

derground storage tanks which are located on residential property and which are used for the storage of hazardous substances (including gasoline or other liquid hydrocarbons). Such study shall include estimates of the number and location of such tanks and an analysis of the extent to which there may be releases or threatened releases from such tanks into the environment. Upon completion of the study, the Administrator shall submit a report to the Congress containing the results of the study and recommendations respecting whether such tanks which are located on residential property should be subject to the preceding provisions of this section."

**CONGRESSMAN TONY P. HALL
INTRODUCES RESOLUTION ON
PARAGUAY**

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 29, 1984

● Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to encourage the people of Paraguay in their efforts to reclaim and exercise their basic human rights.

President Alfredo Stroessner is one of the world's longest ruling dictators. He is in his 30th year of rule, having come to power in 1954. On August 15, 1983, he began his seventh 5-year term as President.

Developments in Paraguay do not often receive much attention in the United States. There is no civil war in progress in Paraguay, nor is there a threat of a Communist or leftist guerrilla takeover. Thirty years of repressive, autocratic rule have brought a resigned form of stability to that country.

Although there is currently no imminent major crisis in Paraguay, the United States must not overlook the lack of respect for human rights and for civil liberties there. The Stroessner regime may be anti-Communist, but it is also anti-democratic. Those who are laboring in Paraguay to establish genuine democratic processes have received very few public indications of U.S. concern over the lack of freedom in their country. Indeed, the appearance is one of U.S. support for the Stroessner government.

I have been concerned about the situation in Paraguay for as long as I have served in the Congress. In June, 1979 I sponsored a Symposium on Paraguay with Representative TOM HARKIN, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, Senator ALAN CRANSTON, and Senator MARK HATFIELD. Leaders from the three opposition parties still in Paraguay at that time, the Christian Democrats, the Febreristas, and the Authentic Radical Liberals, sent word through the Washington Office on Latin America that they might have faced permanent exile if they had left Paraguay to attend the symposium. As a result, only the Popular Colorado Movement (MOPOCO) party's exiled leaders in Argentina were able to send

a delegation to participate. In February 1979, all four parties signed the National Agreement (Acuerdo Nacional) in which they pledged themselves to work together toward democracy.

Over the years since the Paraguay Symposium, I have met with Paraguayan opposition politicians, lawyers, and human rights workers. I have also met with several non-Paraguayans who have traveled and worked in Paraguay and who have been in a position to assess the status of human rights and civil liberties in that country.

Unfortunately, there have been very few positive changes in the human rights conditions in Paraguay in recent years. Perhaps the most encouraging development has been the return to Paraguay this year by some exiled members of the Movimiento Popular Colorado (MOPOCO) party. Yet, their freedom to function openly as leaders of their political party and to make their views known to the Paraguayan people has been severely restricted. As the State Department's "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983" notes: "Regardless of their legal status, however, all opposition parties are subject to harassment by the authorities."

It should be noted that the "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983" is unusually strong in its condemnation of the lack of freedom in Paraguay. In describing institutionalized repression under President Stroessner, the document contends:

In practice, there is no effective challenge to his authority, and the situation in Paraguay continues to be characterized by the subordination of the judicial and legislative branches of government to the executive and the frequent violation of civil and political liberties. Although his rule has brought stability and economic growth to Paraguay, it has been at a considerable cost to political rights and individual liberties.

During this year of the 30th anniversary in power of the Stroessner government, there may be a renewed interest in this frequently overlooked "Southern Cone" dictatorship. Moreover, the election of a new president in Argentina and the ongoing pressure against the Pinochet regime in Chile may also spark concern about developments in Paraguay.

On February 22, 1984, Amnesty International launched a new effort to stop the imprisonment and torture of Paraguayans for trying to exercise basic political rights. Amnesty International released "An Amnesty International Briefing" document which contains detailed information regarding prisoners of conscience, arbitrary arrests and detentions under stage of siege powers and antisubversive laws, denial of fair trial and due process, torture and other inhuman treatment, deaths in custody, and disappearances.

The resolution I am introducing today addresses many of the abuses documented by Amnesty International. It also raises other issues which

have been documented by the Washington Office on Latin America.

