PARAGUAY AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE WAR Meiji University



Tordesillas treaty 1494

• The treaty of Tordesillas signed between Spain and Portugal in 1494, divided the South American Territory, giving birth to Brazil as part of the Portuguese Crown, and defining the Spanish territory.



The Colonial Space



The colonial space

- The so called "conquest" of the "new" territories implied from the very beginning, the search for gold and silver,
- Paraguay was discovered in 1524. In 1537 Asunción, the capital city was founded in its actual location by an expedition that was seeking a road to the gold of Potosi, in the actual territory of Bolivia.
- But, the absence of metals and the closure of the route to Potosi due to the easier route found by Pizarro, implied from the very beginning a slow development of the new town and a growing distance from the metropole and the colonial process in general.

Nevertheless, in its first years, and due to the good relationship that Spaniards achieved with the Guarani Indians more specifically, the tribe of Carios, Asunción was the departure point to stablish more than 70 cities, including Buenos Aires, that has been previously founded and destroyed and Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia

• This fact gave Asunción the name of "Madre de ciudades" Mother of cities, a denomination that still makes citizens very proud, this lasted only until 1617, when the Gobernación de Buenos Aires was created, dividing the Gobernación de Paraguay in two, then Asunción lost its small prestige to the Port of Buenos Aires.

- This initial isolation explains in part the growth of a criollo population born from indian mothers and that spoke Guarani rather than Spanish. This particular fact allowed a particular development of the Paraguayan province in the sense of a relative autonomy, far from the crown and the colonial metropoli.
- This fact created from the very beginning a solid tie between Asunción citizens.

Early legislation

- The vecinos (neighbors) of Asunción had to ask for their rights from the very beginning, which implied political demands to the Crown.
- Cédula real de 1537 (Royal Order) giving the citizens of Asunción power to elect their gobernor.
- Ordenanzas de 1542 -1556 and 1597 protecting the indian population.

The jesuit presence

- Jesuits arrived to the Province of Paraguay in 1570 as an extension of the crown to convert indians to christianism.
- They organized the indian population in reducciones, creating a city of their own, with own rules that included production and commerce.
- They gave Guarani lenguage a written grammar and they spoke Guarani
- Jesuits were in charge of the yerba commerce which implied troules with Asunción neighbors
- Missions served as a barrier and defense against the portuguese bandeirantes, this implied an early militar organization of the indian population.

1617 Creation of Gobernacion de Buenos Aires

- In 1617 for administrative reasons and the need of a sea port the Gobernacion de Buenos Aires was created, starting the process of real "provincialisation" of the province of Asunción, and reinforcing the sense of belonging of their inhabitants.
- This divided the province of Paraguay in two gobernaciones resulting for Asunción in a lost of economic power and the beggining of comercial and jurisdictional troubles with Buenos Aires

1724 Conflict arise between jesuits and vecinos of Asunción (comuneros)

The competence for resources and the reduced access to markets created from the very beginning troubles between neighbors and jesuits.

- In 1724 started a a long armed and juridical confrontation between Jesuits and the vecinos of Asunción who called themselves comuneros, that also implied a conflict of jurisdiction of Crown authorities, like Audiencia de Charcas and gobernadores
- It was about the indian workers and the benefits that the Crown gave to the Jesuits for commercializing yerba mate.
- Finally the jesuits won but they remained harmed and their reputation was touched, until they were expulsed in 1767 when the relationship of the order with the Crown changed.

1750 Madrid Treaty

- In 1750 the Madrid Treaty changed the limits between Spain and Portugal in South America, forcing the Jesuits reducciones to move.
- The indians, already trained in the defense against the portuguese and during the comuneros revolt, resisted the order but they were defeated.

THE EXPULSION OF JESUITS AND THE **PARAGUAYAN** SOCIETY

Almost 20 years after the Guarani wars, the jesuits were expelled from all the Spanish territory.

For the Paraguayan province this meant a sociodemographic change.

Many indian left the reducciones now in charge of the secular clerge.

Some of them returned to the forest, but many other integrated the paraguayan population, as we can see in the following map made by Ignacio Telesca.



