



CONSORTIUM FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT

CONSORCIO PARA EL DESARROLLO LEGISLATIVO ♦ CONSÓRCIO PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO LEGISLATIVO
♦ CONSORTIUM POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT LÉGISLATIF

July 18, 1991

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Dear Mr. Nelson:

Enclosed is a final draft of a plan that provides an integrated strategy to build the institutional capabilities of the Paraguay legislature. Some of the programs proposed in the plan are more central than others. However, prioritization of these programs should be the prerogative of the leadership of the legislature in consultation with USAID representatives and the Consortium.

Undoubtedly, the resources needed for the implementation of all the recommendations require the pooling of resources from both international and domestic sources. USAID/P, in consultation with the legislative leaders, needs to agree on a level of funding for their activities. The plan envisions that those programs be implemented over a three-year period. The Consortium for Legislative Development, upon USAID/P request, is available to initiate this process of consultation to prioritize and budget for these programs.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Abdo I. Baaklini
Director
Center for Legislative Development

cc: Prof. Allen Weinstein
Dean Allan Rosenbaum

**PRELIMINARY MASTER PLAN
FOR THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PARAGUAY**

Prepared by the
Consortium for Legislative Development

Submitted to the
United States Agency for International Development

July 1991

PREFACE: THE CONSORTIUM FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT

THE CONSORTIUM FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT consists of three member institutions -- The Center for Democracy (Washington, D.C.), Florida International University's School of Public Affairs and Services, and the Center for Legislative Development of the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University at Albany, the State University of New York. The principal representatives of these institutions and their respective program directors are:

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The Consortium has received a three-year grant from the Agency for International Development to work with legislatures in Latin America and the Caribbean to facilitate their development as democratic institutions. In addition to Paraguay, the Consortium has initiated work with the legislatures of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, and Haiti and is developing the initial stages of work with Bolivia and El Salvador.

The objectives of the Consortium's work are: 1) to help assess and meet immediate and short-term needs identified in conjunction with legislators and their staffs, and to develop short term training programs in legislative operations; 2) to organize and facilitate bilateral and regional exchange opportunities among legislators and legislative staff members; and 3) to encourage the development of Latin American and Caribbean legislatures, including the institutional capacity to continuously address their own institutional needs in such areas as staff training, information systems and policy analysis.

The Consortium works with legislatures and all political party groups within them in a completely non-partisan and collaborative fashion. The Consortium's role is to help facilitate development of the legislature's human resources and technical needs and to cooperate with the legislature's leadership and key staff members in their efforts to address those needs. The focus is on establishing a partnership designed to help the legislature build its institutional capacity to effectively perform its constitutionally assigned functions and enhance its role as a principal branch of government in a democratic society. The Consortium also works to develop relationships with in-country universities, professional associations and organizations so that they will also serve as a continuing resource for the national legislative body.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
PREFACE: THE CONSORTIUM FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT	i
I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
II. THE RATIONALE FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN PARAGUAY	3
III. THE LEGISLATURE OF PARAGUAY	5
A. The Legal Framework of the Congress	5
B. The Organization of the Legislative Branch	6
1. How a Bill Becomes a Law	7
2. Organization of Chamber of Deputies	8
3. Organization of the Senate	12
4. General Analisis of the Congressional Environment	14
IV. LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN PARAGUAY: PRESENT EFFORTS	14
V. COMPLEMENTARY USAID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES	15
VI. PROGRAMS	16
A. Introduction	16
B. Institutionalizing the Legislative Development Process	19
1. Development of Institutional Set Up	19
2. Graduate Study Program	20
C. Organizational and Human Resource Development	20
1. Budgetary Role	21
2. Oversight Role	21
3. Public Policy Role	22
4. Other Legislative Techniques and Technologies	23
5. Administration and Management	23

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont.)

	<u>PAGE</u>
D. Improving Institutional Linkages	24
1. Legislative Internship	25
2. Joint Research	25
3. Participation in Professional Conferences and Associations	26
4. Legislative Support Through Non-Government Organizations	26
E. Information Support	27
1. Legislative Component	28
2. Management/Administrative Component	28
F. Physical Support	29
1. Communications	29
2. Transcriptions and Reproductions	30
VII. IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY: FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT	30
A. Funding	30
B. Management	31
1. Role of the Legislature	31
2. Role of the Implementing Organization	31
3. Procurement Arrangements	32
4. Consortium Core Administrative Costs	32
VIII. CONSORTIUM CAPABILITY STATEMENT	33
A. The Consortium for Legislative Development	33
B. Other Institutions	37
IX. BUDGET	39
X. ANNEX A	40

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Preliminary Master Plan for the Development and Modernization of the Legislature of Paraguay was produced in response to USAID/P request and is funded under the LAC regional project.

This plan was conceived as a framework for addressing the legislature's most critical developmental needs. Since the implementation of this plan will be determined by the level of funding support available, the overall program description has been divided into separate components and discrete activities to facilitate this process. The Consortium for Legislative Development's recommended implementation priorities are clearly defined in the plan.

The field research for this plan was conducted in Asuncion in May 1991 by Prof. Abdo Baaklini and Prof. Helen Desfosses from the Center for Legislative Development, with the participation of members and staff of both the House and the Senate of Paraguay and of members of non-government organizations (NGOs). They have provided considerable research support and documentation.

The plan is based upon a RATIONALE FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT that legislatures in presidential systems must be properly informed and institutionally capable of tackling, jointly with the executive branch, complex issues facing their societies. An uninformed legislature is doomed either merely to ratify proposals and decisions initiated by the executive, or to engage in protracted debate and obstructionist strategies. This rationale holds that the way a legislature organizes itself and its resources directly impacts on its ability to perform its functions.

The plan also contains an overview and a summary institutional analysis of the structure and organization of both Houses of the Paraguayan Legislature.

This plan and the projects it recommends were developed using a systematic approach to strengthening the legislature's organization through a LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. As explained more fully in the plan, modernization, in the sense of acquisition of modern equipment and information systems and the building of new facilities, is conceived of as but one, albeit important, component to an overall legislative development strategy. The plan enumerates the critical variables that affect the implementation of its strategy.

The Programs recommended in this plan are divided into five major components: Institutionalizing the Legislative Development Process, Organizational and Human Resources Development, Improving Institutional Linkages, Information Support and Physical Support.

Each component is divided, when appropriate, into separate but related projects. All proposed projects contain a general program description as well as an enumeration of the targeted audience, the resources required to implement the activities, and the projected outputs or work products expected.

In summary, the proposed projects are:

Institutionalizing the Legislative Development Process

1. Development of Institutional Set Up
2. Graduate Study Program

Organizational and Human Resource Development

1. Budgetary Role
2. Oversight Role
3. Public Policy Role
4. Other Legislative Techniques and Technologies
5. Administration and Management

Improving Institutional Linkages

1. Legislative Internship
2. Joint Research
3. Participation in Professional Conferences and Associations
4. Legislative Support Through Non-Government Organizations

Information Support

Physical support

1. Communications
2. Transcriptions

Management of the program will be administered by the Consortium for Legislative Development under the overall direction and guidance of AID and the political leadership of the legislature.

Finally, a tentative overall budget for implementation of the plan and a statement of the Consortium capabilities are attached.

II. THE RATIONALE FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN PARAGUAY

To play a constructive role in contemporary societies, legislatures in presidential systems must be properly informed and institutionally capable of tackling, jointly with the executive, complex issues facing their societies. An informed legislature is more capable of constructively participating in the evaluation of alternative public policy proposals. An informed legislature also possesses the necessary ingredients to hammer out agreements and avoid fatal confrontations and impasses with the executive.

A legislature that is not equipped to handle the complexities inherent in the various public policy choices facing contemporary societies, is doomed to play one of two roles. Either it ratifies proposals and decisions initiated by the executive without informed debate, or it engages in protracted debate and obstructionist strategies that exacerbate problems without really constructively contributing to a solution. If it ratifies executive initiatives without questions, it relegates itself to a rubber stamp body, loses its legitimacy, and denies the executive an important input into the consideration of public policy. In brief, it forfeits the rationale for its existence.

If a legislature engages in obstructionist strategies without constructively contributing to the solution of the problem, on the other hand, it either risks the prospect of being dissolved or suspended, as was the case with many Third World legislatures including Paraguay, or it plunges the government into a crisis of ungovernability. The challenge therefore facing contemporary legislatures is how to transform themselves into constructive partners with the executive in all the functions associated with governing.

