

The Circuits of Anti-Communist Repression between Asia and Latin America during the Second Cold War: Paraguay and the World Anti-Communist League¹

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Abstract

This article studies the relationships established between the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and South-American and Asian anti-Communist organizations and military dictatorships in the 1970s. The proposed hypothesis is that these anti-Communist regimes intensified the ties between them to obtain legitimacy since they faced increasing allegations of human rights violations and reduced international diplomatic recognition. This Asian-Latin American alliance was established and strengthened when the US government began to oppose to these anti-Communist regimes. The Twelfth WACL Congress, held in Asunción in 1979, is offered as a case study.

Keywords: Cold War; Anti-Communism; International Relations; Dictatorships; Paraguay

Resumen

Este artículo estudia las relaciones establecidas entre la World Anti-Communist League (WACL), organizaciones anticomunistas y dictaduras militares en América del sur y Asia en los años setenta. Se defiende la hipótesis de que estos regímenes anticomunistas intensificaron sus vínculos para obtener legitimidad, dado que estaban arrinconados por denuncias de

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violaciones a los derechos humanos o carecían de reconocimiento internacional. Los lazos asiático-latinoamericanos fueron establecidos y fortalecidos cuando el gobierno de Estados Unidos comenzó a oponerse a esos regímenes anticomunistas. Se ofrece como estudio de caso la realización del XII Congreso de la WACL, llevado a cabo en Asunción en 1979.

Palabras clave: Guerra Fría, Anticomunismo; Relaciones internacionales; Dictaduras; Paraguay

One of the principal avenues in Asunción, the Paraguayan capital, carries the name Chiang Kai-shek. Far from being an orientalist curiosity, the avenue is part of an urban geography that features other references to Taiwan, as in the monument that celebrates the 60 years of uninterrupted diplomatic relations between Paraguay and Taiwan, inaugurated in 2017.² The initiative for this monument arose as part of a program of events undertaken by Paraguay in honor of the anniversary of the beginning of diplomatic relations. That year, the Paraguayan mail service introduced two new stamps, to the delight of philatelists, one with a photograph of the Palacio de los López in Asunción and another with a photo of the Palace of the Republic of China, in Taiwan.³ The release of these new stamps was celebrated conjointly in Asunción and in Taipei, coinciding with the official visit of the Paraguayan president to Taiwan.⁴ Simultaneously, the embassy of Taiwan in Paraguay, the Paraguay Marathon Club, and the Paraguayan Olympic Committee organized the seven-kilometer “60th Anniversary Run” in the Guasu Metropolitan Park. Along with the athletic competition, a book about Taiwanese immigration to Paraguay was published and an exhibition of ceramics, a Taiwanese food tasting, and a gastronomic and cultural festival were held on the coastal side of Asunción.⁵ As one can see, the tie between Taipei and Asunción is as long-standing as it is solid. Paraguay is the only country in South America that still recognizes Taiwan, the Republic of China, as the legitimate government over continental People’s Republic of China. The quantity of nations that still support Taiwan has been decreasing since 1979, when the United States recognized the sitting government in Beijing. In fact, only 14 countries in the world do not recognize the People’s Republic of China and none of them are relevant in terms of demographics or territory.⁶

What is the history behind this intense and enduring sixty-year diplomatic friendship between Paraguay and Taiwan? What are the roots that bind these two countries separated by 20,000 kilometers, with completely different languages, histories, and ethnic compositions? Answering these questions requires a study of international connections among anti-Communist dictatorships during the Cold War. In that sense, this article is part of a series of research initiatives that have been underway for the last fifteen years and that try to identify the characteristics

of the Cold War in Latin America.⁷ This new literature has contributed to what we now consider as a more precise and decentered perspective on the continent and on the transnational dynamics at play during the years 1947-1989.⁸ This work by academics and activists was focused on the official and clandestine relationships between the governments of the United States and their peers in Latin America, and in particular with the Armed Forces across the region. These efforts have uncovered a more precise knowledge about the role of the anti-Communist agenda in the production of Inter-American connections, for example, military training programs at the School of the Americas in Panama, the dissemination of the National Security Doctrine, and cooperation among the Latin American Armed Forces.⁹

What have been less frequently examined are the processes of circulation of actors, money, arms, propaganda, and ideas among extreme Right organizations and governments in Asia and South America during the second Cold War.¹⁰ For that reason, this article aims to contribute to a more adjusted comprehension of international dynamics during that period, and, in particular, of the weight that the links between Latin America and Asia had in the utilization of violent anti-Communist and repressive strategies and discourses. Many of these initiatives from Asian and Latin American dictatorships and rightist organizations not only eluded the potential interest and control of the United States government, but were directly against the latter, as we hope to demonstrate here. We believe that studying the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) can provide one of the keys to understanding these connections, as this global organization tied to terrorist, propagandistic, and political activities was launched in East Asia during the end of the 1960s. This is why we dedicate the first section to the WACL. The second section refers to the WACL's shift towards Latin America from 1972 and throughout that decade, which permitted it to find new partners while showing certain distancing from, and even opposition to, the government of the United States. Here, we demonstrate that the ties between Asian and Latin American anti-Communists start at the very least during the middle of the 1950s. The third section describes one of the most evident expressions of the ties established between the WACL and the right-leaning anti-Communist dictatorships and organizations in South America during that period: the hosting of the Twelfth WACL Conference in April of 1979 in Asunción, an event that was used to legitimate the anti-Communist dictatorships on the continent while putting pressure on President Carter in the United States. This article is based on consultation of periodical sources—principally but not exclusively Paraguayan—, and documents produced by anti-Communist organizations and intelligence agencies.

I. An Asian anti-Communist club with global ambitions (1954-1971)

As is well known, the Cold War had a particular intensity in East and Southeast Asia, with Japanese domination having barely ended in 1945. The Kuomintang Nationalists and Mao Zedong's Communists were locked in a war in 1946 for control over the country. Finally, the Kuomintang troops, commanded by Chiang Kai-shek were defeated in 1949 and took refuge on the island of Taiwan, establishing the capital of the country in Taipei. There, Chiang Kai-shek led an anti-Communist dictatorship that demanded for a long time—and continues to demand—to be recognized as the authentic representation of continental China. In the case of Korea, after expelling the Japanese from the peninsula in 1945, the territory was divided into two; the North was under the control of the Soviet hegemony and the South under the control of the United States. The Korean War (1950-1953) witnessed the installation of two dictatorships: Kim Il-sung in North Korea, Communist, and the South was controlled by General Syngman Rhee and backed by Washington. In 1963, General Park Chung-hee established his own anti-Communist dictatorship in Seoul that continued until 1979 and that oversaw the rapid industrial expansion of the country.