Comparative table of paraguayan population before and after jesuits

	1761		1782	
	Población	%	Población	%
Jesuits Missions	46.563	54,7	20.383	21,1
Indian towns without pardos	5.358	6,3	9.788	10,2
Total indigenous population	<mark>51.921</mark>	61	<mark>30.171</mark>	31,3
Non indigenous population	<mark>33.217</mark>	39	<mark>66.355</mark>	68,7
Total	85.138	100	96.526	100

• The above figures can help us understand the conformation of a national society in the period previous to Independence.

- The indians of the mission became part of paraguayan towns and societies, just by changing their status in census.
- This imply a certain social homogeneity in the paraguayan society that is absent from the majority of the colonial processes, where criollos were more related to a spanish white elite.

First conclusion: The colonial particularities of Paraguay

- The absence of precious metals and the subsequent isolation of the Province from the colonial metrópoli and the Spanish Crown, implied new ways of social interaction, and a certain autonomy from the colonial rules
- The location at the end of the Spanish territories, in dispute with the portuguese Crown implied from very early strategies of defense and appropriation of a territory as well as the early rise of political spaces of negociation with colonial power

• The need of a local army to defend shared interest resulted in an appropiation of the space considered as their own.

- As a fundamental characteristic, the presence and expansión of a language of their own prior to the Spanish presence: the guaraní.
- This lenguage served as a very strong community nexus, that was very easily converted to a national nexus in the following period.

1811 The Independence from Spain

- Whith the napoleonic invasions, Independence process began in Latin America.
- Very early Paraguay declares itself independent from Spain and renounces to Buenos Aires declaring itself as an Independent Republic.
- The Buenos Aires government did not accept this until 1852.

1813-1840 The government of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia

- Economic closure: the country had to produce what it needed. No foreign goods could enter the country.
- Closure of frontiers to obtain territorial limits
- Complete desarticulation of previous elites. They were incarcerated or exiled in Buenos Aires
- An internal economy was developed
- The state was organized
- No civil liberties.
- Rodriguez de Francia controlled every aspect personally.



In words of a contemporary german explorer

The administration of Doctor Francia offers Paraguay, for a more or less near time, some compensations for the evils he has caused. First by having formed a military state, able to be respected among its neighbors; and also by organizing the state income he has made his country fellows realise that they can be independents

Rudolf Rengger



The government of Carlos Antonio López (1844-1862)

- With the money left by the strict administration made by Dr. Francia, the country had enough money to begin modernisation and open to the region and the world
- López stablished the free navigation of rivers in 1852, which implied an abrupt growth of commerce handed from the state.
- Education was developed, many people was sent to Europe and Teachers were brought.
- Technology was introduced, as the telegraph and the building of railways.
- López tried to solve the territorial limits issue, that were stopped due to Dr. Francia complete isolation and closure.

1863-1870 Francisco Solano López Goverment and the Triple Alliance War



Causes of the war

- The government of FS Lopez took place along the war.
- The causes of the war can be resumed in the national development of A DIFFERENT PATH FROM LIBERALISM
- The remarcable state presence policies stablished by C A López government could not be accepted by liberals. It was not only different, but more dangerously, it has undoubtfully a big success.
- Many of the critiques were directed to the monopoly of the state in commerce.

- "By 1860 Paraguay had a considerable superávit in its comercial balance. It was seen in Europe at the same time as one of the most developed countries in South America and one of the more promisory comercial partner in the región.
- Tabacco and yerba mate were exposed in the world exhibition in Paris in 1853 where they received several prizes. The period 1852 - 1865 is therefore referred as the Golden age in Paraguay. The national feeling and confidence were considerably streghtened in that time." (Kleinpenning, 2009, I: 70)

STATE MONOPOLY AND TROUBLES WITH BUENOS AIRES

- In this interventionist policy of the state, which in most cases was rather a monopoly, the price of yerba mate, a product consumed in Buenos Aires and whose price was regulated by the Paraguayan government, was a particular factor of discomfort in the capital of Buenos Aires.
- The question of the economic success of the Paraguayan state, a contramano of the economic policy initiated by the wars of independence in the countries of the region is an element that is linked to the more complex question of limits and navigation of rivers.

