

AREA HANDBOOK
for
GUATEMALA

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. Extensive bibliographies are provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States Government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions and suggestions for factual, interpretive or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to —

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PREFACE

During the past three decades Guatemala has had only three Presidents who took office through constitutional procedure. Even two of these, Colonels Jacobo Arbenz and Manuel Ydígoras, were elected only after the faction or interest group supporting them first achieved power by other means in order to oversee the election of their candidate. Only Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro, who became President in 1966 was able to take over power from an opposition president without resorting to an intervening coup d'etat. In addition, small but active terrorist groups have been present since 1960, and the recourse to violence has been frequent. The most spectacular recent example of terrorism was with the assassination in August 1968 of United States Ambassador John Gordon Mein.

The history of Guatemala extends into the pre-Columbian past when it was the center of the Mayan empire. The Spanish conquest occurred over 400 years ago, yet Indian and Hispanic elements have been only partially reconciled. The result is a divided society composed of Indians and *ladinos*, the latter including Europeans, *mestizos*, and some Indians who no longer espouse an Indian style of life. The population is largely rural and agricultural and is characterized by extremes of poverty and wealth. In recent years the social framework has been in flux, as more and more Indians are leaving their traditional communities and moving into *ladino* society. In addition, the political and economic hegemony of the upper classes has diminished since 1944, and the middle class is assuming more power and wealth.

This book is an attempt to provide, in compact, convenient, balanced, and objective form, an integrated exposition and analysis of the dominant social, political, and economic aspects of Guatemalan society. It is a book of and about the people as individuals and as members of the society, and how they live. It is designed to give readers an understanding of the dynamics of the component elements of Guatemalan society and an insight into the feelings and ideas, the goals, and the hopes and fears of the people.

Although many excellent works concerning the country exist, both in English and Spanish, most of these are either specific and detailed studies of one particular aspect of the society, or they describe the situation in broad, general terms. The *Area Handbook for Guatemala* is not intended to replace any of these approaches, but to supplement the available material with a unified and fairly complete account within one volume. Interpretations and judgments are held to a minimum since the major portion of the research is based on documented sources rather than field study.

Grateful acknowledgement is due many people who have given their time and knowledge in aiding various chapters of this study. In particular, the authors wish to thank Dr. Harold E. Davis for his extensive knowledge and friendly criticism which proved invaluable in the historical sections. However, responsibility for all facts and interpretations found in the study must rest with the authors.

English usage in this handbook follows *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, H. W. Fowler (Second Edition, Revised by Sir Ernest Gowers), and *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (unabridged). Spanish usage is based on *Appleton's New Cuyas Dictionary* (Fifth Edition). Place names follow the rulings of the United States Board on Geographic Names, United States Department of the Interior. For the Indian languages, both the Mayan derivatives and the Carib dialect, the authors depended on Guatemalan sources. Spanish words are held to a minimum, are defined at first appearance, and if used frequently, are recorded in the Glossary.

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. COUNTRY: Republic of Guatemala (1839 to the present); United Provinces of Central America (1821-1839); Kingdom of Guatemala (1560-1821); part of New Spain (1524-1560).
2. GOVERNMENT: Guatemala is a republic, governed in 1968 under the Constitution of 1965. Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro was elected President in 1966 along with a unicameral congress of 55 deputies.
3. POPULATION: In 1964 population was 4,284,473, according to projections should have reached about 4,750,000 by late 1968. In 1964 43.3 percent was classified as Indian, the remainder *ladino*. Immigration insignificant. Rate of increase approximately 3.1 percent per year.
4. SIZE: 42,000 square miles in area.
5. TOPOGRAPHY: Two major mountain ranges which trend east-west, the Sierra de los Cuchumatanes and the Sierra Madre. Narrow coastal plain on the Pacific coast. Three river valleys extend inland from the Caribbean coast. Northern third of country quasi-rainforest.
6. LANGUAGES: Official language, Spanish. 17 major Indian languages spoken, including Quiché, Cakchiquel, Mam, Kelchi. Few foreign language speakers.
7. RELIGION: More than 95 percent Roman Catholic, but with considerable native syncretism.
8. EDUCATION: Literacy rate is between 30 percent and 40 percent for country as a whole, but close to 65 percent for urban areas. Average education is second grade of primary school. Virtually all good schools are located in the capital. In 1965 there were over 5,000 primary schools, and 348 secondary schools. There are six institutions of higher learning with a total enrollment of about 10,000.
9. HEALTH: Leading causes of death are gastroenteritis, pneumonia, influenza, measles, whooping cough, anemia, dysentery, tuberculosis, bronchitis, cancer, in that order. Public health services good in the capital, but virtually nonexistent in rural areas.
10. CLIMATE: Varies with altitude, being hot in the lowlands and cool in the highlands. Most of the country experiences a

distinct dry season which lasts about six months, except the Department of El Petén and the area along the Caribbean coast which are humid the entire year.

11. JUSTICE: Independent judiciary headed by Chief Justice of Supreme Court. Judiciary composed of Supreme Court, several subordinate courts, and five special courts.

12. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: *Civil*. Departments (22) and townships (325). *Military*. Seven military zones and a military commander of each of 22 departments who assumes the functions of the civil governor during a state of siege (modified martial law).

13. ECONOMY: Export agriculture is basis of economy but industry is rapidly increasing in importance.

14. INDUSTRY: Principal industries are food processing, shoes, textiles, beverages, and household goods. Production increasing at 10 percent per year since 1961. Most industrialized country in Central America.

15. LABOR: Labor force in 1966 estimated at 1,403,000, aged 7 years and older. 65 percent are engaged in agriculture; 11 percent industry and service; 6 percent commerce. The balance in either unknown or divided into minor activities such as mining, construction, or transportation.

16. EXPORTS: Coffee replaced cochineal, a red dyestuff, as the chief export in 1870 and has retained the position since then. 90 percent of all exports are agricultural, the main ones being coffee, cotton, sugar, bananas and beef. Essential oils, timber, chicle, and shrimp are high on the list.

17. IMPORTS: One-third of imports are consumption goods (food, medicine, clothing, domestic appliances, and automobiles). One-third intermediary goods and raw materials. There is an unfavorable balance of trade with imports exceeding exports.

18. FINANCE: *Currency*. In 1925 the quetzal replaced the peso. The value of the quetzal was set at Q1 equals \$1 and has remained one of the most stable currencies in the world. *Banks*. The Bank of Guatemala is the only bank of issue. The movement of foreign exchange and the convertibility of the quetzal is maintained by the Monetary Stabilization Fund (Fondo de Estabilización Monetaria).

19. COMMUNICATIONS: *Radio*. Broadcasts in Spanish. The most effective way of transmitting information. In 1967 there were over 90 radio stations, 23 of them short wave. In 1964 there was one radio receiver for every 20 persons. Most stations are privately owned and commercially operated. *Television*. There are five stations in Guatemala City; two are owned by the Government and broadcast educational programs, the other three are

commercial. In 1967 there were 61,000 receiving sets. *Motion Pictures*. Second only to radio in numbers of people reached. Most films are foreign and shown for entertainment. *Newspapers*. In 1964 there were six major daily newspapers. Circulation was 2.3 copies for each 100 people.

20. **RAILROADS:** Guatemalan Division of the International Railways of Central America operates 510 miles of track in Guatemala. United Fruit Company has 130 miles of plantation track.

21. **ROADS:** 1967 total length of highways 7,800 miles, 1,300 being paved and the balance all-weather. Continual road building program since 1950. Three main highways: the Inter-American Highway, the Inter-Ocean Highway, and the Pacific Coast Highway.

22. **WATER TRANSPORTATION:** Polochic River-Lake Izabal-Dulce River-Amatique Bay system is the only navigable inland waterway where commercial traffic exists on a relatively large scale.

23. **PORTS AND PORT FACILITIES:** San José (Escuintla), the most important Pacific port, has poor facilities. The major port is Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean. Most of the export produce is shipped here because of easy access to the east coast of the United States. Other ports are Matías de Gálvez and Livingston on the Caribbean and Champerico and Ocos on the Pacific.

24. **AIRFIELDS:** Aurora Airport in the City of Guatemala considered the best in Central America and can accommodate jet aircraft. There are 46 lesser airfields in the country, half of which cannot be used during the rainy season.

25. **PRINCIPAL AIRLINES:** Domestic air transportation is a monopoly of AVIATECA, a Government-owned airline. AVIATECA also provides international service to the United States, El Salvador, and Mexico. Six other airlines also provide international service. Among them are Pan American World Airways, Taca International Airlines, Transportes Aereos Nacionales (TAN), and Servicios Aereos Hondureños (SAHSA).

26. **INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES:** Over 300 international agreements in effect, one-third being inter-American regional pacts. Over 80 are bilateral agreements with 31 countries. There are more in force with the United States than with any other country.

27. **AID PROGRAMS:** United States has been major source of foreign aid since 1941, over half in the form of grants. Aid is also received from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Central American Bank for Economic Integration, and the United Nations.

28. INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP:
Member United Nations, Organization of American States, Inter-American Defense Board, Council for Central American Defense, Central American Common Market, International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Inter-American Development Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

GUATEMALA

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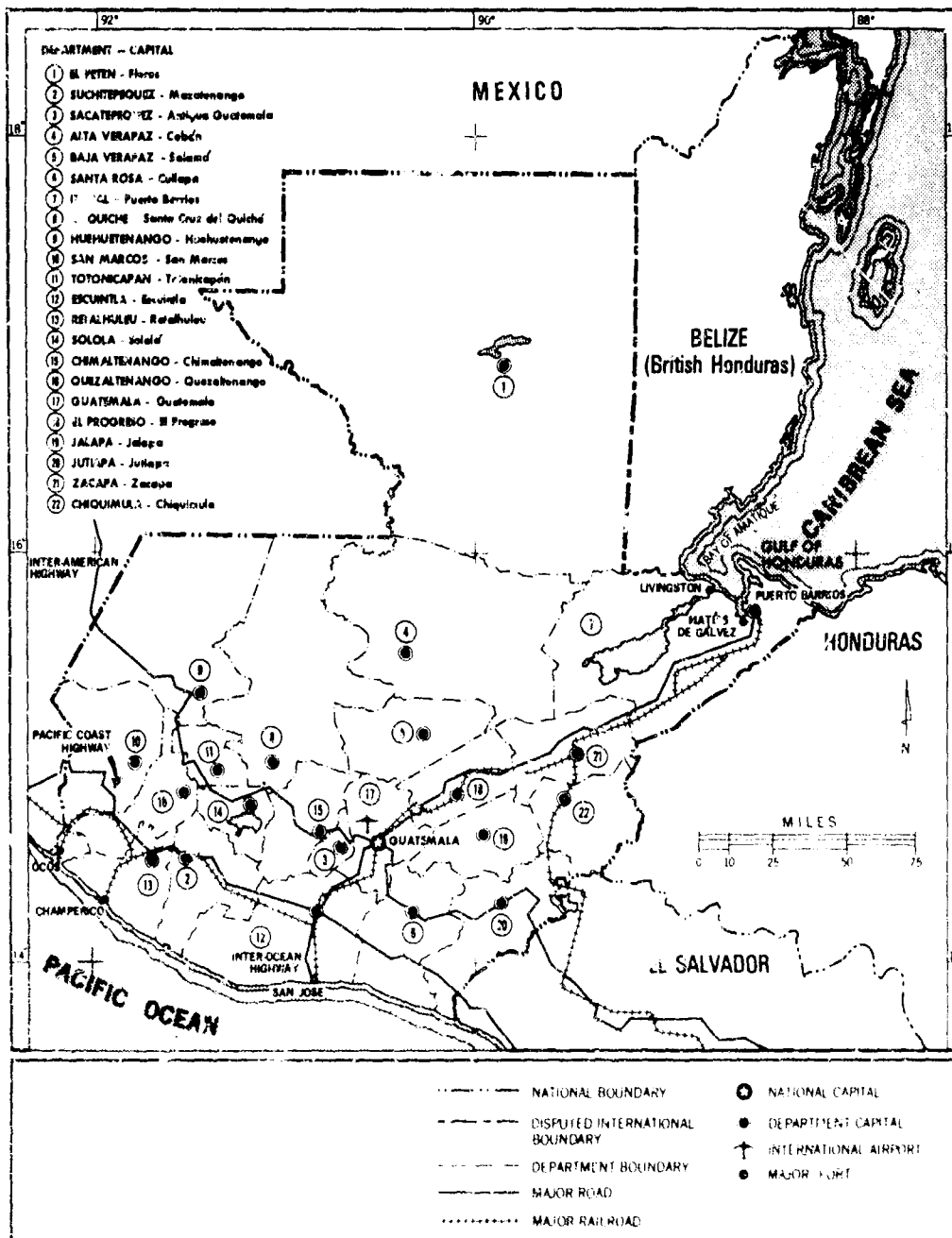


Figure 1. Political Divisions and Transportation Routes of Guatemala.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The most populous of the Central American republics, Guatemala has always contained at least a third of the population of the entire region. A tropical country with a land area of 42,000 square miles and an estimated population, in 1968, of 4.75 million, it shares borders with Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and British Honduras (which Guatemala claims as its own territory under the name of Belize). Although it has seaports on both the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean, its population is concentrated in the cool highlands of the interior.

Its extreme diversity of climate and landforms is matched by great cultural, linguistic, and economic differences within its population. More than half the people are of pure Maya Indian descent, and the majority of them continue to live in remote mountain villages, persisting in a way of life that has changed little over the centuries. In contrast, Guatemala City (population 600,000), the country's capital and only sizable metropolis, is the largest and most modern of all the cities of Central America.

Largely rural and agricultural, the country has recently experienced an upsurge in both industrialization and migration to urban areas. Guatemala is endowed with considerable economic potential, but was, at the end of 1968, hampered by social and political problems (see Political Dynamics and Values, ch. 6; Social Structure, ch. 5).

Over 400 years of shared history have not sufficed to create a unified society, and the population is still composed of two broad divisions. The half of the population not classified as Indian is usually characterized as being *ladino*. In its broadest sense this term means simply a person who is not a member of an Indian community and does not wear Indian dress or follow Indian customs. When used in this manner, the term includes virtually all Spanish-speaking Guatemalans, whether they be of white, Negro, Asian, or Indian ancestry. Upper class Guatemalans who reside in the capital, however, characterize themselves as white or European and use the term *ladino* in a racial sense to designate a person of mixed Indian-white ancestry.

The Indians are traditionally a passive and politically inert

group who wish only to follow their age-old customs with a minimum of interference. Since 1945 the pressures of an increasing population and the disrupting influences of modern life have forced more and more Indians out of their traditional communities into *ladino* society, swelling the ranks of the lower class. Coupled with the increasingly sophisticated and politically conscious middle class, this group has become a vocal exponent of land reform and social and economic change. Members of the small elite of the capital still dominate the economy and possess much of the wealth, but their political and economic domination has been moderated over the last 20 years, so that by 1968 the combined wealth of the middle class exceeded that of the traditional elite.

In the past, the political process has been characterized by the violent overthrow of regimes in power. Elections generally served to legitimize the rule of a party or faction once it had achieved power by other means. The election of 1966 was one of the few instances in Guatemalan history when an opposition candidate, Julio César Mendez Montenegro, attained the Presidency by relying solely on the electoral process.

The political system has been in ferment since 1945 when a social reform Government was elected under the auspices of the Army. The last traditional *caudillo*, Jorge Ubico, was replaced by a modern intellectual who advocated land reform, labor organization, and a more widely based political representation. During the next 9 years the Government was infiltrated by Communists, and the whole structure was overturned in 1954 by an anti-Communist force that invaded the country from Honduras.

Since that time several different governments have attempted to bring about more limited reforms, but have not sought or obtained the support of the mass of people. A small but active Communist guerrilla terrorist movement that started in 1960 has continued to harass the reformist Government of Julio César Mendez Montenegro, which in more recent years has also had to contend with right-wing terrorism. President Mendez has managed to limit Communist guerrilla activity and the right of terrorists, but the level of political violence remains high. The most recent spectacular example of Communist terrorism occurred in August 1968 with the assassination of the United States Ambassador John Gordon Mein (see Public Order and Safety, ch. 10).

Before 1945 active participation in national politics was largely limited to a small cosmopolitan elite in the capital, upper levels of the military, and minor portions of the urban middle class. Insofar as the remainder of the population was actively involved, it tended to be concerned with strictly local issues. Ever since the Presidency of Juan José Arévalo (1945-51), there has been a

gradual expansion of political participation; nevertheless, due mainly to the large proportion of Indians, the country continues to have the lowest percentage of voters among the Central American republics. By the end of 1968 an estimated one-fifth of the population was politically active, and approximately 10 percent of the total had participated in the last presidential election (see *Political Dynamics and Values*, ch. 6).

From the viewpoint of the average Guatemalan, the principal responsibilities of the Government include ensuring domestic tranquillity, protection from violence and crime, and work for all who seek it. These expectations are coupled with a traditional distrust of all government and, especially among the Indians, a disinclination to become involved in politics.

Export agriculture is the basis of the economy, but the country is less dependent upon agricultural production than previously. Diversification has occurred in both agriculture and industry. Coffee still dominates the plantation economy, but cotton, sugar, beef, and bananas are also produced and exported in large quantities. For the past 15 years more than half of all agricultural production has been exported. The industrial base of the country has also grown, especially since the advent of the Central American Common Market in 1960, and literally hundreds of manufactured products are now produced which formerly had to be imported. The principal industries are food processing, shoes, textiles, beverages, and household goods. Production has been increasing at a rate of 10 percent a year since 1961, and Guatemala is by now perhaps the most industrialized country in Central America. Two-thirds of the population, nevertheless, continues to be occupied in agricultural activities (see *Agriculture, Industry, Labor*, ch. 9).

Domestic food production is a chronic problem for the country. Although the diverse climatic regions permit the cultivation of any crop grown in the Western Hemisphere, in practice very few crops are cultivated in significant quantity. Corn, beans, rice, and wheat are the food staples, and in many years their production fails to meet requirements, therefore necessitating great quantities of food imports, which in some years amount to Q20,000,000 (Q1 equals US\$1). Most of the domestic food crops are raised by Indians who work small, generally inefficient plots of land, varying from 2 to 10 acres in size. Much unused fertile Government-owned land exists in unpopulated areas, but little has been done to open these areas to settlement. Similarly, there are also provisions in law for redistribution of privately owned land, but little emphasis has been placed on this approach to the problem in recent years. Two percent of the farms still occupy 72 percent of the farmland.

Banking and commerce are relatively well developed, and the country's road network is steadily improving. The currency is one of the world's most stable, and there has been very little inflation since the end of World War II. The growth rate of the gross national product (GNP) is higher than that of the population. The average annual per capita income for the country as a whole is well over Q300, whereas that of the urban population is about Q2,220, one of the highest in the world. A major economic problem continues to be an excessive dependence upon the export of coffee, the price of which has fluctuated greatly in the past; between 1956 and 1963, for example, the production of coffee increased by 30 percent, whereas the total income from it actually decreased by more than 10 percent (see *Economic and Financial Systems, Foreign Economic Relations*, ch. 8).

Spanish is the official language, but it is a foreign tongue to the Indians. Far from being homogeneous, the Indians comprise more than 300 distinct ethnic groups, speaking a variation of one of at least 17 distinct Maya languages. They share in a rural way of life, which is characterized by subsistence agriculture, based on simple hand tools, and which provides for little beyond the most basic physical necessities.

Although participating only marginally in the nation's culture, the Indians nevertheless are indispensable to its economy. Not only the major portion of the food consumed, but also a large part of the cash crops raised for export are produced by Indian labor (see *Ethnic Groups and Languages*, ch. 4).

Each Indian community specializes in a certain commodity consisting of an agricultural product or a handicraft. Nearly every family in the village makes or grows the item, and internal specialization is usually nonexistent. Consequently, trade among townships is a necessity, and each community holds at least one weekly market. A particular market may be well known for a certain commodity, and often an Indian travels many miles to acquire the specialty of a region. Barter is not prevalent. Indians work within a money economy, selling their products in order to buy other necessities (see *Domestic Trade*, ch. 8).

Aside from this economic specialty, an Indian cultivates a small piece of land, growing mainly corn, beans, and squash. He feels secure only when he owns and works some land. This occupation not only provides the major portion of his livelihood, but also defines his identity as well. For him, working the land forms the link between his material and spiritual worlds (see *Social Values*, ch. 5).

Religious beliefs also vary from one township to another, but most Indians practice a syncretic faith composed of Roman Cathol-

icism and the ancient Mayan religion. The two systems of belief have been so closely interwoven that Indians do not recognize the distinction between them. They believe in the existence of God and his son Christ, but consider both the Christian saints and the old Mayan gods as lesser deities who act as intermediaries between Christ and men. As a rule, the Mayan gods are dominant in agricultural rituals, but the Christian saints are most prevalent in community ceremonies.

Religion permeates every aspect of Indian life from agricultural practices to personal ethics. The rituals which accompany the cultivation process are considered just as vital as the simple mechanics of planting and harvesting. In his own life, an Indian attempts to accommodate to the universal laws which he believes God has designed. These attempts are reflected in community tradition, and an individual is expected to preserve this timeless pattern, conforming to the social and religious practices of his township. The continuation of the group is for him more important than the survival of the individual. The most important institutions in Indian communities are the religious brotherhoods in which every Indian man is expected to serve in some capacity (see Religion, ch. 5).

Indian social life exhibits community variations, but in most communities the nuclear family, composed of husband, wife, and unmarried children, is the basic unit. It performs a variety of roles and is of primary importance in the economic, religious, and social spheres of the community. An individual cannot assume adult status in the township until he is married and head of an independent family group. In a few communities the extended family, composed of more than one nuclear unit, is favored, sometimes by tradition and sometimes by necessity. As a rule, however, the single family unit remains the ideal.

In the last decade there has been an increase in movement away from traditional Indian communities into *ladino* society. The pressures of an increasing population have forced many off the land and into the ranks of the mobile agricultural workers, breaking family and community ties and disrupting traditions. Service in the Army and migration to the urban areas have supplemented this process, and a large increase in the number of transitional Indians is the result. This group lives on the boundary between the two cultures, but is not truly at home in either. Their children, however, are moving into *ladino* society, changing the shape of that culture (see Social Structure, ch. 5).

The *ladino* society resembles the dominant culture in many other Latin American countries. The Hispanic heritage visibly influences aspects of the social, political, and religious life of the nation, but

has been modified by the New World environment and by Indian culture. These elements are reflected in the population, with the Europeanized section constituting the elite and the Indian element characterizing the lower class of society. Most *laianos*, however, seek to emulate the upper class and consider elitist behavior the ideal, even when it is economically impossible to imitate. Thus, most share a similar cultural orientation (see Social Values, ch. 5).

The society, highly stratified, is composed of a small elite group, a growing middle class, and a large lower class. With the upsurge in urbanization, the numerical strength of the middle class has increased and its economic power has been growing. It has modified both the political and economic hegemony of the upper class. Urban laborers, itinerant and resident agricultural workers, and subsistence farmers constitute the lower level and have lately become more politically active. They are essentially a restless group, seeking a permanent place in the social structure (see Political Dynamics and Values, ch. 6).

In the *ladino* society as a whole, the assertive and aggressive man is admired, and from his viewpoint the group exists to exalt the individual. A concept of responsibility toward the group is not well developed. The one tie which an individual accepts willingly is the bond of kinship. The family is important in all classes of *ladino* society and is the source of prestige and the means of social grading. Family reputation, plus the amount and source of wealth, determines the social position of an individual.

The family is the principal center of loyalty and identification for most Guatemalans. A person's sense of worth and identity are closely tied to proper fulfillment of his role within the family. To live up to what is expected of him, a father, for example, must be energetic and reliable, as well as alternately severe and good natured. Included among his principal duties are providing for the physical needs of all those dependent on him and giving his children a good education. He is also responsible for the moral conduct of the entire family and is expected to ensure tranquillity within it (see Family, ch. 5).

Fear of unemployment and poverty are among the principal anxieties. The greatest aspirations for urban Guatemalans are to have one's children study for a profession, to own one's home, and to have more money. Advice given to youth most often includes developing a love for work, living without vices, finding a good spouse, saving money, respecting superiors, having a religious faith, avoiding politics, and taking care of one's health. For most Guatemalans, the greatest satisfactions are derived from the simplest things: work, the climate, the countryside, and walks.

For most *ladinos*, religion is compartmentalized and does not directly influence many other aspects of their lives. The men espouse the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, but seldom attend services. The women, however, are usually ardent supporters of the Church and participate in many religious activities. Religion does not, however, permeate their daily lives as it does in Indian communities. Within the lower class, superstitious beliefs are prevalent, and attempts to manipulate the supernatural through astrology or mediums are common. Their general orientation, however, is still predominantly secular, in contrast to that of the Indians. Nevertheless, more than common tradition, language, origin, or style of life, the Roman Catholic religion is the single force which unifies the greatest number of Guatemalans. Whereas no more than approximately one-half of the population speaks Spanish in the home, at least 95 percent characterize themselves as Roman Catholics (see Religion, ch. 5).

The great historical personages have been heroes to only a minority of the population. Pedro de Alvarado, the Spanish conqueror who subdued the various Guatemalan Indian nations early in the 16th century, is glorified by some. His chief rival was the Maya-Quiche chieftain Tecún Umán, whom Alvarado defeated and killed in battle in 1524, but his name means little or nothing to the majority of the Indians.

Virtually all of the outstanding political personages before 1945 were highly partisan champions or enemies of the Roman Catholic Church. The battle between the Liberals and the Conservatives for over a century concerned chiefly the question of what role the Church should play in society.

Between the arrival of the Spanish armed force of Pedro de Alvarado in 1524 and the Guatemalan declaration of independence in 1821, the Church was by far the dominant institution in society. It controlled all education, defined morals and values, acquired great wealth, and strongly supported the Spanish Crown.

Before independence was achieved, the Liberal Party championed the confiscation of Church lands, the secularization of education, and the expulsion of religious orders from the country. These goals were first achieved, at least in part, when the Liberal armed forces of General Francisco Morazán captured the Guatemalan capital in 1829. By 1837 a Conservative reaction had swept the country and an armed force led by Rafael Carrera, an illiterate Indian, removed the Liberals from power and reestablished the privileged position of the Church.

Another Liberal rebellion occurred 34 years later, this time led by Justo Rufino Barrios. Although championing Liberal ideals, Rufino Barrios ruled in the same autocratic manner of his prede-

cessors, differing significantly only on the issue of the role of the Church. Beginning in 1871, he closed all Catholic schools, including the university, and replaced them by institutions under his control. He also expelled the Jesuit order, the archbishop, and all bishops. He prohibited the wearing of religious garb and banned religious processions. Many of these measures—for example, the prohibition against seminaries—continued in effect for more than 80 years.

After the death of Rufino Barrios in 1885 and until 1944, all of his successors paid homage to his ideals, but none were strong enough, in practice, to rule without at least a tacit accommodation with the Church. As fewer measures against the Church were enforced and persons who identified with it no longer felt persecuted, the role of the Church in society ceased to be a major issue. Since 1945 questions of social and economic reforms and a more just distribution of wealth have come to the fore. The major issues dividing the various political parties and factions in the 1950's and 1960's have concerned the degree and pace of acceptable reform and the means to achieve it. The desire of those who consider themselves the heirs of the revolution of 1944 to step up the lagging pace of social and economic reform is frustrated by the opposition of the oligarchy and by others who wish to maintain the status quo. The resulting enmities, especially among the more extreme members of each group, account for a good deal of the political violence that has plagued Guatemala for years (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL SETTING

The history of Guatemala is reflected in the composition of its population. To this day more than half the people still live within the Indian culture, and the physical characteristics of the large majority reflect their Indian heritage. The Spaniards who arrived in the 16th century dominated the country for over 300 years and established many of the political and social institutions which have remained until the present. The Spaniards and the Indians did not remain in separate worlds, yet neither did they fuse. Their imperfect blending comprises the history of modern Guatemala.

Guatemala has often been the hub of Central American history, and major historical events were focused within its territory. At one time or another the term Guatemala included all of the Central American isthmus. The area that is now Guatemala and Yucatán was for centuries the center of the Mayan Empire. Colonial Guatemala was the capital of the Spanish Government for all of Central America and, after independence in 1821, the most powerful state in a short-lived federation. During the 19th century it set the trends in Central American Governments, often intervening politically in neighboring countries. It was the strongest proponent of reunification.

Guatemalan history through the 19th and into the 20th century was dominated by four major strongmen. Ruling with a mixture of paternalism and despotism, these men were supported largely by the landowners, the Army, and the Church. A constitutional structure existed but, in practice, the ruler defined the law in his own terms. In 1944, however, a rebellion ousted the last of these four dictators and ushered in a new social and economic order which the new President openly labeled "socialism."

This 1944 revolution was the product of the structural changes that were gradually taking place in Guatemalan society, but it also served to accelerate them. Originally designed as a means of social and economic reform, the movement was infiltrated by Communists who gained firm control of the unions, student groups, and parts of the Government by 1954. After the anti-Communist reaction of that year overthrew the Government and drove the Communists into hiding, the new government of the Liberation,

as it was called, was strongly conservative. The pre-1944 balance was not restored, however, and the ideal, as well as many of the actual laws of the reformist period, was retained.

The deep cleavages between the heirs of the revolutionary decade, 1944-54, and those who opposed them under the banner of "The National Liberation" have created a basically unstable situation. The years between 1954 and 1966 were marked, for example, by the assassination of one president, Castillo Armas; the forcible overthrow of another, Ydígoras Fuentes; and a period of military rule under Colonel Peralta. The latter cleared the way for the constitutional election in 1966 of President Mendez Montenegro, who has succeeded in establishing a dialogue between the opposing camps and in reducing to some extent the political polarization of his country.

PRE-COLUMBIAN ERA

The roots of the country's history are found in the preconquest world. More than half the 1968 population is directly descended from Indian tribes. The ruins of ancient cities are found in every part of Guatemala, and aspects of preconquest culture continue to influence and regulate Indian life and to have some bearing on the political, social, and religious structure of present-day Guatemala.

Pre-Mayan and Mayan Civilization

Archaeological evidence reveals that the earliest tribes were nomadic hunters who wandered throughout Central America. Many of these later settled in the Guatemalan Highlands, building sedentary agricultural communities based on the cultivation of corn.

Between 2,000 and 1,500 B.C., similar farming communities began to appear in the El Petén rain forest area in northern Guatemala, and eventually created a corn economy which made the prosperity and growth of the Mayan Empire possible. Most authorities believe that these prehistoric farmers were immigrants from the highlands where traces of pre-Mayan cultures have been found. Others maintain, however, that they were late arrivals from Asia and brought many of their cultural patterns with them.

Whatever their origin, by 400 B.C. these people were building the foundations of Mayan civilization, one of the most advanced in the New World. They had devised the rudiments of their calendars, had begun the study of mathematics and astronomy, and had invented elementary hieroglyphics. Succeeding generations saw the florescence of this culture and its spread throughout Central America. The Mayan Empire eventually covered 125,000 square miles and stretched from Yucatán to Honduras. It included

all of Guatemala, with the heart of the empire located at Lake Petén Itzá.

Attempts to decipher the Mayan chronology traditionally depended on translations of the calendric symbols found in the Mayan ruins and on clues provided by Bishop Diego de Landa of Yucatán in the 16th century. The various readings of the symbols, however, do not coincide. In the 1930's the Spinden and Makemson system, which placed the beginnings of the Mayan classic or golden age at A.D. 68, was the most popular. Since the 1940's a system called the Goodman-Martinez-Thompson calendar, which moves the date 250 years ahead to A.D. 317, has been dominant. A more recent method of establishing the chronology uses radioactive carbon tests which confirm the ages of wood found in Mayan artifacts. These tests, which have not been universally accepted, would strongly favor the Spinden and Makemson calendar.

Whatever the accepted date of the classic period, the next 600 years witnessed the brilliant evolution of this pre-Columbian culture, especially in the areas of mathematics, astronomy, writing, architecture, and art. Nevertheless, Mayan hieroglyphics stopped short of a phonetic alphabet and have been only partially translated. Mayan history, consequently, is deciphered primarily from art, architecture, and the dated obelisks which were erected in the major cities at intervals of 10 years.

Since the mathematical system was based on the number 20, the calendric computations divided the year into 18 months of 20 days each, with an extra month of 5 holy days. This same chronology is used in the highlands today and, as in the past, religious ceremonies tied to calendar observations are considered vital to the agricultural process. This veneration of numbers and yearly cycles, also found in the modern Guatemalan Indians, partly accounts for the supremacy of the Mayan priests who calculated and forecast the important dates.

The social life of the Mayas could best be described as a highly stratified theocracy. At the lowest level were the farmers who lived on their small plots surrounding the city, supported the priestly class, and supplied the labor for the temples and obelisks. At the next level were the priests, also accomplished mathematicians and astronomers, who conducted the religious rituals. These seasonal rites were tied to calendric counts and governed most social, economic, and political aspects of Mayan life. Information concerning the governmental structure is scarce and theories vary. If a hereditary nobility existed, it did not wield great power, and it appears more probable that the priests handled all political responsibilities.

Mayan cities were probably both religious centers and markets, which were busy on certain days and deserted on others. It is

unlikely that even the priests lived within the city proper. The cities did contain, however, the tiered pyramids with temples located at the top and the dated obelisks which commemorated 10-year periods.

In a sense, the term Mayan Empire is a misnomer because there was no central authority, and each city was a separate and autonomous state. These states were in rivalry with one another, but there was little warfare, and the Mayan culture remained remarkably homogeneous. Their language and religious practices were uniform throughout the Empire. The ruins in Tikal, Piedras Negras, Copán, and others all reveal a contiguous culture with a few regional variations.

About 500 years after the beginning of the golden age, a general decay began within the cities, and in a century the El Petén rain forest area was abandoned. This desertion has been attributed to the slash-and-burn farming techniques which eventually turned the forests into savannas. There is a possibility that the soil was exhausted through intensive use and the crop yield was no longer sufficient to support the cities. Other theories contend that disease, a revolt against the priests, or raids by less civilized groups from the north caused the disappearance of the El Petén civilization. To a considerable extent, the lowlands of Yucatán, the El Petén and the Guatemalan highlands returned to their pre-Mayan patterns, and the forests swallowed the ruins.

Post-Mayan Civilization

The Yucatán cities which were built during the period of classic high culture were outposts of the Mayan civilizations and became the centers of a new florescence during the second millennium A.D. This renaissance, however, was not pure Mayan but contained many elements of central Mexican culture. It is generally believed that an invasion from the north revived the waning Yucatán civilization and established new cities around the *cenotes* (natural wells).

Chichén Itzá, Mayapán, and Uxmal, all ruled by families from the central valley of Mexico, became the main centers of this new empire. Mexican gods were imported, such as Kukulcán or Quetzalcóatl—a feathered serpent requiring human sacrifice on a large scale—and architecture and art assumed many Mexican characteristics. In time the Mexican elite lost most of their original heritage and were assimilated into the Mayan culture. This acculturation was not complete, however, and as the civilization became more secular, it also became more militaristic. Civil war erupted in 1200 A.D. and was won by the Mayapán dynasty. The Itzá family, formerly the rulers of Chichén Itzá, retreated to El Petén,

and for over 200 years Yucatán was ruled by a centralized authority. In 1435 this central control was broken and, when the Spanish arrived, the cities were again fighting among themselves.

The history of Yucatán is paralleled somewhat in the highlands of Guatemala. Here too a group of Mexican invaders called Quiche conquered the local Mayan tribes and established their hegemony over surrounding areas. They eventually split into three nations, and the strongest, the Maya-Quiché, settled on the northwest shores of Lake Atitlán. The Cakchiquel took the northeast shore, and the Tzutuhil moved to the south. All three groups imposed the worship of Kukulcán and imported other Mexican traditions. They were, however, eventually assimilated and became more Mayan than Mexican.

The highlands had long been the destination of immigrating tribes, and the Quiches were only one of three great migrations. The Mam nation, which preceded the Quiche, migrated to an area of the Guatemalan highlands known today as Huehuetenango. The third nation, the Rabinal, settled in the present-day Departments of Alta and Baja Verapaz. These latter were fierce and invincible fighters who were never defeated by the Spanish armies, but were finally brought under Hispanic rule by Dominican priests.

Eventually, the Quiches became the ruling nation and held sway over most of the highlands. During the 15th century, however, when the Mayapán dynasty fell in Yucatán, the Quiche empire also collapsed. When the Spaniards arrived, internecine warfare characterized the area. Not even the threat of total defeat and subjugation by the Spaniards could end the tribal quarrels and create a united Indian army.

Preconquest Guatemala reveals a blending of several Indian cultures and groups dominated by a large Mayan strain. The Hispanic invasion destroyed many elements in this blend, especially the political and social structures. In other aspects, however, the conquest is only one event in a long and continuous history (see *Ethnic Groups and Languages*, ch. 4).

CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

Subjugation of the Highlands

The Spanish conquest which began in the Caribbean area moved rapidly to the Guatemalan highlands. Only 32 years after Columbus landed in Santo Domingo, Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror of much of Central America, crossed the Suchiate River into Guatemala. At this time the Guatemalan Indians were concentrated in the highlands, and the El Petén rain forest had long been deserted, except around Lake Petén Itzá. These Indians first experienced the consequences of the Hispanic invasion when smallpox and other

European diseases swept down from the north, decimating the highland tribes. Pedro de Alvarado, however, brought the first Spanish army to the area.

Alvarado, a loyal and ruthless lieutenant under Cortés, was sent in 1523 to subdue the Maya-Quiché, the Cakchiquels, and the Tzutuhil tribes. His army consisted of 120 horsemen, 300 Spanish infantry, 4 small cannons, 40 reserve horses, and 300 Mexican allies. The Mexicans were responsible for renaming Mayan sites and, as a result, many cities and departments in Guatemala today bear Nahuatl titles.

The highland tribes might have defeated Alvarado's small force if they had joined together. They were, however, unable to forget their intertribal quarrels and many, such as the Cakchiquels, allied with the Spaniards to defeat their Indian enemies. The Spaniards eventually repaid this favor by turning against the Cakchiquels.

The first opposing native forces which the Spaniards met were the Quiche and the Soconusco of southern Mexico. The Spanish easily defeated these tribes and continued into the highlands. The Quiches, however, persisted and, early in 1524, met the invaders outside the city of Quezaltenango. Their chief, Tecún Umán, engaged Alvarado in personal combat and was killed. This ended not only the Indians' attack but the last army of the Quiche as well.

The remaining Quiche kings attempted to defeat Alvarado through trickery and invited him to their fortress. They planned to trap the Spaniards, burn the town, and kill them during the ensuing confusion. Alvarado, however, suspected the ruse and captured the kings instead, burning them alive for their treachery. Except for sporadic guerrilla attacks, this ended Quiche resistance.

During their war with the Quiches, the Spanish had been aided by the Cakchiquels, who also helped them to defeat other highland tribes. When the main Indian nations had been subdued, Alvarado began to demand tribute, both slaves and gold, from his former allies. The Cakchiquel leaders were killed by Alvarado as a lesson to their people, and thousands were literally worked to death attempting to fill the Spanish quota of gold. This situation was duplicated in every part of the Guatemalan highlands, setting the pattern for 300 years of subjugation and exploitation.

The scattered remains of the various Indian tribes finally joined together against the Spanish, but their effort came too late. Their armies were destroyed, their rulers were dead, and the Spanish were in control. Pockets of resistance existed, but these did not prevent the beginning of colonization.

The Colonial Political Structure

Alvarado established the first capital of Central America in Guatemala in the old Cakchiquel fortress. It was called Santiago de los Caballeros, in honor of St. James, the patron saint of the conquerors. In less than a year, however, this site was abandoned, and the capital was moved to a valley between the volcanoes Agua and Fuego. This new community remained the center of Government until 1541 when it was destroyed by a flood. The capital was then reestablished in the valley of Panchoy and again called Santiago de los Caballeros. Today it is known as Antigua.

Alvarado was appointed *adelantado* (governor) of the Kingdom of Guatemala, but he lacked the capacity for administration. The dangers and rewards of exploration and combat were more to his liking, and he left the area on various expeditions. In 1541 he was killed during a search for the legendary Seven Cities of Cíbola in northern Mexico.

The colonial era was virtually a static period in Guatemalan history. There were few outstanding events and little social or technological progress. Yet the Hispanic social, political, and religious institutions assumed their basic form during these 300 years.

In 1542 King Philip of Spain promulgated laws which organized the political structure of the colonies. Three *audiencias* (the supreme judicial bodies in the New World) were established, and one was brought to the Central American area in 1544. The capital of this court was moved to Guatemala in 1549.

Spain separated Central America from the viceroyalty of New Spain or Mexico in 1560, and a captain-general, the Crown's direct representative carrying the second highest rank of the colonies, was appointed for the area. The new captaincy-general was called the Kingdom of Guatemala and included the six provinces of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Chiapas. It was theoretically subordinate to New Spain but, as its name implied, functioned as an autonomous state because of the lack of transportation and communication between Mexico and Guatemala.

Within Central America itself there was no strong central authority and, by necessity, each of the provinces had to govern its own affairs. Thus each State developed independently and evolved its own separate identity. The provinces had no history of functioning unity, even during the colonial era.

Although they controlled their own affairs, the provinces still looked to Guatemala as the center of power in the captaincy-general. It was the largest and most populous state, and set the

trends for the area in most matters, from politics to fashions. Because of the captain-general's lower rank within colonial structure, however, he was closely checked upon by other Spanish authorities. Thus, the *audiencia* exercised more power here than in either of the viceroyalties of Peru or Mexico.

Aside from this stricter control, the governmental structure in Guatemala was similar to that found in all of Spanish America. The highest officials, such as members of the *audiencia* and the captain-general, were appointed by the king and were always *peninsulares* (persons born in Spain). The *criollos* (Spaniards who were born in the colonies) were allowed to hold only minor posts and occupied secondary positions in the social structure as well.

The remaining positions, local and national, which were not directly appointed, were sold by the Crown. This practice concentrated both power and wealth in a few hands. It also encouraged graft and corruption in public office, since the appointed official usually sought a return on what he thought of as his investment.

The provincial political structure included three levels of authority. At the lowest level the *regidores* (councilmen) who made local decisions were found in the Spanish towns. At the next level were the officers who ruled over the districts or larger towns. In the Spanish districts they were known as *alcaldes mayores* and, in the predominantly Indian areas, they were known as *corregidores*. There were also *gobiernos* (governors), who had been appointed before the *audiencia* existed.

In an effort to eliminate abuses and to bring the colonies under more direct control, the political structure was altered. In 1786 King Charles issued new laws reorganizing the colonial government by replacing the governors, *corregidores* and the *alcaldes mayores* with local administrators called *intendentes*. They were paid a better salary and were therefore less involved in petty corruption.

Guatemala remained isolated for much of its colonial era, both from neighboring provinces and foreign countries. Not only were communications and transportation extremely poor, but Spanish policy discouraged strong ties between the colonies. Nor did the area maintain contact with Europe through immigrants, for very few Spaniards were attracted to Guatemala. The early colonists were not looking for rich farming and grazing lands, but for gold and silver, and Guatemala had very little mineral wealth. Foreigners might have filled the gap, but the Crown passed restrictive laws against foreign immigration. A minority of wealthy Spaniards in the colonies sent for wives from Spain, although most married Indian women or *mestizas* (persons of Indian-white origin—see Glossary).

Besides discouraging foreign settlement, the Spanish Government also legally forbade any trade with other countries. Originally this law included commerce with neighboring provinces and made Spain the only market for exports. This restriction on inter-colonial trade was eliminated in 1774. Laws against foreign trade, however, were never enforced, and in some areas the quantity of smuggled goods became greater than that of legal trade.

The major sources of contact with foreigners were the pirates who ravaged the coastal cities. Guatemala, as a center of judicial, military, and governmental power, was obligated to provide protection against these raids. Poor communications, however, usually prevented knowledge of an attack from reaching the capital in time for effective action. Furthermore, the people within Guatemala made determined efforts to prevent the military force from leaving the capital unprotected. This contributed to deepened provincial separation in Central America.

The Indians played a very small role in the political process. In the early years of the colony, groups of Indians had been awarded to *conquistadores* in grants called *encomiendas*. Under these grants the Spaniards, or *encomenderos*, promised to convert the natives in exchange for labor or monetary tribute. This system was greatly abused and was officially abolished in 1542. In practice, however, it continued throughout the colonial era, and became the model for forced labor systems imposed on the Indians by succeeding governments.

The *encomiendas* were officially replaced by a labor system called *repartimiento* which allotted a number of Indians to specific tasks, usually public works. Laws against malpractices existed but were seldom enforced, and the system became, in practice, slave labor. Women and children were not exempt from the forced-labor systems, and the Guatemalans were notorious for their exploitation of these two groups.

Those Indians who were not part of an *encomienda* grant were forced to move into towns around 1550. Both the Church and the Government preferred to have the Indian population under stricter control in these centralized locations. Some of these towns have since remained predominantly Indian even in the 20th century.

Social and Religious Structure

The social classes in colonial Guatemala were rigidly stratified and clearly defined. The *peninsulares* occupied the highest level and controlled the most important positions in the Government. Wealthy *criollos* came next and were followed by craftsmen and artisans sent from Europe. At a much lower level were the populations of mixed ancestry and the Negro freedmen. The Indians

and the Negro slaves occupied the lowest position in the class structure (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4).

The two upper classes lived in relative comfort and luxury. Most owned country estates as well as large homes within the provincial capitals. These two groups, however, became increasingly hostile to one another because the *criollos* resented the higher status and the power of the *peninsulares*. This antagonism and the *criollos'* desire to replace the *peninsulares* eventually gave strong impetus to the independence movement.

The people of mixed racial origin usually lived in the urban areas and became merchants, craftsmen, or servants. It was during this time that the term *ladino* (see Glossary) first came into general use. It was originally applied to the urban artisans but, as more and more *mestizos* moved into this class, *ladino* became synonymous with *mestizo*. In the 20th century the term has been broadened by some to include all those who do not follow Indian customs.

During the latter part of the colonial era, the social structure became more flexible. Indians who moved to the urban areas, wore Western clothes, and spoke Spanish, became members of the *mestizo* class. A few *mestizos* acquired wealth and prestige and joined the *criollo* class. Social mobility existed to a certain extent in practice, but the rigid definitions of social classes remained.

The Roman Catholic clergy was one of the most powerful groups in the colonial structure and was at least as important as the secular officialdom. The first priests arrived with the conquerors and began the task of converting the Indians. Many became the Indians' protectors against the brutality and avarice of the *encomenderos* and continually fought for fair treatment of the native population.

Bartholomé de las Casas, a Dominican priest, became the symbol of these missionaries. He first brought the plight of the Indian to the attention of Europe and the Spanish king through a book called *A Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. This book and the influence which the priest had with King Philip were the reasons behind the New Laws of 1542 which abolished the *encomiendas* and made the Indians vassals of the Crown. These laws, however, had little practical effect, and the colonists continued their exploitive practices.

Shortly after the conquest, Las Casas arrived in the Kingdom of Guatemala as Bishop of Chiapas, and in 1537 reached an understanding with the Government officials. They promised to keep military force out of the territory of the Rabinal, the only major Indian nation which the Spaniards had not yet defeated: In return, Las Casas promised to convert the Indians to Christianity and to a

peaceful way of life. Five years later, this conversion was accomplished, and the Crown changed the name of the area to Verapaz, or "the true peace."

Father Francisco Marroquin arrived in 1534 and became the first bishop of the Kingdom of Guatemala. He divided the area among the three dominant orders, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Mercedarians, granting each group one or more of the six provinces. These groups were later joined by the Jesuits who became the largest and wealthiest order in the New World. The orders became masters of huge tracts of land and large numbers of Indians, and their missions have often been described as autonomous kingdoms. The orders were self-sufficient and became increasingly wealthy, since they were exempt from taxes and received large incomes from their agricultural and industrial projects.

The clergy did not, however, confine its efforts to the Indians. Catholic churches were built in every Spanish town, where they were usually the largest and most beautiful buildings. The orders were in charge of education and established and operated the only schools in Guatemala. The first university, named the University of San Carlos, was founded in Antigua in 1676. The teachers were Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans. In addition, the clergy built hospitals and supported the arts, such as painting, architecture, and literature.

As the Church became wealthier and more entrenched in the social and political framework of the colony, it also became more conservative. The ardent missionaries of the conquest were replaced for the most part by men who favored the status quo and a minimum of social upheaval. The Indians were still protected, but the Church began to agree with the colonists and considered forced labor necessary for the preservation of the colony.

Most of the native population was nominally converted to Catholicism, but their religion contained a strong indigenous flavor. The Mayan calendar was kept, and ancient religious agricultural festivals were still observed. In effect, the Indians practiced a highly syncretic faith (see Religion, ch. 5).

Antigua, the capital of Guatemala until 1773, was the center of Church power. Native and Spanish stonemasons, silversmiths, and sculptors built magnificent churches. Paintings set with gold and silver told the stories of various saints, and opulent monasteries and convents were built. Antigua became a symbol of ecclesiastical wealth, prestige, and power.

In 1773, however, severe earth tremors shook the city and in July an earthquake partially destroyed the churches and palaces. The Governor and the anticlerical party announced the political

evacuation of the city. The priests strongly protested this move, and only an edict from the King finally ended the feud and established the new capital at its present site. There has been some conjecture that the quake was simply used as an excuse to limit clerical power. Both the destruction of Antigua and the expulsion of the Jesuits 6 years earlier seriously weakened the Church.

Economic Aspects

From Spain's viewpoint, the colonies were a business venture and were expected to support the mother country. As a consequence, the colonial economic system was tightly controlled. Central America was no exception, although it was not one of the Crown's favored possessions. The area had little gold and silver, the colonial definition of wealth, and this was depleted in a short while. In lieu of minerals, the colonists sought crops which could be profitably traded.

Farming and grazing became large enterprises, and the Spanish were soon growing cacao, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. The first two, both indigenous products, became Guatemala's largest exports, especially to surrounding colonies when the ban against intercolony trade was lifted. Guatemala also exported balsam, sarsaparilla, quinine, gums, and resins. Some products were brought from Spain, both for profit and to remind the colonists of home. The mother country, however, was watchful of its own economy and wanted no competition from Spanish America. Laws prohibited the cultivation of mulberry trees, flax, and the production of wine within the colonies.

The forbidding of trade between the colonies and foreign countries simply increased the level of illegal trade with the Dutch, English, and French. This commerce monopoly, moreover, also encouraged piracy, and for decades the coastal cities were continually attacked by Dutch, English, and French pirates.

On the whole, the colonial economy was static. The Indians retained their traditional patterns of agriculture, and corn was still the largest crop grown in Guatemala. Even the Spaniards and Negroes accepted this food staple as they did the kidney bean, another indigenous contribution. Native fruits and vegetables were supplemented by imported varieties.

The greatest change in the economy was the introduction of domesticated animals. The pre-Columbian Indians raised for food no animal larger than a turkey, and employed no beasts of burden. The Spanish brought the horse and also imported and bred mules, cattle, and pigs (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

On the whole, the colonial economy was a system of extremes. At the top were the few wealthy families who traded in cacao and

indigo or bred cattle. At the bottom were the Indian or *mestizo* farmers who worked small corn plots and lived on a subsistence level. In between were the artisans and merchants who were closer economically to the Indian than to the wealthy (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8).

Cultural Aspects

The cultural changes which occurred in colonial Guatemala were mainly the replacement of Indian with Spanish arts. The Mayan ball game disappeared, and the bullfight became popular. Indian plays and dances were largely forgotten, and Hispanic themes, such as the conquest of the Moors, were enacted. In Guatemala the struggle between the Quiche and Alvarado became a favorite theme for dramatic performance, but it was acted in the traditional Spanish style. Indian architecture was neglected, but the Spanish churches and palaces in Guatemala were some of the most elegant and ornate in the Central American area.

Nevertheless, indigenous culture did not disappear. The Indians retained their language, much of their religion, many of their dances, and a great deal of their oral traditions. They accepted parts of the Spanish culture, but their own was not forgotten. In places, the Hispanic innovations were simply a façade for the indigenous customs. The colonial Spanish culture did not consciously incorporate any of the classic Mayan patterns and was only peripherally influenced by the 16th century Indian culture. Spaniards retained Europe as their model in art and intellectual thought.

Spanish paintings and sculptures were, for the most part, confined to religious subjects. Both Indian and European artisans were employed to decorate the religious and governmental buildings, but the style was European with few New World innovations. Since most of Guatemala's major buildings were found in Antigua, some of the best colonial art was destroyed in the earthquake.

Historical chronicles written by the conquerors and by Franciscan and Dominican priests constituted the earliest literature of the era. The best known of these is the story of the conquest of Mexico and Honduras by Bernal Díaz. The most distinctive literary achievements, however, were written in the 16th century by Guatemalan Indians who were taught to write by the priests. *The Popol Vuh* is a Quiche document giving a vivid picture of the preconquest world. *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* records the events of the conquest and its immediate aftermath. The education of the Indians, however, gradually ceased and literary works were found only in the elite class.

The Church controlled the educational system in Guatemala and

established various schools, both for the clergy and the laymen, throughout the province. During the colonial period the University of San Carlos, founded in 1676, was Guatemala's only institution of higher learning. The intellectual life of the colony was not, however, completely dominated by the Church and, in the 18th century, intellectual currents opposed to Church doctrine were especially strong. The French Revolution and its resulting philosophies and ideals had a powerful impact, especially in the capital, and laid part of the groundwork for the independence movement.

INDEPENDENCE AND DICTATORS (1820-1944)

During the last decades of the 18th century, the political pace in Guatemala quickened and a new regional awareness evolved. The partial destruction of Antigua in 1773 disrupted trade and commerce and ruined many of the wealthy merchants. The more secular atmosphere in the relocated capital allowed the rise of new social and economic groups who were the precursors of Guatemala's political parties.

Juan Fermín Aycinena was one of the first men to take advantage of the economic opportunities and by doing so became very wealthy. He purchased the title of Marquis and was the only *criollo* holder of a noble title in the entire Central American area. With his wealth and claim to nobility, he and his relatives became the aristocracy of Guatemalan society and the head of a powerful economic and political faction known as "the family."

Though the Fermín Aycinena clan eventually lost its dominant position in Guatemalan society, it was representative of the conservative landowning oligarchy which would eventually form one of the most powerful classes in the nation. The elitist ideals of the family and of its peers became the major tenets of the Conservative Party in the 19th century.

The economic elite of the Central American area was not, however, a unified group, but was split by the rivalry between the capital and the provinces and between merchants and planters. The interests of part of the elite were represented in the *consulado* (merchants' guild), which was located in the capital. The planters in the provinces formed an indigo growers' society to combat the power of the merchants.

As indigo trade declined, the split between the *consulado* and the growers' society worsened. The official economic policy, since the merchants had trade contracts in Spain, usually worked to the disadvantage of the growers. Resentment between the two groups increased, and the economic wedge between the capital and the provinces was a significant element in the eventual failure of the Central American Union in the 19th century.

In addition to this rivalry, other situations were laying the foundations for independence. The first session of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country met in 1796 and discussed means by which the provinces could realize their full potential. This group disbanded 3 years later, but it left functioning the first newspaper, the *Guatemala Gazette*, which published debates and editorials on colonial matters.

Although conditions within the colony played a role in its preparation for independence, the first impetus came from Europe. In 1808 Napoleon invaded Spain and deposed Ferdinand VII. The royal court was held in exile, but a *cortes* (parliament) was established in Cádiz for all Spaniards, *criollos* or *peninsulares*, who were loyal to the Bourbon King.

This *cortes*, liberal in orientation, offered fuller representation to the colonies and a freer economic policy. Most Guatemalans supported these plans and sent the colony's representative to Cádiz in 1810. The Fermín Aycinena family was particularly vociferous in its support of freer trade, which would weaken the monopoly of the *peninsular* merchants in Guatemala.

This backing of the liberal *cortes* did not necessarily imply a desire for independence or decreased loyalty to the King. There was little, if any Guatemalan support for the insurrection in Mexico led by Miguel Hidalgo in 1810. In the years immediately following, however, sympathy for the independence movement increased in direct proportion to the suppression of proponents of more liberal policies by the captain-general and the returned King. Nonetheless, it is doubtful that Guatemala would have broken with Spain if Mexico had not taken the lead.

In 1811 a new captain-general, José de Bustamante, arrived and soon revealed his strong support of the Bourbon monarchy. During the next 7 years he repressed three rebellions on the isthmus and refused to honor concessions won by the *cortes*. In 1814, when Ferdinand VII returned to the throne, the liberal Constitution of 1812 was abrogated, and supporters of the *cortes*, including the Fermín Aycinenas, experienced political persecution.

By 1818 liberal policies were again in the ascendancy. A new captain-general was appointed, and in 1820 the Constitution of 1812 was restored. Freer trade policies were authorized and political discussions were prevalent. The elections, permitted by the Constitution, brought two political parties to the forefront.

The first, called Cacos, was a combination of certain members of the economic elite and liberal professional men. This alliance, originally founded on a shared hatred of Bustamante, began to advance the cause of an open economic system. Opposing the Cacos were the Bacos, or merchants and their allies. The Cacos

won control of the provincial deputation, and the Bacos won the seats in the municipal government of the capital city.

The differences between and within the two became more acute when Mexico declared its independence from Spain. Many Guatemalan *criollos* decided that their interests lay with a break from Spain, and the loyalists, to prevent a civil war, conceded. The captain-general declared provisional independence on September 14, 1821, made himself head of the new Government, and called for a regional congress. In short, the political structure remained intact but the power of the ruling *criollos* was increased. This group was now faced with the decision of complete independence or union with Mexico.

Augustín Iturbide, the military leader of the revolutionaries in Mexico, issued the Plan of Iguala, which called for unification of the colonies from California to Panama under the rule of a European king. Many isthmian provinces, which later became the Central American Republics, sought this connection in an effort to prevent Guatemalan domination. Within Guatemala itself, certain groups were also in favor of union with Mexico. The position of these groups was reinforced when Iturbide sent an army headed by General Vicente Filísola to the Central American area. He attempted to bring all the provinces under Mexican domination and in 1823 was in the process of subduing El Salvador when word came of Iturbide's fall. The annexation had lasted only 18 months, during which a regional government was never convened.

The final result of the episode was the loss of the province of Chiapas which elected to join Mexico. Guatemala, however, refused to acknowledge the loss, and the issue remained a problem for many years.

The Central American Nation

Filísola remained in Central America long enough to call a Congress which adopted a Federal Constitution in 1824. The United Provinces of Central America (Provincias Unidas del Centro de America) became the official title of the new nation, although in practice the Provinces were anything but unified. Within this federation were the Provinces of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Additional turmoil and instability existed within the provinces themselves, and each was torn by factional strife between the two prevailing political parties.

Political divisions had begun with the old economic rivalries of the 18th century, but new philosophies had appeared, interests had changed, and the new political situation had altered alliances. By 1824 the Liberal Party was anticlerical, federalist, and states' rightist. Generally considered centralists, the members of the

Conservative Party sought to preserve the status of the Church and the privileges of the elite. The Fermín Aycinena family had lost much of its power and had become a part of the Conservative Party during the Mexican intervention.

The first President of the weak federation of Central America was José Arce. Each province also had its own president who exercised considerable power. The influence and role of the Federation President depended upon the support of these provincial leaders. Arce attempted to win the Conservative Party following and, in doing so, alienated the Liberals. As a consequence, Central America became a battleground between the Conservatives and Liberals who attempted to depose Arce. Led by General Francisco Morazán, Liberal forces succeeded in capturing the Guatemalan capital in 1829. A year later Morazán was elected President of the Federation.

The next 9 years were characterized by anticlerical actions, liberal social politics, and civil insurrections. Morazán attempted to hold the union together, but divisive forces were too strong. At one time, dissatisfaction with the Liberal Government was so intense in the highlands of the country that they seceded from the rest of Guatemala. The Departments of Quezaltenango, Sololá, Huehuetenango, and San Marcos formed the independent state of Los Altos.

Morazán was reelected in 1834, but 3 years later was faced with a full-scale Conservative rebellion in Guatemala. The *campesinos* (peasant farmers—see Glossary) joined a revolt led by Rafael Carrera, an illiterate Indian. The turmoil spread to all the provinces, and once more civil war erupted. Morazán rallied his Liberal forces, but Carrera won in Guatemala. Mariano Gálvez, the Liberal President of Guatemala, was overthrown and, by 1839, the Conservative Party was in control of the Government.

