



ACCOUNTABILITY AND ETHICS IN PARAGUAY

Assessment Report Fall 1999

Introduction

As a part of its anti-corruption efforts begun in Paraguay in 1997, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an assessment mission from May 9 to 15, 1999, to determine the feasibility of continuing the Institute's anti-corruption programs with Congress, the municipality of Asunción and the executive branch after the impeachment of President Raul Cubas Grau and the establishment of a new government in March of 1999. This report provides an overview for anti-corruption activities.

While the events of the last year indicate an unprecedented opportunity to battle Paraguayan corruption and strengthen public and investor confidence in the country's democratic process, this window of opportunity is closing. If international actors are to work to strengthen democratic health in Paraguay, they must move quickly.

Summary

As increasingly meaningful and legitimate elections have become more common, the early euphoria in Paraguay and across Latin America is giving way to the sobering realizations of the significant challenges facing many new democracies. One of the main challenges is the threat corruption poses to democracy and it is particularly apparent in Paraguay, a nation with historically systemic corruption that flourished under 35 years of authoritarianism. Transparency International's 1998 "Corruption Perceptions Index" ranked Paraguay the second most corrupt country out of 85 countries in terms of public perception of corruption.

Nobel Laureate Oscar Arias noted, "Corruption is best exposed, and best attacked, in a democracy. Corruption can only be examined and eradicated in an environment of pluralism, tolerance, freedom of expression, and individual security -- an environment that only democracy can guarantee." Ultimately, corruption is a political problem, best solved democratically.

To that end, NDI has been actively involved in Paraguay since 1988 (see Annex 1). The NDI program initially focused on helping local civil groups open democratic spaces and organize in anticipation of a democratic transition. Since then, the program has expanded to include civic education; government decentralization; voter education and pollwatcher training; political party building; observation of presidential and municipal elections and presidential primaries. In 1997,

recognizing the continued threat of corruption to the health of democracy, NDI started working with Paraguayans to pursue greater accountability and transparency. NDI conducted several surveys to gauge public attitudes, initiated extensive electoral reform discussions between congressional representatives of all political parties, provided several international experts to discuss campaign finance laws, hosted a round table discussion which brought together international and Paraguayan experts to discuss transparency in a democratic system, and worked to help civil society and the public sector work together on anti-corruption efforts (see Annex 2 for NDI activities in Paraguay).

In the latter part of 1998, growing political will to fight corruption and the positive response of all political sectors to NDI's activities led the Institute to undertake a larger anti-corruption program. In response to requests by President of Congress Luis González Macchi, Mayor of Asunción Martín Burt, and Finance Minister Gerardo Doll, NDI initiated a program to help Congress and the municipality of Asunción develop and implement anti-corruption programs (see letters of invitation in Annex 3). Many leaders of the Paraguayan Congress were in favor of initiating an anti-corruption program to closely monitor irregularities in the executive branch. In turn, President Cubas Grau saw the anti-corruption fight as a means of gaining international legitimacy, particularly in the eyes of the US government.

Tragic political events forced NDI to postpone its activities. On March 23, 1999, unidentified gunmen assassinated Vice President Luis María Argaña. Immediately after the assassination, a growing number of students and other protestors filled the streets of the nation's capital calling for the resignation of President Raul Cubas Grau and the jailing of his political mentor and former coup leader General Lino Oviedo. On March 26, located on buildings surrounding a downtown plaza, several snipers, allegedly followers of General Oviedo, began shooting. Seven protestors were killed, and up to 200 were injured. These events forced President Cubas to resign two days later. Immediately following Cubas' resignation, a coalition comprising Vice President Argaña's supporters and the two main opposition parties formed a "National Unity" government headed by González Macchi.

In the wake of these events, NDI conducted an assessment mission and follow-up trips to measure the disposition of the new government and Congressional leaders toward the proposed ethics programs and to identify the locus of corruption in Paraguay. NDI found a strong consensus that the current coalition government, the climate of public involvement, and the expectations raised in the March crisis offered a unique opportunity to deal with the issue of corruption (see letters requesting technical assistance from NDI in Annex 4). Most notably, President González Macchi publicly made the fight against corruption one of his administration's highest priorities. Unlike his predecessors, González Macchi was perceived by Paraguayans as credible in his anti-corruption statements -- a perception bolstered by the fact that he leads a government of *national unity* representing most major political parties¹. NDI has a history of cooperation with González Macchi starting in 1997 when, as a congressman, he worked with NDI on electoral reform legislation.

¹ At the final authoring of this report, the governing coalition was increasingly fragile and the leading opposition party, El Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico (PLRA), had already withdrawn.

Another positive development was the rise of new, vocal non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Groups such as *Jovenes por la Democracia* (Youth for Democracy) and *Ahorristas Estafados en Acción* (Defrauded Depositors in Action- AEA) have joined established civic society institutions like the Catholic Church to advocate the adherence to constitutional government.

However promising, these openings are fragile and require immediate support – support that recognizes the underlying political issues at work.

Background

Corruption has been pervasive in Paraguay for much of its history as an independent nation. The country's location between the much larger nations of Brazil and Argentina has long made it a favored location for contraband trade. In recent years, traditional smuggling of alcohol, tobacco products, perfume, and other luxury items and weapons has expanded to include narcotics trafficking, money laundering, migrant smuggling, and massive motor vehicle theft. Furthermore, entire areas of Paraguayan territory were isolated and developed to serve as centers for illicit business and havens for those individuals involved in the wide variety of international crimes. For instance, Ciudad del Este, originally named Puerto Stroessner, was created specifically by long-time ruler General Alfredo Stroessner with the idea that criminality could be limited to specific geographic areas.

The 35-year dictatorship of General Stroessner institutionalized the system of internal corruption that has plagued government operations and services, discouraged foreign investment, and undermined public confidence in both government and private institutions. Not only did the central government treat public resources as personal assets, the regime also created a network of regional "fiefdoms" as a way of rewarding loyal supporters and buying off potentially threatening political opponents. Stroessner referred to these practices as "the price of peace." The construction of the Itaipu dam illustrates the level to which corruption was embedded into Paraguay's political and economic system. Colonel Gustavo Stroessner, the general's son, granted his cronies permission to build the dam, a Brazilian-Paraguayan project, without a transparent licensing process. The construction of the dam cost \$30 billion, of which an estimated one-third was used for personal gain by businessmen and government officials in both countries. In Paraguay these beneficiaries became known as the "Barons of Itaipu."