THE ISSUE OF UNESTABLISHED TERRITORIAL LIMITS

- Regarding the limits, due to the still non-existent unification of neighboring countries, in which the provinces were still struggling (interne wars) between independence or adhesion to political centers such as Buenos Aires and, to a lesser extent, Rio de Janeiro Janeiro for some regions.
- In this context, the clearly defined economic and political path taken by Paraguay constituted an important counterweight, a potentially imitable model, and also, in some cases, (such as Entre Ríos or Corrientes) a possible allied government

THE NAVIGATION OF THE INNER RIVERS

- Regarding the issue of navigation of rivers, it has to do both with the establishment and maintenance of communication, and therefore control of the territory in the provinces furthest from the administrative centers in the particular case of Brazil, with the territory of Matto Grosso as with the equally sensitive issue of the routes, times and, therefore, costs of circulation of merchandise towards the interior of the continent, this aspect remaining linked in this way to the interests of the influential ruling class , subsidiary of English capitalism in the region.
- For Paraguay, however, both issues coincided since the opening of navigation connotated problems on territorial security in areas still in dispute, which made free navigation subject to a prior agreement on limits, an issue that was provisionally settled in 1856 with the opening of navigation and the postponement of the boundary discussion six years ahead.

ANTI PARAGUAYAN PROPAGANDA IN BUENOS AIRES

- In the years prior to the War against the Triple Alliance, the political regime in Paraguay was the subject of persistent criticism from journalism in Buenos Aires, which also constituted a disseminator of the protests and allegations of the Paraguayan opposition exiled in Buenos Aires.
- Long before the beginning of military actions, the need to carry out a war of liberation or regeneration to the Mediterranean Republic of South America was sustained there.
- The Buenos Aires newspapers frequently denounced the authoritarianism of the Paraguayan government, its military preparations, the obstacles it imposed on river navigation and the monopoly it exercised over the trade in yerba mate and wood.
- "The motivations of these criticisms varied with time, but the disapproval of the administrations of Carlos Antonio López, and of his son and successor, General Francisco Solano López, manifested itself recurrently since 1857 in the press of Buenos Aires "(Scavone Yegros, 2011: 6).

GREAT BRITAIN HEGEMONY

- One last element to take into account to build the plot prior to the outbreak of the war and that goes through the aspects we have mentioned before, is the **hegemony enjoyed by Britain in the region**.
- It must be said that Britain's degree of involvement and responsibility in the conflict has been the subject of a constant historiographical dispute. Although the denunciation against the British imperialism has sometimes been denounces as passive victimization, the economic presence of the British in the region is an undeniable factor, although not the only one, and fundamentally not in an autonomous way or separated from the other factors.

THE ISSUE OF DEBT

- The opening of the markets necessary for the expansion of the international economy implied the opening of the financial centers in the metropolis with the introduction of the debt system, in which, fundamentally, Argentina was already embarked in times of conflict.
- Paraguay had no need of international finance aid

- "Among the causes of the conflict, the policy developed by the belligerent countries in the 1850s and 1860s had much to do with a large number of unresolved issues that defined issues of sovereignty and territoriality of the new states of South America. The pressure from foreign interests, especially the British, who were the main suppliers of arms and technical personnel to the Paraguay of the Lopez, also had an impact.
- It is estimated that, by the middle of 1850, they contributed 75% of Paraguayan imports, and those interested in imposing their free trade policy, within the framework of the expansion of capitalism. Privately, most of the British diplomats in the Rio de la Plata were very critical of the Lopez regime and did not, almost entirely, blame Paraguay for the outbreak of the war. It is also significant that Great Britain made very little effort to mediate between Paraguay and the members of the Triple Alliance.
- Likewise, we can not fail to point out that, although the export of arms and ammunition to the Río de la Plata was prohibited in 1865, Brazil continued to receive them through a fluid maritime communication. In addition, both Brazil and Argentina obtained financing for the war through English borrowing houses, which was convenient for Britain, since it was going through an agonizing situation due to the cotton crisis, caused by the American Civil War. (1861-1865), although he had quickly sought supplies from other producers such as Egypt and Brazil itself.
- In any case, Paraguay could open up new investment prospects for Great Britain, before the new but growing cotton production registered in 1863, fruit of the 800,000 hectares planted in Paraguayan territory. However, the issue was that Paraguay had its own industry and was reluctant to enter into credit negotiations with London's high banks, which is why Great Britain tipped the scales in favor of Argentina and the Brazilian Empire" (Areces, 2010: 190).

THE ARMED CONFLICT

- The conflict as such began in Uruguay in 1864, a friendly country and a destiny that Paraguay saw as its best option to gain access to the sea, overcoming its historical disagreements with Buenos Aires. The Marshal Francisco Solano Lopez, declared war on Brazil that had invaded Uruguay, (in what Paraguay considered as an interference that also affected their interests) counting on that Argentina would support him given his historical disagreements with Brazil.
- But Solano López was wrong.

