



Report on the National Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Ecuador

No. 12, June 2008. The Carter Center.

Quito, Ecuador

Introduction

This report covers the principal events, debates and decisions of the National Constituent Assembly of Ecuador (CA) between June 15 and June 29, 2008. In the first section we summarize the work undertaken in the Assembly's two main forums: the constituent working groups and the Plenary. In the second section we analyze the key relationships both within the Assembly as well as between the Assembly and the Executive branch, the Judicial branch and civil society. In the third section we introduce the most controversial issue of the two week period: the resignation of Alberto Acosta (PAIS) from the Presidency of the CA. Finally, we summarize the main events of the period in a brief chronology.

I. The Assembly's Internal Work

1. The Legislation and Oversight Working Group (Working Group 10)

On June 20, Group 10 denied President Correa's petition for amnesty on behalf of the former directors of the Agency for the Guarantee of Deposits (AGD): Luis Villacís, Carlos Arboleda and Wilma Salgado. Salgado and Villacís received 7/13 votes in favor, and Arboleda, 5/13. Unlike the rest of the working groups, Group 10 requires 8 votes for approval. However, there were several public statements

in favor of reconsidering the motion, given that during the vote several members were absent who would have voted in favor of the motion, such as León Roldós (RED). For example, Jimena Bohórquez (PAIS) spoke out on the issue, arguing that "*there are no valid legal arguments for ruling against these petitions, only political decisions being made by the members of the Working Group*".¹

¹ "La amnistía a tres ex gerentes de la AGD se negó en la Mesa 10", El Comercio, 06/21/08. Online:

http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129441&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=2

Meanwhile, on the same day Group 10 approved amnesty for former President Gustavo Noboa. Noboa's amnesty also benefitted Jorge Gallardo Zavala, Alonso Pérez Kakabadse, Francisco Arosemena Robles and Carlos Carrera Nortiz, who were part of the team that renegotiated the foreign debt payments during Noboa's government. The amnesty resolution left open the possibility of re-trying them if irregularities are established in future penal processes that look into the renegotiation process. This stipulation was recommended to the Working Group by then President of the Assembly, Alberto Acosta, who requested that they analyze a preliminary report by the Investigative Commission on Foreign Debt.²

On June 27, Group 10 elected its new leaders in a special session, after its previous president César Rodríguez was named the second vice president of the CA by the Plenary. The new leaders named by the Working Group are: María Paula Romo as president and Félix Alcívar as vice president; both Assembly members are from the majority PAIS bloc.³

²Constituent Assembly, Group 10, "Ratificada la amnistía para Noboa", 06/21/08. Online:
http://asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/blogs/mesa_10/2008/06/21/ratificada-la-amnistia-para-noboa/

³ "María Paula Romo preside la Mesa de Legislación", El Comercio 06/28/08. Online:
http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130534&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=28

2. The Work of the Working Groups

Working Group 1. Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Guarantees.

On June 18 Working Group 1 approved a group of 6 articles on state regulation of media content. The main provision refers to advertising; program content will not be regulated, as had been proposed in the initial report submitted for the first round of debate. The initial proposal was abandoned after the Assembly members met with representatives from the communication industry unions.⁴

Working Group 2. Organization, Social and Citizen Participation, and Systems of Representation

On June 20, Working Group 2 approved the articles that establish the creation of the fifth branch of government, which will be called the Branch for Transparency and Citizen Monitoring. Article 1 establishes that "*the people are first authority and exerciser of oversight of the State*". In addition they approved the right of citizens to participate and monitor acts of public interest.⁵

⁴Political Summary, "Asamblea: el sistema de comunicación no se descarta", El Comercio, 06/19/08. Online:
http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129127&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=19

⁵Political Summary, "El control social será un poder del Estado", El Comercio, 06/21/08. Online:
http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129442&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=21

Working Group 3: Structure and Institutions of the State

On June 19 Working Group 3 approved a group of 29 articles, whose central proposal is that the current Congress be called the National Assembly in the new Constitution; the Assembly will be a unicameral body. The Plenary will be composed of representatives from various levels: national, regional, provincial and electoral districts within and outside of the country. The argument of the members who voted in favor of having a unicameral body is that this format will allow draft laws to be processed more quickly.⁶

Working Group 4. Territorial Organization.

