	436	41161
COTOPAXI	4119	4013	5581	15434	2785	20657	5937	9583	728	68837
CHIMBORAZO	5872	8950	4899	12891	7338	32418	5019	10283	3471	91141
EL ORO	1732	17877	3565	19234	3967	36475	9966	12082	425	105323
ESMERALDAS	2332	7418	4353	8950	4396	13704	1619	4352	322	47446
GALAPAGOS	110	146	137	422	68	932	309	59	11	2194
GUAYAS	13059	167862	11533	202902	11225	92253	52243	20401	2553	574031
IMBABURA	8218	4442	5309	15384	4539	27982	1634	5842	645	73995
LOJA	11634	8362	10615	24270	3783	29460	3461	9620	643	101848
LOS RIOS	1499	8760	2359	25995	3289	24830	8810	3851	419	79812
MANABI	7721	38345	16396	48510	4247	51414	17457	6507	830	191427
M. SANTIAGO	558	634	3096	944	121	6451	1744	715	702	14965
NAPD	577	4011	1265	2903	425	8564	1745	2327	283	22100
PASTAZA	540	273	315	1783	843	2437	455	557	43	7246
PICHINCHA	59689	15162	15883	142823	30070	158493	24319	42686	3651	492776
TUNGURAHUA	8220	3957	3073	28472	6168	36617	5764	17794	873	110938
Z. CHINCHIPE	1587	433	998	871	198	2901	538	1262	41	8829
NATIONAL TOTAL	146646	298397	103790	600563	94070	634327	149733	161810	18283	2207619
REGIONS										
AMAZONIC	3262	5351	5674	6501	1587	20353	4482	4861	1069	53140
COASTAL	26343	240262	38206	305591	27124	218676	90095	47193	4549	998039
INSULAR	110	146	137	422	68	932	309	59	11	2194
HIGHLANDS	116931	52638	59773	288049	65291	394366	54847	109697	12654	1154246
NATIONAL TOTAL	146646	298397	103790	600563	94070	634327	149733	161810	18283	2207619

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #9
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

PROVINCES	LIST 3	LIST 4	LIST 5	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	LIST 15	LIST 17	T.V.V
	%									
AZUAY	10.43	3.53	5.74	20.81	4.87	41.87	4.11	7.07	1.57	113517
BOLIVAR	8.29	4.85	8	25.71	5.61	37.19	5.16	4.5	.69	24910
CANAR	6.93	4.83	4.23	18.68	6.04	47.24	4.77	6.58	.71	35123
CARCHI	6.9	2.06	10.74	29.6	3.79	37.31	2.64	5.91	1.06	41161
COTOPAXI	5.98	5.83	8.11	22.42	4.05	30.01	8.62	13.92	1.06	68837
CHIMBORAZO	6.44	9.82	5.38	14.14	8.05	35.57	5.51	11.28	3.81	91141
EL ORO	1.64	16.97	3.38	18.26	3.77	34.63	9.46	11.47	.4	105323
ESMERALDAS	4.92	15.63	9.17	18.86	9.27	28.88	3.41	9.17	.68	47446
GALAPAGOS	5.01	6.65	6.24	19.23	3.1	42.48	14.08	2.69	.5	2194
GUAYAS	2.27	29.24	2.01	35.35	1.96	16.07	9.1	3.55	.44	574031
IMBABURA	11.11	6	7.17	20.79	6.13	37.82	2.21	7.9	.87	73995
LOJA	11.42	8.21	10.42	23.83	3.71	28.93	3.4	9.45	.63	101848
LOS RIOS	1.88	10.98	2.96	32.57	4.12	31.11	11.04	4.83	.52	79812
MANABI	4.03	20.03	8.57	25.34	2.22	26.86	9.12	3.4	.43	191427
M. SANTIAGO	3.73	4.24	20.69	6.31	.81	43.11	11.65	4.78	4.69	14965
NAPD	2.61	18.15	5.72	13.14	1.92	38.75	7.9	10.53	1.28	22100
PASTAZA	7.45	3.77	4.35	24.61	11.63	33.63	6.28	7.69	.59	7246
PICHINCHA	12.11	3.08	3.22	28.98	6.1	32.16	4.94	8.66	.74	492776
TUNGURAHUA	7.41	3.57	2.77	25.66	5.56	33.01	5.2	16.04	.79	110938
Z. CHINCHIPE	17.97	4.9	11.3	9.87	2.24	32.86	6.09	14.29	.46	8829
NATIONAL TOTAL	6.64	13.52	4.7	27.2	4.26	28.73	6.78	7.33	.83	2207619
REGIONS										
AMAZONIC	6.14	10.07	10.68	12.23	2.99	38.3	8.43	9.15	2.01	53140
COASTAL	2.64	24.07	3.83	30.62	2.72	21.91	9.03	4.73	.46	998039
INSULAR	5.01	6.65	6.24	19.23	3.1	42.48	14.08	2.69	.5	2194
HIGHLANDS	10.13	4.56	5.18	24.96	5.66	34.17	4.75	9.5	1.1	1154246
NATIONAL TOTAL	6.64	13.52	4.7	27.2	4.26	28.73	6.78	7.33	.83	2207619

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #10
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

PROVINCES	LIST 3	LIST 4	LIST 5	LIST 6	LIST 9	LIST 12	LIST 14	LIST 15	LIST 17	T.V.V
	%									
AZUAY	8.07	1.34	6.28	3.93	5.88	7.49	3.12	4.96	9.75	5.14
BOLIVAR	1.41	.4	1.92	1.07	1.49	1.46	.86	.69	.95	1.13
CANAR	1.66	.57	1.43	1.09	2.25	2.62	1.12	1.43	1.37	1.59
CARCHI	1.94	.28	4.26	2.03	1.66	2.42	.73	1.5	2.38	1.86
COTOPAXI	2.81	1.34	5.38	2.57	2.96	3.26	3.97	5.92	3.98	3.12
CHIMBORAZO	4	3	4.72	2.15	7.8	5.11	3.35	6.35	18.98	4.13
EL ORO	1.18	5.99	3.43	3.2	4.22	5.75	6.66	7.47	2.32	4.77
ESMERALDAS	1.59	2.49	4.19	1.49	4.67	2.16	1.08	2.69	1.76	2.15
GALAPAGOS	.08	.05	.13	.07	.07	.15	.21	.04	.06	.1
GUAYAS	8.91	56.25	11.11	33.79	11.93	14.54	34.89	12.61	13.96	26
IMBABURA	5.6	1.49	5.12	2.56	4.83	4.41	1.09	3.61	3.53	3.35
LOJA	7.93	2.8	10.23	4.04	4.02	4.64	2.31	5.95	3.52	4.61
LDS RIOS	1.02	2.94	2.27	4.33	3.5	3.91	5.88	2.38	2.29	3.62
MANABI	5.27	12.85	15.8	8.08	4.51	8.11	11.66	4.02	4.54	8.67
M. SANTIAGO	.38	.21	2.98	.16	.13	1.02	1.16	.44	3.84	.68
NAPO	.39	1.34	1.22	.48	.45	1.35	1.17	1.44	1.55	1
PASTAZA	.37	.09	.3	.3	.9	.38	.3	.34	.24	.33
PICHINCHA	40.7	5.08	15.3	23.78	31.97	24.99	16.24	26.38	19.97	22.32
TUNGURAHUA	5.61	1.33	2.96	4.74	6.56	5.77	3.85	11	4.77	5.03
Z. CHINCHIPE	1.08	.15	.96	.15	.21	.46	.36	.78	.22	.4
NATIONAL TOTAL	146646	298397	103790	600563	94070	634327	149733	161810	18283	2207619
(in absolute #'s)										
REGIONS										
AMAZONIC	2.22	1.79	5.47	1.08	1.69	3.21	2.99	3	5.85	2.41
COASTAL	17.96	80.52	36.81	50.88	28.83	34.47	60.17	29.17	24.88	45.21
INSULAR	.08	.05	.13	.07	.07	.15	.21	.04	.06	.1
HIGHLANDS	79.74	17.64	57.59	47.96	69.41	62.17	36.63	67.79	69.21	52.28
NATIONAL TOTAL	146646	298397	103790	600563	94070	634327	149733	161810	18283	2207619
(in absolute #'s)										

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #11
 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
 FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984
 %

PROVINCES	L.3	L.4	L.5	L.6	L.9	L.12	L.14	L.15	L.17
GUAYAS	8.91	56.25	11.11	33.79	11.93	14.54	34.89	12.61	13.95
MANABI	5.27	12.85	15.8	8.08	4.51	8.11	11.66	4.02	4.54
PICHINCHA	40.7	5.08	15.3	23.78	31.97	24.99	16.24	26.38	19.97
NATIONAL TOTAL	6.64	13.52	4.7	27.2	4.25	28.73	6.78	7.33	.83

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #12
 REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS
 JANUARY 29, 1984

REPRESENTATIVES	L.1	L.2	L.3	L.4	L.5	L.6	L.9	L.10	L.11	L.12	L.14	L.15	L.17	TOTAL
NATIONAL	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	12
PROVINCIAL	2	4	5	6	2	7	1	2	1	21	5	2	1	59
TOTAL	2	4	6	7	3	9	2	3	1	24	6	3	1	71

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #13
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984

PROVINCES	LIST 6	%	LIST 12	%	T.V.V.
AZUAY	47662	35.24	87596	64.76	135258
BOLIVAR	23070	54.71	19101	45.29	42171
CANAR	17484	35.51	31746	64.49	49230
CARCHI	20491	44.93	25120	55.07	45611
COTOPAXI	39235	47.44	43469	52.56	82704
CHIMBORAZO	34954	32.98	71016	67.02	105970
EL DRO	48771	40.73	70963	59.27	119734
ESMERALDAS	28180	41.78	39262	58.22	67442
GALAPAGOS	996	46.67	1138	53.33	2134
GUAYAS	493581	67.99	232410	32.01	725991
IMBABURA	31721	38.6	50468	61.4	82189
LOJA	51253	43.91	65462	56.09	116715
LOS RIOS	68309	54.85	56231	45.15	124540
MANABI	129622	55.31	104730	44.69	234352
M.SANTIAGO	5502	31.54	11941	68.46	17443
NAPO	10031	34.94	18682	65.06	28713
PASTAZA	4053	41.56	5698	58.44	9751
PICHINCHA	258639	46.71	295125	53.29	553764
TUNGURAHUA	63156	50.68	61466	49.32	124622
Z.CHINCHIPE	4999	40.11	7465	59.89	12464
NATIONAL TOTAL	1381709	51.54	1299089	48.46	2680798
REGIONS					
AMAZONIC	24585	35.96	43786	64.04	68371
COASTAL	768463	60.41	503596	39.59	1272059
INSULAR	996	46.67	1138	53.33	2134
HIGHLANDS	587665	43.91	750569	56.09	1338234
NATIONAL TOTAL	1381709	51.54	1299089	48.46	2680798

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987.

TABLE #14
 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
 SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984
 %

PROVINCES	LIST 6	LIST 12	T.V.V.
AZUAY	3.45	6.74	5.05
BOLIVAR	1.67	1.47	1.57
CANAR	1.27	2.44	1.84
CARCHI	1.48	1.93	1.7
COTOPAXI	2.84	3.35	3.09
CHIMBORAZO	2.53	5.47	3.95
EL ORO	3.53	5.46	4.47
ESMERALDAS	2.04	3.02	2.52
GALAPAGOS	.07	.09	.08
GUAYAS	35.72	17.89	27.08
IMBABURA	2.3	3.88	3.07
LOJA	3.71	5.04	4.35
LOS RIOS	4.94	4.33	4.65
MANABI	9.38	8.06	8.74
M. SANTIAGO	.4	.92	.65
NAPO	.73	1.44	1.07
PASTAZA	.29	.44	.36
PICHINCHA	18.72	22.72	20.66
TUNGURAHUA	4.57	4.73	4.65
Z. CHINCHIPE	.36	.57	.46
NATIONAL TOTAL	1381709	1299089	2680798
(in absolute #'s)			
REGIONS			
AMAZONIC	1.78	3.37	2.55
COASTAL	55.62	38.77	47.45
INSULAR	.07	.09	.08
HIGHLANDS	42.53	57.78	49.92
NATIONAL TOTAL	1381709	1299089	2680798
(in absolute #'s)			

SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales del Ecuador 1978-1987

TABLE #15
 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
 SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984
 %

LISTS	LIST 6	LIST 12
PROVINCES		
GUAYAS	35.72	17.89
MANABI	9.38	8.05
PICHINCHA	18.72	22.72
NATIONAL TOTAL	51.54	48.46

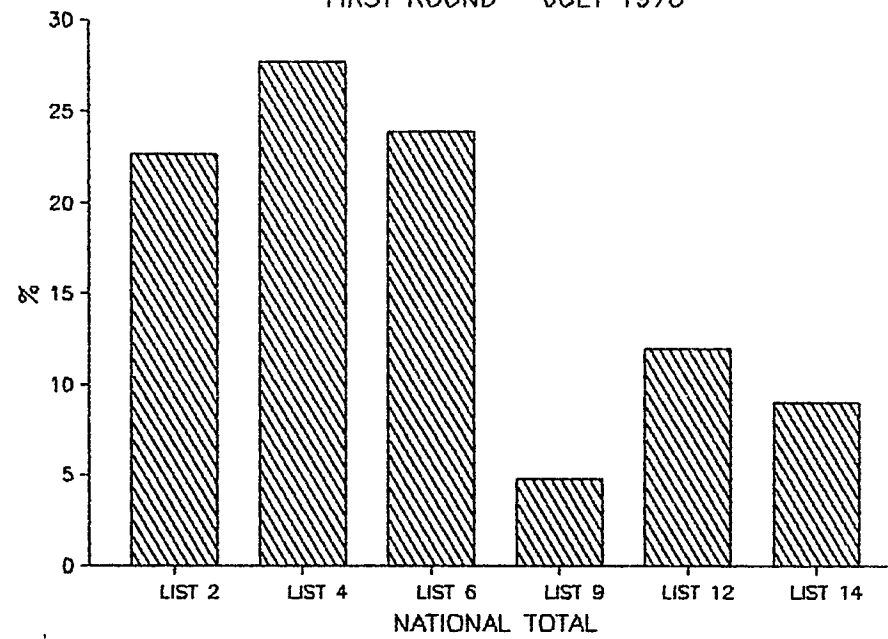
SOURCE: Estadísticas Electorales
 del Ecuador 1978-1987