The Union still existed on paper, but it had lost all authority and power. Its dissolution was gradual, as first one and then another state declared its independence. Guatemala withdrew on April 16, 1839, and Morazán, the leading proponent of the Central American Union, was executed in 1842. The ideal of unity has survived, however, and is resurrected at intervals.

Conservative Era

In 1839 Rafael Carrera assumed control of Guatemala and maintained it, either directly or through puppets, for the next 26 years. He headed a Conservative Government which strongly suppressed the Liberals. In 1840 he subjugated the State of Los Altos and officially became President of the entire nation in 1844. Carrera became the first of Guatemala's dictators to rule as a *caudillo*

(see Glossary). In Latin America this term is applied to those leaders who rule through the magnetism of their personality. They seldom rely on constitutional methods.

During Carrera's era the landowners and wealthy merchants were labeled the aristocracy and, along with the Church, were firmly installed in power. The Indians, who virtually worshipped Carrera and were his primary supporters, received little benefit from his rule. Except for military and road service, the demand for Indian labor had decreased. The native populations retreated into highland villages, building and synthesizing their institutions, goals, and values. Contacts between the Indians and *ladinos* were at a minimum, and the cultural breach between the two widened.

Carrera's rule was characterized by harshness and cruelty, but he strongly upheld the legal system. In 1851 a conservative Constitution was promulgated which created a Congress controlled by the landowners and the Church. The primary duty of the Congress was the election of the President who legally exercised absolute power. When, in 1854, Carrera was chosen President for life, even this duty of the legislature was discontinued.

During the 26-year rule, Carrera made very little social or economic progress. His time was devoted to maintaining domestic tranquillity and protecting the privileges of the conservative class, both in Guatemala and in neighboring countries. Carrera supported a rebellion in El Salvador against the Liberal Party President, Gerardo Barrios, and installed his own Conservative candidate in the office. He invaded Nicaragua in a joint Central American effort to oust William Walker, the North American adventurer who then controlled the Nicaraguan Government. In all, Carrera placed his own men in the presidency of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras, creating a conservative empire in Central America.

Carrera set the trend of autocratic government which characterized both Guatemala and her neighbors for the next 100 years. Although liberal governments would again assume control, the pattern of autocratic rule had been established and even liberal Presidents continued the tradition.

One important aspect of Carrera's foreign policy which has had repercussions in the 20th century was a treaty signed in 1859 with Great Britain, defining the borders between Belize (British Honduras), an area between the Caribbean coast and El Petén, and Guatemala. In colonial times Spain had granted Great Britain the right to cut dye woods in the area now called Belize, but the land itself was never ceded to the English (see Foreign Relations, ch. 6).

Liberal Party Dominance

Carrera died in 1865, but his government continued in the hands of Picente Cerna, his personally chosen successor. Cerna, however, lacked Carrera's power and personal magnetism and, at the beginning of his second term in 1869, a Liberal rebellion erupted led by Miguel García Granados and Justo Rufino Barrios. The Liberals captured the city of Guatemala in 1871, and García was declared provisional President. A moderate Liberal, he served only 2 years and was replaced by Rufino Barrios who ruled until 1885.

While Barrios professed Liberal ideals he ruled in the same autocratic style as Carrera. Although he took office in 1873, the country had no constitution until 6 years later. The new document was a model of Liberal doctrine and lasted for 66 years with minor amendments. It called for separation of Church and State, a 6-year term for the President, a unicameral legislature, and a bill of rights protecting the individual citizens. Nothing except the position of the Catholic Church, however, changed substantially (see Political and Government Systems, ch. 6).

The rise of coffee plantations had increased the need for Indian labor, and in 1877 debt peonage was legalized. This system allowed the landowners to demand the repayment of loans with certain amounts of work. Since wages were extremely low, the Indians were always in debt and sometimes were obligated for years of labor. Their children inherited their debts. Labor shortage continued, however, and in 1878 a vagrancy law was passed which required the unemployed to work 40 days on Government projects. These laws destroyed the isolation which the Indians had created over the past 20 years.

Barrios did support schools within the Indian villages and, in fact, was an enthusiastic proponent of a better educational program for all of Guatemala. He disbanded the Church schools and replaced them with public schools under his direction. A university, a normal, and a military school were established as well as elementary and vocational schools throughout the country. He attempted to found free public schools which would require compulsory attendance, but the budget for this enterprise was less than one-quarter of that of the War Department.

Barrios' anticlerical laws were harsh and extensive. He expelled the Jesuits in 1871 and the bishops and the archbishops soon after. His campaign against the Church increased in scope and intensity, and in 1875 clerics were forbidden to teach. The Government next confiscated all properties of the Church, destroying much of its political and economic power. Churchmen were prohibited from wearing clerical garb, public religious processions were banned,

and civil marriage was declared obligatory. The institutionalized political power and prestige of the Church was weakened, but its influence among the Indians and the poor in general increased in proportion to the severity of the Government measures against it.

The economic policies instituted by Barrios made perhaps his greatest permanent mark on the nation. He literally brought the industrial revolution to many parts of Guatemala and introduced railroads, river steamers, electric lights, streetcars, and other manifestations of modern technology. He accomplished this by granting concessions to foreigners, especially Americans, for mining, building railroads, establishing plantations, building ports, and installing telephone and telegraph systems. Because of his support and persistence, a railroad was constructed to connect the Pacific coast and the capital, and one to the Caribbean was partially completed.

The agricultural system was also advanced as Barrios sought to expand the country's economic base. He encouraged the planting of coffee and offered free trees to those who could not afford to buy them. In addition, Government officials were ordered to plant the crop in all suitable areas. Free land was offered to those who promised to plant rubber, sarsaparilla, and cacao, or to raise cattle. He was also influential in encouraging the banana industry on the north coast.

Barrios had little faith in the Indians' potential. He saw the salvation of the country in immigration and encouraged large colonization projects. The Germans took advantage of these and established the coffee plantations, which became the basis of the Guatemalan economy in the 20th century.

In short, Barrios was a progressive dictator, harsh and despotic but an energetic leader. Little social progress took place during his era, but the economic gains were extensive, even though he was diverted by the old Liberal dream of a unified Central America and spent much of his energy and the nation's resources striving to achieve it.

Like Carrera, he frequently intervened in the Governments of neighboring countries. The Liberal Presidents of Honduras and El Salvador remained in power partly because of his support. Nicaragua felt his influence, as did Costa Rica. Only Honduras, however, fully supported his plan to recreate the Central American Union.

On February 28, 1885, Barrios issued a decree which placed Guatemala at the head of the proposed Union and made him Supreme Chief of the Armies. Confident of support from the people of all of Central America he set forth with the Guatemalan Army on March 23 to impose unity upon the region. El Salvador,

though sympathetic to the ideal, did not approve of the creation of the Union by force and joined with Costa Rica and Nicaragua against him. The first battle took place at Chalchuapa, El Salvador, and Barrios was killed. Without his leadership, the Guatemalan Army was easily defeated, and the Union was stillborn.

The end of the Barrios regime also ended the normal form of party politics; the traditional Liberal and Conservative divisions lost all meaning. The labels remained, but the parties became vehicles for personalities rather than ideals. The landowners, the Army, and the Church hierarchy all joined to support men who would impose order and preserve the status quo. Lip service was paid to the Liberal Constitution promulgated under Barrios, but the men who followed him were Liberals in name only.

Two Presidents held office for 6 years after the death of Barrios. In 1892 José Reina Barrios, nephew of the former president, became head of the Government. After he was assassinated in 1898, his successor was Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who ruled until 1920.

Estrada Cabrera was thought to be a moderate and a Liberal, but the elections which extended his term were recognized as facades for his personal rule. The Constitution imposed by Barrios in 1879 was ignored, and the President's word was law.

The lot of the Indian was particularly oppressive during these two decades. Schoolteachers received no salary and forced their students to work for them. Debt bondage was extensive and enforced by public officials. The labor laws promulgated under Rufino Barrios had been modified, but the forced-labor system was essentially the same.

Every male between the ages of 20 and 60 was considered a soldier. The standing Army contained 15,000 to 16,000 men, and over 60,000 could be equipped and ready for battle in a short time. This gave Guatemala, relative to its population, an extraordinarily large Army.

Estrada Cabrera continued to encourage foreign investors. Near the turn of the century, Minor Keith, vice president of the United Fruit Company, arrived in the country. The company had already purchased Guatemalan land, but needed railroads to transport the future banana crop. Keith contracted to finish the line between the capital and Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic coast, and did so in 1904. In 1912 he took over the remaining railroads in Guatemala and founded a corporation independent of the United Fruit Company called the International Railways of Central America. The system was extended over the years into neighboring countries and, by 1930, included about 887 miles of useable track.

Estrada Cabrera gradually lost the support of the landlords.

On March 11, 1920, one of the members of an opposition group, the Central American Unionist Movement, was shot and killed in the National Congress. This caused a widespread outcry against Estrada Cabrera. He signed an armistice with the Unionist leader, allowing the return of all exiles, thereby strengthening the position of his enemies. On April 12 he was declared insane, and a broadly based revolt forcibly removed him from office.

The Unionist Party's candidate won the election that followed. Less than a year later, however, he was driven out by a revolt and was replaced by General José María Orellana. He and his successor, Lázaro Chacón, gave the country 9 years of relatively progressive leadership, though in the same tradition as their predecessors.

Orellana stabilized the currency and established the first central bank. He embarked upon an extensive program of educational improvement. New schools were founded, teachers' salaries were raised, and libraries were opened. Orellana also persuaded the United Fruit Company to take its complaints to the Guatemalan courts.

During his term the first labor organizations appeared. Influenced by the Mexican example, Central American laborers established the Confederation of Central American Workers in 1922 with local chapters in each of the countries. By 1927 this organization had moved far to the left. The Guatemalan chapter, known as the Regional Federation of Workers, withdrew and more conservative workers joined the official labor organization. It was banned, however, after 1931.

Orellana died in 1926, and Chacón, who became President, continued his predecessor's programs and added several liberal Amendments to the Constitution. He signed a 25-year contract exempting the United Fruit Company from all Government duties and taxes.

Lázaro Chacón resigned because of illness and was followed by three Presidents in the space of 3 months. The second incumbent was deposed by a coup d'état and two Army officers held power in quick succession. Elections were held again on January 2, 1931, and General Jorge Ubico became President.

The Last Caudillo

The Ubico regime, which lasted for 13 years, personified the *caudillo* tradition while it set the stage for the social and political upheaval that followed. His economic policies were autocratic but progressive. His social policies, however, were conservative and his regime supported the privileges of the landowners. Nevertheless, for the first time, some concessions were awarded to the Indians.

When Ubico entered office the treasury was empty, but he reformed the national economic system and created a surplus. He paid most of the country's debts and ran the Government on a cash basis. The yearly surplus built new roads, buslines, sewers, and the like. He kept a close watch on his subordinates, and his Law of Probity subjected the income of public officials to periodic audit. At the same time, however, he became the largest landowner.

The depression of the 1930's created a severe economic crisis in the country. Ubico minimized its effects by signing a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States, which increased coffee exports, and by increasing cotton exports to Italy. In order to supplement revenue, he maintained friendly relations with foreign businesses. The Germans, who dominated the coffee industry, in practice received legal immunity. He exempted the United Fruit Company from import duties on its business materials and from real estate taxes.

In 1936 the United Fruit Company became a large stockholder in the International Railways of Central America. It became a preferred customer and was given preferential rates. Public rates were lower than in neighboring countries.

During World War II Ubico supported the United States, granted sites for United States Army bases, and had his Government buy United States war bonds. He maintained close surveillance over the German community and, in 1943, permitted its removal to an Army base in Texas. All of the German coffee lands were expropriated.

Ubico's efficient economic policies continued throughout the war, and he was able to prevent inflation. On the other hand, political organizations were prohibited. Censorship was extensive and strictly enforced. Any form of labor organization was made illegal.

Ubico liked to pose as friend and protector of the Indians. He even encouraged them to call him *tata*, or father. He canceled the debts of the Indians and abolished the system of debt peonage; he listened to their complaints in the National Palace, and enforced justice for them in the national courts. But they were commanded to give 2 weeks free labor annually on highways and were subject to a Vagrancy Law decreeing that every Indian must work a minimum of 150 days a year. The amount of worktime required was scaled down in accordance with the amount of land that the Indian worked for himself.

In practice, the remaining time had to be spent on the coffee or banana plantations. Wages were legally maintained at a very low level, and the *hacendados* (landowners) exercised absolute sov-

ereignty over their plantations. They were given the authority to punish those who committed crimes on their land.

Ubico's legislature had little power to do anything but approve his decisions, and his single political party won all the elections. He extended his first term, which ended in 1935, for 8 years by a plebiscite, and obtained another 8 years in 1941 by congressional approval.

Toward the end of World War II, however, his power began to weaken. Democratic ideals were influential among student groups and professionals. The improved position of labor groups in neighboring countries had awakened the dormant Guatemalan labor parties. Young Army officers were also dissatisfied and restless.

A student demonstration in June 1944 was joined by a group of Army officers, and the movement brought about a general strike throughout the country. Ubico attempted to control the opposition with force but, having lost the support of the Army, he delegated the power of the presidential position to a military junta led by Juan Frederico Ponce.

Ponce, however, ruled in the same manner as Ubico. His refusal to hold elections precipitated a revolution on October 20, 1944, led by students and Army officers headed by Colonel Francisco J. Arana, Major Jacobo Arbenz, and Jorge Toriello, a civilian.

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY (1944-1963)

When the coup succeeded, the three men established a triumvirate and began a reorganization of the Government. The secret police were disbanded and Ubico and his supporters, which included Army generals, were exiled. New deputies to the National Assembly and to the constitutional assembly were elected. Presidential elections were announced, campaigns were organized, and Juan José Arévalo, a reformist candidate, was elected by 85 percent of the vote in a free election. A new Constitution was drawn up and went into effect on March 13, 1945. Two days later Arévalo was inaugurated.

A New Spirit

The new Constitution appeared to be a complete break with the past and contained 34 articles of individual rights and 33 specific social guarantees. The Government was given the power of expropriation applicable both to foreign businesses and to large estates. The Army was declared apolitical, and the university became autonomous. Censorship of the press was forbidden. Voting was secret and obligatory for all literate males and optional for illiterate ones. Political parties once more were allowed to organize and campaign.

As a professor who had been in exile in Argentina during the last years of the Ubico regime, Arévalo had no political record except his opposition to Ubico. He campaigned for a coalition of groups called the United Front of Arevalist Parties (Frente Unido de Partidos Arevalistas—FUPA). He advocated a doctrine which he called "Spiritual Socialism" which was a vague philosophy recognizing the necessity of material possessions but stressing the dignity of the individual over materialism.

The 1944 revolution also set in motion party politics, and the next 10 years saw the creation of many political factions. The coalition for Arévalo dissolved soon after the election and split into two major groups. The moderate reformers were led by the Popular Liberation Front (Frente Popular Libertador—FPL), composed of students and nonmanual workers. The more radical elements were led by the Party of Revolutionary Action (Partido Acción Revolucionaria—PAR) and the Party of National Renovation (Partido de Renovación Nacional—PRN).

What began as a social and economic reformist movement soon became infiltrated by Communist Party members and sympathizers. The first years of the Arévalo term saw the implementation of many of the promised reforms. A labor code was created which gave the unions the right to bargain with management. An agency called the Institute for the Development of Production (Instituto de Fomento de la Producción—INFOP) was established in 1948 to develop, with Government aid, the nation's industries. The labor unions were burgeoning, and educational reforms were extensive, but Arévalo did not attempt to break up the large estates and redistribute land to the Indians.

He did move against the United Fruit Company, however, and supported strikes in 1946, ordering the company to negotiate at Bananera. The company closed its plantation at Tiquisate. Criticism of the action of the Guatemalan Government was voiced in the United States. Increased anti-American propaganda further weakened the company's position in Guatemala.

Criticism of Arévalo increased. The revolutionary parties thought he was moving too slowly, and the landowners resented his reformist policies. The President was often forced to rely on the old triumvirate which still controlled the Army and finances. The strongest member of this group was Francisco Javier Arana, Chief of the Armed Forces and a presidential candidate in the 1950 elections. Arana was supported by the Party of Anti-Communist Unification (Partido Unificación Anticomunista—PUA) (see Political Dynamics and Values, ch. 6).

Before the elections, Arana was assassinated, and there were indications that Jacobo Arbenz was involved in the plot. Arévalo

refused to investigate the murder. With Arana eliminated, Arbenz was the strongest contender for the presidency and had the support of the unions and the Communists.

By this time Arévalo's reformist movement had lost most of its impetus; he was occupied with simply remaining in office. The Law of Public Order, which authorized suppression of political dissension, was frequently invoked, but discontent was rampant.

During these years, the Communists had been laying the foundation of their power. They first appeared in public life in 1944 when the labor union, the Guatemalan Confederation of Workers (Confederación Guatemalteca de Trabajadores—CGT) was formed. Comprised of both manual and white-collar workers with Marxist leanings, the union lacked any experienced leaders. This vacuum was quickly filled by Communists from abroad who had obtained organizational experience in other countries.

Their domination of the union was used as a springboard to other organizations, and Communists soon began to infiltrate student groups, the teaching professions, and the Government. A training school called Escuela Claridad (Clarity School) was established in 1945, but this was soon closed by the Government. It was replaced by clandestine study groups which produced a cadre of Guatemalan youths who would fill leadership positions in the Communist movement. Two years later the Vanguardia Democrática (Democratic Vanguard) was founded as a faction of the PAR. In 1949 it was rechristened the Communist Party of Guatemala. José Manuel Fortuny, a Guatemalan, was elected Secretary-General and became the formal leader of the Communist forces.

The CTG had remained under Communist control but, in protest, certain groups such as the railroad workers had left the organization and formed their own labor union. In time this too was infiltrated by Communists and in 1947 the two groups rejoined. By 1950 all the major unions were completely dominated by Communists.

At the time of the 1950 elections the Communists had acquired a great deal of power. Arévalo never permitted the Party, however, to acquire legal standing, and its position in the political structure was not yet secure. Consequently, the outcome of the elections was of utmost importance to it.

Communist Infiltration

Jacobo Arbenz, although not a member, was the choice of the Communist Party and was also the candidate of the PAR. He won 65 percent of the popular vote and became President in 1951. During his term, the Communist Party consolidated its power and began to assume control of many areas of the Government.

Arbenz also continued the social revolution and in 1952 instigated the passage of an agrarian reform law which gave the Government the right to expropriate uncultivated estates and redistribute them to landless workers. The land was not given outright, but was leased to peasants for their lifetime. This created distrust among the Indians since the land could theoretically be taken at the Government's discretion.

The plantations of the United Fruit Company were expropriated under this law, and the company was offered only nominal compensation. The United States Government conducted diplomatic negotiations with Guatemala over this incident, but its notes were met with abusive accusations. In the next 2 years, Arbenz, with Communist support, moved against every other United States business in Guatemala.

The International Railways felt governmental pressure in 1951 when Arbenz began building a highway parallel to the tracks. In 1953 he nationalized the company. A year later the Government diverted the river which supplied the Empresa Eléctrica de Guatemala and cut its generating power by half. New businesses, such as the petroleum interests, that wished to invest in Guatemala were hampered by so many restrictions that they withdrew.

In 1953 the Communist Party had functioning cells at every level of Government. It had become a legally recognized party in 1952 and, as the Guatemalan Labor Party (Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo—PGT), entered the 1953 congressional elections. The PGT won only four seats, but its influence was much greater than its electoral support.

In 1953 the Guatemalan Congress formally honored Joseph Stalin after the announcement of his death. Three anti-Communist jurists on the Supreme Court were dismissed. Communist propaganda in the rural areas encouraged the peasants to seize the large estates by force. Between February 1953 and April 1954 over 30 plantations were taken over by armed laborers. In 1954 Guatemalan agents instigated a strike against the United Fruit Company in Honduras. This neighboring Government immediately charged Communist infiltration.

Anti-American feeling increased in direct proportion to Communist influence. During the Korean conflict the Guatemalan Congress sent letters of solidarity to the North Korean Government. At the 10th Inter-American Conference in Caracas, the speeches by the Guatemalan delegate were in their entirety attacks on the foreign policy of the United States. Guatemala was the only nation to vote against the proposal condemning the advance of international communism into the Western Hemisphere.

The Arbenz regime and the Communist Party planned to rein-

force their domestic position by disbanding the Army and creating a peasant militia. In May 1954 over 4 million pounds of Czechoslovakian weapons were unloaded at Puerto Barrios and sent to the capital. The Army immediately demanded that Arbenz disassociate his Government from the PGT, but he refused.

In June 1954 Castillo Armas led an armed force of no more than 300 men into Guatemalan territory. Arbenz ordered military commanders to arm the peasants but they flatly refused. Nor did the Army attempt to crush the invading force. A few days later Arbenz and a number of top Communists fled the country. The Government had been toppled with a minimum of force and, almost by default, fell into the hands of Castillo Armas. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, however, has written that United States support was given to Castillo Armas in the interests of hemispheric security.

. . . It seemed to me that to refuse to cooperate in providing indirect support to a strictly anti-Communist faction in this struggle would be contrary to the letter and spirit of the Caracas resolution. I had faith in the strength of the inter-American resolve therein set forth.

Presidents and Juntas

Castillo Armas headed a junta until he was confirmed in the presidency by plebiscite. He ruled until July 1957 when he was assassinated by one of his palace guards. During his term illiterates were disenfranchised, thus canceling the voting rights of the Indians, who made up more than half the population.

Expropriated lands were returned to former owners. The Constitution of 1945 was abolished and replaced by a new one in 1956. All political parties left of center were disbanded, and only those approved by the Government could function. The National Democratic Movement (Movimiento Democrático Nacional—MDN) became the official party and later created the Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party (Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca—DCG). The DCG was originally founded by a group of wealthy, conservative Catholics, but during the 1960's it became a reformist party.

But many measures passed under Arévalo were retained. The new Constitution had a social orientation and included guarantees of many individual freedoms. Labor unions, free of Communists, were allowed to organize and function. Some Government land was distributed to the Indians on a permanent basis rather than with a lifetime lease. Though the strongest friend of the Catholic Church since Carrera, he did not forbid the free exercise of other religions. After Castillo's assassination, Vice President Luis Arturo Gonzalez took office and announced elections for October.

The elections centered around two major candidates. Miguel

Ortiz Passarelli was the candidate of the MDN and supported by all the official machinery. Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, a conservative former general who had served under Ubico and had been the major opponent to Arbenz, led a right-wing coalition. A candidate was also put forward by the Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario—PR), a moderately left-wing organization, but the party failed to get Government approval and thereby legal recognition.

The election was held, but both Ydígoras and the Revolutionary Party protested that it was fraudulent and threatened a revolt. Rioting began and the Army assumed control of the Government. The second Vice President was declared head of State and new elections were scheduled for January 1958; the left-wing party was then allowed to run its candidate, Mario Méndez Montenegro.

In the new elections Ydígoras won a plurality but lacked a majority of the votes. Thus, the election was thrown to the legislature which, though dominated by the MDN, chose Ydígoras President. It was the first time in Guatemalan history that an opposition candidate won by election.

The next 5 years were characterized by economic difficulties. Coffee prices fell to a disastrous low, accompanied by significant unemployment. Ydígoras instituted an income tax law and an austerity program in an effort to create economic stability. Instead his laws alienated both left- and right-wing supporters. He broke relations with the Government of Fidel Castro and allowed the training of Cuban exiles in Guatemala.

Frequent rebellions in the rural areas and continual threats of coups caused Ydígoras to invoke a state of siege and put into effect a limited censorship. At the same time, however, he allowed the formation of party groups, including many left-wing organizations, and gave more freedom to the labor unions.

Ydígoras lost the support of the Army during 1963. The final blow was the announcement by Arévalo of his candidacy for President in the next election. Ydígoras forbade this but did not prevent Arévalo's return to the capital. The resulting demonstrations led the military to overthrow Ydígoras. In March 1963 Colonel Peralta Azurdia, the Minister of Defense, took over the Government (see *Political Dynamics and Values*, ch. 6).

The Peralta regime stayed in power until 1966 and was a conservative military Government. The Government sponsored a new Constitution in 1965, still more conservative than previous ones, but nevertheless containing effective social welfare clauses. The 1966 election was won by Julio César Méndez Montenegro of the Revolutionary Party. Julio César was a last minute replacement for Mario Méndez Montenegro, his brother, who had allegedly committed suicide shortly before the election, although the Revolutionary Party maintains that he was assassinated.

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, LIVING CONDITIONS

The area of Guatemala, excluding the claimed territory of Belize, is approximately 42,000 square miles, slightly larger than the state of Tennessee. It is bordered on the north and west by Mexico, on the south by the Pacific Ocean, on the southeast by El Salvador, and on the east by Honduras and the Gulf of Honduras. British Honduras, to the northeast, is claimed as Guatemalan territory under the name Belize (see fig. 1).

The country has great variety in climate and landforms. The climate ranges from hot and humid in parts of the lowlands to very cold in the highlands, where frosts are common in some months and where snow falls occasionally. The climatic variation makes possible the cultivation of any crop grown in the Western Hemisphere. The altitude varies from sea level to over 13,000 feet in the volcanic highlands.

Much of the country is comprised of highlands, and this is where the great majority of people continue to live, as they did when the Spanish arrived. The mountain systems are more related to those of the West Indies than to those of North and South America, trending west-east rather than north-south. They are generally highest in the west-central Departments and gradually slope eastward to the coast and to the lower mountains along the border with El Salvador and Honduras and northeastward to the lowlands of El Petén. The slopes to the Pacific incline from the volcanic axis, the backbone of the country, and are more abrupt.

Although both Indians and *ladinos* (see Glossary) inhabit the highlands, they live apart from one another both physically and culturally. Most Indians live and practice subsistence agriculture in the cold western highlands where they speak indigenous languages, wear distinctive costumes, and practice traditional religious and social customs. They have been greatly influenced by Spanish ways, but have adopted or accommodated such imports to fit their own patterns of living and beliefs. Their standards of living verge on the level of subsistence. Their life expectancy is shorter and their infant death rate higher than those of *ladinos*.

Ladinos live in the warmer, lower eastern highlands, in the large towns throughout the country and, to a lesser extent, in the hot lowlands. Many of them, too, practice subsistence agriculture and have low standards of living. Nevertheless, they are generally more receptive to change than are the Indians and provide the country's leadership on both the national and local levels.

The lowlands, for the most part, are situated in El Petén, on the Pacific coast, and in the river valleys which extend inland from the east coast (see fig. 2). They are sparsely populated, with concentrations only in areas where modern plantations have been established. The Pacific lowland and piedmont regions are being developed industrially because of the relatively gentle terrain and the hydroelectric potential of the rivers flowing from the highlands, and agriculturally because of the rich volcanic and alluvial soil which has not been eroded.

The Government has encouraged colonization of the unused lowlands. Nevertheless, these regions still repel permanent settlers because of the unpleasant climate, the Indians' reluctance to leave their ancestral lands in the highlands, and the presence of many diseases endemic to the lowlands.

The diseases which cause the most deaths and take the highest toll in general well-being can be attributed, for the most part, to poor nutrition and to the unsanitary environment which prevails. Folk medical practices are widespread, in part because modern medical facilities are concentrated in urban areas and are thus unavailable to most of the population. Nevertheless, the crude death rate has decreased continually, largely because of effective disease control and eradication programs.

Government efforts to improve the overall living standards, including housing programs, improvement of health facilities, and the expansion of social security coverage, have been concentrated in the larger towns and cities; however, limited measures to include the rural areas, where about 65 percent of the people live, under such programs have been undertaken, and are being expanded.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The country lies entirely within the tropics, but plant and animal life is varied because of the existence of both temperate and tropical climates. The climate and associated vegetation depend to a great degree upon altitude and upon proximity to one or the other of the coasts. The difference between the average temperatures of the coldest and warmest months in any given place is usually not more than 15° F., though the diurnal range may be far greater. The *tierra caliente* (hot country) extends from

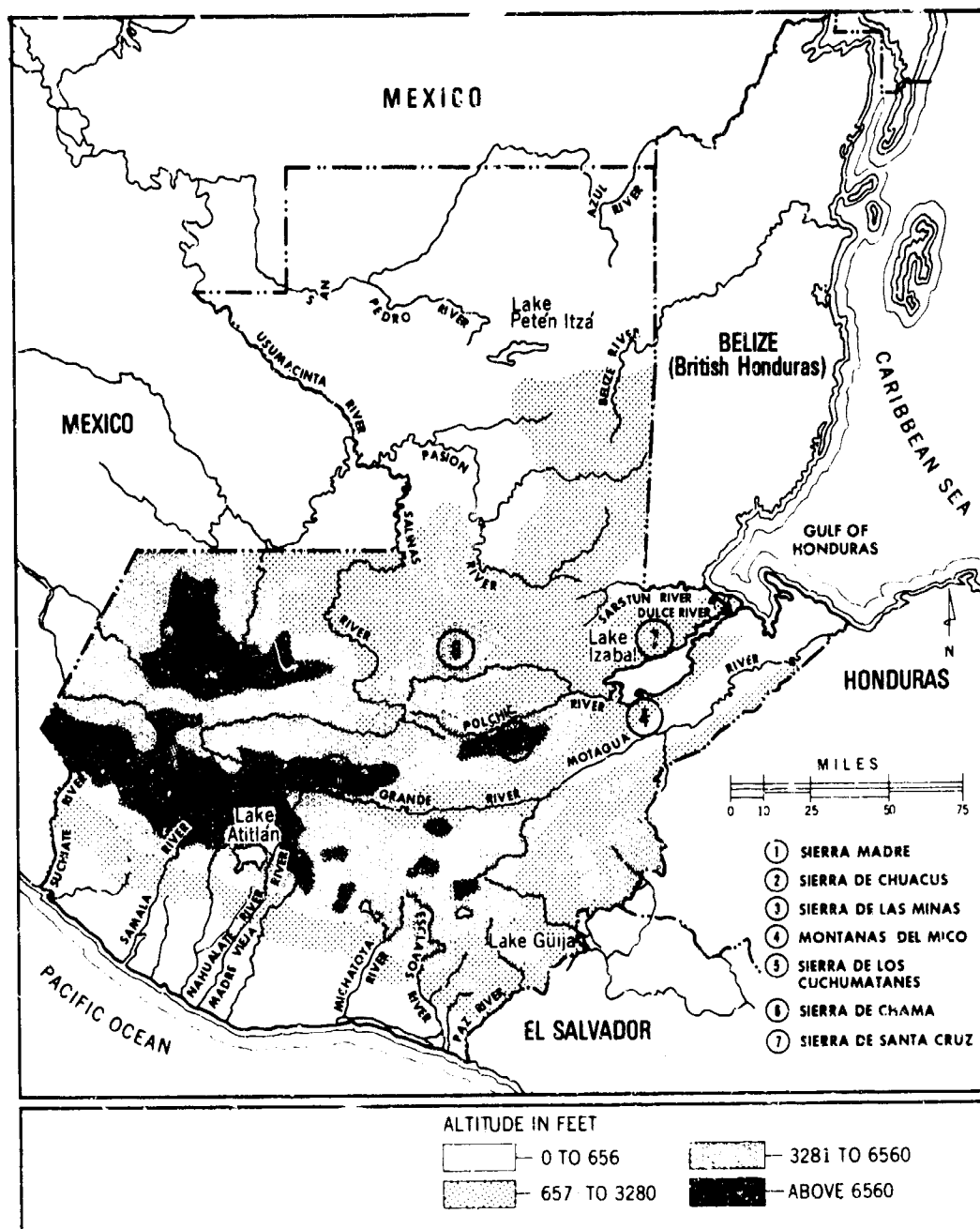


Figure 2. Major Physical Features of Guatemala.

Source: Adapted from Guatemala, Dirección General de Estadística, Ministerio de Economía, *Guatemala En Cifras 1960*; and Nathan L. Whetten, *Guatemala, the Land and the People, 1961*.

sea level to approximately 2,500 feet; it has average daytime temperatures of 85° to 90° F., and nighttime temperatures of 70° to 75° F. The *tierra templada* (temperate country) extends from 2,500 feet to about 5,500 feet, with daytime temperatures of 75° to 80° F, and nighttime temperatures of 60° to 70° F. The *tierra fria* (cold country) extends above 5,500 feet, with daytime temperatures of 75° to 80° F., and night temperatures of 50° to

55° F. Frosts are common in the *tierra fría* between December and February.

The prevailing winds are the rain-bearing northeast trades which blow inland from the Caribbean. As a consequence, the northern lowlands of El Peten; parts of the highlands in the Departments of Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Izabal; and the Caribbean coastal area have humid conditions the entire year, with less rain from November through April (see fig. 3). The rest of the country has a distinct dry season during these months, with the exception of a strip of the upper piedmont on the Pacific slope

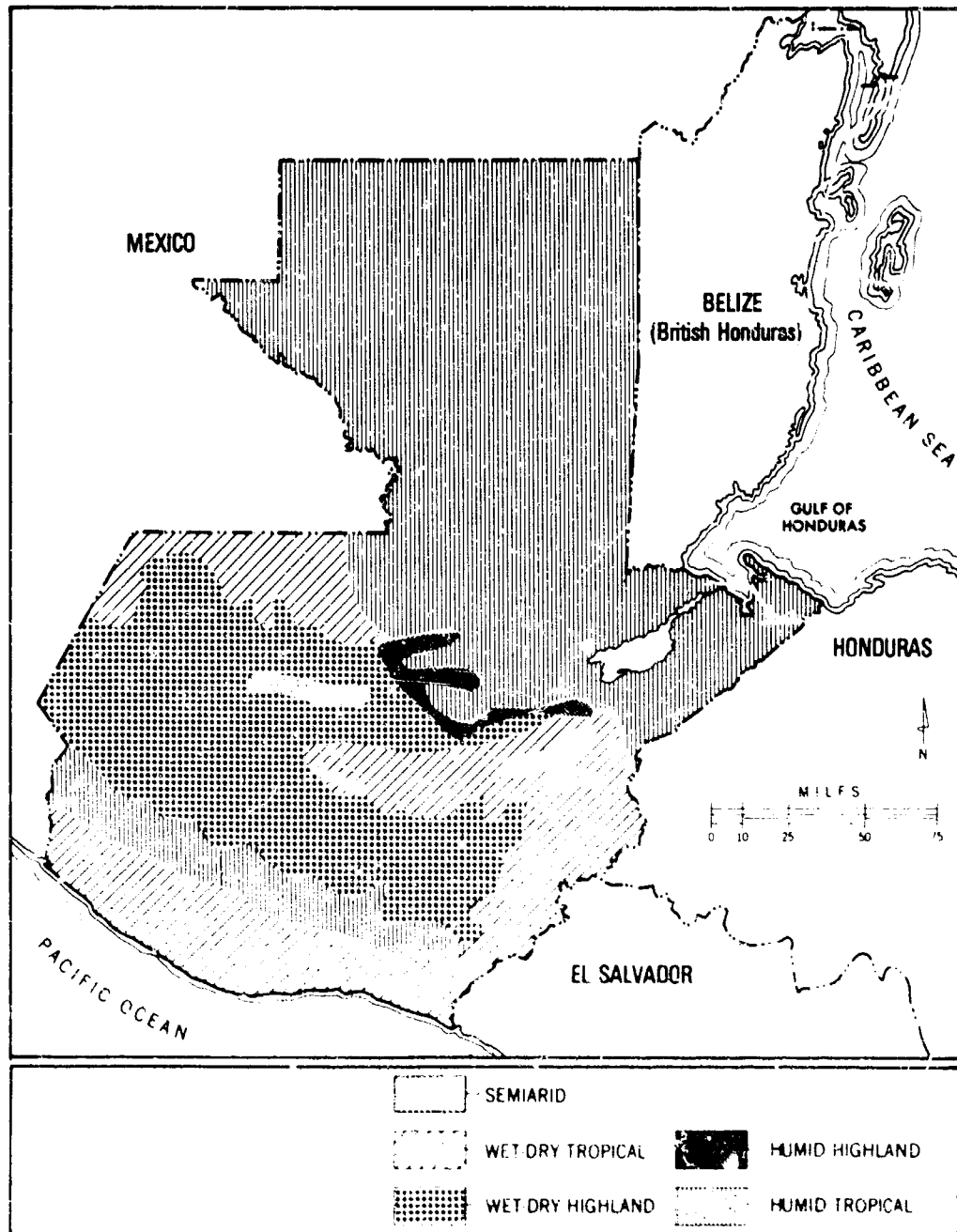


Figure 3. Rainfall Patterns in Guatemala.

between 3,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level; there the rainfall conditions are similar to those along the Caribbean coast. The dry season from November through April is called *verano* (summer), and the wet season *invierno* (winter).

Drainage to the Caribbean predominates, although there are many short and unnavigable rivers which flow to the Pacific from the southern highlands.

Pacific Coastal Lands

The Pacific coast is straight and open, with no natural harbors and relatively shallow offshore waters. Long stretches of black sand line the coast.

Wet lagoons filled with mangrove lie inland from the sandy shore. The Chiquimulilla Canal, which runs 70 miles from the port of San José to the Salvadorean border, is part of this coastal lagoon, but has been dredged to allow river traffic.

The coastal plain is predominantly savanna, interspersed with semideciduous forests which line the streams originating in the highlands. Most of the savanna is given over to cattle ranching, but there are independently owned banana holdings along the Nahualate River and in the Retalhuleu area. The relatively short rainy season of 4 or 5 months necessitates irrigation.

Farther inland, tropical semideciduous forest covers the foothills and lower slopes of the highlands. Diversified agriculture is practiced between 300 and 2,000 feet above sea level. The soils are well drained and very fertile, being composed of volcanic ash and alluvium. Temperatures are typical of the *tierra caliente*. The slopes in this area are gentle and not too steep for the extensive use of agricultural machinery.

Monsoonal winds which blow from the Pacific bring rain to this area but are often destructive to crops, and the pronounced dry season necessitates irrigation. In Tiquisate, Escuintla, the average rainfall from May through October is about 83 inches, whereas from November through April it is about 8 inches (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

Farther inland the plain begins a somewhat steeper, more dissected ascent to the highlands through the upper piedmont, 2,000 to 5,000 feet above sea level. Tropical broadleaf forests once covered these upper slopes. Rainfall is heavy, the heaviest being in the western section, and averages over 100 inches annually. The dry season is short and temperatures are somewhat lower than in the coastal plain and lower piedmont regions. Most of the nation's high-quality coffee is grown in this area where the volcanic soil, heavy rainfall, and abundance of shade trees, under which the coffee shrub is grown, provide nearly ideal conditions.

The Highlands

The highlands above 5,000 feet are covered by the remnants of a once extensive pine and oak forest which was cleared for the highland subsistence agriculture now prevailing. The forest cover disappears above 10,000 feet, and high-altitude bunch grass, called *páramo*, predominates.

Sierra Madre

In a system of mountains and high plateaus extending from Mexico to El Salvador and Honduras, more than 30 volcanoes, some still active, dot the southern escarpment of the Sierra Madre. The two highest are the Tajumulco (13,809 feet above sea level) and the Tacaná (13,300 feet) volcanoes. The second capital city, now called Ciudad Vieja, is located between two others, Fuego (12,579 feet) and Agua (12,307 feet) (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Earthquakes, related both to volcanism and to the deeply seated fault zones which lie off the southern coast, are frequent and sometimes destructive in this area. In 1773 earthquakes destroyed the old capital of Antigua. The present capital, Guatemala City, is just under 5000 feet above sea level, and is located in the Valle de la Ermita (Valley of the Hermit); but it has not proved to be safe from severe quakes. In early 1918 a series of earthquakes did great damage to the city. Buildings constructed since have enough flexibility to resist all but the most severe quakes. Much of Quetzaltenango, which is almost 8,000 feet above sea level, and is the nation's second largest city, was destroyed by an earthquake in 1902.

The lava plateaus and ash-filled basins, frequently as high as 8,000 feet above sea level in the western section of the Sierra Madre, are often separated by deep ravines difficult to cross even on foot. Rivers falling abruptly from the mountains have cut these canyons out of the soft volcanic soil. Pockets of dense population are often isolated from one another by these ravines. Guatemala City is located in a highland valley farther east, where the monthly averages range from 61° F. in December to 67° F. in April. Average rainfall is between 40 and 60 inches annually, with a distinct 6-month dry season.

Eighteen principal, though relatively short, rivers flow from the mountains to the Pacific Ocean. They are navigable only for short distances in small boats, but they have great potential for the production of hydroelectric power and, in fact, serve to supply the major portion of electric power available in the country. The Samalá River is the source of power for the hydroelectric plant

at Santa María, Quezaltenango, and the Michatoya River serves the hydroelectric plant at Palín, Escuintla.

There are two important lakes of volcanic origin in the Sierra Madre highlands. Lake Atitlán in the Department of Sololá is said to be one of the most beautiful lakes in the world. The volcanoes Atitlán, San Pedro, and Tolimán line its shores, as do numerous Indian villages. The inhabitants of these villages use the lake for fishing and transport between villages. The lake, over 1,000 feet deep in places, receives a number of rivers, but its drainage is underground. Lake Amatitlán, just south of Guatemala City, is smaller and less spectacular. Steam rises from this warm-water lake, and medicinal sulfur springs are found along the banks. The nearby volcano Pacaya, which erupted in 1964, produces these effects. The lake has its outlet in the Michatoya River.

The Sierra de Chuacús branches due east from the Sierra Madre in the southern part of the Department of El Quiché. East-northeast of these mountains lie the Sierra de las Minas and the Montañas del Mico. These two chains serve as a natural barrier to communication between the Motagua River valley and the Verapaz Departments. The Sierra de las Minas has deposits of lead and silver, but they have not been extensively mined.

Sierra de los Cuchumatanes

The other mountain chain enters Guatemala from Mexico in the Department of Huehuetenango. This is the Sierra de los Cuchumatanes, a great limestone massif. The height of the Cuchumatanes plateau ranges between 9,000 and 11,000 feet. Rainfall is relatively low and the limestone soils relatively infertile. Subsistence agriculture of potato growing and sheep grazing are practiced on the slopes and plateaus which are above the upper limits for growing corn. Antimony, zinc, sulfide, copper, lead, and silver are sporadically mined, but the rugged terrain makes it difficult to transport heavy machinery to the area.

The mountains slope away in northern and western Huehuetenango to Mexico. The topography is very rough, restricting the area available to agriculture, although there are some flood terraces which catch the alluvial soil and provide small fertile patches for corn and even some sugar, bananas, and other crops.

To the east, but separated from the Cuchumatanes by the valley of the Salinas River, lies the Sierra de Chamá. Some coffee is grown in the Cobán district of Alta Verapaz on the slopes of the Sierra, but the area is relatively isolated from major transportation routes, and good soils occur only in small wet hollows and valleys, although rainfall is heavier than in the Cuchumatanes.

Still farther east and extending nearly to Livingston on the Bay of Amatique lies the Sierra de Santa Cruz, just north of the Polochic River-Lake Izabal lowland.

Caribbean Coast and River Valleys

The coast along the Gulf of Honduras is flat and open to Caribbean storms. The Bay of Amatique, however, which is 10 miles wide and 25 miles long, is sheltered, and the country's major port, Puerto Barrios, is located on its shores, along with the ports of Matías de Gálvez and Livingston.

The climate of the coastal area, including the valleys which extend inland, is humid-tropical; there is no distinct dry season. At Puerto Barrios the monthly averages range from about 73° F. in December to about 83° F. in May. In February, the month of lowest average rainfall, the city receives about 3 inches. Tropical rainforest of broadleaf evergreen trees covers much of the area except where modern plantations have been established. Such plantations are found primarily in the Motagua River valley.

Three valley corridors extend inland from the Caribbean coast. They serve to link various parts of the interior, particularly the highlands, with the Caribbean coast, but they are separated from one another by mountain ranges.

The Motagua River rises near Chichicastenango in the Department of El Quiché and flows for about 250 miles until it empties into the Gulf of Honduras. On the last few miles of its course it serves as the boundary between Guatemala and Honduras. It is navigable for the last 120 miles of its length. It receives a number of rivers, one being the Hondo River which serves to supply the city of Zacapa with electricity. The Motagua River valley approaches Guatemala City from the Caribbean coast but branches west in the Department of El Progreso. A main road and railroad parallel the river to this point and continue on to the capital through a gentle highland pass, the Valle de las Vacas. This corridor has served to link the coast with the central highland area around the capital since the first days of the colonial period (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Bananas and abaca are grown in the lower valley, but otherwise the region is essentially undeveloped, with shifting, subsistence agriculture prevailing throughout.

In the middle Motagua River valley, in the Departments of Zacapa and El Progreso, lies a semiarid savanna region, created by rain shadow conditions. Average annual rainfall is about 20 inches, sufficient for a short grass cover and, therefore, good for grazing. The upper valley is a high intermont basin, with soils composed of fertile volcanic alluvium. Temperatures are hot and

rainfall moderate, but there is a distinct dry season in this part of the valley.

The swampy Polochic River-Lake Izabal lowland lies north of the Sierra de las Minas and the Montañas del Mico and is separated from the Motagua River valley by them. Small coffee *fincas* (farms) overlook the river and lake. This is the only commercial agriculture practiced in the area. The Polochic River rises in Alta Verapaz and flows west, emptying into Lake Izabal, the largest lake in the country. Deposits of nickel have been found near the lake and a 40-year concession was granted to a subsidiary of the International Nickel Company in 1965. The lake empties into the Dulce River, which in turn empties into the Bay of Amatique at the port of Livingston. The lake, which is 27 miles long and 12 miles wide, and the Dulce River are navigable throughout their entire lengths. This is the main corridor linking the Caribbean coast with the Verapaz Departments.

In colonial times the lake served as a shelter from pirates who roamed the Caribbean. Ports and warehouses were situated on the lake which was protected by the San Felipe Fort, at the junction of the lake with the Dulce River. In modern times the export produce of the Verapaz Departments has been carried by rail, truck, and ship along this corridor to the Amatique Bay ports.

The Sarstún River rises in Alta Verapaz and flows east, emptying into the Bay of Amatique. It serves, in the latter part of its course, as the boundary between British Honduras (Belize) and Guatemala and links El Petén with the coast. The terrain and climate surrounding it are much like those of El Petén and the northern parts of the Departments of El Quiché and Alta Verapaz.

El Petén

The vast area of El Petén, comprising about one-third of the national territory, extends as a distinct appendage into the Yucatán Peninsula. It is a rolling limestone plateau, between 500 and 700 feet above sea level, covered with dense tropical rainforest, occasionally interspersed with wide savannas. The soils are relatively poor for agriculture. The annual rainfall is heavy, averaging 80 inches in the north and 150 inches in the south.

Because of the porosity of the soil, much of the drainage is underground, though there are many lake basins which overflow and flood the land when the rains are particularly heavy. Most of the rivers flow either through Mexico, emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, or through British Honduras, emptying into the Gulf of Honduras.

The Salinas River rises in Huehuetenango and flows north to contribute to the Usumacinta River, which empties into the Gulf

of Mexico. The two rivers form part of the border between Mexico and El Petén. The Pasión River, which rises in northern Alta Verapaz and flows north and west in El Petén, serves as a link between Cobán, the capital of Alta Verapaz, and El Petén. It also contributes to the Usumacinta, as does the San Pedro River, which rises north of Flores, capital of El Petén. The Belize River and the Azul River both rise in El Petén and empty into the Caribbean. Flores is located on an island in Lake Petén Itzá, which is 15 miles long, 2 miles wide, and about 165 feet deep. The lake has no visible outlet because its drainage is underground.

Forest reserves are the major resources of the area. There are extensive stands of mahogany, tropical cedar, and chicozapote trees. These last yield the chicle latex which is used in chewing gum. It is said that the *chicleros* (chicle gatherers) have discovered most of the known Mayan cities in the area because the chicozapote tree tends to grow where there has been previous use of the land.

Isolation hinders development of the area. It is sparsely populated and served by few good roads. The only rivers large enough for rafting flow into either Mexico or British Honduras, and most of the chicle latex gathered must be transported by plane to Puerto Barrios. Oil has been found in the area, but not in sufficient quantity for efficient exploitation.

Fauna and Flora

Most of the fauna is typical of that classified as neotropical, but a few North American animals, such as the white-tailed deer, have migrated into the area. The rainforests and drier tropical lowlands exhibit the greatest faunal variety, particularly of birds and insects. The beautiful quetzal is the national bird, chosen as a symbol of Guatemalan independence because, purportedly, it cannot live in captivity. Parrots and their relatives, which eat cultivated grains, have been a nuisance to tropical farmers and have been greatly depleted, but are still numerous. Mosquitoes infest the lowlands and continue to spread malaria on the plantations, but measures are being undertaken to control them. A variety of monkeys and reptiles, including several kinds of poisonous snakes, inhabit the rainforests, and crocodiles and iguanas abound in the swampy estuaries and lagoons. Aquatic birds, such as ducks and herons, also inhabit the coastal lagoons. Wild pigs, armadillos, jaguars, bears, and tapirs are found in various parts of the country.

Besides the forest reserves that cover more than half the country, many kinds of flowers and hardy grasses blanket the lowlands and highlands alike. The *monja blanca* (white nun)

orchid, which grows wild only in Alta Verapaz, is the national flower, and the Ceiba tree, considered sacred in parts of the country, is the national tree.

Transportation

Three major transportation routes traverse the country, providing certain regions with avenues for communication (see fig. 1). Frequent bus service and truck and rail transport along these routes render much of the highland and Pacific coastal regions accessible (see Domestic Trade, ch. 8). Certain other regions are left relatively isolated by a lack of such routes, particularly the northern parts of Huehuetenango, El Quiché, and Alta Verapaz, and all of El Petén. All Department capitals are connected by roads of varying quality with Guatemala City. Nevertheless, much of the produce for domestic trade is carried to market on the backs of men and mules over dirt trails and footpaths.

The Pacific Coast Highway, extending from Mexico to El Salvador along the piedmont of the volcanic axis, is paved throughout its entire length. It connects the more important coffee market towns of Coatepeque, Quezaltenango; Retalhuleu, Retalhuleu; Mazatenango, Suchitepéquez; and Escuintla, Escuintla.

The Inter-American Highway roughly parallels the Pacific Coast Highway from border to border, but it is situated farther inland along the volcanic axis. This highway connects with, or runs close to the country's major population centers. Spur roads lead to nearby Department capitals.

The Inter-Ocean Highway connects Puerto Barrios with Guatemala City via the Motagua River valley. It continues on through the Department capital of Escuintla, where it crosses the Pacific Coast Highway, to the port of San José.

The major railroad, which provides primarily freight services, closely parallels the Inter-Ocean Highway from Puerto Barrios to Escuintla where it turns west and continues on to Mexico, closely paralleling the Pacific Coast Highway and passing through the same coffee market towns. One of its spurs turns south at the Department capital of Zacapa and runs all the way to San Salvador, capital of El Salvador, providing that country with its major Caribbean outlet. Other spurs run south to the banana-producing area around Tiquisate, Department of Escuintla, and to the Pacific ports of San José, Escuintla; Champerico, Retalhuleu; and Ocós, San Marcos.

The most important Pacific port, San José, has meager facilities. A single pier extends into the ocean. Ships must lie at anchor some distance from the shore and cargo must be loaded onto lighters and transferred to these ships because the water is too

shallow for oceangoing vessels to approach the pier. Facilities at Ocós are even less adequate, and those at Champerico are being improved (see Domestic Trade, ch. 8).

Puerto Barrios, on the sheltered and relatively deep Bay of Amatique on the Caribbean side, is the country's major port, although its importance may some day be eclipsed by the nearby Government-owned port of Matías de Gálvez. Livingston, to the northwest, is the least important of the Caribbean ports. Although most export produce is grown on land close to the Pacific Ocean, the major portion is shipped to Puerto Barrios because of its superior harbor and port facilities and its proximity to the primary market, the east coast of the United States.

The only major inland water route is the Lake Izabal-Dulce River complex, which empties into the Bay of Amatique. Both are navigable throughout their entire lengths, and the complex, primarily a commercial route, serves to connect the Cobán area of Alta Verapaz with the Caribbean ports. Other lakes and rivers are useful for only local transport and communication purposes because the lakes are relatively small with no navigable river outlets and the rivers are too shallow for major commerce, although some in El Petén are used for floating logs to ocean ports.

Aurera Airport in Guatemala City can receive jet aircraft and is very modern. Airports with either dirt or all-weather runways are found in most of the Department capitals, in the agricultural areas of the Pacific coast, and scattered over El Petén. Cotton-growers have built many small strips in Escuintla and Retalhuleu Departments to serve the small planes which spray crops. Because of the poor overland routes to El Petén, most of the chicle gathered in the region must be flown to Puerto Barrios, and most settlements have at least small landing strips.

Boundaries and Political Subdivisions

International Boundaries

When Spain controlled all of Central America from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico to Costa Rica, the area was administered by the Captaincy-General of Guatemala. Administrative responsibility was, in turn, given to provinces within the Captaincy-General. After first gaining independence from Spain and, subsequently, from Mexico, these provinces, with the exception of Chiapas which joined Mexico, confederated into a union called the Provincias Unidas del Centro de America (United Provinces of Central America); but the boundaries between them were arbitrary and not clearly demarcated. As a result disputes arose (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

A treaty committing the boundary dispute between Guatemala

and Honduras to arbitration was signed in Washington on July 16, 1930, and in 1933 a tribunal reported its opinion, which was accepted by both parties. The present boundary is 159 miles long (see Foreign Relations, ch. 6).

The boundary dispute between Guatemala and Mexico was resolved when the two countries signed a boundary treaty in Mexico City on September 27, 1882, which was somewhat modified in 1895. The boundary is 579 miles long and follows two straight lines, three parallels, one meridian, and the median lines of the rivers Suchiate, Salinas, and Usumacinta.

The boundary dispute between Guatemala and El Salvador was considered by a frontier commission whose recommendations were ratified in a boundary treaty signed in Guatemala City on April 9, 1934. The boundary is 90 miles long.

The territory of Belize (British Honduras) was still a matter of dispute in mid-1968. In 1963, when Great Britain promised to grant future independence to the colony, Guatemala broke off diplomatic relations with that nation, and they have not been resumed. A boundary treaty between Guatemala and Great Britain had been signed on April 30, 1859.

Political Subdivisions

The Republic is comprised of 22 major political subdivisions called Departments. These range in size from Sacatepéquez, 180 square miles in area, to El Petén, 13,843 square miles, which covers roughly one-third of the nation's territory (see table 1 and fig. 1). Each Department is governed from the Department capital, which is also the capital of a *municipio*, a division similar to a township in the United States. Departments are administrative arms of the central Government. Each Department's governor is appointed by the President; he may not have been a resident of the Department which he is appointed to govern (see Political and Government Systems, ch. 6).

No Department is so delineated that it contains a single language group within its borders, although language considerations do play a role in Departmental configurations. A number of Departments have a generally uniform topography. Among them are El Petén in the north and Totonicapán, Sololá, Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, and Guatemala in the Sierra Madre highlands. Most of the others, particularly those which touch on the Pacific Ocean, exhibit a variety of terrain features.

Each Department is divided into a number of *municipios*, ranging in size from about 30 to 1,000 square miles. At the time of the 1964 census there were 325 *municipios* in the country. Since 1944 *municipio* offices have been elective. The *cabecera* (capital) of a

Table 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Guatemala

| Department | Population 1964 | Percent of Indian population 1964 | Percent of population increase between 1950 & 1964 | Density per square mile 1964 | Number of municipios 1964 | 1963 Infant deaths per 1,000 live births |
|---------------|--------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Guatemala | 813,696 | 10.5 | 85.4 | 991 | 17 | 80.9 |
| San Marcos | 332,303 | 50.3 | 42.9 | 227 | 29 | 78.1 |
| Huehuetenango | 286,965 | 69.0 | 43.4 | 100 | 31 | 80.1 |
| Escuintla | 269,813 | 12.4 | 118.8 | 159 | 13 | 124.3 |
| Quezaltenango | 268,962 | 55.2 | 46.0 | 357 | 24 | 108.6 |
| Alta Verapaz | 259,873 | 92.6 | 36.9 | 77 | 14 | 67.7 |
| El Quiché | 247,775 | 85.2 | 41.7 | 77 | 18 | 87.5 |
| Jutiapa | 199,053 | 0.5 | 43.3 | 160 | 17 | 73.5 |
| Suchitepéquez | 186,299 | 54.3 | 49.8 | 192 | 20 | 112.1 |
| Chimaltenango | 163,753 | 73.9 | 34.8 | 214 | 16 | 115.3 |
| Santa Rosa | 155,488 | 2.0 | 41.6 | 136 | 14 | 88.6 |
| Chiquimula | 151,241 | 24.4 | 34.0 | 165 | 11 | 60.4 |
| Totonicapán | 139,636 | 95.3 | 40.5 | 341 | 8 | 146.9 |
| Retalhuleu | 122,829 | 32.2 | 83.7 | 171 | 9 | 121.3 |
| Izabal | 114,404 | 11.8 | 107.9 | 33 | 5 | 87.7 |
| Sololá | 108,815 | 93.8 | 31.2 | 266 | 19 | 147.3 |
| Jalapa | 97,996 | 35.8 | 30.3 | 123 | 7 | 72.1 |
| Zacapa | 95,976 | 2.4 | 38.0 | 92 | 10 | 72.4 |
| Baja Verapaz | 95,663 | 54.9 | 44.3 | 79 | 8 | 95.4 |
| Sacatepéquez | 80,479 | 41.3 | 33.9 | 449 | 16 | 85.1 |
| El Progreso | 66,734 | 1.7 | 39.4 | 90 | 8 | 119.1 |
| El Petén | 26,720 | 30.2 | 68.5 | 2 | 1 | 74.0 |
| Country | 4,281,473 | 41.4 | 53.5 | 102 | 325 | 92.4 |

Source: Adapted from Organización de los Estados Americanos, Union Panamericana, Instituto Interamericano de Estadística, *América En Cifras 1967: Situación Física; Territorio y Clima*, p. 17; América En Cifras 1967: *Situación Demográfica: Estado y Movimiento de la Población*, p. 29, 68; República de Guatemala, Ministerio de Economía, Dirección General de Estadística, Oficina del Punto Focal Nacional. *Población Total Por Grupo Etnico y Area Urbana-Rural. República Por Departamento. VII Censo General de Población April 1964.*

municipio is called either a *pueblo* (village) or a *villa* (large village), or a *ciudad* (city) if it is also a Department capital. The *municipio* is made up of a number of *aldeas* (hamlets) and *caseríos* (small rural communities, often only collections of scattered dwellings) which are administrative subdivisions and are governed by the *alcalde* (mayor) of the *municipio*. Many *caseríos*, however, are under the jurisdiction of an *aldea* in which they are situated. The *cabecera* of the *municipio* is divided into *cantones* (wards).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the 1964 census, 66.4 percent of the population lived in areas classified as rural. Urban areas were defined as *ciudades*, *villas*, or *pueblos* which had a population of 1,500 or more and had piped water or, not having this, had a population of 2,000 or more.

In general, Indians live in dispersed settlements in the western highlands, and the Verapaz Departments, and in the *tierra fría*; however, some have migrated permanently from the highlands to the plantations near the Pacific coast, to the lowlands of the southern El Petén, and to Guatemala City (see Population, ch. 4). Most *ladinos* are found in nucleated settlements in the lower eastern highlands in the *tierra templada*, although some live in the more urbanized areas of the western highlands where they pursue professional and commercial vocations. The lowlands, except around the banana plantations, are sparsely populated, but predominantly *ladino*. Even in Departments which are populated by approximately equal numbers of Indians and *ladinos*, their respective communities are distinct from one another.

Between A. D. 630 and 960 the Mayas abandoned their great ceremonial centers in El Petén and moved farther north into the Yucatán Peninsula and south into the Guatemalan highlands. The present-day city of Quezaltenango, second largest in the Republic, was the focus of their settlement, although they were spread throughout the southern and western highlands (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

The first Spanish settlers moved in to the low dry areas in the present-day Department of Zacapa and into the higher basins of Jutiapa and Chiquimula where there was abundant grass cover for cattle grazing. Most of the non-Mayas soon disappeared, but pockets of Mayan descendants still remain in these eastern highlands. During colonial times Spaniards also settled in administrative towns along trade routes between Mexico and Central America and between the area around the colonial capitals and the Bay of Amatique. These settlements became the larger towns and cities

of today and are predominantly populated by *ladinos* (see *Ethnic Groups and Languages*, ch. 4).

The layouts of towns are similar throughout the country and bear a strong Spanish imprint. The church faces an open square, where a *pila* (stone or cement trough), into which water flows from a pipe or stream, is usually located. Government buildings, private shops, and perhaps a few residential homes also face the square, and a market is found somewhere nearby.