On June 27 Assembly member Tatiana Hidrovo (PAIS) gave up the Presidency of Working Group 4 to her fellow party member Gerardo Nicola. Hidrovo made the decision because she will be devoting her energy to promoting a project that may lead to territorial autonomy for her birth province, Manabí. Hidrovo's proposal has not received much support within the Working Group. According to her proposal, a province that contains more than 8% of the country's total population, territory encompassing more than 18,000 square kilometers and major watersheds, could

become an autonomous region, if its inhabitants so desire.⁷

Working Group 7. Development Model

On June 22 Working Group 7 approved a bundle of texts that stipulate that financial groups or entities may not own total, partial or permanent holdings in businesses unrelated to financing activity. The proposal, which still must be approved by the plenary, aims to ensure that for these businesses, their legal representatives, directors or shareholders "...are bankers and only bankers."⁸ According to the Press Room summary, this provision is primarily motivated by the need to prevent control of the mass media sector by the financial sector.

Working Group 8. Justice and the Fight Against Corruption

On June 20 Group 8 approved the proposal to change the constitutional appeal for habeas corpus from a power of mayors (as in the current Constitution) to a power of the new Constitutional Court. The Working Group also established that the Supreme Court of Justice will now be called the National Court of Justice and it will be made up of 18 judges and a

⁶ Political Summary, "La bicameralidad se cayó en medio camino", El Comercio, 06/20/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129275&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=20

⁷ Political Summary, "Hidrovo deja la Mesa 4 para defender las autonomías", El Comercio, 06/28/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130451&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=28

⁸ Constituent Assembly, Press Room, "En la nueva constitución los banqueros tienen reglas claras", 06/22/08. Online: <http://asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/boletines/con-la-nueva-constitucion-los-banqueros-tienen-reglas-claras.do>

president who will serve for nine years. The selection of judges will be determined through competition, which will be held by the National Judiciary Council and executed by a Selection Committee, which will be composed of representatives from the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches.⁹

3. Debates and Resolutions of the Plenary of the CA

On June 21 the Plenary debated the articles presented by Working Group 6 on the Property Regime during a special session. The proposal states that the State will guarantee property in all of its different forms, as long as it fulfills its social and environmental functions. According to some Assembly members, the phrase “as long as it fulfills its social function” is ambiguous and could lead to misinterpretations and abuses. Some of the strongest opponents of this restriction were Galo Lara (PSP) and Vicente Taiano (PRIAN). At the same time, César Rohón (PSC) questioned why the articles would need to establish diverse forms of property, “*because there are only two kinds: public and private.*” In turn, Alberto Acosta (PAIS) reiterated that the articles on property do not seek the expropriation of private holdings. He considered this a false argument promoted by the opposition parties to

⁹ Political Summary, “La Mesa 8 aprobó el texto sobre la Función Judicial”, El Comercio, 06/21/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129444&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=21

strengthen their campaign for a no vote in the constitutional referendum. Along these same lines, María Paula Romo (PAIS) insisted that the articles “recognize and guarantee the right to private property. They meet the requirements of many sectors and they are included in all of Ecuador’s past constitutions and in other countries”.¹⁰

On June 24, Alberto Acosta (PAIS) announced his resignation from the Presidency of the CA before the Plenary. His resignation was accepted with 77/120 votes. The Plenary voted to name Fernando Cordero (PAIS) as his temporary replacement; Cordero is also now serving as president of the Director’s Commission of the Assembly.¹¹

After Acosta’s resignation, the Plenary moved on to the final round of discussion and approval for two large groups of articles, some of which we lay out below. The first group of articles refers to the Title on Social Organization and Participation:¹²

¹⁰ Political Summary, “El texto sobre propiedad tiene reparos en el Pleno”, El Comercio, 06/22/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129555&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=22

¹¹ See the details on the controversial resignation of Alberto Acosta in the section on *Actors, Debates and Points of Tension* at the end of this document.

