

URUGUAY

In 2002, EAAF continued its collaboration with the Uruguayan Peace Commission. Team members recovered the remains of eight individuals from a municipal cemetery in the Uruguayan province of Colonia. Although these remains are not yet identified, they are thought to belong to Argentine citizens dropped from military aircraft into the Río de la Plata and the Argentine Sea. Fingerprints and other information forwarded by the Peace Commission led to the identification in Buenos Aires of eight Uruguayans disappeared in Argentina. This chapter describes advances in cases on both sides of the border.



Excavation of graves thought to contain Argentine disappeared in Colonia Cemetery, Uruguay. January 2002. *Photo by EAAF.*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the 1970's, several South American countries came under the rule of military governments, which used clandestine detention and extrajudicial killings to quell political opposition, including armed groups. Although its military period officially began in 1973, Uruguay's violent internal conflicts began much earlier, and many citizens labeled 'subversives' fled to Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and especially Argentina. After these countries experienced their own military coups — Chile in 1973, Argentina in 1976 — the new military governments entered into a clandestine agreement — called Operation Condor — by means of which information and prisoners were exchanged.ⁱ As a result, cases of disappearance from

this period sometimes require investigation in more than one country. Of the approximately 180 permanent disappearances of Uruguayan citizens in the 70's, 142 are alleged to have happened in Argentina.ⁱⁱ In contrast to the practices of its neighbors, the Uruguayan repression was characterized by the long-term imprisonment and torture of a large proportion of its citizens — roughly 20%, according to Uruguay Nunca Mas.ⁱⁱⁱ

The relationship between the Uruguayan and Argentine repressive "processes" was even more complex. During its early years, Argentina's military junta disposed of many prisoners by

throwing them from airplanes into the Rio de la Plata and the Argentine Sea, which together form a long segment of the border between the two countries. Some of the bodies washed ashore on Uruguayan beaches, to be discovered by civilians. The Uruguayan authorities had them buried as NNs, or John/Jane Does, giving minimal and sometimes absurd explanations for their appearances in the national press.^{iv} These unsolved cases, as well as those of Uruguayans disappeared abroad, remained a source of confusion, conflict, and frustration throughout the 1990's.

A large section of Uruguayan society opposes any prosecution of human rights abuses committed during the military period. This profound division was expressed in a 1989 referendum that covered several issues surrounding the demilitarization of the government. At stake in the referendum was the *Ley de Caducidad de la Pretensión Punitiva del Estado*, a type of statute of limitations on the crimes of the Dirty War. Established by the Parliament in 1985, the law protects police and the military from all prosecution. The 1989 referendum upheld the law by 52.5% of the vote. It remains in effect at the time of this writing, despite the fact that it is incompatible with international treaties signed by Uruguay, and has been condemned by the United Nations and the Organization of American States. Nevertheless, on taking office in 2000, current Uruguayan President Dr. Jorge Batlle responded to longstanding demands and established a Peace Commission. This Commission — the *Comisión para la Paz* — was to, "take all possible steps to determine the situation of persons detained and disappeared during the de facto regime, and of minors disappeared under the same circumstances."^v

EAAF's Collaboration with the Uruguayan Peace Commission

The concrete mandate of the *Comisión para la Paz* was to receive complaints, to compile testimonies and basic evidence, and to reconstruct the fates of persons disappeared and illegally detained during Uruguay's "Dirty War." Its secretary, Carlos Ramela, requested EAAF's assistance with cases on both sides of the Rio de la





EAAF members P. Bernardi and M. Nievas examine exhumed remains at Colonia Cemetery, January 2002. Photo by EAAF.