Table #16

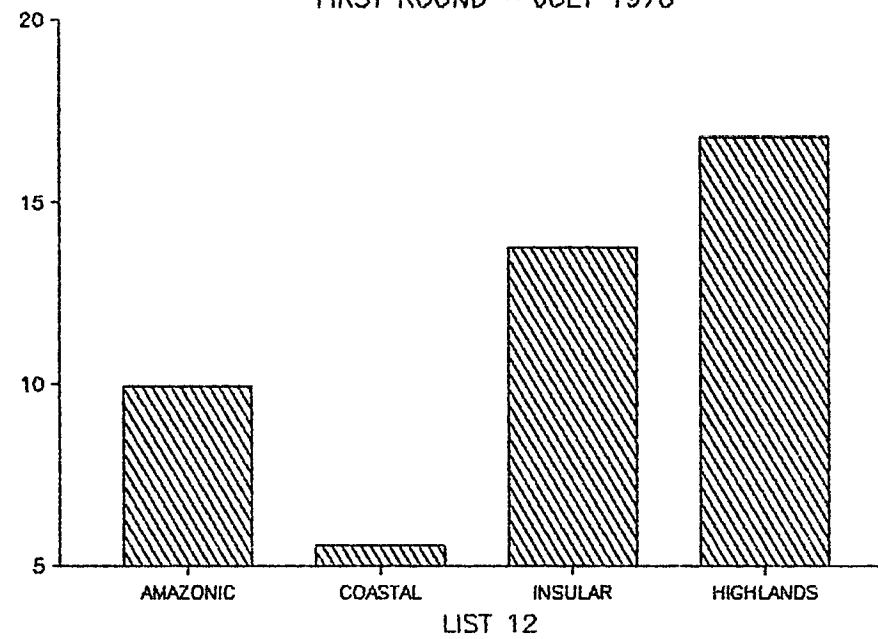
ORGANIZATIONAL SCHEME

<u>Level</u>	<u>Organism</u>	<u>Range</u>	
	Convention	National	
1	Decision	Executive Council	National Provincial Cantonal Parrochial
	Nucleus	National Provincial	Cantonal
	Cell	Neighborhood District Workshop Factory	School Farm Cooperative University
2	Execution	Executive Direction	National Provincial Cantonal Parrochial
	Executive Secretariats	Administrative Organization Press Propaganda	Electoral Sectional Technical Etc.
3	Advisory	Commissions	Political Ideological Organization Gov. Plan Press Propaganda
4	Control	Electoral Tribunal	National, Provincial and Cantonal
	Discipline Tribunal	National and Provincial	
	Fiscalization Tribunal	National	

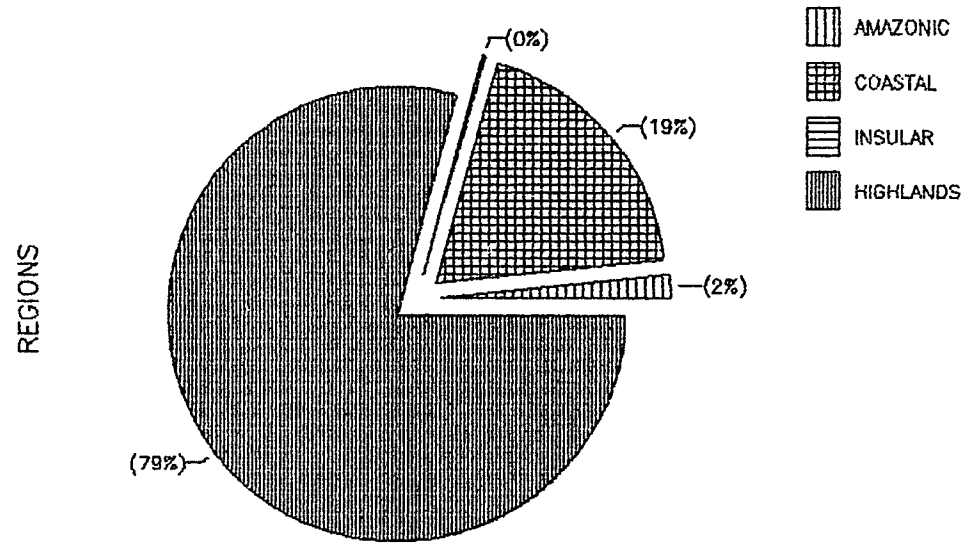
1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978



1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978



1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978



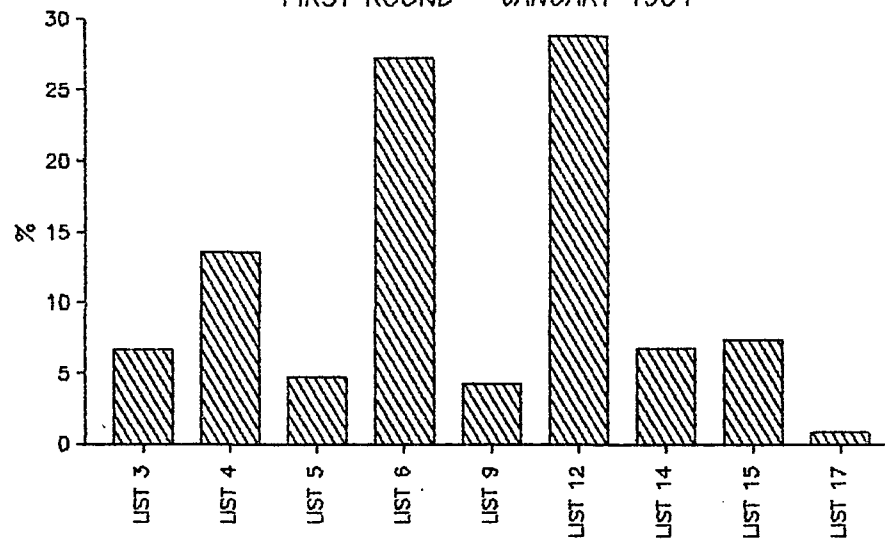
LIST 12

1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JULY 1978



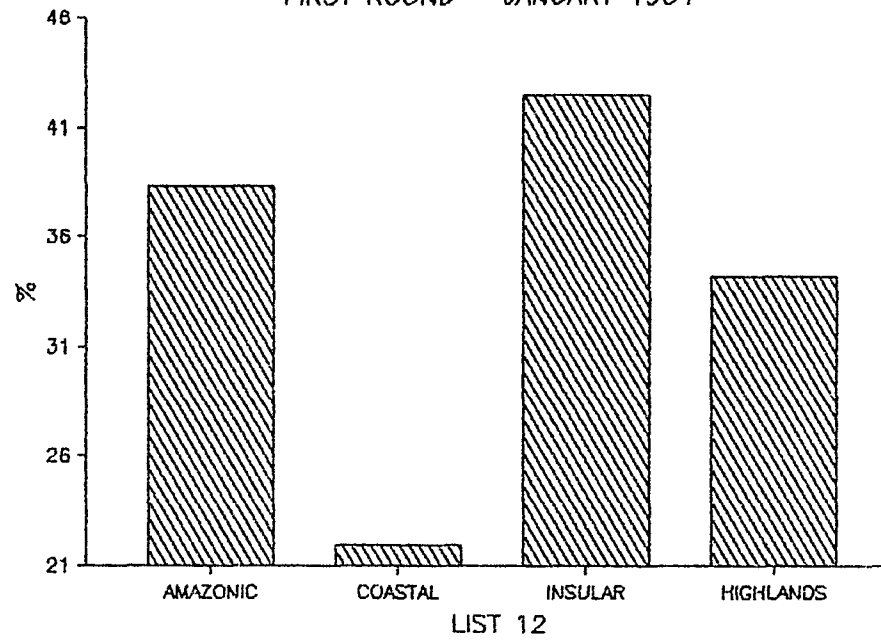
LIST 12

1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

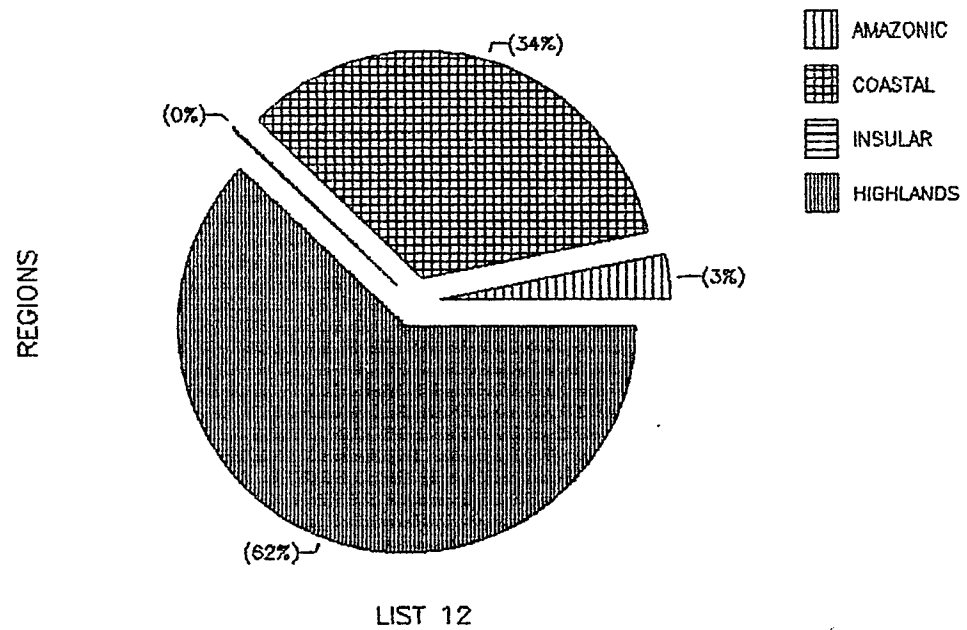


NATIONAL TOTAL

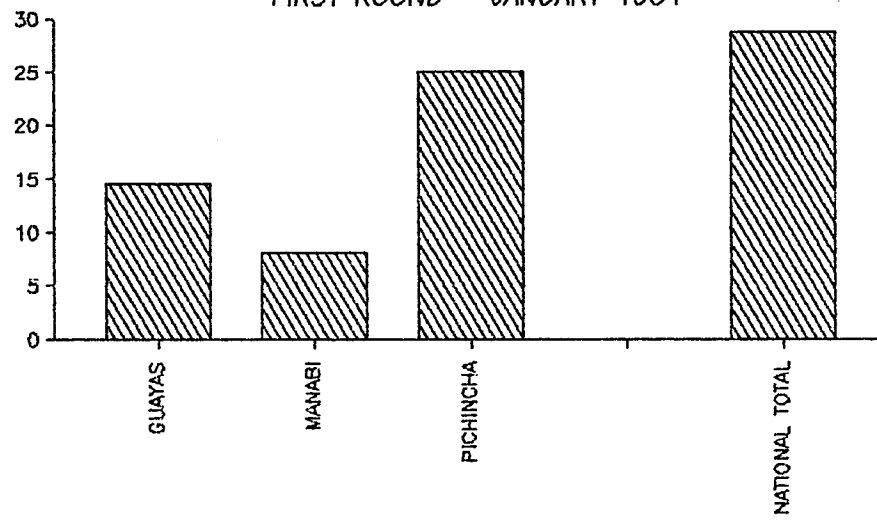
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984



1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

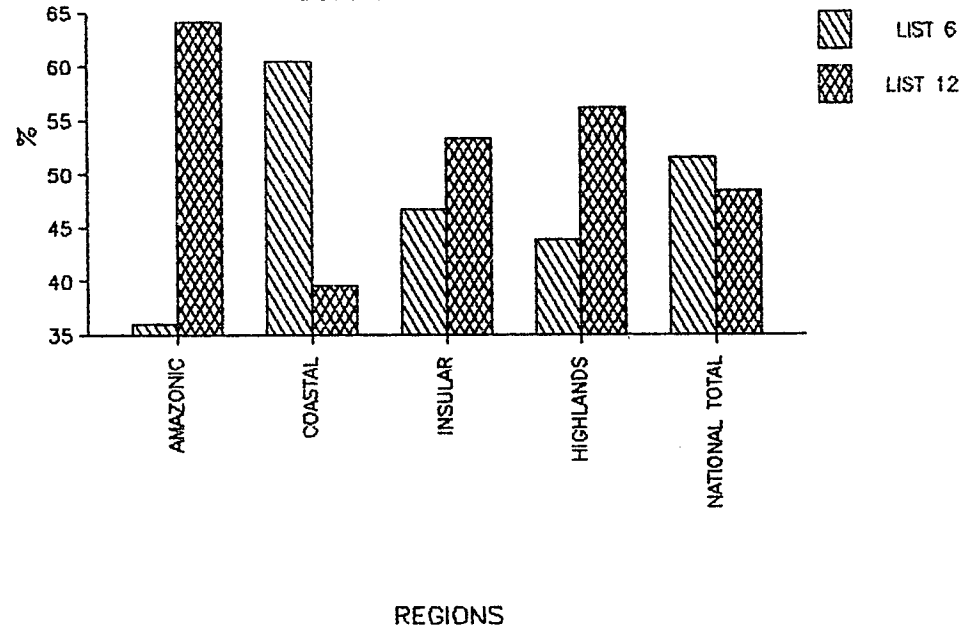


1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
FIRST ROUND - JANUARY 1984

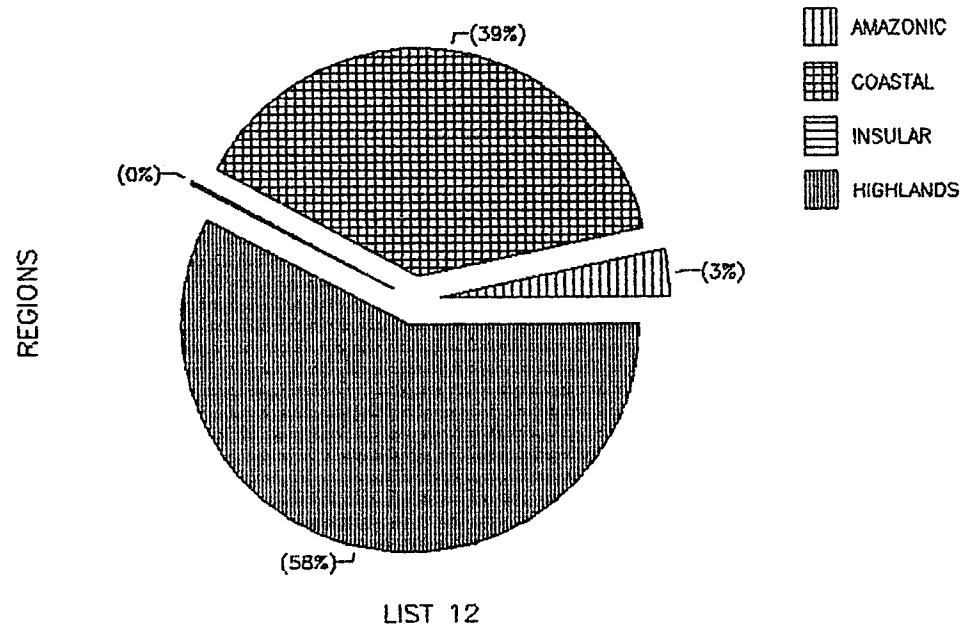


L.12

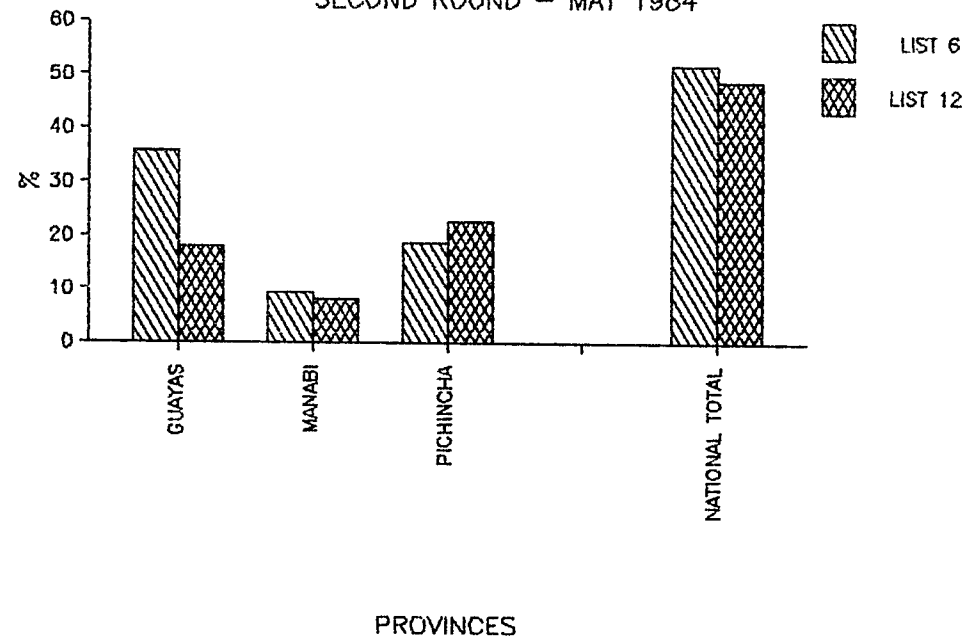
1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984



1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984



1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
SECOND ROUND - MAY 1984



APPENDIX I

PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY

The Izquierda Democratica Party is a democratic revolutionary party that expresses and promotes the desires, ideas and aspirations of the intellectual and manual workers of Ecuador. Within the ideological framework of Democratic Socialism it promotes the creation of a new State, based on free popular decisions, that can become an agent of economic and social development of the Ecuadorian people, of the redistribution of income, of the full and rational use of its natural resources and the rupture of external dependence.