The Indian pattern of rural settlement is different in general from that of the *ladino* for both cultural and geographical reasons. In the southwest highlands and the mountains of Alta Verapaz, small distinct communities, usually contained within a single *municipio*, are isolated from one another by deep canyons or other rugged terrain. Parts of the predominantly Indian highlands have very high rural population densities of over 300 persons per square mile. The *cabecera* of the *municipio*, which serves as the administrative center and the market, may remain almost empty except on market or festival days when the people who live on farmsteads scattered throughout the *municipio* gather to sell their wares and produce or to celebrate. These are sometimes called "vacant towns" or "concourse centers." Archaeological studies suggest that pre-conquest Mayan cities were primarily ceremonial centers where people gathered only for special occasions.

In other areas the people may live in the towns and go out each day to work the surrounding fields. This pattern, typical of the Indian settlements around Lake Atitlán, developed after the Spanish conquest, under the direction of priests who found nucleated towns more convenient for their missionary and labor-organizing purposes. The *ladinos* of the eastern *tierra templada* generally live in such compact towns in mountain foothills and near lakes. In predominantly Indian Departments, *ladinos* live mostly in the cities and larger administrative towns. In mixed Indian and *ladino* villages, *ladinos* are more likely to live in the neighborhood of the plaza, whereas the Indians tend to live on the village outskirts.

Patterns of settlement in other areas vary. In El Petén people are clustered around permanent water sources as they were during the times of the ancient Maya because, although rainfall is heavy, it is absorbed rapidly by the porous soil. The Black Caribs, mixed descendants of the Carib Indians and Negro slaves who had escaped from British Honduras, live in and around Livingston and on the Dulce River. They are proud of their heritage and tend to form distinct communities.

Each of the larger towns or cities has its own distinctive character, though similar on a grander scale to the smaller settlements. Chichicastenango, Department of El Quiché, is renowned for its

dominant Indian character, although the buildings and layout of the town are Spanish colonial. The Indians who live in the hills outside town come in for the Thursday and Sunday market to practice their *costumbres* (customary religious rituals) on the steps of the church of Santo Tomás.

The colonial capital of Antigua, Department of Sacatepéquez, maintains its colonial flavor. Its growth and development were stunted to an extent when it was partially destroyed in 1773. Many of the buildings have been restored, though many lie in ruins, grown over with vines and wild flowers. Newer buildings have been constructed in colonial style, which is well suited to the climate. These buildings dominate the appearance and character of the town.

Quezaltenango, the second largest industrial and commercial city, has a mixed Spanish and Indian heritage. It was built on the site of the Indian city of Xelajú. It was an administrative town in colonial times, and a *ladino* outpost in the midst of an Indian area. Although most buildings were built in a modern style after the earthquakes of 1902, cobblestone streets and shaded plazas maintain some of its Spanish flavor, and a highland market contributes its Indian aspect.

Guatemala City, almost completely rebuilt since the earthquakes of 1917-18, is distinctively modern, although some of the new buildings were built in the old colonial style. New suburban communities lie south of the city.

Escuintla, capital of Escuintla Department, is a fast-growing progressive town with little tradition. An industrial park was being developed there in the mid-1960's in an area which had formerly been a popular bathing resort.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Housing and Sanitation

Great differences in housing construction exist among different segments of the population and different geographical areas.

In the *cabecera* of a *municipio* the sturdiest, best-built houses usually belong to *ladinos* and are located around or near the plaza. The walls are usually made of adobe (sun-dried mud bricks), and the roofs of tile or metal. Hard-packed bare dirt floors are usual, although some floors may be made of clay bricks or wood. *Ladino* houses are more likely to be partitioned into two or more rooms. Large, barred windows, which can be closed with wooden shutters, allow ventilation. *Ladino* houses may have factory-made furniture and tableware, in addition to the necessary pottery and utensils, such as the indispensable *metate* (stone for grinding corn) and griddle on which *tortillas* are baked.

Cooking is often done in a separate hut, Indian in style and poorly ventilated. The stove may be simply three stones, in the middle of which a wood fire is built. Meals may be taken in this separate hut where the diners sit on low stools. *Ladinos* are, in general, more materially prosperous than are Indians and can afford more elaborate quarters. They choose to reside in the center of town and have a higher standard of living than do the Indians.

The Indians tend to live on the outskirts of town or in the rural areas of the *municipio*. They have one-room dwellings, usually windowless at the higher altitudes. Animals may be quartered and food stored in these same one-room structures. The walls of the dwellings are usually of cane stalks or poles, set vertically and lashed together, or they may be of hard-packed mud or adobe. Almost all floors are simply hard-packed dirt, and roofs are thatched with locally available materials, such as palm leaves or grass. Very little furniture is used, sometimes only packing crates for chairs or tables, a chest for storing clothing, and perhaps a platform bed for a mother who has recently given birth. For cleanliness, they frequently use a sweat bath which is made by heating stones and pouring water over them.

There are variations on this general pattern in areas which are not typical of the nation as a whole. In the lowlands some Indian houses are built on stilts to avoid insects, snakes, and the effects of floods during the rainy season. Seasonal workers on the coffee *fincas* are usually housed in unpainted barracks which sometimes are not separated into rooms for family privacy. The *chicleros* of El Petén usually build only temporary shelters because their way of life is migratory. Modern suburban housing is found in communities outside Guatemala City, and apartment houses are found in the city itself.

As early as 1922, under President Orellana, housing projects were built and units were rented or sold to low-income workers. In 1926 President Chacón established a workers' community outside Guatemala City. Lots were given free, but the workers had to pay for the materials and construction of the houses, which had to meet minimum standards. Under President Arévalo a 200-unit housing development was built in the capital. The units were equipped with sanitary facilities and were rented to low-income workers. Between the mid-1940's and the mid-1960's, modest housing programs were carried out by the Ministry of Communications and Public Works, the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, and the National Mortgage Credit Bank.

According to the 1964 census there were 567,390 dwelling units located in rural areas and 273,155 in urban areas. About 55 percent of all these were classified as "sturdy or permanent." 35

percent as "rustic," and 9.6 percent as "improvised" or squatter-type housing. Sturdy or permanent housing was found more often, and rustic less often, in urban areas than in rural. The percentages of squatter dwellings were approximately the same for both; however, squatter-type housing presents a greater sanitation problem in urban areas because there it is complicated by crowded conditions.

Water, Sanitation, and Lighting

The National Housing Institute (NHI), established in 1965, estimated that about 55 percent of all urban housing and 80 percent of rural housing was substandard. It recommended that 25,000 new dwelling units be built each year to house new families. A 5-year plan (1965-70), to be administered by the NHI and the National Agrarian Change Institute (NACI), envisaged the building of 11,911 units under a variety of programs, including loans; self-help projects; direct construction by the institutes; and units to be constructed with financial contributions from the employer of the applicant, the employee, and the institutes. In 1962 the predecessor agency of the NHI received a loan of US\$5.3 million from the Inter-American Development Bank to build 5,800 houses. The project was to be completed by mid-1968.

According to the 1964 census, 92 percent of the rural dwellings did not have access to piped water. Most rural people obtain water for cooking and washing either from a local well, or a nearby river, lake, or spring, and these sources are often contaminated. The scarcity of piped water precludes such conveniences as flush toilets and modern bathing and laundry facilities.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance was undertaking limited programs to supply rural areas with potable water systems in 1967. Between 1961 and 1964 such systems were constructed in areas containing a total of 61,000 people. The Civic Action Service of the Army has drilled wells and installed water pumps in rural areas. The Municipal Development Institute has granted loans to *municipios* for the construction of sewage systems. By 1967, 18 such systems, benefiting 64,700 people, had been constructed.

In 1964 only 30 percent of the urban units were without access to piped water and were not served by any sewage system. Nevertheless, in the crowded urban environment this is a major factor in the spread of disease. In 1965 the Ministry of Communications and Public Works undertook a program to provide potable water and sewage systems to communities which could not afford to finance such projects on their own. By 1967 the Inter-American Development Bank had granted a total of US\$7.8 million for en-

vironmental sanitation projects. A 10-year plan for 1964-74 foresees the construction of systems to serve 900,000 people, thereby giving 73 percent of the projected urban population access to potable water.

Most rural families use kerosene or gasoline for lighting. The remainder use candles or lighted sticks of wood. In 1964 only 4 percent of the rural dwellings were provided with electricity, compared with 56 percent of the urban. In 1964 a 10-year plan to develop hydroelectric resources was initiated (see Domestic Trade, ch. 2).

Settlement Projects and Community Development

Several governments have tried to encourage the settlement of unused lands, particularly along the Pacific coast, in the Motagua River valley, and in El Petén, in order to alleviate pressures on the land in the Indian highlands, to divert the flow of population to Guatemala City, and to make better use of underdeveloped lands. For the most part, these efforts have not been successful as the Indians are reluctant to leave their ancestral lands.

Nevertheless, in the mid-1960's there were 19 rural development zones, most of them located on the Pacific slope, where landless families were being settled on farm units of about 50 acres apiece. Since 1955 the United States Government has supplied more than US\$14 million to rural development projects in the country.

The projects were being administered by the Guatemalan Rural Development Program, which was begun in 1955. By the mid-1950's each of the two largest projects, Nueva Concepción and La Máquina, supported about 1,200 families on 85,000 acres of land. The 17 others supported between 30 and 270 families apiece. Some financial assistance was provided for housebuilding.

Most of the projects had community centers. Electricity, water, and sewage systems had been provided for these centers, but many were inoperable because funds for maintenance were not available. Schools and medical clinics were also built in many centers. Although some of the clinics were served by mobile medical teams, most had only a nurse who had neither the qualifications nor the facilities to give more than minimal medical attention.

The Government also operated two other kinds of settlement projects. One established individual subsistence farms, and the other established communal farms similar to those which exist in some Indian communities. The Maryknoll Fathers also operated a small, but growing settlement project near the Mexican border in the Department of El Quiché under the official sponsorship of the Institute of Agrarian Reform (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

Clothing

An individual can usually be identified as either Indian or *ladino* by the clothing he wears. Nevertheless, some "transitional" Indians, particularly the men, wear *ladino*-type clothes (see Population, Including Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4). Clothing varies more with climatic conditions than does housing. Cotton is worn in the lowlands and wool in the highlands; most rural people go barefoot even at the highest altitudes.

Ladino farmers and laborers wear overalls or khaki pants and T-shirts, which are usually machine made. Middle- and upper-class *ladinos* wear white-collar clothing, including factory-made suits. The women generally wear dresses or skirts and blouses.

Indian clothing is much more elaborate in texture and embroidery, if not always in style. It is not subject to rapid stylistic changes. Young women, however, do embellish traditional costumes with store-bought lace and ribbons and even, on occasion, wear Western-type blouses. Some Indian costumes appear to have survived from preconquest times, but most, particularly the men's, show marked Spanish influence, appearing to be rough copies of Spanish uniforms or other dress. For example, the short red coats worn by some Indian men are similar to those worn by Spanish colonial officials.

The Indian women wear *huipiles*, which are similar to blouses, though they may be very short or quite long, and one of two types of skirt. One type is the wraparound, requiring about 5 yards of cloth, which is close-fitting and is usually worn ankle-length. The other is the pleated skirt, requiring about 8 yards of cloth, which is also usually worn ankle-length. Women also wear the *tzute*, a piece of decorated cloth, either as part of a headdress, as a shawl, or as a sling in which a baby is carried. Some pregnant women wear maternity belts for support. Occasionally the belts have talismans sewn into them because of the belief that, if one pregnant woman passes another, they will exchange babies. The talismans are believed to prevent this. Coin and coral necklaces are much prized by Indian women.

Men wear trousers of varying lengths and shirts which are similar to the women's *huipiles*. They also may wear short coats similar to European ones or the *capiraj*, similar to a poncho. If it is long it is tied with a sash. Men also wear the *tzute*, either as a hat decoration or as a kerchief. Men's hats are made of straw, palm leaves, or felt. Raincoats are made of palm leaves sewn together.

Indians from the same *municipio* usually wear the same style of colored and embroidered clothing. When they are away from

home they can be easily identified by their distinctive costumes. For example, the men from Todos Santos Cuchumatán, Huehuetenango, wear red and white striped trousers and blue woolen cloaks. Women from San Juan Ixchoy, Huehuetenango, wear long white *huipiles* over tight red skirts. Most Indians wear these costumes for everyday chores and festive activities alike, partly because they are expensive and often an individual cannot afford more than one. Women will wear their blouses inside out when working to protect the outside of the garment. Children wear miniature replicas of their parents' costumes. In some areas mothers add to the usual dress of the infants caps that cover heads and eyes for protection from the "evil eyes" of strangers and for keeping the children's ears from protruding.

Minor variations of costumes within a *municipio* are usually indications of social or marital status. For example, in Chichicastenango an unmarried young girl wears her skirt above the knees; if she is young and married she wears it knee-length; and if she is past childbearing age, she wears it midcalf-length. In parts of Quezaltenango a particularly elaborate embroidered *huipil* is deemed suitable only for socially prominent Indian women. A less elaborate one is worn by those of lower status. Among men, the amount of braid tacked onto coats is an indication of social or marital status. In some villages, men of lower status are, by custom, not permitted to wear coats.

Textiles for Indian clothing are usually painstakingly hand-woven, but not everyone is a weaver; consequently, most cloth is purchased at the local market or from traveling merchants. Most cloth is nearly ready to be worn as soon as it comes off the loom. A few stitches turn a piece of cloth into a *huipil*, a skirt, or a pair of trousers.

Diet and Nutrition

There are regional and social variations in dietary staples and ways of preparing food. Nevertheless, the great majority of people subsist on, or are amply supplied with, a diet of corn supplemented by black beans, squash, chili peppers, tomatoes, onions, a variety of fruits, and occasionally meat, either beef, pork, or chicken. Corn is eaten primarily in the form of the *tortilla*. Kernels are boiled in lime water and left to soak overnight until they become soft and can be ground to a mealy paste on the *metate*. The paste is made into a thin, flat cake and baked on a griddle.

Corn may also be consumed in the form of *atole*, a thin corn gruel, usually drunk for breakfast or prepared with spices or cocoa butter for ceremonial occasions and festivals. *Tamales* are made by wrapping cornmeal in leaves or husks and boiling them in

water. Meat is mixed with the cornmeal on special occasions. Beans are usually made into thick soup or, especially among *ladinos*, boiled, mashed, and then cooked in lard.

At the highest altitudes the potato supplants corn as the subsistence crop because corn will not grow above an altitude of 9,500 feet. The Black Caribs make their *tortillas* from cassava after squeezing out the poisonous juices.

In general, *ladinos* and people in the cities consume more of such foods as milk, meat, fruits, tubers, rice, wheat bread, and fats than do Indians. Consumption of these items is greater among well-to-do Indians than among the poorer segment of the population.

Before the Spanish came, a mild alcoholic beverage made from corn paste and fruit juices was drunk. The Spanish introduced hard liquors, particularly *aguardiente* (distilled sugarcane juice). What had been a social and ceremonial pastime among Indians became a major problem. The majority of infractions of the law are committed by inebriated persons. Antialcoholism campaigns have been undertaken, but have had little effect.

The average daily calorie intake is approximately 2,000 calories, of which cereal foods constitute three-quarters. Carbohydrates provide perhaps 80 percent of all calories, and proteins about 10 percent. The number of calories and the amounts of vegetable protein, calcium, iron, thiamin, and niacin have been adjudged adequate, on the whole.

The diet is markedly deficient, however, in vitamin A and riboflavin, both of which are essential for growth and resistance to disease. Most riboflavin is lost in the preparation of *tortillas*. Vitamin C is also deficient in the diet, partly because some is lost in the cooking of fresh vegetables. Since the primary source of protein is cereal foods, the diet is lacking in animal proteins, which provide amino acids essential for growth and health.

There is some evidence that the children's diet is less adequate than that of adults and that the adults get more than their share of the available food, although children consume proportionately more of the expensive foods such as milk and eggs. This is partly because of prejudices which prohibit children from eating certain foods, particularly meats which are not considered suitable. Consequently, in some areas children do not get enough of any nutrient or mineral, with the possible exception of iron.

In 1959 the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), located in Guatemala City, announced the development and availability of a low-cost dietary supplement called Incaparina. Incaparina is made of cottonseed meal, corn, sorghum, calcium carbonate, yeast, and vitamin A, all of which

are locally available products which are ground to the consistency of flour. If it is used in the preparation of *atole*, the mixture equals fresh milk in protein and vitamin A content.

INCAP also advises on applied nutrition programs sponsored by various Government agencies, carries out research on nutrition, and provides training for the personnel of nutrition programs. It cooperates with the Pan American Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the United Nations Children's Fund in their nutrition programs.

Festivals and Markets

While most people use the Western calendar for daily and business activities, two other calendars are significant in the lives of particular Indian groups. One, used in parts of Huehuetenango, is the old Maya "vague year" calendar of 365 days divided into 18 months of 20 days each. The extra five days, which come after the end of one year and before the beginning of the next, are the "evil days," or the days of the "five women." The most important event in connection with this calendar, and perhaps the oldest Indian rite still practiced, is the Year Bearer's ceremony on the first day of the new year. This ceremony has been best preserved in the *municipio* of Jacaltenango. The old calendar was constructed so that the first day of the new year could fall on only four day names. The deity of the first day of the new year is the Year Bearer. Thus four deities take turns being the Year Bearer. Prayer-makers begin their duties days in advance in anticipation of the ceremony. They burn incense, make offerings of red flowers, and burn candles (see Religion, ch. 5).

The Tzolkin calendar, which has 260 days divided into thirteen months of 20 days each, is important to the Indians of Momostenango, Totonicapán. Each day of the month has its own name. In addition, each day is numbered from one to 13, so that each month the same name day will have a different number from the one that it has in any other month. The ancient Maya used the sacred Tzolkin calendar simultaneously with the "vague year" calendar. The most important celebration in connection with this calendar is also the first day of the year. The occasion is called the Ceremony of Eight Monkeys. Those who live in the village, and those who were born there but live elsewhere, take part in the ceremony, for it is considered very bad luck not to attend.

All towns throughout the country celebrate their saint's days, a Spanish contribution, with a characteristic mixture of solemnity and festivity. The emphasis is somewhat different in Indian and *ladino* towns. Among *ladinos* a novena may be held before the feast day. On the day itself, Mass is held, and images of the saint

are carried through the town. Social dances, games, cockfights, sports, and comic theatrical performances provide the festive aspects of a *ladino* fiesta.

The saint's day in an Indian town is similar in many ways. Masked dances, however, such as the Dance of the Moors and the Christians and the Dance of the Conquest, play a prominent role in the Indian town. Sacred *costumbres* (customary religious rituals), sacrifices, and prayers accompany these performances. The flavor of the Indian fiesta is more religious than that of the *ladino*.

The market is usually a relatively local affair, held once or twice a week in the *cabecera* of a *municipio*. Traders are usually residents of the *municipio*, though there may be some itinerant peddlers who come from farther away. The products sold at these frequent markets are necessities such as fruits, vegetables, and locally made textiles.

A fair, usually held in connection with some other occasion such as a fiesta, goes on for several days. It is a larger version of the market and attracts people from many parts of the country. Sections of the marketplace are set aside for particular products. Most Guatemalan *municipios* are known for a particular craft or product. The men from Chinautla, laden down with water jugs, go to the pottery section where they rent space; those from Momostenango carry their woolen blankets to another section. In recent years sections have been set aside for inexpensive factory-made items, such as combs, soap, and flashlights. Goods are usually bought and sold for cash after much bargaining.

HEALTH

Traditional Medical Beliefs

Folk beliefs about medical cures are widespread in rural areas and in parts of the city inhabited by recent rural immigrants. These beliefs are based on prescientific theories concerning disease. The fact that there are very few physicians or other medical personnel in most of the outlying areas of the country prevents the dispersal of information on modern medical practices. Furthermore, if a medicine does not render an immediate cure of symptoms, it may be abandoned.

The urban dweller has access to a greater variety of both folk and modern theories and cures and is likely to try them all to find which is the most suitable; however, he may consult a physician only as a last resort when the disease has progressed past the point when it can be cured. Among an increasing number of people there is a certain readiness to accept the prescriptions of a phy-

sician, even though, on occasion, his cures have failed. Although there are free public clinics in most cities, many prefer to pay the private medical practitioner because he can give more personal attention to the patient and may be more willing to prescribe a medicine which the patient himself feels is suitable.

People seek out the attention of different types of medical practitioners for different diseases. Thus, the treatment with traditional cures tends to be used for internal and minor complaints, such as headaches, stomach trouble, worms, or rheumatism, and a physician's treatment is used for serious illnesses and visible injuries, such as pneumonia, severe burns, and skin infections.

In rural areas, however, people are less willing to accept the failure of a modern practitioner and may not seek his advice, or the advice of other modern medical personnel, after one disappointing encounter. On the other hand, the failure of a folk-healer does not discredit him; rather, it is rationalized and his position is supported by tradition.

There are specific differences between Indians, *ladinos*, and Black Caribs in their folk approaches to medicine but, on the whole, they are remarkably similar. During colonial times European beliefs concerning the causes of disease were similar to present-day folk beliefs, and the present *ladino* heritage stems from these. Nevertheless, the *ladinos* have remained more open to change and tend to seek modern medical care more readily than do either Indians or Black Caribs. Witches and evil spirits are seen as causes of disease less often among *ladinos* than among Indians or Black Caribs. Disease is more often attributed to causes such as dirt, bad food, and germs. Consequently, the *ladinos* rely more on medicine, both herbal and modern, and less upon ritual to effect cures.

Folk theory holds that illness is the result of an interaction between some outside agent and some inward physiological or emotional state which makes an individual vulnerable to disease. The outside agent may be something physical, such as cold temperatures, or something magical or supernatural, such as a witch or evil spirit. The inward state may be a condition of hotness, coldness, pregnancy, old age, anger, or fear. Some foods, such as chili or hot coffee, are thought to create an inward condition of "hotness" and, if this is combined with cold outdoor temperatures, a variety of diseases may be the result. Influenza, malaria, stomach aches, and lung trouble are among them. Other foods, such as pork in some areas, are considered "cold." A proper balance between "hot" and "cold" is considered necessary to good health, and cures often consist of attempts to regain this balance.

Magical or supernatural agents are also considered to be able

to cause disease if an individual is susceptible. Some persons are believed to have the "evil eye." "Evil winds" may produce aches or other minor ills. Black magic, which may be performed directly by an enemy or by someone hired by him, may result in serious illness or death. Dead ancestors may cause minor illnesses if they feel that family members have not been performing the proper rituals (see Religion, ch. 5).

Most people have some knowledge of cures, but they generally consult a native *curandero* (curer), such as a midwife, herbalist, masseur, or shaman. These *curanderos* have usually learned their trade from a relative who is skilled in its practice. Treatment consists of the application or consumption of various herbs and sometimes medicines, or the performance of religious ritual.

Some native cures have positive medical or psychological effects, but often these cures and living habits in general serve only to complicate illnesses. For example, a child with measles may be given a sweat bath to cleanse him of the disease. This is a particularly dangerous practice in the *tierra fría* where it may induce complications such as pneumonia. A liquid diet is thought to be appropriate for a child with diarrhea, but serves only to worsen it.

Because the cause of disease is so often attributed to the ill will of outside agents, certain precautions are taken to avoid incurring this ill will. People wear talismans, avoid places which the spirits are thought to inhabit, diligently make offerings to their ancestors, and try to avoid making enemies.

History of Health Services

Presidents Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1879-1920), José María Orellana (1921-1926), and Lázaro Chacón (1927-1930) took beginning steps to improve the country's health conditions. Orellana undertook sanitation projects, improved hospital facilities, and instituted regulations governing pharmacists and the sale of drugs. Chacón ordered extensive studies of health conditions and established health stations and clinics to treat malaria patients and sick children and to administer vaccinations against a variety of diseases. He also instituted regulations in an attempt to safeguard the health of farm employees and to govern the medical profession (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Before the government of President Jorge Ubico (1931-1944), health services were primarily in the hands of the missions or run by foreign enterprises. Such companies, in order to attract workers to their plantations in the lowlands, had to reduce the health threats of the area, particularly malaria and generally unsanitary conditions. Between the two World Wars the Rockefeller Foundation helped in a campaign to eradicate disease-bearing

mosquitoes by draining the stagnant pools where they breed. This was effective against the *aedes aegypti*, which transmits yellow fever, and no cases were reported in 1965; but the campaign was not successful against the wider ranging *anopheles*, which carries malaria. The elimination of malaria had to await the development of residual insecticides around the time of World War II and, subsequently, the development of a regional program necessary for a campaign of this sort.

In 1932, under the administration of President Jorge Ubico, the Health Code was promulgated. It outlined a public health program which went far in regulating health practices and prescribing programs for the prevention of disease and the conservation of health, though many of the programs were not carried out. The most prominent threats to public health were attacked and the national capital was the major recipient of services. City sewers were constructed and plague was eradicated under his government. Smallpox was eliminated as a result of an international vaccination campaign.

President Juan José Arévalo (1945-1951) made public health, sanitation, and welfare the primary responsibilities of the Government. These responsibilities were written into the Constitution of 1945, and the framework for a public health program and social security system was established. The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance was established in 1945. Until this time funds allotted for public health were among the lowest in the budget. Between 1944 and 1954 the annual budget for public health tripled. Sanitation and vaccination campaigns were stepped up, and regulations regarding the sale of food were enforced more vigorously. Programs for providing rural areas with potable water systems were begun, and hospitals were built to serve outlying areas. Drains were constructed in the cities. An antityphus campaign, initiated by the Government, reduced the number of cases reported from 2,834 in 1945 to 37 in 1951. The disease had previously been widespread in the highlands. An obstacle which impeded an even greater step forward in the field of public health during the Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz (1951-1954) governments was their mistrust of international health organizations.

President Castillo Armas (1954-1957) and those following him continued many of the less controversial programs instigated under Arévalo and Arbenz, including the health and social security measures. In addition, they availed themselves of services provided by international organizations. In fact, the World Health Organization was enlisted in 1954 to undertake the organization of the entire public health service, but expansion under this program slowed down after 1956.

In 1965 the programs of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance and other Government agencies, in conjunction with international organizations, covered the whole gamut of health problems confronting the nation, although much remained to be done in making these programs available to the whole of the population. A National Health Planning Unit had been incorporated into the Ministry to help coordinate health programs with overall development plans and to maintain liaison with the other Ministries.

Life Statistics

The official population according to the 1964 census was 4,284,473, and the estimated population in 1967 was 4,717,000. The crude death rate in 1940 was approximately 2.5 percent, compared to 1.96 percent in 1951 and 1.68 percent in 1965. The pronounced reduction of deaths resulting from malaria accounted for more than one-half the decrease in mortality between 1950 and 1960.

Despite this overall decrease, in three years, 1942, 1952, and 1955, the general death rate increased significantly over the previous year. In 1942 the disturbances brought about by World War II, for example the rationing of medicines, resulted in the increase. In 1952 the Agrarian Reform Law precipitated people's moving to parts of the country to which they were not acciimated and in which not even the rudimentary sanitary conditions to which they were accustomed existed. In 1955 pronounced changes, which came after the overthrow of Arbenz in 1954, took their toll (see Historical Setting, ch. 2; Population, ch. 4).

The infant mortality rate has decreased much less rapidly, from 10.9 percent of all live births in 1940, to 9.2 percent in 1951, and 9.46 percent in 1965. Infant death rates vary significantly between different geographical areas and between different cultural segments of the population.

The highest are found in the predominantly Indian Departments of Sololá and Totonicapán and among Indians in general, and the lower rates are found in the eastern Departments, which are either mixed Indian and *ladino*, or predominantly *ladino*. There also seems to be a correlation between high infant death rates and high Department population growth. For example, the Department of Escuintla, though predominantly *ladino*, has a high infant death rate; it also experienced the highest intercensal population growth rate. This, combined with the fact that the Department is located mostly in the relatively unhealthy lowlands, may have put pressure on already beleaguered health facilities. There are also seasonal fluctuations in the infant death rates, the

highest occurring during the latter part of the dry season and the first months of rain, because water is scarce and must be obtained from contaminated sources. Adults have built up some immunity to this contamination.

The maternal death rate has decreased the most consistently, from 0.48 percent of all live births in 1940, to 0.35 percent in 1951, and 0.21 percent in 1963. This is attributable, in part, to the Labor Code of 1947 and the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, both of which have provisions for prenatal and postnatal care for mothers.

In 1960 the overall life expectancy at birth was 43-47 years, compared to 39-41 in 1950. There is evidence that the Indian's life expectancy at birth is about 10 years less than the *ladino's*. In both sectors those who survive their first 4 years can expect to live to be 10 years older than they could at birth, indicating very high death rates during the first 4 years of life. Life expectancy for women is slightly lower among both Indians and *ladinos* than it is for men.

Major Diseases and Their Control

A report published in 1965 by the national planning agencies revealed that the most prevalent diseases are caused by the poor sanitary environment and are further complicated by the generally poor nutritional intake of much of the population, although there are increasing numbers of cancer and heart disease victims (see table 2).

Malaria, the leading cause of death in 1950, has been under intensive attack since then. The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) has provided technical assistance, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United States have provided financial assistance to the Department of Malaria Eradication for its programs. The spraying of houses and breeding places and the use of modern drugs have reduced the death rate sharply. Nevertheless, the incidence of malaria is still high and takes its toll in productivity and general well-being. In 1965, when 14,472 cases were reported, slightly less than half the population lived in malarial areas, which are found at lower altitudes. No zone originally declared malarial had announced eradication of the disease, but all malarial areas were in the advanced stages of their eradication programs.

Diseases such as dysentery and gastroenteritis are directly related to unsanitary conditions. In 1968 environmental sanitation programs were underway in both rural and urban areas.

Diseases such as pneumonia, measles, whooping cough, and bronchitis may become fatal when combined with poor housing

**Table 2. Leading Causes of Death and Their Toll
Per 100,000 Population, Guatemala 1963**

| Cause | Toll per 100,000 |
|---|------------------|
| Senility, causes undefined or unknown | 269.1 |
| Gastroenteritis | 229.0 |
| Illnesses pertaining to first year of infancy | 190.5 |
| Pneumonia | 144.7 |
| Influenza | 116.4 |
| Measles | 78.5 |
| Whooping cough | 76.8 |
| Anemias | 42.4 |
| Dysentery | 40.1 |
| Tuberculosis | 30.9 |
| Bronchitis | 30.4 |
| Cancer | 27.2 |
| Avitaminosis and other metabolic diseases | 26.4 |
| Heart diseases | 14.4 |
| Homicide | 11.3 |
| Automobile accidents | 10.4 |
| Complications of pregnancy, parturition, and puerperium | 9.7 |
| Malaria | 3.3 |

Source: Adapted from Organización de los Estados Americanos, Unión Panamericana, Instituto Interamericano de Estadística. *América En Cifras 1967: Situación Demográfica: Estado y Movimiento de la Población.*

construction which does not keep out drafts, poor ventilation which traps smoke and irritates lungs, and certain vitamin deficiencies which lower resistance to disease. The Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), with headquarters in Guatemala City, has spearheaded work to alleviate malnutrition.

Tuberculosis is especially prevalent in Guatemala City and in the overcrowded areas of all the larger cities. A pilot program was initiated in 1958 under the direction of the Division of Tuberculosis, with technical assistance from the World Health Organization (WHO) and financial aid from UNICEF, to coordinate and increase attacks on the disease. BCG (Bacillus Calmette-Guérin) vaccinations and X-rays were and have continued to be administered and treatment given to those afflicted. A number of tuberculosis sanitariums have been built and beds set aside in national hospitals for chronic tubercular patients. Attention has been concentrated in the Departments of Guatemala, Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Sacatepéquez, Zacapa, Izabal, Quezaltenango, and Huehuetenango, which contain most of the nation's largest cities.

Health Services

In 1964 the nation was served by 37 general hospitals with 8,855 beds, and nine specialized hospitals with 2,698 beds, including

five tuberculosis sanitariums, one leprosarium, and one mental hospital. These hospitals were located either in Guatemala City or in other large cities. Hospitals in the national capital alone usually served over half of all hospitalized patients.

Rural areas are served by health centers or clinics, each often staffed only by a nurse or midwife, and mobile units. These mobile units, donated and, in part, staffed by the United States Agency for International Development, have a varied routine. They give medical treatment, including vaccinations and inoculations, to those in greatest need and often provide transportation to the nearest hospital in case of emergency. They aid in nutrition education programs in the areas they cover and provide supplementary food for preschool children, pregnant women, and nursing mothers.

There were 1,066 physicians practicing in 1964, providing an overall doctor-population ratio of one for every 4,038 inhabitants, compared with one for every 6,400 in 1957. Most physicians worked in the national capital where the doctor-population ratio was one per 1,065 inhabitants in 1960. In contrast, the Department of El Quiché had only one doctor for every 120,000 inhabitants. A regulation instituted in 1962 to alleviate this imbalance requires that all medical graduates work in the rural areas for a period of at least one year. In 1964 the country was also served by 187 dentists and 159 pharmacutists.

Medical Education

Founded in 1681, the Faculty of Medical Sciences at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala was the only medical school in the country in 1968. To be admitted, a candidate had to hold a *bachillerato*, a certificate obtained after having successfully completed 6 years of primary school and 5 years of secondary school. He also had to submit his grades for perusal and pass two examinations, one given by the Admission Committee and the other by the vocational guidance section of the Students' Welfare Service (see Education, ch. 7).

The 8-year course leading to the Licentiate in Medical Sciences was divided into premedical, preclinical, and clinical periods. The premedical and preclinical courses, which took 3 years to complete, were taught primarily by lectures. The clinical course, which took an additional 5 years to complete, was divided between lectures, laboratory and hospital work, and a number of internship periods. To obtain the Licentiate in Medical Sciences, which also constituted a license to practice, the student had to pass final exams and present a thesis.

Welfare and Emergency Relief

Most people depend on their families to provide for them in times of need. The Government, however, is gradually taking over some of this responsibility (see Family, ch. 5).

Passed in 1946, the Social Security Law established the Guatemalan Social Security Institute as an autonomous institution. Although its goals are much broader, the Institute, in the mid-1960's, primarily provided financial and medical assistance to its few participants for on- and off-the-job accidents. It had also set up small workshops where disabled workers could learn new trades. Maternal and child care benefits were also available to female employees and wives of employees, but only in the Department of Guatemala. In 1968, coverage was extended to include those workers and their wives and children who were suffering from minor illnesses. This coverage, however, was also available only in the Department of Guatemala. Operations of the Institute were financed by payroll deductions and contributions from employers and the Government. The system of payroll deductions is most practicable for large Government industrial and plantation enterprises. Consequently, the social security system operates only in Departments where one or more of these are found. In 1965 about 346,000 people were covered under the system. Rural subsistence farmers are completely outside the realm of the Institute.

The Labor Code was promulgated in 1947 and subsequently amended a number of times. In the mid-1960's the amended Code covered and governed a wide range of working conditions, such as hours, wages, contracts, and strikes (see Labor, ch. 9).

Various Ministries have programs to protect underprivileged minors. A compound on the outskirts of Guatemala City houses the national orphanage and reformatory. The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance has programs to place orphans and to educate them. In addition, this Ministry administers an old people's home in Antigua, providing housing, food, and medical care to those without families or other means.

When disaster strikes in the form of a volcanic eruption, earthquake, flood, or severe storm, the President of the Republic designates responsibility for assistance to appropriate Government Ministries and private agencies. Immediate relief measures may be undertaken by the Red Cross, the Department of Public Health and Social Assistance, the National Defense Ministry, and various Roman Catholic relief agencies. Longer range recovery measures may be undertaken by the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture, or others. In 1964, when the Pacaya volcano erupted in the Department of Escuintla, much of the coffee crop in the vicinity was damaged. The Ministry of Agriculture took steps to relieve the economic damage caused by the eruption.

CHAPTER 4

POPULATION, INCLUDING ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

The population of Guatemala is composed principally of two major ethnic groups, officially designated as Indian and *ladino* (culturally European or Europeanized—see Glossary). There is, however, great cultural and linguistic diversity among the Indians. The *ladinos* speak Spanish, the official language, but the Indians, who constitute almost half the population, speak various Mayan dialects originating from pre-Columbian tribal languages.

The people are predominantly rural and are concentrated in the highlands, where the population density has greatly reduced the available land. There are many regions which could support an expanded population, but this would require an increased pace in the official resettlement programs.

Guatemala is the most populous state in Central America and has one of the highest growth rates in the world. The extremely high birth and death rates produce a young population, over half of which is under 18 years of age. This situation has created some special educational, health, and economic problems. The age proportion is changing, however, and, with more effective medical facilities, the death rate is being held constant, thereby increasing the life span.

In recent years the Indian population has been declining as a result of large numbers leaving the Indian communities to join *ladino* society. The distinction between the two is based on cultural and social lines rather than racial differences. Ethnic differentiations include language, surnames, type of housing, location, literacy, and various social and religious customs. *Ladinos* generally carry European surnames, dress in the Western style, own homes with more than one room, and usually live in urban or semiurban environments. When they are found in Indian townships, they live in the *cabecera* (seat of local government) around the main plaza.

Social stratification among *ladinos* is based on lineage and wealth. At the top are wealthy descendants of European colonists who have little, if any, claim to Indian ancestry. At the other

extreme are acculturated Indians, lower and middle class, who have accepted the customs and material attributes of the West. In Guatemala they are not considered Indians, regardless of their racial heritage; they officially belong to *ladino* society, although the definition of *ladino* changes from one area to another.

The Mayan culture was disrupted and partially destroyed during the Spanish conquest. During the colonial and early republican years the Indians lived apart from the Hispanic settlements. Tribes disappeared and were replaced by *municipio*, or township, cultures, the smallest unit of local government, containing one or more villages. The Indians rebuilt their society, integrating many European elements, yet retaining most of their traditional customs. Each township evolved its own dialect, its particular clothing style, and its religious and social practices. In effect, each became a separate and distinct group.

A general Indian culture unites these communities. All Indians practice a syncretic religion composed of pre-Columbian beliefs and Catholicism, but gods and rituals differ from one town to another. Each community produces its particular economic specialty and most Indians participate in the market system which consists of extensive trade among the townships.

The only significant deviants from this general pattern are the Black Caribs. A population of mixed Indian and Negro heritage, they are late arrivals to Guatemala and were never part of the Mayan tribal structure.

Since Spanish is the official language and is spoken by the *ladinos*, Indian men employ it for trade and in social relations with the *ladino* group. Indian women seldom use Spanish, and it is not spoken in the Indian home. Over 40 percent of the population speaks a native language, and each township has its own dialect. There are over 17 different Indian languages and hundreds of township dialects.

Linguistic barriers hamper educational programs and inhibit a feeling of national solidarity. Most Indians continue to regard their township as the center of their world.

POPULATION

The 1964 census recorded 4,284,475 inhabitants, over a million more than any of the country's Central American neighbors. Between 1778, when the first census was taken, and 1950 the population doubled every 37 years. Between 1950, when the census recorded 2,790,868 inhabitants, and 1964 the population increased by more than 50 percent.

This rate of growth resulted almost entirely from natural increase, rather than immigration, which has been minimal since

the Spanish conquest. During the period 1950-64 the population expanded at an annual rate of 3.1 percent. If this growth rate were maintained, the population would be approximately 7 million by 1980.

The high birth rate is accompanied by a high mortality rate. In 1964 the birth rate was 47.7 births per 1,000 inhabitants, and the mortality rate was 16.6 per 1,000. Because of increased health facilities, the mortality rate has been steadily declining; it has decreased by 5.2 deaths per 1,000 since 1950. The infant mortality rate fell from 106.8 to 92.4 per 1,000 between 1950 and 1964. If this trend continues, the growth rate could rise even higher.

In 1966, however, the birth rate declined by 3 per 1,000 to 44.2 per 1,000, and the death rate remained the same. This reduced the rate of growth to 2.8 percent. There is some debate concerning the accuracy and completeness of these figures (see Living Conditions, ch. 3).

The majority of the population is young: 56.6 percent is under 20 years of age, and 4.8 percent, over 60. The highest percentage within an age group is between the ages of one and five, comprising 17.6 percent of the population. The median age is 17.8.

This age composition creates special health problems and requires medical and health facilities geared to a young population. Ideally, it would demand an extensive educational program; however, most children leave school at an early age to join the work force. This increases the percentage of those who are economically active, although the majority are employed by their families in household or farming tasks.

There are slightly more men than women in the overall population. Women predominate in the urban areas because the urban environment offers better employment. Men are in the majority in the rural areas, especially in the Escuintla, Retalhuleu, and Santa Rosa Departments, the centers of commercial agriculture.

In 1964 the population density was 102 inhabitants per square mile, a figure exceeded by only six countries in the Western Hemisphere; however, density varies widely from area to area. The Department of Guatemala contains 991 inhabitants per square mile while the Department of El Petén, approximately 17 times as large, has only two persons per square mile (see Settlement Patterns, ch. 3).

The majority of the people are rural, accounting for 65.9 percent of the population. Over a third of the rural population is found in the Departments of San Marcos, Huehuetenango, El Quiché, and Alta Verapaz. These four departments are located in and around the central plateau which is the demographic center

of the country and which contains a majority of the Indian inhabitants (see Living Conditions, ch. 3).

In the 1950 and 1964 censuses the population was divided into two groups, Indian and non-Indian, or *ladino*. The official distinction is made on the basis of social status as defined by local standards. In 1950 the Indians were in the majority, with over 53 percent of the population. This figure has been steadily decreasing as more and more Indians are acculturated into *ladino* society. In 1964 only 43.3 percent of the population was classified as Indian.

The growth rate of the two groups is different. The Indian population increased by only 1.4 percent between 1950 and 1964, while the *ladino* rate of growth was 4.4 percent.

The Indian population has become more mobile since 1950. Although there has been a large migratory movement to El Petén from the highlands, distribution has changed only slightly. The departments can be divided into three distinct types, according to the percentage of Indian inhabitants. Those with over 70 percent are considered Indian departments; those with less than 30 percent are considered *ladino*; and those with an Indian population of 30 to 70 percent are considered mixed. According to this scale, eight of the 22 departments are *ladino* and five are Indian. The Indian areas form a block in the northwest region while the *ladino* departments are found in central, southern, and eastern Guatemala (see Settlement Patterns, ch. 3).

Immigrants, who are mostly urban dwellers, account for a very small portion of the population. According to the 1950 census, 1.1 percent came from neighboring countries and 12 percent, from other parts of the Western Hemisphere. Only 5 percent had immigrated from Europe, predominantly Spain and Germany. Asians constitute a very small percentage; the Chinese, numbering approximately 600, form the majority.

The immigrants from surrounding countries simply cross the border from one rural area to another; they usually settle in the departments nearest their previous home. The border departments each contain approximately 1,000 immigrants.

The small foreign colony has been active in the country's economic life. The Germans, until World War II, and the British played a vital role in coffee production, while companies from the United States have been important in the railroad and banana industries. Chinese merchants are influential in the eastern and coastal towns.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Groups other than *ladinos* and Indians either have been absorbed into or form only a minute section of the population. The Negro

element, as a distinct group, has largely disappeared but is found with an Indian mixture among the Black Caribs.

The terms, *ladino* and Indian, do not take into account the diversity which exists within each group. The *ladino* classification is applied to those persons who adopted or inherited a European or Western style of life, and to those who may have European ancestry. There are objections to applying this term to the upper-class descendants of Spanish and other European colonists. Some authorities prefer to use *ladino* interchangeably with *mestizo* (a mixture of Indian and European ancestry—see Glossary). It is generally accepted that, although there are great differences between urban and rural as well as between rich and poor *ladinos*, the group share a similar cultural orientation toward Western values.

Someone who is accepted as a *ladino* in a rural environment may, nevertheless, be classified as an Indian in an urban milieu. Ideally, an Indian with no European ancestry can assume the habits and dress of the *ladinos* and become a member of that group. In some regions, however, only his children can successfully change cultures. In still others, transitional or acculturated Indians must move from the area to change their Indian status.

Indians are relatively homogeneous in their physical characteristics, whereas *ladinos* are not. Many have Indian physical traits, while others are predominantly or completely European. In the 1950 and 1964 censuses anyone who was not culturally Indian, including Europeans and Asiatics as well as pure Indians, was classified as a *ladino*.

Indian Culture

Guatemalan Indians are originally descendants of the highland Mayas although they possess some Mexican traits. Historically, their culture can be traced to the classic Mayan empire which evolved in El Petén and surrounding areas. After the empire's decay the highland tribes came under the sway of various Mexican conquerors who were gradually assimilated. The tribes of the area which is now Guatemala were not united before the Spanish conquest, and no homogeneous culture existed even within individual tribes (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Present divisions among the Indians date from colonial times when the authorities divided the native population into townships, either arbitrarily or on the basis of existing delineations. Tribal groupings were replaced by approximately 315 townships. As a consequence, the Indian ethnic group is composed of hundreds of communities with cultural similarities; however, each Indian township is a distinct social and, often, linguistic entity. When the town-

ship is predominantly *ladino*, the *aldea* (village) becomes the focal point of Indian society.

The inhabitants of the townships consider themselves a separate people with distinct customs, economic specialties, patron saints, and special festivals and market days. Because of endogamy, certain physical features tend to predominate in a particular community. Although the people may share a native dialect with a neighboring township, there are minor differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical usage.

Inhabitants of townships which speak the same general language can communicate with one another regardless of slight differences. In fact, as contact between linguistic areas is extended and intensified, some uniformity may become apparent in religious beliefs, costumes, and social practices. The Chorti language, for instance, is spoken in the Department of Chiquimula in four townships, each having distinct characteristics and communal loyalty. There are, however, strong ties and cultural similarities among them, a possible sign of incipient regional culture.

The township is the primary unit of cultural homogeneity except where migration and acculturation have altered the traditional pattern. The Indian's community is the center of his world since he seldom recognizes it as an integral part of a larger national entity. For him it is a closely integrated society bound by strong ties of religion and tradition which mitigate against social change. These township groups fulfill an important function in the subculture within the dominant *ladino* society. Although most Indians would prefer to remain aloof from *ladino* society, they are forced to interact on social, economic, and political levels.

Technology

Indian technology has three levels. At the most primitive level are the pre-Columbian tools and techniques important in agriculture, the production of textiles, and cooking. Only war implements and stone tools have been completely lost from the original Mayan technology. Corn (maize) is still the major crop and is occasionally planted with a sharpened stick and a Mayan hoe. It is ground on a *metate* (grinding stone) and baked on a griddle. Clothes are woven on a backstrap loom with one end attached to a high support and the other to the weaver. Several of these elements are part of the *ladino* culture as well.

Most *ladino* technology, however, is derived from 16th-century preindustrial Spanish influence. The Indians have also accepted some of the European methods. Wool technology, domesticating animals, metal tools, and distilled liquor have all been incorporated into Indian culture. Indians have no shoemakers, however; leather

shoes are considered *ladino*. Wheat has not replaced corn, and pack animals and cart are not used to any great extent.

Modern technology has influenced Indian communities only peripherally. Indians are acquainted with buses and trains but use them infrequently. Although few own radios, most have had some experience with them. A small percentage of the wealthier Indians have electric lighting. The manual sewing machine is well known and is one of the few mechanical devices the Indians have accepted. This acquaintance with modern technology has accelerated the process of acculturation in some areas, but it has not significantly altered the traditional pattern because those who accept modernity tend to leave the Indian culture and become *ladinos*. The Indian customs and philosophy have remained remarkably unchanged.

Costumes

The three technological levels are typical of all the Indian communities, but their use is dependent upon the cultural values of each group. For example, clothing is generally made on the back-strap loom, but both men's and women's clothing styles were evolved in the colonial era. Each township has a different mode of dress. In the Cubulco township of the Department of Baja Verapaz the men wear dark blue wool coats, straw hats, rubber sandals, white shirts, and pants with a fringed apron. In Chichicastenango the men's costume is also made of wool and consists of a pullover jacket and knee-breeches cut in a 17th-century style. Silk embroidery, fringes, and a red sash brighten the apparel. In Panajachel men wear plaid wool kilts reminiscent of Mayan loin-cloths.

Men's clothing is usually very colorful, regardless of the township; embroidery and jaspé cottons (spot-dyed yarns) are used extensively. Since the current styles were copied from the clothing of Spanish colonists, most men have adopted trousers, shirts, and hats. These basic articles, however, have been redesigned in an Indian manner, giving each costume an indigenous character. There is a recent trend toward factory-made clothes, which may replace these local costumes.

Like the men, the women of each township are known for their distinctive style and take particular pride in their community's costume. Very few Indian women wear factory-made clothing.

In Cubulco the women wear brightly embroidered blouses and ankle-length wraparound skirts. In the highlands the *huipil* (a sleeveless blouse made from a rectangular piece of cloth) is more common and in the township Santiago Atitlán, the women wear a tightly bound skirt, a narrow *huipil*, and a small scarf over one

shoulder ; their hair is bound in a long ribbon. In Chichicastenango the skirt is short and the *huipil* is very bulky. A shawl, glass beads, and a two-braid coiffure complete this costume.

These clothes are no longer woven in all the townships. Most Indians buy their clothing at local markets, adding the embellishments which make it peculiar to a community. Most weaving is done in the Department of Quezaltenango.

Economy

Each township has an economic specialty consisting of particular crops, handicrafts, trades, marketing, or labor. The choice of a specialization is often determined by the variation in altitude, natural resources, or the quantity and quality of land ; however, similar geographic components do not produce the same economy, and the specialty in many communities derives simply from tradition or inventiveness. An economic specialty is a basic part of each community's individuality.

Townships within the same region do not necessarily specialize in the same general occupation. All communities grow corn, but some, such as Santiago Atitlán, and San Pedro, are corn exporters. San Pablo, which is nearby, specializes in ropemaking and must import most of its corn and other foodstuffs. Panajachel is known for its onions, whereas the people of San Antonio, a neighboring community, grow anise.

Handicrafts are also characteristic of particular townships. The people of Totonicapán make high-quality pottery, although their neighbors in the township of Chichicastenango make none. Both communities have large forest reserves, but the former produces furniture, and the latter sells the wood as lumber. Chichicastenango makes a specially designed blanket while the weavers of the townships of Momostenango and San Francisco make another type. All grinding stones used in the country originate in the township of Nahualá.

A few communities specialize in trades, usually for service to the *ladino* society. Because Indians build their own homes by means of reciprocal labor, some persons in each township have a basic knowledge of carpentry, masonry, and adobe and tile making. The Indians of Totonicapán, however, specialize in these skills for the construction of *ladino* homes. The Atitecos of Santiago Atitlán are skilled navigators and practice this specialty along the shore of Lake Atitlán.

Some of the communities, such as Chichicastenango and Atitlán, buy local products and transport them to other areas. Others, such as Solalá and Sacapulas, distribute their own goods.

Indians, in contrast to *ladinos*, place a high value on manual

labor and prefer to work their own land. This is often supplemented by labor on the coastal plantations. The number of communities involved in this migratory labor specialization has been steadily increasing since 1950, probably one reason for the growing number of acculturated Indians.

The system of economic specialties is characteristic of most Indian townships. It is particularly well developed in the western highlands, the area with the highest density of Indian population. It also occurs in the Departments of Chiquimula, Guatemala, and other eastern regions with large Indian groups.

Some communities specialize in one item while others produce three or four. This depends on the available resources and the inventiveness of the people. Whatever its specialty, however, virtually everyone in the village grows or manufactures the item, and internal specialization does not exist. Interdependence among the townships produces a market economy and trade centers. *Ladinos* purchase the specialties produced by the Indian townships but do not otherwise participate in their system of economic specialization.

Each community has a special market day and participates in the marketing routine of a particular region. There is usually a main market, supplemented by smaller markets, which serves as the center for an area. The system was not consciously planned, nor is it regulated. It is simply the traditional response to the economic conditions of the Indian life.

Markets are based on a money economy, and barter is rare. Pricing is completely competitive, and value is determined by supply and demand, not custom. In fact, the whole system is guided by economic rationality rather than rigid tradition.

The market is also a social institution, and a day or more is spent there each week. Only Indians sell in the marketplaces, although both Indians and *ladinos* are customers. Sundays are the favorite market days, especially in the smaller towns. If a township is large and is situated on a prominent trade route between two areas of production, markets will probably be open 2 or 3 days a week. During a fiesta the local market is called a fair and stays open for a week or more. More people participate, and buyers and sellers come from all parts of the country.

In the neighborhood markets the sellers are mainly women, and local men are seldom seen. When a family carries its goods to a distant market, however, the men not only carry the items but sell them as well. The men also generally deal in the heavier goods, such as stones used for grinding corn, and in the more important commodities, such as livestock.

The marketplace is located in the center of a town, in the main

plaza. Commodities are arranged by type and origin. Each market is known for a particular commodity which is cheaper there than in any other town. Thus, Tecpán is the place to buy lime; Chichicastenango, to buy pitch pine; and Atitlán, to buy bananas. These evaluations are taken into account when an Indian wishes to purchase large quantities of a product, and he will visit these markets if necessary. On the other hand, a seller knows which products are scarce in a certain area and may bring his product to a more profitable market.

Some townships duplicate one another's specialties, but the value placed on their commodities may not be the same. For instance, in Quezaltenango, the potatoes grown in Nahualá are considered better than those of Todos los Santos. In searching for a favorite type of produce, the buyer will look for the distinctive costume of a certain township; this serves as identification of the desired commodity.

These economic specialties, however, are only supplements to the main Indian occupation. The Indians have been part of a rural, agricultural society since pre-Columbian days. The major Indian occupation is still agriculture, and much of the social and religious life is an integral part of the cultivation cycle. Land is the Indian's most prized possession, and no one feels secure unless he has a small plot, or *milpa*, to work. The ownership of land and its use are tied to the definition of manhood, and the ideal goal of any male is to own a *milpa* and grow corn. Land is the symbol of respect.

Land is privately owned, since communal lands disappeared for the most part in the 19th century. Some forest areas are still owned by communities in the Department of Huehuetenango and, in one or two villages, such as San Antonio Huista, the tradition of communal landholding still persists. Nonetheless, in the majority of the townships, land is owned by individuals.

The Indian is deeply attached to his land. He will sell it only if absolutely necessary, and extra money is invariably spent on the acquisition of new land. In the cultivation and care of his property, a man acquires a feeling for his relation to the universe. Without land, he feels basically insecure and rootless.

Many *ladinos*, particularly in the eastern regions, are also rural agriculturalists, but their style of life and use of technology differ from those of the Indians. The Indians are concentrated in the central and western highlands where, because of greater density and less available land, the farms are smaller. According to the 1950 census, the average farm size for an Indian was 7.6 acres, as compared to 60.7 acres for the *ladino*. The latter figure included the large plantations but, in general, even the smaller *ladino* farms are larger than the average Indian plot.

The Indian areas are located at higher altitudes and, as a result, a lesser variety of crops can be grown. The staple is corn, supplemented by beans and squash. All of these are often grown on the same plot. Few Indians own livestock or any implements more advanced than hand tools. *Ladinos*, unlike the Indians, rarely serve as seasonal labor for the coffee plantations. *Ladino* communities do not produce the economic specialties common to the highlands, nor do they practice the complex of religious rites associated with Indian agriculture. These have been an integral part of Indian life since pre-Columbian times, and they are considered just as vital to the successful planting of the crops as the mechanics of cultivation.

Religious and Social Practices

Agricultural rituals are only one part of the religious complex which influences almost every aspect of Indian life. Officially, both the Indian population and the *ladinos* are considered Roman Catholic, but ancient Mayan beliefs are retained in Indian culture in syncretic form with Catholicism. In practice, each township pays homage to its own pantheon of gods, ranging from Catholic saints with locally acquired attributes to the ancient nature spirits and devils (see Religion, ch. 5).

Each community has a religious structure which incorporates political and civil functions and influences both the economic and social life of the town. The religious organization maintains the traditions and customs binding the township together and sustains the vital feelings of exclusiveness and mutuality.

The primary unit of this religious structure is the *cofradía*, a religious brotherhood and hierarchy of approximately 24 men. The brotherhood has custody of a particular saint and is in charge of its fiesta and other religious celebrations. The number of these groups within a town differs from one area to another, as do their duties, rituals, and composition. Smaller towns have only one; larger ones have four or more principal brotherhoods.

In Chichicastenango there are four major positions within the brotherhood, and the highest is an official called the *alcalde* (mayor). In another community, Chinuautila, there are six positions at each level, and their leader is called the *majordomo* (manager). Young, unmarried men of the village fill the lower offices and gradually work their way up the hierarchy, serving 1-year terms in each position. To attain the higher offices, they must be married, since this is visible proof of their stability and sense of responsibility.

Once a man has served in each capacity in the brotherhood and is, in addition, wealthy and respected, he becomes a *principal*

(prominent leader) in many communities. At one time, before the townships were declared autonomous and politics was brought to a local level, these older, respected officials served as the intermediaries between the *ladino* society and Government on the one hand and the Indian community on the other.

The lower offices of the brotherhoods are principally civil. Those who fill them are likely to be young men who work as policemen, messengers, street cleaners and market cleaners, and minor assistants during official ceremonies. The higher posts carry more authority and involve the care of the church and images of the saints, the preparation of the fiestas, and the celebration of rituals. Those who hold them also have considerable secular responsibility and often make administrative and political decisions for the community.

The hierarchal religious structure also stratifies society. Not only do economic barriers prevent some people from serving, but in a large community there are simply not enough positions for every male. The pyramid structure of the brotherhood insures a position for many men at the bottom but few at the top.

Some communities, such as San Luis Jilotepeque, separate the political and religious functions into separate brotherhoods. This often occurs in a predominantly *ladino* town; as an Indian community becomes acculturated, it tends to separate the two duties.

In a few townships the women have parallel organizations in which the office of the woman is determined by her husband's corresponding position. In Chamelco and Nebaj women occupy the highest offices of the hierarchy and are equal with the men. In other communities women serve only peripherally, if at all.

The higher officials are in charge of the saint's fiestas and must pay for these annual celebrations. Candles, fireworks, and new clothes for the saint's image must be bought and a large quantity of food and liquor provided. The cost is partially sustained by the earnings from communal land, if any, and by donations from the village families. The largest share of the cost, however, is provided by the sponsor of the celebration who serves as the annual head of the saint's brotherhood.

The fiestas often cost over 80 quetzales (Q1 equals US\$1), the average annual income of an Indian. The sponsorship of these celebrations is an effective leveling device within the Indian community and prevents the accumulation of excessive wealth. A wealthy individual is socially obligated to hold many of these religious offices, thereby channeling a large amount of his riches into community activities.

A poorer man can bypass the more expensive posts, but even he is expected to serve the community in some capacity. In smaller

towns the financial burden of the religious brotherhood can become quite heavy since there are fewer individuals to fill the positions. The social pressure is great, however, and most serve in some capacity.

The festival of the patron saint is not the only fiesta held during the year; some kind of celebration occurs in almost every month, especially in the larger towns. Some of them are conducted by religious groups to commemorate the lesser saints, and others are related to the agricultural process. The highest concentration of fiestas among the indigenous communities occurs in February, July, August, and December.

There are usually secular and religious aspects to these celebrations. The religious side is primary in the Indian townships but secular activities dominate in the *ladino* areas. Even in the Indian ceremonies, however, the secular has its place. Music, dancing, races, and fights are part of the fiestas.

Native dances are prominent during the fiesta and are a blend of Mayan and European influences. Only a few of the original pre-Columbian dances and dramas remain. One of these tells the story of a young Rabinal warrior who kills a Quiché man in combat; he is captured and sacrificed to 12 priestly anthropomorphic eagles and 12 jaguars. The Deer Dance of San Marcos and the Pole Dance also have pre-Columbian origins but these exhibit many European traits. Certain steps and musical rhythms and instruments have been borrowed from Spanish sources.

Most of the fiesta dances and dramas have a religious character. These are called *Loas* and consist of European-influenced morality plays, the reenactment of scriptures, and stories of the village people themselves. The Dance of Saint George, the Conquest of Jerusalem, and the Conquest of Antigua are all popular. Women seldom participate in these dances, and men and women never dance together. In a few communities the women have separate dances which are performed on special occasions.

A distilled liquor, *aguardiente*, is necessary to any fiesta and is used for both religious and social purposes. Most Indians get drunk during the festivities and consider this a normal and desired effect of the celebration. Fiesta is the only time that women are allowed to be drunk in public. Social and moral principles are relaxed, and the sexes intermingle freely. Emotional and violent outbursts and fights are common.

The fiestas and other social, economic, and religious customs form a pattern which is different in each township, although they exist within a common framework. They bind together both the community's and the individual's social and cultural roles and fulfill an

important function in the subculture within the dominant *ladino* society.