Neither the system nor the attitudes engendered by this heritage disappeared with Stroessner's fall in 1989. Unlike other transitions to democracy in Latin America, Paraguay's transition was prompted by a power struggle between Stroessner and a group of generals, all within Stroessner's dominant Asociación Nacional Republicana, or Colorado Party. General Andres Rodriguez staged a coup in 1989 to prevent Stroessner's son from becoming the next president. Immediately after the coup, Rodriguez called for elections and was elected to serve as president until the general election of 1993. Despite his reputed complicity in the Itaipu development scandal, businessman Juan Carlos Wasmosy became President of Paraguay in 1993. His victory may have been the result of an alleged scheme designed and implemented by Rodriguez's close advisor, Army General Lino Oviedo, that ensured Wasmosy's victory of the Colorado Party nomination at the expense of party leader Jose María Argaña. Thus, despite the internal plots and rivalries, the Colorado Party remained the nation's undisputed political force,

and would win both post-Stroessner presidential elections. Police and military impunity continued, public confidence in the administration of justice sank, and corruption flourished.

However, despite this relative strength and success, the Colorado Party's problems with internal divisions continued. A 1996 coup attempt by Oviedo marked the end of his partnership with Wasmosy. Due to strong international pressure, Oviedo failed in his effort and was dismissed from the military. Nevertheless, he remained a prominent force within the Colorado Party, reflecting public nostalgia for the order of the Stroessner era. To prevent his potential success in the 1998 presidential election, President Wasmosy had Oviedo arrested, tried and convicted of attempting to overthrow the government, thus producing a new political crisis. This crisis was resolved by the Colorado Party statutes which established that Oviedo's running mate, Raul Cubas Grau, would become the party's presidential nominee and that the runner-up in the primary elections, Luis María Argaña, would become the vice-presidential candidate.

Cubas won the 1998 election and promptly precipitated a new crisis. Just three days into his presidency, Cubas freed Oviedo and restored his purged supporters to the military. A grim economic environment, still reeling from the massive banking crises in 1995 and 1997, contributed to heightened tensions across the nation. While Congress was in the process of impeaching President Cubas, Vice President Argaña was assassinated on March 23, 1999. Public unrest, most visible in the popular demonstrations led by Jovenes por la Democracia, ultimately forced both Cubas and Oviedo to flee into exile and brought Senate President Luis González Macchi to the presidency. González Macchi formed a "Government of National Unity" with representatives of the opposition parties for the first time in the country's history and began a purge of Oviedo's supporters from the government and the military.

Assessment Format

NDI's first mission to Paraguay from May 9 to 15, headed by Gerardo Le Chevallier, the Institute's Director for Latin America and Caribbean, included Richard Millett, Latin America expert, Leslie Wilcox, former Deputy Ethics Counselor at the General Accounting Office, and Dale Crowell, NDI Program Officer. This mission was conducted in conjunction with a World Bank mission headed by María González de Asis and designed to consider launching a joint anti-corruption program. This mission was originally scheduled for March but was postponed following the assassination of the vice president. In the aftermath of the crisis, NDI held consultations with the new government and ensured the support of the new president to carry out the assessment mission in May. Le Chevallier and NDI staff members Sharon White and Claudia Barrientos later conducted a series of follow-up assessments.

During the assessment mission, the delegation met with a broad range of leaders from Paraguayan civil society and government including, but not limited to, the Industry and Commerce Minister, the Treasury Minister, the Justice and Labor Minister, the Interior Minister, the Comptroller General, the Supreme Court President, members of Congress, the Defense Minister, business associations, and several NGOs, including Paraguay Jaipotava and Transparencia Paraguay. (See Annex 5 for assessment mission agendas).

Findings

Several basic points emerged from the meetings. There was a strong consensus that the current coalition government and the climate of public involvement and expectations created from the March, 1999 political crisis offer a unique opportunity to deal with the issue of corruption. However, there was broad agreement that this window of opportunity could be brief and that concrete measures would have to be taken quickly to maintain momentum and prevent a loss of public faith and interest.

NDI reached some basic understandings about the issue of corruption. Everyone with whom NDI met seemed to recognize the gravity and urgency of the situation. Each readily acknowledged that corruption is a principal obstacle to both the consolidation of democracy and economic development. There was consensus on the following:

- corruption is confined to neither the government nor the private sector;
- corruption is pervasive in the Paraguayan system of government and economics;
- corruption is rooted in long-standing practices, in the weakness of legal mechanisms, and in the size of the informal and underground criminal economy (approximately two-thirds of the national economy); and
- corruption is due in large part to a civic culture accustomed to tolerate corrupt practices with low expectations of government efforts to deal with this issue. (Indeed, according to Horacio Galeano, a well-known and respected Paraguayan lawyer, corruption for Paraguayans is “a way of life; it is not seen as a problem.”)

Furthermore, corruption in Paraguay cannot be addressed without a deep understanding of the larger political environment with which it is fundamentally related. For example, many politicians benefit financially from corrupt practices such as customs fees. Ending corruption in one area may remove a politician’s primary source of funding. With corruption so deeply rooted in the country’s political system, efforts for change must be made with caution to ensure their political viability.

Also, Paraguay is currently paying for what General Stroessner called “the price of peace.” The general acted on the belief that by institutionalizing and organizing criminal activity, he could limit its geographic spread and social impact while ensuring internal stability. To that end, he developed the system that awarded geographical and functional fiefdoms to his generals and friends. With Ciudad del Este as the center of illegal activity, the rest of the country remained relatively untouched by crime. For example, while drugs were shipped through Paraguay, none was allowed to stay in the country for consumption.

However this structural restraint was only effective with the heavy hand of authoritarian government. With the transition to democracy in 1988, criminality easily spread to other regions of the country and pervaded society. For instance, the weak banking laws and lack of transparent oversight required for money laundering under the Stroessner regime lead to the financial crises of 1995 and 1997.

NDI’s assessment meetings also identified several positive developments that may provide opportunities for future anti-corruption activity. The emergence of new NGO’s, such as

Ahorristas Estafados en Acción, Jovenes por la Democracia and Transparency International-Paraguay¹, combined with the strengthening of older organizations such as the Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo (CIRD) and Decidamos makes it possible to involve citizen groups more directly in such efforts. The human resources mobilized by these groups will be critical to the success of any anti-corruption program.

The coalition government makes it possible to pursue anti-corruption legislation with a lessened degree of political conflict, since there is a reduced danger of converting debates on corruption into efforts to damage the image of the existing government.

Civil-military relations are less an obstacle to effective reform than they have been though most of Paraguay's history. There are individuals in key positions, such as Minister of Defense Nelson Argaña and Commander of the Navy Admiral Rafael Ocampos Alfaro, who appear committed to reform efforts and who have higher degrees of public credibility than has generally been the case in previous administrations. Fierce internal fights in recent years have discredited the most politicized factions of the armed forces and strengthened advocates of greater professionalization. These internal fights have also broken down the tradition of military impunity and mutual cover-up.