With such purpose the Izquierda Democratica Party proclaims and defends the following principles that norm its political action.

1. LIBERTY

The Izquierda Democratica Party maintains that one is not free if one does not have the economic means to become such and that without economic security, man is not able to achieve fulfillment nor is it feasible the formation of an egalitarian, fraternal and dynamic society. It fights against social injustice, political despotism, internal and external economic rule, social marginality, ethnic discrimination, religious intolerance, privileges and inequalities, economic income not associated with work and, in general, all other anti-democratic demonstrations

that impair freedom, dignity and economic welfare of man.

2. SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Izquierda Democratica Party works toward a profound transformation, accelerated and irreversible, of the structure of society as a means to impel development, establish justice in economic and property relations, decentralize the economic power of the pressure groups, break the subordination of the national economic apparatus from foreign decision centers and integrate the country as a whole to the development process. It asserts the compatibility of social justice with political freedom and believes that respect of human rights does not oppose structural changes in society, which will enable an accelerated socio-economic development and improve the quality of life of the Ecuadorian people. On the contrary, it maintains that social justice and freedom are complimentary elements of a modern and revolutionary political operation directed at creating an egalitarian and prosperous society, in which men will have the material means so that they can become free and live with dignity.

3. DEMOCRACY

It understands as democracy a system of social organization able to offer its people effective, concrete and just participation possibilities in the political decision-making within the State and in the enjoyment of property, national income, culture and all the other goods

and services generated by community life. It asserts that economic democracy is the infrastructure of political democracy and that the latter lacks substance if the former does not exist.

4. BIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Izquierda Democratica Party fights against biological underdevelopment in which a good part of the Ecuadorian population is immersed due to malnutrition, parasites, endemic goiter, poor habitat conditions and other factors in the lives of the poorest layers of our population and it promulgates the execution of an integral and coordinated program of nutrition, health and education, destined to prevent illnesses, promote the adequate biological development of our population and defend the human resources of our nation.

5. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Izquierda Democratica Party asserts that the independent development of our national culture must be promoted--understood in its widest sense: science, technology, art, folklore, philosophy - with the intention of preserving it from foreign penetration and placing it at the service of all the collectivity and not only for small minorities. This promotion must be qualitative, with an intensification of autonomous scientific investigation, and quantitative, with a popular diffusion of the benefits of culture. The crisis of quality, independence and service to

man, that the Ecuadorian culture suffers, must be overcome. This culture of limited scope, engaged only by those classes that have acquisition power and access to the market, must be expanded towards those peripheral and marginal groups of our society.

6. EDUCATION

The Izquierda Democratica Party recommends that as part of the project of cultural development in the country, a plan for the education of the masses must be executed, with the purpose of eliminating illiteracy within a short term, raising the scholastic level of the population, promoting free and compulsive education and integrating all Ecuadorians to social progress. Special importance must be given to the formation of intermediate professions, technical professions and qualified workmanship to provide for the needs of the country. The educational development must be inspired with the purpose of modeling critical progressive and creative mentalities, altruistic spirits and community service vocation, a sense of social solidarity, an egalitarian view of life, a willingness of study and research and an eagerness to work as the most productive version of patriotism. Within the integral educational plan, the practice of sports must aid the formation of positive personalities and the shaping of teamwork, development of a spirit of success, discipline, modesty in victory and pride in adversity.

7. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Izquierda Democratica Party states that the scientific and technological dependence is the origin of all other forms of dependence to which our country is subjected by the industrial powers and, therefore the rupture of this subordination must start with the development of our own capacity to create, evaluate, select and adapt technology as an integral part of our culture and as a legitimate expression of our values and aspirations. Special attention must be given to the selection and employment of technology destined for agricultural production, in order to avoid the unemployment of peasants caused by the indiscriminate use of mechanical techniques of production, which do not use workmanship in a country in which, paradoxically, capital goods are onerous and scarce while labor is abundant and inexpensive. The indiscriminate replacement of workmanship for machinery affects the level of employment and quality of life of the peasants and produces a large peasant migration into the cities. Agricultural mechanization must be restricted to the operation and cultivation that will significantly increase the output by acre or extend the agricultural frontier, but without affecting the occupational index in the countryside.

8. PROPERTY RELATIONS

The Izquierda Democratica Party states that property must have a social function and that the owner, subject to a

collective interest, is called to comply with his responsibility to the group. This implies that the owner should be obliged to place his goods into production in optimal conditions, that private savings should be directed towards development objectives determined by the State, that the public authority is called to suppress types of ownership that cause harm to the collectivity or that constitute instruments of social domination, that expatriation of national financial resources must be prohibited, that foreign investment and re-investment and repatriation of capitals must be regimented, that luxury expenses and private resources must be controlled, that social control must be exercised over the basic natural resources of the country and that, in sum, a social conditioning must be imposed to property and it should be limited by a common utility cause.

9. SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The Izquierda Democratica Party proclaims the separation of Church and State, understood as total religious neutrality of all State institutions, freedom of conscience and cults, religious tolerance and political invisibility on the part of the clergy. This will assure that the State does not prefer any religion and is at the same time the guarantee, for each person, that no political coercion will oblige him to adopt one or renounce the one that he exercises. Within this view, the education imposed by the State does not teach or attack any religion, it

respects the conscience of every student and it recognizes its right to practice or not a religion. The search for truth and scientific research are its only goals.

10. AGRARIAN REFORM

The Izquierda Democratica Party states that in a country in which a large percentage of the economically active population works in the countryside, the agrarian reform must constitute a major part of the global project for the economic reordering of the State. Conciliating social demands with the need for economic development, the agrarian reform complemented with colonization processes that will relieve the pressure from the soil especially in the highlands and the opening of the country's agrarian frontier--it must pursue as its primary objective the redistribution of land among the peasants, the improvement of their standard of living and an increase in their political influence, the establishment of adequate cultivation techniques, the destruction of the "latifundio - minifundio" structure in order to substitute it, in each zone of the country, by agricultural units economically and socially efficient--and the rational utilization of the land in order to reach high degrees of production that will allow an internal supply and formation of exportable surplus.

11. SOCIAL SECURITY

The Izquierda Democratica Party promotes social security as a system of integral protection of health,

capacity and well being of the worker and its family. It states that the right to social security should not be limited to the economically active population but to the social conglomerate as a whole, in order to overcome inhuman conditions of existence, create bases for harmony and social solidarity, promote general well being, look after the security of children and youth, promote community development, favor popular organization and labor understanding. The social security system must also be utilized as a mechanism for the redistribution of income of the economically weaker sectors of the population.

12. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

The Izquierda Democratica Party considers that one of the most deficient areas of the State's organization in Ecuador is its public administration, in all its branches. This is why it regards that it is an urgent task to start a global reform of the political-administrative structure of the State that will encompass a new formulation of the division of powers to give more practicability and efficiency to the public authority, up to the technification of the intermediate and outlying state offices.

The large radius of action of the modern State supposes a greater administrative development. While more tasks are given to the State and greater sectors of activity remain under its control and action, its organs of power and administration should be more efficient and a better

vocation for public service must be instilled in those who handle them.

13. THE NEW DIVISION OF POWERS

The Izquierda Democratica Party proposes a global modification of the government's structure and the division of powers that Ecuador has maintained since its formation and whose inefficiency has been demonstrated throughout its republican life. It promulgates the distribution of public authority within four fundamental government branches, situated on the same hierarchical level, the legislative, the administrative, the political control and the judiciary. In this new scheme, the legislative function will be exercised by the "Legislative Council" composed by national representatives elected by universal and direct vote for a four year period. This branch will operate uninterruptedly with advice of entities or specialized persons in the different legislative matters. A special organic law will rule its functioning and the passage of legislative acts.

The administrative function will be exercised by the President of the Republic, elected by universal and direct vote, with assistance of its ministers that will have the office of Executive Secretaries of the Presidency.

The political control function will be exercised by a Chamber composed by deputies elected by universal and direct vote with the possibility of minority representation. This chamber would assemble ordinarily, once a year for a 45 day period and extraordinarily for a period of no more that 30

days, when it would be summoned by the President of the Republic or by a specific percentage of its members, in order to deal with specific matters. It will be granted ample research attributes of actions by the administrative and legislative branches. It will exercise political control functions over them. It will be able to dismiss ministers through procedure and summoning and call the President of the Republic and Representatives to political judgement.. It will not legislate since this would be an exclusive faculty of the "Legislative Council". Precisely what it looks for is that the unrest and violence, proper of the process of political prosecution, does not interfere in the job of the legislative branch, that must be eminently technical. When the political control chamber is in recess, a commission formed by five of its members will operate permanently and will undertake functions of a Permanent Secretariat and Constitutional Guarantees Tribunal.

Finally, the judicial function will be exercised by a centralized, hierarchical and independent branch, composed by tribunals and judicatures. There will be courts and judicatures specialized in different areas, including the litigious-administrative and litigious-taxative. The administration of justice will undergo quick procedures, primarily oral, without unnecessary formalities. There will be special procedures to judge the illicit enrichment of civil servants.

14. PETROLEUM AND ENERGY

The Izquierda Democratica Party sustains the inalienable and imprescriptible domain of the State over the hydrocarbons within its territory and consequently, the total participation and control by the State of their exploration, exploitation, transportation, storing, refining, industrialization and commercialization. As hydrocarbons are an exhaustable natural resource, whose world demand for energy and industrial purposes grows incessantly, the State's oil policy must rigorously establish the technical conditions for the exploitation of the oil fields and production quotas, guard the reserves and fix the prices in agreement with the ever-growing scarcity of hydrocarbons, the cost of alternative sources of energy, the world's inflation rate, the high cost of oil technology and the prices that industrial powers impose on their manufactures. The State will promote the development of the petro-chemical industry in order to maximize the outputs of the hydrocarbon exploitation and will encourage the non-energetic utilization of the hydrocarbons and the development of alternative sources of energy for internal consumption.

The financial resources that originate from hydrocarbon exploitation must be destined to the transformation and social and economic development of the Ecuadorian people, to the construction of works of infrastructure and the development of renewable sources of wealth.

The State will promote the installation of large hydroelectrical stations that will respond to an electrification plan technically conceived and nationally integrated.

15. BALANCED DEVELOPMENT

The Izquierda Democratica Party fights against the country's unequal development, characterized by the existence of economically advanced centers and a backward periphery, by the gaps between city and countryside and by the contradiction between internationalized and modern economic activities and primitive occupations totally separated from the global system of production. In order to suppress these imbalances that are the cause of internal tension and regional discrepancies, it is imperative to put into practice a program of industrial decentralization, based on regional development poles, which will revitalize all geographical zones in the country, integrate them into a coherent and harmonious process of national development, create jobs for its inhabitants, improve their standard of living and discourage the exodus of population to the cities.

16. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY

The Izquierda Democratica Party promotes the country's industrial development, particularly the small industry, the agroindustry and arts and crafts, as a means to obtain a higher index of social welfare, a more efficient use of the

means of production and to provide jobs to the labor force which is in constant growth. In relation to the national circumstances, industrial development will be conducted in a way that will avoid excessive growth of companies, waste of installed capacity and unnecessary automation. Industrial development must be combined with an adequate occupational policy destined to fight unemployment, underdevelopment and unproductive work. With this purpose in mind, the benefits of the laws for industrial promotion will be proportional to the creation of new jobs and the intensive use of installed capacity throughout the use of additional labor shifts. The final objective of industrial development will be social progress whose index should not be the Gross National Product (GNP) - that in nations undergoing development becomes a wrong, deceitful and economicist formula - but the Net National Welfare (NNW) understood as nutrition, biological development, knowledge, education, health and social security.

17. ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The Izquierda Democratica Party proclaims the convenience of regional and sub-regional economic integration, as an instrument of Ecuador's economic and social development and as a means of liberation from external dependence. The narrowness of our internal market, low purchasing power of the population, explosive demographic growth, scarcity of capital, high cost of industrial installations and other factors have produced an

internal economic strangling that becomes difficult to overcome within the national framework and that makes regional and sub-regional economic integration indispensable in order to favor, within a larger market, industrial production at scale and the incorporation of modern technology. Nevertheless, the advantages offered by a larger economic scope, shall not be at the mercy of foreign capital nor of multinational corporations, but must benefit the Ecuadorian people for which it is necessary to establish rigorous State controls over foreign investments and disperse the benefits of integration to the masses of our population, whose standard of living must be substantially improved with the aid of an integrative economic process. If a policy of a social and distributive nature that extends the benefits of a larger market is not adopted, integration will only serve to sharpen the imbalances and injustices already in existence.

18. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The Izquierda Democratica Party states that the multinational corporations, as a result of the post-industrial stage at which certain developed countries have arrived, constitute a new and dangerous version of classical imperialism. The search for cheap labor, low taxes, lower production costs, less demands from syndicates, easier commercialization, pollution in their place of origin and other factors, have determined for such multinationals the

convenience of moving their plants to peripheral countries to increase their profits. This penetration by the multinationals has reduced the Third World governments' capacity to exercise control over their economies and has transferred overseas the political and economic decision making on internal issues of our countries and created an alienated and squandering consumer society. In order to avoid this it is necessary to establish strict control measures for multinational corporations in our country, in coordination with other States in the region and formulate a rigorous code of conduct for them.

19. CONSUMER PROTECTION

The Izquierda Democratica Party fights for the suppression of monopolist and oligarchical practices in the goods and services market that seriously affect the interests of the consumer by raising prices, causing fictitious and speculative shortages, offering low quality products. In order to stop these and other practices, laws must be dictated and administrative mechanisms must be created for the consumer's protection, quality control of goods and services offered in the marketplace, price control and organization of the consumer population in order to defend its interest and participate in State organisms that take decisions in this field.

20. FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The Izquierda Democratica Party defends the need to

control foreign investment, preventing the risks that this entails. Ecuador needs foreign investment for its economic and social development, but not all foreign investment is desirable; what the country requires must be selected, through a legal regime that allows selective use of foreign investment, that is, utilized where needed, when needed and at costs convenient to the country. The control of foreign investment is indispensable, not only to avoid precolonial practices that fortify dependency bonds between our country with respect to the large investor State, but also to impose control over the exploitation of natural resources and the social and economic development on our country.

21. FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Izquierda Democratica Party proposes that Ecuador must maintain friendly relations with all the countries of the world, without ideological detriment or political superstition. It must trade with all of them, attentive only to national convenience, refusing a hemispheric and simplistic vision of the world market. Special solidarity ties must be established with the nations of the Third World that fight for their national independence, the preservation of their basic resources, and the improvement of commercial exchange terms. The defense of prices of Latin American products calls for the formation of international organisms and common fighting fronts, in which Ecuador must actively participate in defense of its interests. Our country must condemn all types of colonialism and neocolonialism,

economic aggression, international blackmail, terrorism without frontiers, territorial conquests based on force, armamentism, Latin American nuclearization, foreign intervention and the inequality of States in the international arena.

22. NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Izquierda Democratica Party promotes the creation of a new international economic order, that will do justice to Third World countries, and the betterment of the international division of labor that has subjected these countries to obey the role of badly paid producers of raw materials to feed the industry of developed States within an unequal exchange system imposed by the conveniences of foreign trade of the rich countries. The establishment of international social justice in the economic relations between the northern hemisphere, expansive and domineering, and the southern hemisphere, poor and backward, cannot be postponed in order that international peace and security, founded on a firm egalitarian base can be lasting.

APPENDIX II

STATUTES

CHAPTER I

The Izquierda Democratica Party expresses and promotes the desires, ideas and aspirations of the intellectual and manual workers of Ecuador. Within the ideological framework of Democratic Socialism, it promotes the creation of a new State, based on free popular decisions, that can become an agent of economic and social development of the Ecuadorian people, of the redistribution of income, of the full and rational use of its natural resources and the rupture of external dependence.

The Izquierda Democratic Party is the instrument of political participation of all ecuadorians that search to model a new, just, egalitarian, fraternal, dynamic, progressive and democratic society. Towards the achievement of this end it proposes to regiment, prepare and conduct the masses in the framework of a modern party structure towards efficient political action and defense of its interests.

Its organizational structure rests over neighborhood cells in the urban areas and over precinct and settlement cells in the rural areas. From this base organisms the Party's will will be conformed and will culminate in the decision organisms established in this Statute.

Without prejudice of the base, intermediate and superior organisms, special nucleus will be formed of a

sindical, guild, professional, craftsmanship, juvenile, feminine, cultural, sports, cooperative and of any other type, which will aid in the attainment of the Party's aim.

The Party's political action will be conducted subjected to the "Declaration of Ideological Principles", the "Minimum Government Program", this Statute and the norms and orientations that in agreement with the above are issued by its authorities.

CHAPTER II

PARTY'S GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Art. 1.- The Party's government, administration and operation organisms are:

- a) The National Convention
- b) The National Executive Council
- c) The National Executive Director
- d) The Provincial Executive Councils
- e) The Cantonal Executive Councils
- f) The Parochial, Neighborhood, Precinct and Settlement Cells
- g) The Special Nucleus

The Party's authorities will remain in their functions until they are replaced according to the Statutes, except when there is a destitution.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Art. 2.- The National Convention is the Party's highest authority organism. It is composed of:

- a) Two delegates of each province, plus an additional

number that maintains a percentage relation between the total number of Party members and the number of citizens registered in the provincial electoral registers, according to the rules set by the Regulation, that for this effect, will be given by the National Executive Council;

b) The members of the National Executive Council that are acting as principals;

c) The National Executive Director and the Party's National Executive ex-directors, and;

d) Two representatives of each of the Special Nucleus recognized at a national level.

The Party's members that hold public functions or have been elected by direct popular vote to the State's central or sectional administration may attend the National Convention with voice but no vote. In order to determine the quorum and vote count their presence will not be counted.

Art. 3.- The National Convention will elect, among its members, a President, three Vice-Presidents and three Secretaries.

The President directs the National Convention and in case this person is missing, the Vice-Presidents according to their order of election.

Art. 4.- The National Convention will meet in the place determined by the National Executive Council. It will hold ordinary and extraordinary sessions. The ordinary sessions will take place once a year, on the date established by the National Executive Council, in order to deal with all

aspects of interest to the Party. The National Executive Council has the attribution to postpone the National Convention's annual ordinary meeting, up to six months, if there were reasonable causes to take such decision.

The extraordinary sessions will take place when they are called for by the National Executive Director, by his own initiative or by request of the National Executive Council or of at least five Provincial Executive Councils. The petitioners will determine the subjects to be dealt with.

The National Convention, in an extraordinary session, will only consider those subjects determined in the letter of convocation.

Art. 5.- The summoning to an ordinary session will be made through a publication in two newspapers of wide circulation in the country, in different cities, with at least fifteen days notice from the date of the meeting, and also through written communication with at least the same advance notice that the National Executive Director will make to the Provincial Executive Directors. The letter of convocation will state all the subjects to be dealt with. If the session were ordinary, the participants will be able to add additional points to be considered by the Convention but in an extraordinary session only those points in the letter of convocation can be addressed.

In the summonings to extraordinary sessions the press publications can be dismissed, but the communications to the Provincial Executive Directors, have to be send with a

minimum of eight days notice.

Art. 6.- The quorum for the National Convention sessions will be made up of the participants, at least half of its members.

If in the first summoning the Convention could not take place because of a lack of quorum, a second summoning will take place, within the fifteen days of the date of the first meeting, with the warning that the National Convention will take place with the number of members present.

In this second summoning, the National Convention will be established and can hold its discussions despite the number of participants.

The subject of the meeting will have to be the same in both summonings.

Art. 7.- Despite what has been said in the previous article, in order that the National Convention can validly deliberate about reforms to the Declaration of Ideological Principles, Minimum Government Plan and Party Statutes, it will require the participation of, at least, fifty percent of its members and the decisions cannot be taken without the favorable vote of seventy-five percent of the meeting's participants.

The decisions about all other subjects will be taken by absolute vote majority. The blank votes will be added to the majority. All abstentions are prohibited.

Art. 8.- Each member of the National Convention, will have a vote. This right can only be exercised personally.

In case of a tie, the Convention's President or whoever

replaces him, will deposit an additional decisive vote.

Art. 9.- In order to reconsider a decision taken by the National Convention, a number of favorable votes is necessary, that represent, at least, two-thirds of the participants.

The reconsideration motions will be dealt with in the same session or in a later one within the same cycle of sessions of the National Convention.

Art. 10.- The acting President, the first Secretary and three Delegates designated for this effect by the National Convention, will form the Records Commission, that must write up the points of those subjects discussed in the meetings, within the next forty-eight hours. The respective Records will be signed by all members of this Commission.

The Records, must have, at least, the following data:

- a) Place, date and hour of the session, indication of the persons that intervened in it such as President and Secretary and the list of those present, with respective designation of their representations.
- b) Summary of the deliberations, voting results and transcription of the resolutions taken; and,
- c) Listing of the documents that are to be incorporated to the Record.

The Secretary of the National Executive Council will keep, under his custody and responsibility, the Records of the National Conventions. He will give faith of their legitimacy and content.

Art. 11.- The following are attributions of the National Convention:

- a) Elect its own authorities, according to what the Statute dictates.
- b) Elect the Party's candidates to national public functions of an electoral nature.
- c) Interpret with an obligatory nature the dispositions of the Statute;
- d) Approve modifications to the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program and the Statute, according to what is stated in Art.7;
- e) Dictate the electoral Regulations of the Provincial and Cantonal Executive Councils, of the cells and Special Nucleus and issue other regulatory norms that considers necessarily convenient for the progress of the Party;
- f) Know and pronounce about the report that must be presented by the National Executive Director about the activities developed during his year in office.
- g) Know and pronounce about the judgement that the Fiscalization Tribunal must present annually in relation to the financial report by the Party's General Treasurer.
- h) Designate, by written and secret vote, the members of the Party's Discipline and Fiscalization Tribunals.
- i) Decree amnesties or indults in favor of those which have been sanctioned by the Discipline Tribunal, if there was just reason for it;
- j) Determine the Party's political line, define its

electoral strategy and give norms of parliamentary, municipal, sectional and public entities' action that must be performed by its members;

k) Resolve the consultations that are formulated by the National Executive Council or the National Executive Director;

l) Qualify the legality of the members' credentials;

m) Elect, by written and secret vote, the National Executive Director and the principal and substitute members to the National Executive Council and remove them from their posts for grave causes duly proven;

n) Reorganize, totally or partially, the Provincial Executive Councils in case of inactivity on their part, distancing from the Party's political line or grave infraction to the Statute; and, n) Exercise all other attributions assigned by the Statute and the regulations;

Art.12.- The National Convention can, attentive to the country's political circumstances, delegate totally or partially the exercise of its functions to the National Executive Council. This body will provide an account of its acts in the next National Convention.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Art. 13.- The National Executive Council is, during the National Convention's recess, the Party's highest authority. It is conformed by the National Executive Director and

twenty members elected for a period of two years by the Convention; one by each province.

Also twenty substitute members will be elected, that according to the order of their election, will indistinctly replace those principals that are missing. If the absence were definite, the substitutes will become principals until the end of the period for which the principal was elected.

Ten of the substitute members must live in the city where the National Executive Council is in residence. The remaining ten substitutes must be elected among the members from other provinces.

In case of replacements, those substitutes living in the city where the National Executive Council is in residence will be called first.

Those Party members that hold popular direct election posts in the national or sectional government, public servants and Provincial Executive Directors, can be present in the National Executive Council sessions with voice but no vote.

In order to be a member of the National Executive Council one must be ecuadorian by birth and a Party member for at least two years before the election.

The National Executive Director, or whoever takes his place, will preside the Council sessions. The member that has been elected by the Council, outside of its body, for the period of two years, will act as Secretary.

Art. 14.- The National Executive Council will elect, among its principal members, the National Executive Subdirector,

called to replace the Executive Director in case of a temporary or continued absence. If the absence were definitive the substitution will last until the National Convention elects a new principal.

The Council will also designate, amongst its principal members, the member that will eventually replace the Executive Sub-director.

Art. 15.- The National Executive Council's quorum will be conformed with the presence of at least eleven of its members counting the substitutes, that because of temporary or permanent absence, are called to be present in the session.

The National Executive Council will have its residence in the place chosen by the National Convention. Without prejudice of what has been said, the Council will be able to meet in any place in the country.

Art. 16.- The election of the principal members of the National Executive Council will take place, province by province, throughout secret or nominative vote, according to what was previously resolved by the Convention.

The election of twenty substitute members will take place by the incomplete list system. Each one of the Convention's members will deposit a ballot, in which he will write five different names of substitute candidates that live in the city of residence of the National Executive Council and five different names of candidates that live in provinces.

The Convention will immediately hold an examination of

election returns by two examiners elected by it and one by the Presidency. It will declare elected as substitutes members of the National Executive Council those who obtain the first ten places, among the candidates that live in the city of residence, and the first ten places among the resident candidates in the rest of the provinces.

In case of a vote tie in any of the ten places, it will be sorted in order of preference among the candidates that tied, starting with the first part of the list. Those that were relegated in the drawing will occupy the next places until the ten substitute members of the city of residence and the ten substitute members of the other provinces are completed. In no case, a candidate elected by the city of residence can occupy a place in the list of candidates of the remaining provinces.

If in one ballot the same name was repeated the vote will count, but the repeated name will be taken into account only once. If in the ballot there is less than five names, in each of its segments, the vote will count in favor of the names listed. If there would be more than five names in any of the segments of the ballot, those after the sixth will not be counted.

Art. 17.- The principal and substitute members of the National Executive Council will last two years in their functions. They can be immediately reelected only once and, in the future, with interposed periods. This disposition does not count for the substitute members that did not

become principals.

Art. 18.- The decisions of the National Executive Council will be taken by absolute vote majority. Each one of the members will have a vote that will be expressed or given personally.

Art. 19.- The members can freely propose to the National Executive Council the consideration of any subject that is under their competence, even though it is not included in the day's order, except in the extraordinary sessions that have been summoned with specific goals.

Art. 20.- The summary Records of the National Executive Council that will be maintained by the Secretary, will be approved at the end of the session or in the next ordinary session. The signatures of the National Executive Director and the Secretary will be recorded.

Art. 21.- In case of a vote tie, the National Executive Director or whoever replaces him, will deposit an additional decisive vote.

Art. 22.- The duties and attributions of the National Executive Council are:

a) Elect, among its principal members, the National Executive Subdirector and the member that must replace him, the Secretary and General Treasurer.

b) Exercise the attributions delegated by the National Convention.

c) Direct the Party's general policy, hearing the respective Permanent Commissions and the Provincial

Executive Councils, if such where the case, with submittance to the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program and the norms and orientations issued by the National Convention.

d) Approve the Party's ordinary and special budgets.

e) Establish the means of popular contributions for the Party's financing and periodically elaborate the imposition tables, levels of contribution, according to the members' income.

f) Provide recognition to the Party's Special Nucleus.

g) Authorize the National Executive Director for the acquisition or alienation of the Party's property, when it surpasses the quantity fixed by the Council.

h) Answer the consultations that, over party or political line subjects, are brought up by the Provincial Executive Councils, the Special Nucleus or the members that hold public functions.

i) Indicate the place and date of the meeting of the National Convention and elaborate its agenda;

j) Dissolve the Party's minor organisms, an exception being the Discipline Tribunal by acts contrary to the ideology and/or the Party's political or electoral line.

k) Authorize or prohibit its members, the acceptance of public functions which have been proposed to them. The insubordination, in respect to this matter will be punished with expulsion.

l) Resolve, during the National Convention's recess, all

problems that come about and that are not foreseen in the Statute.

m) Know and pronounce judgement over the report of the Fiscalization Tribunal regarding the Party's financial aspects, according to that established in Art.II) literal g) of the Statute, and place it for consideration of the National Convention when it meets;

n) Know and previously pronounce judgement about the projects of Law that the Party members propose to present to the National Congress or other organisms with legislative character;

o) Delegate specific functions to the Provincial Executive Councils;

p) Principalize the substitute members due to the definite absence of the principals or continued lack of compliance, unjustified and duly proven of the missions entrusted to them;

q) Conform the Permanent Commissions, promote the creation of technical and national reality research organisms and hold seminars and courses for political youth, workers, and in general, training of all the Party's sectors.

r) Determine the Party's position over national emerging problems and make it public through the National Executive Director, without detriment of making the necessary consultations to the Provincial Executive Councils and Special or Permanent Commissions, when the circumstances allow;

- s) Maintain a centralized registry of all the country's members, with the regulatory data for each member;
- t) Reconcile the conflicts that become present in the body of the Provincial Executive Councils;
- u) Authorize, during the National Convention's recess, the alliances or political or electoral agreements with other parties or groups;
- v) Know and decide the list of the Party's candidates for popular election referred in literal c) Art. 38 of this Statute;
- w) Know and pronounce judgement over the statement of accounts that must be presented by the General Treasurer in the periods stated and oversee the Party's accounting and economic operation;
- x) Formulate during the National Convention's recess, the line of action that the members that hold political posts or parliamentary, municipal, sectional or administrative functions in the State, give instructions for action and oversee that their activity is adjusted to the Party's doctrinal and programatic postulates;
- y) Veto affiliations of persons, whose entrance is considered inconvenient to the Party and has been suspended by the National Executive Director and,
- z) Elaborate the electoral regulations for the Party's direct election functions.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Art.23.-The National Executive Director will be elected by the National Convention for a two year period and cannot be re-elected.

In order to hold this function it is required to be ecuadorian by birth and a Party member, for at least one year before the election.

Art.24.-The National Executive Director will have the political, legal, judicial and extrajudicial Party representation.

