

Amnesty International
Turnagain Lane
Farringdon Street
London E.C.4.

A M N E S T Y I N T E R N A T I O N A L

* * * * *

P A R A G U A Y I N T H E S E V E N T I E S

A BACKGROUND PAPER

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
OCTOBER 1971

C O N T E N T S

1. Introduction
2. The Paraguayan Economy
3. History
4. The Political Parties
5. The Communist Party
6. United States involvement in Paraguay
7. Opposition outside Paraguay
8. The Catholic Church in Paraguay
9. The Trade Unions
10. The Ligas Agrarias
11. The Press
12. The legal system in Paraguay
13. Political prisoners in Paraguay
14. Prison conditions in Paraguay
15. The Organisation of repression in Paraguay
16. Deaths of political prisoners in Paraguay
17. The release of political prisoners in Paraguay
18. Two recent incidents in Paraguay - the Monzon case and the Lopez affair
19. The defence of human rights within Paraguay

APPENDICES

- A. List of political prisoners detained without trial in Paraguay known to Amnesty International - October 1971
- B. Text of the 'Law for the Defence of Public Peace and Liberty of Persons.'
- C. Declaration of the Conferencia Episcopal Paraguaya.
- D. Letter from the 'seventh' police station
- E. Letter from the 'eighth' police station
- F. Persons to write to in Paraguay on behalf of political prisoners
- G. Suggested further reading material on Paraguay

INTRODUCTION

The report before you is the result of two years' research inside Paraguay, from September 1969 to September 1971. The author spoke to relatives of over fifty political prisoners, as well as to leaders of political parties, lawyers, priests, student leaders and campesinos (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 held, 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 Report on Prison Conditions in Paraguay, made by Anthony Marreco in 1966, and the present one 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.

* * * * *

THE PARAGUAYAN ECONOMY

Paraguay is a low, flat, landlocked country, nearly twice the size of Great Britain, situated strategically in the centre of South America, and surrounded by Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia. Its population is 2.4 million (1) and the population growth rate is 3.2% p.a. (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 fertile 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 poorest country in South America. Official income per head is 236 dollars p.a. (4). However the figure for the agricultural sector, in which 70% of the population is involved, 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 landowners 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 no titles to their land (8). There is no income tax. At least 50% of the budget expenditure for 1970 (valued at US dollars 82.8 millions (9)), was spent on military and police expenditure, while only 2% was spent on the Ministry of Agriculture (10). Open and disguised unemployment is rife. The number of cattle has fallen from 5.5 million in 1956 (11) to 4.3 million in 1970 (12). Meat consumption among 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, medical 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 SENEPA, a government malaria eradication programme, for 1970.
- 2) Statistics published by CEPEP, Paraguayan centre for population studies.
- 3) Op. cit. (1).
- 4) Statistics published by the Interamerican Development Bank in their annual survey of Paraguay for 1970.
- 5) Statistics published by the S.T.P., government planning agency in their Plan Nacional - Sector Agropecuario, Asuncion, 1970.
- 6) Statistics published by S.T.P. in their Plan Nacional 1971-75 Vol. 1, Asuncion 1970.
- 7) Statistics published in Land Reform in Paraguay by Francisco Orue Diaz, Asuncion 1970.
- 8) Statistics published in Censo Agropecuario por muestreo, Asuncion 1971 by the Ministry of Agriculture.
- 9) Statistics published by the Ministerio de Hacienda (Treasury).
- 10) Op. cit. (9).
- 11) Statistics published in Censo Agropecuario 1956, by the Ministry of Agriculture.
- 12) Op. Cit. (8)
- 13) Statistics published by the Departamento de Estudios Economicos del Ministerio de Hacienda.

* * * * *

3.

HISTORY

The original inhabitants of Paraguay were the Guarani Indians, a loosely-knit ethnic group whose influence extended as far as the Caribbean. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Guarani had reached the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary agricultural life. Asuncion was founded in 1537 by the conquistadores who came to Paraguay originally in search of gold. They gained control through an alliance and intermarriage with the tribes on 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 Cruz (Bolivia) and Buenos Aires (Argentina), later to replace Asuncion as Spain's main centre in the area.