SECRET TREATY OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

- "Solano López was convinced that an Argentine-Brazilian military alliance was not possible. His authoritarian regime was popular on the side of the Argentine federalist leaders, so he thought he could count on the support of the great caudillo of the province of Entre Ríos, General Urquiza. But, when at the end of April 1865 he sent an armed body to the Argentine region of Corrientes with the aim of attacking Rio Grande do Sul, he did so after having directed, on the 13th, a declaration of war to the Argentine government that had not allowed him the passage to the Paraguayan army for its territory. Luck was cast. Urquiza joined Buenos Aires. The inhabitants of Corrientes, whose identity was much closer to that of the Paraguayans than to that of the porteños, did not lean towards Solano López's side.
- On May 1, 1865 in Buenos Aires, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay signed the treaty called the Triple Alliance, whose text was to be kept secret. The allies jointly committed to carry out the war against the "government" of Lopez, not against the "people of Paraguay", and to guarantee the free navigation of the great rivers at the end of the conflict. However, article 16 redesigned, for post-war, the borders of the disputed territories for the benefit of Argentina and Brazil. With the excuse of an ideological war carried out as a defense of the peoples of the region, opposing the liberal urban elites of the Atlantic ports to the authoritarian regime of Marshal Lopez, it was mainly to neutralize Paraguay" (Capdevila, 2010: 30-31).
• In 1866 Lopez maintained an interview with Mitre, commander of the Argentine troops, looking for the end of the war, but the deal did not prosper.

- Until 1868 the war was unleashed in a contained zone, however, after the battle of Lomas Valentinas, Lopez retreated towards the capital, inaugurating the final stage of the war, which was rather a resistance of the few men who remained.
- In August 1869 the Brazilians entered Asunción looting it. At the end of 1869 took place the battle of Acosta Ñu, where children fought before the death of all men.
- On March 1, 1870, Marshal Lopez died in the last battle of Cerro Corá. Until today this is the national date of the country par excellence.

SOME PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARAGUAYAN ARMY

- The beginning of the war did not let yet guess its end. The first campaigns gave Paraguay a certain pre-eminence based both on its tradition of military discipline, which contrasted with the difficulties that the Allied army faced in that sense, and on the characteristics that defined national identity in terms of belonging to a community recognized as own.
- In the context of the events, it is possible to distinguish some characteristics that point out the scope of the identity process in Paraguay before the war and at the same time its exalted culmination throughout the conflict

The press during the war

- Thomas Whigham mentions some elements that allowed to develop Paraguayan nationalist sentiment during the war.
- One of those elements was the universal conscription in force since 1850 and the full participation of the population in the army, in which social hierarchies did not mediate, and where even the rich had to take off their shoes to match the troop.
- Another element was the organization of popular festivals during the war.
- Thirdly there is the publication, throughout much of the conflict, of a press written both in Spanish and, particularly in Guarani, through the newspapers Centinela, Cacique Lambaré and Cabichuí, until 1868 (Whigham, 2007: 29-30).







Caxlas domando su nuevo Carumbé. Xingulué, 1866





Xilograhado, 1868



Telegrafía electi o-negrática.

Although already from the government of Carlos Antonio Lopez the press had begun to work in Paraguay, the use that it had throughout the war, deserves attention. Although we will not delve into the multiple aspects of this mode of representation here, it should be noted that, with respect to the identity issue, two of the remarkable characteristics of the press during the conflict were its deeply popular character, manifested in a particular use of the humor and image, and their conditions of production, through itinerant printers who followed the troops.

- The analysis of this particularity reveals an aspect that should not be underestimated, which was the production of both paper and inks, materials scarce due to the blockade imposed by the allies since the Battle of Riachuelo, which took place as early as the middle of 1865 and From which, Paraguay had to face self-sufficiency due to the fluvial blockade exercised by the allies.
- This meant that during the war, and in situations that went from severe to extreme, there was not only ink and paper, but also other materials that resulted from the implementation of avant-garde recycling strategies even in terms of contemporary ecology.
- This included the recovery of wood and ammunition from the countryside, donation of pots and kitchen utensils for the recovery of metal and its subsequent smelting to produce weapons and cannons, the harvesting of cow udders to produce vaccines against smallpox, transformation of old tissues in bandages and even collection of urine from the troop for the production of saltpeter destined to the production of gunpowder (Capdevila, 2010: 64).