There are, however, serious obstacles to any effort to curb corruption. First and foremost is the prevailing civic culture that both accepts corruption and discourages efforts to combat such practices. According to an NDI focus group report conducted by Argentine pollster Graciela Römer, honesty for Paraguayans includes the practice of misusing government resources but sharing them with others. Tolerance for smuggling is especially high, given the nation's long tradition of the practice. One common indicator of public acceptance of illegal practices is the widespread sale of automobiles without legal documentation, usually advertised on the classified sections of major newspapers. It is also expected that low salaries will be supplemented by bribes and other illegal means. Government employment is viewed largely as a reward for political loyalty; there is little expectation that competence will play a role in securing a job nor retaining it. Such practices are a key to both maintaining political loyalties and securing funds for future campaigns, and they can cripple political efforts to deal with this situation.

Second, the current coalition government is fragile. The issue of electing a new Vice President in August 2000 has the potential to disrupt the coalition, as do problems over the control of appointments in the various ministries. However, it should be noted that most of those with whom the NDI delegation met, regardless of party affiliation, seemed to believe that these obstacles would be overcome and unity maintained, at least until 2002, the year before the next general elections.

Third, there are a host of specific problems in Paraguay's Constitution and laws. Among the most important are: Law 200 regulating public employment, which serves as an obstacle to the establishment of any effective civil service system; the inability of the Comptroller General's

¹ NDI helped the Christian Business Association (Asociacion de Empresarios Cristianos - ADEC) establish the Paraguayan chapter of Transparency International through exchanges of information and experience with TI chapters in Argentina, Chile and Venezuela.

Office to secure sanctions for violations of government regulations; the lack of effective control over customs officials; and the questionable nature of the bidding and contracting process at all levels.

Fourth, the state lacks adequate financial, material, and human resources in almost every area, a situation exacerbated by the ongoing financial crisis. The government needs improved allocation of existing resources and international assistance if any anti-corruption program is to achieve success.

Fifth, the conflict between the Mayor and the Municipal Council in Asunción has made it impossible to begin any effective program of assistance to the municipality until this situation is resolved. Even then, should there be a change in administration, it will take additional time and effort to establish needed working relationships.

Finally, the scandals connected with recent bank failures highlight a general lack of effective regulation of private sector activities and the prevailing weakness and corruption of the administration of justice. These scandals and regulatory shortcomings increase dangers of privatization and public skepticism.

Recommendations

It is clear that Paraguayans want and need international support in dealing with the issue of corruption. The country needs assistance in making effective efforts that will maintain the momentum for reform. Exposure to successful experiences in other nations such as Bolivia, Chile, and perhaps El Salvador, would be beneficial in this regard. It would also be useful to publically study the negative cases where the failure to enact reform and maintain political unity in this area produced high economic and political costs.

Paraguayans need to act in a manner that will be highly visible to the public and produce immediate, short-term results. Possibilities are numerous, but priority areas should include the following areas:

Leadership

- *Encourage Congress to lead an all inclusive fight against corruption including approval of the control measures outlined below. As the key representative institution in a democracy, Congress must lead any anti-corruption effort in partnership with civil society. Indeed, Congress constitutes a critical pillar in the overall fight against both grand and petty corruption, both through legislation and its constitutional mandate to oversee government agencies. Congress should begin by creating its own Code of Conduct to serve as an example to other sectors. In addition, as part of its state reform efforts, Congress should be encouraged to pass legislation to strengthen its oversight capability.*
- *Support local NGO efforts to conduct civic education and to increase citizen participation in and oversight of government operations.*

Incentives

- *Promote the creation of corruption-free government institutions* to create showcases of clean government and to show Paraguayans that corruption can be controlled.
- *Initiate training programs in basic financial procedures for public officials* at the national and municipal levels.

Control Measures

- *Reform of Law 200* to establish reasonable and enforceable standards of professional competence in the public sector, thereby facilitating the removal of corrupt and/or incompetent public employees.
- *Strengthen the authority of the Office of the Comptroller General* to enable it to properly investigate corruption cases and prosecute violations.
- *Support efforts at police and judicial reform* to strengthen the ability and authority of these institutions and to facilitate efforts to purge corrupt elements.
- *Support efforts to improve the country's capacity to monitor Paraguay's customs service, airports and rivers* to deal more effectively with narcotics trafficking, contraband, piracy, and illegal migration, all of which contribute to the prevailing climate of corruption.
- *Promote efforts to strengthen controls over financial institutions.* This will help restore public confidence and combat growing problems of money laundering.

Political Considerations

It should be noted that in the Paraguayan context any effort must make clear both the costs of failure to reform and the benefits to public officials and the private sector of effectively confronting the issue of corruption. Priorities and detailed programs must be generated by Paraguayans and not imposed by the international community. Reform efforts can only succeed if those in power truly realize that failure to promote positive change will severely damage both their own interests and the future of their nation. The sense of urgency must be maintained; there must be some assurance that international support for reform efforts will be sustained; and ultimate responsibility and direction must clearly remain in Paraguayan hands.

There are some positive developments on which to build international cooperation, as illustrated by improved Paraguayan perceptions of corruption in Transparency International's "Corruption Perception Index". First, in 1998 the Paraguayan chapter of Transparency International was established to help civil society increase accountability in the public sector and educate the public about anti-corruption strategies.

Second, Ahorristas Estafados en Accion -- a group founded by 10 depositors who lost their life savings in the 1995 and 1997 banking crises that implicated the president, the entire government and the central bank president -- could be a partner for international donors. During

the crisis, 14 banks and 40 savings and loan institutions failed leaving 350,000 Paraguayan small depositors without savings. The AEA seeks to empower the small depositors by providing them with advocacy skills and encourages each individual to become actively involved in the campaign to get full restitution from the government. The 1,500-member AEA presented a bill to Congress outlining a complimentary law that would allow the government to fully compensate all 350,000 of the victimized depositors.

Third, a Consejo Nacional Anti-Corrupción (National Anti-Corruption Council, CNA) was formed by the unity government to fight corruption. The CNA is made up by the General Comptroller's Office, all government ministries, Transparency International-Paraguay and other non-governmental organizations, and the Catholic Church.

Fourth, human rights organizations established the Tribunal Ético contra la Corrupción y la Impunidad (Ethical Tribunal against Corruption and Impunity) to build an ethical society based on diversity, solidarity, justice and liberty. The Tribunal is made up of well-known human rights activists who are also committed to the fight against corruption.

Fifth, Congress is studying the possibility of setting up a bicameral ethics committee that would pass anti-corruption laws and monitor government institutions. During several trips, NDI provided comparative studies on ethics committees and their roles to senators Raul Ayala (National Encounter Party) and Juan Carlos Ramirez Montalbeti (Liberal Party), who are involved in the creation of this bicameral committee.

Conclusion

NDI conducted its last trip to Paraguay from October 29 to November 7 to reassess the political situation and determine the feasibility of continuing its programs with Congress and the mayoralty of Asunción. NDI held meetings with political parties, Congress, nongovernmental organizations, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, USAID, Transparency Paraguay and the Paraguayan government. The following are some conclusions from this assessment.