Plata. In early 2001, we signed a collaborative agreement with the Commission. Since then, the Commission has provided us with documentation that helped to resolve cases of Uruguayans disappeared in Argentina, and has expedited permission for exhumations in Uruguay.^{vi}

The Commission's final report, published in April 2003, outlined the accusations gathered from families of the disappeared, without presenting the testimonies directly or mentioning the names of the accusers. The Commission did not initiate or make contact with any representatives of the Armed Forces. It confirmed the deaths of twenty-six persons allegedly killed under detention in Uruguay, and of 182 Uruguayans who disappeared in Argentina, giving general statistics about their circumstances and fates. For example, the majority of those disappeared in Argentina were being pursued because of their political affiliations. The largest groups of victims were members of the *Grupos de Acción Unificadora*

(GAU), and the *Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo* (PVP). It also confirmed that 13 Uruguayans were forcibly disappeared in Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, Colombia, and Bolivia. The names of the confirmed dead in all of these countries, and in most cases, the places of detention, dates of death, and places of burial are given in Annexes to the report. It does not list names of authorities responsible, nor does it provide institutional referents that might be used to identify those individuals.

Although the Commission's mandate excluded prosecutions from the outset, its work has been controversial because of the basic disagreement over whether revisiting the past is socially desirable.^{vii} Not surprisingly, then, the Commission's final report fueled debate, both about ways the document might be brought to bear on potential cases, and about the future of the *Ley de Caducidad*. There are currently two main points of contention. One is whether the law protects individuals

and institutions, or types of crimes. If the latter were the case, then civilians could also be exempted from prosecution. Although no civilian has yet been tried in connection with the Dirty War, accusations against a few specific individuals have been the focus of recent public debate.^{viii} The second has to do with how much information should be made public. Opponents of investigations fear that public records of the events will erode their protected status in the long-term.^{ix}

In addition to help with cases involving Uruguayan citizens or cases of bodies discovered in Uruguay, Dr. Batlle has provided EAAF with access to the Genetics Laboratory of the Uruguayan Interior Ministry. In 2002, the lab analyzed bone samples related to our investigation of two disappearances — those of Mr. Arnaldo Buffa and Mr. Jorge Elischer, both Argentinians.^x The laboratory's results allowed us to make positive identifications for both individuals.

Although the Peace Commission has now concluded its work, EAAF's collaboration with Dr. Batlle's administration continues in 2003, by way of a special office dedicated to investigations begun by the Peace Commission.

CASES OF ARGENTINE DISAPPEARED DISCOVERED IN URUGUAY

Through the collaborative agreement with the Peace Commission, in 2001 EAAF began to exhume gravesites believed to contain the remains of Argentine disappeared discovered on Uruguayan shores between 1976 and 1980. The unidentified bodies were buried in municipal cemeteries in Colonia, Montevideo, Maldonado, and Rocha. Although official statements made at the time were either minimal or misleading, the bodies were thought to belong to Argentinians because of Argentine labels in some of their clothing, and in the case of one individual, because of his tattoo. He had last been seen at a clandestine detention center at the Navy Mechanical

School (ESMA), which eliminated its prisoners by sedating them and throwing them from planes into the Río de la Plata.^{xi}

Unfortunately, the remains buried in Montevideo and Maldonado were later moved to general ossuaries, making their recovery nearly impossible. During 2002, however, EAAF was able to successfully recover the remains of eight individuals in Colonia.

On January 21-23, EAAF carried out exhumations of eight “NN” or John/Jane Doe burials in the Municipal Cemetery of Colonia, Uruguay. Five of these bodies had been discovered separately in January, May, and September 1976 by local residents on the shore near Barra San Juan, Escollera Puerto Zona Franca, Playa La Arenisca, Isla Lopez Este, and Playa Cosmopolitana. The other three were found on September 5, 1976, at the mouth of Arroyo Rosario. The remains may correspond to prisoners thrown into the Rio de la Plata from military aircraft during Argentina's Dirty War, since Colonia lies immediately across the river from Buenos Aires. All were buried within a few days of discovery. A file was opened by the Uruguayan *Prefectura*, an institution that combines the functions of a Coast Guard and a Port Authority.^{xii}

EAAF members found the precise burial locations using the cemetery's registry book, provided at the request of the *Comisión para la Paz*. The burials were spread out over an area of 21.9m by 5.1m. Each grave was 0.7 meter wide and two meters long, covered with a cement slab, and had a cross at the head of the grave bearing the letters NN (for *Ningún Nombre* or “John Doe”) and the date of burial. This was consistent with the entries in the cemetery registry books.