The way legislatures organize themselves and their resources has a direct impact on their ability to perform their various functions. A systematic approach to providing a legislature with resources needed to define or refine its organization is known as a Legislative Development Strategy. Legislative development is the ability of the legislative institution, acting through its leadership, to study, assess, and identify its needs for resources and information, to formulate plans and programs to acquire those needed resources, and to continuously assess those needs and develop its resources for the purpose of reaching political agreements with the executive. In an open political system, with fair elections, the final purpose of legislative activities is reaching those agreements in the context of change and competition, without institutional disruption or disintegration. Any program aimed at strengthening democratic institutions in Paraguay through legislative development, as in most Latin American countries, should seek to achieve the following desired outcomes:

1. Develop within the legislature the institutional capabilities to study and assess its needs and prioritize programs to meet its needs.
2. Help in the acquisition of resources to develop plans to address the needs identified through technical assistance, training and education, research and other joint activities.
3. Help in the development of the necessary theories and orientations that marshal resources required to forge and conclude agreements within the context of an evolving and changing society. Agreements, by definition, are temporary answers to perennial questions. Political systems are not designed to permanently solve those questions or problems, because they cannot do so. The questions that the political system deals with are constantly being reformulated, necessitating constant renegotiating of the agreements already reached.

The legislature in Paraguay has a history of instability which prevented it from developing itself institutionally. That is true even in the context of other Latin American countries. The proposed plan is intended to strengthen the legislature and to enable it to perform basic legislative functions do perform such as: participation in the formulation of public policy; review, revision and adoption of the budget; overseeing the work of the executive; representation and constituency services; and, instilling in society the values associated with an open and democratic political process. These functions require certain capabilities that the legislature either needs to develop or upgrade. This plan articulates a strategy for the development and upgrading of those capabilities.

Legislatures also perform other functions such as training and socialization of political leadership, incubation of ideas, legitimization and political socialization in general. The role of the legislature in performing these functions will be affected positively by the improvement of the functions described above but will not be the focus of this plan.

III. THE LEGISLATURE OF PARAGUAY

In contrast to many of its Latin American neighbors, Paraguay has had a limited experience in democracy. Its political history shows the prevalence of authoritarian regimes over democratic rule. During its 180 years of independence, not one transference of power has been the direct result of an election. Perhaps this is a product of constitutional constraints that have been placed on the legislative branch; the constitutional development of the Republic of Paraguay clearly narrates a trend of continuing strain on the power of the legislative branch in the governmental process as a whole. New elections are to be held in 1993, and even though Paraguay's authoritarian traditions do not stimulate much optimism, the upcoming elections are a serious opportunity for the development of an independent legislative institution and an effective multi-party system that would make possible the establishment of a stable democratic regime. The strengthening of the Paraguayan Legislature could play a significant role in this process as it will enable it to participate in the political process actively but in a constructive way. It is important to keep in mind that this strength ought to come from within, and not be superimposed by outside forces.

A. The Legal Framework of the Congress

The legislative branch of the Republic of Paraguay, the National Congress, is bi-cameral, made up of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Both chambers can initiate legislation. The initiative in some areas, such as defense, international treaties, expropriations and limitations of real estate ownership, is exclusively the prerogative of the Senate. Other areas, such as public finance, central banking, public borrowing, and electoral law are exclusively in the hands of the Chamber. Still other areas, such as the budget, correspond exclusively to the executive, but have to be initiated in the Chamber.

The Senate also has some exclusive areas of jurisdiction such as the approval of and consent to the appointment of judges, ambassadors, the Comptroller General and the promotion of high ranking military officers; the power of impeachment of justices; and the authorization for sending permanent military missions to foreign countries or for foreign troops to enter its territory.

The Chamber has the responsibility of overseeing the use of public funds and for initiating the impeachment process against the Justices.

The principal formal limitation on the power of the legislature is the President's ability to dismiss the chambers in case of "emergency". On the other hand, the legislature is able to

monitor the executive by demanding explanations from cabinet members as well as by confirming executive appointments as referred to above.

Article 193 of the 1967 Constitution outlines the functions and powers of the judiciary. This branch is headed by the Supreme Court [*Corte Suprema de Justicia*], and is composed of no fewer than five judges chosen by the chief executive and confirmed by the Senate. Each judge serves a five-year term concurrent with that of the elected officials, and can only be removed by means of impeachment. The Supreme Court serves as an oversight arm for the legislature, as well as the role of a constitutional court. The Court is able to declare entire laws unconstitutional and invalidate them, or it can declare only certain parts inapplicable. It is important to point out that Article 200 of the Constitution limits the effects of such decisions to the case from which it arose.

The executive branch is comprised of the President and the cabinet. The President may be re-elected to an unlimited number of terms. There is no vice president. Should the President become incapacitated, the Interior Minister would automatically assume the President's functions. If the incapacitation were to become permanent, any citizen could be appointed by the government to become President. The President's extensive powers are outlined in Article 180 of the 1967 Constitution.

B. The Organization of the Legislative Branch of Government

The National Congress considers, analyzes, evaluates and decides on proposed bills. In addition, it expedites the laws and fulfills the functions delineated in the constitution. The powers, functions and attributes of the National Congress are outlined in Chapter VII - Article 149 of the Constitution. There are twenty-one specific areas of jurisdiction that apply to the legislative branch of government:

1. Enactment, amendment, and repeal of laws.
2. Safeguard the observance of the law.
3. Establish the political divisions of national and municipal organizations.
4. Legislate tax matters.
5. Authorize and contract loans in connection with banking, currency, and exchange matters.
6. Annual enactment of the national budget.
7. Formulation of electoral law.
8. Approve or reject treaties, conventions and other international agreements, and authorize the executive to go to war.
9. Legislate maritime and aeronautical navigation.

10. Authorize for a definite period of time (under the initiative of the executive power), concessions for the establishment of new industries or national public services, and for the extraction of raw material.
11. Declare the President of the Republic elected, in accordance to electoral law, and witness his swearing-in ceremony.
12. Grant amnesties.
13. Legislate the organization of the legislative branch and settle administrative disputes.
14. Dictate, under the initiative of the executive power, military ordinance and the organic law of military tribunals.
15. Authorize the mobilization of the national reserves, in order to incorporate them into the armed forces, in the case of foreign threat.
16. Allow the entrance of foreign armed forces to the national territory, and the exit of national forces to other countries, with the exception of acts of international courtesy, in which case the President carries out this function.
17. Establish legal realm to transfer and rent municipal property.
18. Approve, modify or repeal law decrees.
19. The change of the location of the capital in case of absolute necessity.
20. Dictate resolutions and internal agreements, and formulate declarations in accordance to their faculties.
21. The rest that are understood in accordance to this Constitution.

1. The Law-Making Process: How a Bill Becomes a Law

The framework of the legislative process is found in the structure of the National Congress. The Congress is made up of popularly elected legislators who are nominated by a legally recognized and established political party or coalition. There are three key parts to the law-making process: legislative initiative, sanctioning and promulgation.

The executive, an individual legislator or constituents (via a legislator), may bring forth legislative proposals to be introduced in either chamber of the National Congress. One chamber serves as the initiator of legislation and the other performs an oversight function. The chamber in which the bill is under consideration sends the bill to the appropriate committee, in order to have it analyzed and to have an opinion formulated. Once they have an opinion, the bill returns to the chambers for confirmation. If it passes both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, it is then sent to the executive for promulgation.

The President of the Republic has both partial and total veto power. If a veto is partial the bill returns to Congress which can override the veto by a absolute majority of votes. If the

President vetoes a bill in totum, two-thirds of the members must vote to resubmit the bill for approval. In that case the bill must obtain an absolute majority of votes to become law. In any case, if a veto is overridden the President is obliged to sign it as a law.

The role of the executive, in the legislative process as a whole, can be summarized as one of bill sponsorship and bill passage, in addition to approval or veto. In actuality the executive has been the major, almost the sole force to influence the outcome of legislation.

In theory the Congress has ample control over the executive. The two chambers of the legislature have the right to demand explanations from the cabinet ministers. Another legislative check on the executive is the Senate's confirming power of executive appointments. This tool, skillfully utilized, could give the Congress tremendous influence in the policy making process.

The crucial limitation of legislative power is the President's ability to declare a state of "emergency" and dismiss Congress, or "send them home". This throws off the balance of power, tilting the scale in favor of the President. If Congress is dismissed, new elections have to be called within three months, unless the time left to conclude the legislative session is under one year. This particular clause makes it difficult for the President to rule a long period of time without a legislature, but does not prevent the enormous preponderance of the executive over the legislative power as has been the history in Paraguay.