The window of opportunity to work with the National Unity Government on anti-corruption issues appears to be closing quickly. The government has other urgent priorities that make it difficult to carry out anti-corruption programs at this point in time. Paraguay is undergoing a severe economic crisis evidenced by the fact that the government lacks the necessary revenues to pay public administration employees. The government will use a loan from the Chinese government to cover these expenses.

The National Anti-Corruption Commission set up by the government with World Bank support to lead the fight against corruption is working at a much slower pace than expected. The close relation between the head of this commission, Minister of the Presidency for Political Affairs Agustin Gonzalez Insfran, and President Gonzalez Macchi, leads many Paraguayans to assume that the government is not committed to fight corruption. Another challenge facing the CNA is the refusal by leaders of Congress and political parties to participate thus far. Some congressmen believe that, according to the Constitution, the legislative branch should be the primary actor in anti-corruption efforts. Many congressmen propose to use as a guide for

Paraguay the Bolivian model, where the head of the anti-corruption commission is the president of Congress (and national vice president).

The fight against corruption operates within a political arena. Without political will, any sincere efforts for reform will be futile. Anti-corruption programs in Paraguay further depend on intimate knowledge of the country's unique political environment. NDI feels confident in its ability to conduct ethics programs in Paraguay but understands the importance of program timing.

Despite the closing window of opportunity for action in certain areas, NDI will continue to support anti-corruption efforts. NDI will continue: working with Congress to help senators set up a bicameral committee on ethics; providing material and technical assistance to civil society groups; and providing financial support for an anti-corruption public service announcement campaign in conjunction with the Latin American and Caribbean Network of Community Radios.

However, NDI has decided to suspend its work with the mayoralty of Asunción because of conflict between Mayor Martin Burt and the Municipal Council amidst allegations of corruption.

As corruption is a political issue, focusing on legislation is not the only solution. Success in addressing corruption requires mediation among political classes and civil society. NDI can offer assistance in such mediation. Through its programs, NDI has successfully encouraged civic and political leaders to focus on common objectives and work cooperatively.

NDI has enjoyed a solid relationship based on democratic development with the government and people of Paraguay since 1988. We will maintain that relationship and work towards mutual goals.

APPENDICES



1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 328-3136
fax: (202) 939-3166
email: demos@ndi.org
<http://www.ndi.org>

Working to strengthen
and expand
democracy worldwide

NDI 11-YEAR PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES IN PARAGUAY

I. SUMMARY

NDI has a solid and distinguished eleven year tradition of democratic assistance in Paraguay. Starting during the non-democratic Stroessner era and continuing to the present day, NDI -- funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) -- has provided democratic assistance in almost every aspect of the transition.

The results of the programs in Paraguay have long demonstrated how the Institute can make an impact in every stage of a democratic transition. When NDI began working in Paraguay in 1988, it initially focused on helping local civic groups open democratic spaces and organize in anticipation of a democratic transition. Later, these NDI programs, along with an international observer delegation to Paraguay's first open elections in 1989, were instrumental in helping to bring about democratic reform in Paraguay's political system.

Under the new democratic governments, NDI continued to support local civic organizations working to strengthen and consolidate Paraguayan democracy. NDI developed programs according to the changing needs of Paraguayan civic organizations. When the new constitution created elected municipal authorities, NDI responded with local governance training and support. Both flexibility in response to local needs and long-term support have been vital aspects of NDI's Paraguay programs.



II. DESCRIPTION AND TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES

The following activities highlight NDI's ten years of assistance activities in Paraguay:

Feb. 1988 Political Assessment Mission and Election Observation

NDI conducted an assessment visit to explore possible democratic development programs. The mission members also informally observed the final Stroessner election, visiting polling sites in Asunción and nearby towns. Political and civic leaders asked NDI to support the establishment of a nonpartisan Institute that would create a democratic space even though such actions were opposed by the Stroessner dictatorship.

Mar. 1988 Negotiations with Paraguayan Civil Society Leaders

NDI invited Aldo Zuccolillo, publisher of ABC Color and leading pro-democracy figure, to Washington to discuss specific programs and strategic planning for the new Institute. At the time, Mr. Zuccolillo's newspaper was closed by the dictatorship. Nonetheless, NDI selected him to help establish the democracy activities.

Aug. 1988 Establishment of the Center for Democratic Studies (CED)

In August 1988, the Asuncion-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) was established with NDI support to assist political leaders and parties advocating democratic reform. The CED board included leaders of the most important opposition parties, as well as democratic opponents of Stroessner within his ruling Colorado Party.

NDI provided technical and financial support for CED activities. This support helped the Center develop the organizational capacity to train pollwatchers, carry out mass media campaigns encouraging voter registration and participation, conduct public opinion surveys, design and implement an independent vote count and conduct a wide range of civic education programs.

Sep.-Oct. 1988 Strengthening of CED/NDI Projects

CED/NDI sponsored the travel of five youth leaders to observe the implementation of a civic education program in Chile during the campaign for the 1988 plebiscite. Later, a second team comprised of journalists was sent to study the media's role in the democratic process. (This exemplifies NDI's early role with training the media in Paraguay for democratic society.) Finally, CED/NDI invited six Paraguayan political leaders to join the international delegation observing the Chilean plebiscite.

[Feb. 2 & 3, 1989: A coup d'etat overthrew General Stroessner.]

March 1989 Civic Education Training

NDI sponsored the visit to Paraguay of two Chileans who played leading roles in the Chilean plebiscite campaign of 1988: Genaro Arriagada, director of the "NO" campaign, and Edgardo Mimica, election specialist. The international experts helped CED/NDI develop comprehensive programs for civic education and election monitoring.

March - April 1989 Voter Education and Pollwatcher Training

CED/NDI organized a massive voter education campaign, trained 8,000 pollwatchers from all the major parties, helped coordinate a public opinion poll that was released a week before the elections and, with several other organizations, conducted a parallel vote count on election day.

May 1989 Political Assessment and Election Observation of Presidential Elections

For the May 1, 1989 presidential elections, NDI organized a 19-member international delegation led by Canadian Senator B.A. Graham, Chilean political leader (and current president) Eduardo Frei and U.S. Representative Bruce Morrison. The May elections occurred a mere three months after the Stroessner regime was deposed. NDI published a 68-page report outlining the delegation's findings.

At the same time, NDI conducted public opinion research using leading US pollster Stan Greenberg.

Late 1989 Civil-Military Relations

CED/NDI conducted civil-military relations activities, including the first joint civil-military international study mission (to Uruguay).

1989 - 1990 Government Decentralization Activities

CED/NDI helped conduct government decentralization activities. CED/NDI provided training and education of local leaders using a multi-party team to organize seminars and distribute training materials.