Both Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek and South Korea, led first by Rhee and later by Chung-hee were military, authoritarian, anti-Communist dictatorships that had as their respective principal enemy Communist China and its ally North Korea. Their foreign policy followed guidelines that were explicitly and centrally anti-Communist, and the same can be said for their policies on security and internal control of the population.¹¹ As proof of that, in 1954, the governments of Seoul, Taipei, and Manila created the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist Conference (APAC) with the proposal of forging a barrier to prevent the expansion of Maoism. According to its foundational act, the functions of this anti-Communist organization were:

1. To promote the circulation of cultural materials and anti-Communist ideologies among the members and the peoples of other States;
2. To strengthen the economic cooperation among the members and the peoples of other states and to urge the strict enforcement of an embargo against the Communist areas;
3. To exchange publicity materials among the members and to conduct psychological warfare against Communism;
4. To exchange among the members of the Union information relating to anti-Communist activities and techniques for combatting the Communist enemy; and

5. To promote the close cooperation among the States and areas of the members in their common fight against Communist aggression.¹²

These three founding members added new members and by 1966 there were almost thirty. From there and beginning in that year, the APAC decided to create a larger anti-Communist entity with a transcontinental scale, which they would name the World Anti-Communist League and which resulted from the incorporation of other anti-Communist networks. The WACL granted membership by country, into “national chapters” that were each composed of numerous anti-Communist organizations headquartered in the country. Those national chapters were invited to participate in annual conferences held at rotating locations. The WACL’s first conference was held in Taiwan in 1967, and the following ones took place in other Asian capitals: Saigon in 1968, Bangkok in 1969, Kyoto in 1970, and Manila in 1971. The proceedings from the first conference in 1967 in Taipei give a sense of the many members that the WACL recruited in just a few months in Asia, among them Yakuza bosses like Yoshio Kodama and the Reverend Moon and his Church of the Unification. Both found in the WACL great opportunities to recruit believers and raise and launder money on both coasts of the Pacific.¹³

The WACL’s principal geopolitical aim was to maintain international recognition for Taiwan as the legitimate China, to prevent an invasion of Taiwan by the army of the People’s Republic of China, and to contain North Korea. This is due to the fact that in its early days, the WACL was controlled primarily by the South Korean dictatorship and by Chiang Kai-shek, as well as General Suharto, the leader of Indonesia.¹⁴ And although it was an organization that was composed primarily of Southeast and East Asian actors, there were other anti-Communist entities from other parts of the planet. The African Organization for Freedom and Democracy and the Middle East Solidarity Council also joined the initiative. The WACL benefitted from the participation of networks of collaborationists and war criminals that had escaped from Eastern Europe and the USSR after 1945, like the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).¹⁵ The Italian neo-fascists from the Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement) and old members and priests from the Romanian Iron Guard, old *ustasha*, and collaborationists from Canada, the United States, Europe, and South America joined the WACL, finding in it a political opportunity to undo an ominous past as well as a venue in which to speak and act publicly for the sake of chasing a much more legitimate political purpose during the Cold War. Latin American anti-Communism did not seem to have had a big impact on the WACL by the end of the sixties, except for the case of Mexican Jorge Prieto

Laurens, about whom we will speak in more detail in the following section.¹⁶ The Federación Argentina de Entidades Democráticas Anticomunistas (Argentine Federation of Anti-Communist Democratic Entities) was present at the first conference in Taipei in 1967 through their president, Apeles Márquez.¹⁷ The Brazilian organization Campanha da Mulher pela Democracia (The Women's Campaign for Democracy) participated in the following WACL conference in Saigon in 1968 and the Sociedade Brasileira de Defesa da Tradição, Família e Propriedade (Brazilian Society in Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property) was present at the fifth conference, held in Manila in 1971.¹⁸ But there are not many more references to Latin American anti-Communist networks involved in the WACL during that time.

The Asian geopolitical framework was altered profoundly after 1971, when the United Nations decided to take away its recognition of the dictatorship of Chang Kai-shek as legitimate representative of continental China. Therefore, Beijing took the seat on the UN Security Council that had previously been Taiwan's. The rapprochement by the Nixon administration to Mao's China was emulated by many Latin American governments during the beginning of the seventies. It is for this reason that both the Taiwanese and South Korean dictatorships began to look for new support not just beyond that which the United States government had provided for twenty years, but, above all, beyond the Asian nations. In the search for partners, Latin America began to occupy an unusually prominent place. And what is more striking, the champions of Asian anti-Communism were having colder relations with the White House, when not confrontational.

II. The connections between the Asian and Latin American anti-Communists (1972-1983)

After 1972, the WACL revised its overall geopolitical orientation, so as to intensify ties with anti-Communist groups in Latin America. Later that year, it became clear that fundamentalist Mexican Catholic groups were beginning to have a sizable impact within the WACL, as did the emergence of extremely violent and racist Salvadoran and Guatemalan political organizations and paramilitary groups, engaged in fighting against rural guerrillas inspired by the "Cuban example."¹⁹ It should come as no surprise that the WACL was involved in diverse counter-insurgent activities in Central America, some of which included the funding and preparation of the Contras, the guerrilla organization opposing the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, in Nicaragua.²⁰ Many military officers from Paraguay and from Central America—like Roberto D'Aubuisson—

were trained in the seventies at the Taiwanese School for Warfare (Fu Hsing Kang), that offered an intensive experience in counterrevolutionary violence and psychological warfare (an item that was already mentioned as a function of the APAC in 1954, as discussed earlier).²¹ The United States chapter of the WACL reached its highest level of relevance thanks to the energetic display by their president, Major General John K. Singlaub, who had retired from active service in 1977 after criticizing president Carter's attempted withdrawal of troops from South Korea.²²

The WACL's geopolitical shift and its new interest in the American continent are evident when looking at new host sites for their annual conferences. Whereas the first five were held in Asian cities, the following three were held in different places in the Americas: Guadalajara (1972), Washington (1974), and Rio de Janeiro (1975). After that, another five times the conference was held in an American host city: Washington again (1978), Asunción (1979), San Diego (1984), Dallas (1985), and San José, in Costa Rica (1991).²³