Art.25.-The duties and attributions of the National Executive Director are:

- a) Preside over the National Executive Council sessions and subscribe the corresponding Records;
- b) Sign the appointments of the Party's administrative personnel;
- c) Order the mobilization of the Party's funds and write, together with the Treasurer, the checks against the open demand deposit accounts of the Party;
- d) Be present in the acts and contracts celebrated by the Party. However, for the validity of contracts of bargain, alienation or obligations of the Party's property, the Executive Director will require the express authorization of the National Executive Council, when it exceeds the value established;

- e) Organize, direct and coordinate the Party's political and administrative action, control the personnel's work, oversee the accounting, auditing, treasury, collection, archives, promotion and propaganda, write the correspondence and, in general, control the Party's progress;
- f) Convoke and organize the National Convention meetings, present annually for its consideration a report about the Party's situation and activities performed and prepare material and other documents for its consideration;
- g) Maintain the National Executive Council permanently informed about the Party's progress;
- h) Obey and have obey the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program, the political line and the decisions of the National Convention and the National Executive Council;
- i) Elaborate the Party's budget projects and present them, with enough time, to the National Executive Council for their approval;
- j) Notify the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, according to what is established in the Political Parties' Law, the reforms incorporated to the Statute and the changes that take place in the Party's directive organisms;
- k) Formulate public declarations, in the Party's name and according to the ideological, programatic and strategic Party's postulates, regarding the country's problems;
- l) Accept or reject the economic contributions made to the Party in accordance with the norms dictated by the National

Executive Council;

- m) Suspend membership of persons whose entrance is considered to be inconvenient for the Party and submit for the National Executive Council's decision;
- n) Register, according to the Law, the Party's national candidacies;
- o) Ask the Discipline Tribunal for instruction of cause against the members that have incurred in disciplinary faults, have transgressed their obligations with the Party or have committed infractions or dishonest acts in their public life; and,
- p) Exercise all statutory and reglamentary attributions.

CHAPTER VI

PERMANENT COMMISSIONS

Art.26.- The National Executive Council will form as its consulting organisms and that of the National Executive Director the following Permanent Commissions:

- a) Studies and research of national socioeconomic problems;
- b) Sindical and guild subjects;
- c) Youth and political indoctrination;
- d) Educational and cultural subjects;
- e) Foreign relations
- f) Ideological and programatic subjects;
- g) Party's financial subjects; and,
- h) Press and propaganda

Art.27.- The Permanent Commissions will undertake research and analysis in their specialization areas, they will provide guidance to the National Executive Council and the National Executive Director, they will present projects and suggestions to the above organisms and will accomplish the missions that are assigned to them.

Art.28.- Each one of this Commissions will be directed by a Party member , be it a member or not of the National Executive Council, designated by this organism, and integrated by the members that the Council designates, on an odd number that it feels adequate.

The period of activity of the members will be two years, but can be named for consecutive periods.

If it was necessary, the National Executive Council will be able to order the creation and functioning of other permanent commissions. Those of an occasional nature, will be constituted and designated by the National Executive Director.

CHAPTER VII

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

Art.29.- In each of the country's provinces and with total jurisdiction over it, there will be a Provincial Executive Council, conformed by the Provincial Executive Director and ten principal members, elected through direct vote by the members that live in the province. At the same time than the principals, ten substitute members will be elected, that

according to the order of their election, will indistinctly replace the principals that are absent. If the absence was definite, the substitute will become a principal until the end of the period for which the principal was elected.

In order to be a member of the Provincial Executive Council it is required to be ecuadorian by birth and a Party member, for at least one year before the election.

Art.30.- The Party's members that hold public functions or posts of popular direct election in the national, provincial or cantonal administration, can assist with voice but no vote to the Provincial Executive Council sessions.

The Special Nucleus will depend disciplinarily from the Executive Council in their Province and will inform this organism about their activities. The Presidents of the Nucleus will be able to assist, with voice but no vote, to the sessions of the Provincial Executive Council to which they belong. The functions of President of a Nucleus and member of the Provincial Executive Council are not incompatible.

Art.31.- The Provincial Executive Director will preside over the Council sessions. The Secretary, will be elected outside of the Council's body and will have voice but no vote.

The Provincial Executive Council will elect, from its principal members, the Provincial Executive Subdirector, who will replace the Executive Director in case of a temporary or definitive absence. In case of definite absence, the

substitution will last until the end of the period for which the principal was elected.

The Council will also designate, from its principal members, the member that will eventually replace the Provincial Executive Sub-director.

Art.32.- The quorum of the Provincial Executive Council will be conformed with the presence of at least six members, counting the substitutes that, because of a temporary or permanent absence of the principals, will be called to assist the session.

The Cantonal Executive Directors of the respective provincial jurisdiction can assist to the sessions of the Provincial Executive Council with voice but no vote.

Art.33.- The principal members and the substitutes that have become principals can be immediately reelected once, and in the future, with interposed periods. This disposition does not hold for the substitute members that have become definite principals.

Art.34.- The decisions of the Provincial Executive Council will be taken by absolute vote majority. Each one of the members will have a vote, that can be expressed or deposited personally.

Art.35.- The members can freely propose to the Provincial Executive Council the treatment of any subject that is under its competence, even though it is not included in the day's order.

Art.36.- The records of the Provincial Executive Council

that will be maintained by the Secretary, will be approved by the end of the session or in the next ordinary session. The signatures of the Provincial Executive Director and the Secretary will be present.

Art.37.- In case of a vote tie, the Provincial Executive Director, or whoever replaces him, will deposit an additional decisive vote.

Art.38.- The duties and attributions of the Provincial Executive Council are:

- a) Elect, among its principal members, the Provincial Executive Sub-director and the member that will replace him;
- b) Exercise the attributions that have been delegated to him by the National Convention or by the National Executive Council;
- c) Put into consideration of the National Executive Council the list of precandidates for popular election corresponding to their respective province;
- d) Obey and have obey in the provincial jurisdiction, the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program, the Party's political line and the norms, dispositions and instructions given by the National Convention, the National Executive Council and the National Executive Director;
- e) Establish the popular contribution methods that will be applicable in each province for the Party's financing and periodically elaborate the imposition tables for the different contribution levels, according to the members'

income; all this according to the general norms dictated by the National Executive Council;

f) Answer the questions that, about party matters or political line, are formulated by the Cantonal Executive Councils, the Special Nucleus or the members of its provincial jurisdiction and cooperate with the Permanent Commissions, when it is required;

g) Decree the principalization of the substitute members due to definite absence of the principals, frequent absences of the principals to the sessions or due to repeated lack of compliance with tasks assigned to them;

h) Pay attention to the Party's organization and cooperation in the cantonal capital in which the Provincial Executive Council has its place of residence and, in general, assume all the functions that the Statute assigns the Cantonal Executive Councils;

i) Maintain a centralized registry of the province's members, with the regulatory information about each member, and inform on a bi-monthly basis to the National Executive Council the provincial membership activity; and,

j) The other attributions stated in the Statute and the Party's regulations.

Art. 39.- The Provincial Executive Director will be elected in the same session as the Council members, by the members of the province, for a period of two years. He can be immediately reelected once more and, consecutively, in interposed periods.

To hold this function it is required to be ecuadorian by birth and a member of the Party, for at least one year before the election.

Art. 40.- The Provincial Executive Director will exercise, within his jurisdiction, the political representation of the Provincial Executive Council.

Art. 41.- The duties and attributions of the Provincial Executive Director are:

- a) Preside the Provincial Executive Council sessions and subscribe the respective records;
- b) Sign the appointments of the Party's administrative personnel within the province;
- c) Draw, together with the Treasurer, the checks against the Party's demand deposit accounts, and in general, order the mobilization of provincial funds;
- d) Promote the formation of Special Nucleus and parochial, neighborhood, precinct and settlement cells;
- e) Exercise the coordinating functions between the Provincial Executive Council and the National Executive Council;
- f) Oversee the activities of the municipal and sectional functions held by members of the Party within the provincial public administration, give instructions for action and see that the exercise of these activities is in accordance with the doctrinal and programatic postulates of the Party;
- g) Organize and direct the Party's political and administrative activity in its jurisdiction; oversee the

progress of the Cantonal Executive Councils; control the personnel's work; oversee the accounting, auditing, treasury, collection, archive, promotion and propaganda; write the correspondence; and, in general, control the Party's administrative progress within its provincial jurisdiction;

h) Maintain the National Executive Council permanently informed about the Party's progress in the Province;

i) Obey and have obey in its provincial jurisdiction the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program, the political line and the decisions taken by the Party's higher authorities;

j) Elaborate the provincial budget projects and present them, with enough time, for the approval of the Provincial Executive Council;

k) Formulate public declarations, in the name of the Provincial Executive Council, with strict subjection to the ideological postulates and the instructions received from the Party's higher organisms;

l) Register the Party's provincial candidacies in the respective Provincial Electoral Tribunal, according to the Law;

m) Assume the direction of the electoral campaigns in its provincial jurisdiction, according to the instructions received from the Party's higher organisms;

n) Ask the Discipline Tribunal for instructions against members of its jurisdiction that have committed disciplinary

faults, infractions or dishonest acts in their public life, that can directly or indirectly affect the Party's prestige; and,

o) Exercise the other duties and statutory and reglamentary attributions.

Art.42.- The Provincial Executive Council will elect, outside of its body, a Provincial Treasurer for a two year period; in order to hold this post it is required to be a Party member for at least one year before the election.

The Provincial Treasurer will be personally responsible for the funds under his custody and will give account of them to the Provincial Executive Council and the Party's higher authorities.

Art. 43.- The Provincial Treasurer's duties are:

a) Direct the economic collection activities in his jurisdiction, according to the tables and contribution systems established by the Provincial Executive Council;

b) Maintain custody, under his responsibility, of the collected funds;

c) Draw, together with the Provincial Executive Director, against the Party's demand deposit accounts held by the Executive Council;

d) Make payments and disbursements ordered by the Provincial Executive Director;

e) Keep track of incoming and outgoing accounts and present them, at least on a monthly basis, to the Provincial Executive Council;

- f) Maintain the Provincial Executive Council permanently informed about the financial management under him;
- g) Keep track of the inventory of the Party's goods in his jurisdiction; and,
- h) Exercise all other statutory attributions and those assigned by the Party's higher authorities.

CHAPTER VIII

CANTONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

Art.44.- In each of the cantons, with the exception of the cantonal heads in which the Provincial Executive Council resides, there will be a Cantonal Executive Council conformed by the Cantonal Executive Director and six members, elected through direct vote by the members that reside in the canton. At the same time than the principals, six substitute members will be elected that, according to the order of their election, will indistinctly replace the principals that are absent. If the fault were definite the substitute will become principal until the end of the period for which the principal was elected.

The Party's members, that hold the posts of President of the Municipal Council or Councilmen of the Canton, can be present in the Cantonal Executive Council sessions with voice but no vote.

In order to be a member of the Cantonal Executive Council it is required to be a Party member.

Art.45.- The Cantonal Executive Director will preside the

Council's sessions. The Secretary will have voice but no vote, will be elected, by the Council, from outside its body and will last two years in its functions.

The Cantonal Executive Council will elect, from among its principal members, the Cantonal Executive Sub-director, called to replace the Executive Director in case of a temporary or definite absence. In case of a definite absence, the substitution will last until the end of the period for which the principal was elected.

The Council will also designate, from among its principal members, the member that will eventually replace the Cantonal Executive Sub-director.

Art.46.- The Cantonal Executive Council's quorum will be conformed with the presence of at least four members, counting the substitutes that, due to a temporary or permanent absence of the principals, are called and attend the session.

Art.47.- The principal and substitute members who have become principals can be reelected immediately once, and in the future, on interposed periods. This disposition does not hold for the substitute members that have not become definite principals.

Art. 48.- The decisions of the Cantonal Executive Council will be taken by absolute vote majority. Each one of the members will have a vote, that will be expressed or deposited personally.

Art. 49.- The members can freely propose to the Cantonal

Executive Council to consider any subject under their competence, even though it is not included in the day's order.

Art.50.- The records of the Cantonal Executive Council, that will be kept by the Secretary, will be approved at the end of the session or in the next ordinary session. The signatures of the Cantonal Executive Director and the Secretary will be recorded.

Art.51.- In case of a vote tie, the Cantonal Executive Director, or whoever replaces him, will deposit an additional decisive vote.

Art.52.- The Cantonal Executive Council's duties and attributions are:

- a) Elect, among its principal members, the Cantonal Executive Sub-director and the member who will replace him;
- b) Obey and have obey, in his cantonal jurisdiction, the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program, the Party's political line and the norms, dispositions and instructions given by the higher organisms;
- c) Oversee popular contributions for the Party's financing, according to the systems and contribution tables elaborated by the Provincial Executive Council;
- d) Maintain a centralized register of the canton's members, with all the regulatory data, and communicate on a bi-monthly basis to the Provincial Executive Council the membership movement; and,

e) All other duties and attributions contemplated in the Statutes and regulations.

Art.53.- The Cantonal Executive Director will be elected, in the same session as the Council's members, by the members of the canton, for a period of two years. He can be immediately reelected one more time, and in the future, with interposed periods.

In order to hold this function it is required to be ecuadorian by birth and a Party member for at least one year before the election.

Art.54.- The Cantonal Executive Director will hold, within his jurisdiction, the political representation of the Cantonal Executive Council.

Art.55.- The duties and attributions of the Cantonal Executive Director are:

- a) Preside over the sessions of the Cantonal Executive Council and subscribe the respective records;
- b) Sign the appointments of the Party's administrative personnel within the Canton;
- c) Draw, together with the Treasurer, the checks against the demand deposit accounts of the Cantonal Executive Council and, in general, order the mobilization of the cantonal funds;
- d) Promote the formation of parochial, neighborhood, precinct and settlement cells;
- d) Exercise the coordinating functions between the Cantonal Executive Council and its respective Provincial Executive

Council;

f) Oversee the exercise of the municipal and sectional functions held by the Party's members within the cantonal public administration, give instructions for action and see that the exercise of the same is adjusted to the Party's doctrinal and programatic postulates;

g) Organize and direct the Party's political and administrative activity in its jurisdiction; oversee the base cells, control the personnel's work; oversee the accounting, auditing, treasury, collection and propaganda, write the correspondence; and, in general, control the Party's administrative progress in its cantonal jurisdiction;

h) Maintain the Provincial Executive Council permanently informed about the Party's progress in its canton;

i) Obey and have obey in its cantonal jurisdiction the Declaration of Ideological Principles, the Minimum Government Program, the political line and the decisions of the Party's higher organisms;

j) Elaborate the sectional budget projects with enough time and present them for the approval of the Cantonal Executive Council;

k) Formulate public declarations, in the name of the Cantonal Executive Council, with strict submittance to the ideological postulates;

l) Assume the direction of electoral campaigns in its cantonal jurisdiction, according to the instructions

received by the Party's higher organisms;

m) Ask the Discipline Tribunal for the instructions against the members of its jurisdiction that have committed disciplinary faults, infractions or dishonest acts in their public life; and,

n) Exercise other statutory and reglamentary attributions.

Art. 56.- The Cantonal Executive Council will elect, outside of its body, a Cantonal Treasurer for a two year period, to exercise this post it is necessary to be a Party member at least a year before the election.

The Cantonal Treasurer will be personally responsible for the funds under its custody and will give account of the same to the Cantonal Executive Council and the Party's higher authorities.

Art. 57.- The duties of the Cantonal Treasurer are:

a) Direct the economic collection activities in its jurisdiction, according to the systems and contribution tables established by the Provincial Executive Council;

b) Keep, under his responsibility, the collected funds;

c) Draw, together with the Cantonal Executive Director, against the demand deposit accounts that it maintains in the Executive Council and, in general, make all the corresponding debits;

d) Make payments and disbursements ordered by the Cantonal Executive Director;

e) Maintain incoming and outgoing accounts and present them, at least monthly, to the Cantonal Executive Council's

consideration;

f) Maintain the Cantonal Executive Council permanently informed about the activities under its obligation;

g) Maintain an inventory of the Party's goods in his jurisdiction; and,

h) Exercise all other statutory attributions and those assigned by the Party's higher authorities.