Acculturation and Government Policy

Since 1950 the Indian population has decreased by over 10 percent, implying that large numbers of Indians have abandoned the traditional Indian customs and joined the *ladino* society. This tendency has been evident since the Spanish conquest. The Indian tribes in the eastern regions of Guatemala were never able to reconstruct their society after the devastation of the conquest, and became *ladinos* almost by default. The western tribes retreated into the highlands, isolating themselves both physically and culturally from the Hispanic society concentrated at lower altitudes. Gradually, however, Western customs have been penetrating the Indian communities, and marginal individuals, as well as whole communities, have adopted *ladino* ways.

Two of the most potent forces accelerating the process of acculturation have been the establishment of plantations and the influence of the Industrial Revolution. When President Rufino Barrios established the debt peonage and the vagrancy laws in 1875, he destroyed the isolation of the Indian communities and began the tradition of migratory labor. To supplement their meager living, and in compliance with national laws, Indian families temporarily left their townships and worked on the large plantations, or *fincas*, in the lowlands.

Plantation life weakened the strong religious and family ties which sustained the highland communities, and the permanent residents on the plantations became partially acculturated to European ways, or transitional Indians. Others who returned to their highland townships continued living as Indians but brought with them a wider knowledge of the modern world.

The Industrial Revolution also influenced and disrupted the traditional Indian pattern. Factory-made clothes are cheap and comfortable and, in many areas, are replacing the more expensive, although distinctive, Indian costumes. Some townships have been unable to compete with the factories, and a few handicrafts have almost disappeared; palm leaf raincoats, for instance, have been replaced by cheap plastic tablecloths worn as ponchos.

Better means of transportation have reduced the distances between the *ladino* and Indian townships, thus increasing the amount of contact. Better communication, especially the widespread use of transistor radios, brings the Indians a more complete knowledge of the nation and the world. With increasing knowledge and interaction with the *ladino* society, more and more Indians are moving away from the traditional customs.

None of these necessarily alters the Indian culture irrevocably and, in places, Indian communities merely incorporate these innovations into the traditional pattern. For example, they may use buses, but their journeys usually consist of religious pilgrimages to a favorite Indian shrine or trips to a larger Indian market.

The degree of acculturation which an Indian must undergo before he is considered a *ladino* is dependent upon his location. In the midwestern highlands an Indian, theoretically, changes ethnic groups if he acquires *ladino* ways; however, even the maintenance of one or two Indian customs may undermine his *ladino* status. In the Department of Chiquimula there is no ethnic change unless an Indian moves to a town, acts like a *ladino*, and conceals his indigenous past. If his ancestry becomes known, only his children are considered fully *ladino*. In Agua Escondida an Indian can pass as a *ladino* if he was raised as such.

Recently, the Government has been encouraging the integration of the Indians into the national society, and has sponsored various programs toward this end. The 1964 census cited the official literacy programs and better communication and transportation as some of the reasons for the decreased number of Indians.

The Government-sponsored literacy campaigns, one of the main projects of which is handled by the Army, have evidently been successful. A common language not only facilitates interaction between the two ethnic groups but also opens new avenues to Indians who have previously been excluded from many opportunities (see Education, ch. 7).

The Indians were largely ignored before 1944, but participation and concern on the part of the Government have been evident since that time. During the colonial era and the early republican years the Indians remained in their townships, building and integrating their culture. The Liberal Party, in the 1870's, passed debt peonage and vagrancy laws which required Indians to work for the Government or landowners between 4 and 6 months of the year, thus forcing them at least peripherally into *ladino* society. The Indians were, theoretically, freed upon the cancellation of their debts by President Jorge Ubico (1931-44). Ubico, however, replaced the old labor laws with new ones forcing the Indians to work for a certain period each year. In 1944 the official policy was altered again, and the Government became actively involved in the welfare of the Indian.

The townships were declared autonomous in 1945, and illiterates were given the vote, thereby bringing politics to the local level. In many places Indians were elected to positions of authority. In the 1950's illiterates were disenfranchised, but *ladinos*, by this time, were more responsive to Indian problems and needs. Since

then the voting regulations have been liberalized again and, once more, Indians are more actively participating in national politics.

This local involvement in politics is undermining the civil role of the brotherhoods and the respected position of older men. Youths are recruited by the political parties and are elected to administrative posts. They bypass the traditional channels of authority, and many no longer feel compelled to join the brotherhoods.

Black Caribs

Small numbers of Negroes were brought as slaves to Guatemala, but they disappeared as a separate racial group toward the end of the colonial era. The Black Carib Indians along the Atlantic coast in Livingston, Izabal Department, are descendants of runaway African slaves who intermarried with the Carib Indians of St. Vincent Island in the Antilles.

This group arrived in Central America in 1797; the British had deported them from the Antilles, because of the loyalty to the French, to Goatan in the Gulf of Honduras. The majority crossed over to the mainland, and their descendants are now found in the coastal areas of Honduras, Guatemala, and Belize (British Honduras). They are predominantly Negroid, but much of their culture, including the language, is Antillean (Carib Indian). They live in small villages along the coast and depend on agriculture and wage labor for their livelihood. Rice, cassava, and plantain cultivation are supplemented by fishing. Since 1900 wage labor positions held by the men have been the major economic prop of the communities.

Since Livingston is an isolated town, many men leave home for extended stays in places where work is available, generally in the large cities of Guatemala, but some travel as far as New York or New Orleans. They are usually gone for 2 or 3 years, returning to their communities at intervals. Formerly, they remained tied, both socially and emotionally, to their homes in Livingston, often maintaining wives and families there.

Such labor migrations brought an awareness of the outside world to the men and, consequently, to the community itself, as evidenced by the popularity of such magazines as *Tan* and *Ebony* and by the influence on dress styles of United States mail-order catalogues. The Black Caribs value especially their knowledge of and experience with Negro culture in the United States.

The primitive culture, which still exists, was originally based on slash-and-burn agriculture, supplemented by fishing. Basketry and wood handicraft are the principal skills. Certain dances and musical rhythms can be traced to their African origins. Religion

consists of ancient rites and black magic which propitiate native spirits and the ghosts of ancestors. Superstitions and ancient customs are still in practice. Replacing some of these is the adoption, from *ladino* culture, of the use of almanacs and astrology manuals for guidance in personal and economic matters.

Since the mid-1950's, however, many of the migrants are rejecting their traditional cultural patterns as well as their rural ties. The number coming to the national capital has increased, and most intend to stay permanently. Some of the men have married *ladino* women, and many no longer speak their native language. They have not rejected all of their cultural heritage but have simply adapted to an urban environment.

Those remaining in Livingston retain portions of the cultural tradition, and many migrants still regard Livingston as home; however, the influence of other mores is steadily undermining the older ways.

LANGUAGES

Spanish is the official language and is spoken by a majority of the population. It is the language of Government, schools, newspapers, and radio. Most Indians know at least a few Spanish words, and the social and economic relations between *ladinos* and Indians are usually conducted in this language. Economic and social transactions between Indians who speak different Mayan languages are also conducted in Spanish. Only a small percentage of the Indian population is bilingual, and most Indians speak one of the approximately 18 native languages.

Spanish was brought by the Hispanic conquerors and perpetuated by their descendants and the colonists who followed them. Since it was the language of the dominant group, a knowledge of Spanish was necessary for anyone who wished to participate in Hispanic society. The *mestizos* and acculturated Indians accepted and learned it, rejecting their own tongues.

Language has, consequently, been one of the key items in the definition of ethnic groups. In 1950, 59.4 percent of the population spoke Spanish in the home, 78 percent of whom were *ladinos*. The remaining 22 percent were Indians who had not yet adopted enough *ladino* traits to be classified as members of this group. The rest of the population spoke Indian dialects.

Despite the acceptance of Spanish by some, the native languages remain a vital and integral part of the Indian culture. This has presented the Government with a distinct problem, for it is very difficult to create a literate populace within the mainstream of national life when no linguistic uniformity exists. Establishment of an effective school system for the Indian population is almost

impossible since few qualified teachers can speak the native dialects. A national awareness is equally difficult to transmit. To combat this problem, the Government has started literacy campaigns in Spanish in hopes of abolishing language barriers.

The Indian's attachment to their languages is very strong, however, and there is little indication that the native dialects are becoming obsolete. Men may learn some Spanish for economic purposes, but the women continue to speak the Indian languages in the home. Spanish is considered a secondary language. Many express the belief that, someday, everyone will learn their dialect because it is the language of God.

Before the Spaniards arrived there were four distinct linguistic families. The Aztec family, represented by the Pipil language, was spoken near Salama, Baja Verapaz. The Mixe family, Populucan, was found along the western border and is still spoken in Mexico. Only the Maya and the Carib families now exist in Guatemala.

The languages of the existing Maya family were originally spoken by the post-Mayan tribes which occupied the Guatemala highlands before the Spanish conquest. Physical barriers prevented regular communication and transportation between the different regions, and warfare further divided the tribes. As a consequence, language differences were created and perpetuated. Each language has a separate, although similar, alphabet and a special rhythm varying with the rise and fall of tone. In all of them the stress falls on the final syllable of each word.

There is some debate concerning the number of Mayan languages now spoken in the country. The 1950 census listed approximately 15, whereas other sources have placed the number at 17. These are located principally in the western and central highlands with a few native languages found in Izabal Department and southern El Petén (see table 3). This corresponds to areas of the highest concentration of Indian population.

The Quiché language has changed very little since the Spanish conquest, and the historical Quiché document, the *Popul Vuh*, written at that time, can still be understood by modern Indians. The Kelchi, the Quiché, the Cakchiquel, and the Mam are the four major Indian linguistic groups in Guatemala and, based on the 1950 census, they account for the majority of native speakers. The speakers of Kelchi are found among the least acculturated Indians in the country.

Carib is unique in that the men and women have a different vocabulary and, at one time, spoke different languages. This is a Carib Indian trait, a consequence of the fact that, historically, many of the women were Arawakian (South American Indians) slaves and did not know the Carib language. Most of the dis-

*Table 3. Numerical and Departmental Distribution of
Indian Languages in Guatemala*

| Language | Speakers | Departments |
|------------------|----------|--|
| Quiche | 300,000 | El Quiché, Totonicapán, Quezaltenango, Retalhuleu |
| Cakchiquel | 170,000 | Guatemala, Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, Escuintla |
| Mam | 170,000 | San Marcos, Quezaltenango, Huehuetenango |
| Kelchi | 150,000 | Alta Verapaz, El Petén |
| Kanjolal | 40,000 | Huehuetenango |
| Poconchi | 40,000 | Alta Verapaz |
| Ixil | 25,000 | El Quiché |
| Tzutuhil | 18,000 | Sololá, Suchitepéquez |
| Achi | 14,000 | Baja Verapaz |
| Jacalteco | 13,000 | Huehuetenango |
| Uspanteco | 12,000 | El Quiché |
| Chorti | 12,000 | Chiquimula |
| Chuj | 10,000 | Huehuetenango |
| Aquacatecos | 8,000 | Huehuetenango |
| Central Pocomans | 6,000 | Escuintla, Chimaltenango |
| Eastern Pocomans | 5,000 | Guatemala |
| Mopan Maya | 3,000 | El Petén |
| Carib | 1,000 | Izabal |

inctions between the two have now disappeared and, although separate vocabularies are maintained, the same grammatical structure is used. Each sex now understands the other's language.

Because they have been subject, at various times, to British, French, and Spanish rule, their language incorporates many foreign words. The present number system, beginning with the word for "4," is French, while the English and Spanish have provided common household and economic terms. This process continues today with the introduction of many technical terms, such as radio.

Because of the small number of immigrants, few people speak a foreign language. According to the 1950 census, foreign speakers accounted for only about 0.2 percent of the population, or 4,128 persons. Over three-fourths of these spoke English and resided mainly in Izabal Department.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, FAMILY, RELIGION, SOCIAL VALUES

Guatemalan society is actually two cultures in one, with very few links between the Indian and *ladino* (see Glossary) segments. Kinship patterns, status in society, religious beliefs, and social values differ radically from one culture to the other. Even the immediate family performs different roles in each. In Indian communities family and kinship groupings are the basic unit in the social, economic, religious, and educational structures. Among *ladinos* the role of the family varies with economic and social status, but at all levels the family is the source of prestige and the means of social grading. In both cultures the kin group is extended to include godparents, but in the Indian culture the ritual kin perform a vital integrative function and are often more important than blood kindred.

The *ladino* society is highly stratified. Status is determined by family reputation and the source and amount of wealth. The urban upper class, living in the capital, and the rural upper class form the elite of the society. The life style of these two groups is admired and envied by every other level of *ladino* society. Other classes attempt to imitate their behavior pattern whenever possible, resulting in a weak group-consciousness of common interests among the lower strata of *ladinos*. The middle class is very small, but is growing both in size and influence. The largest segment of society, which includes the Indians, is found at the lowest level and accounts for about 70 percent of the population. This group is predominantly rural, but has recently begun migrating to the cities in large numbers.

The Indians regard themselves as different from, but not inferior to, the *ladinos*. Within their communities there are no hereditary classes, and each man must earn his own prestige and honor within the society. This is accomplished through service to the community, either as a member of a religious brotherhood or as a shaman. Wealth is a source of status only if it is spent in ways which are believed to benefit the whole community.

The two cultures differ most visibly in religious beliefs, although

the majority of both societies belong to the Roman Catholic Church, whose members constitute approximately 95 percent of the population. *Ladino* society is predominantly secular, although the women are noted for their devotion to and support of the Roman Catholic Church. The men, however, seldom attend services or receive the sacraments. They are vehement in their declarations of loyalty, but usually consider religious practices and the strict observance of moral precepts the responsibility of women. The Indians do not compartmentalize their religion, and it influences every aspect of their culture. Religious ceremonies, devotions, and superstitious practices characterize the daily life of every traditional Indian. Indian belief, however, is permeated by the ancient Mayan religion, elements of which are found in almost all aspects of their professed Catholic faith. Most of the old Mayan nature gods are still worshiped, although occasionally their attributes have been transferred to Catholic saints. The result is a rich faith with two sources of inspiration, ceremonies, rituals, and beliefs. The Indians, however, consider the whole complex one integrated religion and look upon themselves as the only true Catholics.

The Catholic Church itself has experienced a variety of fortunes in Guatemala. In the colonial era and early republican years, the Church held a privileged position and amassed both power and wealth. After 1870, however, liberal governments were dominant and anticlerical laws were extensive, curtailing Church activities and practically eliminating its wealth. Only since 1956 has this attitude changed, and the Government has begun to take a more favorable attitude toward the Catholic faith. As a result, in recent years activities have been increased and expanded.

The social values which are found in the Indian and *ladino* cultures have different origins. *Ladino* values have evolved primarily from the Hispanic experience in the New World, with minor contributions from Indian culture. The major emphasis is on the inner worth of the individual, who is regarded as a unique being. He usually occupies a place in a stratified hierarchy, but this is not a substitute for the infinite value of his soul. Within this value system the individual is more important than the group, which exists primarily to exalt the individual. This is in direct contrast to the Indian culture, where the community and its traditions are considered to be of primary importance. Thus, the maintenance of this society becomes the central purpose of the group, and the individual seeks to accommodate his life and activities to this universal pattern. In doing so, he fulfills his ordained role and achieves both economic and spiritual contentment.

FAMILY

Marriage

Marriage is a valued institution in both the *ladino* and Indian societies, but for different reasons. Among *ladinos* a man seeks a wife, at least partially, in order to further enhance his status or to create a social and economic bond between two families. In the past marriages were often arranged by the family, but this practice is disappearing. A *ladino* seldom marries a woman of lower status and almost never marries across ethnic lines. Among the lower-class urban and rural inhabitants, such marriages do occur, but are still socially unacceptable. The most frequent example is a union between a partially acculturated Indian and a lower-class *ladino* woman.

In Indian society the consideration of economic and social ties between families is also present, but of more importance are responsibility and duty. To assume an adult status within the community, a man or woman must be married. Only then can they fully participate in the religious brotherhoods or the informal social structure of the village. In some townships Indians believe that marriage is included in the natural order of the universe and is, therefore, ordained by God.

In many Indian communities parents choose the mates for their children; however, in certain places this practice either has been abandoned or is a mere formality and, increasingly, individuals are choosing their own partners. In doing so, however, they observe certain rules. The prospective bride and groom must have different surnames and must not be cousins or members of the same immediate family (full, half, or stepbrother or sister). In addition, an individual cannot marry a child of any of his godparents, since their children are also considered his sisters and brothers. If possible he should choose a partner from his own township. In short, an individual must marry outside the family and within the village and, if these rules are observed, any choice is generally accepted.

In the courtship stage, the *ladino* man takes the dominant and aggressive role; however, he must abide by certain traditional practices. Young women are always accompanied by an older person, since unchaperoned courtship would be ruinous to a girl's reputation and would place her moral standards in doubt. This would, in turn, severely limit her chances of making a good marriage, as virginity is highly valued. Consequently, young people meet most frequently at large social gatherings such as weddings, fiestas, and dances. Single girls between the ages of 17 and 25 are continually on display at these public functions, dressed in

their most elaborate finery. There is now more of a relaxed relationship between the sexes, although the traditional pattern remains the ideal for most groups.

Girls marry at a much younger age in Indian communities, courtship usually occurring between the ages of 10 and 18. As a rule, adolescent boys and girls are sometimes segregated, and the latter are usually chaperoned; however, courtship is conducted on a clandestine basis, a practice which receives the tacit approval of parents. After observing the marriageable girls in his village and making a choice, a boy approaches the girl on her way to market or to the village well and indicates his intentions. If she is agreeable, the two families begin the marriage negotiations, which may last for several months. These involve ceremonial visits and an exchange of gifts. In some townships in the northwest, a sum of money is paid by the parents of the groom, usually between 2 and 5 quetzales (1 quetzal equals US\$1), and the groom works for his prospective father-in-law for about 2 weeks, a symbolic gesture of compensation. After the traditional prerequisites have been satisfied, the wedding takes place.

There are three forms of marriage recognized in Guatemala, including common-law union, civil ceremony, and church wedding. Since 1956 the Government has allowed priests to conduct the civil proceedings, thus combining the legal and religious elements. Nevertheless, the expense of a Christian and civil ceremony, including the traditional festivities, is among the factors which have limited the number of these marriages. There is a large percentage of common-law arrangements, requiring simple consent on both sides or, among Indians, a short ceremony conducted by a shaman (priest or medicine man). These unions account for almost 60 percent of married couples.

In Indian society such unions occur twice as frequently as do more formal marriages. In *ladino* culture these unions are most prevalent in the lower class, both rural and urban. Approximately 55 percent of the rural inhabitants living together as man and wife are classified in the common-law category. The recent increase of migration of Indians and rural *ladinos* to the cities and the changed definition of urban have also increased the percentage of common-law unions in urban areas. In 1950 they accounted for 50 percent of all urban couples, but by 1964 this figure had risen to approximately 70 percent (see Settlement Patterns, ch. 3).

Among the middle- and upper-class *ladinos* a religious and civil wedding is a social necessity. In some Indian and *ladino* villages, such weddings are equally valued and, although a couple may begin married life in a common-law union, they eventually legitimize it in the eyes of Church and State. This occurs most fre-

quently with *ladino* couples, causing the percentage of common-law unions to drop sharply in older age groups. Aside from the problem of expense, the Indian couple must wait for the infrequent visits of a priest.

Divorce is legal, but seldom occurs; in 1964 there were only 517 cases. During this same year, the census recorded only 12,000 divorced individuals in the entire country. In *ladino* society divorce is socially unacceptable, and unhappy marriages are seldom dissolved; however, a *ladino* man may engage in extramarital relations without social condemnation and, if financially able, may maintain a second family. Because of the high value placed on virility, he is generally proud of his illegitimate children and will usually take an interest in their welfare, occasionally adopting them.

Marriages among Indians are moderately stable, but when even a legal marriage is ended there is seldom any official record. The partners separate informally and never report the divorce or go through the legal procedure. In the first years, common-law unions are tenuous, and separations are frequent. There is only minor social stigma attached to these separations, and the partners usually remarry in a short while. An Indian, however, avoids marriage a second time within the Church. This is considered improper, even if the first marriage was ended by the death of the partner.

The statistics on single persons are misleading, as they include many individuals who have previously participated in one or more common-law unions and should therefore be classified as divorced. Nonetheless, the figures do reveal that the percentage of single individuals rose sharply between 1950 and 1964. In 1964 there were approximately 800,000 single adults, as compared with 600,000 legally married individuals. The increase has been most significant among the urban *ladino* men, but the percentage has also increased among Indians and rural *ladinos*, who account for 40 percent of the rural population. This rise in the number of single individuals reflects the disruption which is occurring in the traditional patterns as more and more Indians move into *ladino* society and as migration to the cities increases in both cultures. The old rationales for marriage have diminished as social mobility and the pressures of modern society have increased.

Family and Kinship

Size and Composition

The nuclear family, comprised of husband, wife, and unmarried children, is the basic unit of social organization in both cultures. In Indian society extended families, comprised of two or more

nuclear units, are not uncommon, and in some places it is considered the ideal pattern; however, on the whole, these extended groups are disappearing.

Both *ladinos* and Indians place great value on their children, and barrenness is a socially accepted reason for divorce. As a rule, households are much larger in the rural areas, where children above the age of 5 are economic assets, helping to support the family. With the decreasing death rate, however, the size of both urban and rural families has expanded. On the whole, Indian households are larger, and a family of 14, six sons and six daughters, is the ideal size in many townships.

In the *ladino* culture the nuclear family is most prevalent, but the household often includes other persons. One or more relatives may reside with the family. Favored servants sometimes occupy a privileged position, almost achieving kin status. Orphaned children are frequently adopted and participate as integral members of the household. Sometimes a child is taken into the home on a semi-adopted basis and is granted many privileges of a full member, but is never recognized as such. These may include the Indian godchildren of a *ladino* couple or an illegitimate child of the head of the household.

In Indian communities the nuclear family is the primary unit in economic, religious, and social activities. Often, however, a married son will remain with his father until he is financially able to support his own family. In many cases this arrangement is highly unstable and is the source of much tension between the two families; therefore, an independent household is highly desired. Only after a man becomes the head of an autonomous family is he accepted as an adult member of the community. Occasionally, a father can persuade his son or daughter to stay in exchange for a larger inheritance, but this situation usually creates resentment on both sides.

In certain townships in Chiquimula Department, however, the extended family is highly valued, and the group works together as a social unit; however, the nuclear family retains economic independence, and private property rights are respected. As a rule, the son joins his father's extended household unless his wife's family is wealthy and promises a larger inheritance. Often the extended family is reversed, and a household includes aged parents who are supported and cared for by the son or daughter.

Functions

The nuclear family must assume a variety of roles and functions, since there are very few intermediate organizations. The school system is largely limited to urban *ladino* areas and makes

little impact on the lower-class or rural inhabitants. Among Indians it is almost nonexistent. The Church, until recently, has been unable to impart religious teaching or even preside over the existing structure in many areas. Social or labor organizations are rare and do not play a large role in society. Even the religious brotherhoods found in Indian communities do not transfer loyalty from the family, since the members participate as heads of households rather than as individuals. Political parties only recently have assumed a significant position in society and, as yet, have not become a permanent or influential factor on the local level. As a consequence, the family remains the most important unit in the social structure.

In the Indian communities the nuclear family plays the largest role and is the only agent of socialization. Within its framework children learn the values of society, religious doctrine and devotion, and the skills of adults. There is very little conscious teaching, but through parental guidance children are initiated into the adult community. Farming household duties, handicrafts, and religious practices are learned simply through observation and imitation. Formal schooling is considered unnecessary, and schools are seldom attended even when they are available.

The Indian family is also the basic economic unit and is practically self-sufficient. Each member has a specified role, and even young children are expected to perform certain tasks. Everyone works toward the maintenance of the family unit, and any additional income is used to benefit the entire household. When an unmarried child works, for instance, his income is always given to the father who, as head of the household, uses it for the needs of the family. A married son who moves in with his family works on his father's *milpa* (small plot of land—see Glossary) or turns over his wages to the common household. As long as he is a resident member of the family, the child is expected to contribute all his earnings in exchange for his share of the economic necessities.

In social activities an individual participates as a member of a family; there is no place in the Indian culture for the single individual without family ties. The social organization simply does not admit this possibility. Only married men and women are considered members of the adult community and socialize exclusively with one another. Religious and civic duties are discharged in the name of the family, although often only the parents actually participate in the ceremonies.

The family is also the source and recipient of affection and loyalty. Only young children receive public displays of love, but each member demonstrates his devotion to the family group by

eagerly performing his designated role. Dissension does occur, of course and, when tensions become too great, the dissatisfied individual leaves the family and sets up a new household elsewhere. On the whole, however, Indian families become highly stable after the arrival of children. Children generally retain their family loyalty after marriage, and communication between the two units is maintained.

Among the rural and lower-class urban *ladinos*, the family performs similar functions with a few significant differences. Some of the burden of socialization is absorbed by the school system and the Church, but these institutions are not well developed in the rural areas, and only the wealthier can take full advantage of them even in the cities. The greatest difference between the two cultures concerns the prestige and status of the individual. In Indian society this is determined by moral character and the services which an individual renders to the community. Among *ladinos*, however, personal status is equated with family reputation. A son inherits the prestige and social position of his father. As a consequence, a *ladino* places great importance on lineage and genealogy and will defend his family honor against any social slight.

As an economic unit, the *ladino* family is not as centralized as the Indian household. Children receive assistance and economic necessities from their families but, as a rule, they are not expected to contribute all their earnings to the household. In the rural areas sons and daughters are leaving their families in increasing numbers and migrating to the cities in search of better job opportunities. In urban areas families are becoming fragmented as children, influenced by new ideas, become more independent. As a result, the whole system of status and prestige is being undermined, and the status-giving functions of the family are becoming anachronistic in an atmosphere of increasing social change and mobility.

This problem of weakening family ties is also common in the Indian communities, and many marginal individuals leave not only the township, but also the culture. Even in those families which still follow the traditional pattern, there are increasing complications. The percentage of arable land has been steadily decreasing in the highlands, forcing many sons and daughters to leave the community and start a family elsewhere. This tends to eliminate families and to weaken the foundations of the nuclear unit. Nevertheless, the Indian family remains more stable than does the *ladino*. The former is an organic whole in which each member performs an integrated and needed function and derives his satisfaction from the recognition accorded his contribution. In *ladino* society,

however, the family is held together more by tradition than by economic need, and recently this tradition has been seriously weakened by the pressures of modern life.

Upper- and middle-class *ladino* families are usually located in the urban areas and can take advantage of the existing educational and religious structures. Children usually attend high school, and many go on to college, remaining within the family circle until their late teens and beyond. As a rule, upper- and middle-class women are firm supporters of the Church and see to it that their children attend regularly, receiving formal religious instruction. The father is the sole wage earner, and the mother runs the home. Children remain in a fairly irresponsible and carefree position until they leave the home to take jobs or to marry.

Roles

The husband is the head of the family and supplies the major portion of the livelihood. In the *ladino* home he is also the center of attention and authority, and wife and children concede to his demands. He makes all major decisions for the family and represents the household in public life. Domestic matters are left to his spouse, but he will usually discipline the children, to whom he is the final authority. A man conducts his own social and business life largely without consulting other members of the family and generally keeps many private activities separate from family matters. He may even have extramarital affairs without public or private censure; the double standard in such matters is generally accepted by both sexes. A husband and father, however, is expected to supply the economic necessities of the family and education for his children if possible. Ideally he should be honorable and just. If these conditions are satisfied, it is generally believed that wife and children owe him total loyalty and obedience.

In the upper and middle classes the center of a woman's existence is the home, and her social life is limited to Church-sponsored activities and visits with intimate friends. She only rarely participates in the business or political spheres of her husband's life and leaves the decisions regarding these matters to him. She never works outside the home if she can avoid it, for this would be a reflection on her husband's ability to support his family. She is in autonomous command of the household, supervising the servants and rearing the children, with only minor assistance from her husband. Usually the most religious member of the family, she is responsible for her children's Christian education. She generally tries to insure that they attend Church regularly and have an understanding of Catholic doctrine. Her maternal role is much

idealized, and she supposedly sacrifices everything for her children who, in turn, give her their complete love and loyalty.

This concept of wife and mother is weaker in poorer middle- and lower-class homes, for there a wife plays a larger economic role and often works outside the home. In a recent survey among lower and middle class families, very few thought it unusual or undesirable for a woman to hold a factory job and contribute to the welfare of the household. In this same survey the qualities most admired in a mother, second to her kind and loving care, were her energy and hard work. Many families still cling to the traditional Hispanic pattern with the wife confined to the domestic activities, but the economic pressures of modern life, especially in middle and lower class homes, are disrupting this custom. Nonetheless, a woman still defers to her husband in all major decisions and retains her central role in domestic matters.

In the Indian home the man is also head of the household, but his position is not as authoritarian as it is in *ladino* homes; a reciprocal arrangement exists between husband and wife. He is primarily responsible for the economic welfare of his family and for training his sons to become responsible adults. The boy often accompanies his father to the fields, and the father teaches him the skills of farming and handicrafts. In addition, the father is expected to provide a suitable inheritance for each of his sons and to distribute to them the same amount of land, or more, that his father gave to him. It is considered wrong for a father to sell the son's inheritance or to alienate the land from the nuclear family.

In the community the Indian man represents the household and, in its name, participates in the religious brotherhoods of the village. Any contributions to the Church and to fiestas are made in the name of the family, not of the individual. Only married men can hold positions of importance in the community, as only they are considered responsible and worthy of trust; they have proven that they can accept the duties and burdens of married life and are therefore no longer carefree youths.

The Indian woman occupies a more nearly equal position with her husband, but is still considered under his authority. She is in charge of the home and does all the cooking, sewing, and cleaning. An Indian woman does not have servants. Sometimes she produces a handicraft to sell in the market, thus contributing economically to the household. She is responsible for the younger children and for training her daughter in the ways of a woman. Formal religious aspects are generally left in her husband's care, but in some townships she also participates in the religious brotherhoods and holds an office commensurate with her husband's position. Her

prayers are considered necessary for a good crop and for her husband's good health. A wife is expected to have many children, and barrenness is considered a curse of God or the result of witchcraft. The ideal of motherhood is not as strong as in *ladino* homes, since both husband and wife share the economic and social burdens of raising children.

Since the Indian wife contributes equally to the maintenance and welfare of the family, both with her daily tasks and her prayers, the wife is consulted in most matters. In the end, however, it is the man who makes the decision, and the woman abides by it. This arrangement is reflected in the ownership of property. If a woman brings land or other possessions to the marriage, these remain hers under the law, and her husband has no control over them. Any property acquired after marriage, however, is officially owned by the husband and is used for the benefit of the family.

Kinship

Among *ladinos* the kin group performs many of the same functions as the nuclear family. Primarily, it is the source of status and prestige for the individual and the basis of social grading in the community. Some of the upper-class families can trace their ancestry to the early Spanish settlers but, as a rule, lineage is known only for three or four generations. This, however, is sufficient among members of the lower and middle classes for evaluation of status. Identification with the same kin group generally extends to second and perhaps third cousins. More distant relationships may be recognized, but are not considered important or influential in regard to social rating. Because of this bond between individual and kindred, insults to any member are taken personally by the whole group. As a result, family feuds are common and often continue for several generations.

A certain duty is recognized toward one's relatives, and assistance will always be offered in times of need. In searching for a job, a young man can expect favored treatment from the kin group. In return, when an individual achieves financial or political success, he includes his close relatives in his good fortune. In short, all trust and loyalty are centered within the kinship circle. All members present a united front to society, and dissension within the group is kept to a minimum.

In Indian communities it is generally believed that all members of the township are related to one another. The rationale for this is found in legend, and the practice of village endogamy (marriage within the village) has actually created this situation in a few places. In a small village called El Camaron in the eastern part of the country, the whole community belongs to one of three large

extended families who, in turn, are bound by conjugal ties. This belief is primarily a reinforcement of community loyalty and unity.

Kinship terminology among Indians varies with the regions but, as a rule, names exist for only three generations, although older ancestors may be remembered. Only one kinship system, the Jacalteco, has names for the brothers and sisters of grandparents. On the horizontal level, most Indians recognize second and third cousins, who are favored marriage partners in some areas but excluded in most. Generally, descent is traced through the families of both father and mother.

Indian kinship patterns are most influential in choosing a spouse, and close relations are usually regarded as improper and illegal partners; however, kinship outside the nuclear family or, in rare cases, the extended family does not occupy the important position that it holds in *ladino* culture. Members of the kin group rarely maintain close social ties and see one another infrequently at weddings, baptismal ceremonies, or fiestas. As a rule, the women maintain closer kin relationships than the men. An individual may call upon members of the group in time of illness, but financial and economic problems are usually handled outside the kin circle. Grandparents offer moral guidance to their grandchildren, but never punish or discipline them. This is the parents' sole responsibility, and they do not welcome infringement in this area from any relative. In short, the kindred is recognized as a special group, but no close bond is maintained unless an individual actively seeks one. Intimate friendship between two relatives is based more on mutual interests and compatible personalities than on kinship.

Compadrazgo

The *compadrazgo* (godparenthood) system is a form of ritual kinship first brought to Latin America by the Spaniards. It is still present in *ladino* culture and has been adopted by Indian society, where it performs a vital integrative function. Two relationships are created by this system, one involving the child and his godfather (*padrino*) and godmother (*madrina*), and the other consisting of the godparents and the parents, who address each other as *compadre* (cofather) and *comadre* (comother). The whole complex is formally begun at the baptismal ceremony, but may be reinforced or actually initiated at confirmation. It may also be initiated as part of an effort to effect a cure if the child is seriously ill.

Parents choose a couple whom they consider responsible, well-off, or lucky, who can offer their child protection and assistance. If the couple agrees to accept the position, they take the child to

the baptismal ceremony, providing his clothes and then holding a party in his honor. From that time on, a special relationship exists between the two families, theoretically providing a second set of parents for the child and a close set of friends for the natural parents.

In *ladino* culture the position of godparent is primarily honorary, and many of the social and economic motives have been lost; however, the system establishes a set of intimate friends who will provide assistance or loyalty if needed and who often perform the role of a surrogate family. In short, it is an extension of the kinship circle and performs the same functions. *Ladinos* may act as godparents to Indians, but never the reverse.

In the Indian culture ritual kinship performs a more vital and influential role. The form which it takes varies from one township to another, but it is almost always present. The most important set of godparents are those who are chosen at the baptismal ceremony. The relationship which this establishes is characterized by a set of patterned activities and reciprocal duties involving all members.

In some townships the godparents are expected to provide moral and religious guidance to their godchildren, initiating them into many cultural activities. They are the only persons outside of the nuclear family who are allowed to discipline or reward the children. They also assume the expenses of the burial, if the child dies, and will usually provide part of the cost of his wedding.

For his part the child is expected to demonstrate complete obedience and respect for his godparents, bowing his head when meeting them. He generally takes them gifts at specified times and goes to them for advice and guidance. He considers their children his sisters and brothers, on the same level as his own natural siblings. The bond between them is so strong that often the child will request that his same godparents serve at his confirmation, marriage, and the birth of his first child.

The relationship between the two sets of parents (*compadres*) is equally important and provides a means of extending the kinship circle. In many townships it is more influential than the kin relationships, involving extensive reciprocal duties. Parents always consult the godparents in major decisions regarding the child and on private and public matters involving financial, religious, and political problems. In addition, the godparents are supposed to act as mediators in arguments between the father and the mother of the child. Both sets of adults turn to each other for mutual aid, and a man prefers to borrow money from his *compadre* than from kindred. They greet one another with formality, removing their

hats and bowing. The tone of the relationship is one of quiet reserve, stressing the quality of respect.

In choosing godparents, the father and mother generally ask people outside the kinship circle. Occasionally, however, the parents may choose relatives, and some believe that one will only meet parents in the afterlife if they have served as godparents to their grandchildren. Usually, the choice of godparents is made among people with whom one has amicable but distant relations. In many towns the closest friends are excluded, since the existing intimate and informal bond would have to be replaced with a relationship of respect.

Indians sometimes seek *ladinos* to act as godparents to their children because this enables the Indian family to establish a special bond with at least one *ladino* in the community. This means that their child can expect small favors, and if the parents die he will be cared for. More importantly, however, the family itself now has access to a *ladino* household and will usually receive financial assistance in case of need, protection from the law, or even preferential treatment in the renting of land. Thus, a bridge is formed between the two cultures and, even though the equality between both sets of parents is missing, the advantages are numerous enough to maintain the bond.

Childhood and Youth

In the *ladino* home, and particularly in middle- and upper-class families, children are more carefree and irresponsible than in Indian society. *Ladino* children are expected to attend school for as long as possible and to engage in games and other social activities with their companions. Among lower-class rural and urban *ladinos*, however, children are a necessary economic asset and are taught farming and household tasks at an early age. Nevertheless, the ideal of an irresponsible childhood remains, and lower-class parents indulge this pattern for as long as they are financially able to support a noncontributing member.

Discipline for *ladino* children is characterized by extremes of permissiveness and authoritarianism. The mother generally serves as the indulgent parent who is expected to spoil her children, ideally with the help of the maids and nurses. The father is the central authority and disciplines the children. Severe discipline supposedly inculcates the right kind of behavior in the child, but it also, at times, causes the child to demonstrate more loyalty to the mother, while exhibiting fear and even hostility toward his father.

Boys are given much more freedom than girls, and among the middle- and upper-class families they are usually supported

through high school and sometimes college. In addition, they are encouraged to enjoy their leisure and participate in many social activities. In lower-class families, however, the boy must often work for his family or as a wage earner. In all social classes boys usually marry later than girls, but are expected by their peers to have had premarital affairs in order to prove their manhood. Marriage is seldom undertaken unless the boy can support his wife and is able to accept the responsibilities of adulthood.

Girls lose their freedom of activity as they grow older and generally do not attend school as long as boys. They are kept close to the home, learning the duties of a woman commensurate with their status. At adolescence upper-class girls are considered marriageable and are continually on display at picnics, weddings, fiestas, and religious ceremonies, always heavily chaperoned. Lower-class families cannot supply the clothes for these events or the time away from household duties.

In the last 10 or 15 years the social pattern of a girl's behavior has been changing, and many are now attending more years of school and taking jobs in the business world; however, a girl is still watched more closely than her brother, and freedom is not as complete. In lower-class families girls often work in factories or as maids to help support the family, continuing their work after marriage. Although acceptable and sometimes necessary, education and a job for a girl are still considered deviations from the ideal.

In Indian homes the smallest child is the center of attention, and only he receives public displays of affection. He is usually nursed for about 15 months, which may extend to 3 years if another child is not born in the meantime. Walking and talking are encouraged but not forced; he is generally allowed to develop at his own pace. Both mother and father play with the infant, and the older children care for him. He is never left alone without some supervision. Usually a boy is given more attention than a girl, and his needs are satisfied first.

At approximately 4 years of age this permissive and lenient pattern ends, and parents begin the process of socialization. The child no longer receives immediate attention and is expected to entertain himself or play with his brothers and sisters. He is no longer carried and is not comforted if he falls or hurts himself; he is expected to develop endurance and emotional restraint. Obedience is demanded, but requests to children are usually given in a conversational tone of voice. The authoritarianism of the *ladino* household is missing. There are no organized games, and play usually consists of imitating the activities of adults. Most toys are miniature versions of household and field implements.

When a child is considered physically able, at about 5 years of age, he begins learning the tasks of adulthood. A boy accompanies his father to the fields, bringing his small hoe and helping protect the crops from birds and wild animals. A girl helps her mother collect wood and carry water and watches her cook. Both boys and girls closely observe their parents' activities, waiting for the day when they can participate fully. When a parent decides that a child is capable, he assigns him a task with no formal instruction and very little supervision. When the task is completed, the child is complimented and given assistance in the areas where he had difficulty. A girl is shown, for instance, how her pottery can be made smoother. Her small pieces are then sold in the market, and the proceeds go to her needs. As the child grows older, he is gradually initiated into all the duties of an adult, and at 13 or 14 he generally performs these tasks with confidence and skill. At this age a girl is ready for marriage, but a boy waits until he has sufficient financial assets to support a family.

The process of observation and imitation is followed in all childhood instruction, even religious practices. Very little formal or direct training exists; hence, Indian children are totally unfamiliar with the methods of teaching and discipline used in a school, which may result in adjustment problems. Boys are usually sent to school for a couple of years or at least until they learn the fundamentals of reading and writing. Formal education is considered unnecessary for a girl, since her sole aim in life is to marry and raise a family. Some attend for 1 or 2 years, but the experience is usually forgotten since the knowledge of reading and writing is seldom used.

An Indian girl's childhood and adolescence ends before that of a boy. She generally marries at 13 or 14 years of age, when she has become a good worker. Often, by the time she is 20, she has two or three children. The boy cannot afford a wife in his early teens, and his adolescence is often spent in acquiring enough money to support a household of his own. Boys of 15 or 16 years of age sometimes hire out as wage laborers or work on plantations if their father does not have enough land to give them. In many townships the unmarried boys form gangs or social cliques in which they spend their leisure time, learning from each other social activities and the rules of courtship. These groups receive the implicit approval of parents, although they are not recognized institutions. They perform the role of preparing a youth for independence from his parents and for the duties of marriage.

At this time of a boy's life, serious difficulties may arise with his father. The son wants to assume his status in the community by marrying and establishing his own household. In order to do this

he needs financial security, which is usually synonymous with land, and in most Indian communities today this commodity is scarce. In some families the son will demand that the father distribute his land in exchange for care and assistance in his old age. The older man, however, is generally not willing to surrender his dominant role in exchange for support which he feels may be grudgingly given.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The country is essentially composed of two societies, the Indian and the *ladino* and, as a consequence, there are two definitions of status. The *ladinos* believe that the Indians are a separate race. The Indians also consider themselves a separate people, different but not inferior. They practice their customs because that is the role that has been assigned to them by God and, therefore, there is no question of upper and lower positions, but merely of different ones.

Ladinos

In *ladino* society there exist various social divisions which vary with the locality. The composition of the urban classes differs from those of rural areas, and the rural classes vary from one village to another; however, regardless of the locale, status is always evaluated on the basis of lineage and wealth. Lineage includes the antiquity and reputation of the family line. Wealth involves the amount and source of income and the occupation. For those aspiring to high status, the occupation must not be manual labor, but should be professional, lucrative, free from routine, and require some educational background. In addition, the source and amount of income should allow an individual control over his leisure time. The further an individual is from fulfilling this style of life, the lower is his social position.

Elite

At the very top of the society, largely concentrated in Guatemala City, is a small and exclusive group of wealthy families. This group is composed of businessmen; certain professionals; top Government officials; and plantation owners, who derive most of their wealth from coffee plantations as absentee owners. A few families can trace their heritage to the colonial days, whereas others are recent immigrants who retain their European orientation. Both share values similar to those found in other wealthy circles of Latin America, although their wealth is generally not comparable to the upper classes of larger Latin American countries. Neverthe-

less, their style of life is quite luxurious, and most own large homes in the capital and mansions in the country, both staffed by servants.

Cars, expensive clothes, and an extensive social life are all attributes of the elite class. The children are usually educated in Europe or in the United States, and the families make frequent trips abroad. Because of the extensive touring done by this group and portions of the middle class, more money is spent by Guatemalans in other countries than is brought into the country by foreign tourists.

These upper-class urbanites no longer wield the political power they once did; their direct control of politics has been weakened by the rise of the middle class and the workers. Nevertheless, some have belonged to recent Cabinets, and many exercise influence as prominent lawyers. The group, as a whole, still exerts a great deal of economic power and supplies the major portion of exports for the country. Even here, however, their monopoly is being undermined, as new centers of industry and speculative agriculture are being created. These new groups may offer a balance to the elite, but there are indications they will merely be absorbed by them.

In the rural areas the top level of society is generally composed of fairly well-to-do and literate people. As a rule, all own some land which is worked by tenant farmers or hired labor, but many earn their main income as shopkeepers or as professionals, although most doctors and lawyers find it more profitable to live in the cities. The attributes of this class vary with the region but, generally, they are the social and political leaders of the community who set the styles in dress, recreation, and patterns of behavior. Their political power has been weakened somewhat since townships were given the right to elect a local government, but they still exercise implicit control over the social, economic, and religious affairs of the community.

In a survey made in San Luis Jilotepeque, a township in the Department of Jalapa, a member of the local upper class owned a large, well-built home, staffed with servants, at least one set of evening clothes, a certain amount of land, and a highly ranked family heritage. In addition, he had some formal education and sent his children away to school. The upper-class women were the major supporters of the Church and formed an exclusive society devoted to religious activities. The group, as a whole, identified with the urban upper class, but in reality its members had more in common with the urban middle class than with this elite group in the capital.

The upper class guards its status and privileges jealously and does not admit new members to its ranks simply on the basis of

newly acquired wealth. The aspiring family must have been established in a suitable occupation for at least a generation and should have acquired some land before its members are invited to the elite social functions and admitted to the privileged circle.

Middle Class

The country has had a small middle class since the 19th century, but only recently has it assumed any importance in the social structure. It is primarily located in the urban areas and has expanded with the increasing urban population. It is composed of the older middle class, which drew its members from minor Government employees, artisans and foremen on the large plantations, and from new groups composed of small businessmen, teachers, skilled laborers, independent farmers, and segments of both the local upper class and the cosmopolites. Landed wealth is not a prerequisite for belonging to the group, although many members do purchase some land as security. The major channels for entering the middle class are through Government service, the Army, teaching, and business. Many of the members are originally from the rural areas and are recent arrivals to the cities.

The group is concentrated in Guatemala City and in provincial capitals, but its impact is being felt in the rural areas as well. In recent rural surveys, the number of rural families identified as middle class has been increasing. The rural middle class sees itself and is seen less as a distinct group than as an intermediary position, on the verge of entering the upper class. The urban middle class also tends to identify with the upper class, imitating its distaste for manual labor and its emphasis on family connections.

Nevertheless a self-consciousness is emerging in the middle class. Its influence has been increasing in the political sector, and it is a vocal supporter of economic development and social reform. Its members staff the political parties, lead the labor unions, and work in Government agencies and schools, all of which are creating and implementing reform programs. In addition, individual members participate in the establishment of new industries and speculative agriculture in the country. Their influence is substantially greater than their actual number, which has been steadily increasing.

Lower Class

The lower class accounts for three-quarters of the total *ladino* population. Most are located in the rural areas where they are known as *gente regular* (ordinary people) or *el populacho* (common people). It is difficult for an outsider to make social distinc-

tions within this group, and it is sometimes equally hard to distinguish these lower-class *ladinos* from Indians. Many were members of Indian society a generation before. As a rule, all are extremely poor and illiterate, and most are landless with inadequate housing and few possessions.

There are approximately four major divisions of the lower class: farmers, mobile and resident agricultural laborers, and urban workers. The farmers either own a small plot of land or rent acreage. As a rule, most of them can raise enough only for their families, but many cannot accomplish even this and must hire out as laborers for parts of the year. Very few cultivate cash crops, but they are unable to compete with the large plantations. Traditionally, this group has stressed cooperation, helping each other during the cultivation cycle; however, this solidarity is being undermined as both the competition for land and the production for the market increase. Recently the Government has attempted to assist this group by settling new land in the Pacific piedmont and by supplying credit and technical aid. Such programs tend to further increase competition in this occupation, as those who accept more advanced farming techniques force the less successful farmers off the land.

This group has never been an influential political force. Members were usually occupied with earning a living and could not spare time for participation in local or national Government. Political parties have had very little impact on this group. With the recent emphasis on autonomy at the local level, however, their interest and participation may be increasing.

Mobile agricultural workers are one of the most insecure groups in the society. They have no strong emotional bond to any one locality; rather they follow the harvests of various crops. Their ranks are filled with those who have been unable to secure land or the training for a stationary job. Basically, a dissatisfied group, they have been most susceptible to the promises of labor unions and reform Governments. Under the Jacobo Arbenz administration this uprooted group formed the nucleus of an organized and armed peasantry that demanded land reform and social legislation. The group remains a potent political force and is receptive to anti-Government propaganda; however, it has no real stake in the economic or social life of the nation.

The resident agricultural laborers are a much more stable and satisfied group. The majority live permanently on one of the large plantations, where they harvest the owner's crops in exchange for a small plot of land. Before 1946, the *patrón-mozo* (master-servant) relationship existed, and the laborers felt secure under this system. Most resisted the labor unions created under the

Arévalo-Arbenz administrations and remained loyal to the old traditions. These unions had their impact, however, and when they were dissolved under the administration of Castillo Armas, they had effectively disrupted the traditional pattern of relationship between workers and owners. The workers were more aware of their power and, in addition, were awakened to the need and the possibility of wage increases and improved living conditions.

The urban lower class has been steadily increasing over the past decade, partly from the birth rate but primarily from the increasing migration from the rural areas. As a result, many of the members of this urban group have similar values and aspirations to their rural counterparts. They work in the service industries, usually as domestic help, or in the factories. Their economic level is similar to that of the rural poor; however, they have much more access to public education and to the health services, providing a greater chance to social mobility.

This group is also politically active and fills the ranks of political parties. In addition, the members have been very receptive to the appeal of labor unions. Because of its concentration, the group is also fairly easy to organize and control and, as a result, has been a verbal component in most of the recent elections.

Indians

There are no formal social classes in Indian society, although gradations of wealth exist. The egalitarian values of the culture and the fear of witchcraft from envious neighbors enforce an almost identical life style. Wealth is desired but does not elicit respect and honor, and lineage, which is so important in *ladino* society, has almost no value among Indians. Higher social positions are derived from the concepts of age and prestige, acquired through making valuable contributions to the group.

This prestige is measured in part by the amount of time and money that an individual contributes to the community as a member of the religious brotherhoods. All men in the village hold an office at one time or another, but only a few wish to climb the hierarchy to the highest ones. This requires a great deal of money, for an individual must sponsor or contribute to the saint's fiestas and must take time away from farming or making handicrafts to devote to the ceremonies and rituals. As a result, only the wealthier individuals can afford to fully participate in this system and serve in all the offices; however, their status results from the manner in which they spend their money rather than from the wealth itself.

To receive full prestige, an individual must exhibit the right kind of behavior while holding the office. He must be generous with

his contributions, must conduct the ceremonies with dignity and honor, and must remember the traditional procedure of the ceremonies and ancient rituals. In addition, his daily life should reflect the highest moral standards, free from any taint of jealousy or infidelity.

Once an individual has passed through the religious hierarchy and in addition has exhibited the correct and respected behavior, he assumes one of the highest positions in Indian society. In some places this status is very informal with no accompanying title, but the person is recognized as one of the religious, moral, and political leaders of the community. In other places the individual is called a *principal* (prominent leader) and is exempted from service in the brotherhoods. Instead, he mediates all serious quarrels, handles relations with the *ladino* society, and conducts the major religious ceremonies. Whenever the village has a complaint, the *principales* take it to the proper authorities representing the community.

Since the process of serving in the ascending offices takes many years, these leaders are usually older men. As a result, age is often equated with wisdom, and respect is accorded to most older people; however, this applies only to those who have managed to retain their position in the community and who still continue their economic and religious activities. Dependent and indigent older people are considered a burden.

The only other channel to a higher status in the community is through the position of shaman. A shaman is one of the few specialists in the Indian culture; therefore, his different life style alone would accord him a separate, if not higher status. This individual is given honor and a privileged position because of his knowledge of magical formulas and his contact with the supernatural. His curing powers are considered essential to the community, and his proficiency in witchcraft is both feared and respected. In many townships it is believed that he has been chosen by God to perform this role, and his honor and prestige are thus increased. The position of shaman is not dependent upon the age of the individual, although most are advanced in years. A younger man may fill this role and still receive the respect of the community.

The privileged status accruing from participation in the religious brotherhoods or from the position of shaman is shared by the individual's family. Often wives have a parallel religious organization, and the offices are determined by the husband's corresponding position. In some townships the shaman's wife helps with the rituals and participates in the prayers; however, the prestige and honor of the father's status can never be inherited

by the children. Each individual must prove his worth to the community on his own without dependence on the status and good name of his father. Even the advantage of wealth does not last through succeeding generations, for each of the sons shares equally in the inheritance that is seldom very large after being divided three or four ways.

Since autonomy has come to the township and politics is prevalent on the local level, the traditional pattern of status and prestige has been undermined. Often the elder leaders are elected by the community but, in many instances, the political parties recruit the younger men to run for local offices. A means of bypassing the traditional channels to power has been created, and many young men are taking advantage of it. Few wish to spend the time and money required in the religious brotherhoods if there is an honorable means of avoiding it. For many, participation in the township government is the answer. As a result, in many places the *principales* are losing their status and the respect traditionally accorded to them. This process may create a whole new system of class and status.

RELIGION

Historical Perspective

One of the stated goals of the Spanish conquest was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. The armies were always accompanied by members of Roman Catholic religious orders, who waged a spiritual battle against the Indian religions. To accomplish this task in Guatemala, the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Mercedarians accompanied Pedro de Alvarado and his expedition into Central America.

By 1545 these four orders had begun a program of conversion based on successful practices in Mexico. Indians were forcibly gathered into the towns and, wherever possible, around monasteries. Priests visited the outlying areas at intervals, but were limited by their small numbers. To supplement these activities, the orders converted and educated the sons of chieftains and returned them to their people as religious teachers.

In the early years of colonization the clergy became the major obstacle to the economic exploitation of the Indians. Missions established by the orders were inviolate, and colonists were not allowed to use the resident Indians for labor. The New Laws of 1542, passed at the instigation of concerned missionaries, attempted to alleviate some of the harsher practices imposed on that part of the native population not attached to missions. Indians were made vassals of the King with certain recognized rights, and the *encomiendas* which divided the Indians into groups under the

supervision of certain Spaniards were abolished. The friars, however, were not numerous enough to ensure compliance with these laws (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

By 1750 the orders had built more than 424 churches and 23 missions in Guatemala, many of them located in Indian villages. Catholic schools were maintained in some of the larger highland towns for the training of persons designated as future leaders in the Indian society. In the beginning these schools were run by priests who spoke the native dialects. A few Indians were taught to write their languages, and much of the finest Indian literature comes from this period.

This practice was gradually abandoned, however, as the Church became more oriented toward the Spanish settlements. Missionary zeal was replaced by a conservative attachment to the status quo. The majority of the Indians saw a priest infrequently and began to depend on their own religious brotherhoods (*cofradías*) for guidance.

During the colonial era, the Church became a strong political and social force. In the capital of Antigua its dominance was visible in the numerous and opulent churches and monasteries. The Church exercised some control over economic matters and had great influence in the political sphere. The establishment of a new capital in 1773 and the expulsion of the Jesuits 6 years earlier temporarily weakened Church power, but by the time that independence came in 1821, the Church was in the forefront of political activities.

Many churchmen supported the Mexican plan to unite with Central America under the rule of a European prince. When this plan failed, many of the clergy became involved in regional politics and, in 1823, José Matías Delgado, a priest, was elected president of the National Constituent Assembly, which sought to create a Central American confederation.

In the following years the Central American countries were torn by civil wars between the Liberal Party, which was anti-clerical, and the Conservative Party. The religious issue gained enormous importance. Power oscillated between the two factions, and extremism was prevalent on both sides. Between 1825 and 1828, the Conservatives were in power, and they passed laws repressing the liberals and extending the privileges of the Church.

This was followed by a liberal reaction, and Francisco Morazán assumed tenuous control of the confederation from 1829 to 1839. During these 10 years anticlerical measures were extensive. Archbishop Ramon Casás y Torres, a declared enemy of the independence movement, was exiled and formally charged with opposing independence and inciting a loyalist rebellion. Franciscans, Do-

minicans, and Recollet friars were deported, and monastic orders were abolished. The Government assumed the right to appoint all Church officials and to confiscate Church property. Cemeteries were secularized; divorce was declared legal; and civil marriage was made obligatory.

The liberals lost the support of the people with these actions, and the Church and Conservative Party encouraged the unrest, which culminated in a revolt among the Indians led by Rafael Carrera, an archconservative, who promised to return the rights and privileges of the Church. (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

After defeating the liberals in 1829 Carrera held power until 1865, during which time the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a preeminent position. Anticlerical laws were abrogated, and Guatemala was the only Central American country to allow the return of monastic orders. Even the Jesuits, who had been exiled since 1776, were invited back into the country.

The Church and the Government maintained close relations, and Guatemala became the first country in Spanish America to sign a concordat with Rome. The Republic accepted the Catholic religion as the only legal religion; pledged to pay the Church a certain percentage of the National Treasury; and granted extensive clerical privileges, including the control of education. In return, Carrera received the right of patronage (the capacity to appoint high religious officials).

After Carrera's death, his conservative government began to weaken, and in 1869 there was a liberal rebellion. By 1871, the liberals were again in control, and anticlerical laws were once more promulgated. All monastic orders were forbidden, and foreign clerics were deported. Native priests were allowed to remain, but could not appear in clerical dress in public. Church property was once more confiscated, and civil marriage was required.

These policies were maintained and expanded under Justo Rufino Barrios, who assumed the Presidency in 1873. Anticlerical reform was institutionalized in the Constitution of 1879, which remained in force with some alterations until 1945. A new concordat was signed with the Vatican in 1884 in which the State surrendered its right of patronage and the Church renounced its claim to a privileged position in Guatemala. In theory, Church and State were formally separated although, in practice, the Government continued to interfere in religious affairs. It deported dissident priests and archbishops in the coming years and limited the number of clerical appointees.

The succeeding administrations continued to enforce the anticlerical laws, although all other pretense to liberal politics had disappeared. The number of priests was never allowed to exceed

120; consequently, many Catholic schools were disbanded, especially in the rural areas. In the Indian villages the priest became an infrequent, although distinguished, visitor who officiated at the annual titular fiesta, but who had little active part in the everyday religion.

Despite this lack of contact with the majority of the highland villages, the Church maintained its high status among the Indians. Because of Government repression, it gained adherents, and the Indians identified with the suffering of the priests. Thus, informal Church influence was considerable even though it exercised no formal power. It took no active political stand and, for the most part, remained in the background of social and political life.

After the election of Barrios, the Church moved into an essentially static period, primarily concerned with preserving its severely weakened position. It gave tacit support to the Government in exchange for a modified implementation of the anticlerical laws. There were too few priests for effective missionary activity, and even limited efforts were given no moral or financial encouragement from the hierarchy, which identified with the conservative elite of the country and did not wish to imperil its own precarious existence.

In 1945 a new Government oriented toward social reform was inaugurated, and a new Constitution was promulgated. The anticlerical faction was in the majority, however, and few changes were made regarding the Roman Catholic Church. The only concession made was the right to hold religious processions or meetings in public. Nevertheless, most priests supported the José Arevalo administration and its social reform program.

As communism began infiltrating the Government the Church, under the leadership of Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arellano, became a strong opponent of the Jacobo Arbenz regime. In 1954 the archbishop issued a proclamation denouncing the presence of communism and calling for the people "... to rise as a single man against this enemy of God and country."

When the Arbenz regime was toppled by Castillo Armas, the efforts of the Church against communism were publicly recognized and honored. The archbishop was awarded the Order of Liberation and, when a national assembly was elected to write a new constitution, a number of priests served as deputies.

The new Constitution did not reestablish the Catholic Church as the exclusive religion. It did, however, remove many of the restrictions. The Church was once more allowed to acquire and possess property if used for religious purposes. The orders were permitted to teach religion in the public schools, but had to do

so at their own expense. Priests were given the right to perform civil marriages, but divorce remained legal.

Contemporary Structure and Emphasis

The succeeding administrations have continued these favorable policies toward the Catholic Church, and the 1966 Constitution authorized the State to contribute funds to religious education. In this new environment the Church has increased and expanded its activities. It has taken a strong position in favor of social justice and, in 1967, Archbishop Mario Casariego issued a public letter calling for an increase in literacy, peasant cooperatives, and a more "audacious agrarian reform." As a consequence, he has been continually harassed by the extreme right wing and was kidnapped for 3 days in March 1968.

The new social orientation of the Archbishop is reflected on every level of Church organization. The number of priests has greatly increased, enabling some members of religious orders to become more involved in the social and political spheres. Catholic Relief Services, a charitable organization supported by Catholics in the United States, has recently authorized loans of Q1,000, without interest, to rural industries. New Catholic schools have been established, and in 1968 there were 160. These included an institution of higher learning called Rafael Landivar University, which has approximately 2,000 students. In 1968 the total enrollment of these schools was 41,778.