¹² CA, “Title I, Social Organization and Participation in Democracy”. Online: http://www.asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/documentos/organizacion_social_participacion_democracia_mesa_2.pdf

TITLE I
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I. PRINCIPLES

Art. 1.- Citizens, both individually and collectively, shall participate and act as protagonists in the decision-making, planning and management of public matters as well as in the popular control of the representatives and institutions of both the State and society, in a permanent process of strengthening citizen power and well being. The participation of citizens in all matters of public interest is a right which shall be exercised through the mechanisms of representative, direct and community-based democracy. It is guided by the principles of political equality, autonomy, public deliberation, respect for differences, popular control, solidarity, reciprocity and multiculturalism.

CHAPTER II. PARTICIPATION AND COLLECTIVE ORGANIZATION

Art. 2.- All the forms of social organization are recognized as expressions of popular sovereignty to further the process of self-determination, influence the decisions of public authorities on public policies, and promote citizen monitoring at all levels of government and of all public and private entities that provide public services.

CHAPTER III. ON PARTICIPATION AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

Art. 6.- There will be opportunities for participation and monitoring at all levels of government by representatives of the elected authorities, society and other organizations from each territorial grouping at all levels of government, and these groups' activities will be guided by democratic principles.

CHAPTER IV. EXERCISE OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Art. 9.- Popular initiatives supported by citizens may be used to propose the creation, reform or repeal of laws and regulations, by being presented to the legislative branch or corresponding body at whichever level of government. They must achieve the support of at least zero point two five percent (0.25%) of the citizens registered to vote in the electoral registry of the corresponding jurisdiction.

Art. 10.- Popular Consults can be called for by the President of the Republic, sectional autonomous governments, and citizen initiatives.

Art. 11.- A referendum for constitutional reform may be brought before the National Electoral Council by the President of the Republic or by a petition from the citizens.

Art. 12.- Citizens with free exercise of their political rights may revoke the mandates of popularly elected dignitaries.

CHAPTER V. ON POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Art. 15.- Political movements and parties are expressions of the political plurality of the nation; they are public, no state, organizations; they support different philosophical, political and ideological concepts, in an inclusive and non-discriminatory way. Their organization, structure and operations are democratic and guarantee the

alternation of power, accountability and equal representation of men and women in their leadership. They select their own leaders and candidates via their own internal electoral processes or primary elections.

Art. 16.- Political movements and parties will finance themselves with the support of their supporters and allies and as long as they meet the requirements established by law, political parties will receive state funds subject to control.

CHAPTER VI. GENERAL ELEMENTS OF THE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Art. 19.- Political parties and movements or their alliances may present their members, supporters, or unaffiliated citizens as candidates for popularly elected positions. Political movements will require the support of at least one point five percent (1.5%) of the citizens registered for voting eligibility in the corresponding jurisdiction.

Art. 21.- Popularly elected positions are only eligible for reelection one time, whether consecutive or not, in accordance with the law. Popularly elected officials running for a different position than the one they hold should resign from their current position.

Art. 22.- Through the mass media, the State guarantees equitable and egalitarian campaign publicity to foster debate and the diffusion of information on the policy proposals of all candidates.

Also on June 24, the Plenary approved two other articles. The first one, on Civil Rights, was approved by 73/94 votes. The second one, on Due Process and Justice without Delays, was approved by 89/95 votes.¹³ They also approved another seven articles on political rights as proposed by Working Group 1, including the most noteworthy rights related to the following subjects and issues: migrants, the Armed Forces and the Police, the optional right to vote from the age of 16, the rights of foreigners, ratification of the obligatory vote for citizens over the age of 18, and other rights for women, refugees, and others, etc. On average, the voting support broke down to around 90 votes in favor of each article.