The resolution expresses the sense of Congress about the situation in Paraguay. It calls upon the administration to use less quiet diplomacy and more public diplomacy on behalf of human rights in Paraguay. It further urges the administration to actively encourage the Paraguayan Government to set a firm date for the onsite visit of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

In addition, the legislation states that until the state of siege is lifted, all political prisoners released, and all Paraguayans guaranteed the right to return to and remain in their country, the United States: First, should provide no security assistance to Paraguay; and second, should oppose all loans and financial and technical assistance for Paraguay by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and by the Inter-American Development Bank, except for loans or assistance which serve the basic human needs of the people of Paraguay.

It is essential at this time to let the democratic opposition in Paraguay know that there is concern in the United States about the lack of civil liberties in their country. The United States, as the chief proponent of democracy and respect for human rights around the globe, should apply its principles to the case of Paraguay and promote policies toward that nation that will encourage the people of Paraguay as they work to regain their civil liberties and human rights.

For the benefit of my colleagues, the full text of my resolution follows, as well as a fact sheet concerning some of the points it addresses:

H. CON. RES. 265

To encourage the people of Paraguay in their efforts to reclaim and exercise their basic human rights.

Whereas on August 15, 1983, Alfredo Stroessner began his seventh five-year term as President of Paraguay, making him one of the world's longest ruling dictators;

Whereas the state of siege has been in place in Paraguay for more than 29 years;

Whereas on November 15, 1983, the Paraguayan Supreme Court rejected petitions of habeas corpus on behalf of prisoners detained under the state of siege (Article 79 of the Constitution) on grounds that state of siege detentions are not subject to judicial review;

Whereas Law 209, the Law to Protect Peace and Public Order, has been used as a catchall excuse to arrest or detain people for indefinite periods without specific charges and without recourse to due process of law;

Whereas approximately one million Paraguayans, including some who have been in exile for 25 years, are forced to live outside Paraguay for political and economic reasons and are unable to return to Paraguay, effectively negating the right to live in one's homeland;

Whereas the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States has been repeatedly denied an on-site visit of Paraguay and the Commission's 1981-1982 Annual Report de-

scribed violations of the "right to liberty and personal security, arbitrary arrest, the lack of due process, the indefinite maintenance of the state of siege and the practice of forcing those dissenting from government policy to leave the country" as chronic in Paraguay;

Whereas Paraguay under Stroessner has served and continues to serve as a refuge for Nazi war criminals;

Whereas waves of repression have become a regular feature of the Stroessner "peace" and the fear of random detention and arbitrary treatment at the hands of the law have resulted in the stifling of all discussion or debate on national issues;

Whereas on May 11, 1983, a police roundup of 33 people closed the offices of the research institute Banco Paraguayo de Datos, arrested all those inside, detained them for ten days incommunicado, tortured three most brutally, and subjected all to physical and psychological abuse, as documented by Amnesty International;

Whereas the offices of the largest independent newspaper in Paraguay, ABC Color, were surrounded on May 11, 1983, its editor Aldo Zuccolillo subsequently arrested, permits to import newsprint have been denied the newspaper, and leading editorialist Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle was arrested on September 23, 1983;

Whereas the popular Radio Nanduti station was taken off the air for thirty days beginning July 10, 1983, the popular Program "Open Microphone" permanently suspended, thereby denying the Paraguayan public access to this means of voicing their concerns and problems, and the station's owner Humberto Rubin has been the object of continual harassment ever since;

Whereas an incipient independent labor movement has formed and begun to function as permitted by Paraguayan law, but has been constantly harassed and its members intimidated and one of its leaders, Ruben Lisboa, a member of the Board of Directors of the Bank Employees Union, was among those arrested and tortured on May 11, 1983;

Whereas doctors at the government Hospital de Clinicas staged a work slowdown and eventual work stoppage in protest over the illegal detention of two of their colleagues in June 1983;

Whereas reports of torture of both political prisoners and common criminal suspects are routine and are usually denied by the Paraguayan authorities, and there has been a pattern of deaths in police custody in Paraguay, including most recently the death of Carlos Bogarin on August 8, 1983, and the death of Angel Mario Paez on January 10, 1984;

Whereas since the mid-1970's Amnesty International has received reports of the "disappearances" of 45 people arrested by government security forces and in no instance have they been accounted for by the Paraguayan Government;

Whereas the Paraguayan Government is presently holding 33 political prisoners, the majority of whom are being detained for the nonviolent expression of their political ideas;

Whereas lawyers who defend political prisoners are subjected to harassment and intimidation;

Whereas although some exiled Movimiento Popular Colorado (MOPOCO) Party members were permitted to return to Paraguay in January 1984, their freedom to function as leaders of their political party has been severely restricted; and

Whereas the Paraguayan people, wholly surfeited with such abuses, are beginning to express their concern through religious

services, public petition and public debate, and hunger strikes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That (a) the Congress encourages the people of Paraguay in their efforts to reclaim and exercise their basic human rights.