A priori, the WACL's decision to hold the 1972 Conference so far from the Asian capitals could seem strange, but what was especially noticeable was that it decided to host it in Mexico, a country that had not broken diplomatic relations with Cuba, a regime that had taken in a large number of exiled Spanish Republicans in the thirties and that did not seem to be the best and warmest nest for anti-Communism during the 1970s. López Macedonio suggests that this autonomous foreign policy was perceived by the WACL as a privileged scenario—or at least a neutral one—to amplify their voice against anti-Communism.²⁴ In this, it coincided with the perspective of the PRI governments, like those of Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964), Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1970) or Luis Echeverría (1970-1976), that aspired to execute what historian Lorenzo Meyer has referred to as a “discrete anti-Communism,” which consists in simultaneously persecuting leftist organizations while upholding public discourses and carrying out diplomatic activities that seem to go in the opposite direction.²⁵ This anti-Communist strategy was carried without the loud anti-Communist hubbub typical of the dictatorship of General Onganía in Argentina (1966-1970) and did not edify the stance into a characteristic, foundational principle as did the regime led by General Pinochet in Chile (1973-1989).

The other aspect that helps us understand how Asian anti-Communism traveled to, and landed in, Mexico is the exact point of its arrival: Guadalajara, the city probably most marked by its fundamentalist Catholicism due to the influence of the Church and the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara during the thirties and forties.²⁶ The key actor pushing the WACL to hold the conference in Guadalajara was the secret organization called Los Tecos, a violent Catholic group headquartered at this university in Guadalajara during the thirties. Their

militants were in general Catholic students that declared themselves the heirs of the Cristeros that had fought against president Plutarco Elías Calles during the twenties to impede what they had considered to be an anti-Catholic persecution comparable to the Roman Empire. Los Tecos were convinced that the post-revolutionary regime was essentially a Masonic, Jewish, and Communist beast dedicated to the destruction of the Catholic Church. The fundamentalist Catholicism of Los Tecos made them believe that the Council of Vatican II was an anti-Catholic conspiracy: their accusation that Pope Paul VI was a fake Pope—as well as being Jewish—distanced them from the official line of the Mexican Church and brought them closer to figures of the Latin American *Sedevacantism*.²⁷ According to this organization's political perceptions, priests and nuns that espoused a reformist discourse with social inflections were infiltrators that should be singled out and pursued. In 1967, Los Tecos along with other anti-Communist Catholic organizations created the Mexican Anti-Communist Federation (FEMACO, acronym in Spanish) to act publicly. FEMACO was directed by Raimundo Guerrero and Rafael Rodríguez—both professors at the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara—and included the presence of Jorge Prieto Laurens,²⁸ a long active Mexican anti-Communist Catholic that since 1954 was one of the creators and supporters of four anti-Communist conferences held in different Latin American countries.²⁹ According to Mexican intelligence, it was Prieto Laurens and the FEMACO that proposed during the WACL Conference held in Manila in 1971 that the following conference should be held in their country.³⁰

It is interesting to note that the contact between Latin American and Asian anti-Communists did not initiate in 1971. On the contrary, during the conferences organized by Prieto Laurens during the 1950s we can track a recurrent presence of Asian delegates.³¹ The president of the APAC, Ku Cheng-kang, congratulated via a telegram the organizers of the 1955 Conference and was present in the following two conferences, in 1956 and 1958. In 1957, the Conference passed resolutions to deepen its contacts with the “Anti-Communist League (Formosa)” (probably a reference to the APAC) and with the “National Alliance of Russian Solidarity (Frankfurt)” to create a “World Anti-Communist League.”³² Therefore, we can conceptualize that in 1972 Prieto Laurens, *Los Tecos*, and FEMACO were already established institutions and actors in the realm of Mexican anti-Communism, which had abundant experience in organizing continental political networks, and that practiced political anti-Communist violence in Guadalajara as well as in Mexico City. But, what's more, they had contact for at least fifteen years with APAC and the Taiwanese anti-Communist leadership.

The WACL Conference in 1972 brought together the best of Latin American anti-Communism, including Julio Meinvielle, the ardently anti-Semitic Argentine

Presbyterian, but also Walter Judd from the United States and the Chinese writer Lin Yu Tang, all of whom were invited to give talks.³³ According to Herrán Ávila, the WACL Conference in Guadalajara served to build a “continental consensus about the urgent necessity of taking the war to the enemy using their own methods (...) the total counterrevolutionary war.”³⁴ Prieto Laurens was one of the figures who used the opportunity of the Guadalajara conference to support and sponsor the Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana (Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation; CAL, Spanish acronym). The CAL was the tool with which *Los Tecos* tried to expand their particular fundamentalist Catholicism and their fight against the official Church, closer to reformist positions during those years, at least until the beginning of the papacy of John Paul II in 1978. For the CAL, the battle against the “bad” Catholics was enormously important. In 1977, the third CAL conference was held in Asunción: in that meeting the Bolivian delegation proposed an operation (the “Plan Bánzer”) that aimed to execute hundreds of believers, nuns, members of religious communities, and priests.³⁵ In an interview during the mid-nineties, the French priest Charles Antoine, Secretary General of the DIAL Agency (Diffusion de l’information sur l’Amérique latine), spoke about the impact that the anti-Communist campaigns against the Council of Vatican II and the following Conference of Bishops in Medellín (1968) had inside the Catholic church and its links with repression:

The international Catholic opinion has been victim of the poisonous campaigns that have demonized the pastoral work inspired in the Council of Vatican II and in Medellín. The same could be said of the theologians’ intellectual reflection. Behind it all, the violently anti-Communist funds have acted; as in, for example, the Catholic members of the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation, branch of the World Anti-Communist League, which were strongly influencing the repressive apparatuses of the North and South American armies.³⁶

But if the dispute against the official Church galvanized many of the WACL’s members, what united the Central American and South American dictators more was probably Carter’s arrival to the presidency in 1977 when they felt increasing pressure in the international arena.³⁷ The administration of Jimmy Carter was not promising for the WACL nor for their Latin American friends: his human rights policies significantly reduced not only the available political space for dictatorships, but also the funds for anti-Communist organizations in Latin America and Asia. President Carter harshly criticized the human rights abuses in Argentina, Guatemala, and El Salvador, and ordered military em-

bargoes and diplomatic sanctions against the three countries. These decisions were perceived by many members of the WACL as a sign that the United States government was ingenuous and bland in respect to the Communist bloc—or something even worse: that they were dealing with, what they denounced as a “Carter-Communism.” Of course, the assumption of Carter’s Communism was profoundly wrong: his decision to take away support from those dictatorships did not impede him from supporting the recently formed contra-Sandinista guerrilla group in 1979.³⁸

Thanks to the new alliances created after 1971, during the seventies and early eighties, the WACL expanded into a global network that provided, precisely, the ideological tools, legitimacy, arms, and funding to anti-Communist actors working at various points on the planet to develop a “total counter-revolutionary war.” But unlike had occurred previously, the Latin American actors—both civil and official—would have a larger presence, in particular the regime controlled by General Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay since 1954. As we will see below, the links between Asunción and Asian anti-Communism reached their peak during the Twelfth WACL Conference in 1979.