From 1588 until their expulsion in 1767, foreign Jesuits ruled over many of the Guarani, building an authoritarian socialist society in their reducciones. The failed Comuneros Revolution in Asuncion between 1721 and 1735, marked the first stirrings on the continent against Spanish domination by the native bourgeoisie. Independence was eventually achieved in 1811. The threat from Argentina to Paraguayan sovereignty forced Dr. Francis to isolate the country from all outside influences in dictatorial fashion. His far-sighted successor, Carlos Antonio Lopez, so developed the country's economy that, at his death in 1862, Paraguay was recognised as a major Latin American power. She had her own telegraph and railway system under construction, a state monopoly of exports of primary products, foreign British technical assistance in shipbuilding and in the construction of an iron foundry and a strong foreign reserve position.

As the only country in South America pursuing an autonomous development policy outside the grasp of nineteenth century British imperialism, Paraguay was soon forced into the hopeless War of the Triple Allies in the area - Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. The results of defeat were disastrous 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 anarchy 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 Oil and Royal Dutch over the Chaco oil reserves forced Paraguay and Bolivia into a futile war. Paraguay won the war

and gained the oil-bearing lands 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 Febreristas soon fizzled out, to be followed by the pro-Nazi Morinigo dictatorship during the Second World War. In 1947, following a year of unprecedented political freedom, a return to authoritarian rule was ensured by the victory of the Colorado Party over a coalition of Liberals, Febreristas and Communists in a civil war. A succession of Colorado Presidents followed, until 1954, when Stroessner's coup reversed for the first time the traditional subjection of military to civilian power throughout Paraguayan history.

* * * * *

4.

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 ideologically laissez-faire, representing the interests of the small upper class of Asuncion, and maintaining the support of the campesino masses and small working class (who together form 90% of the population) through a widespread national organisation of local 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 Febrerista 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 doing this are the Confederacion Cristiana de Trabajadores (C.C.T.) and the Ligas Agrarias Cristianas (L.A.C.). These are the very first groupings of campesinos 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 military, 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 expelled or imprisoned, and the party was finally converted into a tool 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 emergency 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 was 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 dissatisfied 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 Levi's, 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 ideological 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 September of this year, a group 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.

* * * * *

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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 Royal 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 Alcorta. Between August 1946 and January 1947, the P.C.P. was legalised for the only time in Paraguayan 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 Frente Unida de Liberacion Nacional (F.U.L.N.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. On 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 P.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.

* * * * *

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 reported that 100,000 dollars of aid from the United States will cover 10% of 1971 expenses and the Paraguay Republic will receive 100,000 dollars. Over 1,000 Paraguayan students graduated from the U.S.A. and the funds have been received. Students are urged to "return home" and contribute to the economic development of Paraguay. It is a contribution with responsibility. There is at present a substantial U.S. military base in Paraguay and the arms industry is being urged to support U.S. military development plans, although it may have had an official voice early on programs in Paraguay. It is to be noted that certain U.S. Military and A.I.A. officials work in close cooperation with the Paraguayan police.

During his visit to Washington in March 1970, President Sanguinetti offered to send Paraguayan troops to Vietnam. Paraguay was to have the final authority to send troops to both the U.S. and the U.S. Republic of the Americas. President Sanguinetti, 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 the cabinet.

The main U.S. private investment in Paraguay is in cattle ranching. In 1970, the U.S. and Paraguay signed an agreement with the Paraguayan Government, which granted them full exploration and exploitation rights for oil in the northern part of the State, with a government equity in production of only 10%, one of the lowest in the world.

In April 1970, a new 11,000 foot runway was completed at the "General Stroessner" airport near Asuncion. Financed by a 1 million dollar soft loan from the U.S.A. In May 1970 of this year, a Lockheed Galaxy II, the largest plane in the world, touched down there after a ten-hour-haul from direct international flight from Lima airport in Lima, Peru. In the heart of the State, near San Bernardino, another great runway is being built under U.S. supervision. In Asuncion, near Asuncion, a large new Military School is nearing completion. Financed by a U.S. loan.

- (1) United States aid to Paraguay - U.S. Military, Economic, Foreign, 1970.
- (2) Statistics published by Senator Proctor in Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1970.



INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

There are about 80,000 Paraguayans living in exile, more than one third of the present population. Most of them are living in the slums of Buenos Aires, called El Barrio Misionero, as well as in the border towns of Montevideo, Monteblanco and Maldonado in Argentina. Increasingly, however, Paraguayans are emigrating to Brazil.