The orders have begun an intensive missionary effort in the more isolated Indian areas. There is a new emphasis upon training in Catholic dogma, and priests are attempting to limit some of the native practices and eliminate others. The Church recently has established a training school for foreign missionaries to instruct them in the native dialects and prepare them for the social and political problems of the country. In addition, the Maryknoll order has trained laymen called catechists to reach the neglected townships and explain the difference between conventional Catholic faith and the Indian beliefs. This new missionary zeal has precipitated an increased religious awareness in both the Indian and *ladino* cultures. A town in the highlands reported recently that over 1,000 Indians now receive communion each week, as compared to the past when about 35 received it and then only at Christmas.

This effort and all of the Church activities, however, face a serious problem in the shortage of priests. Even with the recent increase, there are only 483, or 1 to 8,500 laity. The continental average is 1 to 5,410. The vast majority of these clerics are foreign born, predominantly from Spain and Italy, but including about 100

clerics from the United States. In 1968, however, only 67 Guatemalans were ordained, and the one seminary had a total enrollment of 55 students, few of whom were within 3 years of ordination. The catechists trained by the Maryknoll fathers have partially filled the vacuum, but even these men cannot take the place of a well-trained national clergy.

The existing Roman Catholic structure consists of one archdiocese and seven dioceses. The Department of El Petén has been declared a missionary district. There are two *prelature nullius* (special ecclesiastical administration), both of which are popular shrines that attract large numbers of pilgrims. One, the Shrine at Santo Cristo de Esquipulas, is also the site of the North American headquarters of the Benedictine order. The second, the Shrine of Jesús Sepultado, is located in the San Felipe Church of Antigua. There are 242 parishes. There is one archbishop; 10 bishops; 483 priests, two-thirds of whom are members of religious orders; and 950 nuns. The total Catholic population in 1968 was estimated at 4,137,516, out of a national population of about 4.5 million.

Indian Catholicism

The religious orders brought a form of primitive Catholicism to the New World; stripped of many European folk customs, it contained only the essentials of the Catholic faith. As a consequence, the priests were able to impose a fairly uniform religion, except where modified by native beliefs from Mexico to Chile. It contained an emphasis on reverence for God and his son Christ, a veneration of the same saints, a similar Mass performed each Sunday, and a deep trust in the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Even churches were constructed in the early Christian manner with only one nave, as opposed to the three of medieval Gothic cathedrals.

Priests attempted to superimpose basic Catholic beliefs upon the native Indian beliefs without destroying the deep spirituality of the Indian. They hoped to remould and reconstruct the spiritual culture without creating a vacuum. This was done on the assumption that after Christianity was firmly established, remnants of the old religion would wither.

This plan was not entirely successful, mainly because there were not enough priests and not enough time to fully accomplish the conversion. When Christian saints were placed in native shrines, the Indians confused the two religions and attributed characteristics of the old deity to the new saint. In most areas the priest did not remain in residence long enough to eliminate syncretism; thus native religious teachers were only partially converted themselves.

Furthermore, the maintenance of the Maya religion became the

focus of resistance against the Spaniards. Unlike the Aztecs, the Mayas no longer had a centralized religious authority that could be eliminated, nor did their beliefs rest on a faith and trust in the strength of a war god who could be defeated by the Spanish armies.

Maya religion was localized and closely associated with agriculture. There was a supreme god, but he was remote and unapproachable. The more popular deities were tied to the cultivation cycle. The *chaacs* (rain gods), the *pauahtuns* (wind gods), and the *bacabs* (sky bearers) were of prime importance as were the sun god and moon goddess. Except for the sun and moon deities, the gods were thought of in terms of groupings of four, representing the four sacred directions, which were depicted symbolically as a cross, and the four sacred colors. Thus, the *chaacs* could either be represented as four gods or worshiped collectively as one. The concept of duality was also important, and each god had both a malevolent and benevolent disposition. The essence of religion was to offer sacrifice to the gods in the hope of propitiating them; in return the gods would extend their good will and prevent illness.

The sacred Maya calendar was central to these beliefs and to the ceremonies and rituals that symbolized them. According to the religion, each day and each calendric period were ruled by a different god. Thus, a knowledge of the calendar was necessary in the reading of omens, in preparing sacrifices for the *milpa* (small plot of land—see Glossary), and in divination. A person's fate was believed to depend upon his relationship to the calendar, determined by his date of birth.

These beliefs remain at the core of present-day Indian religion; however, partial conversion to Christianity occurred as resistance weakened. Catholic doctrine has been adapted and incorporated within this faith. The process of syncretism first began when Indians accepted Christianity to escape the *encomienda* system (see Glossary) and to receive the protection of the priests. The process was accelerated by the receptivity of the Indians to new gods as long as they could continue to worship and respect the old pantheon. In addition, many elements of the Catholic faith, such as the cross, baptism, confession, communion fasting, pilgrimages, continence, and visual representations of sacrifice, have parallels in the Maya religion. Often the Indians simply exchanged one set of terms for another.

Hence, in choosing between the representation of Christ as a young man or as a suffering figure upon the cross, the Indians chose the latter because it fit into their previous religious framework in which sacrifice played a role. In a few areas the concept

of the young Christ became intermingled with the god of corn who was also depicted as a young and virile man.

The result of this fusion is a rich syncretic faith in which the Indians themselves do not recognize the distinct origins of their two sets of beliefs. They practice Catholic rituals in the local church and Maya customs in the *milpa* or at ancient shrines, but they consider the whole complex of beliefs as one religion.

On the whole, the present-day Indian religion exists within a broad framework of Catholicism with a strong pre-Columbian underpinning. It is highly localized as rituals, favorite saints, Mayan gods, and sacred days vary from one township to another. Whatever the location, however, religion permeates almost every aspect of Indian life from the cultivation cycle to social activities to personal ethics.

Supernatural Beings

In most Indian towns God and Christ now reside at the top of the aggregate of supernatural beings, but are considered too remote to be approached directly. Catholic saints and Maya nature gods populate the descending hierarchy and are classified as lesser deities acting as intermediaries between God and man. The lesser gods usually are visualized as anthropomorphic beings, but are also considered to have supernatural power.

The separation between the Catholic and Maya deities is often vague, for in many areas a Catholic saint has assumed the powers and duties of a Maya god. In the Department of Chiquimula, for example, the gods of rain are collectively referred to as *chicchans*, but individually bear the names of Catholic saints. In some places the two sets of deities are so closely interwoven that they perform integrated tasks. In one township St. Michael Archangel is in command of the four Maya rain gods and gives orders for them to ride across the sky, pouring water from their gourds. They are often accompanied by the Virgin Mary who, for some, has become the guardian of the maize.

There have been many confusions about the concept of the Virgin Mary. Because Spanish paintings always show her standing on a crescent moon, she has become associated with the moon goddess; however, she is also variously represented as Mother Earth, guardian of the corn, and the wife of Christ. Every Indian is expected to have a wife, so it is logical that they expect the same of their gods. Most village churches contain at least one of her images, but each individual image is considered a separate person with distinctive characteristics.

In most townships the Christian deities are worshipped principally in the villages; and Maya gods, in the fields. This separa-

tion, however, is never rigidly maintained as evidenced by the interchange of powers and personalities between the two sets of deities. In a prayer to the wind gods in preparation for burning a *milpa*, an Indian always addresses both sets of gods.

On the whole, however, the local church is considered the center of the Catholic faith, and all the images of Christian saints and of the holy family are kept here in places of honor. The images are brought out of the church into the village for religious festivals and, if the *cofradia* system is strong, the statues of certain saints may be moved to the homes of leaders of the brotherhoods for special rituals. The images seldom leave the boundaries of the village.

Most Indians consider the images themselves divine and not mere representations of a spiritual being. The statues of the saints are dressed in Indian clothing and, like the images of the holy family are considered local personages. Two townships may have saints of the same name, but they are not considered the same person. The two are more like relatives.

The saints are perceived as very influential and powerful beings, yet they are also believed to have human weaknesses and desires. In the township of San Miguel, St. Ann is thought to be the wife of Santiago (St. James), the patron saint. Some time ago, she was supposedly unfaithful to him and, consequently, he beat her and threw her into jail. A very similar story, involving the sun and the moon, can be traced to pre-Columbian origins.

Each township has its own patron saint, who is considered the personal god of each member of the village. He cares for his people and watches over their crops and their health. The religious brotherhood devoted to him is the most important, and his name is invoked in almost every ritual. Most of the villagers pray directly to him because it is believed that he readily intercedes with God on their behalf. The patron saint is so vital to the community that often the township is named for him, as in San Gregorio or Santo Tomás. It is illustrative of the syncretic and localized character of their religion that often an Indian name is added, as in Santo Tomás Chichicastenango.

Townships in the Northwest value their patron cross as much or more than the saint. The cross is an intermediary deity whose roots lie in both Maya beliefs and Christianity. In pre-Columbian times the cross symbolized the four sacred directions. When the Spaniards arrived more emphasis was placed on this symbol, and it gained great significance in the new syncretic religion. Today crosses are personalized and, according to many Indians, can see, hear, and speak to certain shamans. They are often dressed in Indian clothing and are found at the four entrances of a village,

on mountain tops, in caves, and outside of churches. The cross, as such, is seldom seen within a church.

Another supernatural being that has been taken from Christian theology is the devil. The early friars saw the Indian religion as communication with Satan, and they attempted to convince the Indians of this. The Indians did not completely accept this belief, but they did assimilate the concept of the devil. Maya religion had many malevolent spirits, but the Christian devil, being in charge of the underworld, became the dominant one. It is generally believed that his powers are extensive and that anyone who wishes to become a witch or sorcerer must first make a pact with him. He is usually depicted as the early Spaniards visualized him—with horns, a tail, and cloven feet. In many of the dramatic presentations performed by the Indians, the devil plays a role and is inevitably converted by the Virgin Mary.

Many of the supernatural beings found in present-day Indian religion can be traced directly to the ancient Maya religion or to Spanish folk beliefs. These spirits and deities are usually invoked in the *milpa* or by shamans at ancient shrines, but many comprise the superstitious beliefs, which indirectly affect daily activities, and are not worshiped. They form the legends and folk beliefs that belong to no organized religion.

The Maya nature gods are still influential and are propitiated throughout the cultivation cycle. The rituals vary with the township, but in many towns a turkey is taken to the field at the beginning of planting and sacrificed, his blood poured upon the ground to feed the earth. Incense is burned, and prayers are said to the various gods. These rituals are continued throughout the cycle with seasonal variations. In choosing the proper day on which to commence cultivating or harvesting, a farmer generally goes to the shaman, who consults the sacred Maya calendar or, at least, surviving portions of it. The calendar is also used in divination and in setting the dates of agricultural feasts. Most Indians know of the existence of the calendar, but only the shaman understands how to use it.

In addition to the nature gods, there are many supernatural beings who are mixtures of Spanish and Indian spirits. Their appearance, powers, and names vary from one township to another, but the pattern of beliefs is similar. Many of the malevolent spirits such as Juan Noq, Don Avelin Caballero Sombregon, and the Duende are depicted as *ladinos*. The first two are in charge of witchcraft and those who practice it. The last-mentioned is a dwarf who, in some townships, seduces women, causing them sadness and sometimes death. In other towns he distributes favors and

riches to those who worship him, but people must be willing to risk death in order to receive his good will.

The majority of spirits, however, retain the appearance and power that they had in the Maya legends. The Sigvanaba and Llorona are phantom women who lure men to their destruction. The first of these appears to a man as a beautiful woman, but turns into a skeleton or a figure with a horselike face if he follows her. The Dueno de los Cerros (Lord of the Hills) is particularly influential in the northwestern highlands and, supposedly, guards all the resources of nature within his domain. Some townships consider him a protector of the village as long as he is appeased with offerings. To others, however, he is a malevolent being causing disease and destruction.

The most widely known supernatural concept is that of the *nagual*. The term is the subject of much debate and confusion for it is used differently throughout Central America. Basically, however, it concerns two phenomena. The first is derived from an ancient Maya belief that every person is born with an animal counterpart that serves as his protector. The fate of both is interwoven, and when one dies, so does the other. This animal can be discovered from the sacred calendar or by scattering ash around the home in order to clearly record the animal's prints.

A second definition of the *nagual* phenomenon is a sorcerer who by the power given him by the devil, can transform himself into an animal. An evil individual who wishes to make this pact with the devil sleeps in the cemetery for nine nights, and on the tenth the devil appears. The two fight, and if the man wins, the devil teaches him how to change himself into an animal. If the man loses, he dies. The purpose of this transformation is to perform evil deeds, usually against virtuous people. It is believed that his most common act is nocturnal thievery.

Intermediaries

Indians may approach the gods individually, but in the majority of cases they appeal to religious specialists to intervene in their behalf. One of these intermediaries is the Catholic priest; however, he seldom visits the highland villages. Over the centuries, the Indians have evolved religious practices that do not require the services of a priest. When he does come, his time is primarily occupied with baptisms, a few marriages, and with the annual Mass of the patron saint, all of which occur within the church. The priest is not expected to intervene in other areas, and one who attempts to change the traditional beliefs is labeled a Protestant.

Because of the scarcity of priests Indians have never placed

great emphasis on the sacraments other than baptism, which has pre-Columbian roots, but do value the elaborate processions, ceremonies, and *fiestas* sponsored and conducted by the religious brotherhoods. Composed of local men, these groups are responsible for the care of the Church and particular saints, for the sponsoring of *fiestas*, and the celebration of various Catholic holy days. These duties are performed in the name of the whole village so that the saints, in turn, will bless all its inhabitants with good fortune. The offices in the brotherhood are rotated annually, and all men assume the responsibility and honor of serving both the saints and the village (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4).

In the more isolated areas, which almost never see a priest, older men who have passed through all the offices of the brotherhoods become unofficial native priests. They maintain the adherence to folk-Catholic ceremonies, conducting many of these, since they have amassed a vast knowledge of religious and magical ritual; however, they seldom administer the sacraments other than baptism. These native priests are found primarily in the north in Verapaz and Chiquimula Departments.

One of the most important religious specialists is the *chiman*, or shaman. His duties and powers vary from one township to another, and in some areas he maintains strong ties with the official Roman Catholic structure, working closely with the brotherhoods and conducting a large part of the ceremonies. In these areas the shaman has wide knowledge of Maya lore and is similar to the native priests, but usually has not passed through the offices of the brotherhoods. This type of shaman is found mainly in the eastern part of the country.

In most townships, however, the shaman is associated with supernatural beliefs and rituals, which exist outside of the formal religious organization, and is more involved with personal and family problems rather than village ceremonies. Although he consults and pays homage to Catholic saints, he usually propitiates and appeals to the nature gods or supernatural spirits of legends and folklore. He is the prime user of the ancient Maya calendar, or at least portions of it, employing it for selecting sacrificial days in the cultivation cycle and for divination.

Two of the shaman's greatest abilities are divination and curing. Most possess a bundle of red beans, called *miches*, which were supposedly given to them by God. With these they can predict the future, discover the cause of an illness and, in conjunction with the calendar, pick a good day on which to conduct rituals. Some shamans, however, do not use the beans exclusively, but rely on the twitching of their leg muscles, which can be read either as a positive or negative answer to a question asked of the gods.

The curing rituals vary, but often involve an appeal to certain deities and a tour of ancient shrines and chapels where prayers are said and candles and incense burned. In many cases the subject must submit to a complete confession with members of his family present. Generally, the shaman will accompany these rituals with divination, in an attempt to locate the cause and source of the illness. Often the curer pretends to extract worms or frogs from the patient's mouth, supposedly placed there by witchcraft. The curers have various rituals for different illnesses but, as a rule, they mix propitiation of the supernatural with herb remedies.

In solving personal problems, the shaman uses both his power of divination and his supposedly direct contact with the spirit world. Indians claim that he can find lost articles, discover if a wife or husband has been unfaithful, predict the sex of an unborn baby, and other similar matters. He can also intercede with the gods on behalf of someone who has offended them. If a man's crop is not doing well he can go to a shaman, who will offer sacrifices to the proper gods in the man's name.

Most of the divination and curing process is based on set rituals, which are performed the same way each time. Many of the shamans contend that their knowledge of these rituals comes directly from God, who speaks to them in dreams. Others admit that they acquire the knowledge informally by early and constant attendance at ceremonies and rituals conducted by older shamans. There appear to be no instances of formal training, although this may occur covertly.

It is sometimes hard to separate the witch or sorcerer from the shaman, for in certain areas one man performs both roles. Generally, however, the shaman seeks only to help the individual, whereas the sorcerer deals primarily in black magic. This sort of witchcraft has been officially outlawed; nevertheless, it still does exist and is considered quite powerful. Although the definitions vary in most places the sorcerer is considered a practitioner who sells his knowledge of witchcraft to clients wishing to cause bodily harm to, or to place a supernatural curse on, an enemy.

The sorcerer is an ordinary man who supposedly has learned magic formulas and rituals from another sorcerer. It is doubtful that this type of training is done formally, but many *ladinos* insist that schools of witches and diviners exist in the highlands. The knowledge of black magic is fairly common though in legends and folk beliefs, and anyone who wants to practice these rituals can obtain the information with little trouble.

The sorcerers usually make their victim ill by allegedly casting animals into his body. As a rule they need some possession of the victim, and often the client must participate in the ritual. No

complete black masses are performed, but sorcerers supposedly conduct religious rituals backwards and burn candles upside down.

It is also believed that many sorcerers do not sell their knowledge; rather they practice witchcraft against their own enemies and against anyone they envy. For this reason Indians do not wish to flaunt their good fortune, as this would be inviting witchcraft against themselves. When a man's luck goes bad, he immediately suspects witchcraft from an enemy and will seek out a shaman or a sorcerer to counteract the curse.

Ceremonies

Various stages of the life cycle are marked by religious ceremonies, involving a blend of Catholic tradition and ancient superstition. Childbirth is accompanied by ritual bathing, sweat baths and ritual foods for the mother. The umbilical cord has magical significance and, in some townships, it is burned to prevent sickness. In other towns, if the newborn is a girl, the cord is buried under the hearth to keep her from wandering; if the child is a boy, the cord is hung in a tree to ensure his diligence.

Baptism is of vital importance and has its origins in both Christianity and pre-Columbian practices. In many villages the Indians believe that this act changes the child from an animal into a human being and will insist upon the ceremony even if the child is dead. In other places the practice supposedly prevents death and is received as early as possible. If the child dies without being baptized, it is believed that he goes to limbo and returns to haunt the village. Godparents hold the child during the ceremony, thus sealing the ritual tie between the families.

There are no puberty rites, and confirmation occurs infrequently. Religious sanctions regarding marriage are taken lightly. Common-law marriages are prevalent, and divorce is socially acceptable. Even when a religious ceremony does occur, the secular events that accompany the vows are prominent.

Death is surrounded by numerous superstitions and traditional practices. Often it is attributed to sorcery, but it is also accepted as the inevitable fate of man. If a shaman predicts a patient's death, the patient will stop eating in preparation for his fate; however, he will seek to avoid this if the shaman considers recovery possible and will follow the prescribed rituals and cures.

The actual burial ceremonies are conducted by laymen, although in some places a shaman may participate. The wake follows the traditional Catholic pattern with a night watch, prayers, and lighted candles. Alcohol is a prominent feature, and people may become intoxicated as the night progresses. The wails of the women characterize the proceedings. Often a marimba is hired

and accompanies the processions to the cemetery. Most Indians believe that God does not like a sad funeral and may take another member of the family if they show too much grief.

The corpse is dressed in his best clothes, and many of his belongings are placed in the coffin. If the deceased is a child, he is buried with his toys; an adult is buried with his old clothes, household tools, and food. Supposedly, these will ease his journey to eternity. In addition, drinking water and pitch pine to light the way are buried with the coffin. In many townships stones are placed inside the coffin to prevent future deaths in the family.

The corpse is removed feet first from his home, and the pallbearers walk around the house so that the dead can say a last goodbye. He is carried to the cemetery in a long and solemn procession and buried with his head toward the west. If he died violently, the corpse is brought to the cemetery in a special litter and buried face downward; a ceremony is performed at the site of his death.

Beliefs about afterlife vary and are generally a blend of Christian doctrine and Maya superstitions. In most places there is no concept of hell, although it is believed that some lesser gods have kingdoms inside of mountains and recruit souls of the dead as workers. If a soul is taken by God he lives a very pleasant afterlife with much leisure time and many fields of corn. Some believe that the place of God is located in the sky, whereas others insist that it is below the earth. In many townships there is no concept of punishment for evil, but in others it is believed that those who led an un-Christian life cannot enter heaven and must wander the earth as spirits. Purgatory exists in the Indian mind as a spiritual jail where the soul remains until its fine is paid by his surviving family who contribute pennies to the Church. If released, the soul will then seek to repay its family and intercede on its behalf with God.

Religious ceremonies involving the *milpa* are of vital importance and are conducted throughout the cultivation cycle. A shaman usually chooses the propitious day and often conducts the ritual. These ceremonies vary with the locale and the time of year, but have many common elements. They may occur in the *milpa* on the spot where a small animal is sacrificed while candles, incense, and copal are burned. Some of these rites are held at ancient shrines surrounded by pieces of broken pottery that have been used as offerings. Here copal, candles, and incense are also burned, and alcohol is poured on the altar. The highland Indians have introduced the worship at ancient shrines to the lowland Indians, and in the Department of Escuintla the monuments receive a steady stream of petitioners. In these areas, however, there are few

shamans, and the Indians perform the ceremonies themselves, often in an improvised manner.

Ladino Catholicism

Traditionally, the *ladinos* have had more doctrinal Catholic training and a more complete understanding of Catholic dogma than the Indians. As a consequence, their religion has exhibited greater uniformity and does not contain the same degree of local variation found in Indian communities. Nevertheless, there are two major religious divisions within the *ladino* class. The urban population is more conventionally Catholic, but the religion of the rural *ladino* contains many Indian elements.

The urbanites practice a Catholicism similar to that found in other urban areas of Latin America. They have had more contact with the clergy, who are concentrated in the cities, and have been able to attend existing Catholic schools also found primarily in urban areas; however, religion has never exercised the influence among city dwellers that it does among the Indians and rural *ladinos*.

On the whole, the urban *ladinos* compartmentalize their religion, separating it from other aspects of their daily activities. The men, in particular, view life in highly secular terms. Nearly all profess the Catholic faith but, in practice, the men seldom attend church or receive the sacraments. The social concept of masculinity, so important in Latin America, does not include strong adherence to religious practices. Certain religious groups called *cofradías* were formed in the colonial era and still exist. These are brotherhoods of laymen that participate in religious ceremonies on holy days. The members are men from the most prominent families, and the office is essentially a social honor. The *cofradía* is paralleled in the Indian communities where it has considerably more religious significance, but it is not found among rural *ladinos*.

Religion is considered the concern of women and, as in other Latin countries, the women are the strongest supporters of the Church. Regular attendance at Mass and participation in Church-sponsored welfare programs are two of the major and, in more traditional families, the exclusive activities of the women. Social pressures are such that, in the upper and middle classes, in particular, a woman is more faithful to the moral and religious codes of the Church than a man.

These different degrees of religious devotion between men and women are paralleled in the rural areas. The ethics of the *ladino* male, regardless of location, appear to stress a secular and compartmental approach to religion. It is realized most completely in the cities, where the pace of modern life has forced separation of

activities. This orientation has also been adopted by the rural *ladinos* in line with acceptance of Hispanic definitions of masculinity and the imitation of a modern urban style of life.

The rural *ladino* woman attends church faithfully, conducts prayers at the family altar, and receives the sacraments as often as possible. The upper-class women in a village or small town usually form a religious sodality. They are responsible for the care and maintenance of the church, for providing the choir, and for sponsoring the major *fiesta* of the patron saint. Because these duties require contributions and since status is important in the *ladino* culture, only the wealthier and more respected women are invited to serve.

The rural *ladinos* value the sacraments and ceremonies of the Catholic Church more than the Indians do but, because of the scarcity of priests, these celebrations are not so frequent as they are in the cities. Often parents must wait long intervals before the baptism of their child, and confirmation is usually missed completely. Until recently the law required a civil marriage, and the Church required a religious one. The financial burden for both, or even one, of these was often too great for a couple; therefore, common-law marriages were prevalent. The scarcity of priests who could perform the service further complicated the problem. The Government, however, has recently given the clergy the ability to perform civil marriages so that both ceremonies can now be conducted as one. This, plus the increase in priests, may bring about greater adherence to marriage laws.

The rituals and ceremonies associated with death are also important among the rural *ladinos*. Usually a Mass is said, and a novena is held after a death. Many families follow the Spanish custom of holding memorial Masses the following year. This practice is also found among the Indians; however, the *ladino* women rather than the men attend these services and conduct the prayers.

Rural *ladinos*, like the Indians, are essentially saint worshipers. Each village has its own patron saint, and every year a *fiesta* is held in his honor. The *ladino* celebration is preponderately secular but has a number of sacred aspects. A Mass and a processional are held, and a novena is celebrated both before and after the *fiesta*. The remaining activities include dances, games of skill, and games of chance. Dramatic presentations are usually not of a religious nature.

The patron saint of the *ladino* villagers has many of the characteristics of those found in Indian communities. The similarities to old Maya gods usually have been lost, but the human characteristics that the saints are given remain. The less sophisticated believe that the saint's power and sacredness lie in the image itself. In the

prayers for rain, for example, the image is taken out of the church to the fields of parched land in the heat of the sun. In this way the villagers believe that he will see and feel the need for rain and will intercede with God on their behalf.

Although the religion of the rural *ladino* is more compartmentalized than that of the Indian, the separation is not as complete as it is among the upper and middle class urbanites. This is particularly evident in the realm of the supernatural, and there is a tendency for superstitions and folk beliefs to permeate many daily activities. The rural *ladinos* accept and believe in many of the supernatural phenomena found in the Indian religion, and similar medicine and health beliefs, such as the consequence of bad air, or soul loss resulting from fright, are prevalent in both cultures (see Living Conditions, ch. 3).

Both the rural *ladinos* and the lower-class urban dwellers are superstitious, following the numerous advertisements of astrologers and mediums found in the local newspapers as well as many publications of horoscopes and almanacs. Magical elixirs are popular and may well have taken the place of the curing shaman among the lower classes. The trend toward superstitious beliefs could be an attempt to fill the religious void created when an individual moves from the Indian to *ladino* culture. Lower- and middle-class individuals may accept the more secular life of the *ladino*, but many still feel a need for manipulating the supernatural.

There has also been a recent emergence of two cults with an emphasis on the spirit world. Similar in orientation, the spiritist and spiritualist are anti-Catholic. They have established temples throughout Central America, but at present there has been no systematic study of the phenomena.

Protestants

The first Protestant missionary effort in the country was sponsored by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, which had been personally invited into the country by President Justo Rufino Barrios in 1882. Since that year, approximately 15 different Protestant sects have entered the country, establishing over 1,500 places of worship. The response to these groups has been minimal, for neither the Indian nor *ladino* culture is easily adapted to a Protestant style of life. Nevertheless, since 1940, missionaries have increased and expanded their activities, increasing the total number of communicants. In 1968 there were approximately 140,000 Protestants, including 973 native missionaries.

Most of the Protestant ministers enter the country as teachers, doctors or agriculturalists; thus, it has been easier for the Protestants than the Catholics to increase the number of their mis-

sionaries in the face of anticlerical provisions. The Catholic Church has contended that, before 1954, the Government was more lenient toward the Protestant sects and did not apply the anticlerical laws to them. Protestant missionaries themselves have stated that they received more governmental protection in Guatemala than in any other country in Latin America.

Despite this favorable political environment, the influence of Protestant groups has been limited. In a few areas, they have been very successful; however, in many villages the response has been hostile and resentful; in others, simply indifferent. Judging from the small numbers who do respond, the *ladino* appears more receptive to the Protestant message than the Indian, who must surrender his socioreligious status in the community when he converts. Religion is so pervasive in Indian life that a rejection of Catholicism is a rejection of much of Indian culture.

Those Indians who do accept Protestantism are usually marginal individuals who are not satisfied with the customs and goals of their culture or with their own social position. They are impressed with the Protestant emphasis on improvement in this world and in their particular village. They are attracted by its practical middle-class values. A few who regard drinking as a detriment are impressed by the temperance movement. Others wish to escape the heavy financial burdens of the religious brotherhoods and annual fiestas.

The *ladinos* who convert are usually ambitious and marginal individuals from the lower and middle classes, finding in the Protestant message a rationale for social mobility. They are primarily uprooted and transitional people seeking a higher position in the social structure. The Protestant sects offer a focal point of identification and security during their struggle.

The Protestant missionaries have styled themselves and their converts as "evangelicals" to illustrate and stress their identification with the Evangel or Gospel. The Bible is the basic tool of conversion, and there has been a concentrated effort to distribute it throughout the country in both Spanish and the Indian dialects. Often native congregations are established on the basis of one man's possession and knowledge of the book. In all sects it remains the final word on moral and religious questions.

In addition to this emphasis on biblicism, conversion is marked by a decrease in drinking and sexual license and a new emphasis on honesty. In both the *ladino* and Indian societies, the converts are characterized by a new awareness of social mobility and self-improvement. Among the Indians the new Protestants are called *creentes* (believers) and are respected for their strong moral and

Table 4. Name and Size of Major Protestant Sects in Guatemala, 1968

| Name | Places of worship | Full members | Total community | Foreign missionaries | Ordained national workers |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Assemblies of God | 576 | 6,827 | 27,661 | 12 | 448 |
| Central American Mission | 355 | 6,609 | 22,000 | 69 | 79 |
| Evangelical Presbyterian Church | 241 | 8,300 | 21,500 | 6 | 67 |
| Church of God (Cleveland) | 216 | 6,323 | 10,979 | 2 | 252 |
| Friends, California Yearly Meeting | 123 | 7,000 | 12,000 | 15 | 11 |
| Church of the Nazarene | 54 | 1,859 | 8,236 | 17 | 45 |
| Southern Baptists Convention | 53 | 2,093 | 6,476 | 18 | 20 |
| Iglesia Metodista Primitiva | 34 | 1,800 | 2,100 | 11 | 8 |
| Seventh-Day Adventists | 31 | 5,285 | 15,793 | 3 | 7 |
| Church of God of Prophecy | 22 | 1,030 | 2,060 | 0 | 33 |
| Iglesia Episcopal | 6 | 303 | 541 | 2 | 3 |
| Lutheran Church | 4 | 813 | 1,660 | 7 | 0 |
| Pentecostal Church of God | 1 | 85 | 85 | 0 | 0 |

Source: Adapted from *World Christian Handbook, 1968*.

religious character; however, it is generally thought that they worship a different god than the god of the Catholics.

Accounting for approximately 17 percent of the Protestant members, the largest sect in Guatemala is the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, with 8,300 full members and a total community of 21,600. Their major work is centered in the capital, where they have built the American Hospital. Their missionaries are also very active in the highlands among the Mam and Quiche speakers. With these Indians they have attempted to fill the social vacuum resulting from conversion by creating religious brotherhoods without financial obligations. The offices in these societies are rotated frequently so that everyone can assume some responsibility. They usually meet weekly in a private home. In 1967 the Presbyterians had 241 places of worship, six ordained ministers from the United States, and 67 national pastors (see table 4).

Approximately 14 percent of the Protestant community belongs to a national church called Iglesia Evangelica (Evangelical Church), the largest one in Central America. This is an outgrowth of the Central American Mission, a nonsectarian fundamentalist group from Texas, which sponsors activities throughout the isthmus. It entered Guatemala in 1899 and was designed to include all Protestant groups. This national church is operated by 69 foreign missionaries, who are aided by 19 Guatemalan pastors. The emphasis is on training a national clergy that can assume the leadership of the church. In 1968 there were 6,609 full members and a total community of 22,000.

The remaining churches are scattered throughout the country. Although there exists an informal agreement establishing separate spheres of influence, each sect has its own particular message to deliver. Most are actively involved in educational, health, and social welfare projects located in both Indian and *ladino* areas. One of their major emphases has been on training a national clergy that can assume responsibility for the maintenance and expansion of the faith.

The Protestant movement, and particularly its increased activities in the last 20 years, has acted as a catalyst on the Catholic Church. The Church has been awakened to the problems of its communicants and, consequently, has begun many social reform projects of its own. The result has been an increased religious awareness in the *ladino* society and a new understanding of Catholic and Protestant doctrines in the Indian communities.

SOCIAL VALUES

Ladinos

Ladino society has been moulded and influenced by two major forces that were blended to create a third. Heirs of Hispanic tra-

ditions and Indian customs, the *ladinos* have modified and adapted these to the reality and historical experience of their own country. The result is a set of characteristically Guatemalan social values; however, different life styles between the upper and middle classes and the lower class urban and rural *ladinos* have produced differing interpretations of these values. Each group invariably places more importance on certain customs and traditions than on others. Nevertheless, all *ladinos* share a similar cultural orientation and, in this sense, a unity of expression.

Personalism

The central value of this culture is the individual. Each person is recognized as unique, having individual worth and dignity. Dignity, honor, and valor derive from natural endowment. These values stem from the early influence of the Catholic Church and also from the Hispanic heritage of Latin America.

Because of this value on personalism, the honor of the inner self is defended at all costs, including even death. Thus, insults are usually met with violent emotional outbursts or, at the very least, with deep resentment. To avoid these occurrences, the Spanish American language is laden with elaborate patterns of social courtesies that characterize all interaction except those on a very personal level. In politics, however, these courtesies are forgotten, and campaigns are characterized by virulent attacks on the dignity and honor of the candidates. As a result, compromise is exceedingly difficult.

The exaggeration of the individual has severely limited a feeling of community. The first loyalty is to the self, and commitments seldom extend further than to the family or a few close friends. An individual seeks to acquire power and wealth, often at the expense of the community, so that he can protect and elevate the self and the family. This type of individuality sees the self as of prime importance and the group as peripheral.

Politics, therefore, is not seen as public service but as a path to personal power. In a detailed survey among the middle and lower classes, the *ladinos* overwhelmingly expressed the opinion that politicians were not very honest and were unconcerned with the welfare of the public, an unavoidable belief in a value system in which the group exists to exalt the individual.

The value of personalism discourages involvement with large numbers of people. Kinship ties are one of the few commitments that the *ladino* accepts willingly. Within this framework, he feels that his uniqueness is appreciated and understood, and he can drop the defenses that characterize his social interactions. In addition to kindred, an individual trusts only those with whom

he has established an intimate and personal friendship. This general distrust of others limits impersonal interactions, and things such as large-scale economic ventures are hindered unless the administrators evoke *simpatía* (fellow feeling, congeniality—see Glossary).

The social heroes who emerge from this emphasis on personalism are strong and dynamic individuals with little regard for the laws of society or of the Government; rather they make their own. In a male dominated society, the concept of virility is particularly stressed and, coupled with individualism, has produced the figure of the *macho* (male). One of the favorite personality types, the *macho* exhibits reckless daring, haughtiness, love of action, and competence in the intellectual or physical realm. In some contexts and on some levels, the term *macho* is applied in its most literal sense and implies great sexual prowess. The appeal of the dynamic intellectual was emphasized in the public image of José Arevalo, President from 1945 to 1951, who was known for his strong and forceful polemics. Carlos Castillo Armas was illustrative of the physical *macho* and was much admired for his reckless bravery and fearlessness in escaping from prison and leading a revolutionary army against Jacobo Arbenz.

When the *macho* personality is found in a leadership capacity, the concept is often exaggerated and expanded to become a *caudillo* (leader). This figure is the ultimate expression of personalism. He seldom represents any political ideals or espouses a specific social or economic program. If he does, these are secondary to his own charisma. The *caudillo* is a leader on the sole basis of his magnetism and strength of character.

Guatemala has experienced a number of these men as Presidents. Most ruled as dictators but retained popular support and respect by means of their personality and strength. If the country was run in an orderly and peaceful fashion, the people accepted the despotic means used to achieve this atmosphere. Both Jorge Ubico and Justo Rufino Barrios were considered excellent Presidents, although both ran an autocratic Government.

Hierarchy

Historically, the society has been highly stratified. The structure is no longer so rigid as it was during the colonial era, but the value of hierarchy remains. It is reflected in the political, social, and religious spheres and is evident in interpersonal relationships. This value does not conflict with personalism, however, for the latter stresses the inner uniqueness of the individual, not his outward social position.

There are two aspects to the hierarchy system. One consists of

grades or strata in society, and the other involves reciprocal duties. Even in a small gathering a *ladino* will immediately assess the social position of his companions, usually on the basis of appearance, wealth, heritage, power, and prestige. In a small town ranks of various families are well-known facts, recognizable to anyone.

In the reciprocal arrangement an individual acknowledges the higher position of another, offers him loyalty, and performs certain expected duties for him. In return, the person of the higher status extends the protection of his position and assistance in times of need. This phenomena is found most informally in the family. Here, the father is the center of authority and occupies the highest status; others owe him their loyalty and obedience in return for the food, housing, and protection that he supplies. This loyalty is total, and middle- and lower-class individuals feel that a son should obey his father, whether right or wrong. In return, the father is expected to provide economic necessities and education.

The concept of hierarchical reciprocity is expanded and institutionalized in the *patrón* system. A person of a lower position always seeks a *patrón* (master—see Glossary) in a higher status since he can obviously provide more assistance and protection. The *patrón* relationship reached its most complete form on the plantation where the owner acted as the father, and the workers owed him a certain amount of work in exchange for a small plot of land and protection from all outsiders, including representatives of the law. In Guatemala this usually meant that a *ladino* acted as *patrón* to a large group of Indians.

In the 20th century the concept of the *patrón* has been weakened, since it is difficult to establish a personal relationship with a large impersonal business. The ideal remains in force, nevertheless, and businesses are expected to meet certain obligations, such as providing a cash bonus for unexpected emergencies, weddings, and fiestas, and taking personal interest in the well-being of the employee. The Government is seen as the major *patrón* bearing the responsibility for both personal and national problems. In a recent survey individuals considered the Government responsible for problems related to personal safety, law enforcement, tranquillity, full employment, educational facilities, economic aid, social welfare, public works, public health, freedom of thought and expression, democratic government, and morality. Some also expected the Government to help propagate the Catholic religion and to eliminate vice. Since government agencies also have become largely impersonal, the figure of the President has assumed the responsibility and personality of a *patrón*. This is illustrated by the fact that poor people can go to the national palace and receive

without obligation free cooking utensils, bedding, building materials, and food.

Indians

Indian ethics are largely Mayan in origin and have changed less than any other element in their culture. The central value is adjustment and accommodation to the laws of the universe. Indians believe that God has decreed certain rules, traditions, and customs that always have been and always will be operative. Man is expected to adapt to these rules, commonly called *costumbres* (see Glossary). If he cannot, his life will be plagued by illness, misfortune, and anxiety. Only by fulfilling his role in the universal pattern can he attain happiness and be exposed to a minimum of suffering.

An Indian can only partially fulfill this role as an individual; he must first be a member of a community. Since antiquity certain patterns have been followed within a township and, by observing these, a man conforms to universal laws. Thus, the preservation of the community and its *costumbres* are of much more importance than the single individual. In many townships there is a belief that if the practices and traditions of the village are discontinued or forgotten, the rules of the universe will be disrupted and the world will end. Religious ceremonies and fiestas are conducted for the continuation of the community rather than the salvation of individuals.

It logically follows that a man's prestige and social position are measured by his contributions to the communal traditions. Wealth is not respected unless it is channeled into fiestas and religious ceremonies that will benefit the whole village. Leadership positions are obligations to the community and, are not competitively sought for personal benefit. This is in direct contrast to *ladino* personalism. According to Indian ethics the individual exists to serve the whole community and, by so doing, the world.

An individual completes his role in the universal pattern by his personal activities. These include propitiation of Mayan gods and Christian saints and the care of his family. Most important, however, is the possession and cultivation of his *milpa* (small plot of land). His fields are of vital importance to an Indian and are the symbol of both his manhood and his existence. Land is the link between material and spiritual values, and a man achieves both economic and spiritual fulfillment by working his *milpa*. He establishes his own place within the plan of nature, for to be a man is to own land and grow corn. No other occupation can substitute for the cultivation of the *milpa*, and other jobs are taken merely to earn money with which to buy land.

On the whole, an Indian does not hire others to do his work for him. He cultivates his fields, cuts wood, makes pottery, or engages in some other handicraft. In doing so, he receives the respect and honor of his neighbors. Hard work is considered inevitable, and weariness is no shame. To hire others would be a failure to fulfill his natural role of performing his duty to himself, his family, and his universe.

The Indian concept of the universe usually extends only to his own township or, at the very most, his region. Within this limited area, he follows community traditions, as his father did before him. Ideally, life is continuous and never deviates from a set pattern. Naturally, an Indian does have contact with many other regions in the country. He probably works seasonally on a plantation in the lowlands, and, if drafted into the Army, he has had extensive interaction in *ladino* areas. He sees these experiences as peripheral and unimportant, however, and the township remains the focal point of his world. This feeling is most completely expressed when an Indian says that he is a son of the *pueblo* (town).

Since all individuals are fulfilling the *costumbres* (see Glossary) of the community and of the *milpa*, there are no inherited positions in the society. A man can acquire the respect of the community by his activities, wealth through his labors, and leadership positions by serving in all the offices of the religious brotherhoods. These honors, however, are not passed on to his sons, for the sons, in turn, must prove their own worthiness by their services to the community. In Indian society then, responsibility accrues to those who demonstrate the greatest facility for it.

Social pressures in Indian society encourage participation in the traditional pattern, both as a member of the group and as an individual. Many find complete fulfillment in conforming to these cultural laws and are satisfied, or at least resigned, to their role in society. There is little desire for the life style of a *ladino*. This is not considered the proper or even possible role of an Indian, and he loses his soul if he attempts to act the part. Marginal individuals who cannot accept the traditional pattern are usually forced to leave the culture or suffer constant anxiety and fear. This is the plight of the transitional Indian who straddles both cultures but can find fulfillment in neither.

CHAPTER 6

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS, POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND VALUES, FOREIGN RELATIONS

The country made a peaceful transition from a military to a civilian government in 1966. Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia ruled for 3 years following the overthrow of President Miguel Ydigoras in 1963 and, as he had promised, remained in power only until he could prepare the way for free elections and the installation of a popularly elected president.

As part of the preparations a new electoral law was issued in 1965, and a Constituent Assembly was chosen in 1964 to draft a new constitution, which went into effect May 5, 1966. The Constitution, the fifth the country has had as a republic, is considered in some respects more conservative than previous ones. During its constitutional history, the country has had a State constitution as a member of the United Provinces of Central America and two political documents serving in place of a constitution.

Only three political parties participated in the 1966 elections. Other existing parties could not qualify because they failed to meet the new minimum membership requirement of 50,000 registered voters. None of the three presidential candidates received a majority of the votes, and the newly elected Congress had to choose a president from the two leading candidates. Congress elected as President Julio Cesar Méndez Montenegro of the Revolutionary Party, who had obtained the plurality of votes in the popular election. In late 1963 he was still in office.

The Government has three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The executive branch consists of the President, Vice President, Council of State, and 10 ministries, plus various autonomous and semiautonomous agencies. The Legislature is made up of a unicameral Congress composed of elected deputies representing the 23 electoral districts of the country. The judiciary is composed of a Supreme Court, several lower courts, and a few special courts which have jurisdiction only over certain types of cases.

There are two levels of local government, departmental and township. Each department is administered by a governor. The governors are appointed by the President and function as an ex-

tension of the national Government. There are no elections for departmental office. The townships (*municipios*) enjoy self-government through an elected municipal corporation consisting of a mayor, councilmen, and other officials. The elected officials serve for 3 years in the capital and for either 1 or 2 years in all other townships. Salaries are not paid for a 1-year term of office.

Since 1944 there has been a proliferation of political parties, numbering between 40 and 50. Most of these have been small, short lived, and with no philosophy or ideology apart from dedication to the party's founder or leader. The minimum requirements for registration as a legal political party have been continually increased in an effort to discourage such proliferation. As of mid-1968 there were four legally registered political parties meeting new minimum requirements, two of them right of center and two left of center. The Revolutionary Party, left of center, was the most stable political party. Five minor parties existed, three of which had not yet met the requirements and two of which had been proscribed from participating in political activity. No more than 20 percent of the population participates in national politics. The middle class exercises an almost dominant influence on the country's political life. Since 1966 elections have been more peaceful, just, and fair than previous ones.

Students, the Roman Catholic Church, the Armed Forces, and the Indians exert varying degrees of political influence. The spirit of nationalism is strong among the *ladinos* (non-Indians—see Glossary), and the issues of foreign interference, economic domination, and the return of Belize (British Honduras) can always arouse the electorate.

The state of diplomatic relations with the United States is the most important aspect of Guatemala's foreign policy. The United States has often acted as a mediator in disputes between Guatemala and other countries. Relations with the United Kingdom have been severed since 1963 over the Belize question. Relations with Central American countries have been other important elements in foreign policy.

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS

Constitutional Background

During its history Guatemala has had five constitutions as a republic, one constitution as a member State of the United Provinces of Central America, and two documents which served temporarily in place of a constitution. Each one reflected the views of the individual or group then exercising power, and each moved in the opposite direction of its predecessor.

A federal constitution of the United Provinces of Central America was passed in November 1824. It was modeled after the United States and Colombian Constitutions, but also included principles proclaimed in the Cortes of Cadiz, Spain. The main idea in the Constitution of the United Provinces was to have a federal state with strong local governments. This Constitution stated that each state was free and independent in its internal administration and provided for individual state constitutions.

Each member state then attempted to draft a State Constitution harmonizing with the federal plan. Guatemala decreed its state constitution in October 1825, which was called the Constitution of the State of Guatemala. In general, it followed the federal constitution and provided for a bicameral system—an Assembly and a Representative Council, similar to a senate. Some of its provisions on the procedures for passing laws were incorporated into the rules of the Congress and were still in effect in 1968. After the breakup of the federation in 1839, both this State Constitution and the federal Constitution continued to serve as the basic documents of the new nation, as Guatemala did not actually declare itself an independent republic until March 21, 1847.

It was not until 1851, 12 years after Guatemala left the federation, that the first formal constitution was adopted. Four times after coming to power, President Rafael Carrera convoked a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution, but each time he either suspended the assembly after some initial work had been done or did not approve the proposed constitution because of liberal tendencies contained in the document (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). Finally, in 1851 a constitution more to his liking was drafted. It was written in 2 months and contained only 18 articles. It was called the Constitutive Act of the Republic of Guatemala and reflected conservative thinking. The constitution was authoritarian and did not emphasize the division of power; most powers were given to the President. Under the 1851 Constitution, an assembly of notables, which included a House of Representatives, elected the President.

The second republican constitution, called the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Guatemala, came into effect on December 11, 1879. When the liberals came to power in 1871, they had authorized a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution, but soon encountered the same problem as had Carrera—an uncooperative assembly. The Constituent Assembly met from March 1872 to January 1873; acted slowly, with much debate and many delegate absences; and finally suspended its sessions without drafting a constitution. President Justo Rufino Barrios attempted again in 1875 to convoke a Constituent Assembly, but this assem-

bly also failed to draft a constitution and suspended its sessions in November 1876. Barrios tried once more in 1878, and this time the Constituent Assembly was composed mostly of liberals, who worked from March to November 1879 and produced the liberal Constitution encompassing the philosophy of Barrios, who was its real author.

It guaranteed personal liberty, separated Church and State, permitted freedom of religion, and established a 6-year presidential term and a unicameral Legislature. A clear division of powers was also established, and all laws had to be discussed three times before being voted upon, a self-control measure to preclude Congress from passing laws based on hasty or emotional consideration. A permanent Standing Committee of Congress was created which acted as a watchdog whenever Congress was not in session. A number of unusual declarations appeared which showed up in later Guatemalan constitutions. For example, any Central American residing in Guatemala was given Guatemalan nationality, and there was a prohibition against foreigners seeking diplomatic recourse for their claims except in cases of negation of justice.

Despite its liberal provisions, the 1879 Constitution was not strictly observed by President Barrios or by his successors. During the 66 years it was in effect, it was amended eight times, affecting 62 of its 104 articles. Most of these amendments were related largely to presidential powers and terms of office. In 1885 Congress passed amendments restricting some of the presidential powers and created the office of an elected Vice-President. These amendments caused an immediate confrontation with President Barrios, who dissolved the Congress and ignored the amendments. In 1887 a Constituent Assembly controlled by President Manuel Lisandro Barrillas (1885-92) returned some of the presidential powers, but permitted some amendments to stand, such as the prohibition on the President to immediately succeed himself.

Under President Jose Reina Barrios, the Constitution was amended in 1897, prolonging the presidential term of office and providing for an act of union among Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, an event which never actually occurred. Then in 1903, under President Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920), the non-reelection clause was deleted by a cooperative Constituent Assembly. This permitted Estrada to be reelected four times until he was overthrown in 1920.

In 1921 the most substantial modifications of the 1879 Constitution were made, reflecting new social ideas of the middle class, which was the leading element in the overthrow of Estrada. The amendments included additional guarantees of individual rights, permitted freedom of thought, and prohibited cruel punishment.

Presidential powers were again restricted as were the property rights of foreigners. For the first time labor was given the right to strike. University and municipal autonomy was recognized. The only conservative aspect was the restriction of suffrage to literate males.

All of the 1921 amendments were suspended after the military coup of December 1921. In 1927 President Lázaro Chacón convoked another assembly in order to make some major reforms that he believed necessary. Forty-seven articles were amended, reflecting compromises between liberal and conservative thinking. Some of the reforms were similar to those of 1921.

The pendulum swung to the conservative side in 1935, when President Jorge Ubico sent a demand to Congress to amend 27 articles which he believed "hindered the free exercise of presidential initiative." The amendments were made almost word for word as suggested by Ubico. Some of them restricted individual rights, and others strengthened the power of the executive. Finally, in 1941 another amendment was made, permitting Ubico to be re-elected once more. Thus, what was a rather liberal constitution when created was changed into a conservative document by virtue of major amendments.

On November 28, 1944, the revolutionary junta which overthrew President Juan Frederico Ponce repealed the 1935 amendments and declared the 1927 amendments to be in force until a new constitution could be written (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). The Constitutional Assembly met for only 2 months and drafted the new Constitution of the Republic, which contained a record 212 articles and went into effect in March 1945. The assembly was greatly assisted in its work by having a draft constitution drawn up in advance by the Guatemala Bar Association. This draft was used as a framework to which were added isolated articles taken from the 1879 text as well as some of the 1921 and 1927 amendments. The first six articles were taken almost verbatim from the 1931 Spanish Constitution.

Some ideas were incorporated from the Bolivian Constitution of 1938, and many ideas on labor, loss of citizenship, rights of foreigners, from the 1917 Mexican Constitution. A number of articles on teachers' and family rights were taken from the Cuban Constitution of 1940. The result was a liberal document concerning individual and social guarantees and providing for much social reform. Presidential powers were weakened in order to prevent the return of dictatorships. This Constitution lasted for 9 years until the overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, when it was replaced by a Political Statute which served pending the adoption of a new constitution.

The 1954 Political Statute contained 45 articles and stated that it was a provisional document. It enumerated a number of individual rights, but did not mention the social rights contained in the 1945 Constitution. It permitted freedom of association, except for political organizations of an international character, the first time such a prohibition had appeared in a Guatemalan political document. The Constituent Assembly met in October 1954, but acted slowly in comparison to the 1945 Assembly. Discussions of the draft lasted for 16 months, and the final text was not approved until March 1, 1956. It contained 245 articles plus nine transitory articles and dealt with more subjects than did the 1945 Constitution. Many of the liberal provisions of the previous constitution were retained, but the tone was less revolutionary and more in keeping with the 1879 Constitution. More attention was given to the rights of political parties than in any previous constitution. The prohibition against communism contained in the 1954 Political Statute was introduced into the Constitution. This Constitution lasted only 7 years, as it was suspended in March 1963 when Colonel Enrique Peralta came to power. It was replaced on April 10, 1963, by a decree called the Fundamental Charter of Government which remained in effect until May 4, 1966.

In 1964 Colonel Peralta announced that elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution would take place. This election was held on May 24, 1964, and the Constituent Assembly began deliberations in July 1964 to formulate the new Constitution. It was not until September 15, 1965, national Independence Day, that the draft Constitution was ratified and released to the public. Except for 10 transitory provisions that went into effect almost immediately, the Constitution did not become effective until May 5, 1966. It was the third constitution that the country had had in 20 years.

The 1965 Constitution

In general, this Constitution is more conservative than many of the previous documents. The most significant changes are the reduction of the presidential term from 6 to 4 years, the reestablishment of the position of a Vice President that had been abolished in the 1945 Constitution, and the creation of a Council of State. Although stating that Guatemala is a free, sovereign, and independent nation, it also states that all peaceful measures leading to a full or partial union of Central America shall be taken.

In keeping with the goal of a Central American union, native-born nationals of other Central American countries are considered to be Guatemalan nationals if they so wish to declare and may retain their nationality of origin. Similarly, Guatemalans do not

lose their nationality if they become naturalized citizens of another Central American country. Suffrage is extended to all persons over 18 years of age and is compulsory for literates, but optional for illiterates. Members of the Armed Forces may not vote. Candidates running for public office enjoy immunity from arrest from the moment of nomination, unless they are caught in the act of committing a crime. Organizations may be registered as political parties only if they have a minimum of 50,000 members, 20 percent of whom are literate. Formation of parties or entities advocating Communist ideology is prohibited as well as any others whose doctrines, methods of action, or international connections threaten the sovereignty of the State.

The Constitution has 36 articles guaranteeing individual rights and six articles concerning the use of habeas corpus and the right of *amparo*, an order of restraint granted to a petitioner against a law, regulation, decision, or act of an authority which affects the enjoyment of his constitutional rights and guarantees. Any person who finds himself illegally imprisoned, detained, or restrained in the enjoyment, or threatened by the loss, of his individual liberty has the right to request an immediate personal hearing before a court by a writ of habeas corpus.

No discrimination may be made based on race, color, sex, religion, economic or social position, or political opinion. Unless caught in the act of committing a crime, no person may be arrested except for a crime or misdemeanor and only by virtue of a prior writ or warrant. Trustworthy persons whose identity is established may not be detained for minor offenses, but must be given notice to appear before the proper court. Preventive arrest may not exceed 5 days; interrogation must be done within the first 48 hours of arrest. The death penalty is not applicable to women or minors, persons over 70 years of age, or persons guilty of political crimes. A person's domicile is inviolable and may not be entered without a search warrant and then only between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

The Government recognizes the right of asylum and prohibits the extradition of foreign political offenders provided they respect Guatemalan laws. Likewise, no attempt will be made to extradite Guatemalans who take refuge in another country. If a political refugee is expelled it will not be to the country from which he fled. The right of political assembly is recognized as well as the right to practice any religion. Religious groups and ministers of the faith, however, may not engage in partisan politics. The Roman Catholic Church and other faiths are recognized as juridical persons and may acquire property for religious, social, welfare, or educational purpose. Such property is tax exempt.

Ownership of private property is guaranteed, and private prop-

erty may not be confiscated for public use, except in special cases in which compensation must be paid. With the exception of diplomatic or military matters, all governmental actions are public matters, and interested persons have the right at any time to information and copies of documents in which they are interested.

In addition to the individual guarantees, the Constitution contains 57 articles on social guarantees, which concern family, education, labor, economics, and the rights of public employees. Many of these articles establish principles, but depend on future enactment of laws to establish specific programs. Separate sections of the Constitution deal with the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government.

Amendments to the Constitution can be made only by a Constituent Assembly convoked by a two-thirds vote of Congress, to which special deputies shall be elected by the populace. Any amendments to incorporate either Belize into the national territory or Guatemala into a Central American union must be made by a two-thirds vote of Congress and the Council of State meeting together. Articles concerning the principle of non-reelection of the President of the Republic and the length of his term of office may not be amended.

Structure of Government

The Government is divided into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Although the Constitution provides for a separation of powers with checks and balances, in practice the President frequently exercises legislative and judicial powers.

Executive Branch

The executive branch consists of the President, Vice President, Council of State, and ministries. The President is elected for a 4-year term and may not be reelected or have his term of office extended. If he attempts to do so Congress has the power to call elections, and the Army must take orders from the President of the Congress.

The President has broad powers. In addition to those specified by the Constitution, he may exercise all powers not specifically granted to other authorities. Among the functions and powers granted to him by the 1965 Constitution is the authority to provide for national defense and security, enforce the Constitution and laws, and command the Armed Forces. The President, with congressional approval, may suspend constitutional guarantees for a period of 30 days in case of serious disturbance of the peace, public disaster, or activities against the security of the State. The President may present bills to Congress and may veto legislation.

He must submit an annual statement to Congress on the state of the nation as well as the annual budget presentation.

The President has the power to conduct international affairs, but must submit to Congress for approval certain types of treaties, conventions, and agreements. He appoints Cabinet ministers and vice ministers; employees of the office of the Presidency; all directors general of the ministries; departmental governors; officials of the decentralized, autonomous, and semiautonomous agencies; and members of the diplomatic and consular corps.

The President has the authority to administer public finance; encourage new industries; authorize creation and dissolution of banks; supervise all banking, credit, and insurance operations; safeguard natural resources and provide for their proper utilization; direct and develop education, including the literacy campaign; and grant priority to agricultural, industrial, and technical training. He is required to develop plans and programs to integrate the Indian population into the national culture. He must improve the health of the populace; promote adequate development of labor and capital; and grant retirement benefits, pensions, and annuities. He may exonerate taxpayers from fines, commute the death penalty, and grant pardons for political and common offenses.

The President is assisted in his day-to-day work by the office of the Presidency (Presidencia), or executive office. Within the Presidency are found the President's Specific Counselors (Consejeros Especificos), who are independent of the Cabinet and are consulted by the President on important national subjects. The Legal Advisory Board (Comision de Asesoria Juridica) of the Presidency is the President's legal adviser on matters presented to him by the ministries which require his approval. The General Secretariat (Secretaria General de la Presidencia) is in charge of all official paperwork sent to the President which requires his signature, and the Private Secretariat (Secretaria Particular de la Presidencia) handles all matters which are of a private nature. The Information Secretariat (Secretaria de Informacion) is in charge of all information and publicity by the Government.

The Presidency also contains an Office of Technical Cooperation (Oficina de Cooperacion Tecnica) which handles all matters related to foreign technical assistance and maintains liaison with international organizations granting aid. The Office of Social Affairs (Oficina de Asuntos Sociales) deals with requests from private persons for individual help in such matters as rent payments, food and clothing, and jobs. This office is frequently headed by the President's wife.

The office of Vice President was abolished in 1945, but revived by the 1965 Constitution. The Vice President may not be elected

President immediately following his term of office as Vice President. The Vice President presides over the Council of State, participates in Cabinet discussions, represents the President in official and protocolary acts which the President is unable to attend, and performs any other duties assigned to him. When the President is unable to perform his duties and responsibilities, the Vice President assumes them. If the President is premanently disabled, the Vice President succeeds to the Presidency. If both are permanently disabled, the Congress and Council of State in a joint session elect a successor for the balance of the term.

The Council of State was created by the 1965 Constitution as a deliberative body to render opinions on public service contracts, legislative bills, treaties and international agreements, disputes between government agencies, and to submit to the President proposals to solve national problems. It is composed of the Vice President of the Republic, who is also the presiding officer, and 14 other members. Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court each designate two members. One member is appointed by the municipalities, one by the presidents of the professional associations, one by urban unions, and one by farmworkers' unions. In addition, one member each is appointed by associations of the economic sectors: agriculture, industry, commerce, and banking. Council of State members serve for a 4-year term and may be renamed a second time after an intervening term. Members have the same privileges and immunities as do Congressional deputies. A member may be removed only by a two-thirds vote of the other members.

The number of ministries is specified by law. In 1968 there were 10. Each ministry is headed by a minister who is a member of the Council of Ministers. Some Cabinets have included a Minister Without Portfolio, such as a Minister for Central American Integration.

Each ministry is composed of directorate generals, which are equivalent to divisions or departments, and of agencies with various degrees of independence. The title of the ministry, directorate general, or dependency usually indicates its function. Some of the functions appear unrelated to the ministry under which they fall. The Ministry of Agriculture (Ministerio de Agricultura) deals not only with agricultural affairs, but also with the conservation of natural resources. The largest division of this Ministry is the Directorate General of Livestock and Agriculture (Dirección General Agropecuaria), which is composed of eight branches: agriculture, livestock, forestry, hydraulic resources (irrigation projects), agricultural mechanization (advice on proper equipment for small farm use), economy and planning (study of actual pro-

duction and preparation of plans to improve them), the National School of Agriculture, and the Forestry School.

