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AMBESTY INTERNATIONAL

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PARAGUAY IN THE SEVENTIES

A BACKGROUND PAPER

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OCTOBER 1971

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NTRODUCTION

The report before you is the result of two years Research ride
Paraguay, from September 1969 to September 1971. The author spoke to relate as
of over fifty political prisoners, as well as to leaders of political parties,
lawyers, priests, student leaders and campesines (peasant farmers). It is
indicative of the harsh conditions prevailing in Paraguay that, during the
whole of this period, it was impossible for him to visit personally any police
station where such prisoners are feld, for fear of his own identity being
disclosed. All assistance to and communication with prisoners was therefore
channelled through relatives.

A comparison between the Amnesty Rocert on Prison Conditions in Paraguay, made by Anthony Marrece in 1966, and the pubsent the six years later reveals a striking similarity in prison conditions. The majority of the political prisoners mentioned in the earlier report are still detained, and there has been no improvement at all in the conditions under which they are held.

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THE PARAGUAYAN ECONOMY

Paraguay is a low, flat; landlesked country, nearly twice the size of Great Britain, situated strategically in the centre of South America, and surrounded by Brazil, Ar entina and Bolivia. It, population is 2.4 million (1) and the population growth rate is 3.2% pa. (2). The country is divided basically into two regions by the River Paraguay: the arid Chaco to the West with 60% of the land surface and 4% of the population, and the fortile Eastern area with 40% of the land surface and 96% of the population. Asuncion, the capital and only large urban area, lies on the banks of the River Paraguay, and has a population of nearly 500,000 (3).

Paraguay is the peoplet constry in Freth America. Official income per head is 236 dollars p. 4.(4). However the figure for the agricultural sector, in which 70% of the population is anyclved, is only 81 dollars per head in 1970 (5). The average annual growth rate of income per head between 1962 and 1969 was only 1.18% p.a.(6). Some 2.6% of all landsweers own over 75% of all the land in 1968 (7). Although only 2.7% of the total land surface is cultivated, yet 36% of all farmers still have notifies to their land (8). There is no income tax. At least 50% of the budget penditure for 1970 (valued at US dollars 82.8 millions (9)), was spend on military and police expenditure, while only 2% was spend on the Ministry of Agriculture (10). Open and disguised unemployment is rife. The number of cattle less fallen from 5.5 million in 1956 (11) to 4.3 million in 1970 (1) Meat consumption along the campesinos has been drastically reduced as a result.

Paraguay's main exports are meat, hard woods, vegetable oils, tobacco and cotton. The chronic deficit in the balance of payments over the past ten years has been covered by huge (by Paraguayan standards) inflows of U.S. capital. The foreign debt on 30th June, 1970 was valued at 150 million dollars (13).

Outside Asuncion, redical attention is virtually non-existent. Only one in six children receive six years of primary education (14). Piped water and electricity supply are confined to the central zone of Asuncion, a city which still lacks both sewers and traffic lights.

- 1) Statistics published by SENEER, a government malaria erradication programme, for 1970.
- 2) Statistics published by Climit, Paramayan centre for population studies.
- 3) 5. cit. (1).
- 4) Statistics published by the Interemerican Development Bank in their advual survey of Paraguay for 1970.
- 5) Statistic- valished by the S.T.P., government planting agency in their Plan Nacional Sector Agreencement, Asuncion, 1970
- 6) Statistics published by S.P.P. 1. Their Plan Necional 1971-75 Vol. 1 Asuacion 1970.
- 7) Statistica published in Land Patern in Paragray by Pronoisco Oruc Diaz, Asuncion 1970.
- 8) Statistics published in Conso Agr. Proparty ver muestree, asuncton 1971 by the Ministry of Agric device
- 9) Statistics published by the Ministeric d Machenda (Evensury).
- 10) cit (9).
 11) Statistics published in Const Agropogueric 10) to by the Ministry of Agriculture.
- 12)Cp. Cit. (8)
 13)Statistics published by the Departamento do Estudios Foonchicos del Ministerio de Haciendas

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HISTORY

The original inhabitants of Paraguay were the Guerand In the as, a loosely-knit othnic group whose influence extended as far as the Caribbean. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Gueranis had reached the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary agricultural life. Assumeion was founded in 1537 by the conquistadores who came to Paraguay originally in search of gold. They gained control through an alliance and into matriage with the tribes of the banks of the Paraguay River. Asuncion soon became the chief Spanish town in southern South America, and explorers set out from there to found Santa Stuz (Solivia) and Buenes Aires (Argentina), lawer to replace Assumbled as Spain's main centre in the area.

From 1508 until their expulsion in 1967, foreign Jesuits ruled over many of the Guarchis, building an authoritarian acciallan sectiony in their reductions. The failed Commerce kevolution in Associat between 1721 and 1735, marked the first stirrings on the continent against Spanish domination by the native bourgeoists. Independence was eventually achieved in 1811. The threat from Argentina to Paraguayan severeignty forced in Treatle to isolate the country from all outside influences in dictatorial family. The far-sighted successor, Carlos Antonio Lopez, so developed the country's economy that, at his doct in 1862, Paraguay was recognised as a major Latin American power. She had her own telegraph and railway system under construction, a state menopoly of exports of primary products, foreign. The hospital assistance in shipbuilding and in the construction of an iron foundry and a strong foreign recorve position.

As the only country in South America pursuing an autonomous development policy outside the grass of ninoteenth century British imperialism, Paraguay was soon forced into the hopeless War of the Triple. Thes in the area - Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. The results of defeat were disasterous for Paraguay. Territory was ceded to Argentina and Brazil, the male population was cut from 200,000 to only 28,000, and former state lands were sold off to British capitalists at give-away prices. A period of amerchy followed, under the rule of the two parties of the ruling class (Liberal and Colorado) which emerged after 1870. In 1932, the struggle between standard (it and Royal Dutch over the Chaco oil reserves forced Paraguay and Bolivia into a futile war. Paraguay won the war

and gained the cil-bearing rands at the Andean foothills at the expense of 30,000 dead. However, these lands were later sold back to Bolivia (and Standard Oil) by her corrupt negotiators at the Peace Conference.

A post-war populist coup by the Pebroristas soon fizzled out, to be followed by the pro-Nazi Morinigo distatorship during the Second World War. In 1947, following a year of unprosedented political freedom, a return to authoritarian rule was encured by the victory of the Colorado Party over a coalition of Liberals, Febroristas and Communists in a civil war. A succession of Colorado Presidente followed, until 1954, when Stroessner's coup reversed for the first time the traditional subjection of military to civilian power throughout Pranguayan history.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The two traditional parties are the Colorado and Liberal Parties. Neither of them profess to have any sort of political programme, but both are idealogically laissez-faire, representing the anterests of the small upper class of Asuncion, and maintaining the support of the campesino masses and small werking class (who together form 90% of the population) through a widespread national organization of lecal caudillos (charismatic leaders). Colorado party membership among the middle class (8% of the population) is strengthened by the fact that all public employees, including teachers and state doctors, are obliged to become party members. The Christian Democrat and Februarista Parties (described below) get their support from a sector of the urban middle classes. There is no autonomous body representing the interests of the working class and campesinos. The organisations nearest to deing this are the Confederacion Cristiana de Trabajadores (C.C.T.) and the Ligas Agrarias Cristlanas (L.A.C.). These are the very first groupings of composinos and workers who have shaken off their traditional attachment to one of the two traditional political parties.

The Colorado Party

President Stroessner, who was born in 1912, of German descent, came to power in 1954, backed by the malitary, and with the support of a group of high-ranking Colorados, including Tomas Romero and Sapema Pastor. A period of consolidation of military power followed, until 1958, when the main dissident body in the Colorado party was empelled or implisoned, and the party was finally converted into a foll of the ruling military elite. The dissident group of Colorados formed the core around which the Movimiento Popular Colorado (MOPOCO) was formed in exile in opposition to Stroessner.

Since 1954, Stroessner has ruled the country with absolute power derived from Article 52 of the 1940 Constitution (now Article 79 of the 1967 Constitution) which enables him to declare a state of imergency and the suspension of habeas corpus. In 1958, he was re-elected to the Presidency in an election in which he was the only candidate. In 1963, he was again re-elected, in contravention of the 1940 Constitution. In 1967, the Constitution was changed in order to allow him to stand again as a presidential candidate. He was re-elected in an election in which the opposition Liberal Party was denied liberty of assembly and denied access to press and radio coverage, and in which the previous enrolment of Liberal Party members on the electoral register was severely restricted. In mid-1971, Stroessner wis proposed as Colorado Party presidential candidate for the 1973 presidential election.

The Liberal Party

After Stroessner came to power, the Liberal Party remained 'underground' from 1954 to 1962. During this time, the loosening of the traditional links binding the mass of Liberal campesinos to the Party elite in Asuncion led to the fear of widespread Communist agitation among dispatisfied campesinos. The U.S. government persuaded Stroessner to create a democratic facade for the 1963 elections, so as to re-integrate the opposition masses into the traditional party system. A group of the Liberal Party (called the Levik, after their leader, Dr. Carlos Levi Ruffinelli) were persuaded to take part in the election, and were offered twenty out of a total of sixty seats in Parliament, irrespective of the vote cast, in addition to high salaries and tax-free imported cars.

Although the main body of the party at first refused to participate in this 'agreement', by 1966, they had changed their minds, and subsequently contested the 1968 presidential election under the same conditions as in 1963, under the name of the 'Liberal Radical' Party. They are now represented in Parliament.