The main opposition party in exile is a fractured branch of the ruling Colorado Party - the Nacionalista Popular (N.P.P.). Many of its members fled into exile when Stroessner came to power in 1954. Another wave of exiles followed after the General Strike of 1970, when the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Ypacarai (C.T.Y.) was turned into a political tool of the Government.

N.P.P. is fraught with internal dissension between right and left-wingers, and is infiltrated with Paraguayan government spies and C.I.A. agents. Its two branches are situated in Buenos Aires (main leaders, Manuel Pizarro and Osvaldo Chavez, newspaper called Financiera) and Montevideo (main leader, María Sanguinetti, newspaper called Patria Libre). The basic division within its membership is between those who want to overthrow Stroessner yet

...the

... ..

There is an active group of the

... ..

... ..

...

... ..

... ..

On October 22nd 1954, following the

Throughout 1954, following the government ban on publication of the Church weekly, Commercial newspaper, Church publications

became the first head of the Paraguayan Church to refuse to attend meetings of the Consejo de Estado (Council of State).

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

* * * * *

9.

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 Americano para el desarrollo del sindicalismo libre, an AFL-CIO sponsored organisation 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 de Sindicalismo Cristiano (CLASC), the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, and is also affiliated with the Confederacion Mundial 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.

* * * * *

THE LIGAS AGRARIAS

A grass-roots co-operative movement among poor farmers who make up about 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 ligas agrarias 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 campesinos. 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 ligas agrarias 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 ligas agrarias 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 ligas agrarias took place around the town 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'.

* * * * *

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, whisky and cigarettes, nor to name those who control the torture of Paraguayan 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 Radical to 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 availability 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) merely refuses to transmit it.

* * * * *

12.

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 Constitution, 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 plead for political prisoners and to offer asylum in Chile, Foreign 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 Paraguayan 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.

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 opponents 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 150 at any given time. This is the result of the almost daily arbitrary arrest, torture and release of Paraguayan citizens ever since Stroessner 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.

* * * * *

14.

PRISON CONDITIONS IN PARAGUAY

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 night 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 yerba 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 completely 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.

* * * * *

THE ORGANISATION 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, Departamento de 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 Delictos 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 torture 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 these 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 sessions 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 Jeju Street all espionage 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 Paraguayan of German extraction who is especially feared for his brutal repression of workers at the San Antonio meat plant, owned by the International Products Corporation of New Jersey. These two men, together with Dr Miguel Angel Bestard, assistant secretary 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 oft-repeated 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 pyraques (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 street-vendors, bootblacks, 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 Avenida Kubischek. 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 ARREST 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.

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 Departamento 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 cigarette and sweet seller in the streets of Asuncion was arrested and taken to the Departamento 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 Herman 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 thongs 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.

GUMERCINDO 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.

* * * * *

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 arbitrary system under which they are held, based purely on the whims of the President, 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 near 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:

'I was never allowed to leave the cell in the whole seven 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 serum 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 because of a combination of fate and the personal compassion of a very important man.

* * * * *

TWO RECENT INCIDENTS IN PARAGUAY

The arbitrary infringement of basic human rights by the authorities is a daily occurrence in Paraguay, and only 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 Paraguayan 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 occupied Hotel Mara, which backs 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 detention, 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

were thrown into the water in order to convince him that the water was deep. He was beaten up several times during these ten days.

He was finally released and flown to Montevideo on 7th April, where he was immediately interned in a mental hospital, suffering from severe depression. For weeks afterwards, he vomited all food intake - the effects of the 'bath' torture. No charges were pressed against him by the Uruguayan authorities on his return. This was despite the full length 'confession' to being a Tupamaru, ostensibly made by Monzon and published 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.

* * * * *

19.

THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN PARAGUAY

The only person 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 year, 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.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL IN PARAGUAY - OCTOBER 1971

1st Police Station (Estero Bellaco y Tte. Rodi)

1. BRITZ, Rafael (??.66)
2. CABRAL, Pablo Antonio (??.70)
3. DEMESTRI ESPINOLA, Eduardo (3.12.70)
4. FRETES, Doroteo (??.11.70)
5. GONZALEZ, Manuel de Jesus (??.11.70)
6. GONZALEZ C.BALLERO, Osvaldo (1.7.70)
7. JARO CANTERO, Angel (??.7.70)
8. LEGUIZAMON (12.2.71), Rigoberto (12.2.71)
9. MEDINA, Hector (??.8.70) Chilean
10. MONTIEL (3.12.70)
11. RATTI, Fransisco Antonio (3.12.70)
12. RIVAS, Balbino (21.4.70)
13. SAMANIEGO, Julio Cesar (14.8.70)
14. SAMUDIO, Luciano (14.4.70)
15. SERRANO, Enrique (14.8.70) Argentinian
16. VIELMAN ISACI, Aparicio (3.12.70)
17. VILLAGRA, Victor (3.12.70)
18. VILLAR MONTENEGRO, Virgilio (??.11.70)