III. Against Carter-Communism. The Twelfth Conference of the WACL (Asunción, 1979)

The WACL Conference held in Asunción is relevant to this study for various reasons. First, it showed the strengthened ties between the South American dictatorships inspired by the doctrine of national security and the Asian Anti-Communist dictatorships. Second, the Conference took place at a time when the political distance between these authoritarian anti-Communist governments and the White House was greatest. The third point of interest is that 1979 was an *annus horribilis* for the WACL: in January the United States government ended the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China and formalized recognition of the People’s Republic of China; in February the Persian monarch was overthrown in a revolution that installed a theocratic republic; in July the Sandinista guerillas overthrew the dictator Anastasio Somoza and sent him into exile; at the end of the year Rhodesia, having been previously controlled by white colonists, became a new country, Zimbabwe, that was governed by blacks; in November a group of students occupied the United States embassy in Teheran; and in December the Kremlin invaded Afghanistan.³⁹ All that to say, the Conference in Asunción in 1979 was held at a moment in which the delegates to the WACL could have very well felt that the world was irreversibly turning towards the triumph of Communist regimes

over capitalism and that the White House was not actually aware of this. Of course, the WACL could have observed other facts that would have provided a contrary position—like Margaret Thatcher’s adoption of neoliberal policies to address the welfare of workers, the election of an anti-Communist Polish pope in 1978, and the turn of the People’s Republic of China towards pro-market reforms—, but what is certain is that their perception of and during that year was one of complete defeat.

The regime of General Stroessner hosted the Conference from the 23rd to the 27th of April, 1979 for reasons that were eminently linked to the international front. From 1977, Stroessner dragged out a series of conflicts with the government of the United States, which had led him to become entrenched with Paraguay’s traditional benefactor. According to Andrew Nickson,⁴⁰ Washington had repeatedly stated its discontent with the dictatorship’s protection of, and involvement with, drug trafficking networks,⁴¹ and also with the Paraguayan government’s refusal to extradite old collaborationists and war criminals living in the country, as well as the repeated complaints of human rights violations, and the refusal in 1979 to authorize a visit to the country by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which visited Argentina that same year, in the midst of a dictatorship.

From the moment of planning for the Conference, it was evident that the *Stronista* regime considered that hosting the event would allow them to position themselves internationally as the South American champion of anti-Communism and as a trustworthy country to hold an international event like this one. The responsibility of the event’s organization fell to the hands of Juan Manuel Frutos, who at the time was the director of the Instituto de Bienestar Rural (Institute of Rural Wellbeing; IBR, Spanish acronym). Frutos was the principal organizer of the Paraguayan chapter of the WACL and later became an authority of the very League. In regards to the budget for the Conference, we can see that a good part of the financing came from Paraguayan companies. A book comprising materials from Paraguayan intelligence shows that diverse companies such as Coca Cola and Pepsi, institutions like the Industrial Union of Paraguay, or individuals, like Frutos himself, contributed sums that ranged from 100,000 guaraníes (approximately US\$800 at that time) to 1,500,000 (US\$12,000).⁴² Funds from these collaborating companies and individuals amounted to approximately half a million dollars. Along with funding, diverse organizations and figures from universities and politics also provided their political support.⁴³

According to what we have been able to prove through research from the press from Asunción, between 400 and 500 people attended the Conference, coming from three continents. That number includes representatives of the delegations to the WACL and observers, special invitees, and arms dealers.⁴⁴ Some

of the participants from Europe were Blas Piñar, leader of La Fuerza Nueva the neo-francoists responsible for the killing of labor lawyers in Madrid in 1977; some of the Croatian war criminals that had been opportunely recruited by General Stroessner like Jozo Damjanovic, condemned for attacks in Sweden; Italian terrorists like Stefano Delle Chiaie;⁴⁵ neo-fascists like Giorgio Almirante and Pierluigi Concutelli, leaders of the Movimento Sociale Italiano that were involved in the assassination of the Chilean politician Bernardo Leighton in Rome in 1975, one of the infamous acts committed as part of the Plan Condor. Likewise, the Paraguayan Society of White Russians, an organization that took in former combatants from the White Army, spoke in favorable terms of the Conference and the reception of its attending representatives.⁴⁶ Officials of the Armed Forces from Central American countries involved in various episodes of massive political repression were present. In fact, one of the best-known figures at the Conference was the Guatemalan Mario Sandoval Alarcón.⁴⁷ There were also American politicians from the New Right, like North Carolina senator Jesse Helms.⁴⁸

It should be noted that numerous delegations from Asia also participated. The conference hosted delegations from Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and most especially the Philippines, in which archbishop cardinal Julio R. Rosales stood out. He explained in the newspaper *ABC Color* that: “the fight against Communism continues, and the Church finds itself against it as well because it is a Godless doctrine while also concerned about the infiltration of the reds in religious circles.”⁴⁹ The Taiwanese delegation was led by doctor Yao Chi-ching, an administrator from the National University of Taiwan. The leader of the delegation was accompanied by members of the previous WACL conference held in Taipei in 1977, George Cou, Wen-Jer Lee and Chang Chi Cheng, and the Taiwanese ambassador, Hing Hu. The representative of Taiwanese anti-Communism most renowned on the world stage was the honorary president of the WACL, Ku Chen-kan (or Ku Cheng Kang) who had participated in the anti-Communist conferences in 1956 and 1958 as we have already indicated. He was welcomed by Juan Manuel Frutos, the head organizer of the Conference, a few days before the opening of the event.⁵⁰ The timing of this reception, several days prior to the beginning of the conference, emphasized the importance of the Chinese delegation in the country. The *stro-nista* newspaper *Patria* recorded the arrivals of the delegations with the largest contingents, like the ones from Uruguay or Norway, but especially the one from Taiwan.⁵¹ As Lorena Soler highlighted, the Conference in Asunción enjoyed coverage by both the main party official newspapers as well as those that would be considered relatively far from agreeing with the regime.⁵² Through paid

advertisements, the Stroessner regime was able to secure extensive coverage for the preparations and Conference sessions.