Congress meets from April to December. There are around 400 bills introduced every year and one-fourth (about 125) of them become law. Of these, half are initiated by the executive and half by members of Congress.

In spite of the constitutional provisions, the congress in Paraguay played a marginal role and was there to ratify executive decrees and bills.

2. The Organization of the Chamber of Deputies

The Lower House is structured as follows:

a. The Plenary

The Chamber of Deputies is made up of at least 60 members (the current legislature has 72 members) and 36 alternates elected by popular vote. A candidate has to be a native of Paraguay and be at least 25 years old.

b. The Directorate

The House is managed by a directorate composed of a President, two Vice Presidents, and the Parliamentary Secretaries.

c. Administrative Structure and Staff

The administrative support of the House is provided by an organization composed of the following departments:

- Administration and Finances
- Secretary General
- Public Relations (Information)
- Documentation Center
- Informatics (DP) Center
- Protocol

These departments are further divided into 21 sections or sectors that have the operating responsibilities. Among them are Accounting and General Services, the Daily Gazette (which includes recording the sessions, stenography and transcriptions, and editing of the Gazette), Secretary and Proceedings, Human Resources, Library and Archives.

To support all this structure and to attend to the clerical, housekeeping, transportation and messengers services, the House has a staff of only 67 persons to perform non-professional tasks. Only 12% of the staff have some university training.

d. The Party Caucuses

While the party caucuses do not play a formal role in the structure they are a critical element in its daily operations as a political institution. The caucuses are represented as follows:

<u>Party</u>	<u>No. Members</u>
ANR-Asociacion Nacional Republicana	48
PLRA-Partido Liberal Radical Autentico	21
PRF-Partido Revolucionario Febrerista	2
PLR-Partido Liberal Radical	1

e. Reserved Powers of the House

The Chamber of Deputies has the reserved power to initiate legislation dealing with the following:

1. Taxing monetary and banking systems
2. Loan acquisitions
3. National Budget (by proposal of the executive)
4. Electoral Legislation
5. Municipal Legislation

f. Committees in the Chamber of Deputies

The Chamber of Deputies, as per Title IX of the Rules of the Chamber (*reglamento de la cámara de diputados*), has four distinct types of committees: rules and procedure, permanent, special, and bicameral committees.

- Rules and Procedure Committee/*Procedimiento*

The president of the Chamber of Deputies, as well as both vice presidents, constitute the rules and regulations committee. Its main function is to keep the order of the day, and maintain the lines of communication between themselves and the other committees. They coordinate bill passage, resolutions, declarations, and extraordinary sessions.

- Permanent Advisory Committees/*Comisiones Permanente de Asesoramiento*

These committees study, analyze and send the bills to the floor to vote.
There are 20 such committees:

1. Constitutional Matters
De Asuntos Constitucionales
2. Finance and Budgeting
De Hacienda y Presupuesto
3. Codification and Legislation
De Legislación y Codificación
4. Foreign Affairs
Relaciones Exteriores
5. Justice, Labor, Human Rights, and Social Welfare
De Justicia, Trabajo, Derechos Humanos, y Previsión Social
6. Education and Culture and Religious Matters
De Educación, Cultura y Culto
7. Public Works, Public Services and Communications
De Obras, Servicios Públicos y Comunicaciones
8. Agriculture and Farming [cattle]
De Agricultura y Ganadería
9. National Defense, Security and Internal Order
De Defensa Nacional, Seguridad y Orden Interno
10. Industry, Commerce and Tourism
De Industria, Comercio y Turismo
11. Public Health
De Salud Pública
12. Local Matters
De Asuntos Municipales
13. Social Development, Population and Housing
De Desarrollo Social, Población y Vivienda
14. Accounting / *De Cuentas*
15. Petitions, Jurisdiction, Rules and Drafting
Peticiones, Poderes, Reglamento y Redacción
16. Fight against Drugs
De Lucha Contra el Narcotráfico
17. Science and Technology
De Ciencia y Tecnología
18. Energy and Mines
De Energía y Minas
19. Ecology, Natural Resources and Environment
De Ecología, Recursos Naturales y Medio Ambiente
20. Rural Welfare
De Bienestar Rural

De

- Special Committees/*Comisiones Especiales*

The Chamber of Deputies may create special committees for a finite period of time for a specific purpose. These committees conduct the study on a specific issue, and inform the Chamber as a whole on that specific issue. The committee is dissolved once the term prescribed by the Chamber expires.

- Bi-cameral Committees/*Comisiones Bicamerales*

Senators and deputies may integrate a mixed committee in order to discuss particular matters.

3. The Organization of the Senate

The Senate is organized as follows:

a. The Plenary

The Senate is composed by 36 members and 18 alternates elected by popular vote. In order to run for senator a candidate has to be a native of Paraguay and be at least 45 years old.

b. The Directorate

The directorate [*Mesa Directiva*] of the Senate is comprised of the President of the Senate, the First and Second Vice Presidents, and the Parliamentary Secretaries.

c. Administrative Structure and Staff

Unlike the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate has a simple structure. It has only 27 staff members, mostly clerical, performing functions similar their counterparts in the Chamber.

d. Party Caucuses

The following is the composition of the Party caucuses in the Senate:

<u>Party</u>	<u>No. Members</u>
ANR-Asociacion Nacional Republicana	24
PLRA-Partido Liberal Radical Autentico	11
PRF-Partido Revolucionario Febrerista	1
PLR-Partido Liberal Radical	1

e. Reserved Powers

The Senate has the power to initiate legislation dealing with the following subjects:

1. National Defense
2. Treaty ratification, conferences and international agreements
3. Expropriations
4. Limitation real estate

f. Committees in the Senate

1. Constitutional Matters and National Defense
Asuntos Constitucionales y Defensa Nacional
2. Legislation, Codification, Justice and Labor
Legislación, Codificación, Justicia y Trabajo
3. Finance, Budgeting and Accounting
Hacienda, Presupuesto y Cuentas
4. Foreign Relations and International Matters
Relaciones Exteriores y Asuntos Internacionales
5. Petitions, Powers and Rules
Peticiones, Poderes y Reglamento
6. Human Rights, Culture and Education
Derechos Humanos, Cultura, Educación y Culto
7. Economy, Development and Latin American Economic Integration
Economía, Desarrollo e Integración Económica Latino Americana
8. Agrarian Reform and Rural Welfare
Reforma Agraria y Bienestar Rural
9. Public Health and Social Security
Salud Pública y Seguridad Social
10. Local Matters
Asuntos Municipales
11. Public Works and Communications

- Obras Publicas y Comunicaciones*
12. Energy, Natural Resources and Ecology
Energia, Recursos Naturales y Ecología

- Bicameral Committees/*Comisiones Bicamerales*

Senators and deputies may jointly form a mixed committee in order to discuss particular matters.

4. General Analysis of the Congressional Environment

The major formal limitation for the legislature to be able to act as a relevant political partner of the executive is the constitutional clause that allows the President to dissolve the legislature. Congress has some instruments which act as a check on the executive and since the dissolution requires the immediate call for new elections there is room for an increase in the influence of the legislature in the political process. The Congress that will be elected in 1992 will have the power to change the Constitution. It is generally expected that the new constitution would allow for the formation of political parties, change the electoral laws and provide guarantees and safeguards for individual and political rights and freedom of association and of the press.

It is relevant to note that today Paraguay uses a majority system in its election. It provides for the party that has a majority of votes to have 66% of the seats in Congress which brings more stability to the political process, at the expense of a more even representation among the several competing factions.

V. LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN PARAGUAY: PRESENT EFFORTS

Despite the history of executive predominance and the quasi-primitive level of its support resources, the Paraguayan Legislature has become aware of the need to modernize and build its institutional capability. Examples of these recent efforts include:

1. The agreement between Congress and the UNDP-United Nations Development Program in May 1990 that led to a study of immediate needs for strengthening of Congress.

2. The negotiations with the Korean government that led to the donation of 14 micro-computers to the Congress and the creation of an Informatics Unit in the House.
3. The exchange with the Catholic University "Nuestra Senora de Asuncion" to support studies for the new Constitution.
4. The use of advisors and studies from selected NGOs in Paraguay discussed later in this document.
5. The interest it showed and support it gave for the preparation and presentation of this study.