CHAPTER IX

BASE CELLS

Art. 58.- In each city neighborhood and in each parish, precinct and rural settlement of the Canton there will be a Party Cell, as a popular action base organism.

Art. 59.- The Cell cannot have less than ten members, who will elect their President, Vicepresident, Secretary, Treasurer and members in the numbers that they consider convenient.

The elections of Cell leaders will take place according to the regulatory dispositions issued by the National Executive Council.

The Cell directive functions will last one year.

Art. 60.- The Cell President, as its representative, will exercise the directive functions, will coordinate the Cell's work with that of the Cantonal Executive Council of which it depends and will periodically inform about its activities.

Art. 61.- It corresponds to the Cells, as the Party's base organism in the city and in the countryside, to divulge the

ideological and programatic principles, obtain Party memberships, obey the missions assigned to them by the Party authorities; and, in general, obey the dispositions that come from the Party's higher organisms.

CHAPTER X

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

Art. 62.- The National Executive Permanent Secretariat will be directed, on an operating basis by the Executive Secretary at a national level.

Art. 63.- This organism will have its residence in the place where the National Executive Council functions.

Art. 64.- The duties of the National Executive Secretary are:

- a) Maintain and hold custody of the records of the National Executive Council sessions; as well as all correspondence directed to this organism.
- b) Authenticate and certify with his signature all documents relative to his position.
- c) Communicate opportunely the days and hours established for the National Executive Council sessions and other Party activities directed by its authorities.
- d) Keep under his custody and responsibility the members' general archives, resolutions, communications and others;
- e) Require from the Provincial and Cantonal Executive Secretaries the necessary and sufficient information about the respective jurisdictional activities.

- f) Communicate with enough anticipation to the Party's Sectoral Organisms, be it Provincial, Cantonal, Special Nucleus and others the resolutions of the National Executive Council's ordinary and extraordinary sessions;
- g) Send documentation pertaining to ideological, political and other orientation studies given by the pertinent authorities to all the Party's organisms at a national level;
- h) Coordinate the activities of the Provincial and Cantonal Executive secretaries, with the intention of harmonizing and overseeing their work.
- i) Formulate the expense budget necessary for its functioning and send the same to the National Executive Council for its approval.

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC EXERCISE

Section One.- Balance and Inventory

Art. 65.- The Party's economic exercise will be counted from January 1st until December 31st of each year.

On December 31st all accounts will be cut and a new inventory and general balance will be made to determine the Party's financial status.

Art. 66.- The balance and other financial documents will be adjusted to the general accounting rules and will have the signatures of the General Treasurer and a Federated Accountant. This documents will be presented annually to

the National Executive Council.

Copies of the same will be given to the Fiscalization Tribunal so that it can, after having formulated its observations and suggestions, if there were any, submit to the consideration of the National Executive Council.

Section Two.- General Treasurer

Art. 67.- The National Executive Council will elect, outside of its body, a General Treasurer for a two year period. In order to exercise this position it is required to be Party member. Art. 68.- The General Treasurer will be personally responsible for the funds under his custody.

Art. 69.- The General Treasurer's duties are:

- a) Direct the Party's economic collection operations;
- b) Maintain under his responsibility the Party's funds;
- c) Draw jointly with the National Executive Director, against the Party's demand deposit accounts;
- d) Make payments and disbursements ordered by the National Director;
- e) Maintain the Party's accounting, that must be signed by a Federated Accountant and a detailed book of all its goods. The documents and accounting receipts, dated and paged, will be kept for at least five years, from the date of the last seat;
- f) Present on a monthly basis to the consideration of the National Executive Council, and also at any moment that this organism requires, the Party's state of accounts;
- g) Maintain a separate account of the subsidies that in

compliance with the Law of Parties are granted by the State and present an annual report of its use to the pertinent authorities subjected to the legal dispositions;

h) Assist to the National Executive Council sessions with voice but no vote; and,

i) Exercise other statutory and reglamentary obligations and attributions.

Section Three.- Fiscalization Tribunal

Art. 70.- The Party will have a Fiscalization Tribunal conformed by three principal members, elected for a two year period by the National Convention. In order to be a member of this Tribunal it is required to be a Party member.

At the same time than the principals, the National Convention will elect three substitute members of the Tribunal that will indistinctly replace the principals that were absent, according to the order of their election.

Art. 71.- The Tribunal's quorum will be conformed with the presence of three of its members including the substitutes, that due to the principals' absence have been called to be part of the Tribunal.

Art. 72.- The Tribunal's decisions will be taken by absolute vote majority. Of the decisions taken there will be written evidence in a summary record, that will have the signatures of the President and Secretary.

The Tribunal will name from its members, the President and Secretary.

Art. 73.- The Fiscalization Tribunal duties are:

- a) Examine at any moment, and at least once every quarter, the Party's accounting papers, books and funds;
- b) Demand from the General Treasurer the reception of a monthly balance;
- c) Assist through its President, with voice but no vote, to the National Executive Council sessions;
- d) Propose with a purpose the removal of the Party's General Treasurer and the Provincial and Cantonal Treasurers;
- e) Present with enough time to the National Executive Council, the accusations or observations that it considers convenient;
- f) Review the balance and the Party's incoming and outgoing accounts and inform about them to the National Executive Council;
- g) Present annually to the Party's National Convention an analytical report about the Treasury's accounts; and,
- h) Other attributions inherent to the fiscalization function.

Section Four.- Party's Patrimony

Art. 74.- The Party's patrimony is conformed by the following goods:

- a) By the ordinary and extraordinary contributions of its members;
- b) By the movable and immovable goods acquired by the Party;
- c) By the State subsidies, in compliance with the Law of

Political Parties;

d) By the returns produced by the Party's goods and by the revenues that the Party obtains through its investments; and,

e) By the donations that the members and sympathizers give to the Party.

CHAPTER XII

ITS MEMBERS

Art. 75.- The Party is conformed by all its members and sympathizers.

Members are those that are bound to the Party through the official membership link and by the disciplinary ties established by this Statute.

Sympathizers are those that, without a membership, demonstrate their ideological and programatic preference for the Party and follow its political line, but are not bound by disciplinary ties.

Art. 76.- All ecuadorians that have reached eighteen years of age and that share the ideological principles of the Izquierda Democratica, can request their admission to the Party. The membership request, verbal or written, will be presented to the Provincial Executive Council, Cantonal Executive Council, Base Cells or Special Nucleus that correspond to the place of residence of the petitioner. If the request was accepted the person will sign a document in which he will pledge, by his honor, to keep strick adherence

to the Party's doctrinal and programmatic postulates, to follow its political line, obey its Statute and regulations and the orders and dispositions of the authorities. The person will obtain a membership card, which will accredit him as an active Party member.

Art. 77.- Despite the above, juvenile nucleus of sympathizers under eighteen years old can be conformed, with the purpose of preparing them ideologically for their membership in the Party.

Art. 78.- Each one of the Cantonal Executive Councils, will maintain a register of the members of its jurisdiction, with the name, surname, identity card, residence, activity, age, marital status, card number and membership date.

Every two months this data will be sent to the Provincial Executive Council to whom it belongs as well as to the National Executive Council.

Art. 79.- All the members will have equal duties with the Party, they will have the same rights and opportunities to exercise them, unless there are certain cases where the Statutes require additional requisites.

Art. 80.- The affiliation card is the only credential that enables the member to exercise all its rights. It must be presented however many times the Party authorities require.

Art. 81.- The members duties and rights are:

a) Maintain total loyalty over the Party's doctrinary and programatic principles, defend and divulge them on all proper occasions and permanently make proselytizing actions

to widen and deepen the Party's militancy bases.

b) Follow the electoral and political Party line, obey the Statute dispositions and follow the resolutions, instructions and orders given by the authorities.

c) Actively participate in the mobilizations, meetings and other public acts organized by the Party, contribute to a better and wider diffusion of its principles, formulate initiatives and projects to the Party's authorities; collaborate in the Party's publications and debates; deepen the doctrinary training; and, in general, assume a militant and loyal attitude of promotion of Party postulates and programs;

d) Collaborate in the Party's electoral campaigns, be it national or sectional and vote for its candidates;

e) Exercise the right of internal self-criticism of the Party, with objectivity and without passion, with the intention of correcting errors and vigorizing its action. All external criticism and self-criticism to the Party is prohibited;

f) Obey promptly, efficiently and loyally the missions assigned by the Party authorities;

g) Demonstrate a sense of solidarity, comradeship and help towards all Party members;

h) Proceed with responsibility, honesty and correction in the exercise of public functions and obey the instructions that, for its performance, are given by the party authorities;

- i) Abide by the prohibition of accepting public functions, that are established by the Party authorities. In any case, if there were no such prohibition, ask for a written authorization to the Provincial Executive Council;
- j) Elect and be elected to Party functions, be part of its directive organisms and be candidatized for electoral functions within the State;
- k) Punctually pay the ordinary and extraordinary contributions for the Party's financing;
- l) Obey other duties and exercise other rights reflected in the Statute.

CHAPTER XIII

DISCIPLINE TRIBUNALS

Art. 82.- The National Convention, will elect through written and secret vote, five principal members to the National Discipline Tribunal, for a two year period. At the same time than the principals, it will also elect five substitute members that, in order of election, will indistinctly replace those principals that were absent. If the absence were permanent, the substitution will last until the end of the period for which the principal members were elected. At least two of the principal members and two of the substitute members must be Lawyers.

To be a member of this Tribunal it is required to be a Party member for at least two years before the election.

The functions of member of the Tribunal and of other Party

administrative organisms are incompatible.

In case of a temporary absence by the President or Secretary, the Tribunal will replace them with one of its members. If the absence were definite the substitution will last until the end of the period.

Art. 83.- The National Discipline Tribunal will have its residence in the place where the National Executive Council is functioning and its jurisdiction will be national. It corresponds to the Tribunal to judge the conduct of the Party members and sanction them, in the terms stated in the Statute.

Art. 84.- The Tribunal can act freely or by a request and will have total freedom to order the practice of investigative or probatory diligences that esteems convenient to clarify the case. It will judge briefly and summarily those accused. The deliberations and votes will be reserved but the sentence, duly motivated, will be public and will be notified to the interested parties and the Party's directive organisms. The accused will have all the possibilities and freedom for its defense, that can be exercised by itself or by another person. The Tribunal will do away with formalities and will appreciate all proofs acted with own criteria. The Tribunal's decisions cannot be appealed and become applicable from the date of notification to the interested party and the Party's directive organisms.

Art. 85.- Creation of Provincial Discipline Tribunals.

Art. 86.- The Tribunal will be integrated by at least three

members, with the inclusion of the substitutes, that due to the absence of the principals, have been called to conform it. The sentences will be approved by a favorable vote of an absolute majority of those present. It is prohibited to vote in blank or abstain. In case of a vote tie the President, or whoever takes his place, will deposit a decisive vote.

Art. 87.- The Secretary will make a file with all that took place and will keep it under his custody and responsibility.

Art. 88.- The National Executive Director, the members of the National Executive Council, the Provincial Directors and the members of the Discipline Tribunal, have special state of privilege. For their judgment a Special Tribunal will be conformed with the members of the National Executive Council and the Discipline Tribunal, less the prosecuted. The deliberations will be directed by the President of the Discipline Tribunal or whoever replaces him and his Secretary will exercise the actuary functions. The session will be conformed by more than half of the totality of members of the two organisms. The sentences will be approved by absolute vote majority. It is prohibited to deposit a blank vote or abstain. In case of a tie, the President will deposit an additional decisive vote.

The activities and procedures of this Special Tribunal will be followed, where applicable, by the norms stated in the Statutes of the Discipline Tribunal.

CHAPTER XIV

PARTY INFRACTIONS

Art. 89.- The members infractions against the prestige, security, integrity and unity of the Party are:

a) Lack of observance of the Declaration of Ideological Principles, Minimum Government Plan, dispositions of the Statute and the norms, resolutions and instructions granted by the Party's competent authorities.

b) Accept positions or hold public functions, violating that stated in literal i) of Art.81).

c) Commit common law infractions or execute dishonest or detrimental acts to the dignity of the member, that can affect directly or indirectly the Party's prestige;

d) Lack of compliance of the instructions given by the Party's authorities for the exercise of public, central or sectional functions;

e) Divisionary Party labor; formulation of public declarations against it, his directors or doctrinal and programmatic postulates; complicity with the Party's adversaries; indiscipline or disobedience to the authorities;

f) Arbitrary or fraudulent use of the Party's goods and funds.

g) Commit probity or negligence faults in the exercise of public functions; and,

h) Distancing from the Party's electoral line, public

attack to its candidates or alliance with contrary political forces.

Art. 90.- Given the seriousness of the committed fault and previous to the consideration of the attenuating or aggravating circumstances that surround the case, the Discipline Tribunal can impose the accused one or more of the following penalties:

- a) Written warning
- b) Temporary suspension in the exercise of the membership rights;
- c) Temporary suspension to hold candidacies for popular direct election functions; and,
- d) Expulsion from the Party;

Art. 91.- If the fault involves an offense, the Party can denounce the act or accuse the infractor if that was legally justified.

APPENDIX III

IZQUIERDA DEMOCRATICA'S CALENDAR OF EVENTS

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June 22nd - Velasco Ibarra proclaims himself dictator. He disregards the results of the June 7th parliamentary and sectional elections and stops Congress from assembling on August 10th.

June 24th - The Izquierda Democratica calls for the organization of the popular masses and youth in a modern, leftist and democratic party that will fight for the establishment of social justice and economic development.

August 28th - The Izquierda Democratica demonstrates economic wrongdoing of Velasco's government; reason for a group of civil servants to audit its leaders.

October 25th - The Izquierda Democratica feels that a Plebiscite is not the best way to return to a constitutional government.

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February 18th - The Izquierda Democratica asks its sympathizers and members to vote NO in the upcoming Plebiscite.

June 22nd - The Izquierda Democratica criticizes the

government's financial management.

June 25th - The Izquierda Democratica states that a Provisional Government must take over to organize the country.

June 29th - The Izquierda Democratica's University Front elects Lcdo. Daniel Montoya as its President.

July 16th - The Izquierda Democratica maintains its political activism against Velasco Ibarra's government.

July 26th - The Izquierda Democratica does not believe in the convenience of governments of national concentration, without any definition, but in governments with defined thesis, with worker and student participation which operate on the basis of a concrete program of results.

August 27th - The Izquierda Democratica establishes contacts in the Provinces of Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Chimborazo and Azuay to bring the new movement to a national level.

August 27th - Members of the Izquierda Democratica meet with Lic. Walter Nocker, member of the German Socialist Party, who visited Ecuador.

August 27th - The Izquierda Democratica sends a message to Bolivian Head of State, Hugo Banzer, asking him to stop attacks on Bolivian university students.

August 27th - Izquierda Democratica leaders meet with

Chilean President Salvador Allende on his visit to Ecuador.

August 27th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja in a TV interview in Cuenca explains what constitutes the Izquierda Democratica. He establishes contacts with professionals, students and popular groups in this city.

August 31st - The Izquierda Democratica does not form part of the "Supreme Electoral Tribunal". The Izquierda Democratica is against the "Plan of Return" imposed by the government.

The Izquierda Democratica clarifies that the "Izquierda Democratica" movement formed in 1968 was a coalition of political parties integrated by the Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares, the Liberal party and a faction of the Socialist party. This coalition had only electoral ends. After the elections, the alliance desintegrated and each party followed its own line. The Izquierda Democratica is something totally different, it is a new political party in formation.

September 3rd - The Izquierda Democratica denounces the government's financial loans with foreign banks.