The National Institute for Agrarian Transformation (Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria—INTA), the principal organization for agrarian reform, is an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture. Other divisions of the Ministry of Agriculture are the Supervised Inter-American Cooperative Service for Agricultural Credit (Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Crédito Agrícola Supervisado—SCICAS), which supervises credit for small and medium-sized farms; the Poultry Development Commission (Comisión de Fomento Avícola); the National Agricultural Livestock Institute (Instituto Agropecuario Nacional), which handles research and the extension service; and the Milk Plant, which provides milk to low-income families.

The Ministry of Communications and Public Works (Ministerio de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas) is composed of six directorate generals. The Directorate General of Public Works (Dirección General de Obras Públicas) is responsible for the planning, building, and maintenance of public buildings; the construction of water and sewer systems; and the drawing of plans and budgets for the construction of buildings for the autonomous institutions. The Directorate General of Cartography (Dirección General de Cartografía) maps the country; determines sea levels in the seaports; conducts geological research on volcanoes, minerals, and soils; studies the flora and fauna of the country; and maintains internal jurisdictional boundaries. The Directorate General of Roads (Dirección General de Caminos) plans, designs, constructs, and maintains all highways and roads.

The Directorate General of Civil Aeronautics (Dirección General de Aeronáutica Civil) constructs and maintains all airports, organizes aeronautical communications, conducts meteorological operations, registers aircraft, and licenses pilots. The Directorate General of Telephones (Dirección General de Teléfonos) builds and operates the telephone system, and the Directorate General of Mail and Telecommunications (Dirección General de Correos y Telecomunicaciones) operates the post office and telegraph system.

The Ministry of National Defense maintains liaison between the Chief Executive and the Army. It handles all matters relating to the military.

The Ministry of Economy (Ministerio de Economía) has varied responsibilities. The Directorate General of Mining and Hydrocarbons (Dirección General de Minería y Hidrocarburos) handles all matters dealing with mining and petroleum. The Directorate General of Statistics (Dirección General de Estadísticas) attempts

to analyze national problems based upon statistics and available information, issues price indexes, collects export-import statistics, conducts the census, and makes municipal maps. The Nuclear Energy Commission (Comision Nacional de Energia Nuclear) is a dependency of the Ministry of Economy and handles all non-military matters dealing with radioactivity and peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Another agency of the Ministry of Economy is the National Enterprise for the Economic Development of El Petén (Empresa Nacional de Fomento y Desarrollo Economico de El Petén—FYDEP), which is in charge of all activities related to the development of El Petén Department, including departmental road construction and border patrol. The Economic Technical Council (Consejo Tecnico de Economía), a branch of the Ministry, advises on all matters relating to industrial development and issues regulations on governmental economic policy. Finally, the Ministry has a Legal Office (Asesoria Juridical), which handles all legal matters relating to the Ministry.

The Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educación Publica) has numerous divisions and dependencies. It is composed of the Directorate of Pre-Primary and Urban Primary Education (Dirección de Educación Pre-Primaria y Urbana); the Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education (Dirección de Educación Vocacional y Tecnica); the Directorate of Adult Education (Dirección de Educación Para Adultos); the Directorate General of Rural Social Education (Dirección General de Socio-Educativo Rural), which includes home economics for the rural housewife; the Directorate of Physical Education and School Hygiene (Dirección de Educación Fisica e Higiene Escolar); the Directorate General of Fine Arts and Cultural Extension (Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Extensión Cultural); and the Directorate of School Statistics and Registry (Dirección de Estadística Escolar y Escalofon), which also includes the personnel office of the Ministry.

In addition to these Directorates, the Ministry has a Technical Council for National Education (Consejo Tecnico de Educación Nacional), which gives pedagogical advice, rules on foreign degrees acceptable in Guatemala, and evaluates the contents of school texts. A Department of Aesthetic Education (Departamento de Educación Estetica) of the Ministry organizes artistic activities; supervises school music, plastic arts, dance, literature, and the theater; and trains vocational teachers in these subjects.

There are also several dependencies of the Ministry of Education. The Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto de Antropologia e Historia) is in charge of all museums in the country

and all historical monuments and national parks. The institute also provides courses in anthropology and history. The National Indian Institute (Instituto Indigenista Nacional) is involved in any activity which attempts to solve Indian problems and proposes plans aimed at incorporating the Indian into the general culture of the country. The National Library (Biblioteca Nacional) is in charge of all public libraries in the country, which number about 50.

The Ministry of Government (Ministerio de Gobernación) has miscellaneous functions. The National Palace Office (Jefatura del Palacio Nacional) performs general services and maintenance of the National Palace. The Inspectorate General of Jails (Inspección General de Carceles) inspects and recommends improvements of all jails in the country and maintains statistics on crime and the prison population. The Migration Department (Departamento de Migración) handles all passports, visas, and related matters. The Directorate General of National Police (Dirección General de la Policía Nacional) is in charge of maintaining public order. The Civil Registry (Registro Civil) registers and gives certificates of all civil acts, such as births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. The Actuary and Land Office (Sección de Tierras y Escribanía del Gobierno) mediates unregistered land disputes, demarks private property boundaries, grants land titles, and acts on complaints of illegal landholdings. There is also a Real Estate Registry (Registro de la Propiedad Inmueble) within the Ministry which registers real estate transactions.

The General Archives of the Nation are also the responsibility of the Ministry of Government. In addition, the Ministry operates the National Printshop (Tipografía Nacional), which prints all governmental publications; notable literary, scientific, and historical works for general sale; and prints and publishes the Official Bulletin of the Government (Diario de Centro America). Additionally, the Ministry of Government supervises the departmental governments and acts as the channel of communication between the departmental governments and the executive. The Ministry also grants legal aid to poor persons.

The Ministry of Finance operates the mint, treasury, and customs. It also prepares the budget and collects taxes. All customs matters are handled by the Directorate General of Customs (Dirección General de Aduanas), and taxes are collected by the Directorate General of Income (Dirección General de Rentas), which also controls the operations of the liquor distilleries in the country. The Budget Department (Departamento Técnico del Presupuesto) prepares the national budget. The Ministry also makes inventories of all real estate property and handles bidding

on contracts for Government supplies. Control of smuggling is also a responsibility of the Ministry of Finance as is the national lottery. Postage and fiscal stamps are printed by the Printing and Engraving Shop (Taller de Grabados en Acero). The Center for Development of Public Administration (Centro para el Desarrollo de la Administración Pública—CDAP) teaches public administration.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores) is in charge of all foreign affairs, but its legal office also handles all requests for naturalization.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance (Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social) operates preventative health campaigns, including an antimalaria program; provides potable water in rural areas; and is in charge of school hygiene and vaccinations on a national scale. The Ministry also operates an education center for orphans up to the age of 18 years and a center for the rehabilitation of injured persons, including physical therapy, and for the housing of invalids for life. The Department of Social Service (Departamento de Servicio Social) handles requests of needy persons and prepares social welfare programs. The Ministry operates many dependencies. Some of these are the Neuropsychiatric Hospital, the Mental Health Center, the Home for the Aged (for persons over 60), Roosevelt Hospital, San Juan de Dios General Hospital, the national blood bank, the National School of Nursing, and the Polio Rehabilitation Institute.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security (Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión Social) is composed of the Inspectorate General of Labor (Inspección General de Trabajo), which checks on compliance with labor laws and is charged with defending the interests of working minors and women, the National Employment Service (Servicio Nacional del Empleo); the Civil Service Department (Departamento de Servicio Civil), which registers all public employees and prepares examinations for advancement; the Administrative Department of Labor (Departamento Administrativo de Trabajo), which oversees union affairs and labor-management contracts; the Department of Statistics; and the Department of Labor Welfare (Departamento de Bienestar Laboral).

In addition, a Technical Council advises the Ministry on labor-management conflicts, and a Directorate General of Public Recreation (Dirección General de Recreación Popular) operates recreational facilities for workers and their families.

Apart from the ministries and their dependencies, there also exist autonomous and semiautonomous organizations. The autonomous ones are completely self-governing, whereas the semiautono-

mous are under the general guidance of a ministry. There are 13 autonomous and six semiautonomous entities.

Among the autonomous organizations are the Bank of Guatemala (Banco de Guatemala), the National Agrarian Bank (Banco Nacional Agrario), the National Mortgage Bank (Credito Hipotecario Nacional), the Monetary Board (Junta Monetaria), and the Production Development Institute (Instituto de Fomento de la Producción—INFOP) (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8). The Social Security Institute and the University of San Carlos are also autonomous (see Living Conditions, ch. 3; and Education, ch. 7).

The Municipal Development Institute (Instituto de Fomento Municipal—INFOM), created in 1957, is charged with the general progress of townships. It grants financial and technical assistance for basic public works, acts as a purchasing agent for the townships, and assists with their budgets and taxes. It actually receives and distributes the general taxes earmarked for township use. The priority activity of INFOM is potable water systems. Townships can obtain Government loans via INFOM for this purpose.

The National Housing Institute (Instituto Nacional de Vivienda), formerly a dependency of the Ministry of Communications and Public Works, was made an autonomous agency in 1965. It promotes low-cost urban housing and handles all urban housing problems (see Living Conditions, ch. 3). The Accounting Court (Tribunal de Cuentas) is a special administrative tribunal that examines and reviews all receipts and expenditures of the Government, its autonomous agencies, and other recipients of Government funds.

The Public Ministry (Ministerio Público) is an auxiliary institute to the courts, headed by the Attorney General (Procurador General), who is a Minister without portfolio. The Public Ministry represents the State in all court actions. It enforces compliance with laws and the execution of sentences, judicial decisions, and administrative provisions whenever they affect the interest of the State. It may intervene in matters in which the State has an interest. It is authorized to take steps to ensure prompt administration of justice and investigation of crimes. It may represent minors, absentees, and the incapacitated before the courts.

The other two autonomous entities are the Guatemalan Tourist Center (Centro Guatemalteco de Turismo), a nonprofit organization that stimulates the tourist industry, and the Electoral Council and Electoral Registry (Consejo Electoral y Registro Electoral), that supervises all electoral activity.

Three of the semiautonomous organizations are under the guidance of the Ministry of Economy, two under the Ministry of

Finance, and one under the Ministry of Communications and Public Works. The Guatemalan Aviation Company (Empresa Guatemalteca de Aviación—AVIATECA), the national airline, is under the Ministry of Economy, as are the National Economic Planning Council and the Industrial Productivity and Development Center. The National Electrification Institute (Instituto Nacional de Electrificación) is under the Ministry of Communications and Public Works (see Domestic Trade, ch. 8).

The Office of Comptroller of Accounts (Controlería de Cuentas) is a technical institution under the guidance of the Ministry of Finance. It is similar to a general accounting office in that it controls the revenues, expenditures, and financial interests of the Government; townships; and decentralized, autonomous, and semi-autonomous agencies; and any other entity or person receiving State funds. The remaining semiautonomous entity under the Ministry of Finance is a conglomeration of several organizations operating under one authority called the Directorate General of Ports, La Atlantida Transport, Matías de Gálvez National Port Authority, Directorate General of Merchant Marine (Dirección General de Puertos, Transportes La Atlantida, Empresa Nacional Portuaria Matías de Gálvez, Dirección General de la Marina Mercante). The Directorate General of Ports handles all seaport matters; La Atlantida Transport is a Government trucking company; Matías de Gálvez National Port Authority operates the nationalized port of Matías de Gálvez; and the Directorate General of Merchant Marine registers ships and yachts.

Legislative Branch

Guatemala has a unicameral Congress composed of elected deputies. At least two deputies are elected for each of 23 electoral districts, plus one alternate deputy who fills an office if it becomes vacated. If the population of an electoral district exceeds 200,000 persons, an additional deputy is elected for each additional 100,000 inhabitants. In 1968 there were 55 deputies in Congress. Deputies hold office for a term of 4 years and may be reelected only after the lapse of one term. Only one reelection is permitted.

Congress meets every year on June 15 for a 4-month period, which may be extended if necessary. Special sessions may be called by the President of the Republic, the Standing Committee of Congress, or by a petition of a majority of the deputies. Fifteen members may petition the Standing Committee to consider convoking a special session. Matters other than those for which the special session was called may be discussed if two-thirds of the deputies so decide.

Each year before adjourning, Congress appoints eight deputies

to comprise the Standing Committee, plus three alternates. The President of Congress serves as the chairman of the Standing Committee. This committee, which functions only when Congress is not in session, is a device used in several Latin American countries to strengthen the Legislature vis-à-vis the executive. It acts as a watchdog committee, and its power to call a special session of Congress theoretically acts as a check on the actions of the executive.

Congress has the responsibility of counting the ballots in the election of the President and Vice President of the Republic and to proclaim as elected the candidate who receives an absolute majority. If there is no absolute majority, Congress elects a President and Vice President from the two candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes. Other candidates are not considered. Congress has the power to impeach the President; Vice President; all magistrates, including those of the Supreme Court; ministers; vice ministers; the attorney general; and other members of Congress. Two-thirds of the deputies may declare the President of the Republic physically or mentally incapacitated, based upon a medical report by a committee of five doctors appointed at the request of Congress.

Congress enacts, amends, and repeals legislation; levies taxes; and approves the budget. It has the power to declare war, approve peace treaties, and to decree amnesty for political and common crimes. It authorizes the executive to negotiate domestic or foreign loans and approves or disapproves claims against the public treasury, including reparations or indemnities for an international claim. Congressional approval is required for most international agreements. The Constitution specifically mentions those affecting Guatemalan laws in force, national domain, or a union of Central America; obligating the State financially; submitting any matter to international judicial or arbitral decision or international jurisdiction; affecting the security of the State; or referring to foreign armies passing through the national territory or installation of foreign military bases.

Any deputy or minister, the Council of State, the Supreme Court, and San Carlos University may introduce legislation. All bills accepted are debated and discussed on three separate occasions before being voted upon, except in cases of national emergency when only one reading is required. If a bill is not accepted for debate or if 2 months elapse without discussion of an accepted bill, 10 deputies or the entity which drafted it may request an opinion by the Council of State. The Council of State has 2 months in which to render an opinion. If the opinion is favorable, the bill is returned to Congress for a study by a mixed committee

composed of the president of Congress, three deputies, and three members of the Council of State. If the mixed committee renders a favorable opinion, the bill is submitted for discussion and vote. If the Council of State fails to render an opinion within its 2-month time limit or if the mixed committee issues no opinion within 30 days, the bill is held to be rejected.

An accepted bill may also receive the opinion of the Council of State before it is discussed if five deputies so request. If the bill is not returned with its comments by the Council of State within 2 months, it is deemed that the council had no observations to make, and the bill is debated as if it had been returned. All approved bills are sent to the President, who has 15 days to sign, veto, or return the bill to Congress with any observations, including the opinion of the Council of State. If the President's observations are not accepted, the bill is tabled until the following session of Congress. Congress may ratify the bill without accepting the observations by a two-thirds vote, and then the President must sign and promulgate the law within 8 days after receiving it back from Congress. If he fails to do so, Congress orders its publication as a law. Any bill not vetoed or returned by the President within the 15-day period from date of original receipt is considered sanctioned by him and must be promulgated as law. All laws take effect 8 days after publication of the Official Journal (Diario Oficial) unless the law itself specifies a different date.

Judicial Branch

The judiciary is composed of the Supreme Court of Justice and several subordinate and special courts. A judge or magistrate may not be a member of a political party or a labor union. The president of the Supreme Court is also the president of the judicial branch. He has national authority for the administration and discipline of all courts and appoints all clerks, officials, and other employees. Congress elects for a 4-year term the judges of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals, the Contentious-Administrative Court, the Court of Second Instance, and the Court of Jurisdictional Conflict. Judges elected for a third consecutive term receive permanent status until the age of 70, at which time they are retired (see Public Order and Safety, ch. 10).

The Supreme Court of Justice consists of at least seven magistrates and is usually divided into two chambers—one hearing criminal, and the other hearing civil appeals. Supreme Court justices must have served at least one full term as a magistrate of one of the lower courts or must have practiced law for more than 10 years. The Supreme Court prepares an annual draft budget of the salaries and expenses of the entire judicial system, which is incorporated into the general budget. Each month the

National Treasury informs the judicial treasury of the amount of money available to it for that month. In addition, revenues derived from the administration of justice belong exclusively to the judicial branch. The judges of courts other than the Supreme Court who are elected by Congress are elected in a group without court designation, and the Supreme Court assigns them to a particular court in a manner deemed most advantageous for the administration of justice. All lower court judges not elected by Congress are appointed by the Supreme Court, which also may remove or transfer them.

The Court of Appeals is directly below the Supreme Court and is formed into as many divisions as the Supreme Court determines, with fixed residence and jurisdiction. Below the Court of Appeals are courts of first and second instance, all of whose judges are appointed by the Supreme Court. Among the special courts are the Contentious-Administrative Court, or Court of Administrative Conflict. This court has national jurisdiction and hears suits brought by individuals who believe their rights have been injured by administrative acts or decisions of the ministries, townships, or autonomous or semiautonomous agencies.

The Court of Conflicts of Jurisdiction decides whether the Contentious-Administrative Court or a regular or other specialized court will hear a particular case if there is a dispute over jurisdiction. The Jurisdictional Court also settles disputes between the Contentious-Administrative Court or ordinary courts and the public administration. The Court of Amparo, consisting of the president of the first division of the Court of Appeals, plus six other members taken from the Court of Appeals, hears requests from persons or corporations for an order of restraint against an action of a branch of Government or another court which threatens the political or constitutional rights of the suitor.

A special court created by the 1965 Constitution is the Court of Constitutionality. It is composed of five Supreme Court magistrates, including the president of the Supreme Court plus seven members chosen by lot from the Court of Appeals and the Contentious-Administrative Court. The Court of Constitutionality hears appeals against laws or governmental orders on the ground that they are unconstitutional. This formerly was a function of the Supreme Court. Appeals may be brought by the Council of State, the Bar Association, the Public Ministry, any person or, any entity provided it is assisted by 10 practicing lawyers. The court has 2 months in which to deliberate, and it requires the affirmative vote of at least eight members for a measure to be declared unconstitutional. No appeal may be entered against a decision of the Court of Constitutionality.

Local Government

Departments and townships are the two lower levels of government. The Constitution makes provision for a third level, provinces, if Congress deems it advantageous for the general interest of the nation. There are no departmental elections; the President appoints all governors. The governors do not carry out individual policy and have no independent powers, except to choose their own staffs. Governors are, in fact, extensions of the executive, carrying out central Government policies and representing the national Government in ceremonial functions. A governor serves for a 3-year term and may not be reappointed to the same department until a second 3-year period elapses. He may, however, be transferred to another department.

In contrast to the departments, the townships (*municipios*) exercise self-government. The township is the basic administrative political unit and has its origin in the Roman Empire. The political unit of the Roman Empire in Spain was the *municipium*, an urban community with a surrounding rural territory. This idea was brought to Guatemala and other Latin American countries by the Spaniards. A township may contain one or more villages or settlements plus isolated farms and usually takes the name of its settlement, where the local government offices are located. Divisions and combinations of townships frequently occur, as townships are supposed to have a minimum of 5,000 inhabitants. This requirement is not strictly enforced, as many townships have fewer than this minimum. In 1968, for example, 25 percent of all townships had fewer than 3,000 inhabitants each. Local authorities may make administrative subdivisions of the township into cantons, districts, villages, or hamlets. A canton is a territorial subdivision made without regard to population. The other types of subdivisions take population into consideration.

The government of the township is vested in a municipal corporation, which is composed of a mayor; councilmen; and syndics (*síndicos*), local officials who act as judge or advocate and also provide legal opinions for the municipal corporation. Each councilman is in charge of a specific public service provided by the township. Since 1944 all members of the municipal corporation have been elected directly by the voters. Before that date they were appointed by the national Government. Municipal corporation members may not be reelected until the lapse of one term. The term of office of elected officials in Guatemala City is 3 years. Elsewhere it is either 1 or 2 years. Anyone elected for only a 1-year term must serve without remuneration. Those elected for a 2-year term receive a salary. The townships with sufficient revenue to pay salaries usually have a 2-year term of office.

In addition to the elected officials, each township has a paid secretary and a paid treasurer who are appointed by the municipal corporation and who may not be members of the council since they have no vote in township affairs. The mayor may, and frequently does, appoint deputy mayors (*alcaldes auxilios*) to represent him in the other settlements of the township or, in the case of a city, in each urban zone. Whenever revenue permits, townships broaden the services they provide, such as an enclosed public market, potable water, sewerage, municipal electricity, street paving, parks, health facilities and, in some communities, schools. In this regard townships are helped by technical, financial, and administrative assistance of the central Government. In 1955 a National Association of Municipalities was created, which acts as the spokesman for all townships in expressing a common desire to the national Government. This association holds annual meetings to obtain the views of the mayors.

In many Indian communities a de facto Indian local government exists side by side with the formal local government. Before 1944 the Indians had a representative on the municipal corporation called the *principal*, who was selected from the Indian Council of Elders. Since 1944 the position of the *principal* no longer exists legally but, in fact, many communities still have a Council of Elders who settle disputes among the Indians and serve as a channel of communication between the formal local government and the Indian population.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND VALUES

Historically, only the landed *ladinos* and the military engaged in politics. Before 1945 politics was personalized. Since then it has become more modern, with political parties, principles and programs, and a larger number of persons influencing political decisions. Still, only an estimated 20 percent of the population participates in national politics.

The Indians, although having the right of franchise, frequently do not exercise it in national elections, but they do influence local politics.

Most political parties have been narrowly based and transitory. Modern parties are just beginning to evolve, and the Revolutionary Party is the most stable. The 1966 election, unlike previous ones, was peaceful and considered to be just and fair.

Political Forces and Interest Groups

Social Classes

In general, there is a two-class structure in rural areas and a three-class structure in urban areas. The rural areas lack a signif-

icant middle class. The urban middle class has been the leader in seeking social change. Guatemala has fewer wealthy families than most other Latin American countries, and they frequently do not act as a group. The political power of the upper class in the capital has been weakened by the growing strength of the middle class, and the former no longer has direct control over the Government. Its greatest influence stems from its role in the economy. The large landowners are generally conservative and have traditional ties with the military, but they exert a lesser impact on national affairs than previously. The local upper class in the smaller towns no longer controls local politics as it did before 1944.

The influence of the middle class is out of proportion to its numbers. It is composed largely of Government employees, small businessmen, professionals, schoolteachers, industrial workers, younger military officers, police officials, white-collar workers, and a few articulate small farmers and farmworkers. Its influence is strongest in the capital, but a middle class is also found in the smaller cities and towns. The impact of the middle class on national affairs is dominant because it is the most articulate and energetic in pressing its views upon the Government. Since all labor leaders come from the middle class, organized urban workers have a greater political significance than their numbers would suggest. The middle class also supplies the staff for all Government agencies engaged in economic development and social betterment. The small independent farmer is not politically significant on the national level. He does, however, influence local politics.

The first time the middle class as such exercised its political power was in the overthrow of President Estrada Cabrera by the Unionist Party in 1920. The Unionist Party was an almost entirely middle class group, composed of liberals, conservatives, anticlericals, and churchmen capable of momentarily overcoming their traditional divisions on the dual platform of a Central American federation and opposition to foreign economic domination. The influence of the middle class has since then grown to the point that it almost dominates the political life of the country.

The lower class is largely composed of Indians, but also includes rural *ladino* peasants and the urban poor. The *ladinos* are more easily organized than the Indians. Despite their great numerical strength, the Indians are difficult to organize into a political force because of their traditional isolation from national affairs and general apathy toward, or ignorance of, national or international issues. The most receptive among them are the mobile rural laborers, especially the younger Indians who work in or near urban areas. Indians have little faith in promises of political parties, unions, or any group emanating from the cities.

The Communists stressed theory rather than reality to the peasants and made no headway. The Indians respond only to practical programs which seem to solve their particular problems. During the presidential campaign of Ydígoras, he obtained the support of many Indians because they understood in practical terms some parts of his platform.

Armed Forces

The Armed Forces have a history of over a century of involvement in political affairs, and politicians have found it impossible to prevent them from exercising more than their constitutionally defined role. Even when there is a civilian government in power, the Army is influential in making Government policy. Most Guatemalan governments have had a large number of military officers in the Cabinet. The government of President Ydígoras, for example, had nine of 10 Cabinet posts filled by active or retired career officers.

As the best organized institution in the country, the Army quickly expresses itself when it believes its interests to be threatened. Conversely, officers are frequently retired when they are regarded as or suspected of being a threat to the political stability of the Government. Their involvement and intervention in political affairs stem mostly from a fear that their power or position might be undermined or threatened.

Although many of the younger officers are considered to be sympathetic to the ideals of social reform and the 1944 revolution, their careers are foremost in their minds and their prime loyalty is to the Military Establishment. All presidential candidates therefore attempt to obtain the support of the Army in the belief that this acknowledged backing will influence the electorate. A government requires the continual consent of the Military Establishment to remain in power, as the Army can be expected to intervene when it considers that it is in the best national interest to do so. When Ydígoras lost the support of the Army, he was overthrown. Following the 1966 election, but before Congress actually chose a president from the two leading candidates, President Méndez had his party issue a statement to the effect that it had "faith in the Army as the guarantor of democracy in Guatemala," an acknowledged bid for military support or neutrality in the electoral issue at stake.

The Church

The Roman Catholic Church has much less political influence in Guatemala than in many other Catholic countries. It has still not fully recovered from the anticlerical laws of President Barrios.

Only since 1954 has it started to become more influential, and since 1967 this influence has been exercised in the cause of social reform. A pastoral letter was issued in 1967 by all Guatemalan bishops expressing the Church's deepest concern and anxiety over the terrorism then pervading the country and said that the Church could not remain indifferent to political assassinations. The document further called for a literacy campaign, cooperatives, and a more audacious agrarian reform program to help the peasants. This marked a new stage for the Church in Guatemala.

Guatemalan Protestants generally are conservative and are usually small property owners, farmers, and semiskilled workers. Their influence is felt more in the capital than elsewhere because that is where their largest congregations are located.

Students

University students have been among the prime movers for social reform and constitutional guarantees for many years. The overthrow of President Jorge Ubico was initiated by students who organized and demonstrated for their demands for university autonomy. One gauge of the extent of political involvement of the students was the large turnout in the 1968 elections for new officers of the University Students Association (Asociación Estudiantil Universitaria--AEU), which is the official spokesman for all the students and has about 6,000 members. The AEU gave its support to the Revolutionary Party during the 1966 election, and students actively campaigned on behalf of the party's candidates. Some of the students have joined either extreme left guerrilla terrorist groups or rightist terrorist groups. A Social Christian Student Front (Frente Estudiantil Social Cristiano) is showing strength and won student elections at the School of Humanities in 1967 and 1968.

Miscellaneous Forces

Organized labor is not permitted to engage in political activities and is less influential than it was during the period 1945-54. It is slowly recovering its strength. Employer organizations and the business community go out of their way to stress that they are out of politics, and their influence is felt only indirectly. Only once did the business community as such openly support a presidential aspirant: Colonel Peralta, before he overthrew Ydígoras.

Women as a group are not an effective political force because they hesitate to exercise their right of suffrage. The 1966 election was the first in which illiterate women could vote, and all candidates made appeals to market women to win their support, as they are the most vociferous of the female electorate. One woman

deputy was elected to Congress in 1966. The few foreigners residing in Guatemala have an indirect influence on politics, which far outweighs their numbers, through their direct influence on the economy.

Another political force is composed of the various right-wing anti-Communist organizations, which utilize intimidation, threats of violence, and actual assassinations in striving to eliminate communism. These groups have armed irregulars who conduct campaigns against those they believe to be Communists. They have indiscriminately killed political leftists, nonleftists, and innocent bystanders, in addition to Communists. In March 1968 one such rightist group kidnapped the Archbishop of Guatemala in an effort to place the blame on Communists and embarrass the Government.

The right-wing groups developed as a citizens' reaction to the activities of the left-wing Communist extremists, which for several years had been carrying out guerrilla tactics in the rural areas and terrorist acts in the urban areas. The left-wing extremists, despite their publicity, however, are not as much of a political force, nor do they have as much influence on the electorate as do the rightists.

Political Parties

The 1965 Constitution guarantees the free formation and functioning of political parties having democratic standards and principles. Parties advocating Communist ideology are prohibited as well as parties whose doctrine, methods, or international connections threaten the sovereignty of the State. Only legally registered political parties may nominate candidates for public office. To be a legally registered political party requires a minimum membership of 50,000 registered voters, of whom at least 20 percent must be literate. As of late 1963 only four parties were legally registered.

None of the four legal parties existed before 1955. Guatemala, however, has had more political parties in existence in recent history than any other Central American country. Of these, 13 participated in the 1960 elections, and 16 were active in 1963. Since the 1944 revolution, between 40 and 50 political parties have existed. Most of them have reflected the personality and viewpoint of the party leader who created the party for a specific political situation. They have failed to develop a political philosophy which could be pursued and continued after the withdrawal of the party's leader from political activity. Because of the dominant impact made by the party leader, few political parties have served as an effective channel of public opinion. Before 1960 only 5,000 mem-

bers were required to permit registration as a legal political party. In that year the minimum was raised to 10,000, 10 percent of whom had to be literate. The electoral law of 1965 raised the minimum to 50,000 persons in an effort to minimize the proliferation of minor parties.

Social revolutionary parties champion expanded suffrage, administrative reform, economic planning, expanded social welfare programs, labor guarantees, and an increased role of the Government in the economy. The conservative parties strive for a smaller role of the Government in the economy and a greater role reserved for private enterprise. Nevertheless, they accept some of the social welfare programs. Because of the relative weakness of all political parties, most of them have had to form coalitions which proved to be unstable and prevented a program of action from being undertaken.

Major Parties

The major parties were the four legally registered political parties as of late 1968. These were the Revolutionary Party, the Institutional Democratic Party, the Movement of National Liberation, and the Guatemalan Christian Democracy. The Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario—PR), the ruling party since 1966, was formed in 1957 by Mario Méndez Montenegro, brother of President Julio César Méndez Montenegro, and became a legally registered party in 1958. It was a moderately left-of-center party and was built upon one of the old Arevalo parties, but has been growing more conservative since its founding. It is the largest party with the best organizational base. It advocates a literacy campaign, labor unions, agrarian reform, administrative reform, and economic development supported by private enterprise.

The Institutional Democratic Party (Partido Institucional Democrático—PID) was formed in 1965 by a group of well-known conservatives and was informally understood to have the endorsement of the Government headed by Colonel Enrique Peralta. The PID advocates economic development but, especially, major public works such as construction of a Pacific fishing port, improvement of communications, and increased electrical power facilities. Its philosophy is slightly right of center.

A third major party is the Movement of National Liberation (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—MLN). It was formed in 1958 and registered in 1960 by a group of former leaders of the National Democratic Movement (Movimiento Democrático Nacional—MDN), which had been established in 1955 as the official party of the government of President Carlos Castillo Armas (1954-57). These leaders were dissatisfied with MDN party leader

José Luis Cruz Salazar and broke away in 1958 following the loss of the presidential race to Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes. The MDN failed to obtain recognition for the 1964 Constituent Assembly elections and was disbanded. The MLN fell heir to most MDN supporters. The MLN is a militant party, strongly anti-Communist, a supporter of Church rights and the interests of landowners. It can be categorized as being furthest right of all political parties.

The Guatemalan Christian Democracy (Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca—DCG) is a Christian democratic party, originally founded in 1955 by wealthy, conservative Catholics. It slowly moved toward the left, and by 1964 it had a liberal, reformist outlook as younger leaders came to the forefront. It advocates social justice, State direction of the economy, and community ownership of property. Together with the PR it forms the non-Communist left, although it does not agree with the PR on many subjects, particularly international affairs. The DCG could not qualify for the 1966 presidential election because of challenges to its membership rolls, and its registration was annulled in November 1967. It appealed and was finally reregistered in June 1968, just in time for the 1968 local township elections in which it won 21 of the 294 townships holding mayoralty elections.

Minor Parties

There are a number of functioning minor parties which are not legal, either because they have thus far failed to obtain the minimum number of members for registration or because they are proscribed. A proscribed party which has to operate clandestinely is the Communist Party. The Revolutionary Democratic Unity Party is not registered. The other minor parties are the Guatemalan Social Party, the National Reformist Movement, and the Authentic Democratic Party.

The Revolutionary Democratic Unity (Unidad Revolucionaria Democrática—URD) was formed in 1958 by a group of PR members, headed by Francisco Villagran Kramer, who anticipated expulsion from the PR party for their extremist views. The URD's policies are similar to those of the Christian Democrats. It champions a mixed economy and State ownership of utilities, a division of all uncultivated land into small holdings, and a system of cooperatives. Its members are young intellectuals, some professionals, and organized labor leaders. Villagran and other URD leaders were exiled in February 1965 on the grounds of fraternizing with Communists and engaging in subversive activities. The party could not meet the registration requirements for the 1966 presidential campaign, and in November 1966 it was declared an illegal party. In 1968 it failed in an appeal against this decision.

The Guatemalan Social Party (Partido Social Guatemalteco—PSG) was organized in 1965 by persons who had left the DCG. When it failed to qualify for the 1966 election, it supported the PID in return for a number of PSG candidates for Congress to appear on the PID ballot as members of that party and a promise that they could act independently if elected.

When the MDN was disbanded in 1964, its remnants, headed by José Luis Cruz Salazar, joined in a grouping of other anti-Communist organizations to form a new political party called the National Reformist Movement (Movimiento Nacional Reformista—MNR). It does not have a philosophy and could not fulfill the membership requirements for the 1966 election.

The Authentic Democratic Party (Partido Auténtico Democrático—PAD) was formed and legally registered in 1961. It did not try to reregister under the new electoral law and announced it would not participate in the 1966 election.

The Communist party of Guatemala has been called the Guatemalan Labor Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo—PGT) since 1952, when it registered as such after changing its name from the Communist Party of Guatemala (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). It had 4,000 members at the time of Arbenz' overthrow in 1954, 1,000 of whom fled the country. The PGT then went underground and has been operating clandestinely ever since. Before Peralta took over in 1963, the PGT declared that it would utilize only legal and peaceful means to come to power and announced that it was ready to support Arevalo for the Presidency again. Following the Peralta takeover, guerrilla activity began to be intensified, and by 1966 PGT leaders decided that violence was the only way for them to achieve power. The ideological differences of the guerrilla groups are reflected within PGT leadership between those leaning toward Moscow and those favoring Peking.

Electoral Process

In October 1965 a new electoral law came into effect. This plus the 1965 Constitution constitute the basis for the electoral process. Supervision of all electoral activity is the responsibility of the Electoral Register and the Electoral Council. The Electoral Register is a permanent organization headed by a director appointed by the President for a term of 4 years and is staffed by civil servants appointed by the director. The Electoral Register registers all voters and political parties, establishes municipal electoral boards, and investigates and resolves violations of the electoral law.

The Electoral Council functions only temporarily, once every 4 years, and is not a permanent body. It is composed of the

director of the Electoral Register, who is also the Chairman of the Electoral Council; one member designated by each registered political party that obtained at least 15 percent of the total valid votes cast in the last general election; one member appointed by Congress; and one member appointed by the Council of State. The Electoral Council is convoked by the director of the Electoral Register at least 15 days before the date of the election and is dissolved after the election. The council organizes and supervises the election, prepares and publicizes the general rules and procedures to be observed, counts the votes and certifies the results except for the election of the President and Vice President, investigates and resolves questions relating to the election, and imposes penalties over matters in which it has jurisdiction or takes the offense to a court of justice. The only recourse against decisions of either the Electoral Register or Electoral Council is a request for restraint (*amparo*) before the Court of Appeals, except for nullification of votes in nonpresidential elections which may be appealed to the Supreme Court. Only Congress can nullify a presidential election.

All citizens must register with the Electoral Register within 6 months after reaching the age of 18 and, in order to vote, must have registered at least 20 days before the date of the election. Voting is compulsory for literates and optional for illiterates. Only members of the police and the Armed Forces and the mentally disabled are not permitted to vote. Fines or imprisonment may be levied for failure to register or vote. In addition, public officials may be suspended from work for 30 days or fined and imprisoned for their failure to exercise suffrage.

Two weeks before election day names of eligible voters are listed alphabetically in separate literate and nonliterate groups. The Electoral Register then prints 3 percent more ballots than the total number of eligible voters. Although all ballots are of equal form, color, and size, separate ones are used for each elective office. Candidates are listed under their party or sponsor's name and symbol in the chronological order in which they registered to run for office. A photograph is also included for candidates in the presidential election.

Voters do not vote for individual candidates; rather, they vote for a party or group list. Voting usually occurs on Sunday, and polls are usually open from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., but those in line at 6 p.m. will be permitted to cast their vote. After casting his ballot, the voter's citizenship card is marked, and his right index finger is dipped in indelible ink to preclude plural voting. Ballots are counted at the polling place in the presence of electoral officials and representatives of the political parties, and the results must be

sent within 3 days to the Electoral Register delegate for that electoral district. The delegate then has 24 hours to forward the results to the Electoral Council, where the votes are recounted and winners certified, except for the President and Vice President. Ballots for the presidential election are sent to Congress for review.

Candidates for President, Vice President, or congressional deputies must be nominated by a registered political party. Candidates must register with the Electoral Register at least 20 days before the election. Candidates for local office in the townships do not have to be nominated by a political party. Civic committees may nominate them by submitting a required number of signatures on a petition. The required number varies from 5,000 in the capital to a minimum of 25 in the smallest township. Nominations by civic committees are common. In the 1966 mayoralty contest in Guatemala City, all five candidates were supported by civic committees, and none were nominated by political parties.

The President and Vice President are elected by a simple majority. If no candidate receives a majority, Congress chooses from the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. For deputies and members of the municipal corporation, a simple plurality is needed to fill one seat. If two seats are to be filled, the party or the civic group winning the plurality takes the two seats unless there is a difference of less than 20 percent of the number of votes cast between the two highest parties; then each party receives one seat. If more than two seats are to be filled, a system of proportional representation is used.

Political Events 1963-68

On March 30, 1963, Guatemala experienced a bloodless coup when a group of Army officers headed by Minister of Defense Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia overthrew President Ydígoras. The Army issued a statement stating that it acted because the country was "... on the brink of an internal conflict as a result of subversion promoted by pro-Communist sectors" and that the Ydígoras government was going to hand over power to "anti-democratic elements." Presidential elections had been scheduled for December 1963, and former President Juan José Arevalo had announced his candidacy. The Communist PGT saw the election as an opportunity to return to power and announced its support for Arevalo despite its previous criticism of him for being an opportunist and opposed to communism. Arevalo's arrival in March 1963 after 10 years of exile was the most important event triggering the coup. Army leaders opposed Ydígoras because he had frequently made promotions on the basis of personal prefer-

ence rather than merit or seniority and had allocated relatively more funds to the Air Force than to the Army.

Peralta was a career officer who had been Guatemalan Ambassador to Cuba, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. President Ydígoras had chosen him to be head of the Agrarian Reform program, then made him Minister of Agriculture and, after an abortive coup by disgruntled Army officers and men on November 13, 1960, promoted him to Minister of Defense. He has been categorized as a conservative, opposed to communism, but genuinely interested in the social integration of all Guatemalan classes. After the coup he suspended the Constitution, dissolved Congress, banned all political activities, and retained a state of siege previously imposed by President Ydígoras. On March 31, 1963, he declared that he had acted solely to restore tranquillity to the country and that he would prepare the way for general elections and not remain in power. He named a Cabinet consisting of five civilians and three Army officers. He retained for himself the position of Minister of Defense, in addition to being the Chief of the Military Government, which was his title until May 7, 1966, when it was changed to Chief of State.

Peralta restored freedom of assembly and permitted the courts to function. He later announced that his government's program would be to prevent the nation from falling into extremist hands, to maintain cordial relationships with democratic governments, to manage public funds honestly, to raise the living standards of workers and peasants, to create an atmosphere for the free election of a President, and to install that popularly elected president.

Peralta announced that elections would be held on May 24, 1964, for a Constituent Assembly which would draft a new constitution and prepare the way for the general elections. Although four political parties were legally recognized, only two actually participated--the National Liberation Movement and the Revolutionary Party. Only 40 percent of the registered voters went to the polls, partly because of voter apathy and partly because the Guatemalan Christian Democracy Party urged their followers not to vote. An 80-member Constituent Assembly was chosen as follows: the MLN and the PR directly named 10 members, and the Government chose 60 from a joint list submitted by both parties.

One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly which convened on July 29, 1964, was to vote for the formal annulment of the 1956 Constitution, which had been in suspension, and to ratify all decree laws issued by Peralta. The assembly then began its designated task of drafting a new constitution. On July 27, 1965, Peralta lifted the state of siege, and political activity was once again permitted. On September 15, 1965, the new constitution was promul-

gated, to enter into effect on May 5, 1966, and March 6, 1966, was set for general elections for a President, Vice President, 55 deputies for a new Congress, and 23 alternate deputies.

Only three political parties were able to qualify for registration by the February 4, 1966, deadline under the new electoral law of October 1965. These were the Institutional Democratic Party, the National Liberation Movement, and the Revolutionary Party. Four other parties attempted to register, but could not meet the minimum membership requirements and therefore could not participate. These were the DCG, PSG, MNR, and the URD. The candidates of the three qualifying parties were Colonel Miguel Angel Ponciano Samayoa, a former Army Chief of Staff, for the MLN; Colonel Juan de Dios Aguilar de León, director of the National Electrification Institute, for the PID; and Julio César Méndez Montenegro, a professor of law, for the PR. The original candidate of the PR was Mario Méndez Montenegro, the party's founder and brother of Julio César. He was found shot dead in his home on October 31, 1965, the day before he was to officially inaugurate his campaign. The next day the Revolutionary Party named his brother as its new candidate.

The elections were held on March 6, 1966. Although an estimated 900,000 persons were eligible to vote, over 450,000, or 50 percent, abstained from voting. Méndez obtained about 201,000 votes; Aguilar, 146,000; and Ponciano, 110,000. Since Méndez did not receive an absolute majority, the newly elected Congress had to choose a President between Méndez and Aguilar, the two leading candidates, under the new Constitution and rules of the new electoral law. The PR had won 30 of 55 congressional seats and, when the new Congress met on May 5, 1966, it elected Méndez by a vote of 35 to 19. He was inaugurated on July 1, 1966, as the 21st President of Guatemala. His vice presidential running mate was Clemente Marroquín Rojas, the editor of the newspaper *La Hora*. The Méndez inauguration was the first time in the 20th century that a Guatemalan Government peacefully handed power to the opposition.

During his time in office Peralta had adopted no major policies. The Government merely administered and maintained order. It did improve the economic situation, however, and eliminated many malpractices which previously had prevailed. Although determined to stamp out communism and actually exiling suspected Communists, Peralta did not take much action against the guerrillas, who had been growing bolder and more aggressive since 1962, on the theory that they were ordinary bandits for which the police were responsible.

One of the first moves of the new government of Méndez was

an offer of amnesty to the guerrillas on the condition that they would lay down their arms and return to society. A law to this effect was passed in August 1966. The guerrilla leaders rejected the amnesty offer, and the Government started to move against them in October 1966 by the use of military forces. In addition, in December 1966 all farmowners, farm administrators, and their representatives were authorized to bear arms, and they were deputized as law enforcement agents with jurisdiction limited to their respective *fazendas*. The result of the Army campaign against the guerrillas was impressive, and by March 1, 1967, President Méndez was able to modify the existing state of siege with a state of emergency. A state of emergency implies a much less critical situation and is under the control of the Minister of Government rather than the Minister of Defense. This was the first time it was utilized in Guatemalan history. On April 30, 1967, the state of emergency ended.

The success of the military in rural areas, coupled with a lack of Indian support for the guerrillas, caused the guerrillas to turn to random and isolated acts of terrorism in the capital and other urban areas during the balance of 1967 and into 1968. In January 1968 President Méndez was forced to suspend constitutional guarantees for 30 days because of the urban terrorist activities, and on March 19, 1968, he had to impose a state of siege which was lifted in June when relative tranquillity returned. After first deciding not to include United States citizens in their terrorist attacks, the guerrillas reversed their decision in 1968 and killed two United States Military Mission advisers early in the year and United States Ambassador John Gordon Mein in August 1968. After the death of Ambassador Mein the state of siege was again imposed, but it in turn was replaced by the relaxed state of emergency in October 1968.

In addition to the Communist guerrillas, the Méndez administration was beset by right-wing terrorism. A number of right-wing anti-Communist organizations started action with armed irregulars against alleged Communists, and large numbers of persons were killed during 1967. Méndez partially reduced the influence and effectiveness of the rightist groups by reshuffling military commanders in April 1968.

Local elections are considered good indications of public opinion because the major parties frequently run their local candidates on national issues. In December 1967, 32 townships in the Departments of Huehuetenango and Sacatepéquez had municipal corporation elections. The Revolutionary Party won 20; the MLN, 8; and the PID, 3. One election was won by a civic group. On August 11, 1968, additional elections were held in 294 townships through-

out the country, and four parties as well as various civic groups participated. The PR, the MLN, the PID and, for the first time, the DCG entered candidates, although only the PR entered in every one of the 224 contests. The MLN and PID entered slates in only 281 townships, and the DCG, in a lesser number. In addition to local issues, national issues such as urban terrorism and constitutional continuity were debated.

The elections were held in a calm, orderly atmosphere, and only a few scattered incidents were reported. Over 222,000 voters participated. The PR won in 65 percent of the contests, winning 193 townships but only 111,000 popular votes. A coalition of the MLN and PID won in 51 townships; the PID won in 9 townships with its own slate; the MLN, in 16; the DCG, in 20; and civic committees, in 5. Nine of these opposition townships' municipal corporations later informed the Electoral Register of their desire to join the Revolutionary Party.

The DCG was surprised at its share, stating that it surpassed party calculations of its strength. The MLN, encouraged by the success of its coalition slates with the PID, announced afterward that it was preparing for the 1970 presidential election on the basis of a coalition of all anti-Communist political parties and that it would offer names of potential candidates to test public reaction well in advance of the election. The victory of the Revolutionary Party, however, was interpreted as an indication of public support for the policies of the Méndez government, giving him strength to deal with all extremists and to complete his term of office constitutionally.

Political Values

The attitudes of Guatemalans toward political institutions and toward society are affected by the Hispanic antecedents of most of the *ladino* population. Values have spread down through most of the society, but not to the lowest parts. There has been a growing flow of values from the middle class. Nationalism and national pride are issues on which all *ladinos* can unite. These feelings have been created by years of paternalistic authority and domination of a large segment of the economy by foreigners. The Indian's culture is incompatible with that of the *ladino* and he does not experience feelings of nationalism. His attachments are more local and regional. Nationalism is particularly strong among the 34 percent of the population that is considered to be urban.

Any of several issues serve to arouse nationalism. The single strongest issue is the resentment of foreign interference. This is followed by the dispute over Belize, or British Honduras. On both of these issues all political parties and pressure groups can unite.

For many years attacking the policies of the United Fruit Company was politically popular. This is no longer an important issue, as the predominance of the company in the economy has largely disappeared. Besides Belize, three other recurring specific issues raise nationalism to a high degree. These are Mexican fishing in Guatemalan waters, illegal Salvadoran immigrants, and alleged unequal division of the waters of Lake Guija which are shared with El Salvador. Another national issue is underdevelopment. Any defense of the economy, coupled with an attack on the developed nations, tends to elicit a favorable response.

Most Guatemalans are not concerned with international affairs. Those who do hold strong attitudes toward major issues in the world at large are members of the literate, Spanish-speaking middle and upper classes. These attitudes are colored by Guatemala's historic relationship with particular countries.

The United States has been well thought of as a true friend of Guatemala because of the numerous times it served as a mediator in disputes Guatemala had with other countries. Guatemalans believed that this mediation tended to serve as a mantle of protection. In more recent times the economic and technical assistance of the United States has made a lasting impression.

Mexico and the United Kingdom are viewed with caution and suspicion because of the alleged loss of national territory to those countries. Most Guatemalans feel their country to be an integral part of Central America, and the country has played a major role in regional economic integration. The Constitution provides for eventual political union with other Central American countries, a reflection of historical attempts to form a new federation of the countries of the area.

Domestically, there seems to be an inherent distrust of all government on the part of most Guatemalans. This is especially true of the Indians, who generally are silent and stoical on political issues; the urban population, however, is more vocal and critical. The majority of Indians still are socially and politically isolated from the rest of the populace by language barriers and a distrust of those not from their community. Some of the Indians who do exercise their right of suffrage vote for Government-backed candidates, partly out of timidity and partly out of respect for authorities. Despite his apathy, the Indian has been affected by the concept of agrarian reform and tends to respond to an effectively postulated program. Arevalo is a symbol to the bulk of the population, including the Indians, of effective social reform, and anyone who can claim a tie to him is able to obtain support, although no one has been able to fully inherit his mantle.

The average urban married man in the middle and lower classes

is more concerned with personal economic problems than with national politics, but he is still outspokenly critical of the Government. This is particularly true of economic issues. He is generally content with a minimum of security and well-being and believes it is the Government's duty to protect him from violence and economic insecurity. This includes the creation of jobs. He, in turn, feels an obligation to protect the country. Most Guatemalans are not concerned with international affairs except whenever they pertain to their country. Local and national issues seem far more important.

A belief in progress and expectations of a better future are held by only a minority of Guatemalans. Although believing that life is not static and that good and bad times alternate, few see the long-range trend as one of general betterment. According to an in-depth attitude survey, 80 percent of the respondents thought that life was better a generation earlier. Major complaints were the rise in living costs, unemployment, political instability, and the prevalence of vice and immorality. Discontent tends to be greater in urban than in rural areas and seems especially prevalent among the urban middle class.

The overwhelming majority of Guatemalans feel that respect is due to the law and to "the authorities," but they also express disdain for politicians and the political process. A significant proportion of parents advise their children to "have nothing to do with politics."

Before the revolution of 1944 only a small segment of the upper and middle classes participated in political life. Civilian political organizations were weak; there was a mass of nonparticipating Indians; and those who were in power viewed themselves as natural rulers for the country's good. An effective standing army permitted strong authoritarian rule to prevail. Following the revolution, personalist political parties started to develop rather than parties with abstract ideas and civic loyalties. A tendency to stress the personal qualities of the party leader led to splintering of parties and changes of loyalty, resulting in inefficiency of Government administration. The dominating leader has had to possess outstanding traits in order to continue commanding the loyalty of his followers, who always fear losing honor and status for subjugating themselves to a person rather than a goal. All of this has tended to make the average Guatemalan citizen wary of both politics and politicians (see Social Values, ch. 5).

Of past governments, only those of Arevalo and Ubico are generally conceded to have met their responsibilities well. Arevalo is credited with having established the Labor Code and instituted

protection for the worker. Ubico is praised for having maintained tranquillity, insured personal security, and created a climate of morality.

Enthusiasm for reform and for those governments of the past that have championed change is centered in the urban middle class, in general, and among the residents of Puerto Barricos, in particular. Nevertheless, the reformist government of Arevalo is remembered with approval by the largest proportion of the urban population in all parts of the country. Even in those geographic areas in which the conservative governments of Ubico or Castillo Armas had the greatest support, a greater proportion of people feel that the Arevalo government was the best one that the country has ever had.

The greatest support for programs of agrarian reform that contemplate the granting of Government lands comes from urban rather than rural areas. The majority of rural respondents prefer programs permitting the purchase of Government lands by small farmers. Members of the urban lower class are the most enthusiastic proponents of Government aid to education, whereas both the urban middle class and the rural populations in general tend to be relatively unresponsive on this issue. The latter would prefer the Government to spend its resources on roads, electrification, and potable water.

Education is an important factor in the formation of opinions. Persons with more education tend to be more satisfied with their economic situation and are generally more optimistic and less critical of the Government because they are more aware of the history of the country's political instability. At the same time, the most sophisticated citizenry, those in the capital, are more constructively critical of political affairs than are persons in other cities.

Guatemalans are most proud of their country's natural beauty—its landscape, vegetation, and climate—as well as its agricultural production. They are also very proud of the physical accomplishments of the country—new buildings, highways, streets, hospitals, and bridges. National music, folklore, and Mayan ancestry are other items of pride, as well as their political independence from Mexico and the country's national symbols. For most Indians, however, the concept of citizenship and the meaning of national symbols are unclear.

Guatemalans believe there is too much vagrancy, drunkenness, robbery, and murder and not enough work for everyone. They are also disheartened by malpractices in politics and the high degree of illiteracy.

National Symbols

It was not until September 15, 1968, that the color, size, and design of the national flag and coat of arms were regularized. After the breakup of the Central American federation, Guatemala continued to use the flag and coat of arms of the United Provinces with a slight modification as a symbol and hope that the federation would be restructured. Another modification was made to the coat of arms in 1843, and the flag was changed in 1851. President Carrera again modified both of them in 1858, and they lasted until 1871 when President García Granados had them changed once more. He failed to establish fixed rules, however, and numerous unauthorized modifications and changes have been made over the years. Definitive versions were legalized under President Julio César Méndez.

The flag has three wide vertical stripes, the middle one white, the other two blue. The coat of arms is located in the center of the white stripe on all flags except that used by the Merchant Marine, which does not carry the coat of arms. The blue color represents the sky over Guatemala and stands for justice and loyalty. White symbolizes purity and integrity. The flag must always be in rectangular form, the vertical to horizontal dimensions being in proportion of 5 to 8.

When the coat of arms is used elsewhere than on the flag, it must be on a clear light blue (*celeste*) background. The coat of arms bears two crossed 1871 Remington rifles with fixed bayonets. Two crossed swords are below the rifles. A laurel wreath, symbolizing victory, surrounds and entwines with the weapons. A scroll with the words "Libertad 15 de Septiembre de 1821" is in the center where the two rifles cross. A quetzal bird rests on the upper right part of the scroll.

The national anthem is entitled "Himno Nacional" and begins, "Guatemala feliz que tu seras" (Guatemala be praised). As of 1968 there were 12 fixed national holidays, plus three movable religious holidays—Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Three religious holidays are celebrated on a local basis: St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29; All Saints Day, November 1; and Immaculate Conception, December 8. Two of the national holidays are foreign independence days—July 4, United States Independence Day, and July 11, French Bastille Day. A complete list of the fixed national holidays are: January 1, New Year's Day; January 6, Epiphany; April 14, Day of the Americas; May 1, Labor Day; June 30, Anniversary of the Revolution of 1871; July 4, United States Independence Day; July 14, French Bastille Day; August 15, Assumption Day; September 15, Independence Day;

October 12, Columbus Day; October 20, Anniversary of the 1944 Revolution; and December 25, Christmas. Additional days, before and after a holiday, frequently are also holidays. For example, Independence Day celebrations usually last 3 days rather than 1.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Western Hemisphere

United States

The state of relations between Guatemala and the United States has always been of paramount importance to Guatemala and is the dominant aspect of its foreign policy. Guatemala has often requested the United States to act as a mediator or to use its good offices in disputes with other countries. Relations between the two countries, however, have not always been cordial and were probably at their lowest during the Arbenz administration when there were frequent attacks on United States foreign policy, its relations with Guatemala, and United States business interests in the country. Apart from that one period, relations generally have been very good.

Central America

Guatemala has been one of the leading proponents of political or economic union of the Central American countries ever since the separation of the United Provinces. The original Organization of Central American States (Organización de los Estados Centros Americanos—ODECA) was formed in 1951 to deal mostly with economic cooperation largely through the efforts of Guatemala, although the country withdrew from the organization in 1953 over political issues. ODECA was rejoined in 1955, and Guatemala greatly assisted in 1962 in reestablishing the new ODECA, which provides for political as well as economic cooperation. In its new form, ODECA provides for a Supreme Council of Heads of member states; a Council of Foreign Ministers; a Permanent Executive Council; a Legislative Council composed of three members from each legislature, whose function is to standardize similar legislation; an economic council for the Central American Common Market; a Cultural and Educational Council; a Defense Ministers Council; and a Central American Court of Justice. Panama may join the new ODECA whenever it wishes, but by the end of 1968 only the five Central American countries were members.

Relations between Guatemala and the other Central American countries have not always been cordial. Disputes have occurred, mostly over boundary problems between Guatemala and both El Salvador and Honduras, and occasional hostilities have broken out.

The constitution of the United Provinces of Central America

gave the federal congress the power to fix the boundaries of the member states, but this was never done. Boundary disputes with Honduras began in 1842 after the federation was dissolved. The area in question consisted of about 2,000 square miles between the Motagua River and the Merendon Mountains. In 1845 the countries signed a treaty agreeing to make the boundary that of the diocesan boundaries of 1786. The original diocesan lines unfortunately were very vague, and no more than a start was made.

A one-battle war broke out in July 1853 over the border, but peace was secured in 1856 with El Salvador as a mediator. After many years a boundary convention was signed in 1895 providing for a joint commission to study the old records and recommend a boundary which would be submitted to arbitration if the two Governments could not accept it. This commission met 20 times up to the year 1910, when its work was broken off by Honduras on the complaint that its representatives did not have freedom of movement in Guatemala. A second boundary convention was signed in 1914 calling for a new joint commission to resume work and for arbitration by the United States.

The boundary still had not been set by 1917 when the United States offered to mediate the dispute, a gesture which was accepted by both countries. Unsuccessful mediation meetings were held from 1918 to 1920, when they were terminated. For the next 10 years the United States tried to obtain the consent of the two countries to discuss means of ending the dispute. In 1928 war nearly broke out between Guatemala and Honduras over Honduran companies operating in the Motagua valley. In 1930 the United States successfully initiated discussions on the situation, and this led to a new treaty calling for arbitration by a Special International Central American Tribunal. In 1933 this tribunal handed down its decision which was accepted by both countries. The boundary was set as it is today, surveyed, marked, and respected after causing nearly a century of animosity.

Since 1839 Guatemala and El Salvador have engaged in actual hostilities on at least four occasions and nearly came to the point of hostilities on two more. In the War of 1839 an army of Salvadoran and Guatemalan exiles invaded Guatemala in an effort to reunite the Central American union. The Salvadoran forces were driven out, and Guatemalan President Rafael Carrera pursued them to San Salvador, where a treaty was signed which permitted a Carrera follower to act for some time as an adviser to the Salvadoran Government. In 1850 El Salvador, aided by Honduran troops, invaded Guatemala because of numerous border problems. Carrera won that war also and replaced officials of the Govern-

ments of El Salvador and Honduras with persons friendly to him (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

In 1862 El Salvador signed a military alliance with Honduras, and President Carrera, disapproving it, invaded El Salvador in 1863. With some Nicaraguan assistance, Guatemala won this war after a 4-month siege of San Salvador. In 1876 Guatemala again went to war with El Salvador when relations were broken because of ill feeling between the respective presidents. Guatemala won again, and the President of El Salvador was replaced with one more friendly to President Justo Rufino Barrios of Guatemala. In 1906 relations were once more at a low point because of a belief that each Government was encouraging revolutionary movements against the other. The El Salvador War Minister actually led an army into Guatemala, but was killed in the very first battle. The United States and Mexico persuaded the two Governments to accept an armistice, and a treaty leading to a general Central American peace conference was signed. The conference took place in 1907 in Washington and was attended by all the other Central American countries; a number of treaties were signed, one of which established a Central American Court of Justice to decide all future controversies.

The 90-mile border between El Salvador and Guatemala caused no major dispute until 1935, when the two Governments agreed to fix the border definitively. Border clashes then broke out between border residents and soldiers of both countries. Later in that year both Governments agreed that a joint commission should set the boundary before the situation worsened. This joint commission worked between 1936 and 1938 and set a boundary which resulted in the transfer of 24 square miles from El Salvador to Guatemala. The line was approved by both Governments in 1938.

Mexico

Relations with Mexico are affected by memories of the invasion of Guatemala by Mexican General Vicente Filisola after independence. Guatemalans have always feared political and economic domination of their country by Mexico. On several occasions diplomatic relations have been broken or severely strained.

The boundary between Guatemala and Mexico was never set during the colonial era. When the inhabitants of Chiapas elected to become part of Mexico in 1824, a general boundary was outlined, and the details were to be worked out later. Nearly 60 years passed before this was done. A part of Chiapas, called Soconusco, bordering on El Petén, remained a subject of controversy following the incorporation of Chiapas into Mexico. In 1842 Mexican troops occupied Soconusco, and it was declared to be part of Chiapas.

Guatemala was unable to prevent this, and relations were bitter for many years. Finally, worried by a movement in Mexico in 1874 to annex part of El Petén, the Guatemalan Government suggested a boundary delimitation agreement. A preliminary agreement was signed in 1877 providing for a joint commission to examine the frontier.