1990 - 1991 Civic Education and Pollwatcher Training for Municipal Elections

In late 1990, CED/NDI conducted nearly 200 seminars and 13 panel debates designed to increase public understanding of and participation in the May 1991 municipal elections. CED/NDI also trained pollwatchers for the elections. The elections provided the first opportunity for



Paraguayans to elect leaders at the municipal level. CED/NDI also conducted a survey about voter documentation.

May 1991 Political Assessment and Election Observation of Municipal Elections

NDI organized a 16-member international delegation to observe the municipal elections. A 98-page report, published by NDI, outlined the delegation's findings and activities.

Late 1991 Local Governance Symposium

CED/NDI conducted Paraguay's first ever symposium of elected municipal officials, attended by more than 250 newly elected mayors and city council members. The symposium was inaugurated by the first democratically elected Mayor of Asunción, Carlos Filizzola.

1991 - 1992 Civic Education and Local Governance Programs

CED/NDI conducted a civic education campaign for the constituent assembly elections. Throughout the remainder of 1991 and 1992, CED/NDI organized a variety of civic education and governance programs.

In October 1992, CED/NDI conducted another municipal governance program in Asunción. NDI sponsored the participation of two international experts in local governance who advised municipal officials. Following these meetings, CED/NDI, in coordination with the Asunción city council, sponsored a broader seminar for city council members from five large municipalities near the capital.

Jan. 1993 Local Governance Activities

In January 1993, NDI responded to constitutional reforms by conducting a local governance program that assisted local officials in clarifying their responsibilities according to the new constitution.

May 1993 Political Assessment and Observation Mission of Presidential Elections

In May 1993, NDI organized an international election observer delegation to the national elections. The delegation, headed by President Jimmy Carter, represented the culmination of an intense two-month program in support of Paraguay's election process. The potential for a close election and rumors of fraud or military intervention had prompted Paraguayan political leaders to request NDI assistance.

The NDI delegation, comprised of 31 observers from 15 countries arrived in Asunción the week of the elections and met with government officials, political and civic leaders, candidates,



military officials and members of the Central Electoral Board. On election day, observers visited more than 300 polling sites throughout the country.

Apart from the observation mission, NDI provided SAKA, a consortium of nongovernmental organizations, a grant to conduct a quick count. SAKA released its election results within hours after the polls closed. In addition, NDI facilitated the visit of two international experts to assist political parties in identifying and rectifying problems with voter registration lists.

1994 - 1995 Civil Society Organizing

Civic organizations held several workshops and negotiations to create *Iniciativa*, a consortium of non-governmental organizations, for the 1996 municipal elections. *Iniciativa's* central goal was to provide civic and voter education for the municipal elections.

In June of 1995, CED/NDI sponsored a civic summit of Latin American civic leaders. The objective of the summit was to foster an exchange of ideas and expertise and to develop new strategies for engaging citizens in political processes. A total of fifteen civic groups participated in the summit.

Sep. 1996 Civic Forums and Voter Education

Preparing for the 1996 municipal elections, CED/NDI designed a series of four civic forums in the country's interior. The forums were designed as "town hall" meetings. The mayoral candidates of each municipality presented their platforms and were able to discuss their proposals with the voters.

1996 - 1998 Political Party Strengthening Project

NDI developed a political party strengthening project in 1996. All activities focused on creating more responsive and democratic political parties, particularly responding to the citizen's concerns about mismanagement, corruption and indifference from the political class.

1999 Promoting Accountability

Building on its previous activities, NDI has initiated a transparency and ethics project to promote accountability and anti-corruption efforts within various sectors of Paraguayan society including the national legislature, the mayoralty of Asunción, the executive branch and civil society.

Ministerio de Hacienda

Asunción, 10 de noviembre de 1998

Nº 549 -

SEÑOR
SHAHID JAVED BURKI, VICEPRESIDENTE
OFICINA REGIONAL PARA AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE
BANCO INTERNACIONAL DE RECONSTRUCCIÓN Y FOMENTO
WASHINGTON D.C. - U.S.A.

Tengo el agrado de dirigirme a usted con el objeto de hacerle presente nuestros agradecimiento, en nombre mío y en el del Gobierno de la República del Paraguay, por las atenciones recibidas en nuestra visita del pasado mes de octubre, en ocasión de la *Asamblea de Gobernadores del Banco Mundial*.

En ese orden de cosas, quisiera reiterarle nuestra predisposición a seguir trabajando juntos con el objetivo de mejorar la ejecución de los proyectos de inversión que estamos llevando a cabo con financiamiento de su institución, así como nuestro interés de seguir combatiendo la corrupción y mejorar la transparencia de los actos públicos, para lo cual creemos que la ayuda que el Banco Mundial nos pueda ofrecer será de un valor apreciable.

Adicionalmente, deseo expresarle nuestra disposición a trabajar, a más del Banco Mundial, con otras instituciones en este emprendimiento; en particular, con el *Instituto Nacional Democrata (NDI)*, debido a que esta Institución ya ha organizado una serie importante de actividades en el Paraguay, por lo que nos parece conveniente que esa cooperación continúe y, en lo posible, se amplíe a más sectores de nuestra sociedad.

Es interés nuestro contar con esta valiosa cooperación a corto plazo, por lo que mucho agradeceremos la deferencia que pudiera usted brindar a nuestra solicitud, quedándonos a la espera de sus noticias, y a su entera disposición para ahondar los detalles de estos planes.

Hago propicia la oportunidad para saludarle con mi distinguida consideración.



H. Gerardo Doli
H. GERARDO DOLI,
MINISTRO

SSEE/SG/bnd.



**CONGRESO DE LA NACIÓN
HONORABLE CÁMARA DE SENADORES
PRESIDENCIA**

Asunción, *27* de octubre de 1998.-

Señor

Don Ken Wollack, Representante

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

Presente.-

Tengo a bien enviarle adjunta a la presente y para su conocimiento, copias de dos cartas dirigidas al Dr. Enrique Iglesias, Presidente del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, y al Dr. Sahid Javed Burki, Vicepresidente del Banco Mundial, respectivamente.

Hago propicia la oportunidad para renovar a usted las seguridades de mi mayor consideración y estima.



Luis Angel González Macchi
Presidente



CONGRESO DE LA NACIÓN

Asunción, Paraguay, 27 de octubre de 1998.-

Señor
Dr. Sahid Javed Burki, Vicepresidente
Banco Mundial
Presente.-

En nombre de las dos Cámaras que integran el Congreso de la Nación, le agradecemos por su cordialidad y por el tiempo que le brindó a nuestra delegación el día 14 de octubre recién pasado. Apreciamos mucho la oportunidad que tuvimos de darle a conocer la difícil situación que nuestro país atraviesa en estos momentos y sus comentarios al respecto.