V. COMPLEMENTARY USAID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES

The developmental efforts of the Paraguayan Legislature have the possibility of drawing on other efforts of legislative development funded by USAID in Latin America such as the Latin America and Caribbean Regional Legislative Development Project, under which this study is funded.

LAC/DI initiated a three year regional legislative development project for Latin America and the Caribbean in late 1990. The project is administered and managed by the Consortium for Legislative Development which, as noted in the Preface, is composed of three cooperating institutions -- The Center for Democracy, Florida International University, and the Center for Legislative Development of the University at Albany, State University of New York. This regional project, developed to support the institutional strengthening of legislatures in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), has five interrelated components:

1. Assessments of Needs
2. Regional Training Seminars
3. Technical Assistance
4. Legislative and Management Information Systems
5. Graduate Degree and Internship Program

Participants in the regional project are drawn from interested legislatures in the Latin American and Caribbean region. The criteria for the selection of the participants are based on the degree of interest expressed by the political leadership of the countries and the input of the local USAID missions. Project activities (for example, needs assessments) are conducted upon request of the local missions at no cost to those missions. Other activities (such as the regional

seminars) are also offered with regional funding but it is hoped that the local missions will provide funding for transportation and per diem costs so that participation can be expanded. The project also offers a range of other services (technical assistance, organization of local seminars, etc.) which local Missions can receive in relation to their bilateral legislative development efforts on a "buy-in" basis. The USAID contribution to the project envisioned in this plan is approximately one million dollars.

VI. PROGRAMS

A. Introduction

A viable strategy of legislative development involves the interplay of several key elements to insure its success. Often legislative development is confused with legislative modernization. In modernization, the emphasis is placed on the acquisition of modern equipment and information systems. While this facet is important in certain contexts, it is not the critical variable in a successful legislative development program. Other factors must be present before equipment and modern information systems become relevant to legislative development.

The following critical variables are necessary for the successful implementation of the programmatic recommendations discussed in this plan:

1. A commitment by the leadership of each House of the Paraguayan Legislature to a strategy of legislative development must be present. The first part of the programmatic recommendations discusses the means of institutionalizing this vision and commitment in the face of ever present change;
2. A successful strategy of legislative development rests on the provision of appropriate structures and relationships within the legislature and on the availability of qualified people to occupy those structures and enrich those relationships. It may come as a surprise to some that as much emphasis is placed on structures and relationships as is placed on qualified human resources. Our working experience with and study of legislatures around the world indicates that quite often the presence of qualified staff does not necessarily mean that they are being appropriately utilized and involved in the legislative process. In our judgement, the question that needs to be asked is not whether to have qualified staff or not; rather, the key questions are what type of staff (functionally), and more importantly, what type of structures and relationships need to be developed

so that the staff is properly utilized by and supports the legitimate decision makers, i.e., the elected members.

Within this perspective, this plan recommends three types of programmatic components. One is a technical assistance component, which addresses a whole array of issues connected with staffing and structural patterns, information systems and organizational development. These issues cover both staff and members and the relationship between the two. Such relationships also take into consideration the legislator's needs as an individual, as a member of a political party and as a member of a committee within the legislature.

Once the elements of the initial technical assistance component are in place, the second component addressing the development and recruitment of qualified staff becomes important. The elements of this component include a series of short, medium and long term training programs and workshops in legislative techniques and technologies, budgetary capabilities, oversight and policy analysis relevant to the discharge of the functions of the Paraguayan Legislature. These elements are developed throughout the recommendations discussed below.

Finally, the third component addresses the commodity assistance for essential activities that have been affected by a deficiency in equipment.

3. A legislature is a forum where all public issues relevant to a policy are debated, reformulated and decided. By its nature, a legislature is an open institution with amorphous boundaries. It is constantly interacting with its environment. For a legislative development strategy to succeed, it is important for the legislature to systematize those relationships.

As part of the legislative development strategy articulated in this plan, two relationships are of specific interest, the relationship with those institutions that may provide the legislature with needed information and those that shape the public's image of the legislature. In many cases, the same institution may perform both functions. This plan elaborates on the relationships that need to be developed with universities, research institutes, professional associations and the media. The universities and the research centers socialize and train future generations of leaders and the concerned citizenry. Jointly, with professional associations, they generate substantial information relevant to the public debate within the legislature. This is especially relevant in the case of Paraguay as it does not have the staff and organizational resources easily available to develop quickly the

capabilities it needs to perform its functions. At the same time, there are in Paraguay non-government organizations that can be extremely helpful in providing a bridge for development as discussed below.

The media has a similar function; it generates valuable timely information, articulates the concern of significant groups within society, and shapes the public's image and appreciation of the work of the legislature. This plan envisions involving individuals from the media in its technical assistance and training programs, in the conduct of research, and in the providing relevant information to the legislature.

4. While modern and efficient management practices are not a necessary function of a strong legislature, a legislature in the process of development needs credible and efficient management practices. In such a legislature there is a symbiotic relationship between the legislative and the administrative functions of the institution. The legislative development strategy articulated in this plan involves a change in the work culture of the institution. One cannot modernize the legislative culture without changing the administrative culture. This plan articulates activities and steps intended to create a modern and efficient management system in the legislature.

It is important to emphasize that since the Congress of Paraguay has limited capability to add more staff to enhance the performance of some functions, the strategy in this program will prioritize the development of human resources. Through joint programs involving members and staff of the legislative branch of government and their counterparts from the executive we intend to build a sense of professionalism. It is also important to establish linkages with professional groups as well as NGOs that already work with Congress and that can help to achieve the goals as described below.

With the above critical variables as a basis, the following outline of projects and activities are recommended in this plan for developing the legislative power in Paraguay.

B. Institutionalizing the Legislative Development Process

For a legislative development effort to be sustained over the long term, the legislature must have mechanisms in place to ensure continuity and a shared development vision.

1. Development of the Institutional Set Up for the Modernization of the Legislature

It is necessary that an agreement be made among the parties deciding how to organize on a permanent basis the activities related to legislative development and promoting its continuity. This project endeavors to promote a philosophy of legislative development shared by all parties involved. An important ancillary aim is to build a relationship between the Consortium and the legislature which will have a stable and continuous basis in order to create a common vision for the project.

The basic activity in this project is a short term workshop to be conducted in the United States and, separately, in at least one Latin American legislature. The project will include two-week visits to Albany, Miami/Tallahassee, and Washington, DC. Visits to other state capitals are possible. Participants will include members of the both houses and possibly key staff as well. The participants will be exposed to the subject of legislative development in comparative perspective. Follow-up visits to selected legislatures in the U.S. to observe first-hand the functions and structures described in the academic environment will be scheduled.

Targeted Audience: The Directorios and, by extension, the entire institution.

Resources: T.A. for program design and organization; Training; Per Diem; Transportation; Printed Materials.

Outputs: Members sharing understanding and philosophy of legislative development. A possible agreement on how to organize a stable supervisory mechanism for the program.

Timing: 1st year.

2. Graduate Study Program

An essential component of any legislative development program is the development of staff resources to such a level that the institution as a whole benefits from their advanced knowledge and new techniques. This can be done only through a program to develop human resources at an in-depth level. This project will enable people to master specific skills and develop comprehensive understanding of the nature and processes involved in legislative development and the relationship and rationale among the various components. It is expected that a critical mass of six staff members be formed to ensure the sustainability and continuity of legislative development. At this stage, due to shortage of human resources, this project will fund graduate studies for two staffers, one from each House.

Graduate study at the University at Albany/SUNY and Florida International University for two Paraguayans (and in the future for an additional four if additional funding is available), who shall be chosen by the respective Directorios of each House. The candidates will acquire an in-depth knowledge of legislative development, of operational theory and working techniques, and of specific professional tools such as policy analysis. It is critical that the legislature secure agreements with the candidates to ensure that they will return to work in positions of professional responsibility.

Targeted Audience: The legislature as a whole.

Resources: Graduate degree program for two students, including such activities as attendance of professional meetings and visits to different legislatures.

Outputs: Professionals with Masters degrees in Legislative Administration.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

C. Organizational and Human Resource Development

The institutionalization of the developmental process requires appropriate structures and qualified persons in those structures. The projects described below are organized according to the roles that the Paraguayan Legislature wants to play. They address the structural and human resource needs of the legislature. It is important to notice that during implementation, by agreement between the

parties, it may be necessary to include in these activities members of some institutions, such as the non-governmental entities referred to above, in order to overcome the shortage of staff in the legislature.