The level of production of materials during the war, shows the scope of the plan launched by Lopez to develop the national industry and supply the state, but also brings to mind the validity of self-supply practices as an economic strategy that until the day of today it appears as a longing and vindication of the peasants in Paraguay.

 Several of the productive capacities were maintained for a long time, even until the beginning of the final withdrawal phase of the remains of the Paraguayan army. The exaltation of the sense of belonging, assumed during the war, as evidenced by the aforementioned elements, characteristics that recovered for themselves several of the factors already present during the colony, reinforced during the governments of France and the Lopez and finally put to the test in the war against the Triple Alliance: military organization, territorial defense, common language with historical weight, and also, it must be stressed, obedience, or for many, submission to the constituted authorities.

The use of Guaraní language during the war

• The use of the Guarani language appears as a particular identity emergency present already from the immediately previous period, given that, although in fact the Guaraní continued to be the language spoken by all the inhabitants of the national territory, Carlos Antonio López had started a campaign that recognized Spanish as a factor of in the modernization of the country; especially from the educational policy promoted by his government. The conflict, however, immediately summoned the language as a primary element of identity that became, for the first time a sign of **national identity**.

The lost teritories



CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

- The result of the war, which extended far beyond what was originally planned by the allies and had for all the participants the same high costs, caused conflicts and internal reactions in the countries involved, beginning with the problem of recruitment that put in scene in many cases, the porosity of the borders and the identities in dispute.
- However, the population of Paraguay may not have been able to excuse itself because of a long-standing institutional characteristic: the entire male population of corresponding age had been militarized long before, as a result of the desire to consolidate the national question and on the basis of to an identity that can be considered as constituted in contrast to the other countries that participated in the war.
- Despite the obligatory nature of conscription, auathors like Capdevila insists that the validity of the criticisms that describe Solano López as a bloody tyrant does not invalidate the response obtained from the people in arms.

Consequences of the war

• For the neighbors, the war of the Triple Alliance, finally meant the consolidation and organization of national unity around a state, as well as the geopolitical stabilization of the region. For Paraguay, the war of 70, or Guasú War (great) as it is frequently called, on the other hand, implied a cut, a rupture, a closure of the tensions and contradictions settled in the incipient construction of a first national state and constitutive elements of identity.

Demographic consequences

- Indeed, and without room for moderation we can affirm that the end of the war implied for Paraguay a disaster of important dimensions.
- Brezzo writes that "[...] the hecatomb was of such magnitude that all its economic, social, political and cultural fabric was undone" (Brezzo, 2010b: 200).
- The population was reduced to approximately 230,000 people in 1872, and "the country lost a total of 156,415 km2 of its territory (Kleinpenning, 2009, II: 28).
- Barbara Potthast and Thomas Whigham (1998: 147-159) estimate that between 60 and 69% of the population disappeared in the conflict.

Demographic consequences

• Thus, to the violence of the conflict, it must be added the complete disarticulation of the previous demographic and geographical coordinates, which implies at the same time the decomposition of the previous social structure and the same terms that make up its composition.

Demographic consequences

- The conflict lasted for 5 years, during which time Paraguay became a desolate desert. The scope of the violence exceeded the limits of the thinkable on all sides. In Paraguay even children fought.
- The scope of the conflict implied a multiplicity of actors, generally absent from the stories of the time as a specific group, and included in the case of Paraguay due to the relevance that the situation gave them.
- Such is the case fundamentally of women, whose role is not limited only to their different forms of participation in the conflict, but fundamentally, to the role that they have to play later, given the resulting demographic and therefore social panorama.
- Barbara Potthast calculated on the basis of the censuses of the time that in the mid-1900s, more than half of the household heads were exercised by women (Potthast, 1996). The same author comments that "there were an average of four women per man; in some places, however, the ratio was one to ten or twenty "(Potthast, 2005: 439).

Political consequences

 These profound imbalances and alterations, with far-reaching cultural consequences, would find complements at the level of state representation, ending the particularity of the system set in motion by Dr. Francia, dismantling the terms that until then had cemented the national identity and its link with the state.