En seguimiento a nuestra visita, le queremos expresar nuestra satisfacción por el apoyo que usted tan amablemente nos ha ofrecido y por nuestra coincidencia de opiniones. Como representantes del Congreso paraguayo, le reiteramos nuestro mayor interés en recibir asistencia técnica y económica del Banco Mundial en las áreas en que, igual que usted, consideramos prioritario mejorar nuestra capacidad:

- 1.- *Análisis presupuestario y financiero.*
- 2.- *Elaboración de la legislación necesaria para definir y aprobar un nuevo marco legal para nuestro sector financiero.*
- 3.- *Diseño e implementación de un proyecto nacional de lucha contra la corrupción.*

Por supuesto, los mecanismos para lograr lo anterior deberán ser discutidos a su mejor conveniencia, pero queremos dejar constancia desde ya que nos parecen muy interesantes las posibilidades de obtener un "Learnig Innovation Loan" (LIL) así como las de trabajar con su Instituto de Desarrollo Económico (IDE) y con el Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI).

De hecho, nuestro Congreso ya ha empezado a trabajar muy seriamente en esta materia, justamente con la colaboración del NDI. Por ejemplo:

f



CONGRESO DE LA NACIÓN

1.- Reforma Electoral: *En los últimos dos años varios congresistas y miembros representativos de los mayores partidos políticos hemos estado trabajando en la elaboración de un proyecto de reformas para el sistema electoral que por supuesto incluye el tema fundamental de la transparencia en el funcionamiento de los partidos políticos, de las campañas internas y de las candidaturas.*

2.- Legislación anti-corrupción: *Ya hemos iniciado las discusiones preliminares para lograr un proyecto específico de asistencia técnica, con Transparencia Paraguay, para un estudio de legislación comparativa para la lucha contra la corrupción.*

3.- Sociedad civil: *El NDI ha organizado ya varios eventos y actividades en este mismo sentido que nos han servido de puente de comunicación con la sociedad civil.*

Sin más que reiterarle nuestro agradecimiento, quedamos sinceramente en la espera de que este sea el comienzo de una estrecha y exitosa relación entre nuestras instituciones.


Walter Bower Montalvo
Presidente
Cámara de Diputados


Luis Angel González Macchi
Presidente
Cámara de Senadores

*c.c. Raúl Baginski, Representante residente del BID.
c.c. Ken Wollack, Presidente del NDI.*



CONGRESO DE LA NACIÓN

Asunción, Paraguay *17* de octubre de 1998.-

Señor
Dr. Enrique Iglesias, Presidente
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
Presente.-

En nombre de las dos Cámaras que integran el Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, hacemos propicia la presente para manifestarle nuestro reconocimiento por sus constantes contribuciones a la democracia y el desarrollo sostenible de nuestra gran patria latinoamericana, así como sus ofrecimientos de ayuda para nuestro Congreso. En este sentido, queremos agradecerle la cordialidad y el tiempo que el equipo del Dr. Ricardo Santiago le brindó a nuestra delegación el día 15 de octubre recién pasado. Apreciamos mucho la oportunidad que tuvimos de darle a conocer la difícil situación que nuestro país atraviesa en estos momentos y sus comentarios al respecto.

En seguimiento a nuestra visita, le queremos expresar nuestra satisfacción por el apoyo que tan amablemente se nos ha ofrecido y por nuestra coincidencia de opiniones. Como representantes del Congreso paraguayo, le reiteramos nuestro mayor interés en recibir asistencia técnica y económica del BID en las siguientes áreas:

- 1.- Diagnóstico institucional*
- 2.- Legitimación y credibilidad ante la opinión pública*
- 3.- Programa de reforma del sistema político*
- 4.- Coordinar con otros parlamentos latinoamericanos.*

Por supuesto, los mecanismos para lograr lo anterior deberán ser discutidos a su mejor conveniencia, pero queremos dejar constancia desde ya que nos parecen muy interesantes las posibilidades de trabajar con el Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI).

De hecho, nuestro Congreso ya ha empezado a trabajar muy seriamente en esta materia, justamente con la colaboración del NDI. Por ejemplo:

f



CONGRESO DE LA NACIÓN

1.- Reforma Electoral: *En los últimos dos años varios congresistas y miembros representativos de los mayores partidos políticos hemos estado trabajando en la elaboración de un proyecto de reformas para el sistema electoral que por supuesto incluye el tema fundamental de la transparencia en el funcionamiento de los partidos políticos, de la campañas internas y de las candidaturas.*

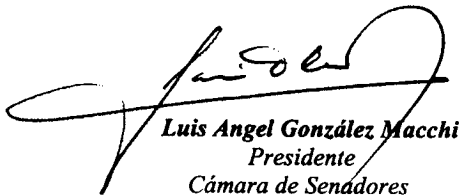
2.- Legislación anti-corrupción: *Ya hemos iniciado las discusiones preliminares para lograr un proyecto específico de asistencia técnica, con transparencia Paraguay, para un estudio de legislación comparativa que nos sirva para el diseño y la implementación del proyecto nacional de legislación para la lucha contra la corrupción.*

3.- Sociedad civil: *El NDI ha organizado ya varios eventos y actividades en este mismo sentido que nos han servido de puente de comunicación con la sociedad civil. Por cierto que también coincidimos con la Dra. Isabel Guerrero en que la participación de la sociedad civil es indispensable para lograr el éxito que nos proponemos.*

Creemos que estas actividades constituyen una base sólida para seguir colaborando en estos mismos esfuerzos y para iniciar una colaboración fructífera en las otras áreas que mencionamos.

Sin más que reiterarle nuestro agradecimiento, quedamos sinceramente en la espera de que este sea el comienzo de una estrecha y exitosa relación entre nuestras instituciones.


Walter Bower Montalto
Presidente
Cámara de Diputados


Luis Angel González Macchi
Presidente
Cámara de Senadores

*c.c. Peter Hansen, representante residente del Banco Mundial.
c.c. Keneth Wollack, Presidente del NDI.
c.c. José Berges, Transparencia Paraguay.*



MUNICIPALIDAD DE ASUNCION

DIRECCION GENERAL DE GABINETE

Av. Mcal López 5556
Asunción • Paraguay
Tel: (595-21) 610 568
606 537
Fax: (595-21) 610 559
6 de abril de 1999
DGG N° 577

Señor
GERARDO LE CHEVALIER
National Democratic Institute (NDI)
Ciudad

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Desde el inicio de la administración municipal actual, se planteó avanzar en la política de transparencia delineada por el municipio en su primera etapa democrática. Para ello, se formuló la política de gestión transparente, que propone pasar de una declaración de intenciones al desarrollo de una serie de sistemas de gestión transparente, con la participación de la ciudadanía.

En la actual coyuntura, es lógico proponer una iniciativa conjunta con sectores jóvenes de la ciudadanía, no solamente porque ellos han demostrado la mayor capacidad de acción ante circunstancias difíciles, sino porque ellos representan la mejor opción de contraloría ciudadana en la realidad nacional actual.