1. Budgetary Role

The budget process lies at the heart of the nation's political process, and it is here that the legislature plays a critical role in helping to shape and determine the nation's priorities. This project includes the design and implementation of ways and means to strengthen the legislature as an effective and responsible participant in the nation's budgetary process. This includes the development and training of professional fiscal staff in workshops; technical assistance in the development of organizational structures and relationships, and use of budgetary information systems; and member orientation. This will be achieved through technical assistance in the organization of the budget function, and training in budgetary techniques, carried out mainly through workshops and internships.

Targeted Audience: Professional staff and members.

Resources: T.A. for development of institutional capability;
Training in budgetary techniques.

Outputs: Budgetary activities organized and in operation.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

2. Oversight Role

In a democratic society governed by the rule of law, the legislature and its members are an indispensable political counterweight to the bureaucracy. Legislator-politicians must establish effective control over the bureaucracy which invariably tends to conceal its actions and attempts to usurp the power of other political institutions. It is not enough for a legislature to enact programs and policies into law; it must keep a constant vigil to ascertain that the bureaucracy is implementing the legislatively approved programs as intended, and to take corrective actions as necessary. Since legislative oversight is not a discrete activity, but occurs in conjunction with other activities of the legislature such as budgeting and policy making, it is often neglected.

This project will provide technical assistance in designing and organizing the oversight function and its relationships to the interrelated legislative functions. It will also provide training

in oversight techniques and opportunities. A workshop will be held in Paraguay and internships in the U.S. or other Latin American countries such as Brazil.

Targeted Audience: Professional staff and members.

Resources: T.A. for the design and organization of the oversight activity; training in oversight techniques.

Outputs: Oversight activities organized and in full operation.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

3. Public Policy Role

It is in this role that the legislature determines policy not directly related to public expenditures, such as human rights, environment, consumer relations, etc. This project aims to augment the capability of the legislature in its law making function by providing policy analysis support for the legislators.

To do this it is necessary to equip the legislature with staff proficient in analytical skills who are able to demonstrate specific techniques for providing information to legislators. The staff should provide the leadership with models of how research and analysis are typically organized in legislatures. The activities under this project are directed at developing the capability of providing policy analysis support for the members and to develop a rationale to organize this new function and to place it in the organizational structure. This will be achieved through technical assistance in the design of the unit and workshops for members and professional staff in policy/bill analysis. Finally an internship will be developed and executed for development of staff skills.

Targeted Audience: Professional staff and members.

Resources: T.A. for the design and organization of the policy analysis activity; Training in policy/bill analysis techniques.

Outputs: Policy analysis activity organized and in full operation.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

4. Other Legislative Techniques and Technologies

Besides these major areas of institutional interest, there are a number of activities that are relevant to the way legislatures perform their functions and duties that can be enhanced to improve performance. Among these are:

- a. bill drafting and indexing
- b. legislative/parliamentary procedures
- c. legislative office organization
- d. plenary and committee management
- e. legislative reference
- f. constituent services

To enhance these activities, training programs consisting of workshops will be developed and implemented. Technical assistance will also be provided related to the organizational problems—especially the relationships between such activities and the functions described above. Internships designed to acquaint staffers with new technologies can also be developed and implemented.

Targeted Audience: Selected professional staff.

Resources: Technical assistance for the design, organization and implementation of activity; conducting workshops and other training activities.

Outputs: Techniques and technologies in utilization.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

5. Administration and Management

The project designed to promote administrative and managerial development is of a different nature from the substantive programs; first, because it is aimed at a different clientele, the administrative echelon of the legislature; second, because it deals with administrative and management technologies and processes that are more similar to those existing in the executive branch and the public sector in general. The project in this category is, therefore, of a more traditional nature. One must attempt, nevertheless, to provide for the special characteristics of

the legislative organization in order not to stimulate the use of theories and techniques that are fit for a different type of organization.

Under this component we propose a project to improve the capability of the administrative and management support structure and processes. In essence, this project will assist in the design of the conceptual framework and processes needed to effectively utilize the resources available. This project will be developed stressing the following areas:

- a. Organizational Structure
- b. Management Information Process
- c. Financial Information Process
- d. Personnel System

Units Benefitted: All.

Resources/Input: Technical assistance.

Outputs: Improvement of administrative capabilities with significant changes in the organizational structure, management and financial information processes and personnel system.

Timing: 2nd year.

D. Improving Institutional Linkages

The development of linkages between a legislature and other institutions in its environment is crucial. This project will build a mutual understanding and appreciation of the legislature by other institutions through the participation of members of the target institutions in the process of modernization of the legislature. It will show an understanding of the specificities of the legislative process in contrast to the executive branch. To develop this relationship, it is important that organizations such as member's universities, research centers, and professional associations are selectively include among the targeted audience in the activities described above. For example, members of the Bar Association might participate in a bill drafting workshop, university professors might participate in public policy oriented seminars, and staff of selective units within the executive branch might participate in seminars in their area of specialization. This exposure will enhance the linkages between the legislature and those institutions.

The projects to be carried out under this category are:

1. Legislative Internship

One way to build a stable and constructive relationship between a legislature and the academic and professional community is to implement an internship program drawing students from the University of Paraguay and other appropriate academic institutions. In such programs, students typically work in various legislative offices (members' and professional staff offices) for one or two semesters. Direct benefits are the provision of educated and motivated staff assistants to the legislature, and provision of practical exposure to democratic processes to the students. Indirect benefits include the program serving as a recruitment device for the legislature and as a mechanism for strengthening the institutional ties between the legislature and participating universities.

Targeted Audience: Leadership offices, professional staff offices, and committee offices.

Resources: Technical assistance to develop and implement the program.

Outputs: Internship program in operation.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

2. Joint Research

Another effective way to expand a mutual interest in the linkage between legislatures and the academic community is the development of joint research. Under this project, selective research of interest to both academia and the legislature may be partially funded. Technical assistance will also be provided to help the academic community to develop the mechanisms to do research that may be relevant to the legislature.

Targeted Audience: Committees, technical staff, academic community.

Resources: Technical assistance to develop and implement the program. Monetary (seed) funding for research projects.

Outputs: Joint research activities in operation.

Timing: 2nd year.

3. Participation in Professional Conferences and Associations

A third project aimed at improving the institutional ties is the systematic participation of members and staffers in the professional and academic meetings and associations, such as ATELCA, at which subjects of professional or political interest are discussed. These conferences and organizations may provide information and training to the legislature and help to promote understanding and mutual appreciation.

Targeted Audience: Committees, technical staff, academic and professional communities.

Resources: Technical assistance to develop and implement the program as described; funding for travel, per diem and other costs associated with participation in the organizations and conferences.

Outputs: Selected members and staff participating in appropriate organizations and attending relevant conferences.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

4. Legislative Support Through Non Government Organizations

The Paraguayan Legislature has been an extremely fragile institution over the years. Therefore, it has not had the opportunity to develop its own organization to face the problems that it must confront. A legislative development program in this situation can be developed in two ways: via a slower approach to develop a basic core of internal resources which enables the legislature to start a developmental process, or via an external organization to kick-off the process by supporting the initial activities of the program.

The purpose of this project is to facilitate the access of the legislature to training, information, support and research provided by specific institutions that have already built this type of capability in Paraguay, and that can be of help in the process of legislative development. Some institutions have developed training capabilities, information capabilities, analytical capabilities, linkages inside and outside Paraguay, and have also established their credibility in their respective fields. The legislature can benefit from their expertise and from their public image. The institutions being considered are:

- a. The Centro Interdisciplinario de Derecho Social Y Economia Politica. from the Catholic University "Nuestra Senora de Asuncuion", which is presently developing, jointly with Congress, a proposal for the constitutional reform that will take place in the near future;
- b. The CIRD-Centro de Informaciones y Recursos Para el Desarrollo, an associate of the Partners of America, which is presently working in the areas of information systems and drug abuse.
- c. The Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos, a well established and scholarly accredited research institution.
- d. The Centro de Estudios Democraticos, which has as an objective contributing to the increase in the level of democracy in Paraguayan society through education.

These institutions can also serve as sources for the identification of expertise, existent in Paraguay, to be used to inform and advise the legislature. A brief description of these institutions and their capabilities is found in Annex A.

Targeted Audience: The Directorio, Committees, technical staff.

Resources: Technical assistance to develop and implement the program as described; funding for travel, per diem and other costs associated with training.

Outputs: Chosen institutions able to support the legislative development project.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

E. Information Support

A major element in the development of a legislature's capacity to perform its functions, especially the ones related to budget, policy analysis, oversight and law making, is the availability of a comprehensive legislative information systems. These systems are necessary to provide the legislature with the information it needs.