The Febrerista Party

The Febrerista Party was formed initially because of social discontent following the Chaco War (see history section). Although internally divided today, in terms of generations its broad idealogical orientation is similar to that of the West German Social Democrat Party, from which it receives assistance.

The Christian Democrat Party

The Christian Democrat Party was founded in 1960, but has still not received legal recognition - for which a petition signed by 10.000 party members is required. The right to publish a newspaper and to broadcast on the radio has also been refused. In December 1969, five leading members of the party, all of them Paraguayan citizens, were expelled from the country. One of them, a young lawyer named Geronimo Irala Burgos, is ex-President of the party and Vice-President of the Commission for the Defence of Human Rights in Paraguay. Only two of the five have since been allowed to return; and Dr Irala Burgos is now Professor at the Central University of Caracas in Venezuela. On July 3rd this year, the party's bi-annual convention attended by 150 delegates in Asuncion, was suspended following police intervention. Dr. Miguel Angel Bestard, Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Interior, told party leaders that the convention could not be held because permission had not been requested from the Ministry. However, permission itself could not be requested, since the party did not legally exist.

The Socialist Party

In Septmber of this year, a goup of dissidents from the Febrerista, Liberal Radical and Christian Democrat Parties joined together and founded the Paraguayan Socialist Movement. It is too early to say anything about this new party.

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THE COMMUNIST PARLY

The Communist Party of Paraguay was founded in 1928, but only got under way during the Chaco War, when it organised passive resistance to the war, which it denounced as an imperialist struggle over the oil resources of the Chaco between Standard and Reyal Dutch. In 1934, Obdulio Barthe and Oscar Credyt were elected leaders of the party. Between the end of the Chaco War in 1935 and the revolution of 1947, the Partido Comunista Paraguaya (P.C.P.) grew in strength. In 1943, the first issue of its newspaper, Adelante, was published under the editorship of Alfredo Alcerta. Between August 1946 and January 1947, the P.C.P. was legalised for the only time in Paraguyan history, apart from the first two weeks of the Febrerista Party's rule in 1937. During this short space of time, P.C.P. grew to 10,000 members. After the defeat in the 1947 revolution, the party ranks were reduced, but a slow yet steady progress began again.

In 1953, Oscar Credyt became Secretary General of the Party, a post he held until his dismissal by the party in 1965. In the fifties and early sixties, the P.C.P. was infiltrated by police spies, which led to a virtual destruction of the party as an effective political force. Months before the General Strike of 1958, three of the P.C.P's most important leaders were arrested (Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta). They are still in prison, and are the oldest political prisoners in South America. The strike itself was a failure, and was severely repressed.

In 1959, under the order of Credyt, a hastily organised guerrilla movement was created in the wake of the Cuban experience. It was called Fronte Unida de Liberacion Nacional (F.U.Lin.A.). None of the 52 guerrillas of the Ytororo brigade who crossed the border from Argentina on August 6th 1960, escaped alive. The Paraguayan authorities appear to have had prior knowledge of the time and place of the crossing. An indigenous campesino guerrilla grouping called Columna Mariscal Lopez, which occupied the town of Eusebio Ayala in May 1960, was infiltrated and had to be disbanded. In June 8th 1963, Wilfredo Alvarez, an important party leader, whose whereabouts were betrayed to the police, was killed in a house in Asuncion.

In 1967, Credyt was expelled from the F.C.P., and accused of being a traitor. It would seem however that he was used as a scapegoat for the ill-fortune of the party. Since then, the party has been reorganised and the independent policies of Credyt's time have been replaced by strict adherence to Moscow. In 1968, Credyt suddenly declared himself a pro-Pekin Communist, and has since established his own Chinese-style party in Montevideo.

Radio Moscow and Radio Havana broadcast daily to Paraguay in Guarani, the Indian language spoken by the vast majority of the population. Their programmes are widely listened to. Their well-informed and immediate comment on events within the country suggest at least some sort of internal organisation for collecting and transmitting information.

6.

UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN PARAGUAY

President Stroessner is regarded as the United States best friend in South America, and its most vociferous anti-Communist ally. Paraguay is strategically situated in the geo-political centre of the continent - Santiago, Buenos Aires, La Paz, Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo are all almost equidistant from Paraguay.

Paraguay received over 146 million dollars of aid from the United States till 1970 (1). In 1971, military aid to Paraguay totalled some 400,000 dollars (2). Over 1,000 Paraguayan military personnel have been trained in the U.S.A. and the Canal Zone military schools. Stroessner has signed the 'Selden Resolution', which authorizes the unilateral military intervention by U.S. troops on Paraguyan soil in the case of American interests being endangered in a confrontation with Communism'. There is at present a twenty-man U.S. military team working in Paraguay, and the entire country is being mapped by separate U.S. airforce helicopter crews. Although to date there has been no official public safety aid programme in Paraguay, yet it is well known that certain U.S. Embassy and A.I.D. officials work in close conjunction with the Paraguayan police.

During his visit to Washington in March 1968, President Stroessner offered to send Paraguayan troops to Vietnam. Paraguay was in fact the first country to send support troops to back the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. President Stroessner, at the time of his Washington visit, was quoted in the U.S. press as saying that he considered the U.S. Ambassador a member of his cabinet.

The main U.S. private investment in Paraguay is in cattle ranching for export. In 1970, two U.S. oil companies signed an agreement with the Paraguayan Government, which granted them full exploration and exploitation rights for oil in the northern part of the Chaco, with a government royalty on production of only 17%, one of the lowest in the world.

In April 1970, a new 11,000 foot runway was completed at the 'President Stroessner' airport near Asuncion, financed by a 5 million dollar soft loan from the U.S.A. On May 13th of this year, a Lockheed Galaxy C5, the largest plane in the world, touched down there after a ten-and-a-half hour direct demonstration flight from Altis airbase in Oklahoma. Meanwhile, in the heart of the Chaco, near Pozo Colorado, another giant runway is being built under U.S. supervision. In Capiata, near Asuncion, a huge new Military School is nearing completion, financed by a U.S. loan.

- (1) United States Aid to Paraguay U.S. Embassy, Asuncion, Paraguay, 1971.
- (2) Statistics published by Senator Proxmire in Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1971.

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OPPOSITION OUTSIDE PARAGUAY

There are about 800,000 Paraguayans living in exile, more than one third of the present population. Most of them are living in the slums of Buenos Aires, called <u>Villas Miserias</u>, as well as in the border towns of Posadas, Resistencia and Corrientes in Argentina. Increasingly, however, Paraguayans are emigrating to Brazil.

The main opposition party in exile is a dissident branch of the ruling Colorado Party - the Movimiento Popular Colorado (M.O.P.O.C.O.). Many of its members fled into exile soon after Stroessner came to power in 1954. Another wave of exiles followed after the General Strike of 1958, when the Confederacion Paraguaya de Trabajadores (C.P.T.P.) was turned into a political tool of the Government.

M.O.P.O.C.O. is fraught with internal dissension between right and leftwingers, and is infiltrated with Paraguayan government spies and C.I.A. agents. Its two branches are situated in Buenos Aires (main leaders, Mendez Fleitas and Osvaldo Chaves, newspaper called Firmeza) and Montevideo (main leader, Mario Mallorquin, newspaper called Patria Libre). The basic division within its membership is between those who want to overthrow Stroessner yet want to replace the existing system, and see Stroussner merely as a figurehead. Most of the gaunger anabore field into the letter outegory, and the older members into the former.

When Stroessner visited Argentina recently, houses of M.C.P.O.C.O. leaders in Buenos Aires were searched, and many were imprisoned. Its leaders have been under constant surveillance by the Argentinian authorities ever since the military take-over in Argentina. M.O.P.O.C.O. still has contacts in very high places in Paraguay, and it is generally acknowledged that Stroessner regards their activities as a far greater threat than that from the Paraguayan Communist Party.

There is an exiled group of the Liberal Party, based in Montevideo (whose chief is Carlos Pastore), in addition to the two branches of the Communist Party (discussed above).

Opposition movements outside the country are badly organised, have little information about what is going on inside the country among the campesino masses, and lack security precautions.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PARAGUAY

In marked contrast to surrounding countries, where the Catholic Church is internally divided on the issue of its own role in social reform, in Paraguay, the Church has, since the end of 1968, presented a united opposition to President' Stroessner's regime. Bishops and clergy alike continually condemn the inhuman conditions under which political prisoners are kept, and, in March and April 1969, special prayers and masses were said throughout the country on their behalf.

On October 22nd 1969, following the expulsion of P. Francisco Oliva, a Spanish Jesuit and university teacher in Asuncion who had attacked Stroessner's indifference to the plight of the campesinos and the situation of the political prisoners from both the pulpit and on the radio, a silent protest march was held around the Catholic University Church. The march was brutally repressed by police, fire-brigade and armed civilians - public employees in the State Water (CORPOSANA) and Electricity (ANDE) Board, who were threatened with expulsion from their jobs if they did not participate in the repression. The beating of aged priests and nuns and the violation of Church property led to the excommunication of the Chief of Police, General Francisco Britez, and the Minister of the Interior, Sabino Montanaro, and the suspension of mass throughout Paraguay.

Throughout 1970, following the government ban on publication of the Church weekly, Comunidad newspaper, Church publications distributed at Church services continued to attack Stroessner's regime. One such document is reproduced in Appendix C. The Church has effectively become the only place in Paraguay where opposition to Stroessner's government is publicly expressed. In retaliation, the government warned campesinos through radio and party meetings that 'many priests are Communists in disguise'. A Catholic Relief Service, called CARITAS, which distributed over two and a half million dollars of aid from the U.S. bishops to the poverty-stricken campesinos was banned, following government allegations that its funds were being used to foment revolution against Stroessner. In February of this year, the Monzon Affair (described below) brought Church-State relations to their lowest ebb ever, and Archbishop Rolon

became the first need of the law unyour omarch to relate to deema rectange of the Consejo de Estado (Council of State).