2nd Police Station (Hernandarias y Portugal)

19. CAZAL, Isabel Ortiz de (12.2.65)
20. GAONA, Anastacia 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. SILVA, Maria Saturnina de (??.1.68)

3rd Police Station (Chile y Jeju)

25. ACOSTA ARANDA, Severo (??.6.64)
26. ALCORTA, Alfredo (15.11.58)
27. ASILVERA, Nicolas (??.66)
28. AVEIRO, Ireneo Elioforo (2.9.64)
29. BAEZ, Felipe Vera
30. BENITEZ, Jimenez Agustin (23.7.64)
31. BRITZ, Juan Neponucemo (??.1.68)
32. CHAMORRO VERA, de la Crz (??.62)
33. FLORENTIN PENA, Heriberto (3.1.71)
34. FLORENTIN PENA ALARCON, Anibal (3.1.71)
35. LOVERA LEGUIZAMON, Epifanio (21.6.66)
36. MAIDANA, Antonio (12.8.58)
37. MAIDANA PALACIOS, Ananias (3.6.59)
38. ROJAS, Julio (19.1.58)
39. SANCHEZ, Nicasio (24.11.66)
40. SOTOMAYOR PEREZ, Antonio (??.6.64)

4th Police Station (Independencia Nacional y Concordia)

41. BARRETO DAVALOS, Emilio (24.6.65)
42. CENTURION, Cpt. Aurelio (14.5.64)
43. GAONA, Aurelio
44. GARCIA, Marcial
45. GONZALEZ, Eustaquio
46. INSURRALDE, Pascual Nunez
47. MARTINEZ GNES, Reinaldo

48. MORINIGO G.AONIA, Juan Silvano (21.4.65)
49. ORIGUELA (?.?.61)
50. ORTIZ, Gaspar (12.2.65)
51. SILVA, Alfonso (28.1.68)
52. VALDEZ, Filemon (?.?.62)
53. VERA, Federico (22.7.65)

Fifth Police Station - no information

Sixth Police Station - no information

Seventh Police Station (Ruta Eusebio Ayala y Morquio)

54. BAREIRO, Ing. Virgilio (10.8.64)
55. BENITEZ, Trifilio (?.?.60)
56. CARDOZA, Antonio (?.?.59)
57. GARCETE, Justo Anibal (?.?.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, Calixto (?.?.64)
65. RAMIREZ, Herminio (?.6.65)
66. ROMAN, Odon (?.6.65)
67. VALENZUELA, Cristobal (?.4.63)
68. VILLAGRA, Derlis (17.3.66)
69. VILLAGRA, Marciano (8.3.62)

Eighth Police Station (Republica Francesa y 25 Proyectada) - known as 'Mbocayaty'

70. DOMINGUEZ PEREZ, Augusto (?.2.69)
71. FERNANDEZ MARECOS, Jose (?.2.67)
72. MERELES PINANEZ, Aurelio (?.2.67)
73. MORINIGO, Alipio (?.11.66)
74. RIVERO VEINLIGO, Pedro (?.8.65)

Ninth Police Station (General Santos y R. Rios) - known as 'Las Mercedes'

75. ACOSTA, Dino Tomas (?.7.64)
76. ASILVERA, Teresio (14.7.64)
77. AYALA, Bartolome
78. BAREIRO MIERS, Adolfo (16.5.68)
79. FRANCO, Santiago (?.?.64)
80. PEDROZZO, Brigido (?.6.65)
81. SANTOS

Police Station 'Villa Aurelia' (Castilla Colonial y Denis Roa)

82. CHAMORRO, Ignacio (31.12.59)
83. MOLINAS, Isaac (?.4.64)
84. MORINIGO, Jorge (13.6.60)
85. SOSA, Jorge Apolonio (15.4.65)
86. VIVEROS, Andres (?.6.67)

Police Station Lucque

87. GAMON, Efrain Enrique

Tacumbú - Guardia de Seguridad

- 88. LOPEZ, Juan Romilio (?..11.64)
- 89. RIQUELME, Basilio (?..1.64)