(b) In furtherance of that objective, the Congress declares that—

(1) the United States should actively encourage the Government of Paraguay to set a firm date for the on-site visit of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights;

(2) the United States should use less quiet diplomacy and more public diplomacy on behalf of human rights in Paraguay; and

(3) until the state of siege is lifted, all political prisoners released, and all Paraguayans guaranteed the right to return to and remain in their country, the United States—

(A) should provide no security assistance to Paraguay; and

(B) should oppose all loans and financial and technical assistance for Paraguay by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and by the Inter-American Development Bank, except for loans or assistance which serve the basic human needs of the people of Paraguay.

FACT SHEET TO ACCOMPANY HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REGARDING PARAGUAY CONSECUTIVE YEARS AS PRESIDENT

General Alfredo Stroessner came to power on May 4, 1954 in a military coup. General Stroessner's rule has been uninterrupted since that date. Every five years the state of siege is lifted for one day on which Paraguayans are required to vote in "elections." The "elections" have a specified number of official opposition candidates whose pre-election activities are limited in time, number, and location.

STATE OF SIEGE

From 1954 until the present, the state of siege has been extended every three months by Presidential Decree. Its permanent use is unconstitutional.

REJECTION OF WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS

According to the Supreme Court's interpretation of Article 79, all individual rights are superseded when a state of siege is in effect. Therefore, the Court regularly rejects writs of habeas corpus submitted on behalf of political prisoners.

LAW 209 ("DEFENSE OF PUBLIC PEACE AND LIBERTY OF PERSONS")

Law 209 was passed in 1970 and is used or threatened to be used against government critics and independent organizations. People may be arrested under Law 209 without reference to violation of a specific article; thereby creating the possibility of "dragnet" arrests. Lawyers, Catholic church and opposition party leaders have called for its repeal.

DENIAL OF RIGHT TO LIVE IN HOMELAND

In February 1983, Paraguay's Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro said that all exiles with the exception of three political exiles could return to Paraguay. The prohibition is in contradiction to the Paraguayan constitution.

DENIAL OF ON-SITE INVESTIGATION

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has requested an on-site investigation since 1977. Paraguayan officials have not found a convenient date for the investigation.

NAZIS

Former SS captain, Dr. Joseph Mengele, known as the 'Angel of Death' in the Auschwitz concentration camp went to Paraguay in May 1959 and was granted Paraguayan citizenship in November of the same year.

In August 1979 the Paraguayan Supreme Court revoked Dr. Mengele's citizenship and found him guilty of war crimes. Reports persist that Dr. Mengele continues to live in Paraguay.

Another former SS Captain Eduard Roschmann, known as the 'Butcher of Riga', died in an Asuncion hospital in August 1977.

Heinrich Muller, former head of the Gestapo and Ante Pavelic, Hitler appointed leader of Croatia, also took sanctuary in Paraguay after 1955.

General Stroessner was visited by Germany's most decorated officer and well-known neo-Nazi in West Germany's army Colonel Hans Rudel.

WAVES OF REPRESSION

Between May 1976 and May 1983 there have been six major dragnet operations involving thousands of Paraguayans and some foreigners. Those arrested were peasant farmers, intellectuals, labor leaders, academics, students, journalists and trade unionists. Press censorship and harassment or detention of defense lawyers of the detainees usually follows the mass arrests.

BANCO PARAGUAYO DE DATOS

The Banco Paraguayo de Datos is an independent body which researches and analyzes economic, social and political events in Paraguay. The organization became one of the targets of the most recent dragnet operation when 33 employees were arrested.

DENIAL OF PRESS FREEDOM

Aldo Zuccolillo was arrested in July 1983 after he refused to disclose the source of legal briefs which were published in ABC Color earlier the same year. Zuccolillo was "provisionally released" after 12 days of "preventative detention."

Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle's September arrest followed the publication of his articles dealing with corruption in General Stroessner's Colorado Party. Delvalle was released in December 1983. His September arrest marked the third time in four years that he was detained.

ABC Color is not permitted to exchange money at the official rate, a denial which makes it difficult to import newsprint.

The "Open Microphone" program suspended by the National Telecommunications Administration (ANTELCO) was the only one of its kind in operation in Paraguay. Furthermore, Humberto Rubin, director of Radio Nanduti, was advised by ANTELCO on January 24, 1984 not to pay the renewal fee for the 1984 license, causing suspicions that operating license would not be renewed. On October 1, 2, and 3, 1983 and on January 17, 1984 Rubin was detained for several hours on each occasion without an official reason.

DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY

In the case of Carlos Bogarin, 10 police officers were arrested following the death, several of whom admitted to beating the prisoner while in their custody under orders of the Chief of Investigations; however, six of the accused have since been released. Amnesty International does not know of any other instance of government officials having been prosecuted following the death of a prisoner under torture. No action is known to have been taken by the authorities in these cases.

In addition to Carlos Bogarin and Angel Marlo Paez one other person was reported to have died in custody in 1983.

DEFENSE LAWYERS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

Dr. Diego Bertolucci, lawyer for those detained in the May 1983 round-up, was detained for 2 days in July 1983 and charged

with intent to remove a "subversive" book from the home of a client. (The owner of the book was not a client of Dr. Bertolucci.)

Two lawyers were sued for libel by the President of the Supreme Court, Dr. Luis Argana, in November 1983. The lawyers expressed their strong disapproval to ABC Color reporters of the Court's decision to reject a writ of habeas corpus which they had presented on behalf of a client.

MOVIMIENTO POPULAR COLORADO PARTY

The MOPOCO Party is composed of an estimated 400 Colorado Party members who were forced into exile by General Stroessner in the late 1950s after he dissolved the Congress, re-imposed the state of siege, and ordered the Army to occupy Asuncion. The recent return of various MOPOCO members began in December 1983 after Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro met with exiled MOPOCO leaders in Argentina.

DISAPPEARANCES

In some cases eyewitness testimony from former prisoners indicates that many of the "disappeared" died under torture or were the victims of extrajudicial executions while in custody. Amnesty International has also been concerned about the abduction and possible forcible extradition from Argentina of Paraguayan political refugees. About 50 Paraguayan exiles living in Argentina after the 1976 military coup there were abducted by members of the Argentine security forces and have since "disappeared." In a number of cases there is evidence that the victims were handed over to the Paraguayan security forces.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

For most of the 1970s, the number of political detainees averaged several hundred a year, reaching a peak in 1975-1976 when several thousand peasants and their leaders were detained. Large scale detentions occurred during 1980. Most of those detained were released after relatively short periods. Some have been formally charged, usually under anti-subversive legislation, and in many cases the legal proceedings are still in process. Lawyers, academics, journalists, opposition figures, students and peasants head the list of political prisoners. In some instances short term detention has been followed by internal exile or summary expulsion from Paraguay.●

HEED FELDSTEIN'S WARNING

HON. BUDDY MacKAY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 29, 1984

● Mr. MacKAY. Mr. Speaker, recently I had an opportunity to read a column originally printed in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on February 17, written by Dr. Robert Piron, chairman of the economics department at Oberlin College in Ohio.

Dr. Piron commends Martin Feldstein, the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, for "adherence to his economic convictions regardless of their political awkwardness." I concur that Feldstein's conviction and candor is most refreshing in this administration.

I commend Dr. Piron's article to my colleagues and ask to insert it at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

FELDSTEIN IS TRYING TO AVOID PAST

(By Robert Piron)

The past to which Santayana refers is, no doubt, much more distant than the past Martin Feldstein is valiantly trying his best to have us not repeat.

A scant 24 months ago the high tide of interest rates all but destroyed two of the most vital U.S. industries: autos and construction. The ripple effect, spreading through the economy, eliminated jobs at a rate and magnitude deserving of apocalyptic adjectives, weakening other industries, causing small business failures of lemming-like proportions, boosting the value of the dollar to absurd heights, and, if one cares about such things, causing Wall Street untold agonies.

The even-nearer past has seen a remarkable reduction in interest rates, an even more remarkable comeback in autos and construction, some significant reduction in unemployment, and substantial real growth across the entire economy, and, if one cares about such things, untold ecstasies (until recently, at least) on Wall Street.