Paradoxically, although relations are ond, yet the Cauch is abill the only effective channel for achieving even minor improvements in the treatment of political prisoners. A phone-call from a Pinhon to a high-ranking official is still the most effective way of getting a dangerously ill prisoner transferred to the police hospital.

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THE TRADE UNIONS

The first trade union was founded in Paraguay in 1896, and the first strike took place in 1936. On August 27th 1958, the Confederacion Paraguaya de Trabajadores (the National Trade Union Organisation) held a general strike, following Stroessner's refusal to accept a 29% wage increase. The strike was severely repressed, and several of its leaders are still detained, for instance, Antonio Maidana and Alfredo Alcorta. A new executive committee of the C.P.T. was subsequently appointed by the government. Since then, the C.P.T. has functioned as a tool of the government. Strikes have since become unknown in Paraguay. The C.P.T. currently has 120 trade unions affiliated, with some 22,000 members.

In 1971, the C.P.T. became affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, whose headquarters are in Belgium, through its regional representative for Latin America, ORIT, whose base is in Mexico. Previously, ICFTU-ORIT had been represented by the C.P.T. in exile. Despite the blatant disrespect in Paraguay for the rights of Trade Unions, in August of this year, El Instituto American para el desarrollo del sindicalismo libre, an AFL-CIO sponsored organization in Latin America and based in Washington, sent Sr. Jesus Artigas, a naturalised North American citizen, to Paraguay in order to work in conjunction with the C.P.T. in the field of trade union education.

The Confederacion Cristiana de Trabajadores (C.C.T.), a Christian Trade Union Organisation, dates from 1962 and comprises both urban trade unions and some 26 of the ligas agrarias, the rural campesino co-operatives, with a total membership of some 3000. The C.C.T. is affiliated with the Confederacion Latinamericano do Sindicalismo Cristiano (CLASC), the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, and is also affiliated with the Confederacion Mondial de Trabajadores (C.M.T.), the World Labour Organisation.

Although the C.C.T. has complied with all the requirements of Law 729 of the Codigo de Trabajo, the Labour Code, which regulates the establishment of Trade Unions, it continues to be denied legal status, and its members continue to be persecuted by the authorities. On March 7th of this year, Efigenio Fernandez, the Secretary General of the C.C.T., was arrested in Carayao during a meeting with members of a liga agraria. He was beaten up and brought to Asuncion, where he was held in the Oficina tecnica of the Ministry of the Interior, in a filthy, damp cell infested with cockroaches and measuring 10 metres by 6 metres, together with seven other political prisoners. He was released after over a month's detention.

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THE LIGAS AGRARIAS

A grass-r oto co-op rative revenent continue of resemble up bout 80% of the population was started in the early sixties, originally under the inspiration of the Catholic Church and accion Catolica. The leadership of these Christian-inspired groups has increasingly become independent of the Church hierarchy.

Although these <u>ligas agrarias</u> incorporate a small minority of the population, they are heavily persecuted by the government under the blanket label of 'Communism'. In fact, the authorities fear that they are a cover for Christian Democrat Party activity among the <u>campesinos</u>. Really they are composed of members of all parties.

Every village in Paraguay is under a three-pronged authority structure - the police chief, the local leader of the ruling Colorado Party and the Mayor; all are appointments made from Asuncion. There is also a military garrison in every village, which is attached to the police station.

For this reason, meetings of the <u>ligas agrarias</u> often take place at night and in secret; although in areas like Quindy, Concepcion and San Juan Bautista, where they are strong, this precaution is no longer necessary. Government repression of the <u>ligas agrarias</u> takes the form of arresting local leaders, although sit-down strikes by large numbers of campesino members outside the local police station has often secured their release in some areas. The heaviest repression in recent times against the <u>ligas agrarias</u> took place around the tewn of Coronel Oviedo in May 1970, when U.S.-trained Major Boson Pinanez and Cpt. Apuril led an army regiment in a round-up of over 200 families, who were taken off to military installations, where they received lectures on 'the dangers of Communism'.

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THE PRESS

There are three daily newspapers in Asuncion. Two of these, La Tribuna (27,000) and ABC Color (32,000) are independently owned, but refrain completely from political comment. There is also an official daily, La Patria, which is paid for by a compulsory deduction from the salaries of all public employees. There are four weekly newspapers, of which one, El Colorado, is official. The others are El Radical, organ of the Liberal Radical Party, and the most widely read of the four. It confines its criticism of the government to a superficial and diffuse level. This is true to an even greater extent of El Enano, organ of the old Liberals, and Politica 73, organ of the Levi Liberals. El Pueblo, organ of the Febrerista Party, which took a more positive left-wing stance, was closed down in March of this year.

The most important and widely read opposition newspaper, however, was the weekly Comunidad, published by the Jesuits. Until its closure by the government in October 1969, it was the only effective mouthpiece of the opposition, and its circulation reached 5,000. It represented a thorough, critical analysis of the existing political and social structure. Its closure was the best indication of its success, coming immediately after an article in praise of the so-called 'revolutionary' military government of Valasco in Peru, which Stroessner interpreted as an attempt to incite insubordination within the ranks of the Paraguayan armed forces.

The continued existence of opposition weeklies, such as El Radical and Politica 73 give a false impression of press liberty within Paraguay. It must be borne in mind that their circulation is very small, and that their criticism of the

present government is only indirect. They would never, for instance, dare to name the generals who run the multi-million contraband trade in drugs, whicky and digarettes, nor to name those who control the torture of Paraguyan citizens. In brief, the opposition press in Paraguay has the liberty to denounce the existence of injustice, but lacks the liberty directly to attribute responsibility for this injustice. In July of this year, an attempt by El Radicalto publish the names of military chiefs behind the smuggling of heroin from Paraguay to the United States resulted in the seizure of the edition by the police, following which the Chief of Police, General Britez, threatened its editor, Juan Carlos Zaldiver, with death if he ever tried to do it again. At the same time, the one weekly half-hour Liberal Radical radio programme, in which Sra. Lara Castro constantly denounced the situation of political prisoners, was suspended.

For the reasons outlined above, most information that people in Asuncion obtain about what is going on in the higher circles of the ruling military elite, or in the interior among the campesinos, comes from word of mouth rumour or from the availabitity of the occasional article about Paraguay in foreign newspapers which escape the ban on 'subversive' foreign literature. It is often said in Paraguay that 'people outside the country know more about what is happening inside than the people inside do themselves.'

Paraguay remains one of the least known countries in the world. There is no doubt that Paraguay's image in the outside world is very important to President Stroessner, and efforts are made to ensure that Paraguay does not become a 'talking-point' in the world press like Haiti. For this reason, all the foreign press agencies working in Paraguay are controlled by men who are either high-ranking Colorados or personal friends of President Stroessner: Reuters (N. Rojas), EFE (Atilio Fernandez), France Presse (Caceres Almada). When information of a prejudicial nature to the government is sent by telex, the state communications organisation (ANTELCO) morely refuses to transmit it.

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THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN PARAGUAY

The legal system in Paraguay is strongly influenced by the ruling Colorado Party. The head of the Supreme Court, Dr. Morales, and three of its six members, are active leaders of the Colorado Party. It is accepted that lawyers must join the Colorado Party if they wish to practice their profession with any success.

Almost all the writs presented to the Supreme Court seeking habeas corpus for political prisoners remain unanswered. In fact, only two political prisoners in Paraguay have ever been tried. Antonio Maidana was arrested on August 12th, 1958, and was sentenced to two years nine months imprisonment under law 294, 'In Defence of Democracy'. In October 1961, Judge Dr. Tomas Garbarino ordered his release on completion of sentence. He was not released, and has been in the same cell in the 'third' police station ever since. Alfredo Alcorta was arrested on 15th November 1958, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment under the same law. His fate was similar to that of Antonio Maidana.

According to the authorities, the suspension of human rights in this fashion is upheld by Article 79 of the 1967 Consitution, which states that when a 'state of emergency' is in force, citizens may be detained under the personal order of the President of the Republic. This is interpreted as overriding Article 59, which states that citizens may not be detained for longer than 48 hours without being charged. It is therefore accepted in Paraguay that the decisions on the fate of political prisoners lie exclusively with President Stroessner.

On 19th March of this year, during an interview with a visiting delegation of Chilean parliamentarians and trade unionists, who had come to Paraguay in order to flead for political prisoners and to offer asylum in Chile, Toreign Minister, Sapena Pastor, stated bluntly that 'political prisoners do not exist in Paraguay'. He dismissed the prisoners detained in the various police stations of Asuncion as 'common delinquents who have placed bombs or killed people.' When asked why they had not been tried if it was the case that they were merely common delinquents, Sapena Pastor stated that this was because 'the various political parties and interested bodies had not taken an interest in their plight.'

In fact, as far back as April 27th 1962, the Human Rights Committee of the Organisation of American States asked the Paraguayan government for permission to visit the country in order to investigate accusations of infringements of the Human Rights Charter, which has been signed by Paraguay. Permission was not granted, but the O.A.S. has not pursued the matter since. Their behaviour in this respect has led to widespread criticism of the O.A.S. as an ineffective body within Paraguyan circles.