This convention expired in 1880 after several extensions, and in 1891 Guatemala requested the assistance of the United States in achieving a boundary settlement. This was granted, and the United States was instrumental in obtaining an agreement between the two countries in 1882. Under this treaty Guatemala renounced all rights to Chiapas and Soconusco in return for fixed boundary lines. Although Guatemala felt that the treaty was unfavorable, it also felt that it was necessary to prevent Mexico from extending its claims and encroaching on more territory. An 1895 treaty redefined part of the boundary, and it has not been altered since.

Besides boundary disputes, another major cause of poor relations between the two countries is repeated incidents of Mexican fishermen allegedly violating Guatemalan territorial waters. The lowest point was reached in January 1959, when Mexico broke diplomatic relations over the shooting of several Mexican fishermen. Although hostilities almost broke out, cautious diplomatic relations prevented war, and relations were resumed later in that year.

The large numbers of Guatemalan exiles residing in Mexico frequently give rise to a charge that they are plotting an invasion of Guatemala. In 1961 Guatemala officially complained to the Organization of American States (OAS) that such exiles were training in Chiapas. In 1964 the Guatemalan Constituent Assembly, meeting to draft a new constitution, called upon the Government to break relations with Mexico because of a visit to Mexico by the First Minister of British Honduras and a Mexican offer of technical assistance to his Government.

The visit to Guatemala by Mexican President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz in January 1966 did much to restore better relations between the two countries. Although the visit was highlighted as a change in the course of diplomatic relations, the Guatemalan press, and even the Vice President, cautioned the Government to examine carefully any economic relations with Mexico.

Relations with Europe

United Kingdom

Diplomatic relations were broken with the United Kingdom in 1963 over the question of Belize and had not been restored by the

end of 1968. The problem is historical and has affected all relations between the two countries.

The first settlers in what is now British Honduras were shipwrecked British sailors and pirates who arrived in 1638 at around what is the present-day capital city of Belize. Later, in 1662 a group of Jamaican woodcutters arrived. All of the settlers engaged in the cutting of logwood and dyewood. A treaty between Spain and Great Britain in 1670 gave right of possession of lands already held in the Americas by British subjects to them. Great Britain never formally claimed the Belize settlement as within the empire at the 1670 treaty, but the woodcutters did and even contended that it applied to all parts of Belize not inhabited by Spaniards, and frequent fights occurred between the English and Spanish speakers.

In 1763 a new treaty between the two powers recognized the area as being Spanish territory, but permitted British subjects to cut wood and to build settlements. In 1765 Belize was given a constitution, and in 1779 Spanish forces attacked and drove out the settlers. In 1783 the settlers returned, and in the same year another treaty was signed granting the settlers cutting rights between the Belize and Hondo Rivers. In 1786 a further treaty gave the settlers additional land to cut and again recognized Spanish sovereignty. This was the last treaty on the subject between Spain and England.

In 1798 the Spaniards once again attacked the settlers, but this time they lost, and no further attacks on or visits to the territory were made by Spaniards. The British gradually pushed southward as far as the Sarstoon River, and after 1814 they considered the settlements to be a British colony, and the settlers set up a local assembly in that year. In 1828 Great Britain claimed the territory on the basis of conquest, long use, and custom and, in 1830, asked Spain to cede the territory, but no reply was ever made by Spain. In 1840 British common law was introduced, and a British post office was established in 1845. In 1851 the settlers petitioned to be declared a British colony, and this was so proclaimed by Great Britain in 1862.

After independence and the breakup of the Central American federation, Guatemala contended that it inherited Spanish rights to the area, and relations with the United Kingdom immediately became strained. A treaty of amity, commerce, and recognition was signed between Guatemala and Great Britain in 1847, in which Great Britain formally recognized the Republic. The British wanted to include a settlement of the Belize question, but the Guatemalans preferred settling it independently and attached a reservation to the treaty which caused the British to refuse to

ratify it. A new treaty finally was signed and ratified in 1849 without any mention of Belize.

The separate treaty finally was signed in 1859 defining the present boundaries of Belize and stating that all land north and east of the boundaries belonged to Great Britain. All future problems between Guatemala and Great Britain were caused by Article 7 of the treaty, which said that both parties would take adequate means to establish the easiest communication, either by means of a cartroad, or rivers, or both, between the Atlantic coast near Belize and the capital of Guatemala. Lengthy correspondence ensued over the interpretation of Article 7 which led to a Supplementary Convention in 1863 under which Great Britain offered to pay Guatemala 50,000 pounds as its share of building a road. The Supplementary Convention was to be ratified within 6 months, but Guatemala was at war with El Salvador and asked for an extension of time in which to ratify it. This was done in November 1865, with two clarifications, and Guatemala asked Great Britain to ratify it in 1866. The British reply was that the Supplementary Convention had lapsed because of Guatemala's delay and that Great Britain considered itself released from any obligation under Article 7.

Guatemala protested and additional diplomatic correspondence resulted, but the dispute lagged after 1884, and no reference to the problem was made in any diplomatic exchange between the two countries until 1933, when Guatemala politely inquired as to when the United Kingdom would fulfill Article 7 of the 1859 treaty. The dispute broke out again, and in September 1939 Guatemala informed Britain that the 1859 treaty had lapsed and was no longer in effect because of the failure of the British to fulfill Article 7. Guatemala claimed that Great Britain had no sovereignty or title to the colony and that the entire territory should be returned to Guatemala. This was the first time in the dispute that this claim was made since the treaty of 1859.

Because of World War II, Guatemala suspended efforts to obtain the return of Belize. After the fall of Ubico, President Juan José Arévalo reasserted the claim and, in September 1945, informed Great Britain of Guatemala's desire to initiate negotiations. In 1946 the United Kingdom offered to take the case to the International Court of Justice to interpret the validity of the 1859 treaty, but Guatemala declined. No major developments occurred in the dispute until July 24, 1963, when Guatemala broke diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom because of the negotiation of a new constitution for the colony, which would provide a greater degree of self-government commencing on January 1, 1964. Guatemala considered the new constitution a "unilateral action which is

a flagrant violation of the inalienable and sovereign rights to Guatemala."

In July 1965 both Governments asked the United States to mediate the dispute, and in November of that year President Lyndon Johnson appointed Bethuel M. Webster, a noted international lawyer, as the mediator to work out procedures for a solution. Webster presented his final report in April 1968 but, before he did, an incident occurred which exacerbated relations between Guatemala and the United Kingdom. President Julio César Méndez visited an island in Belize while on vacation in November 1967, causing an exchange of notes between the two Governments. The Vice President of Guatemala called for a military occupation of Belize, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the Guatemalan President did not require the permission of the United Kingdom to visit Guatemalan territory.

Webster proposed a treaty agreeing to the independence of Belize by the end of 1970 which provided for cooperation between an independent British Honduras and Guatemala in the fields of foreign affairs and defense and in a number of other specified fields with financial assistance from the United Kingdom. In May 1968 the Government of British Honduras rejected the proposals and asked the United Kingdom not to accede to the treaty. The United Kingdom therefore did not endorse Webster's proposals. Guatemala in turn stated that it would then pursue peaceful ways of ending the dispute and offered to replace all British aid and to respect the cultural and racial differences of the inhabitants of Belize. In July 1968 a Guatemalan Government radio station started daily broadcasts to Belize, the program consisting of Guatemalan music and discussion of Guatemalan Government policies.

Germany

Despite the large German colony residing in Guatemala, the country declared war against Germany in both World Wars. Between 1941 and 1959 Guatemala had no diplomatic relations with Germany. Before World War II, the coffee plantations owned by German citizens were producing about 65 percent of all coffee, and Germany was taking about 20 percent of all coffee exports. On December 11, 1941, Guatemala declared war on Germany and passed an Emergency Law in January 1942 which intervened all German properties.

On June 22, 1944, these properties were declared as being confiscated and belonging to the nation. The properties included not only coffee and sugar plantations, but also insurance companies, the Verapaz Railroad, and commercial property. In 1951 Guate-

mala set its war claims against Germany at Q87 million (one quetzal equals US\$1). Negotiations were carried on between 1953 and 1956 to end the state of war which technically still existed, but they failed over the reparations issue. Guatemala then placed an embargo on German imports. Finally, Guatemala took the initiative and unilaterally declared the war ended on December 1, 1956, without consulting Germany, and diplomatic relations were resumed in October 1959.

Spain

After independence and the end of the federation, relations with Spain were slow in returning to normal. A Treaty of Recognition, Peace, and Friendship, negotiated in 1852 but not signed until 1863, finally recognized the sovereignty and independence of Guatemala. The biggest stumbling blocks to normalization of diplomatic relations were the nationality of the children born to Spaniards in Guatemala and the division of the debt to Spain of the old Kingdom of Guatemala. Guatemala finally agreed to pay 30 percent of the old debt as its fair share, and Spain agreed to permit Guatemalan law to apply in regard to nationality

Machinery of Foreign Relations

Under the Constitution, the President of the Republic exclusively directs the foreign policy of the country and has the power to conclude, ratify, or denounce international treaties, conventions, or agreements. Certain treaties require prior approval of Congress before ratification. The Ministry of Foreign Relations (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores) carries out the operation of foreign affairs. The Ministry was not created until 1846, several years after independence.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is divided into nine sections. The central administrative unit handles personnel, translations, archives, and the authentication of documents. The Office of Central American Affairs handles all matters pertaining to Central America, including economic integration. The Treaty Office concludes all treaties, and the Office of Belize Affairs is in charge of all matters related to Belize. There is also a Protocol Office, Office of Legal Affairs, Office of International Organizations, Office of Consular Affairs, and a Boundary Department. The Office of Consular Affairs handles the problems of both the foreign consular corps accredited to Guatemala and all Guatemalan consulates outside the country. The Department of Boundary Affairs has less work than in the past; its major task is erecting boundary markers.

Guatemala has a small foreign service. In 1968 there were 172 foreign service personnel stationed abroad and 117 working in the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Constitution permits a unification of diplomatic representation with other Central American countries. The President appoints and removes all diplomatic and consular representatives. Guatemala has embassies in 29 countries; some of them are accredited to more than one country. Embassies are located in Argentina, Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Republic of China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, West Germany, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Israel, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, the Vatican, and Venezuela.

The embassy in the United Kingdom was closed in 1963 after the severance of relations. Guatemala has no relations with Communist countries, and in 1966 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the Government had no intention of maintaining such relations. In addition to the embassies, there are two permanent missions, one to the United Nations and one to the Organization of American States; 13 consulates general; and 13 consulates.

A 2-year study completed in 1960 revealed that there were more than 300 international agreements to which Guatemala was a signatory and which were still in effect. The oldest treaty was the boundary agreement with Mexico in 1882. About 60 treaties are worldwide multilateral pacts; over 100 are inter-American multilateral pacts; about 60 are related to Central American regional affairs; and the remainder are bilateral agreements with 31 countries and 8 international organizations. Guatemala has more treaties in force with the United States than with any other country.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION, PUBLIC INFORMATION, ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

Individual Guatemalans have made significant contributions to art, history, and literature. The intellectual community, however, has been small and limited to a few urban members of the middle and upper classes. Most educational and public media facilities are concentrated in the capital and, to a lesser extent, in other urban areas. Because the language of the press and radio is Spanish, the potential audience is limited to *ladinos* (non-Indian—see Glossary) and those few Indians who understand Spanish.

Since 1945 educational facilities have been expanding at an impressive rate. Once the province of only a few members of the middle and upper classes, education is becoming available to a wider variety of people who see it as a means of bettering themselves. Although illiteracy is still widespread, priority has been given to eradicating it, and large-scale literacy projects have been instituted. Education is more readily available to the *ladino* population than it is to the Indian, partly because *ladinos* are clustered in the towns and cities where it is more convenient to locate schools and partly because Indians continue to value their own traditional, less institutionalized methods of educating their children. Nevertheless, efforts are being made to include Indians in the educational process and, in the rural areas, to promote a curriculum better suited to rural needs.

Secondary education has grown even more rapidly than primary, an indication that a larger proportion of people completing the primary level consider further education a necessity. University education used to be the exclusive prerogative of the autonomous University of San Carlos, but since 1960 three new universities have been established, and steps have been undertaken to integrate all the national universities of Central America.

A scarcity of educational facilities and materials, serious shortages of qualified teachers, academically oriented curricula and formalistic teaching methods have produced a poorly educated population, even among the formally literate *ladinos*. As a result, there is little demand for books or reading matter of any kind,

except in Guatemala City where the best educational facilities are concentrated. Newspapers are read by less than one-tenth of the population. The transmittal of ideas is largely dependent upon word of mouth and radio.

Radio broadcasting is the primary means of dispersing information. It has programs varying from educational, missionary, and editorial broadcasts to news and classified advertising. Entertainment films are popular, and movie theaters are located in most towns; films shown are foreign made, but the country produces a few educational films and news features. The daily and periodical press is concentrated in Guatemala City where it serves an interested and literate public. It serves the needs of the middle and upper classes and is generally moderate in tone. All television stations are located in the capital. Entertainment programs predominate, but the Government stations broadcast educational and cultural programs.

The nation has a rich cultural heritage and an active artistic community. Knowledge of and interest in this heritage have been limited mainly to middle- and upper-class urban dwellers. For much of its history the country has looked to Europe in general and Spain in particular for its artistic moods. Mayan art and architecture, however, have attracted the interest of archaeologists for over a century and have, together with Indian crafts and customs, served as the creative foundation for 20th-century artists, who have striven to create a unique expression of their own. Spanish colonial influence is evident in the many churches found throughout the country and has been best conserved in Antigua Guatemala, site of the third colonial capital.

EDUCATION

Background

During the colonial era education was dominated by the Church and was reserved mainly for the children of Spaniards and other persons destined for positions of leadership. The clergy trained people in literary Latin and arts and crafts, in addition to religious instruction. The Royal and Pontifical University of San Carlos Borromeo was founded in 1679. Subjects, taught almost exclusively by Jesuit priests until their expulsion in 1768, included theology, philosophy, astrology, canon law, native languages, and anatomy. At the time of independence from Spain in 1821, most people were illiterate except for the few doctors, lawyers, and priests in the country.

After independence, and particularly during the liberal governments of the 19th century, steps were taken to provide a broader

education for more people. President Mariano Gálvez (1831-38) built new schools and added new courses, including arithmetic, history, and natural science, to the hitherto limited primary curriculum. He founded the first normal school in Guatemala City, which prospective teachers from the rest of Central America were invited to attend. Army Officers were required to attend the normal school, and possession of a primary school teachers' certificate was a prerequisite to promotion. In addition, soldiers received instruction in the rights and duties of citizens, as well as military training. Gálvez' successor, however, the illiterate President Rafael Carrera (1838-65), was little interested in promoting the educational establishment, and it was not until the Presidency of Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-85) that education was again given impetus.

Barrios established a Ministry of Public Instruction and built elementary, secondary, and vocational schools, substituting public schools for parochial. Primary education was decreed free, compulsory and secular for children from 6 to 14 years of age, although this was impossible to implement. Barrios' anticlerical stance did damage to the university, however, because the State could not find teachers to replace the priests who were forbidden to teach. The Faculties of Civil Law and Medicine, nevertheless, continued to be effective.

Although succeeding governments did build new schools, it was not until the Presidency of José María Orellana (1921-26) that another determined effort was made to raise the educational level of the people (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). The Normal School for Indians, which had been founded in 1920, grew under his government. This was a new approach to the problem of the Indians, who had previously been all but excluded from the formal education process. Indians were trained so that they might return to their villages to teach. Night schools in penitentiaries were opened, as were schools for laborers. Emphasis was placed on the establishment of vocational schools and on adult literacy programs. The university was upgraded, and two new faculties were added. President Jorge Ubico (1931-44) continued this policy, emphasizing instruction in manual arts, agriculture, and Spanish for the Indians. New schools and faculties were added to San Carlos University, which was then a dependency of the executive branch of the Government.

In 1944, despite the gains made since independence, schools were few, teachers were not well prepared, and their salaries were low. Teaching methods placed emphasis on memorization of subject matter.

After 1945 strenuous attempts were made to eradicate illiteracy and to institute free primary education for all children. Between

1944 and 1957 enrollment in daytime primary schools almost doubled, increasing from 135,000 to 250,000. Enrollment in secondary schools almost tripled from 7,000 to 20,500. The Constitution of 1945 granted autonomy to the University of San Carlos.

Literacy

In 1950 nearly 72 percent of the population over 7 years of age was illiterate. The figure varied considerably, however, between urban and rural areas and between the Indian and *ladino* sectors (see table 5).

By 1964 illiteracy, defined as the inability to read and write a simple paragraph in any language, had been reduced to 63.3 percent of these over 7 years of age. About 78.8 percent of the rural population was illiterate, compared with 36.2 percent of the urban. Illiteracy rates were also higher among women than among men.

Table 5. Illiteracy by Ethnic Group, Place of Residence, and Department in Guatemala, 1950
(in percent)

| Department | Total | Residence | | Ethnic group | |
|---------------|-------|-----------|-------|--------------|--------|
| | | Rural | Urban | Indian | Ladino |
| Guatemala | 40 | 76 | 28 | 85 | 31 |
| El Petén | 49 | 54 | 13 | 92 | 32 |
| Sacatepéquez | 57 | 58 | 56 | 73 | 39 |
| Izabal | 58 | 72 | 36 | 86 | 52 |
| Escuintla | 64 | 69 | 45 | 88 | 59 |
| Quezaltenango | 68 | 78 | 38 | 83 | 37 |
| El Progreso | 69 | 72 | 51 | 89 | 67 |
| Retalhuleu | 71 | 77 | 50 | 88 | 53 |
| Zacapa | 73 | 78 | 44 | 94 | 68 |
| Santa Rosa | 74 | 76 | 57 | 87 | 72 |
| Suchitepéquez | 74 | 81 | 47 | 89 | 43 |
| San Marcos | 75 | 77 | 36 | 85 | 46 |
| Jutiapa | 77 | 80 | 49 | 86 | 75 |
| Jalapa | 77 | 82 | 57 | 88 | 66 |
| Chimaltenango | 79 | 83 | 69 | 88 | 47 |
| Chiquimula | 83 | 87 | 45 | 94 | 64 |
| Baja Verapaz | 86 | 88 | 55 | 95 | 72 |
| Totonicapán | 86 | 90 | 65 | 88 | 17 |
| Huehuetenango | 86 | 89 | 49 | 95 | 62 |
| Sololá | 89 | 92 | 75 | 93 | 22 |
| El Quiché | 92 | 94 | 71 | 97 | 62 |
| Alta Verapaz | 92 | 95 | 55 | 97 | 28 |
| COUNTRY | 72 | 82 | 41 | 90 | 51 |

Source: Adapted from Nathan L. Whetten, *Guatemala: The Land and the People*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961, p. 370.

In 1964 the average Guatemalan had attended primary school for 1.2 years. Students who finish only one or two grades of primary school are considered *analfabetos potenciales* (potential illiterates). Many rural people, particularly Indians, tend to lose skills acquired at school.

In 1945 the Government issued a national literacy decree which required all citizens who could read and write to teach those who could not. This program was patterned after the Mexican program of "each one teach one." Its stated goal of 95-percent literacy within 4 years, though not achieved, set a precedent for other programs which are helping to raise the low rate of literacy. In 1959 a new large-scale literacy campaign was begun. It was directed by the Ministry of Education and received technical and financial support from the Army's Civic Action Program. Literacy centers are widely dispersed and are, generally, run by volunteers. The usual course takes from 5 to 6 months (see Armed Forces, ch. 10).

Administration and Budget

The administration of schools below the university level is centralized in the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for both public and private schools. The establishment of a private school necessitates accreditation by the Ministry. Such a school must meet minimum standards set by the Ministry, which include participation in civic and patriotic activities organized by the Ministry. If performance is found wanting, the private school risks cancellation of its right to operate.

The budget for public secondary education in fiscal 1961-62 was Q2.4 million (Q1 equals US\$1), about 16.6 percent of the total budget for public education. About Q1.7 million was spent for private secondary education.

Pre-Primary and Primary Education

Pre-primary education exists for children between the ages of 4 and 6. School attendance is not compulsory at this level, and children pass automatically to the primary level at 7 years of age. In 1964 there were 79 pre-primary schools attended by nearly 20,000 children. Most of these schools were public, but the average private school accommodated more students than did the average public school. The student-teacher ratio was 34 to 1 in the public schools and 19 to 1 in the private. Most pre-primary schools are located in Guatemala City.

The primary level of education consists of 6 years of study, divided into three 2-year cycles. Indian children are taught Spanish, the language of instruction, before they begin first grade.

In 1965 there were 5,061 primary schools, of which 2,981 were

public, the remainder, private. This represented an increase in the percentage of private primary schools over that of 1961 (see table 6). The Organic Law of Education requires that the owners of plantations or farms and commercial and industrial enterprises, employing over a certain number of heads of families, establish and fund both primary schools and literacy centers. Most private primary schools located in rural areas are of this type. In general, the quality of these rural schools has been low.

Schools of this type which have been established by the United Fruit Company are acknowledged by the Ministry of Education to be the best of their kind. The Maryknoll Order has established a number of primary schools in the rural areas of western Guatemala. Private urban primary schools are run by the Catholic Church, missionary groups of various denominations, and other interests and are attended largely by children of middle and upper class families.

Table 6. Guatemalan Primary Schools by Department, 1961

| Department | Schools | | Teachers | | Students | |
|---------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| | Public | Private | Public | Private | Public | Private |
| Guatemala | 350 | 192 | 2,048 | 1,296 | 76,834 | 24,887 |
| San Marcos | 331 | 127 | 556 | 160 | 18,849 | 3,438 |
| Huehustenango | 254 | 17 | 431 | 84 | 9,567 | 1,881 |
| Jutiapa | 204 | 5 | 324 | 14 | 14,146 | 318 |
| Quezaltenango | 181 | 153 | 467 | 277 | 15,216 | 5,896 |
| Chiquimula | 156 | 4 | 274 | 35 | 8,660 | 398 |
| Chimaltenango | 141 | 44 | 320 | 62 | 10,085 | 998 |
| El Quiché | 122 | 15 | 227 | 24 | 6,068 | 448 |
| Alta Verapaz | 119 | 57 | 231 | 92 | 4,491 | 1,071 |
| Santa Rosa | 111 | 50 | 232 | 58 | 9,848 | 1,490 |
| Suchitepéquez | 110 | 153 | 306 | 182 | 10,168 | 3,389 |
| Zacapa | 105 | 7 | 214 | 18 | 8,367 | 288 |
| El Progreso | 98 | 1 | 180 | 6 | 6,697 | 77 |
| Jalapa | 97 | 5 | 182 | 18 | 6,233 | 198 |
| Escuintla | 88 | 127 | 251 | 227 | 10,928 | 6,264 |
| Totonicapán | 80 | 1 | 173 | 3 | 5,524 | 52 |
| Baja Verapaz | 79 | 6 | 138 | 10 | 4,060 | 98 |
| Retalhuleu | 66 | 50 | 160 | 67 | 6,122 | 1,434 |
| Sacatepéquez | 62 | 22 | 215 | 83 | 6,980 | 1,442 |
| Sololá | 59 | 12 | 171 | 16 | 3,763 | 138 |
| Izabal | 54 | 16 | 132 | 41 | 1,958 | 1,536 |
| El Petén | 34 | 3 | 102 | 7 | 2,852 | 79 |
| COUNTRY | 2,901 | 1,067 | 7,334 | 2,786 | 250,516 | 55,827 |

Source: Adapted from Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano, *Estudio de Recursos Humanos en Centroamérica, El Sistema Educativo en Guatemala: Situación Actual y Perspectivas*, No. 2, San José, Costa Rica: CSUCA, 1964, pp. 179-190.

About 404,800 primary students were enrolled in 1965, representing about half of all primary school age children. Approximately 327,600 were in public schools. Between 1960 and 1966 enrollment in primary schools increased at a rate of about 6.4 percent per year, more than twice the rate of population growth (see Population, ch. 4). In 1964 the overall student-teacher ratio in public schools was 39 to 1; in private schools it was 22 to 1.

In most parts of the country the school year lasts from January through October, although this schedule may be rearranged in areas where economic or climatic factors warrant. Most schools are in session 5½ days a week, although attendance on Saturday is minimal, particularly in rural areas. In most rural schools students attend from 8:00 a.m. until 12:30 or 1:00 p.m. Urban schools are usually in session between 8:00 a.m. and noon and between 2:00 and 4:00 p.m. Because of overcrowding, many schools have instituted two complete sessions a day in order to accommodate all students. The first lasts from 7:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and the second, from 1:30 p.m. until 5:30. There are also night primary schools in urban areas, principally for students who are over 15 years of age.

Public primary education is free, and national law requires that all children between the ages of 7 and 14 attend school. Full compliance with this law is not expected, however, because most rural primary schools have only three or four grades, and few parents can afford the expense of transporting children to school where the remaining grades are available.

Many children, particularly Indians, do not enroll in school at all. In addition, approximately one-third of all students enrolled in the first grade fail to advance to the second. Between 1950 and 1960 only 16.1 percent of those originally enrolled in the first grade of public school finished the sixth, compared with 25.5 percent of those in private school. This discrepancy was in part accounted for by the fact that children whose parents could afford private school were not inclined to drop out for economic reasons. In a rural setting children are economic assets, and parents may require their children to stay at home to help with agricultural and domestic work.

Truant officers are responsible for seeing that children attend school. Any child who fails to enroll in or attend school regularly may be disciplined by the officer. Because these men are residents of the community, they are reluctant, for many reasons, to enforce the rule.

Teachers are classified into three categories depending upon their educational background. The best qualified primary teachers are those who have degrees in urban education. Acquisition of this

degree requires 6 years of schooling at the secondary level, including 3 years of normal school. Most of these teachers practice in urban schools, although they are qualified to teach in rural ones as well. The starting salary is \$100.00 a month. After each 5 years of teaching, a 20-percent raise is given until the maximum salary of \$200.00 a month is reached.

Specialized teachers in rural education have had at least 2 years of schooling beyond the primary level. The starting salary for these teachers is \$80.00 a month, with the same 20-percent increase every 5 years until a maximum of \$160.00 is reached.

Teachers classified as *empiricos* have had only a primary school education. In 1955 more than 80 percent of all rural primary teachers were *empiricos*. It has been difficult for small rural schools to attract better qualified personnel. In the mid-1960's, however, a law was passed prohibiting *empiricos* from teaching. Some teachers were required to further their education.

The Ministry of Education attempts to ensure uniformity of curriculum throughout the system. The subjects taught are similar for all six grades. They include Spanish language, mathematics, geography, history, science, handicrafts, art and music, health and safety, agriculture, industrial arts, and home economics.

The Ministry of Education distributes such things as chalk, paper, and textbooks. Urban schools, particularly those near the capital, are the best supplied. Many students in rural schools must share textbooks. The Alliance for Progress has distributed books on reading, language, and math, but textbook shortages are still acute.

Urban schools are usually divided into separate classrooms and may be supplied with electric lighting. Most rural schools have only one room in which all grades must be accommodated. Most schools, particularly those at higher altitudes where the weather is cold, have few windows and, since they must rely on natural lighting, the interior is dim on cloudy days. All schools have desks and chairs, some of which have been provided by Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE). CARE has also donated powdered milk and wheat to be distributed among schoolchildren as a midmorning snack. Walls are usually covered with charts, maps, and pictures. Students are expected to bring their own pencils and notebooks to class, but many cannot afford these items.

Secondary Education

In 1961 most secondary schools were located in Guatemala City, Quezaltenango, and a few other department capitals, in contrast to the more widely dispersed primary schools. By 1965 there was a total of about 348 secondary schools, of which 270 were private.

Approximately 27,000 students were enrolled in the public schools, about 25,000 in private. The increase in student enrollment at the secondary level has been notable, particularly in private schools. In 1950 about 9,130 students were enrolled in public schools, compared with 4,451 in private. In 1961 the average number of students per classroom was 40 in the public schools, 20 in private schools.

Secondary education is divided into two cycles. The first is called the Cycle of General Culture and constitutes the first 3 years of the secondary level. Courses taught at this level include mathematics, Spanish, sociology, natural science, drawing and painting, music, handicrafts or domestic science, and a number of optional subjects such as a foreign language (usually English or French) or typing. This 3-year course is a prerequisite for courses followed in the second cycle. Some vocational schools lie outside this general system, however, and may be entered upon completion of primary school.

The second cycle is called the Diversified or Vocational Cycle. Students enter one of four types of schools. Normal, commercial, or vocational schools usually have 3-year course programs, whereas liberal arts schools last for 2 years and lead to the *bachillerato* degree. Courses taught in liberal arts schools include literature, sociology, biology, mathematics, chemistry, a foreign language, and a number of optional subjects.

For economic reasons public and private school students exhibit different characteristics with reference to attrition rates and course programs chosen. Between 1950 and 1960 approximately 31 percent of those students enrolled in public secondary schools completed the full 6 years, compared with about 50 percent of those in private schools. Many of the public and some of the private secondary schools located outside Guatemala City and Quezaltenango offered only the 3-year Cycle of General Culture. Factors preventing students from completing primary school were also involved at the secondary level. Students either could not afford to relocate themselves in order to finish school or had to drop out to help support their families. Private school students, whose families are generally wealthier, did not feel these pressures as acutely.

The Faculty of Humanities of the University of San Carlos grants a degree in secondary education. By 1961 it had granted only 60 such degrees. In that year approximately 70 percent of all secondary teachers were graduates of secondary-level normal schools. About 10 percent had not completed secondary school at all. These teachers either taught at the lowest level or had had experience related to the subjects they taught at the vocational level.

Higher Education

Until recently university-level education was a monopoly of the autonomous University of San Carlos of Guatemala. Between 1950 and 1963 enrollment in the university had increased from 2,180 to 8,170. In 1967, however, five other institutions of higher learning were in operation, although all were relatively small. All of these institutions were located in Guatemala City, although three of the faculties of the University of San Carlos had branches in Quezaltenango.

The University of San Carlos is an autonomous institution. University authorities are elected by both professors and students, who also participate actively in policymaking decisions.

In 1962 the university was comprised of 10 separate faculties: the Faculty of Law, with an enrollment of 1,420; Engineering 1,040, Economic Sciences, 1,000; Medicine, 700; Humanities, 400; Pharmacy, 380; Architecture, 240; Dentistry, 200; Agronomy, 145; and Veterinary Medicine, 100. About 12 percent of the students were women, most of them studying in the Faculties of Pharmacy and Humanities.

The university receives by law 2.5 percent of the national budget for its operations (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8). In 1961 more than half of the university's budget of over Q2.5 million was spent on professors' salaries and administrative costs. About 15 percent was spent on construction. Funds are apportioned to the various faculties according to various criteria. The faculties which received the most funds per student in 1961 were the Faculties of Veterinary Medicine (Q2,449), Dentistry (Q1,070), and Agronomy (Q1,021). Those which received the least were the Faculties of Law (Q120), Economic Sciences (Q204), and Engineering (Q293).

Except between 1964 and 1968, students who completed secondary school and passed the necessary entrance examinations entered one of the faculties and immediately began professional studies. Further specialization within a faculty began after 1 or 2 years. Acquisition of a professional degree, constituting the legal right to practice, required about 6 years of study in most of the faculties.

In 1964 the short-lived School of General Studies was added to the university, which all students were required to attend for an extra 2 years before entering specific faculties. It was set up with the help of the United States Agency for International Development and the Superior Council of Central American Universities (Consejo Superior Universitario de Centro America—CSUCA).

The school was intended, in part, to remedy differences in the students' secondary education.

In addition, it was part of CSUCA's plan to integrate all Central American universities. Under this plan, all the national universities of Central America are to eventually become part of one university system. Each university will specialize in particular areas in order to make the best use of limited resources and to avoid duplication of effort. In 1962 CSUCA designated the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at San Carlos a regional school. Ideally, all further Central American efforts in the field of veterinary medicine will be concentrated at San Carlos.

In the mid-1960's all the national universities of Central America had general studies programs. It was hoped that this step toward standardization of education at the university level would facilitate the free interchange of students among the universities. In 1968, however, students at San Carlos went on strike because they wanted to enroll in a faculty and begin professional studies immediately upon entering the university, feeling that the extra 2 years of university schooling required by the School of General Studies merely delayed their careers. As a result, the school was closed.

Many classes are held in the early morning and at night because most students hold jobs during the day, many of them working for the Government. In addition, the great majority of professors work only part-time at the university. Most are themselves graduates of the university, holders of professional rather than academic degrees, who work full-time at other positions and teach one course or more in the early morning or at night. In 1962 the only faculty which employed more full-time than part-time professors was the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine. The salaries which professional men command in their professional capacities are far in excess of those which the university can supply. In 1964 full-time professors, regardless of their discipline, received Q600 a month.

Rafael Landivar University, named after a Jesuit poet-priest of the 18th century, was opened in 1962. In that year 137 students were enrolled in its three Faculties of Law, Economic Sciences, and Humanities. By 1966 this number had grown to 1,060.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance sponsors the National School of Nursing, which had an enrollment of 73 students in 1966. A 3-year course leads to the basic nursing diploma of *Enferma Graduada* (Graduate Nurse). The Guatemalan Institute of Social Security operated the School of Social Service in which 118 students were enrolled in 1966. Two new universities, Mariano Gálvez University and the University of the Valley of Guatemala, were established in 1967 in Guatemala City.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

Beyond the limits of Guatemala City, the effectiveness of the communication media is greatly reduced but nevertheless significant, particularly for the *ladino* middle and upper classes.

Since nearly half the people speak only Indian languages, the radio audience is generally limited to *ladinos* and those few Indians who understand Spanish (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4). In spite of the predominantly Spanish broadcasts, radio is the most effective means of transmitting information. Radio broadcasts can be received anywhere in the country. Government-owned, mission-owned, and other stations broadcast programs designed to do more than merely entertain.

The nation has no significant film industry; most of the films shown are foreign, except for the few documentaries produced by the Government. Cinema is second only to radio in the number of people it reaches. Most films are shown to predominantly *ladino* audiences, partly because *ladinos* live in the urban areas where theaters are located (see Settlement Patterns, ch. 3).

Since more than 60 percent of the population is illiterate and much of the remainder is only marginally literate, printed matter has relatively little direct impact. The influence of the daily press is affected to some extent by the Government's encouragement of conformity to official views. Pamphlets and clandestine radio broadcasts often contradict the regular news media. Since 1944 formal censorship has been relatively light and sporadic, partly because most newspapers themselves exercise restraint.

The country's five television stations are all located in Guatemala City. This, combined with the prohibitive cost of television sets, limits the potential effectiveness of this medium.

Radio

In late 1967 there were over 90 radio stations broadcasting (see table 7). Twenty-three were shortwave stations, and most of them were either mission or Government owned. The great majority of the mediumwave stations were privately owned and commercially operated. The broadcasting power of a number of them was only a few hundred watts. Most mediumwave stations broadcast all day and part of the night. Shortwave stations generally broadcast only a few hours a day.

In 1964 there were 210,000 radio receivers, or one for every 20 persons. In almost all towns served by electricity a radio is installed in the central plaza, where many people gather to listen to news or other programs of interest. Agricultural workers in plantation communities also often have access to a central radio.

The appeal of this medium is its informal familiar tone. Although the great majority of programs are broadcast in Spanish, there are a few in German, English, Quiche, and Cakchiquel (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4).

Radio programming has adopted many features of the press, although it serves a wider audience, including especially those of minimal wealth and education. The most characteristically Guatemalan aspect of radio broadcasting is the presence of the "radio-papers." Private interests contract for prime radio time, usually during the lunch or supper hours, to advertise, broadcast news and, occasionally, to offer critical political commentary. In addition, people seeking or offering jobs, looking for lost items, announcing deaths in the family, and so forth, use radio.

The Government founded the first radio station in the early 1930's. The Government stations of the mid-1960's played a role in imparting information on Guatemalan culture and health, as well as the official Government stand on political matters. The major portion of broadcast time is given over to popular foreign music, especially from the United States, Mexico, and the Caribbean Islands. Mission-owned stations broadcast religious messages, news, and educational programs.

Radio stations must have licenses to operate and risk suspension of these licenses if their programs are too offensive to the Government. In actuality, however, this authority has been exercised infrequently, although the threat may serve to temper somewhat complaints against the Government, for station owners generally do not wish to risk their investments. For a time during the administration of Jacobo Arbenz, only temporary licenses were issued; these could be revoked at any time. There is little evidence that this power was used, although Arbenz did, in 1954, order amateur radio operators off the air in an attempt to suppress clandestine, anti-Government broadcasts. Many of the broadcasts, however, came from nearby Honduras where Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas was organizing opposition (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Motion Pictures

Motion pictures are second only to radio in the number of people reached. In 1964 there were about 110 movie theaters with a total seating capacity of 73,400. Approximately 10,300,000 admissions were sold. Theaters are run on a commercial basis, and the admission fee is beyond the means of many. About half of this attendance was in the capital alone, followed by the cities of Quezaltenango, Escuintla, Mazatenango, and Puerto Barrios. The greatest attendance was registered in the *ladino* departments and among men,

Table 7. Guatemalan AM Stations, 1967
(5 kilowatts and over)

| City | Station name and owner | Symbol call letters | Wavelength in meters | Frequency in kilocycles | Power in kilowatts |
|----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Guatemala City | Radio Cinco Sesenta | TGBOL | 535.70 | 560 | 10 |
| | Radio Televisión Guatemala S.A. | | | | |
| | La Voz de Guatemala | TGW | 468.80 | 640 | 20 |
| | Radio Nacional (Govt.) | | | | |
| | Radio Fabulosa | TGRT | 447.80 | 670 | 10 |
| | Francisco Maza Castellanos | | | | |
| | Radio Mundial | TGHR | 428.60 | 700 | 5 |
| | Quintana Mourra y Cia. Ltda. | | | | |
| | Radio Cultural | TGN | 416.70 | 720 | 5 |
| | Central American Mission | | | | |
| | La Voz de las Américas | TGO | 375.00 | 800 | 5 |
| | Flamenco, Barrios y Cia. Ltd. | | | | |
| | Radio Internacional | TGTO | 365.90 | 820 | 5 |
| | José Monteros Lenhoff | | | | |
| | Radio Nuevo Mundo | TGJ | 340.90 | 880 | 10 |
| | Humberto Gonzalez Juarez | | | | |
| | La Voz de la Telefunker | TGTL | 326.10 | 920 | 5 |
| | Proesa y Mayorga S. A. | | | | |
| | Radio Panaméricana | TGX | 294.10 | 1020 | 10 |
| | Maria Antonieta Vda. de Paniagua | | | | |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|------|--------|-------|----|
| Radio Centro | TGXA | 288.50 | 1040 | 10 |
| Arturo Enrique Heguel Andreu | | | | |
| Radio Reloj | TGRR | 267.90 | 1120 | 10 |
| Manuel Johnston, Jr. | | | | |
| Radio Sonora | TGT | 263.20 | 1140 | 10 |
| Max Ruiz Tajada | | | | |
| Radio Latina | TGK | 241.90 | 1240 | 5 |
| Gonzalez Gamarra C.L. | | | | |
| La Voz de Guatemala | TGWC | 220.50 | 1360 | 10 |
| Radio Nacional (Govt.) | | | | |
| Radio Cultural | TGNA | 50.40 | 5952 | 5 |
| Central American Mission | | | | |
| Radio Nuevo Mundo | TGJA | 50.08 | 5990 | 5 |
| Humberto Gonzalez Juarez | | | | |
| La Voz de Guatemala | TGWB | 48.54 | 6180 | 10 |
| Radio Nacional (Govt.) | | | | |
| Radio Cultural | TGNB | 31.02 | 9670 | 5 |
| Central American Mission | | | | |
| La Voz de Guatemala | TGWA | 30.74 | 9760 | 10 |
| Radio Nacional (Govt.) | | | | |
| Radio Cultural | TGNC | 25.32 | 11850 | 5 |
| Central American Mission | | | | |
| La Voz de Guatemala | TGWA | 19.78 | 15170 | 10 |
| Radio Nacional (Govt.) | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *AM Stations*, 1967, pp. 198-201.

with the exception of Guatemala City where men and women attend in equal numbers (see Population, ch. 4).

In 1958 the Ministry of Education established an audiovisual center, which continues to offer courses in film making. In 1960 only one short entertainment film was produced in the country, but in the same year three companies produced 29 16-mm newsreels. Various Government ministries produce and use films in their educational programs. In 1960, 670 feature films were imported, about one-third of them from the United States, one-sixth from Mexico, and the rest in approximately equal numbers from Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France.

Newspapers, the Periodical Press and Book Publishing

Most of the major dailies in 1968 had roots in the period immediately following the elections of 1944. Previous governments had authorized freedom of the press, but the privilege had been severely circumscribed. After 1944 the outer limits of permissible dissent were greatly expanded, and the independent press gained greater leeway in printing criticism of the Government.

The only independent daily to appear before 1944 was *El Imparcial* (The Impartial), which began publishing in 1923. It did not become an opposition newspaper until the latter part of President Jorge Ubico's administration (1931-44) when it joined popular feeling against him, opposed some of his policies, and aligned with the reform movement. It opposed President Juan José Arévalo's government, however, from its inception and was strongly anti-Government and anti-Communist until the overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954 (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

The decade between 1944 and 1954 witnessed the rise of a number of dailies and periodicals; nevertheless total circulation of all dailies hardly exceeded 60,000. Coverage polarized into pro- and anti-Government factions. This range of sympathies has not been duplicated in the legitimate press since that time. *El Imparcial*, the *Prensa Libre* (Free Press), set up in 1951, and *La Hora* (The Hour), all representing the anti-Government, anti-Communist point of view, were pitted against the *Diario de Centro América* (Daily of Central America) an official Government newspaper *Nuestro Diario* (Our Daily), a semiofficial newspaper which received a subsidy from the Government, *Octubre* (October), a Communist weekly, and the *Tribuna Popular* (Popular Tribune), the daily which succeeded *Octubre*. The last two used articles from the Soviet Union's news agency, TASS, and the Soviet newspaper, Pravda. Freedom of expression lasted until the last weeks of the Arbenz government when censorship was imposed on the press.

The existence of a true opposition press was not the only factor which distinguished the post-1944 periodicals from their predecessors. A School of Journalism was established in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of San Carlos. Journalism became a profession, and writers became more specialized in their fields of interest. Attacks and clandestine pamphlets decreased because there was ample room for most points of view.

When Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas took over in 1954, the pro-Communist press disappeared and the independent press allied itself with the Government. In 1955 a number of moderately leftist periodicals appeared, including *El Estudiante* (The Student), which was notable because it was more radical than the others. The opposition press disappeared in 1956 and did not emerge again until 1957, after the death of Castillo Armas.

Although an opposition press did reappear after 1957, its tone has remained moderate. Various papers have come out in support of different presidential candidates and have criticized various Government policies, but they have remained within the relatively narrow limits of official tolerance.

During times of political crisis, such as the overthrow of Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes in March 1963 and the assassination of United States Ambassador John Gordon Mein in August 1968, censorship has been imposed (see Political Dynamics and Values, ch. 6). In the case of the assassination, the Public Relations Service of the Army was charged with reviewing all news destined for the public media, including news collected by foreign news agencies for publication abroad.

The Law of Public Order governed this type of situation and was designed to minimize further disorder. Libel laws, however, at least in the early 1960's, were quite lax, although an injured party could expect publication of a retraction, prepared by himself, to be placed in the same position and to be given the same amount of space as the libelous matter.

There were six major daily newspapers being published in 1964, although most were not strictly dailies as they did not publish Sunday editions. The daily circulation for all six combined was about 105,000, providing 2.3 copies per 100 people in the country. Approximately 4,200 tons of newsprint were consumed in 1960. Newspapers received domestic news stories from their own correspondents and from bulletins issued by the Government, since the country had no news agency of its own. Foreign news was supplied mostly by the Associated Press and the United Press International. The language of the press was almost exclusively Spanish. Newspaper readers were predominantly from the middle and upper classes.

In 1964 the two largest dailies, *Prensa Libre* and *El Imparcial*, each had a circulation of about 37,000. Together they accounted for nearly three-quarters of the total circulation of all dailies. By 1967 *Prensa Libre* claimed to have the largest circulation with more than 50,000 copies sold daily (see table 8).

Prensa Libre is considered a liberal paper. It is published in tabloid form, with a five-column page, and runs between 45 and 60 pages in length. About half the space is given over to advertisements. It features a number of columns, ranging from the editorial pages which frequently cover international events, to question-and-answer columns concerning personal problems. Sports, both local and international, are covered in considerable detail, with particular attention given to soccer.

El Imparcial, considered moderately liberal, is an evening paper and is particularly influential within the business community. It usually contains about 20 pages in two sections. Editorials are found on the first page of the second section. Its layout features a standard eight-column page. It contains a small English-language section which covers the highlights of world events. In 1967 it was edited by David Vela, a noted historian and writer.

The *Diario de Centro America*, which had a circulation of about 12,000 in 1964, is the official Government newspaper. *El Gráfico* (The Graphic), a sensationalist tabloid with a heavy emphasis on sports, circulated between 5,000 and 10,000 copies a day in 1964. *La Hora*, an evening paper, had a daily circulation of about 8,000 during that same year. Its editor and director at the time, and for many years previously, was Clemente Marroquin Rojas, who was elected Vice President of the Republic in 1966. The newspaper is nationalistic in character and is often critical of United States policies. *Impacto* (Impact), the morning twin of *La Hora*, circulated about 6,000 copies daily in 1964.

Table 8. Guatemalan Daily Newspapers, 1967
(all are published in Guatemala City)

| Name | Estimated circulation | Remarks |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Prensa Libre</i> | 50,000 | Morning; liberal |
| <i>El Imparcial</i> | 34,000 | Evening; moderately liberal |
| <i>La Hora</i> | 25,000 | Evening |
| <i>Diario de Centro América</i> | 12,000 | Evening; official Government |
| <i>Impacto</i> | 12,000 | Morning |
| <i>El Gráfico</i> | 5,000-10,000* | Morning |

* 1964. Figures for 1967 not available.

Source: Adapted from *Europa Yearbook 1968*; United States Information Agency, Research and Reference Service, *Basic Data Book for Latin America*. Washington: 1965.

In addition to the dailies, a number of other publications were issued. *El Guatemalteco* (The Guatemalan), the official Government gazette, published Government announcements and the texts of new laws. *La Hora Dominical* (The Sunday Hour), edited by the director of *Impacto*, was a Sunday feature magazine.

A number of periodicals were put out by special interests. A few were published by various Government ministries, including *Boletín Económico* (Economic Bulletin), *Revista de la Economía Nacional* (Review of the National Economy), *Revista Militar* (Military Review), and *Folklore de Guatemala* (Folklore of Guatemala). Many of the faculties of the University of San Carlos publish periodicals of their own, including *Anuario de Psicología* (Psychology Yearbook), *Cuadernos de Antropología* (Notebooks of Anthropology), and many others. Organizations such as the National Coffee Association, the Guatemalan Journalists Association, the Red Cross, and the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP) also publish trade publications on a regular basis.

There are few books published in the country. In 1964 only 90 different titles appeared, although this was considerably less than in previous years. The subjects covered were principally in the social sciences, geography and history. A number of novels and books of poetry were also published.

Television

In 1956 the first two television stations began operating, one commercial and the other Government owned. By 1968 five stations were broadcasting, all from Guatemala City, although there were plans to establish stations in Quezaltenango and Cobán (see table 9). The cost of television sets, beyond the means of most, limited the audience. There were an estimated 61,000 sets in the country in late 1967.

Two stations, channels 5 and 9, were owned by the Government and broadcast cultural and educational programs. The three commercial stations, 3, 7, and 11, broadcast a variety of programs, ranging from cartoons, old movies, and serials from the United States to news, Government documentaries, and concertos. Channel 3 transmitted for about 12 hours, from noon to midnight; channel 7, for 8 hours; and channel 11, the newest of the channels, for about 4 hours. A system of receivers and transmitters located in the Department of Quezaltenango made it possible for stations located in Guatemala City to transmit broadcasts originating in Mexico.

Table 9. Guatemalan Television Stations, 1967

(all are located in Guatemala City)

| Ownership | Symbol call letters | Channel | Power in kilowatts (video-audio) | Frequency in kilocycles per second (video-audio) |
|--|---------------------|---------|------------------------------------|--|
| Radio-Televisión Guatemala S.A. | TGBOL TV | A3 | 70 ¹ 35 ¹ | 61250 65750 |
| Televisión Nacional de Guatemala (Govt.) | TGW TV | A5 | 10 5 | 77250 81750 |
| Anleu, Villa Nueva y Cia. Ltda. | TGAB TV | A7 | 5 2.5 | 175250 179750 |
| Government | TGCE TV | A9 | 5 2.5 | 187250 191750 |
| Teleonce ² | TGMO TV | A11 | 10 5 | n.a. do |

n.a.—not available.

¹ Effective radiated power due to the station's antenna system. All others give the actual rated power of the transmitter.

² New in 1968.

Source: Adapted from Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *TV Stations*, 1966; *World Radio and TV Handbook 1968*; *Europa Yearbook 1968*.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

Pre-Columbian Era

The greatest Maya achievements in architecture, sculpture, astronomy, calendrics, and mathematics were attained during what is called the classic age, a 600-year period occurring sometime between the first and the 10th century A.D. (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). They developed a workable place-value system of numeration and the concept of the zero. Their numbers were arrangements of dots, bars, and a stylized shell and could be added and subtracted easily. Their reckonings of the solar year and the time it takes the moon to circle the earth and Venus to circle the sun were amazingly accurate. They could predict solar and lunar eclipses. In addition, some scholars believe that the Maya hieroglyphics, though primarily ideographic, had phonetic components. Their intellectual achievements contrasted sharply with their simple technology. They made no use of the wheel, metal tools, beasts of burden, the plow, or the potter's wheel.

Architecture and Sculpture

The Maya ceremonial center was usually built on a number of level, paved platforms. Buildings, usually surrounding a plaza or courtyard, were constructed on these platforms. There is little

evidence that the sites were planned. Buildings were added at random, unlike many sites in Mexico which display a tight grid pattern. The Maya developed the corbeled arch, a less versatile form than the true arch. The corbeled arch requires a great deal of stone in order to distribute the weight of the roof and thus lends a somewhat topheavy but characteristically Maya appearance to the buildings.

Most of the classic structures were single-storied buildings of limestone blocks, divided sometimes into a few dozen rooms and decorated, sometimes elaborately, in low relief. It is not known for what purpose these so-called palaces were used, but it has been suggested that they were living quarters for either the rulers or the priesthood.

The most impressive buildings constructed by the Maya were the tall, narrow, pyramidal temples which were topped by small structures called roofcombs. Stone steps led all the way to the roofcombs, which were divided into a few narrow rooms where religious ceremonies were performed. The temples and palaces at Tikal, just north of the present capital of El Petén Department are among most impressive of Maya ruins. The five pyramidal temples reach above tree level and range in height from 143 to 229 feet. These temples may have functioned as astronomical observatories from which Maya priests studied the movements of the stars and planets.

The magnificence of the Mayan stelae attest to their skill in sculpture. The two faces of the stelae were usually carved in low relief and are dominated by a Mayan man or god, dressed in elaborate costume and carrying an emblem of office or a shield and spear. Dates and scientific computations are inscribed in hieroglyphics on the sides of the stelae (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Figures on the stelae found at Quiriguá near the lower Motagua River are carefully contained within the sandstone block. The nearest thing to free sculpture attained at Quiriguá are the zoomorphs, so called because of their animal-like shapes. They are actually huge boulders carved in high relief, but retaining, nevertheless, their original boulder shapes.

Painting

Only a few examples of Maya painting have survived. They are the murals mainly of the early and mid-classic period and the painted vases of the mid-classic. The oldest known murals, painted predominantly in reds and blacks, were discovered in Uaxactún, just north of Tikal.

The best murals, from Bonampak, in Chiapas, Mexico, realistically and colorfully depict scenes from Mayan life, such as battles, dances, concerts, and ritual processions. There is depth in the paintings, but individual figures are flat, with no attempt at shading. Scenes painted on pottery are much like those of the murals. The range of color, however, was restricted principally to earthy tones of black, orange, yellow, and brown.

Manuscripts and Literature

Three illustrated manuscripts of pre-Columbian, post-Mayan origin are extant (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). They are the Dresden Codex, thought to be the oldest of the three, the Madrid Codex, and the Paris Codex, named after the cities where they are now located. They are written and painted on long scrolls of fig bark paper and are folded like screens. Astronomical and astrological calculations are the subject matter of all three. Hieroglyphic writing surrounds the illustrations which echo the meaning of the texts. Other sources indicate that Maya books contained histories, genealogies, prophecies, and songs, but none of these have survived.

A number of books were written by Indians after the Spanish conquest, but might properly be considered part of preconquest literature because their subjects concern matters of preconquest history, religion, and myth. The most notable among them is the *Popul Vuh*, or *Book of the Community*, the sacred book of the Maya-Quiché (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4). It relates the cosmology, the religions, and the myths of origin of the Maya-Quiché. It has been called "the most distinguished example of native American literature that has survived." Another account, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*, written by an Indian convert to Catholicism, presents a picture of preconquest life in Sololá and describes the conquest in the eyes of the conquered. The *Books of Chilam Balam* are chronicles of post-Maya history in the Yucatan Peninsula (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Colonial Era

The Spanish consolidated their position and their Christianizing effort in Guatemala partly by encouraging and subsidizing the building of impressive churches. With the advent of a colonial society, Government buildings and homes for the colonial elite were also constructed, but churches and convents dominated the architectural scene and could be found throughout the territory. The other arts—sculpture, painting, music, and literature (mainly historical chronicles)—were also, for the most part, dominated by the Roman Catholic orders and clergy and by Spanish styles. Indian motifs, however, did find their way to the decorative façades

of colonial buildings, and indigenous arts and crafts continued to develop under the influence of the conquerers.

Architecture and Sculpture

The first churches were built in the Franciscan style which pervaded 16th- and 17th-century architecture. The buildings had thick walls and could double as fortresses; Spanish authorities who feared attacks on the new colony decreed that this style be used.

This style gave way to the decorative Spanish baroque in the late 17th and 18th centuries. Many fine examples can be found in Antigua Guatemala, site of the third colonial capital. The church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, completed in 1760, epitomizes the style. Floral and abstract carvings decorate the façade; carved angels adorn the two heavy bell towers, and gilded lions flank the dome. Religious paintings in gilded frames hang inside. It is on the buildings of this period that the Indian, apprenticed to the Spaniard, inserted his own symbols: the corn plant, the serpent, and others. The homes of the colonial elite exhibit strong Moorish and Renaissance influences in their high walls, corridored patios, and decoratively grilled windows.

The subject matter of sculpture and painting was limited chiefly to religious themes. A number of Guatemalan artists achieved renown in the New World and Europe for the imaginative work, although their stylistic heritage was predominantly Spanish. The sculptors, usually Spaniards or *criollos* (persons of Spanish descent born in the New World—see Glossary), worked in marble, stone, alabaster, silver, wood, ivory, and stucco. In the late 16th century Quirio Cataña sculpted the Black Christ of Esquipulas from dark wood which time and candle smoke had turned almost black. Many people now make pilgrimages to Esquipulas, a city in the Department of Chiquimula, in search of miraculous cures (see Religion, ch. 5). Other prominent sculptors of the period were Alonso de Paz; Juan de Chavez, whose statue of Saint Sebastian is considered the best piece of colonial sculpture in the country; and Juan Perales, known for his statues of Christ.

Painting and Music

Paintings were in demand to fill the many churches and Government buildings. Religious paintings and portraits were in abundance, but in the early colonial period scenes of contemporary life were not depicted. The best painters were Tomás de Merio, who did a series on the Passion of Christ, and Antonio de Montúfar, who painted religious murals for the church of El Calvario at Esquipulas.

Toward the end of the colonial period the mode of painting began to change. Painters combined the neoclassical style popular

in Europe with primitivism and began painting scenes from everyday life.

Little music was composed in the colonial era, but Spanish priests used music and song in teaching the Indians the elements of Catholicism. The first songs were Bible stories set to music. Eventually, almost every church had its own choir, and the Indians were enthusiastic participants. The Spaniards also brought their instruments, and the Indians were quick in learning to play them, particularly the guitar and the banjo. The Spaniards, in turn, learned to play Indian drums and the *marimba*, which is similar to the xylophone and is the national instrument of Guatemala.

Literature

The first printing press arrived in Guatemala in 1660. Rigid censorship, however, limited the substance of what was printed. Most of colonial literature consists of writings by priests on subjects of theology, morality, and the histories of their orders. Many official chronicles were also written, but few were printed then, and many of the manuscripts have been lost. The most interesting of colonial writings, however, are those which fit none of these categories.

One of the earliest of these works was done by a Franciscan monk named Diego de Landa. In 1549, motivated by religious zeal, he ordered the burning of a library of books written by native priests before the conquest. Many years later he compiled a manuscript entitled *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* (Relation of Things in Yucatán), which attempted to cover all aspects of native life in the Yucatán. He tried to decipher Mayan hieroglyphics and passed down valuable information to present-day archaeologists. It is doubtful, however, that he contributed as much as he destroyed.

Another early colonial account, entitled *Brevisima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (A Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies), was written by a Dominican, Bartolomé de las Casas, who had been horrified by the massacres of Indians he witnessed in Cuba and Hispaniola. This account of Indian suffering at the hands of the white man inspired the New Laws of 1542, the first step taken to end the enslavement of Indians (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Somewhat in contrast is the chronicle, *Verdadera Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (The True History of the Conquest of New Spain), written by one of Cortes' soldiers, Bernal Diaz del Castillo. It is a chivalric and somewhat idealized account of the conquest.

A number of poets contributed to Guatemalan literature in the 18th and 19th centuries. Notable among these were Friar Matías de Cordova, who wrote fables in classic style, and the Jesuit priest, Rafael Landívar, whose *Rusticatio Mexicana* (Mexican Country Sojourn), written in Latin verse, praised the everyday life and the beauties of New Spain and Guatemala.

After the destruction by earthquake of what is now Antigua Guatemala in 1773, a class of skeptical intellectuals emerged in the new capital, influenced by the American and French Revolutions. Essayists deplored the state of the colony. The poet, Simon Bergaño y Villegas, was condemned by the Inquisition for his "seditious ideas." Writing on the eve of independence, he took his themes from the philosophy of the Enlightenment. He wrote of the need for a new, more moral order on the isthmus (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

From Independence to the 20th Century

After independence most of the nation's energies were expended in political rivalry and in attempts at securing domestic tranquillity; as a result, the arts suffered a setback. Most Guatemalan contributions to literature were in the field of history, as had been the case in the colonial era. The most distinguished historians of the 19th-century postindependence period also served the Government as statesmen or diplomats: Alejandro Marure, who reviewed the events between 1811 and 1828; José Milla y Vidaurre, also a novelist, who wrote about the colonial *audiencia* (high court—see Glossary); and Lorenzo Montúfar y Rivera Maestre, who wrote an anticlerical version of Central American history.

One of the first novels was written by Antonio José de Irisarri, an antiliberal, whose picaresque stories satirized the customs of the times. The best novelist was José Milla y Vidaurre, who wrote historical novels romantically evoking the colonial past and mildly satirical accounts of life in postindependence Guatemala. Perhaps the best poet was José Batres Montúfar, who was a master of humorous, picaresque, lyric poetry. His poems criticized the ignorance and violence of his time.

It was not until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, however, that the arts began again to flourish. Much of 20th-century art has been deeply concerned with bringing out the indigenous or Indian aspect of Guatemalan culture; it is this which distinguishes it from previous artistic expression, which looked almost exclusively to Europe for its moods.

Indian Arts and Crafts

Spanish colonial influences can be seen today in much of Indian culture. In turn, Indian influences can be seen in much of the more sophisticated elements of 20th-century art.

Spanish priests introduced many dramas and narrative dances in hopes of supplanting what were considered pagan Indian practices. Many such performances have survived, such as the Dance of the Devils, the Dance of Saint George and the Dragon, and the Passion play.

Narrative dances with historical themes, however, have proved more popular. One of them is the Dance of the Conquest, written by a priest in 1542. It celebrates the Spanish victory over the Indians and is usually performed at fiesta time. Indians bedecked in elaborate rented costumes and carved and painted masks are divided into three groups: the Spaniards, the Indian warriors, and the royal family of the Quiché king. The dialogue is spoken and chronicles the coming of the Spaniards to Xelajú and the killing of the Quiché king, Tecún Umán by Pedro de Alvarado (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). The highly stylized dance steps are accompanied by the *tambor* (a native drum covered with deerskin) and the *chirimía* (a crudely made oboe). Manuscripts containing the dialogue can be found in various parts of the country.