EAAF retrieved eight human skeletons. A few nails, some wood, and plastic pieces were all that remained of their individual caskets. Almost all of the skeletons were complete, however, and some were accompanied by the remains of knotted cords in the area of the wrists.

In the laboratory, we determined that each belonged to a male individual with caucasoid features. No bullets were

found in association with the remains. Six of the eight skeletons showed multiple perimortem fractures to the skull and limbs — the type of fracture produced at or near the moment of death. Considering their severity, these wounds may have been the cause of death. The majority of the long-bone fractures were also consistent with the type seen in bodies that have fallen from a great height onto a solid surface.

Although we have not yet identified these remains, they showed physical characteristics that might lead to their identification in the future.

CASES OF URUGUAYANS DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA AND IDENTIFIED IN 2002

Most of the cases described below have been resolved using fingerprint comparison. In 1998, EAAF gained access to the microfilmed fingerprints of unidentified persons killed by violent or suspicious means during the military period. Most of these prints were taken by the Federal Police or the Buenos Aires Provincial Police at the time of death. Many of the fingerprinted bodies are thought to correspond to disappeared persons.^{xiii} We also gained access to the identity card prints of disappeared persons stored at the National Registry of Persons. Fingerprints are required by this institution, which issues one of the two mandatory national identity cards. By comparing historical information — such as the date of disappearance of individuals, and the date of “reappearance” of bodies dumped in public streets and barren lands — we can sometimes make hypothetical connections between disappearances and unidentified bodies. Using these initial matches, we select a narrower group of dossiers of disappeared persons. From these, EAAF makes an initial comparison of prints based on their general traits and then sends them to forensic fingerprint experts for more precise comparison.

Luis Alberto Camacho Osoria

Luis Alberto Camacho Osoria, a 22-year-old Uruguayan citizen, disappeared on August 15, 1976 from the locality of Haedo, Buenos Aires Province. He had been living in a residential hotel on Moreno Street. He was probably arrested in this location, according to the account that the hotel owner gave to Mr. Camacho’s family.

According to Camacho’s mother, the Federal Police sent a letter stating that her son had been “abated” (killed) at the corner of Gaona and Talcahuano streets. After she traveled from Uruguay to Buenos Aires, they informed her that her son’s body had been taken to the Güemes Hospital, in Haedo, but that they could not get access to it. At the police precinct, they gave her his Uruguayan civil identity card, which she had previously sent to Luis Alberto after hearing that his other personal documents had been stolen. Next, they referred her to a cemetery in Morón, Province of Buenos Aires, where she was informed that her son’s remains had been buried in a common grave.

According to the Peace Commission, three years later, she returned to the cemetery because the remains were to be “reduced” — effectively, transferred to a smaller niche. When cemetery officials removed the earth from the common grave, she spotted a jar containing a skull, with teeth intact, and two hands. (It was then common practice for police to sever the hands of an unidentified person so that fingerprints could be taken more easily at police facilities. The hands were usually buried later in individual or common graves.) Mr. Camacho’s mother decided to claim these remains as if they belonged to her son, and proceeded to have them placed in the new niche.