The latest of a long list of repressive laws was passed by Parliament on 10th September 1970. It is called 'The Law for the Defence of the Public Peace and Liberty of Persons.' Its text is reproduced in Appendix B. The law provoked an immediate reaction from the Catholic Church. It should however be pointed out that these laws serve a purely superficial function. It is highly unlikely that anybody will actually be tried under this new law.

Similarly, the fact that a state of emergency has been in force ever since President Stroessner came to power in 1954 in the capital and three Departments of the country is rather misleading, as, in practice, the lack of human rights applies equally to the rest of the country, where, in theory, there is no such state of emergency. The state of emergency itself is renewed every 90 days, and is officially justified by a supposed Communist threat.

13.

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POLITICAL PRISONERS IN PARAGUAY

There are at least 150 long-term political prisoners detained without trial in Paraguay, on twenty five of whom Amnesty International has detailed case histories, and on another ninety, basic information. The vast majority of these 150 political prisoners (of whom at least ten are women) must be classified as non-violent 'prisoners of conscience'. Anyone suspected of involvement in acts of violence against Stroessner's regime usually disappear. For this reason, it is very rare to find 'guerrillas' among the political prisoners detained in Paraguay. Another factor which leads one to believe that very few of the political prisoners are in fact 'guerrillas' is that the authorities never publicise details of the 'violent acts' which these prisoners are said to have committed. If these 'violent acts' really happened, one would have expected the government to have made political capital from their publication.

Most of the political prisoners in Paraguay are of campesino or working class social origin. The extensive system of corruption and mutual friendships within the ruling elite ensures that political 'pponents of Stroessner who have a high social status do not remain in prison for a long time, but are usually sent into exile or put under house arrest. Three of the political prisoners (Antonio Maidand, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta) have been detained for over thirteen years, most of the time in the same tiny cell.

In addition to the above-mentioned political prisoners, there is a fluctuating number of short-term prisoners, averaging about 100 at any given time. This is the result of the almost daily arbitrary arrest, torture and release of Paraguayan citizens ever since Stroemener came to power in 1954.

It is unusual in Paraguay to meet a family, of any political persuasion, at least one of whose members, whether in the governing party or in the opposition, has not been detained by Stroessner's police at some time or other.

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14.

PRISON CONDITIONS IN FARAGUAY

Political prisoners are held in groups of between five and fifteen in small and overcrowded cells in numerous police stations, called comisarias, throughout Asuncion and its suburbs. Tin cans are used for ablutions; lights are kept on all night, and, in most cases, outside exercise is completely prohibited. For this reason, the only time that most prisoners leave their cells is when they receive a visit. Such visits are, however, restricted to parents, wives and children under eighteen, and normally last for five minutes once a week. Visits are now staggered so that relatives of different prisoners in the same cell do not meet each other when entering or leaving the police station. The conversation during the visit is held in the presence of armed guards, and the topics of conversation are expressly restricted to family matters. In most police stations, prisoners are forbidden to receive literature, and in none of the police stations can they receive letters. In many, the practice of chaining prisoners by the ankles to a rail-bar is still a common form of punishment.

In the sweltering heat of Asuncion's summer, temperatures inside the cells reach 40 degrees centigrade. In the short but cold winter, the prisoners receive no special clothing from the authorities, and are as usual completely dependent upon gifts of blankets and vitamins from relatives. Medical attention is prohibited, but in an emergency, such as a prolonged hunger strike, or in the case of imminent death, prisoners have been transferred to the police hospital, Policlinico Rigoberto Caballero, which is situated nextdoor to the United States Embassy. Priests are not allowed to visit political prisoners, and even the Archbishop of Asuncion, Mons. Ismael Rolon, has been refused.

Prisoners sleep on mattresses on the stone floor. In very crowded cells, they arrange a rota system for standing awake at night, due to the lack of floor space for sleeping. All personal belongings are hung from the ceiling at right in order to maximise floor space. The miserable food supplied to prisoners is the most common complaint in letters smuggled out of the cells. There is no food allocation for political prisoners as such. The local police station authorities therefore feed them on watery soup, hard biscuits and beans. For this reason, aid to prisoners in the form of a steady supply of food is important. Relatives are allowed to bring food to prisoners during the weekly visits - usually, they bring sugar, bread, fruit and verba mate, a national beverage.

The very few prisoners with more wealthy relatives receive food daily from outside. The majority of prisoners, however, with relatives either too poor or too distant to be able to visit them with any regularity, are completelely dependent on the goodwill of fellow-prisoners who are better off than they in terms of food supply.

The variation of conditions from police station to police station reflects the arbitrary nature of imprisonment in Paraguay. The local police chiefs enforce the harshest conditions possible, since they are aware that they each bear full responsibility in the event of a prisoner escaping from their police station.

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THE OPGANISATION OF REPRESSION IN PARAGUAY

(The information contained in this section is based on interviews with over fifty Paraguayans who have been detained during the past two years).

The Paraguayan armed forces total some 20,200 men, in addition to which there are another 8,500 paramilitary security forces. The police force itself is a paramilitary body, and its chief is an army general called Francisco Britez. The Ministry of the Interior is headed by a civilian called Sabino Augusto, who receives orders direct from the ruling military elite.

The system of civil repression is centred on the Investigation Department, Department ode Investigaciones, of the Ministry of the Interior, which is housed in a building opposite the Parliament in the city centre. It is here that most newly arrested people are brought. Questioning is followed by beating with sticks in order to extract false confessions. The two floors and cellars of this building are divided into many small cells called calabozos where some long-term military political prisoners are also detained. The prolonged beating for periods of up to two hours non-stop with whips and sticks, burning of sensitive parts of the body with cigarettes, and the removal of fingernails are all common forms of torture used.

More brutal forms of torture take place one block away in the building occupied by the Departamento de Delitors y Vigilancia (Department of Crimes and Vigilance). Here, the torture consists of applying electric shock treatment to sensitive parts of the body with a prod-like instrument called a picana electrica. The most brutal form of torture employed here is called la pileta, which means 'the bath'. This takes place in a small room on the ground floor of the building. The radio is turned on full, and, in daytime, traffic is diverted in the street outside so that the prisoner's screams cannot be heard. The prisoner's hands are tied behind his back. He is then made to sit on the edge of an iron bath containing water filled with filth and excrement. He is punched heavily in the stomach in order to wind him, whilst other guards raise his feet above the ground, and his head is then forced backwards and down under the water. He is held under until near drowned, and forced to swallow the filthy water. His head is then removed from the water, and he is punched hard on the stomach again until he vomits the liquid back into the bath. His head is then replaced in the bath, after more punching, and the process is repeated several times. In the opinion of several people who have received this treatment five such immersions are beyond the limits of human endurance. This form of to ture has resulted in many deaths over the past five years. During 1969, there was one documented case, the Farias case (see below), and in 1970, there was one documented case of attempted suicide as a result of this torture, that of a prisoner called miglionico, of Uruguayan nationality. In 1971, in the Monzon case (see below) there was a well documented example of the use of this form of torture.

During there torture sessions, on the basis of the reports of people who have been tortured, the following high-ranking Paraguayan generals attend - Generals Caceres, Alborno, Martinez, Johannsen, Britez and Colman (all in civilian dress). In addition, a constant spectator at these essions is Humberto Dominguez Dib, the 25-year-old son-in-law of President Stroessner. A police doctor called Francisco Gomez de la Fuente, employed at the police hospital also attends these sessions.

It would seem that with the exception of Patrick Contric, a former SS man, and with the possible exception of Josef Mengele in an advisory capacity, Nazis are no longer actively engaged in the Paraguayan system of internal repression. The chiefs of the torture teams who actually carry out the torture on the orders of the above-mentioned army generals, are Raimundi, Budi Hellman, Erasmo Candia, Victor Martinez, Augusto Moreno and Comisario Lovera (who recently graduated as a Doctor in law at the Catholic University). Their teams are composed of certain

mentally deficient and sexually disturbed employees of the Ministry of the Interior, of whom the most famous are Hipolito Santacruz and Juan Carlos Hermosa.

Two other institutions are used by the ruling military elite as part of its system of civil repression. The Departamento Tecnico (Technical Department) of the Ministry of the Interior effectively functions as an autonomous body apart from the Ministry itself. From its building in the city centre in Chile and Jejuy Street all espionag work against political opponents, both within and outside the country, is carried out under the label of 'the repression of Communism'. The two chiefs are Dr Antonio Campos Alum, an expert in the use of psychological torture who spent several years in the United States at the International Police Academy in Washington, and Budi Hellman, a Paragueyan of German extraction who is especially foured for his brutal repression of workers at the San Antonio meat plant, owned by the International Froducts Corporation of New Jersey. These two men, together with Dr Higuel angel Bestard, assistant cecretary of the Ministry of the Interior, control the vital system of communications between the political section of the United States Embassy in Asuncion and the ruling military elite. All information about political prisoners in Paraguay is forwarded to the C.I.A. via this office. For this reason, the oftrepeated claim by the U.S. Embassy officials in Paraguay to the effect that they are ignorant of the existence of political prisoners in Paraguay seems doubtful.

The final branch of the system of repression used by the military elite is the amorphous collection of pyragues (secret police), maintained by the state via the Ministry of the Interior. Their numbers are hard to gauge accurately and have in the past been greatly exaggerated. They can be divided into three main types. Firstly, there is a full-time staff in civilian dress and issued with special James Bond-type identity cards which grant them superior status over the police. They number about 300. Secondly, there is a part-time staff of information gatherers (public employees, students, taxi-drivers, hotel staff and prostitutes) who are paid only by results, numbering at least 2000. Thirdly, there is a small group of about 100 poor people working in the city centre as streetvendors, bootblocks, newspaper sellers, and small-time contrabandistas, whose only reward for their services appears to be the free daily meal which they receive from the Ministry. The headquarters of the secret police is a building opposite the U.S. Embassy behind the Police Hospital Rigoberto Caballero in Ivenida Kubischok. The chief of the secret police, which is under the direct control of President Stroessner, is called Erasmo Candia.