It is not by happenstance that the inauguration, presided over by General Stroessner along with Frutos, featured a message from the recent president of the Republic of Taiwan, Chiang Ching-kuo, greeting all of the Conference attendees.⁵³ During the inauguration, the Paraguayan leader was seated next to the new president of the WACL, along with Ku Cheng-kang. Likewise, the Taiwanese representative was invited after the opening to an exclusive meeting at the Palacio de los López along with President Stroessner. According to the coverage of the events in the party newspaper, compliments and anecdotes during Stroessner's official visit to the Chinese Republic as well as his meeting with Marshall Chiang Kai-shek flowed from the Paraguayan premier. In response, the Taiwanese leader stated that the delegation felt completely honored with the deference that the Head of State received them. On this occasion, the Chinese delegation received a gift from Dr. Frutos as a souvenir from the meeting that those present described as "unforgettable."⁵⁴ The Asian presence could be observed from the very first session in the Hotel Guarani, that was presided by doctor Woo Jae-sung from Korea and followed by the secretary of the APAC, Han Lih-wu. In particular, Ku Cheng-kang highlighted the appeasement that his country had tried to foster at the international level against constant "Communist totalitarian" aggressions.

As was to be expected, the delegations from South Korea and Taiwan strongly criticized the government of the United States. In particular Ku Cheng-kang characterized the posture adopted by the North American super-power against Maoist China as follows: "The United States has done nothing more than stimulate the military adventures of that regime. Such is the irony of appeasement."⁵⁵

They did not have to wait on declarations from different speakers to express the need to develop an armed defense against Communism, promoting violence through all types of means, like those implemented in Chile in 1973. In fact, the words with which Frutos opened his speech follow exactly that sentiment: "The nations of Latin America were able to defeat Communism, patriotic reaction was immediate and the participation of the Armed Forces was decisive (...) IN FACING AN ARMED AGGRESSION, THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT AN ARMED DEFENSE!!"⁵⁶

After the one hundred approved talks at the end of the Conference on the 26th of April, in the final communiqué 13 points were taken up and consolidated into guidelines to follow. Among them was an appeal for the renewal of the United Nations' founding principles beginning with the sovereignty of the Communism-free nations.⁵⁷ The delegates expressed that the WACL should guide and help the United Nations Organizations to collaborate with nations

“behind the iron curtain to recover freedom.”⁵⁸ In the communiqué, it is advised that “the attempts to join red China have only affected the free world, instead of weakening the red forces (...); every attempt to confront a red group with another, can only lead to disaster.”⁵⁹

At the conclusion of the conference, the delegates were invited on a tour to visit the work underway on the Itaipú dam, as a way to showcase the region’s economic development.⁶⁰ In the following days, the first steps were taken to formalize in the Paraguayan Senate a declaration of solidarity in the “spirit of the anti-Communist conference held in our country.”⁶¹

The WACL event did not register any incidents—or at least they were not grave enough as to register them in the news. The event also allowed for the convocation of a ‘sacred union’ among Paraguayan politicians, be they supporters of the regime or of the opposing liberals.⁶² It is of interest to note that the bitterness between Washington and Asunción was made evident due to the simultaneous timing of the WACL Conference and an event sponsored by the Embassy of the United States in Paraguay. The latter conference had as its unifying theme a reflection by politicians and social scientists on how to “transition to democracy.”⁶³ Either way, the Conference represented a success for the Paraguayan dictatorship because it showcased its ability for organization, while also fortifying their ties to Asian countries, most especially with Taiwan. In fact, the conference solidified the Paraguayan-Taiwanese relationship from that point on: the same day as the closing of the event, a diplomatic mission led by the Minister of Industry and Commerce, Delfin Ugarte Centurión left for Taipei.⁶⁴ The connections between both countries intensified during the eighties, still under the Stroessner dictatorship. The resident Taiwanese community in Paraguay opened, in 1983, the Paraguayan Confucius Cultural Center to teach Chinese. In 1984, the Taiwanese community in the city Presidente Stroessner (currently Ciudad del Este), raised money to create a park in which they placed a statue of Chiang Kai-shek, an artificial lake with bridges and paths for hiking.⁶⁵ Shortly thereafter, those Chinese immigrants constructed in Asunción the Chiang Kai-shek School thanks to a collection of funds and a donation offered by the government of Taipei in 1985. In fact, not even the end of the Stroessner dictatorship in 1989, nor the disappearance of the CAL in 1983 and later of the WACL in 1991 implied a waning of the Taiwanese presence in Paraguay. Rather, the ties between the Taiwanese and the Paraguayans have been growing since the 1980s. In 2003, the new Parliament building in Asunción was inaugurated, built thanks to a donation of US \$20 million from the government of Taiwan. At the same time, the Palacio de Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Palace of the Ministry of Foreign Relations), a neoclassical building from the 1860s was bought by the Taiwanese government and then donated to the Paraguayan

state in 2003. According to the Paraguayan magazine *Última Hora*, there are currently many Taiwanese aid programs geared toward their country: the government of Taipei sent US\$71 million for the housing authority.⁶⁶

Conclusions

Considering that Communist ideas, symbols, and activities were born from a transnational perspective, it should not be a surprise the anti-Communists also considered the “red threat” to be global. The transnational spread of anti-Communism during the Cold War can be traced through its networks and its spaces of sociability. Letters, meetings, conferences, trips, radio programs, and posters were some of the tools employed to publicly divulge anti-Communism across five continents (as well as the newspapers and books that warned about the supposed Soviet penetration) although other mechanisms were typically clandestine. The anti-Communist conferences helped smooth the ties between anti-Communist organizations from all over the world, as well as share experiences and construct a *lingua franca*, among actors such as the Paraguayans and the Taiwanese, the Guatemalans and the South Koreans, separated by enormous—although in effect, bridgeable—cultural and linguistic differences.