Using information gathered at the Intelligence Archives of the Buenos Aires Police, EAAF found that the body listed in Provincial Police Cadaver Record (PC) #47.643, had been identified at the time as Luis Alberto Camacho Osorio, born December 11, 1954 in Tacuarembó, Uruguay. The file had been labeled as the case of an “attack on and resistance to authority, abuse of arms, homicide during a fight, provoking intervention by the military chief of Palomar, Buenos Aires Province. A



EAAF members analyzing remains exhumed at Colonia cemetery. January 2002. Photos by EAAF.



report by the Buenos Aires Province Intelligence Office states that “on August 15, 1976, at approximately 1:15 AM, a police patrol from the jurisdiction of Haedo sustained an intense exchange of bullets from seven unidentified persons in a Peugeot 504. As a consequence, one delinquent was killed, identified as Luis Alberto Camacho Osoria, Uruguayan of 22 years, according to documentation discovered on his person. Also taken into custody was a bag containing Itaka cartridges [for an Ithaca shotgun], copies of the magazines *El Combatiente* and *Red Star*, and 32mm long ammunition. The other aggressors escaped.”

Although we have not been able to access the complete records of this confrontation, Luis Alberto Camacho Osoria is clearly identified in Death Certificate #1456B in the civil registry of Morón, Buenos Aires Province, despite a small imprecision in the spelling (the second last name is given as Osorio, not Osoria). The cause of death was given as multiple gunshot wounds. In the cemetery registry, burial order #11537 states that his body was received on August 15, 1976, and buried in Row 309, Grave 7. On November 12, 1980, the remains were transferred to a smaller, aboveground niche (Niche 950, Gallery 8, First floor, Row 5). The niche was paid through 1983 (although it is not clear to us who paid), but despite the fact that payments were not continued, the staff did not remove the remains.

Having established the correspondence and located the remains, EAAF’s course of action was to gather the evidence and contact Camacho’s mother, using the Uruguayan Peace Commission as an intermediary, so that the death certificate could be corrected. On May 7, 2002, the Federal Chamber of the Federal Capital issued a resolution approving the repatriation of the remains, which is now being processed by the Uruguayan authorities.

Eduardo del Fabra de Bernardi

Eduardo del Fabra de Bernardi, an Uruguayan citizen, was disappeared August 30, 1975, in Buenos Aires during an already violent month under the democratic government before the military coup. He had been a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refugee in Argentina. His case was among those opened by the *Comisión para la Paz*.

Using copies of fingerprints provided by the *Comisión para la Paz*, EAAF made initial comparisons with fingerprints of disappeared persons based on pattern type and approximate dates of disappearance and rediscovery. Once we arrived at a possible match, these were sent to the Postmortem Fingerprinting Laboratory of the Buenos Aires Provincial Police. In January 2001, these comparisons



(Left to right) Eduardo Chizzola Cano, Hugo Ernesto Gomensoro Josman and José Luis Urtasun Terra, Uruguayan citizens that disappeared in Argentina. Their remains were located and identified by EAAF in 2002.

confirmed that del Fabra's prints corresponded to a set taken from an NN or "John Doe" cadaver — Case 50/75, Cadaver Record 45.694, General Archive "C" — discovered half-buried on the shore of Sarandi, Buenos Aires Province, on the 11th of September, 1975.

His identity established, we attempted to determine where the remains were buried. Although they were initially sent to the Avellaneda Cemetery, near Buenos Aires, the report furnished by the cemetery's administration is inconsistent. The gravesite indicated in the cemetery records was not the one given to Fabra's remains in his separate inhumation certificate. Given the notorious, yet systematic distortions in documentation common at the Avellaneda Cemetery during that period, it is likely that he was buried either in a different plot, or in one of the common graves that EAAF discovered in Sector 134 of that cemetery.^{xiv} Sector 134 was a special area of the Avellaneda cemetery where several hundred disappeared people were buried, mainly as NNs/John/Jane Does during the early part of the military's reign. If the former is the case, there is no real possibility of recovery. In the latter case, since we have already exhumed all the remains from Sector 134, we might still make an identification as we analyze the massive number of recovered male skeletons.

Eduardo Chizzola Cano

Eduardo Chizzola Cano, an Uruguayan citizen, was 25 years old when he disappeared in Buenos Aires on April 17, 1976. Chizzola was a student activist and a militant in the *Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo*, an Uruguayan political party. An UNHCR refugee, he was kidnapped along with Telba Juárez, a 30-year-old Uruguayan.