Telephone tapping occurs widely in Asuncion. It is carried out from the Vigilancia Civil y Policial Department of the main state telephone service (ANTELCO) in General Brugez and M. Dominguez Street in Asuncion. over 60% of the 1,200 (1968) employees of ANTELCO are part-time police. Tapping is carried out by a modern system of 12-track cassette-type recording machines installed by a team from Siemens in 1965, and it is considered to be the most modern system of its kind in Latin America today.

Viewed as a whole, the security system of Stroessner's regime must be considered a clumsy and unsophisticated one from an organisational and technical point of view, when compared with that of neighbouring Brazil. Yet it must be recognised that such a system is most efficient in a country like Paraguay with its history of dictatorship, low educational level and small-town atmosphere, where rumours spread like wildfire. By employing a technique of mass random arrests of totally innocent people, AND ESPECIALLY THE ARLEST OF RELATIVES OF SUSPECTS, brute torturing and false accusations and confessions, the vast majority of the population is inculcated with fear. The fact that to date there exists in Paraguay neither urban guerrilla warfare nor aeroplane highjacking nor political kidnapping demonstrates the success of the 'Stroessner method' based on fear. It should be pointed out that the penalty for such subversive activities in Paraguay, unlike other South American countries, is instant death.

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DEATHS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN PARAGUAY

The death of political prisoners while in police custody is an all-too common occurrence in Paraguay. It is impossible to be exact about the number of such deaths because the internal operations of the police are still surrounded in secrecy. For example, on August 19th of last year, the newspaper ABC Color announced the arrest of Juan Jose Avila, Salam Ibrahim Nesconi, Horacio Marcos Cano and Dario Alberto Goni. Nothing has been heard of them since. One night in August this year, a man escaped from the Departmento de Investigaciones and climbed on to the roof of an adjacent building in the city centre. According to some witnesses, he shouted: 'I prefer to die rather than to return to the tortures, and then threw himself to his death. Nothing was ever reported in the press, yet eye-witnesses soon made the incident common knowledge in Asuncion the following day.

The following are three well-documented cases of deaths of political prisoners whilst in detention:

JUAN JOSE FARIAS:-

On March 7th 1969, Farias, a thirty-eight-year-old digarette and sweet seller in the streets of Asuncion was arrested and taken to the Departmento de Investigaciones on suspicion of bringing secret messages from Argentina. On 12th March, his body was delivered to his wife by the police following a pronouncement by forensic Doctor Hernan Godoy that he had died of a heart attack. However, a legal autopsy the following day revealed bloated lungs, fractured ribs, blood-clotted nose. He had been beaten with leather or rubber thougs and then subjected to the 'bath' torture, which his body had not withstood. There was no evidence of heart failure. A protest by the opposition Liberal Radical Party elicited no response at all from the government.

JUAN BAUTISTA BENITEZ:-

Benitez, a campesino from Loma Pyta, was arrested at his home in November 1967. He was tortured and then placed in the seventh police station, where he became ill in August 1969. For ten days he remained seated on the floor, as his breathing became weaker, and his body began to swell until he finally died in that position. All pleas for medical attention by his fellow-prisoners were met with the comment: 'Let him die' from the prison guards. His body was returned to his wife and two daughters by the police, who even charged her for the coffin.

CUMERCINDO GAMARRA:-

On February 14th 1968, Gamarra, a campesino from Toledo Canada, Capiata was arrested in a bar in Asuncion with no explanation given. He was taken to the Departamento de Investigaciones, where he was tortured and made to confess to being a Communist, even though he was a member of the ruling Colorado Party. He was then placed in the second police station, where he went on hunger strike in March of this year, to plead his innocence. His death in the police hospital, Rigoberto Caballero, was announced on May 20th, following a 38 day hunger strike. His body was returned to his wife and seven children without a medical certificate or explanation. With it came approximately 23 dollars.

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THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN PARAGUAY

Throughout 1970 and so far this year, only three Paraguayan political prisoners have been released from long-term imprisonment. The nature of their release reflects the arbitrar; system under which they are held, based purely on the whims of the Preside It, and outside any judicial process.

DR LADISLAO PINEIRO:-

Dr Pineiro, a thirty-eight-year-old economist and member of the ruling Colorado Party was arrested on June 21st whilst driving in a street rear his home in Asuncion. He spent most of his imprisonment in the 'seventh' police station and was never tried. He stated:

'There were five prisoners in our cell, which measured 10 feet square. The food provided by the guards was inedible. As I had relatives in Asuncion, I was able to have food brought to me daily. Most of my companions were illiterate carpesinos whose relatives were both too poor and lived too far away to be able to send them food. Most of these prisoners have no idea why they are imprisoned at all.'

It seems that Pineiro was released after repeated requests from an influential relative who was close to the President.

GARCETE ASTERIO ROMAN: -

Roman, a fifty-eight-year-old farmer and member of the Liberal Party was arrested on 2nd July 1962 on the outskirts of Asuncion. Roman had left the country after the Revolution of 1947, but had returned voluntarily from exile in 1960. He spent a year in the notorious Tacumbu prison camp, breaking stones. From there, he was transferred to the top security 'third' police station, where he spent the next seven years. He stated:

If was never allowed to leave the cell in the whole soven years that I was there. There was absolutely no reading material allowed at all. One day, a priest was allowed in, and he left a Bible for us to read. A few days later, when the guards found out, they removed it. Some of my companions, like Antonio Sotomayor, have never had a visit from a relative for years.

Roman was released after his teenage daughter, taking advantage of the President's birthday on 3rd November, when thousands file past the Presidential Palace to shake hands with him, personally asked Stroessner for her father's liberty. On release, Roman was obviously under considerable mental strain.

LIVIO GONZALEZ SANTANDER:-

Santander, a trade union leader, was arrested on July 27th, 1961. On the night of 12th June of this year, following a day of national festivities, Alfredo Stroessner, the twenty-five-year-old son of the President, visited the top security 'third' police station in the city centre. He was drunk, and proceeded to threaten the prisoners, assuring them that they would never leave their cell alive. Yet at the same time it appears that he was shocked by the appalling physical condition of Santander, who was in a state of temporary paralysis from the waist down following an unsuccessful hunger strike which he began on 28th September, 1970, and ended months later when he was forcibly injected with a liquid food scrum in the police hospital Rigoberto Caballero, after he had lost consciousness.

On the day following the visit by Alfredo Stroessner, a woman doctor visited the cell, and he was immediately transferred back to the police hospital, where he received V.I.P. treatment from a team of doctors. When sufficiently recovered to be able to walk, he was released on 12th August and driven by military escort to the home of his aged mother in Asuncion. He had been under arrest for 10 years and 16 days without trial. There is no doubt that he is now a free man beause of a combination of fate and the personal compassion of a very important man.

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TWO RECENT INCIDENTS IN PARAGUAY

The arbitrary infringement of basic human rights by the authorities is a daily occurrence in Paraguay, and anly becomes widely known about when the form it takes is particularly harsh, or when citizens of high social status are affected. For example, Dr Quirno Codas Thompson, a Faraguayan doctor and leading expert on radiology in South America was expelled from his country in his pyjamas last year after criticising deficiencies in the state hospital system at a dinner. In June of this year, Sr. Angel Moglia, together with his family, was given 24 hours' notice to leave his country after attempting to stage Durrenmatt's 'Romulus the Great' at a theatre in Asuncion. This was interpreted by the authorities as an indirect criticism of the moral decadence prevalent within the ruling military elite.

Two well documented examples of the infringement of human rights this year in Paraguay are described below.

THE LOPEZ AFFAIR:

On the night of 3rd December last year, five political prisoners escaped through a tunnel from the seventh police station of Asuncion. They brought with them a letter signed by all the prisoners detained there, which is reproduced in Appendix D. On 13th December, three of them entered the Chilean Embassy in Asuncion and were granted political asylum on 17th December. They were Dr A Goiburu, a MOPOCO leader who had been kidnapped in Argentinian waters on 23rd November, 1969 by Paraguayan police whilst fishing with his son. Capt. Maidana Arias, hero of the Chaco War and military leader, and Cristobel Lopez, an illiterate campesino. The following week, the police occurred Hotel Mara, which broks on to the Embassy. On the night of 2nd January, a young woman was hired to lure one of the three, Cristobel Lopez, on to the Embassy wall, whereupon he was arrested by the police. His 'confession' led to the immediate arrest of the remaining two prisoners still at large. The Chilean Consul in Paraguay lodged a formal protest against what he described as 'kidnapping' and 'a breach of diplomatic immunity'. The two prisoners still in the Embassy were flown to Santiago, but insistent demands by the Chilean authorities that Lopez be returned to the Embassy were not met, and he is still under arrest at the Departamento de Investigaciones.