Police Station Trinidad

- 90. BAEZ, Eulalia
- 91. GONZALEZ, Marcelina (21.4.71)
- 92. GONZALEZ, Modesta vda de Pereira (21.4.71)
- 93. MUJICA, Rosa
- 94. RECÁLDE, Fatima

Technical Department of the Ministry of the Interior (Chile y Jeju)

- 95. TORRES, Agapita Faustina de Quintana (10.3.70)

Central Police Station (El Paraguayo Independiente, Chile y Nuestra Señora de Asunción)

- 96. OVANDO, Sgt. (?..?.62)
- 97. ORTIGOSA, Cpt. Napoleon (?..?.62)

Investigations Department of the Ministry of the Interior

- 98. LOPEZ, Cristobal
- 99. MOREL, Buenaventura
- 100. USURIK SISTEN, Jonik Chilean

Prisoners in unknown place of detention

- 101. BURGOS, Ricardo
- 102. FALCON, Cpt. Cesar
- 103. GONZALEZ, Lorenzo
- 104. MIERS MALDONADO, Oscar (23.6.69)
- 105. REYES, Marciano (?..6.65)
- 106. SANTACRUZ, Teodoro (?..5.65)
- 107. SILVA QUINTANA, Alfonso
- 108. VILLAGRA, Marcelino
- 109. ZALDIVAR, Aristides

* * * * *

APPENDIX B.

TEXT OF THE LAW FOR THE DEFENCE OF PUBLIC PEACE 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.

Article 1:- Whosoever publicly incites the committing of crimes by whatever means will be sentenced to jail for one month to four years, according to the seriousness of the crimes incited.

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

Article 3:- Whosoever publicly incites violence against public officials or institutions, or advocates disobedience to laws will be sentenced to one month to three years imprisonment.

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

Article 5:- Those who form an illegal organisation of three or more members designed to commit crime will be sentenced with the charge of being members of 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 armed.

Article 6:- Those who slander 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 six years imprisonment. In the event of crimes of bodily harm or abuse committed against the above-mentioned, the penalty 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 settlement.

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.

Article 8:- Those who commit the following crimes will be sentenced to one to five years imprisonment:-

- 1) those who are members of or affiliated to any Communist Party or organisation that proposes violently to destroy the republican and democratic regime of the nation;
- 2) those 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 aid of whatever kind from foreign governments, organisations or persons, and those who hand out or distribute instructions by whatever means;
- 5) those with the same objectives who introduce, print, maintain, deposit, distribute or sell pamphlets, magazines, illustrations, newspapers, films or television tapes of the doctrine or system referred to in Part 1 of this article.

Article 9:- Whosoever kidnaps, arrests or detains any person or deprives him of his liberty will be sentenced to two to three years imprisonment, independently of the sentence already in force according to the law.

Article 10:- The sentence established in the foregoing article will be of three years to five years 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:- Whosoever 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 crime is committed against administrators of the executive, judiciary or legislature, the sentence will be six to ten years imprisonment.

Article 12:- Whosoever kidnaps or deprives of their liberty ambassadors or members of the diplomatic corps, consuls, military attaches or foreign

representatives of international organisations, will be sentenced to six to twelve years imprisonment.

Article 13:- Whosoever kidnaps persons to be held as hostages or for profit will be sentenced to six to twelve years imprisonment.

Article 14:- Whosoever kidnaps those persons mentioned in Articles 11 and 12 of this Law to be held as hostages or to solicit whatever type of measure from the government or from private persons will be automatically sentenced to the maximum sentence of the Law established in 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 Penal Code.

Article 16:- Whosoever incites mobs will be sentenced to one month to three years imprisonment. Whosoever 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 crimes which result from these actions as already provided for in the Penal Code.

Article 17:- The illegal occupation 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 months to two years imprisonment.

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

* * * * *

APPENDIX C.

DECLARATION OF THE PARAGUAYAN EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE - Dec. 18th 1970

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 unjust discrimination and segregation of citizens in the provision of public posts on the sole basis of not belonging to the official party, the

obstacles which citizens encounter in honourably carrying out their activities, 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 nature 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 public 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 awareness 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 fear 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 made 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 harassment 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 outlined 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 applaud 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 favour 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 overthrow 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 cherish the hope that those responsible for the common good of our country will be able to receive dispassionately our sincere voice as true pastors of the Church in Paraguay.