Telba Juárez's body was discovered in the Barracas neighborhood, to the south of Buenos Aires, on April 18 that year. On April 18, 1976, members of Police Precinct 30 took her body to the Buenos Aires Morgue, where it was registered as entry #89 at 3:20 in the afternoon. She was first registered as an unidentified female, and later identified as Telba Pretolina de Franchetti Juárez or T.P. López de Franchetti by the Federal Police. Her family was informed at the time, and a judicial file was opened with Judge M. P. Miguens, under the jurisdiction of the office of R. Solomonof. Her death certificate, #1257/A, states that the cause of death was gunshot wounds to the head, thorax, and abdomen. According to inhumation certificate #119.802, which corresponds to her body, she was buried in the Chacarita Cemetery, in Buenos Aires, on May 26, 1976, in Section 2, Block 2, Row 3, Grave

3. Cemetery personnel transferred her remains to a general ossuary on May 10, 1978.

The body that was later identified as Eduardo Chizzola Cano appeared in the 48th Federal Police Precinct in the Federal Capital on April 26, 1976. On April 26, 1976, the Precinct forwarded his fingerprints to the Federal Police to be identified. They were stored as fiche #134.636, Roll 203 at the Police Photography Division. Though the Federal Police keep copies of fingerprints for almost all Argentines, Chizzola was not identified at the time.

Based on the date of appearance of the unidentified body and other details, EAAF made a preliminary selection of prints that characteristically matched those taken from the body found on April 26, 1976. We forwarded our hypothetical matches to the Gendarmería — a military division with some of the most advanced technicians and equipment — for dactyloscopic comparison. In this case, EAAF included Chizzola's prints, provided by the Uruguayan government.

Gendarmería compared the three sets of fingerprints selected by EAAF, and confirmed that the NN found on April 26, 1976 was in fact Chizzola. The NN file for the case included his death certificate — #465 — from book 5188, 1X from the Registry Office of the City of Buenos Aires. It indicated that the person died on Escalada Avenue, between 27 de Febrero and Roca Streets. Dozens of executed bodies were found in this large, empty stretch on the south side of Buenos Aires during 1976. The official cause of death was “congestion and severe pulmonary edema.” Chizzola's body was buried in the Chacarita Cemetery in the Federal Capital. Unfortunately, after the fees for his gravesite went unpaid for five years, following a municipal ordinance, his remains were transferred to a common ossuary. Thus, it will not be possible to recover his body.

Hugo Ernesto Gomensoro Josman

Hugo Ernesto Gomensoro Josman, an Uruguayan citizen, was 22 years old when he disappeared on April 30, 1976.

He was kidnapped together with his partner, María del Rosario Vallarino, from the National Immigration Office in the city of Buenos Aires. They were taken to an unknown clandestine detention center. Thanks to the written comments of María del Rosario, who was set free five days later, we know that there were two others at the Detention Center: another woman, who was nursing her infant son, and a writer. María del Rosario was released in the western zone of the Federal Capital and died years later while in exile in Sweden.

On May 27, 1976, on the shore of Rio de la Plata near the town of Berazatégui, a low tide revealed three bodies. One of them was close to the beach, while the other two, at some distance, were tied with wire to a cot, one on each side. The police who arrived at the scene followed standard procedures for bodies immersed for long periods. The cadavers' hands were cut off and sent for analysis at the necropapilloscopy (post-mortem fingerprinting) laboratory. This is done particularly in cases where the water severely deteriorates the hands, making the identification process very difficult. There, it was possible to make reasonably good prints in all three cases. If these were sufficient for identification, however, none was publicly disclosed at the time.