Para ello, proponemos englobar en un proyecto los objetivos estratégicos de acción ciudadana y gestión transparente, tanto del municipio de Asunción como de los jóvenes por la Democracia, a quienes la Municipalidad ha ofrecido un espacio físico, y recursos mínimos para su funcionamiento permanente, en la Manzana de la Rivera, frente al Palacio de Gobierno.

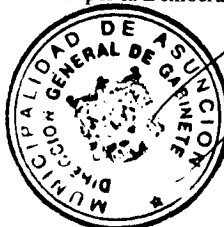
En dicho local, se tendrá disponible oficinas administrativas, salón para reuniones, auditorio, biblioteca, y sala de Internet. Se establecerá un sistema de administración compartida de estos recursos, con la Dirección de la Manzana de la Rivera.

Para lograr el máximo impacto positivo de esta iniciativa conjunta entre los Jóvenes por la Democracia y la Municipalidad de Asunción, por este medio proponemos al NDI considere el apoyo a esta iniciativa, en los siguientes términos:

1. Apoyo a la capacitación de un equipo de jóvenes para el ejercicio de la contraloría ciudadana sobre los poderes públicos.
2. Apoyo en la formación del equipo de contraloría interna de la Municipalidad de Asunción, para el mejoramiento de sistemas y procesos de forma a implementar los mecanismos de gestión transparente.
3. Ampliación de estos recursos y apoyos a los municipios de la Región Metropolitana de Asunción.
4. Apoyo en gestiones para obtener equipos que son imprescindibles para que los procesos de control sean efectivos.

Proponemos que, de manifestarse la voluntad de apoyo del NDI, se establezca un programa de capacitación y formación para el año 1999, con un mínimo de una actividad mensual. Para dicho efecto, la Municipalidad aportará las instalaciones y los equipos de presentación, y el NDI aportará los especialistas internacionales y nacionales necesarios. La convocatoria será realizada conjuntamente por los Jóvenes por la Democracia y la Municipalidad de Asunción.

Atentamente,



DR. FERNANDO PFANNL
Director General



MUNICIPALIDAD DE ASUNCION

ASUNCION
ES MIA

INTENDENCIA MUNICIPAL

Avda. Mariscal López 5556 Asunción - Paraguay Tel.: (595-021) 610-576 Fax : (595-021) 610-578 - e-mail: mburt@mca.gov.py

24 de mayo de 1999
S.P. Nº 404 /99

Señor
Dr. Shahid Javed Burki, Vicepresidente
América Latina y el Caribe
Banco Mundial
Washington, DC

Estimado Dr. Burki :

Tenemos el agrado de dirigirnos a usted para informarle que hemos recibido el pasado jueves 13 del corriente la visita de la misión conjunta del Instituto del Banco Mundial (WBI) y del National Democratic Institute For International Affairs (NDI). En relación a la misma deseamos ratificar nuevamente nuestro mayor interés y total disposición para trabajar con el WBI, el NDI y la sociedad civil paraguaya en el tema de la transparencia y la ética, tal cual la hablan expresado en nuestra correspondencia de octubre de 1998, cuya copia adjuntamos.

Desde entonces hemos seguido avanzando por nuestra cuenta, pero evidentemente seríamos mucho más eficientes y eficaces en este esfuerzo si pudiéramos contar con la asistencia y el acompañamiento del WBI, del NDI y de la sociedad civil paraguaya, por lo que nos gustaría mucho que los planes que comentamos en la reunión mencionada puedan concretarse a la brevedad posible. Sobra decir que cuentan ustedes con la entera disposición de las autoridades municipales.

Sin otro particular nos despedimos reiterándole nuestra consideración y estima.



Martin Burt
Dr. Martín Burt
Intendente



Congreso Nacional
H. Cámara de Diputados

Asunción, 18 de mayo de 1.999

N.P.H.C.D. No. 271

Señor
Dr. Sahid Javed Burki, Vice-Presidente
Banco Mundial

De mi consideración:

Tras haber recibido en el Paraguay, la semana pasada, la visita de una misión conjunta de representantes del Instituto del Banco Mundial y del Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI), me honro en dirigirme a usted, a fin de ratificar la petición efectuada por nota de fecha 29 de octubre del año pasado, en nombre del Congreso Nacional, en la cual reiteraba nuestro mayor interés en recibir asistencia técnica y económica del Banco Mundial en las áreas, que en común acuerdo, se considera prioritarias, para mejorar la capacidad operativa del Parlamento Paraguayo, las cuales son las siguientes:

1. Análisis presupuestario y financiero.
2. Elaboración de la legislación necesaria para definir y aprobar un nuevo marco legal para nuestro sector financiero.
3. Diseño e implementación de un proyecto nacional de lucha contra la corrupción.

Igualmente, queremos resaltar que los mecanismos para lograr lo solicitado deberán ser discutidos a su mejor conveniencia y que sería muy interesante las posibilidades de obtener un "Learnig Innovation Loan (LIL)", así como las de trabajar con su Instituto de Desarrollo Económico (IDE) y con el Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI)

En la nota de referencia también se había puntualizado las tareas que se han emprendido con la colaboración del Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI), en materia de Reforma Electoral, Legislación Anti-Corrupción y Sociedad Civil, lo cual constituye un paso importante para iniciar una colaboración positiva en las otras áreas ya mencionadas.

Apelando a vuestra ilustrada comprensión sobre este pedido, quedo en la espera de una respuesta favorable, saludándole con mi más elevada consideración.



13 pas. 13 junio
Blas Antonio Llano Ramos
Presidente
H. Cámara de Diputados



CONGRESO NACIONAL

Asunción, *22* de mayo de 1999

Señor
doctor **Sahid Javed Burki**, Vicepresidente
Banco Mundial
Presente

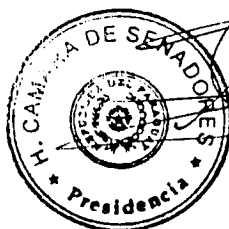
En nombre de la Cámara de Senadores y del Congreso de la Nación, me complazco en dirigirme a usted, para ratificar la petición efectuada por nota de fecha 29 de octubre próximo pasado, en la cual manifestábamos nuestro gran interés en recibir asistencia técnica y económica del Banco Mundial, en áreas tales como:

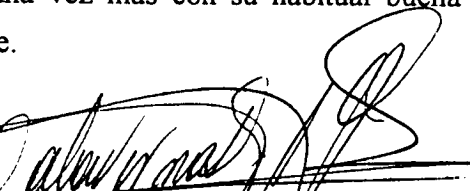
- 1) análisis presupuestario y financiero;
- 2) elaboración de la legislación necesaria para definir y aprobar un nuevo marco legal para nuestro sector financiero; y
- 3) diseño e implementación de un proyecto nacional de lucha contra la corrupción.