September 5th - The Izquierda Democratica's leadership visits Latacunga, in the Province of Tungurahua, to establish its first contacts.

September 18th - The President of the Izquierda

Democratica's University Front, Lt. Daniel Montoya is detained in reaction to a criticism made by him about the Government's new Hydrocarbon Law.

September 19th - The Izquierda Democratica states that exports to Europe and Japan should not only be liquidated in U.S. dollars but in Yen and Deutsch Marks in order to diversify the Ecuadorian monetary reserve and avoid it being affected by the U.S. dollar's fluctuation.

September 24th - The Izquierda Democratica's interest is not electoral but aims to organize its membership, analyze the country's problems and formulate a program of action to solve them. Only when this purpose is accomplished will the Izquierda Democratica name its members for Presidential elections.

September 26th - The Izquierda Democratica's leaders were given a conference by Colombian economist and sociologist, Antonio Granda, on "The Theory of Domination and Dependence of Underdeveloped Countries to Industrial Powers".

October 6th - The Izquierda Democratica states that there is no Oil Policy in Ecuador.

October 8th - The Izquierda Democratica states that Oil companies should sell all their dollars from oil exports to the Central Bank.

October 14th - The Izquierda Democratica organizes a series of conferences for its members on all aspects of oil policies.

October 15th - Dr. Luis Pallares Z., leader of the Izquierda Democratica, states in a TV interview that the "Plan of Return" the way it is structured, has no viability and criticizes the government for the way in which it is handling the return to democracy.

October 16th - Dr. Luis Pallares Z. is taken prisoner.

October 21st - Lcdo. Daniel Montoya, President of the Izquierda Democratica's University movement is sent to prison. Six members of the Izquierda Democratica have been taken prisoner during this government: Dr. Luis Moreno Cordero, Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, Edmundo Sandoval, Dr. Luis Pallares Z., and Lcdo. Daniel Montoya.

October 22nd - The Izquierda Democratica states its disagreement with the government's Decree that distributes the oil royalties 50% to an electricity project and 50% to the Armed Forces.

October 27th - The Izquierda Democratica states it will not form part of the "Civic Front" to name a candidate for the next Presidential elections.

November 2nd - Dr. Luis Pallares Z., is freed from prison.

November 23rd - The Izquierda Democratica states that the government's economic measures lack orientation.

November 23rd - The Izquierda Democratica intensifies its political activity in the Province of Loja.

November 26th - The Izquierda Democratica attacks the new reforms to the "Electoral Law".

November 28th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja, Executive National Director of the Izquierda Democratica, travels to Costa Rica to attend a meeting of Latin American Democratic Revolutionary leaders. Several members of socialist and leftist parties will attend.

December 6th - A committee of the Izquierda Democratica integrated by Dr. Luis Pallares Z., Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos and Luis Moreno Cordero will fly to Panama to return with Assaad Bucaram, Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares leader who has been in exile for 6 months.

December 12th - The Izquierda Democratica opposes the government's procedure to call for general elections while maintaining a state of Martial Law. This will not guarantee adequate freedom for the electoral process.

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January 3rd - The Izquierda Democratica criticizes the lack of an oil policy and deplores Ecuador's lack of

membership in the OPEP.

January 4th - An agreement might have been reached between members of the Izquierda Democratica and Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares to form a political block to participate in the next Presidential elections.

January 4th - Possibility of an agreement between Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares and Izquierda Democratica for the upcoming Presidential elections will be announced shortly.

January 5th - The Izquierda Democratica and Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares are reaching last minute agreements to join forces for the upcoming Presidential elections.

January 7th - There is an internal disagreement within Izquierda Democratica's members on joining forces with Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares.

January 16th - Izquierda Democratica and Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares broke their agreement. Izquierda Democratica had major differences of opinion with Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares. Meanwhile, Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares made an agreement with the Liberal Party.

January 16th - Izquierda Democratica will not support Jaime del Castillo, ever since he entertained the formation

of a political front that will allow the participation of rightist forces. Izquierda Democratica will continue to fight against the dictatorship.

Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that the Izquierda Democratica has approximately 60,000 members.

January 19th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja agrees with the change from a voluntary vote to a compulsory vote as established by the government for the June elections.

January 22nd - I have not lost the Vice-Presidency nor the Izquierda Democratica, because the party is not looking for alliances with Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares, stated Dr. Manuel Cordova in a TV interview. The party will look for a united leftist front, in consultation with popular bases. Nevertheless, it will not be absent from the electoral process.

January 24th - Izquierda Democratica will not support government reforms. The party will instruct its followers to vote NO or cast a blank vote.

February 1st - The Izquierda Democratica proposes the formation of a center-left front in which the progressive and popular forces would be included.

February 3rd - The Izquierda Democratica will not form part of the "Frente de la Patria" formed by all leftist parties. Dr. Aurelio Carrera del Rio stated that the

Izquierda Democratica would become part of the "Front" if:

- a) The Socialist Party is not involved,
- b) The Federation of Barrios de Quito and the Frente Alfarista of Abdon Calderon Munoz form part of it,
- c) Andres F. Cordova be designated as Presidential candidate.

All points but the inclusion of the Federation of Barrios were rejected.

February 4th - Dr. R. Borja refutes the statements made by Dr. Aurelio Carrera del Rio, member of the P.N.R. on the conditions the Izquierda Democratica had demanded to form part of the "Front". Borja states that:

1. It was our purpose to contribute to the unity of all parties from the left to the political center. Izquierda Democratica thought necessary that the UDP, which had several leftist groups, have one and not three representatives.
 - a. That groups having no real presence in the country not be accepted.
 - b. That the Socialist groups presided by Lcdo. Colon Serrano be preferred over those of Dr. Oleas.
 - c. That the "Federacion de Barrios" be admitted.

2. That the "Front" not be constituted until an agreement is reached on general key aspects: ideological and programatic points, Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

3. Members of the P.N.R. suggested Andres F. Cordova's name as Presidential candidate.

4. Lists of candidates should be proportional to their political strength.

5. As above points were not accepted, Izquierda Democratica

left the "Front".

February 6th - The Izquierda Democratica protests against an economic decree with inflationary results.

February 10th - The Frente Radical Alfarista (FRA) invites the Izquierda Democratica to join forces for the forthcoming Presidential elections.

February 11th - The Izquierda Democratica is studying the proposal from the FRA.

February 15th - A military government deposes Velasco Ibarra.

February 17th - The Izquierda Democratica approves the overthrow of Velasco Ibarra's government. The Izquierda Democratica will be vigilant of the actions taken by the new military government, especially in uncovering financial wrongdoings by Velasco Ibarra's government.

March 11th - The Izquierda Democratica states points that must be investigated by the new military government.

March 15th - The Izquierda Democratica states that the government's plan is coherent and logic. However, the plan is of a reformist rather than a revolutionary nature, since it pretends to reform the existing structures rather than substitute them. Points to be noted:

1. Foreign banks must bring more capital to operate in the

country.

2. The State must deal directly on foreign commerce and avoid intermediaries.

3. There should be a better definition of oil policies and an incorporation of the country into the OPEP.

4. The Government must sanction wrongdoings against society.

5. The Public administration needs to be revamped.

6. The Armed Forces' orientation should be towards socio-economic development without excessive military expenses.

March 16th - The Izquierda Democratica denounces alteration of a decree on a contract given to Constructora Guayas S.A. by the former government.

April 3rd - The Izquierda Democratica denounces overpayment to construction company INCA by the former government.

April 7th - The Izquierda Democratica authorized that one of its members, Dr. Francisco Salgado, be a member of a group of legislation in the Government Council, under the premise that the government will act on the socio-economic changes that the country needs. This fact does not alter the position of absolute and total independence that the Izquierda Democratica maintains with the military government.

April 24th - The Izquierda Democratica proposes charging Velasco Ibarra and former Cabinet members for

financial wrongdoings on loans with foreign banks.

May 1st - The Izquierda Democratica prepares future party leaders through roundtables.

May 12th - The Izquierda Democratica protests against war escalation in Vietnam.

July 31st - The Government is acquiring fascist characteristics, expressed Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos in a TV interview.

August 2nd - The Finance Minister replies to an attack by the Izquierda Democratica. The Government has concrete plans and is executing them. The Secretary of the Administration, refutes Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos' accusations and calls on him to explain his criticisms.

August 6th - The Province of Pichincha's Council and Municipality were reorganized.

August 7th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja was named Concejal of the Canton Quito by the military government.

August 8th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja declines the appointment. He states that as Director of the Izquierda Democratica's movement political independence must be preserved.

August 14th - The Izquierda Democratica gains strength in the province of Loja.

September 9th - The Izquierda Democratica states that it is allowing the government time to get organized.

September 26th - Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, member of the Izquierda Democratica, attended a conference in Costa Rica on "Violence in Latin America."

October 2nd - The Izquierda Democratica endorsed the workers' rejection of Decree 1098, limiting their right to strike.

October 16th - Cr1. (R) Andres Cordova Galarza, member of the Izquierda Democratica, participated in a conference on "Civil Power and Military Power" held in Costa Rica.

October 28th - The Izquierda Democratica is the only political group to attend the World Oil Symposium held in Quito.

November 13th - The Government must identify itself ideologically, expressed Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos in a TV interview. He pointed out the existence of two contradictory currents in the government.

November 27th - The Production Minister opposes Agrarian Reform, according to Izquierda Democratica's leader Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos.

November 29th - The Izquierda Democratica adheres to the petition formulated by family members of Jaime Galarza

Zavala, that he be presented to the Red Cross to verify his condition.

November 30th - The Izquierda Democratica expresses its concern over the creation of a "National Secretariat for Public Information" which will limit freedom.

December 4th - The Izquierda Democratica backs newspaper "El Tiempo" of Cuenca, which is under threat by the military government.

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January 4th - The Izquierda Democratica states its displeasure with Decree No. 1468, dated December 22nd, in which Article 17th of the Ecuadorian Housing Bank Law and Saving Associations is reformed.

February 15th - The Izquierda Democratica states that the first year of military government is uncertain and unsteady.

February 20th - The Izquierda Democratica believes the best action on the part of the military government is its oil policy. Its worst action is not being able to control inflation. The Armed Forces shouldn't stay in power for too long.

March 1st - The Izquierda Democratica demands that a concrete style of political action be adopted by the government.

March 9th - Carlos Garcia, Izquierda Democratica's Director for the Province of Loja, travels to Costa Rica to attend a roundtable on "Balance and Experience of Agrarian Reform in Latin America".

March 22nd - The outcome of a roundtable on Agrarian Reform sponsored by the Izquierda Democratica is that agricultural land is not fully utilized.

March 22nd - Freedom of information is endangered by the creation of "SENDIP" National Secretariat for Public Information, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja.

March 22nd - Oil richness will bring inflation and greater economic differences, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja.

June 9th - The Military government is moderately reformist, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja in a conference on "Where are Ecuador and Latin America Heading?"

July 8th - The Izquierda Democratica believes that the lengthening of the Armed Forces in power possesses risks such as institutional bureaucratization, loss of prestige, development of a new oligarchy, danger of internal division.

July 8th - The Military government must be a bridge between an old political style and a new social democracy according to the Izquierda Democratica.

July 11th - The Izquierda Democratica justifies a return to a civilian government. The Military government has not fulfilled its promises of a radical transformation in a short period of time.

July 14th - The Izquierda Democratica states it does not form part of the "Constitutional Restoration Front" but that does not mean it is against a return to democracy.

July 15th - The Izquierda Democratica proposes a formula for a program of advancement to a constitutional government.

August 15th - The Izquierda Democratica states its displeasure with the imprisonment of ecuadorians exercising their right of free expression and the repressive actions against teachers and students.

September 11th - Ecuadorians should not renounce their right to organize themselves politically and express their views to this or other regime, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja, in the midst of the government's plan that all political groups must ask authorization to perform political activities.

September 12th - Commenting on Dr. Salvador Allende's fall in Chile, Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that utopian leftists truncated Allende's experiment and gave way to other groups to achieve power.

September 18th - The Izquierda Democratica states that the three main reasons that truncated Allende's experiment were: 1. Hostile attitude by U.S. 2. Internal sabotage by strong economic groups. 3. Interference by utopian leftist groups.

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February 9th - The Izquierda Democratica states that the government calls itself revolutionary but it has not been able to stop inflation.

February 17th - The Izquierda Democratica expresses its displeasure at the lack of willingness by the government to turn power back to civilian hands.

February 25th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja is invited by the newly elected President of Venezuela, Dr. Carlos Andres Perez, of Accion Democratica, a leftist-democratic party, to attend the inaugural ceremony.

March 27th - The Izquierda Democratica states its views on new economic measures. The government has lingered too long in taking steps to stop inflation and they are not sufficient.

May 6th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja expresses that Ecuador suffers an inflationary process with grave consequences, as well as a demographic explosion.

July 4th - The Izquierda Democratica is organizing conferences on several social, economic and political issues.

July 25th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that while inflation continues at high levels it is impossible to obtain social development.

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July 7th - The Izquierda Democratica states that Texaco-Gulf has recovered its investment made in Ecuador and has produced gains of around \$199,000. Therefore, it asks the military government to override its decision to lower the oil price, which Texaco-Gulf feels is overpriced.

September 1st - A military rebellion headed by Gen. Raul Gonzalez Alvear is suppressed.

September 29th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that Ecuador must break its historical cycle of dictatorships, plans of return, and constitutional regimes to advance towards a democratic order.

October 5th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states the need to reorganize the State, especially the transformation of the Legislative function.

December 7th - Andres Vallejo, member of the Izquierda Democratica, expresses the need to establish a democratic

government.

December 11th - The Izquierda Democratica replies the government attack to Andres Vallejo's proposal to establish a democratic government. Izquierda Democratica states that the military government has failed in initiating the revolutionary process. It ratifies its thesis that the military dictatorship must not be prolonged not even to preside over a return to a constitutional order and that it must be replaced by a progressive civilian government with the backing of the Armed Forces to establish the foundations of a new State.

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January 11th - Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez Lara is deposed by a military triumvirate.

February 21st - The Izquierda Democratica presents a constitutional plan to the new military government.

February 23rd - The Izquierda Democratica suggests the creation of a Commission to write a new Constitution; the establishment of electoral organizations and the elimination of the Constitutional Assembly. It defends direct Presidential Elections which will also serve as a mechanism of popular approval of the new Constitution.

May 29th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja attends a meeting of European and Latin American Socialist-Democratic leaders in

Caracas, Venezuela.

June 10th - The Izquierda Democratica proposes three options in reference to the Constitutional plan presented by the government which offers two. Izquierda Democratica proposals:

1. New Constitutional Project
2. 1967 Constitution
3. Constitutional Assembly.

July 7th - The Izquierda Democratica proposes the elaboration of a New Constitution approved through a popular referendum. Traditional parties propose a Constitutional Assembly to vote on the 1945 or 1967 Constitutions and elect a President indirectly.

December 10th - The First National Meeting of Izquierda Democratica's Leaders takes place in Quito.

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January 16th - The Izquierda Democratica's Declaration of Principles which was presented and discussed in the First Meeting of National Leaders on December 10th, 1976 is published.

January 27th - The Izquierda Democratica's Declaration of Principles receives favorable and positive press coverage.

January 30th - The Izquierda Democratica organizes

conferences in several cities.

February 4th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja and other political leaders expressed that the Plan of Juridical Reordering proposed by the government is the only road to a democratic regime.

Dr. Rodrigo Borja clarified that the Izquierda Democratica did not make any pact with Assaad Bucaram, leader of Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares, but carried out a conversation and the first condition was to have him sign a public document promising to comply with a specific and concrete government plan.