Detecting the intense links between Asian and Latin American anti-Communists is the result of a review of the study of history of the Cold War during the last twenty years. The transnational perspective has allowed us to see that anti-Communism changed greatly throughout the twentieth century and had many different, competitive and contradictory faces: one of the least known is that which united Latin Americans and Asians, convinced that the Catholic Church and the State Department were tools of Soviet expansion. This article has intended to show some of the established links among anti-Communist actors in Asia and Latin America, beginning at least around the 1950s, when delegations from Taiwan and APAC were in attendance at the conferences of the Inter-American Confederation for Continental Defense (CIDC, Spanish acronym) organized by Prieto Laurens. We can now say that some Latin American anti-Communist organizations had a long history of organizing these types of international events, having attended the WACL conferences in Asian capitals since 1967. This sheds new light on the WACL’s orientation toward Latin America in search of partners and friends that could help Taiwan to reduce the impact of its international isolation at the beginning of the seventies. In those years, Latin American dictatorial and para-state anti-Communism had notable extension and vigor in the eyes of their WACL Asian partners, who found in

their ties a great opportunity to hit back at the diplomacy of the United States and to stem the growth of their international isolation.

The annual conferences of the WACL, like the one held in Asunción in 1979, was one of the activities that most contributed to the exchange of ideas and privileged information, to solidify identities and contacts among anti-Communists. Of course this intercontinental approach implied introducing some elements of negotiation and translation of purposes to be pursued, of global interpretations and diagnoses, and of the agenda and concepts to use. For example, thanks to the connection with Latin American anti-Communist actors like Los Tecos, the WACL incorporated as one of its objectives the fight against the Vatican and especially against Catholic priests and nuns, who were regularly denounced as puppets controlled by Moscow. At the same time, “Carter-Communism” was the other part of the union among American and Asian anti-Communist dictatorships that began to feel international isolation generated by the Democratic president of the United States.

Translated by Steven Lownes

Notes

1. The authors wish to thank Claudio Fuentes Armadans and Ignacio Telesca for their generous contribution to the documentation utilized in the preparation of this article.
2. Taiwan Embassy, “Celebración de los 60 años de amistad paraguayo-taiwanesa en la costanera de Asunción”, July 7, 2017. https://www.taiwanembassy.org/py_es/post/12648.html. The monument is reminiscent of the Taipei 101 Building, one of the most iconic of the Taiwanese capital: that figure is surrounded on one side by thirty plum blossoms, which represent the Asian country, and on the other side by thirty mburucuyá (passion fruit) blossoms, representing Paraguay.
3. *Correo Paraguayo*, “La Dirección Nacional de Correos del Paraguay (DINACOPA) a través de la dirección filatélica honra con estampillas 60 años de relaciones diplomáticas entre la República del Paraguay y la República de China (Taiwán) 1957-2017”, July 14, 2017, Asunción. *Noticias de Taiwan*, “Paraguay emite sellos que conmemoran sus 60 años de relaciones con la República de China”, July 12, 2017. Taipei. <https://noticias.nat.gov.tw/news.php?unit=98&post=118290>.
4. *La Nación*, “Estampillas por 60 años de Relaciones Diplomáticas entre Paraguay y Taiwán”, July 12, 2017, Asunción.
5. Taiwan Embassy, “Corrida por 60 Aniversario de relaciones diplomáticas entre Taiwan y Paraguay”, April 26, 2017. https://www.taiwanembassy.org/py_es/post/12456.html
6. In 2019 the list included Central American countries (Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama), Caribbean (Haiti, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenade), African countries (Burkina Faso and Eswatini), micro-nations of Oceania (Palau, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, and Tuvalu) and the Vatican. Tom O’Connor, “Which Countries Still Recognize Taiwan? Two More Nations

- Switch to China In Less Than A Week”, *Newsweek*, September 20, 2019. <https://www.newsweek.com/who-recognizes-taiwan-two-change-china-1460559>
7. See for instance the recent issues of *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (<http://eial.tau.ac.il/index.php/eial/issue/view/112>) focused on the Cold War in Mexico and Central America and *Prismas. Revista de Historia Intelectual* on the Latin American cultural Cold War (<https://ediciones.unq.edu.ar/539-prismas-no-23-2019.html>)
 8. Richard Saull, “El lugar del sur global en la conceptualización de la Guerra Fría: desarrollo capitalista, revolución social y conflicto geopolítico” and Gilbert Joseph, “Lo que sabemos y lo que deberíamos saber: la nueva relevancia de América Latina en los estudios sobre la Guerra Fría”. Both in: Daniela Spenser (ed.), *Especios de la guerra fría: México, América Central y el Caribe* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2004), pp. 31-92. Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 9. John Dinges, *Operación Cóndor. Una década de terrorismo internacional en el Cono Sur* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones B, 2004). Universindo Rodríguez Díaz and Silvia Visconti, “Antecedentes de la Operación Cóndor: la Conferencia de Ejércitos Americanos (Montevideo, 1974) y la coordinación de los servicios de inteligencia y aparatos represivos en el Cono Sur”, *Taller (segunda época)* I:1 (2012); Ariel Armony, *La Argentina, los Estados Unidos y la cruzada anticomunista en América Central, 1977-1984* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1999).
 10. Mónica López Macedonio, “Historia de una colaboración anticomunista transnacional. Los Tecos de la Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara y el gobierno de Chiang Kai-Shek a principios de los años setenta”, *Revista Contemporánea. Historia y problemas del siglo XX*, 1 (2010), pp. 133-158.
 11. Minkyu Sung, “Surveillance and Anti-Communist Authoritarianism in South Korea”, *Surveillance & Society*, 15: 3/4 (2017), p. 487.
 12. “Proposals for the Establishment of an Anti-Communist Union of the Peoples of Asia” (June 1954). Available in History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, B-389-060, Syngman Rhee Institute, Yonsei University. URL: <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/118343>.
 13. Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *The Shocking Exposé of how Terrorists, Nazis and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated the World Anti-Communist League* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1986), pp. 61-70.
 14. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 47 and ff., Pierre Abramovici, “The World Anti-Communist League: Origins, Structures and Activities”, in Luc Van Dongen, Stéphanie Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, (eds.), *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War. Agents, Activities, and Networks* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 113-129.
 15. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, pp. 13 and 20.
 16. According to a Mexican intelligence report, Prieto Laurens intervened as a representative of the WACL in Mexico and participated in the convocation of the first conference in 1967, as president of the Inter-American Confederation for Continental Defense (CIDC, Spanish acronym). Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo CISEN “Liga Mundial Anticomunista”, July 19, 1972, f° 102.
 17. Ernesto Bohoslavsky, “Contra el dexamil, las camisetas naranjas y el comunismo. La Federación Argentina de Entidades Democráticas Anticomunistas (1963-1969)”, in Florencia Levín (ed.), *Tramas del pasado reciente argentino. Historia, memoria y*