La semana pasada hemos recibido la importante visita de una misión conjunta del Instituto del Banco Mundial y el Instituto Nacional Demócrata (NDI).

Coincido plenamente con lo manifestado en la nota N° 271, del 18 de mayo de 1999, dirigida a usted por el Presidente de la Cámara de Diputados de la República del Paraguay. (Adjunto copia).

Esperando contar una vez más con su habitual buena atención, le saludo muy atenta y cordialmente.




Juan Carlos Galaverna D.
Presidente de la
Honorable Cámara de Senadores y del
Congreso Nacional



Presidencia de la República

Asunción, 29 de agosto de 1.999

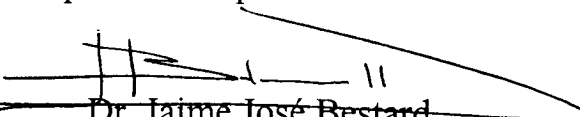
Señor
Presidente del Instituto Nacional Demócrata (N.D.I.)
Ken Wollack
Presente

Me dirijo a Ud con relación a la participación del Instituto Nacional Demócrata en el Programa de Lucha Anticorrupción que ha encarado el Gobierno de la República del Paraguay, con el objeto de combatir este terrible flagelo que afecta fuertemente a todos los países del mundo y en especial a los de América Latina.

En tal sentido, el Paraguay ha remitido oficialmente una nota al Banco Mundial en la que se manifiesta la clara intención de iniciar el programa mencionado más arriba. Tanto en la primera visita de la misión especial destinada al efecto, como en visitas posteriores, ha participado activamente el representante del N.D.I., Sr. Gerardo LeChevallier, dejando en claro que también el N.D.I. forma parte de la elaboración y desarrollo del programa.

El Gobierno del Paraguay ha designado al Dr. Agustín González Insfrán, Ministro Asesor Político del Presidente de la República, para que lidere y coordine todos los trabajos relativos al programa anticorrupción. El Dr. González Insfrán se encuentra en estos momentos ausente, por lo que próximamente se habrá de poner en contacto con el N.D.I. para concretar la participación del Instituto en este importante esfuerzo.

Sin otro particular, aprovecho la oportunidad para saludarle atte.


~~Dr. Jaime José Bestard~~
Ministro Asesor Jurídico
del Presidente de la República

AGENDA
May 9 - May 24, 1999

Sunday, May 9

19:00 Briefing with World Bank team.

Monday, May 10

- 08:30 Federico Zayas, Treasury Minister, and Fernando Paciello, Vice minister of Treasury: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 09:30 Guillermo Caballero Vargas, Minister of Industry and Commerce: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 11:00 Daniel Fretes Ventre, Comptroller General: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 16:00 Paraguay Jaipotava (Civic Group): Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 17:00 Association of Christian Business Leaders and Transparency-Paraguay: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 18:30 Youth for Democracy: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 20:00 Gerardo Le Chevallier interview with Humberto Rubín
- 21:00 Alberto Ramírez Zambonini and Richard Soudriette, IFES President.

Tuesday, May 11

- 08:30 Silvio Ferriera, Minister of Justice and Labor: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 09:45 Wildo Rienzi, Supreme Court President: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 11:00 Juan Carlos Galaverna, Senate President: Discuss current ethics and transparency

challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

- 12:30 Blás Llano, Acting President of Chamber of Deputies: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 16:30 Agustín Carrizosa, Director of CIRD: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 18:00 Francisco Capli, Polling Expert: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 18:00 Dick Millett meeting with Civil Military experts.

Wednesday, May 12

- 08:00 Meeting with department directors of national Comptroller General's office.
- 11:00 Senators Mario Paz and Diego Abente: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 12:30 TSJE reception for IFES
- 17:00 Association of Defrauded Account Holders, Miguel Otazú: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 18:00 Luli Andrada, president of Freight Forwarders Association: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 21:00 Dinner with Horacio Galeano, Deputy Angel Barchini, Carlos Martini Sr., members of Central Bank: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

Thursday, May 13

- 09:00 Martin Burt, Mayor of Asunción: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 10:30 Walter Bower, Minister of Interior: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.
- 14:30 Briefing with Wayne Tate and US Mission
- 16:00 Journalist José Luis Simón: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and

potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

17:00 Josefina Duarte, president of Red de Mujeres Políticas and other women's organizations: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

17:00 Dick Millett meeting with Admiral Ocampo: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

Friday, May 14

08:30 Senator Diego Abente: Discuss plans for consultations with National Unity Government.

11:00 Federico Zayas, Minister of Treasury: Preliminary review of assessment mission with NDI and World Bank.

12:30 Youth for Democracy: Review plans from Jim Shultz visit and plans for future activities

Saturday, May 15

08:00 Alberto Ramírez Zambonini, TSJE: Discuss political environment

21:00 Concert organized by Youth for Democracy

Sunday, May 16

09:30 Coordination meeting with World Bank mission members and International IDEA

12:00 Reception with National Unity Government and President González Macchi

18:00 Domingo Laíno and Ramírez Zambonini: Discuss political environment

Monday, May 17

09:00 Jaime Bestard, Presidential Counsel: Discuss ethics and transparency activities and National Unity Government consultations.

11:30 Blás Llano, Acting President of Chamber of Deputies: Discuss current ethics and transparency challenges and potential for in-depth anti-corruption activities in Paraguay.

16:30 Briefing with USAID.

18:00 Meeting with Youth for Democracy and International IDEA.

Tuesday, May 18

11:00 Blás Llano: Renewing congressional commitment for NDI's ethics and transparency activities.

18:30 Press Conference for Youth for Democracy: Announcing their work plan designed on consultations with NDI.

Wednesday, May 19

10:00 Alberto Ramírez Zambonini, TSJE: Discuss political environment

12:00 Meeting with International IDEA to discuss collaboration on supporting National Unity Government project and assistance to Youth for Democracy via a visit to Stockholm.

17:00 Horacio Galeano: Discuss pro bono use of office and legal services.

Thursday, May 20

GERARDO SICK

Friday, May 21

09:00 Juan Rial, IDEA Consultant: Discuss collaborative activities with National Unity Government.

11:00 Jaime Bestard, Presidential Counsel: Discuss ethics and transparency activities and National Unity Government consultations.

12:30 Martin Burt, Mayor of Asunción: Discuss renewed letter of interest for ethics and transparency activities.

19:00 Youth for Democracy: Negotiation of memorandum of understanding.

Saturday, May 22

09:00 Seminar with Youth for Democracy.

11:00 Juan Carlos Galaverna, Senate President: Discuss renewed support for NDI's ethics and transparency activities.

Sunday, May 23

17:00 Youth for Democracy

20:00 Enrique Nogues and Ramírez Zambonini: Discuss electoral reform and election date for vice president.

Monday, May 24

Depart Asunción.