THE MONZON CASE:-

On 27th February of this year, a Uruguayan priest, P. Uberfil Monzon, disappeared in Asuncion shortly after arriving from Montevideo to take up a new posting in Paraguay. On 2nd March, following insistent enquiries by the Church hierarchy, the authorities admitted that he was being held by the police on suspicion of being linked with the subversive 'Tupamaru' movement of Uruguay. Following international protest against such arbitrary arrest, Mons. Andres Rubio, Auxiliary Bishop of Montevideo, and his secretary were sent to plead for the release of P. Monzon. On their arrival at Asuncion airport on March 8th, eggs and tomatoes were thrown at them by some thirty women police who had been drugged and made drunk then driven to the airport, where, they were told, two foreign subversives were due to arrive. Mons. Rubio was punched, scratched on the face, had his glasses knocked off and his holy cross ripped from his neck.

Monzon was tortured during the first ten days of his detentior, after which he was placed in the police hospital, Rigoberto Caballero, in order to allow time for the more visible marks of torture to be erased. The form of torture was the bath' (described above), in an attempt to make him confess that Bishop Bogarin and Padre Gimenez, editor of the Catholic weekly Comunidad, were subversives. He heard screams which, he was told, came from other priests who were being tortured. He was blindfolded and taken to the edge of the River Paraguay, and told he was going to be drowned unless he confessed. Stones

was beaten up several times during these ten days.

He was finally released and flow to Montevideo on 7th April, where he was immediately interned in a mental hospital, suffering from covere depression. For weeks afterwards, he vowited all food intake - the effects of the 'oath' torture. No charges were pressed against him by the bruguayan authorities on his return. This was despite the full length 'confession' to being a Tupamaru, ostensibly made by Monzon and sublished by the Paraguayan authorities in Asuncion newspapers. In fact, this 'confession' was a word for word transcript taken from a recent interview with a Tupamaru - which was published in 1970 in a book about the Tupamarus. The signature of Monzon appears to have been obtained by the use of drugs, since he has no recollection of ever signing such documents.

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THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN LIGHTS WITHIN PARAGUAY

The only parson repeatedly to denounce in Parliament the situation of political prisoners in Paraguay is Dona Carmen Casco de Lara Castro, a Liberal Radical Representative who organises a weekly food supply to the police station where prisoners are detained. Her status as Member of Parliament has not stopped the authorities from personally attacking her continually on the radio and in the official press. She is President of the Comision de Defense de los Derechos Humanos en el Paraguay, which has unfortunately ceased to function as an effective mobilising force for public opinion ever since its Vice-President, Geronimo Irala Burgos, was expelled from the country in December 1969, and its young Secretary, Sr. Ruiz Arce, imprisoned.

On 10th December 1969, on the anniversary of the signing of the Human Rights Charter (of which the Paraguayan Government is also a signatory), John Fox, Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Paraguay, a U.S. citizen, opposed a planned street distribution of copies of the Human Rights Charter on the grounds that 'it would be interpreted as a political act'. On the same date the following "ear, Sra Lara Castro tried to have copies of a list of all known political prisoners in Paraguay distributed to Representatives and Senators whilst Congress was in session. However, the Speaker of the House, Dr Augusto Zaldivar, ordered all copies to be confiscated before they could be distributed.

One of the firmest upholders of human rights in Paraguay, and a living legend in his country, is Professor Luis Resck, a teacher and member of the Christian Democrat Party and a firm believer in the efficacy of non-violent protest. He is the Headmaster of Colegio Juan XX111, the only secondary school in the whole country especially catering for the needs of the working class. Some measure of Resck's courage can be gained from the fact that he has already been arrested over 90 times for denouncing in the classroom the disrespect of human rights shown by Stroessner's Government. Resck is sterile as a result of one of the multitude of tortures that have been inflicted on him. Now well over fifty, the latest (at the time of writing) imprisonment in July 1971, when he spent three weeks in a tiny cell in the Policia Central, and the effects of the hunger strike which he then undertook to secure his release, have left him in a state of nervous collapse and with a dangerous stomach ulcer shortly after being released. His house is under constant surveillance, spies are sent to record his lectures, yet he continues to teach in over ten different schools weekly, both in Asuncion and the Interior, despite his delicate state of health.

APFENDIX A.

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LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DEFAINED WITHOUT TREAT IN PARACUAY - OCTOBER 1971
 1st Police Station (Estero Dellaco y Ttc. Rodi)
  1. BRITEZ, Rafael (?.?.66)
  2. CABR.L. Pablo .ntonio (?.7.70)
  3. DEMESTRI ESPINOL., Eduardo (3.12.70)
  4. FRETES, Doroteo (?.11.70)
  5. GONZALEZ, Manuel de Jesus (7.11.70)
 6. GONZALEZ C.B.LLERO, Osvaldo (1.7.70)
 7. J.RO C.NTERO, angel (?.7.70)
 8. LEGUIZAMON (12.2.71), Rigoberto (12.2.71)
 9. MEDINA, Hector (2.8.70) Chilorn
10. MONTIEL (3.12.70)
11. R.TTI, Fransisco Antonio (3.12.70)
12. RIVAS, Balbino (21.4.70)
 13. S.M.NIEGO, Julio Cesar (14.8.70)
14. S.MUDIO, Luciano (14.4.70)
 15. SERRANO, Enrique (14.8.70) Argentinian
16. VIELAN ISACI, aparicio (3.12.70)
17. VILL.GR., Victor (3.12.70)
18. VILLAR MONTENEGRO, Virgilio (?.11.70)
2nd Police Station (Hernandarias y Portugal)
19. C.Z.L, Isabel Ortiz de (12.2.65)
20. G.ON., ..mastacia Idolina (4.7.65)
21. GOMEZ, Marta Vda de Rondelli (12.3.68)
22. RECALDE, Oilda de Rivarola (18.5.68)
23. RODAS, Maria Lina (18.5.68)
24. SILV., Maria Saturnina de (?.1.68)
3rd Police Station (Chile y Jejuy)
25. .. COST. .. R. ND., Severo (?.6.64)
26. ..LCORT., ...Lfredo (15.11.58)
27. ASILVER., Nicolas (?.?.66)
28. AVEIRO, Ironco Elioforo (2.9.64)
29. BAEZ, Folipe Vora
30. BENITEZ, Jimenez ...gustin (23.7.64)
31. BRITEZ, Juan Neponucemo (?.1.68)
32. CH.MORRO VERA, de la Crz (?.?.62)
33. FLORENTIN PENA, Heriberto (3.1.71)
34. FLORENTIN PEN., L. RCON, .nibal (3.1.71)
35. LOVER. LEGUIZ.MON, Epifanio (21.6.66)
36. M.ID.N., ..ntonio (12.8.58)
37. M.ID.N. P.L.CIOS, ..nanias (3.6.59)
38. ROJ.S, Julio (19.1.58)
39. SANCHEZ, *** casio (24.11.66)
40. SOTOMAYOR PEREZ, Antonio (?.6.64)
4th Police Station (Independencia Macional y Concordia)
41. B.L. RETO D. V. LOS, Emilio (24.6.65)
42. CENTURION, Cpt. Aurelio (14.5.64)
43. G.ONA, Aurolio
44. G. RCIA, Marcial
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45. GONZILEZ, Eustaquio

46. INS..URRALDE, Pascual Nunez

47. M.RTINEZ GNUS, Reinalde

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48. MORINIGO G.Off.., Juan Silvano (21.4.65)
 49. OMGUML. (?.?.61)
 50. ORTIZ, Gaspar (42.2.65)
 51. SILV., ..lfonso (28.1.68)
 52. V.LDEZ, Filemon (?.?.62)
 53. VERA, Federico (22.7.65)
 Fifth Police Station - no information
Sixth Police Station - no information
Seventh Police Station (Ruta Dusebio ... yala y Morquio)
54. B. REIRO, Ing. Virgilio (10.8.64)
55. BENITEZ, Trifilio (?.?.60)
56. CARDOZA, Antonio (?.?.59)
 57. G.RCETE, Justo .nibal (?.?.64)
 58. GODOY, Andres
59. GONZALEZ, Evanito Antonio (?.?.64)
60. JIMENEZ, Luis (?.6.65)
61. LOPEZ, Andres Garcia (5.3.69)
62. MARTINEZ, Anastacio (?.?.68)
63. MORA, Rogelio (?.1.69)
64. RAMIREZ SANCHEZ, Colixto (?.?.64)
65. R.MIREZ, Herminio (?.6.65)
66. ROHAN, Odon (?.6.65)
67. V.LENZUEL., Cristobal (2.4.63)
68. VILL.GR., Dorlis (17.3.66)
69. VILLAGRA, Marciano (8.3.62)
Eighth Police Station (Republica Francesa y 25 Proyectada) - known as 'Mbocayaty'
70. DOMINGUEZ PEREZ, ..ugusto (?.2.69)
71. FERN.NDEZ M.RECOS, Jose (?.2.67)
72. MERELES PIMANEZ, Aurelio (?.2.67)
73. MORINIGO, ..lipio (?.11.66)
74. RIVERO VEIN.IGO, Podro (?.8.65)
Ninth Police Station (General Santos y R. Rios) - known as 'Las Mercedes'
75. ACOSTA, Dino Tomas (?.7.64)
76. ASILVER., Toresio (14.7.64)
77. AYALA, Bartolome
78. BAREIRO MIERS, ..dolfo (16.5.68)
79. FR.NCO, Santiago (?.?.64)
80. PEDROZZO, Brigido (?.6.65)
81. SINTOS
Police Station 'Villa .urelia' (Castilla Colonial y Denis Roa)
82. CHAMORRO, Ignacio (31.12.59)
83. MOLINAS, Isaac (?.4.64)
84. MORINIGO, Jorge (13.6.60)
85. SOS., Jorge .. polonio (15.4.65)
86. VIVEROS, indres (?.6.67)
Police Station Lucque
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87. G.MON, Efrain Enrique