¹³Press Room José Peralta, "Aprobado el articulado sobre Debido Proceso y Derecho a una Justicia sin Dilaciones", 06/24/08. Online: http://asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13330&Itemid=1

The decision to vote on so many articles in one day was harshly scrutinized by the opposition party Assembly members, who argued that they received no prior warning that debate on these articles would be on the agenda. To Cristina Reyes (PSC), for example, *"the government bloc's formula of approving these small packets" of 33 completely varied articles gives us some guidelines for what to expect from this last month of work; debate will be sacrificed to please the President.*" In protest, Assembly members from PSP, PSC and Prian abandoned the Plenary.¹⁴

On June 25, with 69 votes, the Plenary approved a Resolution presented by Group 9 that condemns a directive on the return of

¹⁴Political Summary, "Acuerdo País aprobó anoche 33 artículos, en total llega a 90", El Comercio, 06/25/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130020&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=25

illegal immigrants in the European territory that was promoted in the European Parliament. The resolution condemns the return directive resolution of the European Parliament from June 18 2008 “*for constituting a criminalizing, discriminator and xenophobic measure*”; it rejects the focus on security expressed in the directive on return, and calls on the governments of Latin America and the Caribbean to form a “*common front to take joint measures and decisions in defense of Ecuadorians*”; it also calls on “*the governments of the Andean Community of Nations to adopt joint measures aimed at repealing the ‘return directive’*”.¹⁵

On June 26, the Plenary approved 4 articles on property with an average of 83 votes. The parties who voted in favor were PAIS, Pachakutik, MPD and RED. The opposition parties, such as PSC, PSP, Prian, UNO and Futuro Ya, abandoned the Plenary prior to the vote in protest of the incidents that had taken place shortly before during the election of the new vice presidents of the Assembly. The articles approved were the following:

Art. Types of property.- The State recognizes and guarantees the right to property in its diverse forms: public, private, community,

¹⁵ National Constituent Assembly, “Resolution.” 06/25/08. Online: http://www.asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/documentos/resolucion_parlamento_europeo.pdf

state, associative, cooperative, mixed. It should always fulfill its social and environmental functions.

Art. Intellectual property.- Intellectual property is recognized in accordance with the conditions of the law. It prohibits all forms of appropriation of public knowledge: sciences, technologies and ancient wisdom. It also prohibits the appropriation of the genetic resources contained in the country’s biological and agricultural diversity.

Art. Public use.- In order to execute plans for social development, sustainable development of the environment, and collective wellbeing, the institutions of the State, in the name of public use or the social and national interest, may declare the expropriation of private holdings, with just valuation, compensation and payment in accordance with the law. Confiscation is prohibited.

Art. Equality of rights.- The State will guarantee the equality of rights and opportunities for men and women in their access to property and decision-making in the administration of conjugal society.¹⁶

II. The Assembly’s Relationships with the Constituted Powers and Society

1. The Assembly’s Relationship with the Executive power

¹⁶National Constituent Assembly, “Articles on Property,” 06/26/08. Online:

http://www.asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/documentos/articulos_propiedad_final.pdf

On June 19, President Correa spoke to the Assembly to request that they approve a series of emergency measures to stem the increase in prices and the inflation index. The proposed measures were stimulatory in nature, such as direct and progressive subsidies for agricultural inputs: those with less will receive greater subsidies. The cost of this six-month subsidy will be 143 million dollars and it will stay in effect until December 31, when it would have to be defined whether the subsidy should continue or not, based on the price of agricultural inputs.¹⁷

The main issue in the relationship between the Executive and the CA, Acosta's resignation, is analyzed further below.