This project is directed at providing the legislature with the necessary support to develop and implement some basic information systems. Hardware is already available to integrate the existing equipment in a institutional information system. It has a Legislative Component and a Management/ Administrative Component.

1. The Legislative Component

The Legislative component of this information system must include:

- a. a bill drafting capability
- b. a bill status and reference capability
- c. a statutory retrieval capability

It will also serve as a basis for future development of a public policy analysis capability, a budgetary analysis capability, a library, documentation, legislative reference (including parliamentary debates) capability; and a recording, registering and transcription system of legislative activities capability.

2. The Management/Administrative Component

The management component of the system includes functions not related to the legislative process that are, in essence, administrative support functions of the legislature. At this stage this project will only include an accounting capability. In the future a comprehensive administrative/managerial system should be developed including:

- a. a human resource system
- b. a financial system
- c. a record keeping and documentation system
- d. an information dissemination and public relations system

The ultimate purpose of this project is to provide the technological base and the technical assistance to design information processes and systems for the members to enable them to improve their decision making capacity. This project is coherent with the recommendations of the UNDP study mentioned above.

Units affected: All units of the legislature.

Resources: Technical assistance in the design, development and implementation of the appropriate legislative systems (i.e. bill tracking, statutory retrieval, bill drafting) and the

management/administrative systems (personnel, accounting, management, etc.), file-server computer (PC-386, 300MB w/LAN capabilities) to upgrade the Congress computer capability.

Outputs: A basic Legislative and Management/ Administrative Information systems.

Timing: 1st and 2nd years.

F. Physical Support

Modern equipment is not the essential part of a legislative development program. But, undoubtedly in some circumstances it is a important component. This is the case of the Congress of Paraguay. Its operational capabilities have been seriously damaged by the lack of some basic commodities. At this stage of the program the following facilities are needed as priority:

1. Communications

The communications equipment of the Congress makes it impossible for the legislators to maintain any type of exchange with the outside. Modern telecommunications are absolutely essential to the development of any major institution. This is especially true in a legislature, where constant and fluid communications are the lifeblood of the political and legislative process. This aspect of the infrastructure greatly affects the legislature's ability to carry out its primary functions, most especially its constituent relations role.

This project will study options for replacing the existing ineffective and mixed telephone system with a unified more modern telecommunications system.

Units Benefitted: All.

Resources/Inputs: Technical assistance for evaluation and planning; purchase and installation of new system; training for operators.

Outputs: An integrated modern telecommunications system.

Timing: 2nd year.

2. Transcriptions and Reproduction

The equipment used for the transcriptions of debates and for publication in the Daily Gazette is also absolutely inadequate, which makes it very difficult for the members, staff or interest groups to be informed of the decisions and debates.

This project aims at providing upgraded equipment to increase the timeliness and efficiency of the transcription and publication of the debates. This should include new audio/video recording equipment and high-speed, high-volume photocopying equipment. This combination of equipment will allow the legislature to produce a publication in a short period of time and provide members and society with direct written and audio/video reports on the plenary's proceedings.

Units Benefitted: Secretary General and its "Diario de Sesiones" Section, the Plenary and, indirectly, the Public.

Resources: Technical assistance for evaluation and planning; purchase of equipment; and training in the use of the equipment.

Outputs: A properly equipped section of the "Diario de Sesiones".

Timing: 1st year.

VII. IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY: FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT

The implementation of this plan will be carried out through a multi-faceted approach. Priority will be given, when possible, to the development of activities which foster local capabilities and allow for a future with little or no foreign interference. In this sense the Consortium will try to involve as much as possible, especially in the training activities, the non-governmental organizations already mentioned. They may be involved in two different capacities, as administrators of training activities and as recipients of the training itself under a agreement with the legislature. To bring this about it will be necessary to develop a multi-organization cooperative agreement with the support of the Congress.

A. Funding

The funding for the activities described is expected to come from a USAID grant.

B. Management

The management of this plan is the joint responsibility of the legislature of Paraguay and the Consortium for Legislative Development in a cooperative agreement with USAID/P. Each of these institutions will have defined roles within the goals and priorities of this plan.

1. The Role of the Legislature

The Paraguayan Legislature, through its leadership, will have ultimate responsibility for conducting the programmatic projects and activities implemented under the plan and for the designated use of the funds, services and commodities supplied to them by the project. The legislature will take such actions necessary to meet those responsibilities specified in this plan. To perform these functions it is advisable that the parties involved develop a way to channel decisions and communications, such as through a special commission.

Responsibility for the administration of the plan, however, will be given to the Consortium for Legislative Development. The legislature will provide the Consortium with overall guidance on the operation of the project; monitor the performance of the Consortium and any other participating entities; and conduct the policy dialogue concerning the project.

To assist the legislature's commission with this responsibility, this plan includes technical assistance to institutionalize the modernization process and has provided funding for a staff assistant to support the work of the leadership. With the collaboration of the Consortium, the leadership will prepare yearly work plans and quarterly progress reports for review by competent authorities of the legislature, as well as by USAID.

Additionally, the Consortium for Legislative Development will provide the legislature with its own quarterly reports concerning the progress being made and the problems encountered in implementing the plan. Regular meetings (at least twice a year) will also be held among the legislature's representatives, the Consortium for Legislative Development, and the USAID program officer to review the progress being made, the problems encountered and future work plans. The preparations for those meetings will be carried out by the Consortium for Legislative Development.

2. The Role of the Implementing Organization - The Consortium for Legislative Development

The following are the major responsibilities of the Consortium for Legislative Development in carrying out the overall administration of the project.

- a. Establish the necessary administration infrastructure both within the member consortium and in the field to manage and implement this project.
- b. Identify and contract the personnel required to conduct the project -- both long term and short term.
- c. Prepare specifications for the procurement and purchase the major equipment and other commodities to be supplied under the project's activities.
- d. Arrange training and observation workshops.
- e. Identify the sources of training and technical assistance in support of the project's activities and contract for such training.
- f. Prepare annual work plans to govern the several component activities.
- g. Coordinate and prepare the financial and program reporting required by the legislature and the donor organizations for the use of project funds by the Consortium and/or other participating organizations.

3. Procurement Arrangements

The procurement of both internal and external technical assistance for the implementation of the plan will be through the Consortium for Legislative Development. The Consortium will also procure the commodities funded by the project for importation into Paraguay. In making these purchases, the Consortium will follow usual business practices.

4. Consortium Core Administrative Costs

To enable the Consortium for Legislative Development to fulfill its designated responsibilities under the project plan, each of its member institutions will require core administrative funding support. Among the budgetary items for which funding will be required are staff support, transportation and per diem, and other administrative expenses. These budgetary items are more fully detailed in the budget section of the plan.

VIII. CONSORTIUM CAPABILITY STATEMENT

This plan will be implemented by the Consortium for Legislative Development, which will be assisted by other professional and academic institutions. Below is a capability statement for the respective member institutions of the Consortium as well as a brief description of the institutions which may be asked to assist the Consortium in the implementation of the plan.

A. The Consortium for Legislative Development

The Consortium for Legislative Development is a coordinated, three-institution enterprise designed to bring the resources and experience of its principals and their institutions to bear on a serious, non-partisan, legislative development project for the Americas. The capability statements of the Consortium's lead institution, The Center for Democracy, and of its academic pillars -- Florida International University and the University at Albany, State University of New York's Center for Legislative Development are detailed below.

The Center for Democracy is a Washington-based, tax-exempt, non profit and non-partisan educational institute incorporated in 1984 with an independent and strongly bipartisan board of directors. The President of the Center is Allen Weinstein who has received a number of national and international awards, including the 1986 United Nations Peace Medal for "his extraordinary efforts to promote peace, dialogue, and free elections in several critical parts of the world," and, in 1990, the Council of Europe's prestigious Silver Medal for meritorious work with the Council's Parliamentary Assembly.

The primary purposes of the Center are to promote the democratic process, encourage dialogue on international conflicts, and work to strengthen democratic institutions in both the United States and abroad. To support these goals, the Center sponsors studies and programs conducted on a non-partisan basis that address the fundamental issues of democratic societies. The Center has won international acclaim for programs conducted on five continents. It works closely on an informal basis with the United States Congress and with legislatures and political leaders of parliamentary democracies in Latin America, the Caribbean, Western, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia.