The Paraguayan Episcopal Conference
(translation)

* * * * *

APPENDIX D.

Police Station No. 7.

November 21st, 1970

TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE BISHOPS, MEMBERS OF THE PARAGUAYAN CLERICAL CONFERENCE:-

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 cell in the seventh police station, we gratefully applauded 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 pronouncements were made by various professional and cultural 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 merely supposed - of holding political views different from those of the ruling government, and detained without trial or defence before any kind of court. Afterwards, bit by bit, this conscience died away, as the silence and indifference of years ago returned, becoming the predominant attitude in various circles which preferred to see such a monstrous situation as something irredeemable or almost normal - a situation which denies the very human condition of the victim, and whose real meaning was apparently 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 civilisation reached by humanity. There is indeed a strange contrast between this endless calvary to which we humble yet thinking Paraguayans are condemned without our ever having lifted a finger to hurt our fellow men, whilst at the same time notorious criminals against humanity are honoured with Paraguayan citizenship and are defended to the hilt against insistent pleas from high courts and dignitaries of foreign countries.

With these thoughts and our daily experiences in mind, today, and knowing of the forthcoming general assembly of the C.E.P., we beg 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 preoccupation 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 do 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 signatories are not all believers; however, to both believers and non-believers alike, the enormous 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 Paraguayan 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 Arias - six years
- 3) Anibal Garcete - sugar cane worker - six years
- 4) Bernardo Cardozo - builder - six years
- 5) Engineer Virgilio Bareiro - telecommunications expert - six years
- 6) Buenaventura Mofel - farmer - five years
- 7) Calixto Ramirez - carpenter - five years
- 8) Jonik Usuriak Sissten - Argentinian, electrician - five years
- 9) Derlis Villagra - student - four years
- 10) Cristobal Lopez - butcher - four years
- 11) Anastacio Martinez - farmer - two years
- 12) Andres 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 STATION EIGHT, MBOCAJATY, BY A PARAGUAYAN POLITICAL PRISONER IN FEBRUARY, 1971, TO AMNESTY 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 stop 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 these tin cans are used for our biological necessities because we do not have a closet inside. All 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.

PEOPLE TO WRITE TO IN P.A.R.GUAY ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Excmo. Sr. Presidente de la Republica del Paraguay
Gral. de Ejercito Alfredo Stroessner
Palacio de Gobierno
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Excmo. Sr. Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores
Dr. Raul Sapena Pastor
Ministro Relaciones Exteriores
Palacio de Gobierno
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Excmo. Sr. Ministro del Interior
Dr. Sabino Montanaro
Ministro del Interior
Estrella y Montevideo
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Dr. Juan Felix Morales
Presidente de la Suprema Corte de Justicia
Chile y 14 de Julio
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Gral. Francisco Brites
Jefe de Policia
Jefetura de la Policia Asuncion, PARAGUAY
Dr Nicolas F. Diaz Perez
Comision de Defensa de Fueros del Colegio de Abogados
14 de Mayo y 14 de Julio
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Mons. Ismael Rolon Silvero
Arzobispo de Asuncion
Casilla de Correo 654
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

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

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

Sr. Aldo Zuccolillo
Director
Diario 'ABC' Color
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Sr. Arturo Schaerer
Director
Diario 'La Tribuna'
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Sr. Ezequiel Gonzalez Alsina
Director
Diario 'La Patria'
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

Sr. Juan Carlos Zaldivar
Director
Semanario 'El Radical'
Iturbe 936
Asuncion, PARAGUAY

* * * * *

APPENDIX G.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING MATERIAL ON PARAGUAY

1. Prison Conditions in Paraguay - Amnesty International, August 1966.
 2. Political Leaders of Latin America - Richard Bourne, Penguin American History (includes a chapter on President Stroessner).
 3. Travels with my Aunt - Graham Green (last 100 pages deal with Paraguay).
 4. Mision d'Information au Paraguay (22-30 Mai, 1971), Paul Bouaziz y Abbe M. Schooyans, A.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, Journal of Inter-American Studies, pp. 89-111, University of Miami, Jan. 1971.
 6. The Worm inside the Lotus Blossom - Graham Green - Weekend Telegraph, 3rd Jan., 1969.
 - 7) Son of Man - Augusto Roa Bastes - Victor Gollancz, London, 1965 (a novel).
-