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AND THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF TH
       88. LOFEZ, Juan Romilio (?.11.64)
      39. Riguind, Famillo (2.1.64)
     Police Station Trimidad
      90. Bigz, Eulalia
       91. GOMELLEE, Marcolina (21.4.71)
       92. GONZILEZ, Modesta vda de Percira (21.4.71)
      93. MUJIC., Rose
       94. REC.IDE, Fetima
    Technical Department of the Ministry of the Interior (Chile & Jejuy)
     95. TORRES, ... Capita Paustine de Quintana (10.3.70)
   Control Police Station (El Paragueyo Independiente, Chile y Nuestra Senora de
                                                                                                                                                                                                         ..suncion)
     96. OV.NDO, Set. (?,?.62)
    97. ORTIGOSA, Cpt. Napoleon (?.?.62)
    Investigations Deportment of the Ministry of the Interior
    98. IK 12, Cristobal
    99. MORell, Buenaventura
   100. USURT.K SISHEN, Jonik Chilean
Prisoners in unknown place of detention
  101. BURGOS, Ricardo
 102. FALCON, Cpt. Cesar
  103. GONZALEZ. Lorenzo
 104. MIERS M.I.DON..DO, Oscar (23.6.69)
 105. REYES, Marciano (?.6.65)
106. S.NT.CRUZ, Territore (?.5.65)
107. SILV. QUINTANA, Alfonso
 108. VILLIGRI, Marcoline
109. Z.IDIV.R, .ristides
                                                                                       ..PPENDIX B.
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TEXT OF THE LAW FOR THE DEFENCE OF PUBLIC PLACE AND LIBERTY OF PERSONS

Passed by the Senate of the Paraguayan Legislature on 10th September 1970, and sent to the President of the Republic for signing.

will be sentenced to juil for one menth to four years, according to the serious-

Article 2:- Whosoever publicly defends a forbidden criminal act of a sentenced person will be sentenced to one month to three years imprisonment.

institutions, or advocates disobedience to laws will be sentenced to one month

Arti : 4:- Whospever publicly preaches hate between Paraguayans or the destruction of social classes will be sentenced to one to six years imprisonment.

designed to commit crime will be sentenced with the charge of being members that organisation, to three to six years imprisonment. The chief or organiser of the organisation will be sentenced to four to eight years imprisonment; the

members of the organisation will be given the same sentence if the organisation is $r_{\rm mad}$.

nticle 6:- Those who plander or falsely accuse the president of the Republic, administrators of the executive or members of the Supreme Court of Justice will, be sentenced to three to aix years imprisonment. In the event of crimes of bodily harm or abune constitted against the above-mentioned, the enalty will be one to three years imprisonment. Judicial action for these crimes can be initiated by the Ministry at the official request of the victims. The Public Prosecutor can act in all judicial proceedings and can represent the victims in courts of settlements.

article 7:- Those who show contempt in public for any of the symbols of the Republic will be sentenced to one to four years imprisonment.

<u>article</u> 8:- Those who commit the following crimes will be sentenced to one to five years imprisonment:-

- 1) those who are sembers of or offiliated to any Communist Party or organisation that proposes violently to destroy the republican and democratic regime of the nation;
- 2) these who knowingly lend any material or economic assistance to further the aims of those mentioned in Part 1;
- 3) those who knowingly lend or rent places to those mentioned in Part 1 to carry out their activities or meetings;
- 4) those with the same objectives who have relations with or receive instructions, gifts or all of whatever kind from foreign governments, organisations or persons, and those who hand but or distribute instructions by whatever means;
- 5) those with the came objectives who introduce, print, maintain, deposit, distribute or sell pamphlets, ungazines, illustrations, newspapers, films or television tapes of the dectrine or system referred to in Part 1 of this article.

article 9:- Whoseever kidnaps, arrests or detains any person or deprives him of his liberty will be semanced to two to three years imprisonment, independently of the senetnce already in Force according to the law.

rticle 10:- The centence cutablished in the foregoing article will be of three years to five year if:

- 1) the crime is committed with the use of violence, intimidation, mistreatment, or if it is carried out on a minor;
- 2) the crime is committed under a false name, title or order of authority;
- 3) the time of detention exceeds eight days;
- 4) it is committed by a public official or by any other person whose job it is to maintain public order;
- 5) it is committed in order to take advantage of the wealth of the detained person;
- 6) it is committed against a public official or person responsibly empowered with the maintenance of public order or against a witness, arbitrator, expert or interpreter so as to impede the exercise of his functions or for similar causes.

article 11:- Thoseever commits offences mentioned in Article 9 of this Law against the President of the Republic will be sentenced to six to twelve years imprisonment. If the cime is committed against administrators of the executive, judiciary or legislature, the sentence will be six to ten years imprisonment.

Article 12:- Whoseever kidneps or deprives of their liberty ambassadors or members of the liplomatic corps, consuls, military attaches or foreign

representatives of international proming tions, will be sentenced to six to

will be sentenced to six to twolve yours imprisonment.

article 14:- Whospever kidness those screens mentioned in articles 11 and 12 of this Law to be held as hostoges or to solicit who tower type of measure from the government or from privite persons will be nutuantically sentenced to the maximum sentence of the Law established is article 12.

Article 15:- The organisers or accomplices of the crimes mentioned in Articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 of this Law will be sentenced with whatever other crimes they have committed under the Penril Code.

years imprisonment. Whosever causes public intimidation or causes bombs or other explosive materials to explode so as to threaten public welfare or order will be sentenced to two to four years imprisonment. The sentences mentioned under this Law will be applied independently of sentences which are passed on code.

Article 17:- The illegal occuration of any building, public or private, by persons who are neither occupants nor proprietors, against the expressed or presumed will of those who have the authority to give it, will be sentenced to six menths to two years imprisonment.

This bill has been signed by the President, Alfredo Stroessner, and is now a

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..PPEMDIX C.

DECL.R.TION OF THE PARAGULY.N

1. We, Bishops of Paraguay, meeting together, have carefully studied in the light of Christ's teachings and of our own mission, the present situation of our country.

We are concerned by it. The wishes and the hopes, the sadness and the anguish of modern man, especially the poor and afflicted of all kinds, are also the wishes and the hopes, the sadness and the anguish of the disciples of Christ. (Gaudium et Spes N.1).

We have noted, as pastors of the faithful, that a deep aspiration for true liberation from all oppression moves in the soul of our noble and suffering Paraguayan people. We have seen how its recurrent aspiration for real peace, brotherhood and justice is paralysed and frustrated by a deep climate of insecurity, lack of trust, division and even persecution.

'As pastors of the Church, it is our job to educate the consciences, inspire, stimulate and help to guide all the initiatives which contribute to the formation of man. It is our task also to denounce all that which, going against justice, destroys peace (Doc. 'Paz' no. 20 Medellin.)

2. We wish to point out that in a country like ours, which calls itself Christian, the teachings and laws of Christ are all too often ignored and openly abused by violations of the fundamental rights of the human being, as in the case of the political prisoners, for whom we have repeatedly and in vain asked for judicial proceedings; the physical attacks on those detained in certain police departments, the mjust discrimination and segregation of citizens in the provision of public posts on the sole basis of not belonging to the official party, the

ities, the huge exodus of professionals, workers and peasants to other countries in search of work, security and a future which they do not find in their own country; the insufficiency and precarious a ture of the land reform programme; the control of immense areas of land by a few powerful men whilst the peasant does not even have enough land to grant him a livelihood worthy of a man.

- 3. We would point out also the unjustified restriction on the liberty of expression of sublic opinion, the almost total state monopoly of the means of communication press, radio, television; the cruel party political campaigns in the city and the countryside; the reduction of the population to a mass whose awakening to an avareness of their own rights is retarded and drowned by propaganda designed and directed to will them into a false sense of peace; the police system which imparts four and distrust and which paralyses the energies of the people; the liquidation and systematic politicising of all basic social groupings, in particular the youth, who form the reserve and strength of all nations. Added to all this are the examples, each time more alarming, of corruption in sectors of the public administration, contraband and the practice of bribery, a practice as yet not common among the poorer class.
- 4. As regards the Church, despite negotiations unde at various levels, her protests have simply gone unheard. In fact, the limitations placed on her freedom in teaching and self-expression (the case of 'Comunidad') are still in force; the expulsion of some priests, still not revoked, and the insults with physical injury to others without those responsible being brought to trial; the systematic harrassment of the activities of the lay apostolic organisations and of their leaders; the campaign of slander against bishops and priests with the aim of spreading confusion and separating the Christians from their legitimate pastors.

We profoundly lament that our repeated attempts at institutionalised dialogues with the top civil authorities have not met any response on their behalf.

5. The facts utlined are plain to see. To try to hide them would only serve to make them more evident. We point them out because we dearly wish them to disappear through the action of those most directly responsible for the arrangement of things for the common good.

'Our contribution is not to try to compete with the attempts by other national institutions to solve the problems - in no way do we reject or deny them. Our purpose is to encourage the efforts, speed up the achievements, deepen their contents, penetrate the whole process of change with evangelical values.' (Message to the Latin American Peoples).

We recognise and applicate the numerous initiatives of progress carried out by the national authorities and we will always grant them our frank support and generous collaboration.

The Church, for five centuries, has contributed positively and effectively with its clergy, followers and institutions, to the birth, consolidation and progress of our country, through initiatives and works in fovour of the family, education of children and youth, social work, aid to the needy, community development etc.