In 2002, EAAF members were able to tentatively identify the body that appeared separately as J.F., an Argentine citizen, using correspondences among circumstantial evidence and fingerprint typing. The initial fingerprint match was confirmed using dactyloscopic comparison.^{xv}

One of the two persons tied to the cot was Hugo Ernesto Gomensoro Josman. Similarly, EAAF was able to draw a hypothesis based on preliminary comparisons by print type and other circumstantial evidence after the Uruguayan Peace Commission forwarded his identity card fingerprints in 2001. The identification was confirmed in this case by the Necropapilloscopy Lab of the Buenos Aires Provincial Police. In Gomensoro's case, the fingerprints were in good condition, but he was probably not identified at the time of his death because he was from Uruguay, and the police had no other set of prints with which to compare the NN prints.

Since the third person's fingerprints are of poor quality, we were still unable to identify them. Therefore, EAAF decided to exhume the remains of all three, still buried as NNs in the Municipal Cemetery of Berazategui. The recovery, which took place on December 2-3, 2002, allowed us to add information to the third person's dossier. At the time of this writing, Gomensoro's family has been contacted. We are awaiting genetic analysis that will distinguish Gomensoro's remains from those of the other male.

José Luis Urtasun Terra

José Luis Urtasun Terra, an Uruguayan citizen, was 32 years old when he was kidnapped on August 13, 1978, from the vicinity of either the José C. Paz or the González Catan railway station, in Buenos Aires Province. He was identified using dactyloscopic fingerprint comparison, after the Uruguayan Peace Commission sent us fingerprints from his national identity card records. His death was officially declared, in death certificate #1377, Volume A, II, as having occurred on August 14, 1978, at the intersection of Luro Avenue and Campichuelo de Laferrere, in Buenos Aires Province. Buried three days later in the Municipal Cemetery of La Matanza, his remains were transferred to a general ossuary five years later by cemetery personnel. EAAF has contacted his family. His case is pending resolution at the Federal Chamber of the Federal Capital.

José Luis and Martín Pelua, and their mother, Renee Pereira Gasagoite

According to Sandra Veronica Pelua Viseido, an Uruguayan, her father, Martín Isabelino Pereira, disappeared in 1976 along with his brother, José Luis Pelua Pereira, and his mother, Renee Pereira Gasagoite. Pelua's case was included in the investigations of the Uruguayan Peace Commission. The information she had been able to gather suggested that they were travelling to Buenos Aires, but no one seemed to know whether they arrived. She never heard anything more from them after that time. Pelua explains that her father had been an

active member of the armed group *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional*, or the Tupamaros, outlawed several years earlier. She did not know whether her uncle or grandmother had also been involved in the movement.

The Uruguayan Interior Ministry reports that on June 15, 1976, Sandra's father requested certification of his police record so that he could obtain residency in Argentina. Filling out the police forms, the 21 year old gave his address as Calle Gutiérrez 1842, probably in Buenos Aires. He renewed his identity card for the last time on September 23, 1976, declaring his address as General Flores 3740, also probably Buenos Aires. He stated that he was married to a person with the last name Viseido and that he was employed in the City of Buenos Aires.

Sandra's uncle, José Luis, then 20 years old, renewed his own personal documents for the last time on July 24, 1975, also listing the Gutiérrez 1842 address. The record shows that on June 15, 1976, he had his police background check processed so that he, too, could become a resident of Buenos Aires.

Sandra's grandmother, Renee Pereira Gasagoite, was the mother of José Luis and Martín, and 42 years old at the time of their disappearance. She was separated from their father. After leaving her hometown, Lavalleja, she went to live in Montevideo, where she met Carlos Cano, an Argentinean known to have been one of Argentine President Juan Perón's bodyguards. They became a couple. Cano had probably come to Uruguay sometime after Perón's 1955 overthrow. According to the information we have, Cano was also an engineer, and spent time as a prisoner in Uruguay's Miguelete Prison before the 1973 coup. The year he was released, he left for Argentina, and the Pelua brothers went with him. Their mother Renee continued travelling between Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

EAAF's first course of action in any new case is to check and see whether the person reported as missing is already listed as identified somewhere. As it sometimes happens, there were already official records of these four people — the two young men, their mother, and Cano — but nothing was ever communicated to the families or made

public. It was not until Sandra Pelua Viseido gave her deposition to the Uruguayan Peace Commission that the important connections could be made.