A major commitment of The Center for Democracy's work has been to Latin America, particularly to the process of strengthening political institutions in the developing democracies of Central America. The Center has committed a substantial portion of its financial and staff resources since 1986 (in part with timely and effective support of the Agency for International Development) to organizing a series of forums and seminars in the region. These programs, such

as the three-stage Central American Legislative Training Seminars (CALTS), have provided legislative leaders and others from throughout the Americas with an opportunity to meet both formally and informally to discuss regional issues. Several programs provided technical and administrative assistance and training to the legislature of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. The programs, conducted in Latin America, the United States and Europe, have led to collaborative relationships with the legislatures and their leaders, both past and present. Similar ties exist with inter-parliamentary organizations in South America, such as the Andean Parliament.

The Center has recently completed a three-and-a-half year democratic support project in Guatemala (1987-1991) funded by a cooperative agreement with USAID/Guatemala. The Center's Consortium program manager, Caleb McCarry, served as the Center's program director in Guatemala designing and implementing this project with the Guatemala National Congress from 1988 to 1990. He has extensive hands-on program experience in legislative and democratic development in Latin America, Europe, Africa and Asia. This technical assistance project, focused on the National Congress, was based on programs developed collaboratively with the leadership of the Congress with substantive collaboration of USAID project officers. The project was a pioneering effort in the current AID-funded legislative development program which began with the Center's CALTS program in 1986. Within the Guatemala project, the Center organized orientation and training programs for the full membership of the Congress and U.S. based instructional visits to state legislatures for key professional staff.

The Center also organized several important legislative training seminars for members and staff of the Congress examining and reinforcing the Congress' role in several critical areas including the budgetary process, press and public relations, and multipartisan cooperation on legislative matters. In 1990-1991, the Center implemented the installation and training phases of the first major management information system developed in a Central American legislature. This system has automated the Congress' principal legislative functions and components including: its technical legislative department, where bill drafting, indexing and committee support services are performed; its congressional record operation; its administrative services; its accounting department; the Directorio; and the Plenary Chamber.

The Center has continued its work on the regional level with financial and programmatic support for the *Asociación de Técnicos Legislativos Centroamericanos* (ATELCA), a regional association of Central American legislative clerks developed in cooperation with, and modeled after, the American Society of Legislative Clerks and Secretaries.

In addition, following the national elections in Nicaragua, the Center was asked by AID to conduct an assessment of the Nicaraguan National Assembly's needs. This task was implemented as a Consortium for Legislative Development activity in October 1990. In short,

the Center enjoys extremely close cooperative relationships with the democratically-elected legislatures of the LAC region and has had concrete experience in the design and implementation of a major legislative development project. Moreover, the Center conducts its programs within the framework of a distinctive non-partisan approach which has engendered relationships of trust with the legislatures with which the Center has collaborated.

The Center for Legislative Development, University at Albany, State University of New York, is part of the senior campus of the largest system of higher education in the United States. The State University of New York (SUNY) is an interlocking network of sixty-four colleges and universities distributed throughout the State of New York.

The Center for Legislative Development was founded in 1970 with the aim of fostering peaceful social and economic growth in developing countries through the encouragement of democratic institutions, particularly legislatures. Not content with the traditional focus of developing assistance to government executive and judicial bureaucracies, the Center has championed the notion of the legislature as a key, but neglected, component in the social and economic development process. It rejects the view of legislatures as obstructions to development, focusing instead on crucial policy functions that only legislative institutions can perform.

For the past twenty years, the Center has been in the business of strengthening legislative organizations, at home and abroad, in Central and South America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and most recently in Hungary, where it is has been directing a USAID-funded legislative development project since 1990. Professor Abdo I. Baaklini, Director of the Center, has studied and consulted with more than 50 legislatures around the world. The Center's Deputy Director, Dr. Charles S. Dawson, served with the New York State Legislature as a professional staffer for ten years.

The Center brings together resources from a wide range of legislative institutions around the world and utilizes an extensive international network of legislators, professional staff, academics, and professional organizations concerned with legislative development. The faculty associated with the Center includes specialists in public administration, political science, economics, public policy, law, decision-making, and systems and information sciences. More than 700 legislative staff and legislators have graduated from the programs sponsored by the Center, which is the only institution in the world offering academic and/or applied studies in legislative administration, research, and information.

The Center for Legislative Development's programs are carried out primarily through the Department of Public Administration, within the Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy. Rockefeller College consists of four public policy oriented graduate schools

(Public Affairs, Criminal Justice, Social Work, and Information Science and Policy) as well as the Professional Development Program, which develops and administers a wide array of professional development courses and workshops for state and local government officials. Through its location within the Graduate School of Public Affairs, the Center is able to offer Masters of Public Administration (MPA) and PhD degrees in Public Administration with concentrations in Legislative Administration. The Center also offers non-degree programs, legislative institutes, and short-term professional programs for senior staff who prefer not to pursue a degree program.

Rockefeller College offers resources which are impressive not only for their depth, but also for their breadth. With a combined faculty of 100 scholars, more than 50 additional researchers and technical specialists, and nearly 1,000 graduate students, Rockefeller College constitutes one of the largest concentrations of expertise in public affairs and policy at any single institution in the United States. Rockefeller College has its own Graduate Library for Public Affairs, which brings together under one roof collections for public affairs, social welfare, criminal justice, and information and library sciences. The growth of its own collection and its increasing access to the resources of other institutions makes the Graduate Library for Public Affairs one of the best public affairs libraries in the country and enables it to facilitate and assist cross-disciplinary, doctoral-level research and to function as a base resource for providing both materials and access to information in a variety of formats and locations.

Florida International University, a member of the State University System of Florida, opened its doors in 1972. It now enrolls over 20,000 students and expects to add another 10,000 students during this decade. The institution has an explicit mandate of service to the Americas.

The FIU School of Public Affairs and Services is the University's academic unit addressing the needs of public service agencies and other organizations in South Florida, the Region and Latin America. The School, which has been growing significantly in academic excellence (as evidenced by its recent election to the most elite status within the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration) specializes in professional development, problem assessment, policy formulation and program implementation. Its sixty faculty members are organized in the Departments of Criminal Justice, Health Services Administration, Social Work, and Public Administration. They offer high quality credit and non-credit programming from the Bachelor's through the Doctoral level. Non credit activities are continuous in Miami and abroad. For five years, the faculty and staff of the School worked with the United Nations Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders (ILANUD) through the USAID Administration of Justice Project. Its faculty have delivered ancillary services in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina and Columbia for USAID and other international donor organizations.

The School is headed by Dean Allan Rosenbaum, who has 25 years of experience researching and working with both state legislatures and the U.S. Congress and in advising state governments on their legislative organization and functioning. The School's Program Manager for the Consortium for Legislative Development, Gerald Reed, has six years of experience working as a state legislative staffer and two years experience working in the Latin American region, including USAID funded activities with both the Costa Rican and Guatemalan legislatures. The Chair of the Department of Public Administration, Harvey Averch, who has held a number of senior and presidential appointments at the National Science Foundation, oversaw all of its technological program activity and its national science and technological policy development activity, including considerable work with the U.S. Congress and senior level foreign government officials. The Public Administration department has successfully delivered a multi-year training program for Mexican government officials and the School itself has a number of faculty with experience in Latin America and U.S. state and federal policy making.

Supporting logistical needs of the University faculty and staff is the University's Division of Continuing Education with four professionals and a dozen para professionals, the Controller's Office which handles six million dollars and year in federal funding, including two to three million in USAID funding; its Center for International Affairs which coordinates all international activities at the University and the Division of Sponsored Research Training, the principal point of contact with USAID contract officers, and the administration of ten million dollars per annum in contracts and grants.

B. Other Institutions

In addition to the resources that the Consortium itself brings to the implementation of this plan, the following organizations with which the Consortium has collaborated successfully in the past offer potential additional resources for the project.

1. The Asociación de Técnicos Legislativos Centroamericanos (ATELCA) was founded in 1988. It is led by the chief clerks of the national legislatures of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. The membership of ATELCA includes the key professional staff of each legislature. ATELCA holds semiannual General Assembly meetings, regular committee working meetings and is currently developing a full program of training and information-exchange activities including the development of a Central American manual on legislative procedure, the regular exchange of key legislation and bills and a budget analysis training program.