The Church is not a political party. It does not seek power in this world. It does not try to everthrow governments, it respects the established authorities. It neither asks for nor demands privileges; it only asks for its freedom of action for the good of all the inhabitants of the country.

Once again we charish the hope that these responsible for the common good of ur country will be able to receive discount antely our minders voice as true pasters of the Church in Paraguay.

The Parts uayou Maire pal Chaference (translation)

...PENDIX D.

Police Statin N. 7.

N vember 21st, 1970

TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE BISHOPS, MEMBERS OF THE P.R.GU.Y.N CLERICAL CONFER-

It will soon be two years since the memorable petition was sent by the C.E.P. to the President of the Republic, in which their excellencies the Bishops asked for the trial of political prisoners.

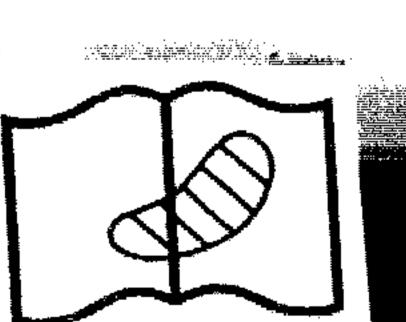
From this coll in the seventh police stati n, we gratefully applicated that event as the most important step taken up till then for our liberation. We felt impressed and comforted by the fact that the custodians of Christian values had used all their moral strength in favour of the return to human rights in our country.

However, time passed, during which a series of pr neuncements were made by various professional and outtural organisations, giving the impression that the awakened national conscience would reach a clear understanding of the dreadful reality of the existence of hundreds of men and women indefinitely deprived of their liberty and submitted to an existence of slow physical and moral extermination because of their position - whether true or morely supposed - of holding political views different from those of the ruling government, and detained without trial or before before any kind of court. Afterwards, bit by bit, this conscience died away, as the silence and indifference of years ago returned, becaming the predominant attitude in various circles which preferred to see such a menstr us situation as something irredeemable or almost normal - a situation which deales the very human condition of the victim, and whose real meaning was a parently not perceived without its actually being personally experienced.

For now we are the object of perversity and arbitrariness - we who represent all shades of opinion and social origin - war pensioners of seventy years old, professionals, doctors, engineers, soldiers, union leaders, workers, farmers, students, and even foreigners. We have been kidnapped from our homes and from neighbouring countries, on our way to work after saying goodbye to our wives and children, but never to return home for 4, 7, 10 and even 13 years.

It would be hard to find a way of expressing the amount of suffering and the physical deterioration suffered both by ourselves and our families. Perhaps events such as the anguished death of a prison companion can give some idea of this suffering. Juan Bautista Benitez, manual worker, after three years of total imprisonment and suffering a disease which steadily got worse due to the denial of all medical attention, eventually died due to the absolute indifference of the prison guards and in the face of our impotence to do anything to save him.

However, the most important thing is not our own suffering here, but the dignity of our nation, conscious of its inalienable collective and individual rights; it is the dignity of each and every Paraguayan citizen which is being trampled on and mocked with every extra day that our imprisonment



is prolonged is gross violation of all those universally accepted norms of human rights which reflect the level of civilianti a reached by humanity. There is inwood a stream to a almost between this confloss calvary to which we humble yet thinking Paraguayans are condomned without our ever having lifted n finger to hurt our fellow men, whilet at the some time not risus crimin la against humanity are homoured with Paraguayan citizenship and are defended to the hilt oppinet incident plone from high courts and dignituries of foreim countries.

With these thoughts and our daily experiences in mind, today, on! knowing of the fortherming placeral assembly of the C.E.P., we bug their excellencies the Bishops to make the voice of the Church heard once again in vigorous defence of human rights. Given the circumstances outlined above (the discontinuity in the preseculation by various political parties) we feel it necessary to manifest via these channels our repudiation of the use of the problem of political prisoners for ends purely electoral or personal. We believe that the matter has to be with something so fundamental that it demands a permanently held and authentically committed position.

Finally, we would mention to their excellencies the Bishops that the signat. ories are not all believers; however, to both believers and non-believers alike, the enermous significance of the humanitarian content of the Christian documents of Vatican 2 and the Latinamerican Bishops' conference at Medellin cannot be forgotten. As citizens who dream of a better future for our motherland, we are highly interested that the larguages Church should be a worthy and conscious promoter of the human rights of our country.

Your excellencies, please take these words as the expression of our profound respect and recognition, and rest assured that even in our blackest hour, our faith in the virtues of the Paraguayan nation has not been shaken, nor its desire for liberty ever silenced.

(translation) signed by,

- 1) Antolin Cardozo farm worker ten years
- 2) Capitan Vicente Maidana ..rias six years
- 3) Anibal Garcete sugar cane worker six years
- 4) Bernardo Cardozo builder six years
- 5) Engineer Virgilio Barciro telecommunications expert six years
- 6) Buenaventura Morel farmer five years
- 7) Calixto Ramirez carpenter five years
- 8) Jonik Usuriak Sissten Argentinian, electrician five years
- 9) Derlis Villagra student four yéars
- 10) Cristobal Lopez butcher four years
- 11) Anastacio Martinez farmer two years
- 12) indres Garcia Lopez two years
- 13) Dr Agustin Goiburu doctor-surgeon one year
- 14) Pedro Miglionico Uruguayan mechanic four months

APPENDIX E.

LETTER SENT FROM POLICE ST..TION EIGHT, MBOC..Y..TY, BY .. P..R.GU..Y..N POLITIC.L PRISONER IN FEBRUARY, 1971, TO ..MNESTY INTERNATIONAL (TRANSLATION)

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you in order to send my regards and at the same time to describe to you the inhuman conditions to which we are subjected in the following manner, in a cell apart from, but surrounded by buildings. It is three metres sixty centimetres by two metres 60 centimetres and two metres ten centimetres high, with a door of height one metre twenty centimetres and width

eighty centimetres, with a window of twenty-five centimetres square. Both the window and the door have bars which atop fresh air getting in. The size of our cell is nine square metres and twenty-six centimetres. In this Hell (which is small, but the suffering is large) there are five of us, with our things, some poor mattresses for sleeping on the floor, bags and empty tin cans for keeping the food which our families send. Besides, some of those tin cons are used for our biological necessities because we do not have a closet inside. .11 this makes our space even smaller for our movement, and we hardly have one square metre left for each one of us. When the temperature is thirty-five degrees in asuncion, it seems like forty in this oven, yet in winter it is like a refrigerator. As regards food, it is a disaster. I think that even the pigs get better than us.

APPENDIX F.

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PEOPLE TO WRITE TO IN P.R.GU.Y ON BEH.LF OF POLITICAL PRISCHERS.

Exemo. Sr. Presidente de la Republica del Paraguay Gral. de Ejercito Alfredo Stroessner Palacio de Gobierno Lsuncion, P.R.GU.Y

Exemo. Sr. Ministro de Relaciones Exterieres Dr. Raul Sapona Pastor Ministro Relaciones Exteriores Palacio de Gobierno Asuncion, P.R. JU.Y

Excmo. Sr. Ministre del Interior Dr. Sabino Montanoro Ministro del Interior Estrella y Montevideo asuncion, P.R.GU.Y

Dr. Juan Folix Morales Presidente de la Suprema Corte de Justicia Chile y. 14 de Julio Asuncion, PAR.GUAY

Gral. Francisco Britez Jefe de Policia Jefetura de la Blicia ...suncion, P.R.GU.Y Dr Nicolas F. Diaz Perez Comision de Defensa de Fueros del Colegio de ..bogados 14 de Mayo ŷ 14 de Julio Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Mons. Ismael Rolon Silvero Arzbispo de Asuncion Casilla de Correo 654 Asuncion, P.R.GU.Y

Mons. Ramon Bogarin Argana Presidente de la Conferencia Episcopal Paraguaya Casilla de Correo 654 Asuncion, P.R.GUAY

Prof. Dr. Carlos ... Vera Martinez Director de la Cruz Roja Paraguaya Cruz Roja del Paraguay avenida artigas y Dr. Barbero Asuncion, P.R.GUAY

Sr. ..ldo Zuccolillo Director Diari : 1.30' Color asuncion, PakaGUaY Sr. artur Schrarer Director Diario La Tribuna ...suncion, P.R.GU.Y . Sr. Ezoquiel Gonzalez alsino Director Diario 'La Patria' ..suncion, P.R.GU..Y Sr. Juan Carlos Zaldivar Director Semanaria 'El Radical' Iturbe 936 Asuncion, P.R.GU.Y * * * * *

.. PPENDIX G.

SUGGESTED FURTHER RELDING M.TERILL ON P.R.GU.Y

- 1. Prison Conditions in Paraguay .mnusty International, .ugust 1966.
- 2. Political Leaders of Latin America Richard Bourne, renguin American.
 History (includes a chapter on President Stroessner).
- 3. Travels with my .unt Graham Green (last 100 pages deal with Paraguay).
- 4. Mision d'Information au Paraguay (22-30 Mai, 1971), Paul Bouaziz y Abbe M. Schebyans, ...I.J.D., 49 Av. Jupiter, 1190 Bruxelles, Belgium. (Report by two lawyers from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, who visited Paraguay this year).
- 5. Interpersonal Relationships and Caudillismo in Paraguay Frederic Hicks, Jaurnal of Inter-American Studies, pp. 89-111, University of Miami, Jan. 1971.
- 6. The Worm inside the Lotus Blassom Graham Green Weekend Telegraph, 3rd Jan., 1969.
- 7) Son of Man ..ugusto Roa Bastes Victor Gollancz, Lendon, 1965 (a novel).

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