- transmisión* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2018), pp. 45-64. Apeles Márquez had a quick and successful rise in the world of anti-Communism: in 1968, he was named Secretary General of the Liga Anticomunista Latinoamericana (Latin American Anti-Communist League), a type of Latin American franchise of the WACL. Cfr. World Anti-Communist League, *Proceedings. The First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, September 25-29, 1967* (Taipei: WACL, 1967), p. 2.
18. Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta, *Em guarda contra o perigo vermelho* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 2002), p. 147.
 19. Edelberto Torres Rivas, “Centroamérica. Revoluciones sin cambio revolucionario”, in Waldo Ansaldi (ed.), *Calidoscopio latinoamericano. Imágenes históricas para un debate vigente* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2004).
 20. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 120.
 21. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 107. Guillaume Beaulande, “New Left Regimes Ally with China”, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 2016. URL: <https://mondediplo.com/2016/06/10taiwan>
 22. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 120.
 23. The pattern for hosting was zigzagging: conferences were held predominantly in Asia (Seoul in 1976 and Taiwan in 1977, 1981, and 1987) and in Western Europe (Luxemburg in 1983, Geneva in 1988, and Brussels in 1990).
 24. López Macedonio, “Historia”.
 25. Lorenzo Meyer, “La guerra fría en el mundo periférico: el caso del régimen autoritario mexicano. La utilidad del anticomunismo discreto”, in Spenser, *Espejos*. Recently, Pablo Yankelevich has shown that the Mexican government had adopted a welcoming and generous policy that consisted in providing refuge to Latin American exiles but simultaneously had a more repressive and authoritarian side than previously known. They sent agents of the Dirección Federal de Seguridad to surveil the exiles as soon as they arrived on Mexican soil. Pablo Yankelevich, “Los rostros de Jano: vigilancia y control de los exiliados latinoamericanos en México (1960-1980)”, *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 30:1 (2019), URL: <http://eial.tau.ac.il/index.php/eial/article/view/1600>
 26. López Macedonio, “Historia”. Mario Virgilio Santiago Jiménez, “Entre el secreto y las calles. Nacionalistas y católicos contra la ‘conspiración de la modernidad’: El Yunque de México y Tacuara de Argentina (1953-1964)”, PhD Diss., Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, Mexico City, 2016. Luis Herrán Ávila, “Las guerrillas blancas: anticomunismo transnacional e imaginarios de derechas en la Argentina y México, 1954-1972”, *Quinto Sol*, 19:1 (2015), p. 12.
 27. “Sedevacantism” includes fundamentalist Catholic groups that maintained that all the Popes after John XXIII were not legitimate representatives of God and that, in fact, they were usurping the Vatican throne. Its starting point was the repudiation of the decisions made by the Second Vatican Council of 1962, which encouraged the dialogue with leftist organizations and other religions. See, for the Mexican case, José Alfonso Ayala Muñoz, “Tradicionalismo católico postconciliar y ultraderecha en Guadalajara”, *Grieta. Estudios y narraciones históricas*, 1:2 (May-Oct. 2006), pp. 54-65 and for the Argentine one, Elena Scirica, “Visión religiosa y acción política. El caso de Ciudad Católica - Verbo en la Argentina de los años sesenta”, *PROHAL* 2:2 (2010), pp. 26-56.
 28. Prieto Laurens was one of the founding members of the *Acción Católica de la Juventud Mexicana* (Catholic Action of Mexican Youth), organization that in 1948 became the *Frente Popular Anticomunista de México* (FPAM). Herrán Avila, “Las guerrillas”, p.

11. He was an untiring organizer of local, regional, and national conferences on anti-Communism since his presidency of the FEMACO. Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo CISEN “Liga Mundial Anticomunista”, July 19, 1972, f° 103.
29. The anti-Communist conferences “Contra la intervención soviética en América Latina” took place in Mexico (1954), in Rio de Janeiro (1956), in Lima (1957), and in Antigua (Guatemala) in 1958. Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Magdalena Broquetas, “Os congressos anticomunistas da América Latina (1954-1958): redes, sentidos e tensões na primeira guerra fria”, in Ernesto Bohoslavsky, Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta, and Stéphane Boisard (eds.), *Pensar as direitas na América latina* (São Paulo: Editora Alameda, 2019), pp. 439-460.
30. Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo CISEN “Liga Mundial Anticomunista”, July 19, 1972, f° 103.
31. *Memoria del Cuarto Congreso Continental Anticomunista*, Talleres de la Tipografía Nacional de Guatemala, 1961, p. 15. In the 1958 Conference, “Nationalist China” was voted in favor, pp. 19 and 27. The APAC representative is mentioned on p. 417.
32. *Resoluciones del Tercer Congreso contra la Intervención Soviética en América Latina*, Lima, Confederación Interamericana de Defensa del Continente, 1957, p. 39. That year Ku Cheng Kang, Chang Chun Ming, Michael Tung, and Kuey Tsung-yao (of the so called “Liga interamericana de los pueblos asiáticos”) acted as observers, p. 12. On the other side at the Conference in Rio de Janeiro (1955), Shen Ching-ting, then ambassador for the Republic of China, attended as a delegate. *Memorias del Segundo Congreso contra la Intervención Soviética en América Latina*, México D.F., n.ed., 1956, p. 39 (and photo on p. 363). The president of the APAC, Ku Cheng Kang sends his congratulations for the conference celebration on p. 367.
33. Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Fondo CISEN “Liga Mundial Anticomunista”, July 19, 1972, f° 104. Among the delegates present were the past president of FAEDA, Apeles Márquez, the director of the Juventud Uruguaya de Pie, Hugo Manini Ríos, the widow of the leader of the Uruguayan Rural Party, Olga Clerici and the person responsible for the creation and direction of the death squads in Guatemala, Mario Sandoval Alarcón. Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo CISEN “Liga Mundial Anticomunista”, July 19, 1972, f° 150 ss.
34. Herrán Ávila, “Las guerrillas”, p. 19.
35. Pierre Abramovici, “D’espoir et de plomb. Opération ‘Condor’, cauchemar de l’Amérique latine”, *Manière de voir*, 90 (2006), p. 30. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 145.
36. *La Croix*, September 25, 1995 (Paris), p. 24.
37. Ernesto Bohoslavsky, “El IV Congreso de la Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana (Buenos Aires, 1980)”, *Almanaque histórico latinoamericano*, 23 (2019), pp. 163-184; Julieta Rostica, “La Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana. Las conexiones civiles y militares entre Guatemala y Argentina (1972-1980)”, *Desafíos*, 30: 1 (2018), pp. 309-347.
38. Irene Agudelo Builes, *Contramemorias, Discursos e imágenes sobre/desde La Contra, Nicaragua, 1979/1989* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2017), p. 23.
39. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 119; Torres Rivas, “Centroamérica”.
40. Andrew Nickson, “El régimen de Stroessner (1954-1989)”, in Ignacio Telesca (ed.), *Historia del Paraguay* (Asunción: Taurus, 2010), pp. 273-275.