2. The Assembly's Relationship with the Judicial Power

On June 17, Group 10 heard from the president of the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ) and his judges. The goal of the meeting was a discussion over the proposals for improving justice in the country. Roberto Gómez Mera, president of the CSJ, argues that the proposal for the creation of a Constitutional Court will harm the judicial branch. To Gómez Mera, it is a contradiction in terms to reduce the number of judges and to propose that all

¹⁷ Political Summary, "Corea pidió a la Asamblea aprobar paquete de subsidios y exoneraciones para el agro", El Comercio, 06/19/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=129238&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=19

judges and ministers may be held civilly and criminally responsible for the decisions they release in their terms. For his part, Assembly member César Rodríguez (PAIS), insisted on the necessity of simplifying judicial procedures to speed up the resolution of cases avoid cases where the process drags on for years without sentence. Rodríguez argued that *"to consider whether something complies with the Constitution is not a challenge to the institution of the CSJ; to demand closer attention to causes and an evaluation of pertinent actions is a national imperative to insure that the justice system fulfills its historic role"*.¹⁸

3. The Assembly's Relationship with Society

On June 25 the employees and officials of the 24 provincial councils announced that they will not speak with members of the Assembly or other authorities about their demand for the CA's proposal to form Provincial Legislative Bodies with delegates from the municipalities and parochial councils. Hernán Sevilla, president of the National Federation of Public Servant Associations of the Provincial Councils of Ecuador (FENACOPE), announced that the members of this federation will declare themselves in permanent session and will take *"precautionary measures"*. After failing to receive a response to their demands, for a

¹⁸ Constituent Assembly, Group 10, "La Corte en la Asamblea", 06/17/08. Online: http://asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/blogs/mesa_10/2008/06/17/la-corte-en-la-asamblea/

proposal they believe will reduce the powers granted to provincial autonomous governments, the director of the federation of employees instead that *“It is essential that they adopt priority measures in all the employee associations and workers unions of the provincial councils”*.¹⁹

III. Actors, Debates and Points of Tension

Alberto Acosta resigns as President of the CA

On June 23, Alberto Acosta announced that he would resign as President of the CA, and he followed through with the announcement the next day before the Plenary. In a press conference, while accompanied by a few Assembly members from his political movement, as well as other Assembly members from RED, Pachakutik and MPD, Acosta read an extensive statement that laid out his reasons for resigning. The central point related to his failed attempt to convince President Correa and the executive committee of PAIS that the Assembly’s session needed to be prolonged beyond the final date established in the constitutional referendum (July 26). Here we reproduce a key paragraph from Acosta’s speech: *“I don’t believe that debate, deliberation, taking ownership and identifying*

¹⁹ Political Summary, “En los empleados de las prefecturas hay malestar”, El Comercio, 06/26/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130180&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=26

*with the process, clarity and quality of texts, should be sacrificed for the pace of the times. We have not been distracted from our work - that is proven by what we’ve accomplished already. I take responsibility for the mistakes made, which can easily be made when you take a more inclusive and democratic path. This statement and personal position, of not sacrificing debate for the pace of the times, is not shared throughout this body, nor by the majority of the leadership of Acuerdo PAIS, the movement to which I belong and to which I reaffirm my membership and support. Therefore, given my de facto loss of their support, they have asked me to step down to make way for another person who will follow a different path and pressure for the approval of a text by the final date of July 26. I respect their position.”*²⁰

This explanation of his reasons for resignation was confirmed a few days later by President Correa himself, who stated during his radio address on June 26 that Acosta’s resignation *“hit him very hard,”* but it *“was inevitable given the necessity of meeting the timetable established for completing the new Constitution.”*²¹ Acosta’s resignation elicited

²⁰Alberto Acosta, “Renuncio a la Presidencia de la Asamblea, y sigo en la lucha!!!”, 06/24/08. Online: http://asambleaconstituyente.gov.ec/blogs/alberto_acosta/2008/06/24/carta-de-renuncia-de-alberto-acosta-a-la-presidencia-de-la-anc/