February 9th - The Izquierda Democratica asks for a special committee to investigate Dr. Ramiro Estrella, a government employee, who was found with \$25,000 in cash at the Caracas airport and to establish his guilt.

February 12th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states important aspects of Izquierda Democratica's program and thesis among them that it is an act of justice to give the vote to illiterates but at the same time it demands ethics on the part of the politicians.

February 20th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that political parties promote popular participation and are indispensable democratic elements. If we want our democratic system fortified we have to strengthen the political parties. We should have a law that regulates the existence of political

parties in the country.

February 25th - The Izquierda Democratica presented several points to the military government related to the political and labor situation that must be put into practice immediately.

February 28th - Dr. Manuel Cordova, member of the Izquierda Democratica, expresses his support in electing the President by a majority of votes.

March 1st - Izquierda Democratica leaders meet with the party's district leaders to discuss several issues concerning the next referendum.

March 4th - Izquierda Democratica will hold its National Convention in Quito from the 21st to the 24th of May with delegates from all provinces. The main reason for this event is to declare the Izquierda Democratica constituted as a Party.

March 9th - Several political parties submitted three names to opt for a place in the Supreme Tribunal for the Referendum, representing the citizens. Three places must be filled with a member of the left, right and center. The Izquierda Democratica nominates Dr. Alfredo Pareja Diez-Canseco, Eduardo Duran Diaz and Guillermo Serrano y Galarza.

March 11th - Izquierda Democratica's leaders visit Chone and hold meetings with members and sympathizers.

March 20th - Political parties cannot exist without popular support, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja. The best way to measure this support is by the electoral quotient received by a party in the elections.

March 20th - Izquierda Democratica's leaders intensify meetings with district leaders to instruct them on the next referendum.

March 20th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that the four or five months needed to divulge the text of the constitutional projects submitted in the Referendum are too long and it could be done in thirty days.

March 22nd - Constituents must decide between a Progressive Constitution and a Moderate-Conservative one, expressed Dr. Rodrigo Borja.

March 23rd - The Izquierda Democratica's Executive Provincial Council in Tungurahua was elected, its dignataries are:

Ing. Carlos Larrea	Executive Prov. Director
Dr. Jaime Lopez Freire	Member
Dr. Tarquino Pinto	Member
Arq. Leonidas Garces Nieto	Member
Sr. Alcides Mosquera C.	Member
Sr. Guido Palacios	Member
Dr. Jorge Rojas	Member

March 23rd - A political meeting organized by the Izquierda Democratica took place in Guaranda, capital of the Province of Bolivar. The participants were urged to conform

their Executive Provincial Council.

March 27th - Izquierda Democratica organizes itself in the Province of Chimborazo. The following members were elected:

Dr. Angel Martinez Luna	Director
Dr. Luis Alberto Costales C.	Member
Dr. Gualberto Marino R.	Member
Dr. German Espinoza Larrea	Member
Lcdo. Luis Vinueza	Member
Dr. Bolivar Arguello	Member
Lcdo. Enrique Hinostroza	Member
Sr. Alfonso Mancheno	Member
Ing. Alfonso Escandon	Member
Sr. Luis Alfredo Paredes	Secretary

April 4th - The Izquierda Democratica intensifies political meetings throughout the country.

April 6th - Responding to a government statement that the Referendum will take longer to be executed due to delays in identity card processing, the Izquierda Democratica stated: "The people are losing faith in the government, therefore, power must be handed to a civilian, with a progressive outlook, to direct the constitutional process."

April 9th - The Izquierda Democratica elects its directory in Otavalo, Province of Imbabura. Executive Director is named Sr. Luis Garces Moreano.

April 10th - The Izquierda Democratica asks the government to clarify different stages of the Plan of Return with approximate dates.

April 15th - Izquierda Democratica leaders travel throughout the provinces of Canar, Azuay and Loja to take part in assemblies to elect local leadership.

April 24th - Izquierda Democratica elects its directory in the Province of Azuay. Its members are:

Ing. Raul Carrasco Z.	President
Arq. Orlando Albornoz	Member
Dr. Guillermo Serrano	Member
Ec. Fabian Cordero	Member
Ec. Ernesto Arias	Member
Ing. Salvador Monsalve	Member
Sr. Rodrigo Carpio	Member
Sr. Eugenio Lloret	Member
Dr. Rene Duran	Member
Dr. Miguel Toral	Member
Sr. Manuel Neira	General Secretary

April 28th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja travels to West Germany to attend an international meeting on "Freedom and Socialism".

May 17th - Izquierda Democratica expresses its opposition to have the Military Government stay in power once the Referendum is over.

June 14th - Izquierda Democratica organizes several political conferences and meetings nationwide.

June 26th - Izquierda Democratica states that the New Constitution is better than that of 1945, even though both projects maintain their traditionalism.

June 27th - Izquierda Democratica decides to

participate in the Referendum and asks its members and sympathizers to vote for the New Constitution.

July 1st - Izquierda Democratica disagrees with the new Law of Parties. This Law establishes that a Party must have 8,000 to 10,000 members as a minimum.

July 6th - Izquierda Democratica maintains its political activism with several political meetings nationwide.

July 8th - Izquierda Democratica leaders visit Guayaquil to expound the Party's doctrine.

July 14th - The Izquierda Democratica's Provincial Directory of University Youths in the Province of Guayas is established. Enrique Duenas Farias is named Director and Luis Ramirez Merizalde Vice-President.

July 17th - The Izquierda Democratica's University Front in Guayaquil proclaims Dr. Rodrigo Borja as their candidate for the forthcoming Presidential elections.

August 2nd - Izquierda Democratica intensifies its political activism throughout several provinces.

August 3rd - The government is mortgaging the country to foreign banks, states Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, National Director of the Izquierda Democratica.

August 4th - Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos states that Oil has increased the socio-economic differences in the country.

August 8th - Izquierda Democratica nominates Dr. Rodrigo Borja as its Presidential candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections.

August 11th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that socialism cannot exist without freedom, and freedom cannot exist without socialism.

August 24th - Izquierda Democratica denounces the increase of sugar prices in detriment of consumers and in benefit of the sugar mills.

August 26th - Izquierda Democratica asks political amnesty for labor and educational leaders that participated in strikes.

August 27th - Izquierda Democratica's National Executive Council approved the Party's Statutes that will be presented for approval in the next National Convention.

September 1st - Dr. Rodrigo Borja arrives in Guayaquil to hold meetings and conferences.

September 7th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja travels throughout several provinces holding conferences.

September 20th - Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos asks the government to grant amnesty to political prisoners and criticizes Decree No. 1475 by which it is trying labor and educational leaders.

September 21st - Izquierda Democratica through its spokesman Dr. Rodrigo Borja believes that the government should maintain a climate of peace to insure the Referendum process.

October 1st - The Secretariat of the Izquierda Democratica informed that the Executive Council in its session of September 29th, resolved to call a National Convention for the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of November in Quito. This Convention will declare the Izquierda Democratica Party officially established, elect its national representatives, approve the Declaration of Principles, Government Plan, Statutes of the Party and define its electoral strategy for the forthcoming elections.

October 5th - Izquierda Democratica will officially designate its Presidential Candidate in the November National Convention.

October 18th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja and a delegation of the National Executive Council toured the Provinces of Manabi, Guayas and Los Rios.

October 19th - The Executive Council of the Izquierda Democratica will discuss the details of the National Convention programmed for the 11th, 12th and 13th of November.

October 22nd - Izquierda Democratica states its

rejection at the violent ejection by the police of workers at the AZTRA Sugar Mill and the consequent wounded and dead.

October 25th - Twelve political parties among them the Izquierda Democratica agree on the removal of the Ministers of Government and Labor as the parties are losing faith in the way the government conducts its policies.

October 25th - Izquierda Democratica asks its members to attend district meetings to elect delegates to the First National Convention.

October 25th - Izquierda Democratica names its Executive Council for the Province of Carchi. Dr. Antonio Ruiz is named Director, Dr. Rodrigo Urresta, Sub-Director.

October 29th - Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, Executive Director of the Izquierda Democratica, travelled to the Dominican Republic to attend an international meeting on "World Solidarity" organized by the Dominican Revolutionary Party.

November 10th - Izquierda Democratica City Districts elect their representatives to the National Convention.

November 11th - The Izquierda Democratica insists on amnesty for political prisoners and the constitution of a civilian-military government to oversee the Referendum process.

November 14th - The Izquierda Democratica's

Executive Provincial Council for the Province of Bolivar was designated. Professor Eduardo Solis is named Director.

November 16th - Four hundred delegates are expected to attend the Izquierda Democratica's National Convention.

November 18th - The main speakers at the Izquierda Democratica's National Convention will be Dr. Rodrigo Borja, member of the National Executive Council, Lcdo. Enrique Delgado, Head of Manabi's Delegation, Lcdo. Xavier Ledesma, Head of Guayas' Delegation, and Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos, Executive Director.

November 18th - The Izquierda Democratica invites all its members and sympathizers to the inauguration of the First National Convention to take place in the Pichincha Theatre in Quito, capital of Ecuador.

November 19th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja called for "Social justice for the country's unity" in his speech at the inauguration of the Izquierda Democratica's First National Convention.

November 20th - The Izquierda Democratica's National Convention elected its dignataries:

Dr. Luis Alberto Costales from Chimborazo	President
Lcdo. Xavier Ledesma from Guayas	V.P.
Dr. Enrique Delgado from Manabi	V.P.
Dr. Rodrigo Carpio from Azuay	V.P.
Sra. Cira Carlota de Vera from Pichincha	V.P.
Mr. Edmundo Vera from Pichincha	Secretary
Mr. Alvaro Bermeo from Pichincha	Secretary

Five committees were constituted to examine the ideology, statutes, political orientation, Party's constitutional declaration, and analysis of activities report for the past seven years.

November 21st - The Izquierda Democratica's First National Convention unanimously elected Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos as its Presidential candidate and Dr. Gonzalo Cordova Galarza as its National Director. The Convention declared the Izquierda Democratica constituted as a political party. The documents and affiliation cards will be presented to the Referendum Tribunal for its formal recognition as a political party and assignment of a corresponding number.

The Convention approved the Declaration of Principles, Statutes and Government Program.

The newly elected Directory is conformed by:

Dr. Gonzalo Cordova	National Director
Dr. Rodrigo Borja	Member (Pichincha)
Dr. Jorge W. Cevallos	Member (")
Sr. Marco Ordonez	Member (")
Dr. Efren Cocios	Member (")
Sr. Alvaro Perez	Member (")
Sr. Amable Sevilla	Member (")
Dr. Marco Landazuri	Member (")
Dr. Eduardo Jimenez	Member (Guayas)
Dr. Carlos Gutierrez	Member (")
Dr. Rodrigo Carpio	Member (Tungurahua)
Ing. Carlos Larrea	Member (")
Ing. Carlos Guerrero	Member (Cotopaxi)
Ing. Edmundo Sandoval	Member (Los Rios)
Sr. Oswaldo Espinoza	Member (El Oro)

The Executive Council as well as the National Director will stay in their functions for two years.

November 24th - The Izquierda Democratica's Presidential Candidate, Dr. Rodrigo Borja, arrives in Guayaquil to establish contacts with supporters and plan political activities for the forthcoming elections.

November 24th - The Government's economic management is mistaken, declared Dr. Rodrigo Borja.

November 24th - Dr. Gonzalo Cordova Galarza, National Director of the Izquierda Democratica, states that the Izquierda Democratica will fight for the constitution of a democratic government. The country is undergoing a very difficult stage, the people want to live under a democratic government but the military government is slowing down the process.

November 28th - The Izquierda Democratica asks for the political freedom of Dr. Enrique Gallegos Arends whose political questioning at a roundtable led to his imprisonment.

November 28th - The Izquierda Democratica elected its Executive Committee in the Province of Guayas. Its dignataries are:

Lcdo. Xavier Ledesma
Ab. Fernando Larrea

Director
Sub-Director

November 30th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja will hold a conference in the city of Ambato on "The Peasant Movement and the Political Dilemma".

December 5th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja will head a political meeting of the Izquierda Democratica in Guayaquil. He states that what the Izquierda Democratica aspires is for social justice with freedom.

December 12th - The Izquierda Democratica's political leaders from Pichincha, Guayas and Manabi held a meeting in Manta to plan the party's political activities for the forthcoming elections.

December 18th - Political leaders held a meeting in Otavalo to discuss "The Referendum". Dr. Rodrigo Borja, Presidential Candidate for the Izquierda Democratica, expressed that after a journey throughout the country, he sensed that the people want an end to the dictatorship and the establishment of a democracy.

December 20th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja and a group of Izquierda Democratica's leaders visited the Province of Esmeraldas to hold several political activities.

December 22nd - The Secretariat of the Izquierda Democratica informed that its National Executive Council approved a financial plan in which all its members will contribute to the political activities of the party. This popular financial contribution is part of all modern political parties and it frees us from powerful economic groups. It also provides stronger links between the members and the party. The candidates are then elected for their

merits and not on the basis of their economic capacity.

December 27th - The Izquierda Democratica has published a booklet entitled "Declaration of Principles" which was approved in its First National Convention.

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January 6th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja states that the Izquierda Democratica fills the vacuum of the center-left that was left in Ecuador when the Liberal party moved to the right and the Leftist parties became radicalized.

January 7th - The Izquierda Democratica will elect its directory in the Province of Pichincha on January 11th. The dignataries to be elected are: Executive Provincial Director, ten members for the Executive Council and ten substitutes for a 2-year period.

January 10th - The Izquierda Democratica sanctioned the reorganization of the Judicial function by a Supreme Government Decree.

January 17th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja casted his vote for the Referendum and stated his wish that the New Constitutional Project be chosen.

January 19th - The First electoral act of the Izquierda Democratica, after the Referendum, is a popular meeting scheduled to take place in Otavalo, Province of

Imbabura.

January 20th - The National Executive Council of the Izquierda Democratica proclaimed the results of the Provincial election for the Executive Council of Pichincha which took place on January 11th.

The election took place through a direct and universal vote of its members. It is the first time in Ecuador that a political party elects its provincial dignataries this way. Dr. Efred Cocios was elected Executive Provincial Director.

January 24th - The Izquierda Democratica organizes a meeting of women sympathizers to conform a Great Feminine Front.

January 28th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja travels throughout several coastal cities to promote the Izquierda Democratica's program.

February 3rd - Dr. Rodrigo Borja stated in the women's meeting that a lot of people are frightened by the word left because they associate it with violence. We look for social change through peaceful channels with popular participation as an answer to a general desire to end injustice, exploitation and misery.

February 17th - Dr. Rodrigo Borja arrives in Guayaquil to participate in a series of popular meetings.

February 18th - The Izquierda Democratica will not

look for political alliances for the July elections.

February 24th - There were agreements and disagreements in reference to the Law of Parties in a debate of political leaders. Dr. Rodrigo Borja stated that 30,000 affiliations required as a minimum to conform a political party in a country of 7,000,000 people is not too much to ask. However, he stated, there is a discrimination in not asking this requisite to the thirteen parties already legally recognized.

He also expressed that Assaad Bucaram, leader of Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares should be able to run for President.

February 28th - Several political circles are speculating on the possibility of an Izquierda Democratica/Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares alliance for the July 16th elections with Rodrigo Borja and Jaime Roldos as its candidates.

March 1st - The Izquierda Democratica asks its sympathizers to join the party through affiliations to strengthen its power for the upcoming July elections.

May 5th - The Izquierda Democratica is officially recognized as a new political party by the Electoral Supreme Tribunal.

- Information was obtained from local newspapers during the 1970-1978 period.

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