41. Lorena Soler, "Combatir el comunismo con humor. El diario Patria durante la celebración del XIIº Congreso anual de la Liga Anticomunista Mundial en Paraguay (1979)", *Anuario del IEHS*, 32: 2 (2017), p. 198.
42. Alfredo Boccia Paz, Myrian Angelica González, and Rosa Palau Aguilar, *Es mi informe, Los archivos secretos de la policía de Stroessner* (Asunción: Servilibro, Centro de Documentación y estudio, 2006), p. 287.
43. Lorena Soler, "Redes y organizaciones anticomunistas en Paraguay. La XII Conferencia Anual de la Liga Anticomunista Mundial, realizada en Asunción en 1979", *Páginas*, 10: 24 (2018), p. 63.
44. See: *Última hora*, "Participantes en congreso anticomunista", April 19, 1979 (Asunción), p.3. and *ABC Color*, "Asistirán 400 delegados de 80 países del mundo", April 22, 1979 (Asunción), p. 7.
45. Delle Chiaie took refuge in Bolivia at that time, where he had started criminal drug activities along with Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon," a Nazi war criminal who lived in the Altiplano for decades. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 147.
46. *Patria*, "Adhesión de los Rusos blancos al congreso", April 23, 1979 (Asunción), p. 6.
47. Sandoval Alarcón would return the following year to the Southern Cone, but this time to participate in the fourth Conference of the CAL, that was held in Buenos Aires in September. Julieta Rostica, "La Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana y las Fuerzas Armadas. Guatemala y los años setenta", Segundo Coloquio "Pensar las derechas en América Latina en el siglo XX" (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2016).
48. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, p. 9.
49. *ABC Color*, "La invasión comunista en Asia", April 23, 1979 (Asunción), p. 5.
50. Ku Cheng Kang stated that "this conference presided over by Dr. Frutos will serve to integrate the anti-Communist forces of the world." *Patria*, "Dr. Ku Chen Kan preside la delegación china que llegó a nuestra capital ayer", April 21, 1979 (Asunción), p. 6.
51. *Patria*, "Delegados de Noruega y China llegaron ayer", April 20, 1979 (Asunción), p. 7.
52. Soler, "Redes", pp. 55-73.
53. Soler, "Redes", p. 65.
54. *Patria*, "El jefe de estado recibió ayer a varias delegaciones", April 25, 1979 (Asunción), p. 5
55. Ku Cheng Kang added that appeasement, aside from being the breeding ground for wars, did not have any significance as a means to safeguard peace. *La Tribuna*, "Delegado chino crítica la política de EE.UU.", April, 24, 1979 (Asunción), p. 2. He discussed not only the topic of the Maoist regime but also the influence of the USSR on Vietnam. *Patria*, "Oponer al comunismo Dijo Ku Chen Kan", April 26, 1979 (Asunción), p. 12.
56. *Patria*, "El Paraguay es y seguirá siendo un bastión inexpugnable frente a la acechanzas del comunismo internacional", April 24, 1979 (Asunción), p. 16.
57. *La Tribuna*, "Condenan la acción del comunismo", April 27, 1979 (Asunción), p. 2; *ABC Color* "Concluyeron ayer las deliberaciones", April 27, 1979 (Asunción), p. 13; *Última Hora*, "Un muro de contención contra el comunismo internacional", April 27, 1979 (Asunción), p. 9.
58. *La Tribuna*, "Puntos básicos del congreso", April 27, 1979 (Asunción), p. 9.
59. *ABC Color*, "Severos ataques formularon a Carter", April 24, 1979 (Asunción), p. 14.
60. *La Tribuna*, "Delegados anticomunistas visitaron obras de Itaipú", April 28, 1979 (Asunción), p. 2. Stroessner was able to partially undo the economic pressure from the United States by beginning construction of the enormous Itaipú dam, together with the

- Brazilian dictatorship. The grandiose infrastructure project allowed him to mobilize many financial resources and generate jobs directly and indirectly in Paraguay and in so doing sustain some features of the national economy. Nickson, “El régimen”, p. 269.
61. *Patria*, “Solidaridad con espíritu del Congreso anticomunista”, April 27, 1979 (Asunción), p. 7.
 62. *La Tribuna*, “El Partido Liberal propuso acciones para limitar la expansión comunista”, April 28, 1979, p. 1.
 63. Soler, “Redes”, p. 66.
 64. *Patria*, “Misión económica viajará a China y Japón el día 27”, April 25, 1979 (Asunción), p.6.
 65. *Noticias de Taiwan*, “Parque Chiang Kai-shek inaugurado en ciudad del Paraguay”, March 26, 1984. Taipei. A local authority expressed that the park represented “a well-deserved tribute of admiration and gratitude for the illustrious Generalísimo Chiang Kai-Shek, anti-Communist leader of the Eastern world, who, as head of his people that today constitutes a glorious nation, had managed to rescue from the claws of Moscow making it an impregnable wall against the rapid and devious Communism.”
 66. *Última Hora*, “Cancillería destacará en un acto 60 años de relaciones con Taiwán”, June 25, 2017 (Asunción). Currently, 150 Paraguayan students are in Taipei participating in university and graduate studies. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, “La República del Paraguay y la República de China (Taiwán) celebran 60 años de relacionamiento diplomático”, June 26, 2017 (Asunción): <http://www2.mre.gov.py/index.php/noticias/la-republica-del-paraguay-y-la-republica-de-china-taiwan-celebran-60-anos-de-relacionamiento-diplomatico>.