Political consequences

- The end of the war involved from Asuncion, after the looting to which it was subjected since its occupation in 1869, not only the presence, but more acutely, the authority of the army against which it had been fought.
- This tense calm coexisted with the surviving protagonists in terms that implied the exclusion of all the previously configured identity spring.
- The figure of Marshal Lopez was forbidden, and the same was denatured by law, even the oldest and most accurate loyalties (such as General Caballero who accompanied him until his death in Cerro Corá in March 1870) denied the "tyrant", coupling to the discourse of the victors.

Geopolitical issues

 The reorganization of the state occurred, not without dispute between the parties, on the basis of negotiations between Argentina and Brazil, which once the conflict was over, resumed their old differences, to the point that several opinions agree in indicating that the territorial existence of Paraguay should be to this disagreement, and the need to maintain a strip between both countries.

Economical consequences

- The economic and political situation resulting from the war clearly produced a shift to the opposite side of the previously known situation.
- The country went straight to the liberal economy devoid of any resource and with all its infrastructure absolutely destroyed.
- The old system of land tenure by the state was replaced by the sale of public lands to foreign companies.
- The economic independence of the state was postponed forever from the contraction of onerous loans to finance the costs of war and the subsequent sale of all state posessions. As stated by Oscar Creydt "The law of 1883, (of sale of public lands) gave the last blow to the economic and social regime emerged from the revolution of 1811 and the governments of France and the Lopez" (Creydt, 2001: 104-105).

Paraguay's political development in the post war: political constraints

There were several political consequences in the post war:

- the combination of an "a priori" political framework and an unfortunate social situation left no room for the construction of viable exit alternatives.
- the new state and economic order started from an economic situation of bankruptcy, with debts of war, without income and with a population depleted in number and capacities.
- To this must be added the protectorate of the neighbors who were more concerned with looking after their interests than in consolidating those of Paraguay.

Paraguay's political development in the post war: political constraints

These **political and economical constraints were therefore inscribed with three intrinsic elements** that delimited its development and potentialities and whose temporal recurrence allows us to better understand its structural inscription and the weight they have not lost in the political and economical reality of Paraguay

• First, the **poverty of most of the population**, a fact that could never be alleviated, and that is in open contradiction with the creation of great fortunes that have no other source than the benefits resulting from the private administration of the state.

• This element is the foundation stone of the problem of exclusion and inequality in Paraguay, linked since then to the question of the struggle for land. In the second place we can name the denial of recent history, repressed as an identity discourse and later transformed into a passionate discourse that does not cease to be linked to violence as a constitutive element of the political exercise.

• In the last place, the validity of the paradox resulting from authoritarianism as a way of exercising politics, which implies from the beginning, the legitimation of the split between the constitutional mandate and its effective application.

These elements make it possible to better understand the apparently cyclical character of the governments of the two parties created in the inmediate postwar (colorado and liberal) that still rule Paraguay and to point out the continuity between them in terms of political practices, as well as its ideological unity before the appearance of forces that could question the structure of political power.



The war from today

As a final comment I would like to address the status of this war today.

- As we have seen, the processes that converged in the war were very different for each side, and so were the results that in the case of Paraguay implied an underdevelopment that the country has not been able to overcome.
- As I said in the beginning, in Paraguay the war is the most important historical event, the one that has more books written and arguments being developed through the 148 years that has passed. For the neighbors on the contrary, this war has been almost silenced.
- The very different meaning of the war for each country opens up many analytical possibilities, some of which I would like to address in the form of open questions.

The war from Today

- Was the particular way of development put into practice by the Paraguayan experience, in spite of its little dimension, an obstacle for the development of international economy and interest?
- Is it possible to think about violence and destitution, as was the case in the Triple Alliance war in 1968, as an actual way of liberating markets and achieve political or economical goals, in spite of social consequences and previous historical process?
- Can we relate this episode to the creation of social elite and/or classes and social inequality as we know it today in Latinamerica?
- shall we look at the Paraguayan case as an observatory of the challenges that the Latin american society poses to an unaccomplished modernity, or, in another words as an observatory of unsolved historical contradictions that are still in place in Latinamerica?
- Is it possible to compare the Paraguayan war with other experiences in order to broaden our comprehension of social, historical and political process of the construction or imposition of modernity?
- Can we refer this small country history to the global history of modernity and economy?

• Anwers are multiple, as we all are, and compromised social and economical research the guarantee of a better future of integration and peace.

Thankyou very much for all of you