The records of the deaths of Jose Luis Pelua Pereira, Martin Isabelino Pelua Pereira and Renee Pereira Gasagoite de Pelua come from the Cadaver Records of the Buenos Aires Provincial Police: Records #47,911, 47,912, and 47916, respectively. They were found together with the death certificate of another identified individual, whose name must be withheld, since EAAF has not yet located the relatives. The record also shows that a judicial file was opened entitled “Assault–Resistance to Authority–Quadruple Homicide” with the intervention of Penal Judge H. Vaccare. Their death certificates, #1577, 1578, 1579 and 1580 in the Civil Register of San Isidro, are dated October 7, 1976. Finally, their burial is indicated in the records of San Isidro municipal cemetery.

In 1984, with the return to democracy, exhumations were carried out in the “indigents” sectors of the cemetery with the hope of finding the remains of disappeared persons. In a judicial penal case from 1984 titled “Camere,” these four deaths were recorded, but not linked to the clandestine repression of the state, probably because they were identified, or perhaps for other reasons. Thus these bodies were not exhumed with the others, and unfortunately were later transferred to a general ossuary.

The Federal Chamber is currently trying to locate the “Camere” case materials mentioned above, as they will contain important information that will permit further reconstruction of events.

The case of Pereira Gasagoite and her sons was included in the Uruguayan Peace Commission’s report.

FOOTNOTES

- i. Crossborder assassinations and abductions of “subversives” were coordinated through Operation Condor. Recently declassified US State Department documents on Operation Condor can be viewed at the National Security Archive’s website, at www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20010306/.
- ii. For a more detailed account of Uruguay’s repression and its transition back to a parliamentary system, please see *Uruguay Nunca Mas*, by Servicio Paz y Justicia (1992). Also helpful is Lawrence Wechsler’s *A Miracle, A Universe* (Pantheon 1990). See also EAAF’s 2001 and 2000 Annual Reports.
- iii. *Uruguay Nunca Más* was published by Servicio Paz y Justicia in 1992.
- iv. For more information about these flights, please see *The Flight* by Horacio Verbitsky (The New Press, New York, 1996, originally published as *El Vuelo* by Editorial Planeta) and EAAF’s 1994-95 Biannual Report.
- v. *Informe Final de la Comisión para la Paz*, p.5. The Final Report is available online at www.presidencia.gub.uy/sic/noticias/archivo/2003/abril/informe_final.doc.
- vi. Please see also EAAF’s 2001 Annual Report, which describes the first series of cases investigated under the Collaborative Agreement, and includes a more detailed account of Uruguay’s military period.
- vii. See Amnesty International Uruguay’s press release on the report, available through their website at www.amnistia.org.uy.
- viii. For more information about the character of present debates, see coverage by the newspapers *El País* and *Brecha* (both Montevideo) from April 9 and 10, 2003, and Amnesty International’s press release “Uruguay: Inacceptable pretender ampliar la impunidad,” at web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ESLAMR520022003
- ix. *ibid.*
- x. Please see the chapter on Argentina in this report.
- xi. A major Clendestine Detention Center, run by the Army within the military compound known as Campo de Mayo, also used this practice. Testimonies about the “Death Flights” were exposed in the junta trials, and again years later, notably by Navy Captain Scilingo (see *The Flight* by Verbitsky, cited above.)
- xii. Please see EAAF’s 2001 Annual Report for background on the discovery of bodies and the role of the Uruguayan *Prefectura*.
- xiii. Please see the introductions to the chapters on Argentina in this report and in EAAF’s 1998 Annual Report.
- xiv. Please see the section on the Avellaneda Cemetery’s Sector 134, described in the chapter on Argentina in this report.
- xv. The family of J.F. has not authorized release of his case material.