But the past, having passed, provides us with the tools to deal with the future, if we choose to see them and use them and Feldstein is obviously a past master at this kind of intellectual pursuit. He is warning us, with vigor and consistency, that another high tide of interest rates will wipe out all our recent gains, or at the very least, that rising interest rates will weaken the recovery so recently begun.

Why is he so concerned? The projected annual federal deficits of approximately \$200 billion for the near future cause him, and most economists of the nonsupply-side persuasion, to fear that, as the high rate of internally financed (through profits) expansion by industry begins its inevitable decline, after inventories are down to levels that spur business to replenish them—that is, as the motives for business borrowing become stronger in the face of growing demand for products and services—the "overcrowding" effect will take hold.

This effect exists because the federal deficit makes the government the major borrower in the economy at a scale which can, and demonstrably does, make it difficult for private borrowers to use financial markets at going interest rates. So interest rates are bid up by the combined effect of rising private demands for funds and the huge, steady, fund vacuum which is the federal deficit.

As these rates go up, they stifle interest-sensitive demands—autos and construction are the most obvious—and, as sure as the next sunrise, the past gets repeated.

Feldstein has been ridiculed and harassed since the 1984 "Economic Report of the President" recently appeared for his adamant espousal of the view that large espousal of the view that large deficits must be reduced if we are not to repeat the recent, disastrous past. If guilt by association is all it's cracked up to be, the economics profession as a whole is also being ridiculed, and I, as a professional economist, am mad as hell and not going to take it anymore.

Though economists disagree on a wide range of generally abstruse issues, they are together on a point that usually escapes the politicians doing their quadrennial fandango: "Dismal science" that it is, economics, in true Cosellian fashion, tells it like it is, regardless of the political implications of the "it."

In this case, Feldstein's plea for higher taxes over the next five or so years to reduce the deficits is as politically distasteful to his employers as any human utterance could be, though in economic terms it

is prudent, necessary and thoroughly agreed upon by the profession as a whole.

For his adherence to his economic convictions regardless of their political awkwardness, I and, I expect the profession, congratulate Martin Feldstein, and urge him to continue to propound any and all correct, though inexpedient, views, since he represents, willingly or not, the entire economics profession in his position as the country's chief economist. ●

ELECTION ARMS MORATORIUM IS NEEDED

HON. BARBARA BOXER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 29, 1984

● Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent article in the Los Angeles Times about the growth of nuclear weapons technology and some recommendations to address this problem. The author of this article, David Linebaugh, was a former Deputy Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I believe that his observations offer useful insight into this difficult question.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 22, 1984]

ELECTION ARMS MORATORIUM IS NEEDED—
BAN ON NEW WEAPONS WOULD LET NEXT
PRESIDENT DECIDE FUTURE

(By David Linebaugh)

Weapon technology does not wait on the timing or outcome of elections. On the contrary, new weapons have their own timing, their own Earth-shattering consequences.

This will be true in the United States in 1984. The weapon makers will preempt the decision of the voters. The weapon makers—not the new Administration, whether Republican or Democratic—will have the decisive voice on the nuclear problem—on the survival of man and the fate of the Earth. They, not negotiators, may end the possibility of controlling nuclear arms.

It need not be so. President Reagan has the power to restore choice. He can put on "hold," pending the election, any further testing or deployment of three significant new weapons—provided the Soviets exercise reciprocal restraint. This limited step would have no adverse effect on America's security, given America's vast and secure retaliatory capability. But the newly elected President could then make a real choice about our nuclear future, not one imposed by the weapon makers.

Three weapons are involved: a multiple-warhead intercontinental ballistic missile, an anti-satellite weapon and the sea-launched cruise missile. All three of these weapons have been built. Two steps remain to be completed for the multiple-warhead missile and the anti-satellite weapon: testing and deployment. Only the deployment step remains for the sea-launched cruise missile.

The multiple-warhead missiles—the American MX and the Soviet SS-X-24—do not add a new and different dimension to the nuclear arms race, as do the other two weapons. But they would confirm the intention of the superpowers to continue the arms race with weapons that have a powerful "first strike" potential and that are highly vulnerable. They invite attack. The dismantlement of such weapons, not their further deployment, should be the first pri-