²¹Efe, “La Renuncia de Alberto Acosta me golpeó mucho: Rafael Correa”, El Comercio, 06/28/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130534&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=28

multiple reactions as much from political groups as from certain sectors of civil society. President Correa's was one of the first to be expressed when, without referring explicitly to him, he stated that "*no one is indispensable in this process*" and "*the Constitution has to be done on time, as ordered by the Ecuadorian people*".²² There were also expressions of uncertainty from the same government. For example, according to Minister of Policy Coordination and member of the executive leadership of PAIS, Ricardo Patiño: "*This is the first time we've had a serious crisis; Alberto's resignation was a very serious internal crisis for us*".²³

On the opposite end of the reaction spectrum we find the position of CONAIE, which stated via press release on June 24 its "*profound worry for the future of the new constitution, at the same time that it recognizes and praises the wise, democratic, pluralist and participative leadership of Economist Alberto Acosta of the constituent process from its opening day to the present*".²⁴ CONAIE's statement also termed Acosta's resignation "a

product of the permanent pressure and ceaseless interference by the Executive, which has not respected the full powers and autonomy that were granted by the Ecuadorian people and the current constitution to the Constituent Assembly and not to the President of the Republic".

Beyond the different appraisals of Acosta's resignation, the one certainty is that the new President of the CA, Fernando Cordero (PAIS), does not have the same level of consensus among the diverse political groups represented in the Assembly. Unlike Acosta, who was elected unanimously, Cordero was only supported by 84 votes. The loudest critics of Cordero's designation were Assembly members of the opposition, for whom this new situation limits their ability to participate and debate. While it is true that Cordero made an effort to approach the opposition parties to establish mechanisms to speed up the approval of articles, the meeting he called to this effect was not attended by members of PSC, PSP and PRIAN in a spirit of protest. Despite their non-attendance, the meeting took place and some operating agreements were made, such as the following: each plenary session will last for four hours and there will be two sessions per day; they will work from Monday morning to Saturday. However, the tensions stirred up in the first few days of Cordero's leadership were obvious. For example, on June 25, Cordero himself accused the opposition members of plotting an alleged

²² Political Summary, "Nadie es imprescindible: Rafael Correa", El Comercio, 06/25/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130012&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=25

²³ Political Summary, "Patiño acepta que hay crisis", El Comercio, 06/26/08. Online: http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130172&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=26

²⁴ CONAIE, "CONAIE expresa su apoyo a Alberto Acosta", 06/23/08. Online: http://www.conaie.org/es/ge_comunicados/20080623.html.

boycott, after representatives from PSP, Prian and PSC tried to nominate Leonardo Viteri as the new second vice president, a move that was blocked by the PAIS Assembly members.²⁵

In addition to some strategic issues that partially distanced Acosta from a large part of the executive committee of PAIS and President Correa (fundamentally tied to the development model and the informed consent of indigenous peoples, as analyzed in previous editions of this report), the pressure exerted by PAIS fundamentally observes the political necessity of winning the consult for approval of the new Constitution and the later elections for the relegitimation of powers. The leadership overseeing the process conceives of time as a factor that could work against this objective, as it is directly tied to the continuity of the political process. Evidently, this logic implies the partial sacrifice of time for dialogue and debate and, eventually, the sacrifice of higher quality of the final product.

06/19/08. Correa spoke to the Assembly to request their approval of a series of emergency measures to stem the increase in prices and the inflation index.

06/24/08. Alberto Acosta offered his resignation from the presidency of the CA. Fernando Cordero was designated as the new president of the Assembly.

06/24/08. The Plenary approved a group of articles related to civil rights, political rights, and rights to due process and justice without delays.

06/25/08. With 69 votes the Plenary approved a Resolution brought by Working Group 9 that condemns the return directive promulgated in the European Parliament.

06/25/08. The Plenary approved four articles on property.

06/27/08. Working Group 10 selected its new leadership in a special session.

²⁵ Political Summary, "La Asamblea tendrá dos sesiones diarias", El Comercio, 06/26/08. Online:

http://www2.elcomercio.com/solo_texto_search.asp?id_noticia=130166&anio=2008&mes=6&dia=26