2. The National Association of Directors and Legislative Professional of Brazil is a professional staff organization which was established in 1984 to help in the professional development of Brazilian legislatures both at the federal and the state level and was formed in cooperation with the University at Albany's Center for Legislative Development with partial funding from the United States. It is modeled on the U.S. National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). ANDAL has sponsored a number of seminars and conferences that included both staff and elected members and has published their proceedings.
3. The National Conference of State Legislatures is a bipartisan organization created to serve the legislators and staffs of the nation's 50 states, its commonwealths and territories. NCSL provides research, technical assistance, and the opportunity to exchange ideas on the most pressing state issues. NCSL also is an effective and respected representative for the interests of state governments before Congress and federal agencies. NCSL's aims are to improve the quality and effectiveness of state legislatures, to foster interstate communication and cooperation, and to ensure legislatures a strong, cohesive voice in the federal system. NCSL produces a monthly magazine, a quarterly newsletter and offers a great many specialized publications, from books to brief summaries of developments, through studies of a number of policy areas.
4. The American Society of Legislative Clerks and Secretaries (ASLCS), founded in 1943, is comprised of chief parliamentary officers and staff involved in the law making and administrative processes of state government. The Society undertakes special projects such as the revision of Mason's Manual of Legislative Procedure, the reprinting of Cushing's Law and practice and Legislative Assemblies in the United States of America, and conducts surveys on aspects of legislative procedure, parliamentary rulings, data processing, staff training, utilization and compensation. Currently in excess of two hundred members, representing forty-six states plus certain Atlantic and Pacific islands, attend the ASLCS's annual professional development seminars. Other meetings are held throughout the year. Biennially, the Society meets jointly with its Canadian counterparts.

Other useful resource organizations include the Southern Legislative Conference, the State Legislative Leaders Foundation, the Council of State Governments, the Andean Parliament, the Council of Europe and European Parliament's European Centre for Parliamentary Research and Documentation, the Instituto Centroamericano de Administración de Empresas (INCAE) and the Instituto Latinoamericano de las Naciones Unidas para la Prevención de Delito y Tratamiento del Delincuente (ILANUD).

X. BUDGET

I. Strategic Institutionalization			
A. Institutionalization of process	97,411		
B. Graduate Studies	154,513		
	Subtotal		251,924
II. Organization & Human Resources			
A. Budget	64,530		
B. Oversight	64,530		
C. Policy Analysis	64,530		
E. Legislative Technologies	108,341		
F. Administration/Management	88,300		
	Subtotal		390,231
III. External Linkages			
A. Legislative Internships	54,510		
B. Joint Research	129,550		
C. Professional Academic Meetings	30,360		
D. Working Relations	100,000		
	Subtotal		314,420
IV. Information & Physical Support			
A. Information Support			
1. Info Systems	200,000		
B. Physical Support			
1. Transcriptions	68,463		
2. Communications	54,463		
	Subtotal		422,926
			1,379,501
PROGRAM TOTAL			
VI. Project Core Administration			
A. Proj. Mgr. \$50,000 year/3 years	150,000		
B. Admin. Asst. \$35,000 year/3 years	105,000		
C. Fringe Benefits @ 27%	68,850		
	Subtotal		323,850
VII. Overhead @ 30% of Program and Core Total			511,005
			\$2,214,356

ANNEX A

PARAGUAY'S NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The use of support from non-governmental organizations is often one of the alternative paths to follow when in search of sustainable development of an institution, in this case, legislative development. The Republic of Paraguay is currently looking for answers to critical questions, and the utilization of their own resources will allow the country to undertake a learning process while this search takes place. It is, therefore, important to point out the educational contribution of non-governmental organizations to a society which is currently in process of development.

A. Centro Interdisciplinario de Derecho Social y Economía Política

A current outstanding example of a non-governmental organization in the Republic of Paraguay is the *Centro Interdisciplinario de Derecho Social y Economía Política* - Interdisciplinary Center of Social Justice and Political Economics. This particular entity is a direct dependent of the University Nuestra Señora de la Asunción and is concerned primarily with two topics: human rights and interdisciplinary research studies.

The segment that is concerned with the area of human rights covers a wide range of activities. These include gathering information on specific human rights violation cases by means of computerized data accumulation and analysis systems; and creating awareness of human rights matters by means of seminars and workshops. Also, the *Consultorio de Asuntos Jurídicos Gratuito*, or Legal Aid Society for persons of limited economic resources, functions under the supervision and collaboration of the Law Department of the Catholic University.

The second concentration of the *Centro Interdisciplinario de Derecho Social y Economía Política* is research and capacitation, utilizing an interdisciplinary approach. The Center conducts research and produces publications in the area of socio-economics. It conducts conferences, courses, and seminars whose themes are of a socio-economic and political orientation. In addition, it provides assistance to the Congress and is involved in the drafting of bills, especially in the area of constitutional law.

It produces educational materials on the subject of human rights, under the leadership of Dr. Carlos Alberto Gonzalez. On an short term basis, the Center has produced "scientific

research" on the subject of human rights. More importantly, its long term product, educating the public, is one of the cornerstones of sustainable development.

B. Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos

Another example of a non-governmental organization which combines scientific research and technical expertise is the *Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos / Paraguayan Center For Sociological Studies*. This particular Center had its origins during the mid-1960s; one could qualify it as avant garde in the incorporation of both theory and practice in the area of area of sociology.

The objective of the Paraguayan Center for Sociological Studies is to promote scientific research in the area of the social sciences. The Center creates a greater awareness of the social condition in Latin America as well as Paraguay; it also brings about greater understanding of the social sciences, and in so doing promotes their study and development; contributes to the maintenance of archives and libraries which contain valuable material; encourages capacitation programs both in Paraguay and Latin America; maintains a close relationship with both governmental and non-governmental organizations; and provides them with technical and theoretical assistance in order to contribute needs and to their process of development.

This center runs a series of workshops that are focused on research methodology. Advances in computer technology have positively affected this particular program of study. The program is geared to the study of data bases, statistical analysis, spreadsheets, and data processing. These become the tools of scientific research in social science, but more importantly, they become the tools of future contributions to the field.

The Center is a not-for-profit organization that sustains itself by means of grants from scholarly institutions. It also provides technical assistance and performs research to fund itself. The center's wide variety of research topics include the impact of bilingualism, national and international patterns of immigration, population structure and composition, rural development and modernization, the role of women in the labor force, urban housing, education, and the current and historical characteristics of urban development.

The CPES publishes on a regular basis the *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología / Paraguayan Journal of Sociology*. Its aim is to serve as a means of diffusion for social science research being produced in Paraguay and to increase its recognizability both at the national and international levels. It is regarded as a respected source of scholarly material in the area of Spanish-speaking publications.

The library and the document room are two integral parts of the structure of the *Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos*. Both serve as document preservation entities, maintaining a vast collection of books, journals, and bibliographic indexes. The short-term purpose is to serve as a source of reference to professionals, scholars, students and the general public, at the same time, on a long term basis, the contribution to the various fields in social science is immeasurable.

C. Centro de Estudios Democraticos

Centro de Estudios Democraticos / Center For Democratic Studies is a not-for-profit non-governmental organization, established in 1988 by a variety of representatives of the political spectrum in Paraguay. The Center is headed by its president, Juan Manuel Marcos, with a mission to contribute to an increase in the level of democracy in Paraguayan society. The method used by the Center for Democratic Studies is education. The Center organizes seminars, conferences and workshops on a regular basis. The themes of these events often deal with democratic values and institutions at the national, international, and municipal levels.

D. Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo

The *Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo* / Information and Resources Center for Development was created in 1988 under a cooperative agreement between USAID and the Comité Paraguay-Kansas of the Partners of America. Currently it is headed by Mr. Alvaro Caballero. It is a Non-Governmental Organization specialized in four services: The "CRISOL" PVO/NGO database, the Documentation Center, publications, and training programs.

The "CRISOL" PVO/NGO is a joint venture of the *Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo* in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program and several Paraguayan Non-Governmental Organizations. CRISOL is a database system that brings together these groups in a data sharing linkage that increases their levels of productivity as institutions, but more importantly, as independent actors, it complements and increments their ideological strengths.

The Documentation Center serves as keeper of research material and publications. Its information system maintains, indexes, and codifies documents produced by agencies such as

USAID and the World Bank. It is the facility of access to these documents that makes the Documentation Center so successful.

Like the other non-governmental organizations, the Information Resources Center for Development conducts a series of training programs. But, what makes this center unique is the high degree of technology that is available to the trainees via its extensive information management system.

The teleology of the above mentioned non-governmental organizations is citizen awareness and participation by means of education. Often, in societies where authoritarian regimes have monitored the every move of the universities and associations, grass roots organizations flourish and provide society with an alternative to the acceptable, government sponsored institutions of the regime in power.