Narrative dances of pre-Columbian origin also survive. They usually depict the struggle between man and some force of nature or between good and evil. The Deer Dance is symbolic of the struggle between man and animal. Before the dance the men of the village select a tree from the forest which, with much ceremony and ritual, is cut, stripped, and set upright in the village plaza. A rope is strung from the top of the pole to the top of the village church. On the feast day dancers dressed in animal skins and others representing the Ancestors (mankind) watch as one dancer dressed as a monkey climbs to the top of the village church while a shaman shinnies up the pole. The "monkey" crosses the rope to the shaman and descends the pole. Then the dance begins. It may go on for days before the "animals" yield symbolically to the supremacy of man. The Dance of the Jesters depicts the rivalry between man and animal for the favor of a woman; it probably had its origin in pre-Columbian fertility rites.

Indians rarely sing except when they are involved in Catholic ritual or when they are drunk. The instruments they use to make music are many and varied. The *marimba*, played by Indian and *ladino* alike, is the national instrument of Guatemala, although its origin has not been definitely established. Similar to a xylophone, its graded keys made of hormigo wood compose the double

or chromatic scale. Wooden boxes of irregular shape and various sizes hang beneath the keys and serve as resonators. The instrument is played by striking with rubber-tipped sticks. Most *marimbas* are so long that they must be played by several musicians. This type of *marimba* is gradually replacing the old gourd type, so called because the resonators are made of gourds.

In addition to those instruments introduced by the Spaniards or modeled after European ones, such as the guitar, violin, *chirimía*, and the *zu* (similar to a flute), are instruments of definitely native origin. Native melodic instruments include the *caracol* (a large shell which, when blown, sounds somewhat like a bagpipe), the *ocarina* (made of reeds, cane, or bone and similar to a flute), and the *tzijolaj* (a cane or reed piccolo with three or four perforations). Native percussion instruments include the *tun* (a hollowed log, the ends of which are sealed), the *tambor*, the *chinchines* (rattles), and the *tortuga* (a kind of drum made from a turtle's shell).

Much of Indian music resembles the songs of native birds. The song of the *cenzonile* bird, for example, contains only the intervals from second through sixth, as do many native tunes. Ritual or ceremonial music in particular displays this natural source of inspiration.

The Indian, working with primitive tools, is a fine craftsman. Magnificent and colorful handwoven textiles are his trademark, but other utilitarian and ceremonial items are also produced with much the same care (see *Ethnic Groups*, ch. 4). Gourds are painted and engraved, sometimes with pre-Columbian designs. Ceramic pottery is both handmolded and turned on the potter's wheel.

Spanish priests considered many of the symbols found on textiles pagan and encouraged the adoption of symbols which were meaningful to them. The Indians modified their crafts in line with European tastes, but imbued the new symbols with old significance: the double-headed eagle signified Charles V to the Spanish but a double-headed god to the Indians. The cross, symbolic of Christianity to the Spaniard, signified the four winds and the four directions to the Indian. Most symbols found on textiles related either to fertility (such as flowers and the scorpion), other life sources (such as the sun, the moon, a grain of corn), or deities (such as the jaguar and the plumed serpent).

The 20th Century

Many of the best modern artists, including writers, composers, painters, and sculptors, have been concerned with incorporating Indian themes, both pre-Columbian and contemporary, into their art and portraying the realities of contemporary life. Writers, in

addition, have exhibited renewed interest in social and political criticism and have continued their contributions in the field of history.

Music

Guatemalan composers have not been prolific and have been perhaps better received abroad than they have at home. Despite the fact that an orchestral group was founded in 1934, later to become the National Symphony Orchestra, and a National Conservatory of Music was established in 1941, many of the best musicians have gone abroad to perform and to join foreign orchestras. Since about 1945 the National Radio has devoted many of its programs to playing native folk music and the works of great composers. The majority of the people, however, prefer lighter music and band concerts and, as a consequence, the audience for orchestral music has been limited.

The first Guatemalan symphony was written in 1896 by a student of Indian folk music, Jesús Castillo. Indian themes permeate most of his compositions. He also wrote an opera, "Quiche Vinak," which was first performed in France in 1925, and a musical suite "Popol Buj." His half brother Ricardo Castillo, made use of his findings and composed a suite entitled "Guatemala," an impressionistic piece based on native rhythms and melodic inflections. Raul Paniagua wrote the "Maya Legend," a symphonic poem first played in New York.

Painting and Sculpture

Twentieth-century artists exhibit many styles in their painting and sculpture, but nearly all of them portray Mayan or everyday Guatemalan themes.

Most of the painters of the early 20th century were landscape artists whose works were realistic. The best among them were Humberto Garavito and Alfredo Gálvez Suárez. One of the best sculptors of that time was Rodolfo Galeotti Torres, who executed legendary gods and other figures in stone, creating an impression of vigor by exaggerating the size of the limbs.

Carlos Mérida, an Indian of the Quiché-language group, originally studied music under Jesús Castillo, who instilled in him a respect for Indian culture. He turned from music to water-color, tempera, oil, mosaic, and other media. His best works portray the formal heritage of Mayan culture in a modern abstract style. He was the forerunner of a whole generation of artists.

After 1944 the horizon of the arts was expanded. Most artists had begun their careers in the National School of Plastic Arts. Scholarships for study abroad became available from Government

and international sources. The renewed contact with Europe encouraged new forms of expression. Between 1950 and 1960 artists working in a variety of media produced a prodigious amount of work.

Four sculptors, Dageberto Vásquez, Guillermo Grajeda Mena, Roberto González Goyri, and Efraín Recinos, imitated the art of pre-Columbian stone carvers in their statues and the reliefs they produced for building façades. Arturo Martínez painted imaginative abstract scenes of rural Guatemala. Rodolfo Abularach, a fine draftsman, painted abstract pictures of Indian celebrations, inspired by Indian symbols.

Literature

In the 1920's a group of writers began producing a critical literature in response to contemporary world and national events (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). For the most part, writers have been middle- and upper-class natives of Guatemala City, Antigua, and Quezaltenango, although many of their novels and sociological and historical treatises have been acutely sensitive to modes of life outside their immediate experience. They have usually attended the University of San Carlos and been enrolled in either the Faculty of Law or of Humanities. The Government has, in general, not afforded them the same support that it has painters and musicians.

The most important writer of the 20th century has been Miguel Ángel Asturias, lyric poet, novelist, and diplomat. In 1966 he was awarded the Lenin Literature Prize and, in 1967, the Nobel Prize for Literature. During the first stage of his career he studied Maya civilization in Paris and later wrote *Leyendas de Guatemala* (Legends of Guatemala), first published in 1930, in which he combines ancient Mayan myths with his own poetic images. Many of his works are *criollo* novels which illuminate the significance of native people and places. His most famous novel is *El Señor Presidente* (Mr. President), 1946, which is a fierce condemnation of dictatorship and an intense, expressionistic description of the suffering of society under it. He also wrote a trilogy, *Viento Fuerte* (Strong Wind), 1950; *Papa Verde* (Green Pope), 1954; and *Los Ojos de los Enterrados* (The Eyes of the Interred), in which he paints a harsh portrait of life on the foreign-owned banana plantations.

Asturias is not considered either a Leftist or a pro-Communist. He has held the highest literary posts in Guatemala; has been Ambassador to several countries; and Guatemalan Ambassador to France since 1966 (under an anti-Communist government). He won the Prix Sylla Monsegur and the Prix du Meilleur Roman

Etranger in France, the Lenin Prize for Peace in 1966, and the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1967.

Another writer who has made use of the *criollo* novel is Mario Monteforte Toledo. His *Entre la Piedra y la Cruz* (Between the Stone and the Cross) describes the conflict between primitive and sophisticated society which the educated Indian experiences. He has also written works of sociology.

Most of the literature of the 1940's has been characterized as "militant socialist realism." Writers were concerned with matters of political consequence. When President Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown in 1954, many writers left the country and wrote material condemning the turn of political events.

Playwriting has not been an important part of Guatemalan literature, partly because the potential audience for it is small. Interest in the theater is growing, however, and a number of companies do stage performances of foreign plays.

CHAPTER 8

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS, DOMESTIC TRADE, FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The country is basically agricultural with a well-defined export sector producing the same products in almost the same ratios year after year. It is heavily dependent upon foreign sources for most of its manufactured articles. The most serious problem is the economy's vulnerability to price fluctuations in international markets. Government finance is closely tied to foreign trade, and taxation is considered regressive and in need of reform. The Government must continually reduce its expenditures from planned levels because of lack of revenue. The public debt, once nonexistent, is rising and starting to become an obstacle to development as amortization payments fall due.

The banking system is a combination of Government-owned and private banks, including foreign. Credit and monetary policies are very conservative, and the Bank of Guatemala exercises strict control over the system. The currency, whose basic unit is the quetzal (Q1 equals US\$1), is one of the most stable in the world. Commerce contributes an important share to the gross national product (GNP). Foreign trade is well-organized, and transportation is sufficiently developed. The major retail establishments are owned by foreigners or Guatemalan citizens of foreign birth or descent. Coffee, cotton, sugar, beef, and bananas are the major exports, and the United States is the primary trading partner. Of increasing importance is the Central American Common Market (CACM—see Glossary), which presents a much larger market for domestic industry. Guatemala has continual balance of payments problems which are partially offset by foreign investment and economic aid.

Guatemala's GNP is the largest of the Central American countries; in 1967 it was about Q1.5 billion. The GNP growth rate has averaged 5 percent annually since 1950, one of the highest growth rates in all of Latin America. This average rate, however, obscures the fact that the economy is erratic and that the rates fluctuate widely from one year to another. For example, GNP grew by more than 7 percent in 1965 but by only 3.5 percent in 1966 and by slightly over 3 percent in 1967. Furthermore, the population is

increasing at a rate of more than 3 percent annually so that the real per capita growth, while still substantial, is much lower than the overall growth of GNP. Per capita income has been growing at a rate of about 2.5 percent since 1957 and was Q314 in 1966, a great improvement from 1955, when it was less than Q170.

Per capita income, however, is an inaccurate measure of general well-being because the wealth is very unequally distributed. The Guatemala National Planning Council estimates that 50 percent of the population is not in the money economy and that the per capita income of those in the money economy is really much higher than per capita figures indicate. The subsistence farmer's annual income is estimated at about \$85, whereas 7 percent of the urban population has a per capita income of about \$2,200, one of the highest in the world.

Agriculture, including forestry, hunting, and fishing, is usually the leading contributor to GNP with about 29 percent, followed by commerce, 27 percent; manufacturing, 14.5 percent; rental of property, 7.7 percent; private services 6.8 percent; transportation and communications, 5.3 percent; defense and public administration, 4.4 percent; banking, insurance, and real estate, 2.2 percent; construction, 1.9 percent; public utilities, 1.1 percent; mining, 0.1 percent. Although this percentage pattern has been fairly steady since 1950, in 1964 and 1965 commerce actually surpassed agriculture as the leading contributor to GNP.

The 1964 census indicated that there were 1.3 million economically active persons in Guatemala. Sixty-five percent of them were engaged in agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing. This was a drop of 3 percentage points from the 1950 census, indicating a slight success in the Government's attempt to diversify the economy.

The economy of Guatemala can be divided into three major sectors: domestic food production, export crops, and industry. These sectors are supplemented by construction and miscellaneous services. The Indian economy, predominantly subsistence agriculture, is largely self-supporting and regional. The Indians are, at best, only partially in the money economy. Surplus production is usually bartered or sold in local markets, and during the harvest season the Indian may work for money wages on plantations in order to be able to purchase the few items, such as tools and medicines, for which he cannot barter. The major weakness of the domestic crop production is the low level of productivity, caused by primitive agricultural techniques and an outmoded land tenure pattern. This sometimes forces the importation of food.

Commercial agriculture is in the hands of the *ladino* (non-Indian—see Glossary) aristocracy, foreign fruit companies, and

the Government. Most of the development in agricultural production has been in the export products, such as coffee, cotton, sugar, and beef. The development of plantation agriculture contrasts with the stagnation of the balance of agricultural production.

At the same time, because the economy is so dependent upon exports of a few products, it is subject to crises arising from fluctuations in the world market price for these products. Government revenues are tied to foreign trade and, therefore, public income and investment rise and fall together with foreign trade. Years of rapid growth in the GNP have always been associated with good export years. A major problem is the need to reduce the dependence upon coffee exports.

Manufacturing production increased at an average annual rate of 10 percent between 1961 and 1967. Industry is mainly food processing, but the growth is taking place in nonfood consumer products. The Central American Common Market and tax benefits granted under industrial development laws have been responsible for the increase in manufacturing activity.

The monetary authority is the Bank of Guatemala, which follows a conservative monetary and credit policy designed to protect the balance of payments. Budgets are moderate and capital expenditures have been less than planned because of the lack of revenue.

GOVERNMENT ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

Guatemala's economic growth is influenced less by Government policies than by private investment. The Government seems to prefer letting private investment, which is relatively free from controls, lead the way to economic growth.

The Government has taken little lead in the stimulation of economic development. It adjusts its expenditures to its current income and really cannot plan ahead because so much of its income is derived from foreign trade activities which fluctuate annually. Needed tax reform has continually been postponed because of its unpopularity, and the public debt continues to grow. If the Government contracts too many foreign loans to complete its planned investment, then it will have balance of payments problems.

Nevertheless, the Government does have a role in economic planning and does have some institutions which have an effect upon economic development. The most important of these is the National Economic Planning Council (Consejo Nacional de Planificación Económica), created in 1954, reorganized in 1958, and reorganized again in 1961. It is directly subordinate to the President of the Republic. The council has prepared three develop-

ment plans for the country. The first one covered the years 1955-60 and was based upon a study done by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (commonly known as the World Bank.) The goals were high, and nearly 30 percent of planned expenditures was not achieved. The second plan, for 1960-64, a continuation of the first, was more in line with Guatemala's financial capabilities. The third plan, for the period 1965-69, deals with both national development and the integration of Guatemala's economy into the Central American Common Market.

The plan has a priority list of projects most of which are for road development, agriculture, and electric energy expansion. The plan contemplates that the public sector will finance nearly 30 percent of the cost of the projects, with private investment financing the balance. The first year's performance of the plan was so low that the overall expenditures had to be revised downward for the balance of the period. The National Planning Council's influence is weakened because it has no executive power, since it can only recommend and coordinate.

The Government-owned Institute for the Development of Production (Instituto de Fomento de la Producción—INFOP) is engaged in many economic activities, most of them agricultural. INFOP has three divisions: the Department of Agriculture, Livestock, and Industrial Credit, whose principal function is granting short-term loans to small- and medium-sized producers; the Department of Development, which carries out studies on basic resources of the country, guarantees minimum prices to agricultural producers, operates warehouses and grain elevators, establishes industrial enterprises, promotes tourism, and other functions; and the Department of Low Cost Housing, which gives loans for low-cost housing. INFOP is a valuable part of the economic development of Guatemala, and its credit operations do not compete with those of other domestic financial institutions.

As an incentive for economic development by private capital, Guatemala utilizes taxation benefits to a great degree. New industries are exempt from import duties for 10 years, and from 100 percent of income tax for 5 years, and 50 percent for another 5 years. Existing industries are also granted tax benefits when expanding. The construction industry is stimulated by exempting new buildings from the real estate tax for a number of years and exempting materials used in hotel construction from import duties. In addition to the tax on idle lands, there are other tax incentives for agricultural development; for example, those for the importation of fertilizers, farm machinery, forest fire extinguishers, insecticides, cotton seed, purebred cattle, and fungicides. Companies operating in the sparsely settled El Petén Department are granted

exemption from taxes, fees, and fiscal surcharges. Rubber planters are exempt from taxes for a period of 10 years. All bonds and other securities issued by the state, municipalities, and state entities are exempt from the stamp tax and the inheritance tax. Cooperatives are granted certain tax benefits to encourage their development. The handicraft industry may obtain tax exemptions on raw materials and machinery for 10 years.

There are other ways in which the Government has a role in developing the economy. The Association for the Development of Agricultural Markets is an autonomous public service nonprofit association made up of the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Agricultural Institute, Guatemala City, and any other municipalities wishing to join. It administers the wholesale markets and provides warehousing and refrigeration. The National Coffee Association, by agreement with the Government, regulates the coffee export market. The National Wheat Growers Association, created by the Government but operating with private funds, protects grain prices by buying and selling wheat. A decentralized State agency, the Industrial Development and Productivity Center, helps private investment to increase production and also to assist in training technicians for private industry.

In addition, the Government is actively encouraging the development of El Petén Department. In 1959 a law created an enterprise for the Economic Development of El Petén (Fomento y Desarrollo Económico de El Petén—FYDEP). Under FYDEP the Government constructs roads and public works and promotes tourism and the colonization of the Department. The Government looks to private enterprise to exploit the natural resources of the area.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Budget

The President of Guatemala must submit the proposed budget annually to Congress through the Ministry of Finance at least 60 days before the beginning of the fiscal year, which has coincided with the calendar year since January 1965. Before that date, the fiscal year was ended on June 30. Congress must approve the budget no later than December 15 of each year. If the new budget is not approved, then the previous budget continues in force. If Congress is not in session when the budget is presented, then it must meet in a special session to act only on the budget. The decentralized autonomous and semiautonomous agencies may have special budgets when provided by law; otherwise there is only one budget which is prepared by the Budget Department of the Ministry of Finance. The Organic Law of the Budget regulates its preparation and execution.

Budget receipts are administered by the national treasury and also by various offices of the Ministry of Finance, such as the Customs Office and the General Revenue Office. The Ministry of Finance also has local tax offices throughout the country. Controls over the financial operations of the Government, municipalities, and state entities are exercised by the Office of Comptroller of Accounts, an independent agency.

The Departments, as major subdivisions of the Government, do not have their own budgets or sources of income. Their operating funds are provided directly from the central Government's budget. The municipalities do have their own budgets. The budget of Guatemala City, Q9.5 million in 1967, was equal to about 60 percent of the combined budgets of all municipalities in the country. Municipal budgets usually are close to being balanced, with very small deficits occasionally occurring.

The central Government spends about 84 percent of all public sector current expenditures; the municipalities, about 5 percent; the Social Security Institute, 8 percent; and San Carlos University, 2.5 percent.

The budget is broken down into ordinary and extraordinary expenditures. Ordinary is synonymous with current expenditures; extraordinary, with capital expenditures. The extraordinary budget could also be called the development budget since most of it is for infrastructure, but it also includes funds for amortization payments on the public debt. Ordinary expenses are listed in the budget as either operating or transfer payments (see table 10). Transfers are interest and commissions (not amortization) paid on the public debt and retirement benefits and bonuses paid to Government employees.

Guatemala usually has problems balancing the budget; actual expenditures are almost always lower than those budgeted. For example, the 1966 budget called for expenditures of Q155 million, but less than Q136 million was actually spent. The principal problem of the budget is the low probability of achieving the planned public investment for capital projects. The percentage of fulfillment in every year since 1960 has ranged between 50 and 84 percent. Despite this, a deficit has occurred annually since 1961, as revenues failed to reach expectations. Over 85 percent of the costs of capital investment are financed by domestic loans; 7 percent, by foreign grants; and the small balance, from taxes. Deficits are financed by domestic and foreign loans and bond issues.

When President Méndez took office in 1966 he encountered the following budgetary situation: a low level of current income; a high level of operating and administrative expenses; obligations to amortize a high public debt contracted between 1962 and 1966

Table 10. Actual Expenditures of the Guatemalan Central Government,
1965 and 1966 ¹

(in thousands of quetzales ²)

| | 1965 | 1966 |
|---|---------|---------|
| ORDINARY EXPENDITURES: | | |
| Operating: | | |
| Social and cultural | 81,437 | 33,258 |
| General administration | 49,663 | 50,181 |
| National defense | 14,271 | 14,676 |
| Total Operating | 95,371 | 98,115 |
| Transfers: | | |
| Interest and commissions on public debt .. | 4,804 | 5,858 |
| Retirement benefits | 3,027 | 5,590 |
| Total Transfers | 7,831 | 11,448 |
| Total Ordinary | 103,202 | 109,563 |
| EXTRAORDINARY OR CAPITAL EXPENDITURES: | | |
| Highways | 7,197 | 5,309 |
| Public works | 11,475 | 12,213 |
| Agricultural development | 2,326 | 1,915 |
| Socioeconomic | 3,146 | 739 |
| Electrification | 4,343 | 3,600 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,197 | 2,648 |
| Total Extraordinary | 29,684 | 26,424 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | 132,886 | 135,987 |

¹ Fiscal year equivalent to calendar year.

² Q1 equals US\$1.

Source: Adapted from Bank of Guatemala, 1966 Annual Report.

(Q157 million in June 1966); and limitations on the ability of public savings to finance investments necessary for development of the country. The 1967 budget, as submitted to Congress, attempted to maintain the 1966 level with slight exceptions and totaled Q188.5 million, of which Q57 million was for capital investment. Actual capital expenditures in the period 1960-66 had averaged only Q30 million because adequate financing of all planned projects could not be obtained. The same thing occurred in 1967; of the planned capital budget of Q57 million, only Q33 million was spent. The 1968 budget proposal, therefore, was cut to Q178 million, with only Q46 million destined for capital expenditure. In addition, austerity measures were invoked, and a number of public employees were dismissed.

Since 1960 about two-thirds of all expenditures have been used for salaries, public debt payments, and defense. Salaries have accounted for 84 percent of all consumption expenditures and the actual amount has been growing at an average annual rate of 7 percent since 1950. By function, the largest single item has been

education, followed by public works and defense. Again, most of the expenses for education and public works have been for salaries. By Ministries, the Ministry of Finance usually appears in the budget as having nearly 30 percent of the budget allotted to it, but about half this amount is for transfers to the autonomous agencies and state-owned companies, such as the National Electrification Institute (Instituto Nacional de Electrificación—INDE), the Agrarian Transformation Institute, and the Housing Institute. The Ministry of Public Works and Communication, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of National Defense usually have about 45 to 50 percent of the budget among them. The smallest amount of the budget is allotted to the Ministries of Labor and Foreign Affairs. Public Health receives about 9 percent, and the Ministry of Agriculture receives about 3 percent.

Revenue

The public sector in Guatemala is defined as the central Government, including the autonomous agencies, plus the municipalities, the Social Security Institute, and University of San Carlos. The central Government absorbs about 80 percent of all public sector current revenue; the municipalities, about 8 percent; the Social Security Institute, about 9 percent; and San Carlos University, the remaining 3 percent. About 90 percent of all public income comes from taxes, mostly indirect (see table 11). The second most important source of income is what is termed consigned or assigned income. This may be tax or nontax receipts. It is income from a specific source and transferred by the Government to autonomous entities and institutions or used for a specific purpose. Income from the Government-owned pawnshops, interest on Government deposits, and special surcharges on customs duties or alcoholic beverage taxes would be considered consigned income.

Nontax income is the third most important source of income. This is revenue from public services, income from Government property, sale of commercial products of the state, and retirement deductions. Nontax and tax income are termed ordinary income in budget preparation. Consigned income is considered as part of extraordinary income. The other part of extraordinary income is called nonconsigned and consists of grants, loans, and miscellaneous items, including any surpluses from previous years.

Traditionally, public income in Guatemala is low in relation to national income and has prevented the Government from making necessary investments in infrastructure. Since 1960 public investment has been only about 1.5 percent of national income.

Table 11. Source of Revenue of the Guatemalan Central Government,
1965 and 1966 ¹

(in thousands of quetzales ²)

| | 1965 | 1966 |
|---|----------------|----------------|
| ORDINARY INCOME: | | |
| Tax Income: | | |
| Direct Taxes: | | |
| Income Tax | 13,492 | 12,370 |
| Real Estate Taxes | 2,578 | 3,003 |
| Inheritance Tax | 262 | 348 |
| Total Direct Taxes | 16,333 | 15,721 |
| Indirect Taxes: | | |
| Import Duties and Consular Fees | 30,853 | 27,531 |
| Export Duties | 8,455 | 8,531 |
| Alcohol and Alcoholic Beverage Tax | 12,299 | 12,278 |
| Soft Drink Tax | 868 | 992 |
| Tobacco Tax | 4,649 | 4,613 |
| Property Transfer Tax | 505 | 514 |
| Stamp Tax | 15,592 | 16,902 |
| Vehicle Tax | 1,934 | 1,321 |
| Public Health | 209 | 213 |
| Petroleum Products Tax | 8,625 | 10,362 |
| Other Indirect Taxes | 523 | 2,056 |
| Total Indirect Taxes | 84,812 | 85,313 |
| Total Tax Income | 101,145 | 101,034 |
| Nontax Income: | | |
| Patrimonial Income | 255 | 222 |
| Public Services | 2,605 | 3,860 |
| Sale of State Owned Products | 450 | 395 |
| Miscellaneous | 2,560 | 2,603 |
| Total Nontax Income | 5,870 | 7,080 |
| Total Ordinary Income | 107,015 | 108,114 |
| CONSIGNED EXTRAORDINARY INCOME: | | |
| Pawnshop | 2,047 | 2,299 |
| Customs 10 Percent Surtax | 4,453 | 4,170 |
| Telephones | 1,934 | 2,544 |
| Alcohol Surtax, Decree 934 | 1,273 | 11,325 |
| Liquor Surtax, Decree 435 | 636 | 663 |
| Cigarette Manufacturing Surtax | 222 | 71 |
| Interest Earned | 410 | 89 |
| Sale of Helmets, Decree 38 | 681 | 662 |
| Decree Law 132 Tax | 118 | 242 |
| Traffic Light Tax | | 141 |
| Airline Passenger Tax | | 98 |
| Total Consigned Extraordinary Income | 11,775 | 12,304 |
| NONCONSIGNED EXTRAORDINARY INCOME: | | |
| Grants | 1,094 | 1,309 |
| Miscellaneous | 2,666 | 771 |
| Total Nonconsigned Extraordinary Income | 3,760 | 2,080 |
| TOTAL INCOME | 122,550 | 122,498 |

¹ Fiscal year is equivalent to the calendar year.

² Q1 equals US\$1; figures rounded to the nearest thousand.

Source: Adapted from Bank of Guatemala, 1966 Annual Report, Guatemala.

Geographically, more than 50 percent of all Government income comes from the Department of Guatemala, followed by Izabal, which contains the ports of Matías de Gálvez and Puerto Barrios, and by Escuintla, which contains the port of San José.

Municipal revenues come from a percentage of the central Government's ordinary revenues, public service charges, such as water supply and sanitation, and license fees, fines, and consumption taxes. Local taxes may be levied but must be approved by the central Government and usually vary from one municipality to another. There are five different taxes on vehicles. One of them is an annual tax on the circulation of motor vehicles and bicycles, collected by the national police and then distributed to the municipalities. The gasoline consumption tax and the tax on bus tickets also go to the municipalities. There are no departmental taxes. Guatemala City, in addition to its regular income, has obtained funds from loans and bond issues.

Taxation

The Guatemalan tax burden through 1967 has been the second smallest in Latin America. It never exceeded 10 percent of GNP in any one year. Traditionally, Guatemala relied on indirect taxation and did not adopt an income tax until 1963. The large number of persons outside the money economy has prevented an increased use of direct taxes. Business firms pay most of the taxes in Guatemala; in some years they pay as much as 90 percent of all taxes collected. Although business pays most of the taxes, nearly 80 percent of its burden can be shifted to the consumer in the form of higher prices. Proportionally, the highest tax burden falls on the coffee grower, who has the least opportunity to pass on his tax costs because he has no control over the price he receives for coffee.

By 1968 tax reform was badly needed according to all informed sources. There exist about 200 laws and decrees on taxes, many of them minor. Indirect taxes constitute between 80 to 90 percent of all tax revenues and, of the indirect taxes, import and export duties are the most important. These are subject to foreign trade fluctuations and international agreements. The income tax is not an important source of revenue, and the various consumption taxes bring in 40 percent more revenue than the income tax. The Government initiated a 3-year program in 1967 to improve tax collection techniques, and a commission studying basic reform was due to report its recommendations during 1968. A constant problem of tax reform is congressional reluctance and public opposition. As an example of this, the Government had to repeal an emergency tax on luxury and nonessential goods 8 days after

it was passed in early 1968 because of widespread violent reaction to the tax.

Indirect Taxes

Foreign Commerce Taxes. Import and export duties are the single most important source of tax revenue. They account for about half of all taxes collected annually. The export taxes, about 7 percent of the total tax revenue, are the easiest taxes to collect but contribute less than do the import duties. The coffee export tax is on a sliding scale rate based on price per 100 pounds. Banana exports are taxed at either one or two centavos per bunch, depending upon area of production. Cotton and chicle are taxed at a fixed rate. A few other products are taxed only if the export value exceeds a fixed price.

The Customs Code and the Central American Uniform Tariff Nomenclature (Nomenclatura Arancelaria Uniforme Centroamericana—NAUCA) contain the basic legislation for import and export duties. NAUCA applies both specific and ad valorem duties. The specific duties usually are on a gross weight basis, and the ad valorem is cost, insurance, and freight (CIF) value. Capital goods have the lowest duties, from zero to a maximum of 15 percent. Consumer goods which cannot be made in the Central American Common Market countries run from 25 to 50 percent. Luxury goods and consumer items which could be manufactured in the common market area are dutiable at 100 to 150 percent. The average incidence on all consumer goods is about 80 percent. For those items excepted from the NAUCA, Guatemala's national Customs Tariff applies.

There has been a slight fall in yield in recent years mainly because of the number of duty-free goods which can enter the country from member countries of the Central American Common Market, duty-free goods for new industries under the various development laws, and a decrease in coffee exports. A permanent tariff commission studies the tariff to adapt it both to the country's economic situation and the equalization of rates for Central American economic integration. Rates may be increased or reduced by 20 percent, and a surcharge of 100 percent of the duty may be applied to certain products imported from countries with which Guatemala has an unfavorable trade balance. In 1967 this surcharge applied to imports from 28 countries. The surcharge is waived if the goods are transported on Guatemalan ships.

Consumption Taxes. The various consumption taxes provide about 20 percent of tax revenue and are the second most important source of tax income. Guatemala is the most dependent of all Latin American countries upon consumption taxes. Of the various consumption

taxes, those levied on alcohol and alcoholic beverages are the most important, constituting about 15 to 16 percent of the total tax revenue. The rates are numerous and variable, based upon classification of the product. The tax is paid by the manufacturer or importer. Because of the importance of alcoholic consumption taxes, there are detailed rules and regulations on the manufacture, storage, and sale of the products involved. Evasion of the alcoholic beverage tax by registered producers is almost impossible. Every shipment is recorded by a Government employee at the factory or warehouse. On the other hand, there is probably a large amount of illegally produced liquor for home consumption, some of which is sold and never taxed.

Tobacco taxes (cigars, cigarettes, raw and semimanufactured tobacco) are another important source of revenue, representing about 6 percent of all taxes collected. Other consumption taxes are levied on soft drinks, vehicles, lotteries, radio receivers, salt, gasoline, bus tickets, railroad tickets, and airplane tickets, but these yield only moderate returns. The railroad ticket tax is for orphanages and is paid directly by the railroad to such institutions. *Transaction Taxes.* There are three types of transaction taxes, and together they constitute about 9 percent of the tax revenue. The most important of the transaction taxes is the stamp and stamped paper tax. Most acts, contracts, and documents must be on stamped paper sold by the treasury or, if on ordinary paper, must bear the applicable amount in stamps. The other transaction taxes are the court tax, assessed on judicial and administrative proceedings, and the notarial tax, assessed on notarized documents. The proceeds of the latter two transaction taxes go respectively to San Carlos University and the Guatemala Bar Association.

Other Indirect Taxes. There are a number of small indirect taxes whose total proceeds are not significant. Among these are various business taxes, such as licenses and permits and road levies, payable by males over 18 years of age with assets over Q5,000; highway levies, payable in either money or two weeks of labor service by all males; passport and visa fees; tourist tax on tourist cards and hotel bills; and a head tax on resident foreigners.

Direct Taxes

Income Tax. The first general tax on income in Guatemala went into effect on July 1, 1963, Guatemala being the last Latin American country to adopt one. This tax was pushed through by President Ydigoras against strong opposition. Before this, there was only a business profits tax which had been in effect since 1938. The business profits tax was repealed with the passage of the general income tax, since the latter taxes all companies and individuals,

national or foreign, resident or nonresident, with certain stated exemptions. The new income tax includes all workers, professionals, and legal entities, and it covers profits, salaries, retirement pay, and pensions with a Guatemalan source.

Tax rates are progressive, ranging from 5 percent of taxable income of less than Q1,000 to a maximum of 48 percent on taxable income over Q500,000. There are numerous deductions, exemptions, and benefits used in determining taxable income, and there are 67 brackets of taxable income. Individuals earning less than Q1,800 per year are not subject to the income tax, and neither are those receiving less than Q15,000 per year from agriculture or livestock raising. Also, there are reductions and rebates from the tax due on certain income, such as industries using over 50 percent domestic raw materials. As a result of the above exemptions, the income tax affects less than 1 percent of the population.

The taxes are paid either directly, along with the filing of an annual declaration by the taxpayer, or indirectly, under a withholding system. According to tax experts, tax evasion is high among small- and medium-size businesses which are able to under-report inventories and sales on the declaration. Those whose tax has been withheld in full by the employer do not have to file a declaration. The General Income Tax Administration is charged with administration of the tax law and investigation of taxpayers with the exception of banks, which are administered for tax purposes by the Superintendency of Banks.

Special Income Tax. Certain enterprises or activities are not subject to the general income tax. They pay a special income tax. Banana companies pay only a top rate of 30 percent on net profits plus Q0.02 per bunch of bananas exported. Mining companies pay up to 5 percent of the value of their gross product. Petroleum enterprises would pay 12.5 percent of the value of petroleum extracted, but no petroleum had been found by mid-1968. The Guatemala Electric Company (Empresa Eléctrica de Guatemala S.A.) pays 5 percent of net profits in taxes.

Property Taxes. There are two groups of property taxes on the holding of property and on the transfer of property. The first group consists of the real estate tax, the tax on idle lands, and the tax for the Volunteer Corps of Firemen. The second group consists of the tax on the sale and exchange of real estate, and the tax on inheritances, legacies, and gifts. The property and property transfer taxes are the most costly of taxes to administer and collect.

The real estate tax dates from 1921 and falls on the total gross value of real property. For rural land the value of machinery, aqueducts, stock, and tools is included. The tax rate is low, one-

half of 1 percent and, therefore, the yield is low. Periodic attempts are made to reassess all property values. The tax on idle land is an annual tax adopted in 1962 and is an attempt to encourage cultivation of unused land. It taxes private persons whose land is capable of being cultivated and is idle or being exploited inadequately. All land is categorized in five classes, and the tax varies according to class and time left idle. The tax is a specific tax per hectare (1 hectare equals 2.2 acres). The tax for the Volunteer Corps of Firemen is 0.5 percent of the value of buildings worth more than Q5,000 that are susceptible to fire damage and not covered by fire insurance.

The tax on the sale of real estate was created in 1921 and applies to both sale and exchange of real estate. If the property is sold, the purchaser pays the tax. If properties are exchanged, both parties are jointly liable for the tax which is levied only against the property of greater value. The tax rate is 1 percent of the property value. The inheritance tax does not yield much revenue because of the rate structures. The tax varies from 1 percent to a maximum of 25 percent on the net value of the property, after deductions and exclusions, according to the degree of relationship of the beneficiary. Another reason for the small yield of this tax is that 90 percent of all estates consist of real property, the value of which is that assessed for the real property tax and not the true market value at the time of the deceased's death.

Public Debt

From 1939 until 1947 Guatemala had no internal debt. Its foreign debt in 1949 was less than Q1 million. In 1950 the public debt started to increase steadily and by November 1967 stood at Q165 million, of which Q56 million was the foreign debt. The interest on the public debt is running at about Q6 million per year. All of this emphasizes the seriousness of Guatemala's financial position. Still, Guatemala has been the most cautious of all Central American countries in contracting foreign credits.

In the past, the domestic debt was short term, but the trend is now toward long term, and by November 1967 nearly 85 percent of the external debt was composed of numerous long-term bond issues. The external debt is almost all long-term loans from international and United States financial institutions and agencies, and bonds and other obligations placed with private United States banks.

About one-half the domestic debt is held by the Bank of Guatemala. The balance is held by other financial institutions, private persons, other Government entities, and insurance companies, in

that order. The largest components of the domestic debt are electrification and public works bonds. There are 15 other domestic bond issues outstanding.

BANKING AND CREDIT

Structure

The Guatemalan banking system underwent a substantial modification in 1946 when new basic banking and monetary laws were passed. Before this date there was no real banking system. Only five banks existed; each operated independently, and their activities were not always in the best economic interest of the country. One of these five was the Central Bank of Guatemala which was really a private bank with Government participation and was operating on a concessionary basis as Guatemala's central bank. Since its founding in 1926, it had the right to issue money and perform other central bank activities, but in all other respects it acted as a regular commercial bank.

On February 4, 1946, the Central Bank of Guatemala was superseded by the Bank of Guatemala to act solely as the State central bank, issuing currency, regulating bank policy, and setting reserve requirements. The Bank of Guatemala exercises the functions of State banker, financial counselor, and fiscal agent. With the exception of petty cash, all Government funds, including those of the treasury, are deposited in the Bank of Guatemala, which in turn may either keep them on deposit, redeposit them in any other bank, or invest them in national or international bonds under certain conditions.

The basic Banking Law (Ley de Bancos) dates from 1946, with amendments made in 1959. Banks are also governed in their operations by regulations of the Monetary Board and by provisions of the Monetary Law and the Organic Law of the Bank of Guatemala. The Superintendent of Banks is responsible for enforcing all legal provisions applicable to banks. All national private banks must be stock-issuing limited liability companies. Foreign banks may establish branches or agencies in Guatemala, but the Monetary Board (Junta Monetaria) sets their minimum capital requirements and foreign banks have no authority in this matter.

A bank must be classified as either a commercial bank, mortgage bank, or an investment bank. A commercial bank may have a mortgage department, but must maintain it independently of the bank's other operations with its own capital and reserves. Mortgage banks may finance their transactions from their own capital, savings deposits, issues of mortgage bonds, or domestic and foreign loans. In 1968 the banking system was composed of eight private

domestic banks, two foreign banks, four State-owned banks, and the Bank of Guatemala. Ten of these banks, including one State-owned bank, were commercial and mortgage banks. The others, including one private, were development banks.

All banks must maintain at least a minimum amount of capital and reserves. This minimum amount is the sum of applying the following percentages: 50 percent of the value of State-issued or guaranteed obligations held by the bank, 10 percent of the value of other obligations and credits, and 50 percent of the bank's investment in real estate and immovables. In addition, all banks must maintain a certain percentage of all their deposits in the Bank of Guatemala. This percentage is set by the Monetary Board and is used as the base of the check-clearing house operated by the Bank of Guatemala, which handles nearly \$1 billion in checks annually. Any bank failing to maintain the minimum amount in the Bank of Guatemala may be fined, prevented from carrying out loan operations, or liquidated if the deficiency persists.

The private banks, domestic and foreign, are legally authorized to grant loans up to 1 year on a personal guarantee, up to 5 years on chattel mortgage, and up to 25 years for real estate mortgage. The private banks, however, have generally restricted themselves to granting loans for 1 year for current inventory purposes and 3 years for equipment and improvements. Further, monetary and credit policy in Guatemala has been generally conservative over the years, following a relatively restrictive policy in order to prevent inflationary pressures.

The credit policy of Guatemala has been restrictive since 1957. The general policy of the Bank of Guatemala is to grant priority in its advances and rediscount credits to other banks for purposes deemed important for the development of the country. In order of priority, advances are granted for three types of categories: specific credit, preferential credit, and ordinary credit. Specific credit is credit to INFOP and the National Agrarian Bank (Banco Nacional Agrario—BNA) for the exploitation and marketing of chicle and cotton and for industrial products going to the Central American Common Market. Preferential credit refers to advances used to finance the food industry, clothing industry, textile industry, chemical industry, mining and forestry, honey production, tobacco products, cattle raising, vegetable growing, horticulture, corn, beans, rice, wheat, medicines and food for animals, fishing, animal and vegetable oils and fats, milk and its products, flour, and paper and pulp. Ordinary credit is for any activity not stated above which is acceptable to the Bank of Guatemala.

Of all loans in the banking system, domestic commercial banks supply about 85 percent. As of February 1968, the outstanding credit of all banks was Q245 million. The largest single purpose for credit is agriculture, accounting for 20 percent of all loans, followed by commerce, industry, and livestock. Within agriculture, credit is mostly for coffee and cotton growing. Loans for commerce, industry, and construction are confined almost entirely to the Department of Guatemala. Over half of all commercial loans are for domestic commerce; the balance is used to finance foreign trade. Of the industrial loans, the largest amount is for food processing, followed by textiles and pharmaceuticals. Interest rates for loans are fixed by the Government. In mid-1968 rates varied between 5 and 8 percent, depending upon purpose.

At the end of 1967 total assets of the entire banking system outside of the Bank of Guatemala reached Q315 million. The Bank of Guatemala itself had total assets of Q224 million, a 3-percent growth over 1966, of which amount Q74 million was in gold and foreign exchange.

Monetary, exchange, and credit policies of the country are set by the Monetary Board, which also directs the operations of the Bank of Guatemala. The Monetary Board was increased to nine members in 1967. The president and vice president of the Bank of Guatemala are also the president and vice president of the Monetary Board, and each is appointed by the President of the Republic. Certain specified Cabinet ministers, representatives of the banks, and a member of the Faculty of the School of Economics of San Carlos University always constitute the other board members. In addition to regular board members, other persons may be designated as advisers to the board without the right of voting.

In 1968 there was a total of 12 such advisers. Directly under the Monetary Board is the Superintendent of Banks, whose office is responsible for the inspection and policing of the banking systems, including the Bank of Guatemala.

The primary weakness of the financial system is its inability to accumulate capital formation on a scale adequate for the country's development needs. The banks have no active savings-incentive policy. Furthermore, the banks are concentrated in the large urban areas and are easily accessible to only an estimated 800,000 persons. It is too costly for the banks to maintain agencies in the smaller towns where isolation prevents many persons, including Indians with some resources, from having contact with the banking system.

In addition to the inability of the banking system to capture potential savings, there is no securities market in the country. The bank are not able to acquire sizable securities nor to act

as underwriters. When a firm wants to issue stock or bonds it does not sell directly to the public but rather to a small, closed group of investors.

Bank of Guatemala

The Bank of Guatemala, an autonomous State bank, was created in 1946 to replace the former Central Bank. It has 34 branches in the country. The bank's basic organic law, amended in 1959 and 1967, gives it a decisive participation in the economic development of the country. By law it has to "promote the creation and maintenance of monetary, exchange, and credit conditions most favorable for the orderly development of the national economy." Some of the means it most often uses to achieve this purpose are the sole administration of foreign reserves and the fixing of discount rates, investment policy, interest rates, and reserve requirements of the banks in the system.

The bank may conduct any of the following credit operations with other banks. It may rediscount, discount, buy, or sell credit documents of less than 3 years maturation, and grant advances for less than 3-year periods if guaranteed by gold or credit documents. It may grant advances for emergency purposes if the bank's stability is threatened. It may rediscount, discount, buy, or sell credit documents of less than 1-year maturity emanating from State credits to public entities, and grant credits and advances for less than 1 year to finance operations of institutions engaged in price stabilization activities of agricultural products. Finally, it may grant credits in national currency from foreign exchange obtained by the bank.

The bank has been granting credits and advances amounting to between Q30 million and Q40 million annually to other banks. Most of the credits have been for agricultural activities. INFOP and the Banco del Agro S. A. have been the major recipients of such credit. The money reserves of the Bank of Guatemala were Q127 million in February 1968, and its gold and foreign exchange holdings in April 1968 were \$87 million, including International Monetary Fund (IMF) standby credits. Its gold holdings have been relatively unchanged for many years, standing at \$20.2 million in May 1968. The foreign exchange is mostly in United States dollars.

Commercial Banks

The commercial banking system consists of nine private banks and the Government-owned National Mortgage Credit Bank (Crédito Hipotecario Nacional—CHN), with the exception of its Capitalization Department. The private banks have 40 branches and

agencies throughout Guatemala. Most of the growth of the commercial banks took place in the period 1950-62. Two of the banks, the Banco Inmobiliario and Banco Granai y Townson S.A., specialize in home savings and loans. The private banks engage mostly in short-term lending since their resources are limited for medium- and long-term financing. The total reserves of all commercial banks were Q40.4 million as of February 1968. On the same date demand deposits totaled Q66 million, and time and savings deposits were at an all-time high of Q120 million. At the beginning of 1968 the assets of all commercial banks, including CHN, were Q264 million, of which Q157 million was in the form of outstanding loans.

The nine private banks include two foreign banks with branches in Guatemala: the Bank of London and Montreal and the Bank of America, which together hold about 20 percent of all reserves in the banking system. In addition, the Bank of California has a minority interest in one of the domestic banks, the Bank of Commerce and Industry (Banco de Comercio e Industria). A third foreign bank, Popular Bank (Banco Popular S.A.), a Colombian bank, which was the most dynamic of all private banks, ceased operations in 1964. The Bank of London and Montreal's purely commercial activities are the largest in the country, and the Bank of America, founded in 1956, has the largest number of deposits of all banks.

Of the domestic private banks, the Agricultural Mercantile Bank (Banco Agrícola Mercantil), founded in the 1920's, is the largest. It is used mostly by large coffee growers and landowners. The Occident Bank (Banco de Occidente), the oldest bank in Guatemala, operates mainly in the western portion of the country, with headquarters in Quezaltenango. The Banco del Agro, founded in 1956 with State cooperation by a group of agriculturists to stimulate agriculture and stockraising but not to duplicate the functions of BNA, is both a commercial and mortgage bank. By the end of 1967 it held 18 percent of all bank loans. The newest bank is the Worker's Bank (Banco de los Trabajadores), established in 1966 with a capital of Q2 million made up of Q10 stock certificates sold to workers, the State, and Government officials. It grants quick personal loans for small amounts for 1 year and up to 3 years for home repairs, establishment of small workshops, and family businesses; it also handles trust funds of cooperatives, trade unions, or other workers retirement funds.

State Banks

There are only four strictly State-owned banks: CHN, BNA, INFOP, and the Industrial Bank. The Worker's Bank, although initiated by the Government, is considered a private bank. The

State banks are the strongest and most active in the banking system. They grant more loans and make more investments than do all the private banks and hold about 45 percent of all bank assets.

The CHN is the largest bank in Guatemala. It was originally established in 1929 to issue long-term mortgages, but over the years it acquired all banking functions and some nonbanking functions, such as pawning and the operation of the Government warehouses. The CHN holds about 22 percent of all credit in the banking system, making it the largest credit holder in Guatemala. The CHN raises funds for its mortgage loans by the issue of bonds and a special credit instrument called *cédulas hipotecurias*. The bonds are sold only to banks, including the Bank of Guatemala, and the *cédulas* are sold to the public. *Cédulas* are used in many Latin American countries for investors in real estate mortgages. They represent the obligation of the borrower sold in small shares by the financial institution to numerous investors who, rather than the lending institution, then have a direct claim on the borrower. The lending institution holds the *cédulas* for the investor and will repurchase them if so requested.

The BNA was created in 1953 as an autonomous institution to provide credit for agricultural production. Before its founding, credit for the small farmer was practically nonexistent. The BNA grants loans in order of priority to rural workers who have been given land under agrarian reform laws, to farmers who own or are tenants of less than a stipulated amount of land, and to communities which are recipients of land under agrarian reform. Its interest rates are very low. The bank also acts as the financial agent of the Government institution handling agrarian reform. The BNA has 18 branches and agencies.

The INFOP was created in 1948 and began functioning in 1949. INFOP is an autonomous agency concentrating on development activities in the field of agricultural production. It was created by the Government because of the limited amount of private capital engaged in developmental activities. One of its many functions is to grant short-term loans to small- and medium-sized producers. Another function is to give advice and loans to low-income groups, cooperatives, municipalities, and farmers for low-cost housing. INFOP has seven agencies and branches throughout Guatemala and holds about 11 percent of all credit in the banking system. Its operating funds come from its initial capital, treasury letters, bond sales, and the ownership of nationalized farms.

The Industrial Bank is a relatively new bank. It was created by law in 1964 but did not start functioning until 1966. Its primary purpose is to provide financial assistance for industrial develop-

ment. Its initial capital was Q1 million, which was raised by a 10-percent tax on the estimated amount of tax exemptions granted since 1964 to industry under the national industrial development law.

Other Financial Institutions

Private Finance Companies. Special corporate institutions called *financieras* are private finance companies which act as intermediaries in investment banking. They promote an enterprise by attracting and channeling domestic and foreign capital into the company. The *financieras* issue their own bonds and stock to the investor and then reinvest the money in the company involved. The investment is made either directly by means of stocks and bonds or indirectly by a loan to the company.

Insurance Companies. There are 23 foreign and eight domestic insurance companies. In addition, the State-owned CHN deals in life insurance as well as other types of insurance. The insurance industry is regulated by the Ministry of Economy. At the beginning of 1967 there were nearly 66,000 insurance policies in force in Guatemala, of which about 70 percent were life insurance. By law, insurance companies must invest 40 percent of their assets in Government securities. Another 40 percent is lent to policyholders. At the end of 1966 the total reported assets of all insurance firms was nearly Q13 million. Until 1966 most of the foreign insurance companies invested their annual premiums abroad. A new law in that year obligated them to maintain a local organization rather than just a sales force and to invest annual premiums in the national economy.

Securities. No fully developed securities market exists in Guatemala, since people prefer to invest in tangibles rather than in domestic securities. There is a Government fund operated by the Bank of Guatemala which is used to encourage the purchase of Government securities by maintaining their value. This fund is the Securities Regulation Fund (Fondo de Regulación de Valores) and was established as part of the Bank of Guatemala in 1950. The fund is administered by a Securities Commission consisting of the president and manager of the bank and the Ministers of Economy and Finance. The fund buys and sells securities on the open market. It has been moderately successful in encouraging public confidence in Government securities. An estimated \$25 million worth of foreign securities are owned by wealthy Guatemalans.

Savings Institutions. Apart from the savings departments of the commercial banks and the two private savings and loan institutions, the Government operates savings institutions in the form

of the Savings Department of the CHN, the Savings Section of INFOP, and the Social Security Institute. INFOP also has a savings plan for schoolchildren.

Mortgage Insurance. A decentralized State agency, the Institute for the Promotion of Insured Mortgages (Instituto de Fomento de Hipotecas Aseguradas—FHA), insures for full payment mortgages granted to homeowners by the banks. This is an attempt to encourage additional risk-taking by the mortgage banks.

Private Development Bank. A new private development bank, called Financiera Industrial y Agropecuaria—FIASA, was formed in 1967 by a group of Guatemalan businessmen. Its purpose is to make medium- and long-term loans to private industry in any part of Central America. In addition to its own resources, it was assisted by a \$5 million loan from the United States Agency for International Development (AID) to help get started.

Currency

During the colonial period and well into the era of independence (1524–1870), Guatemala's currency consisted of coins of various countries. A Royal Mint was founded in 1733, and some of the coins it minted circulated as late as 1873 when they were demonetized. The United States dollar was made legal tender in 1851, and in 1870 the silver peso was made the official monetary unit. The Banco Nacional de Guatemala, which lasted from 1874 to 1876, issued the country's first banknotes. Other banks started to issue their own banknotes after this period, and their paper at first was at par with the silver peso and was redeemable in silver coins. Over the years the value of the paper currency depreciated and slowly drove the coins out of circulation. In 1897 the Government was forced to declare all paper currency inconvertible into coins.

On May 25, 1925, a major currency reform was initiated. The quetzal was introduced as the monetary unit replacing the peso. The quetzal is divided into 100 centavos. The Bank of Guatemala is the sole bank of issue. Paper notes are issued in 100, 20, 10, 5, 1, and $\frac{1}{2}$ quetzales.

Coins are of 25-, 10-, 5-, and 1-centavo denominations. Gold coins do not circulate; residents may own gold but may not deal in it. The 25-centavo coins are made of silver and are saved by the Indians for this reason. The Indians use mostly copper coins for their limited transactions. Residents may import and export national banknotes but cannot keep undeclared bank accounts abroad.

The value of the quetzal was set at Q1 per US\$1, and it has been one of the most stable currencies of the world because of a

lack of inflationary pressures. Since its inception in 1925, the quetzal has remained at par with the dollar and ranks with the dollar and three other currencies for having the longest life span without being devalued.

Despite this record, there is a black-market quetzal which has existed outside of the country since September 1962, when exchange controls were imposed and unauthorized dealings in hard currency started to take place. The black-market rate has fluctuated from Q1.11 to Q1.50 per US\$1. The Bank of Guatemala maintains a Monetary Stabilization Fund (Fondo de Estabilización Monetaria) by which it controls the movement of foreign exchange and assures the convertibility of the quetzal. All foreign exchange acquired by the Government, the public, and other banks must be deposited into this fund, and all purchases of foreign exchange are made from it. In actuality, private sector foreign exchange transactions are carried out by certain authorized banks on behalf of the Monetary Stabilization Fund. Part of the reserves of the fund is deposited by the Bank of Guatemala in United States banks or invested in first class United States and other Government securities.

The basic monetary law provides for exchange controls under certain conditions. When the reserves of the Monetary Stabilization Fund fall to less than 40 percent of the annual average of foreign exchanges sales for the past 3 years or when the reserves fall by more than 25 percent because of nonseasonal factors, the Bank may impose exchange controls. This occurred in 1962, and exchange controls were declared, the first time in 36 years, and have been in effect ever since.

The reason for the fall in reserves at that time was considerable capital flight to New York and Switzerland. Exchange controls were relaxed somewhat in 1963, but licenses are still required.

Foreign exchange for importers requires licenses from the Exchange Department of the Bank of Guatemala. The licenses are then presented, when the exchange is needed, to an authorized bank for the exchange. Exchange requirements for invisible transactions such as tourism and family remittances abroad require supporting documents to verify that the operation is genuine. Licenses for outgoing capital payments are freely given for transfer of profits, dividends, and approved foreign investment by Guatemalan companies. Licenses are not freely given for transfers of individual resident-owned capital except for investments in the Central American Common Market.

The monetary policy of Guatemala has been general, conservative, tending to maintain the means of payment within certain levels in order to protect the country's international reserves and

to prevent inflation. Since 1959 Guatemala has had the smallest percentage increase in its money supply of all Latin American countries. In the 10-year period between 1958 and 1967, money in circulation increased by only 44 percent. Since 1961, the number of banknotes and coins in circulation has been increasing annually by between Q2 million and Q4 million and, at the end of 1967, it totaled Q88 million, a relatively low amount for the size of the country. In addition to the currency there was about Q96 million in checking accounts of individuals, the Government, and other official entities. Of this figure, about Q74 million represented private checking accounts.

Guatemala's cost-of-living index has been relatively stable for a long period of time, reflecting the effectiveness of anti-inflationary policy. For example, the period 1955-67 indicated annual variations of less than 1 percent in the cost-of-living index for an urban worker. The cost of living in Guatemala has had the smallest increase of any Latin American country since 1944. Measured against a 1958 base year, the 1967 price index showed absolutely no change and stood at 100 percent, and the January 1968 consumer price index actually fell to 99 percent.

DOMESTIC TRADE

Trade Structure and Practices

Many persons are engaged in commerce in its broad sense, but in most cases this is on an individual and unorganized basis. About 5 percent of the population is officially registered as being engaged in commerce. Organized commerce is represented by the importers and exporters and the most modern business organizations, by those who are generally non-Guatemalan, and by the wholesalers and retailers who frequently are Guatemalans of foreign ethnic background. Most prominent in commercial ventures are Chinese, Jews, Syrians, and Lebanese. The retail and wholesale trade was entered by foreigners because of the historical aversion to it by wealthy Guatemalans. Foreigners may engage in commerce, although restrictions exist on the establishment of new businesses by persons of Asiatic, Turkish, Syrian, Lebanese, Arab, Greek, Palestinian, Armenian, Egyptian, Afghan, Hindu, Iranian, and North African origin until they become Guatemalan citizens. An estimated one-fifth of all domestic commerce is conducted by foreigners, although the term includes those who have become naturalized Guatemalans.

The Commercial Code of 1942 is the basic law on business relations, but the new civil code of 1964 contains many provisions affecting business. Five types of commercial companies are recog-

nized in Guatemala: general partnership, corporation, limited partnership, special limited liability company, and the joint venture. Two or more persons, but not a husband and wife, can form a general partnership. The name of the firm must include the full name of at least one of the partners and must have the words "Sociedad Civil" or "Sociedad Colectiva" or the initials S.C. added.

A corporation is owned by shareholders and may issue various types of stock. A corporation must have the words "Sociedad Anónima" or the initials S.A. after its name. Most of the importers and exporters are corporations.

A limited partnership must have at least one general partner who represents and manages the company and who has unlimited liability to third parties. The limited partners of the company are liable only for the amount they contributed to the firm and may not perform any act of management. A limited partnership may issue stock and must have the name of at least one general partner plus the words "y Compañía, Sociedad en Comandita" or the initials S. en C. If a limited partner's name is added to the firm's name, then he becomes jointly liable for all debts.

A special limited liability company is a firm with no more than 20 partners who are liable only for the amount of their contribution to the company. The word "limitada" or Ltd. must be added to the name. The company then operates like a general partnership.

A joint venture is also known as a "negocio en participación" and is not a juridical person and has no firm name. In a joint venture two or more persons may join in one or more business transactions but only in the name of one of them, who then renders an accounting to the members. He is the only person regarded as the owner of the business, and legal action can be taken only against him by third parties and not against the inactive participants. Undoubtedly the joint venture is utilized by persons who may not legally engage in commerce or by families attempting to protect their investment by having a poorer family member undertake the operation.

Guatemala City has many well-stocked supermarkets. A smaller number is found in other cities. For fresh fruits and vegetables and other items, the capital has 15 markets, one in each zone of the city, plus a central market. These markets are operated and controlled largely by middle-aged women called *locatarias* (lessees or tenants) and small merchants.

The capital is the principal marketing and distribution center for all imports. Many firms combine merchandising activities which would be specialized in other countries. The same firm

frequently is an importer, wholesaler, retailer, sales agent, and exporter dealing in unrelated items.

The retail stores in the capital are owned mainly by Jews, Levantines, Chinese, and Spaniards. Much of their merchandise is imported and sold at fixed prices. Only domestically manufactured merchandise is bargained for in Guatemala City. The main retail shopping area of the capital is well defined; it is Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Avenues running south of the central park as far as Calle 13.

The many small stores in virtually all towns, cities, and villages are general or neighborhood stores. They sell small quantities of many articles at high prices because of the number of middlemen involved and because of the various consumption taxes. Most of these small stores are located in the part of the proprietors' home facing the street.

In all departmental capitals and in other larger towns, the markets are more commercial than in smaller rural areas. The market stalls are in a permanent structure and are open daily in the larger towns, but only on appointed days in the smaller villages. Most of the sellers in the larger markets are professional merchants, whereas the Indians sell their wares in the nearby streets. Most of the middlemen and jobbers who supply produce and merchandise to the retailers in the municipal markets are *ladinos* of lower social status.

In the Indian communities, virtually every populated area of more than 1,000 inhabitants has a market on a fixed day which never coincides with those in neighboring areas. Sellers may come from as many as 30 to 40 neighboring villages. The villages usually tax each seller a few centavos for the privilege of selling in these small markets. Similar products are sold in the same area of the market, and most wares are on the ground directly in front of the seller, who is usually a woman selling on an occasional basis the surplus produce of the family. Clothing, however, is customarily sold under awnings. The biggest transactions are in grain and cattle. Prices are not fixed and bargaining is the rule. Little money is used in these markets, usually only fractional currency. The tone of these Indian markets is restrained when compared to the larger municipal markets. The voices are kept low and there are no gestures. Trade seems to be more of a social than an economic act. An Indian who has an article for sale may travel as much as 100 miles to market it and yet ask no more for it than in his own village. Unsold merchandise is peddled from house to house in the towns on the way home. Some Indian merchants travel a fixed round of village markets totaling as much as

200 miles in 1 week. Some of the more ambitious Indians purchase items produced only in one zone for resale in another.

Handicrafts are usually purchased for resale by merchants traveling through the villages, although some Indian artisans market their own wares in the larger cities. Another important element in domestic commerce is the small trucker who purchases livestock and agricultural products directly from the farm for his own account and then trucks them to other areas for resale. Commercial travelers and ambulant vendors also exist in Guatemala. They sell very small quantities of miscellaneous products, both domestic and imported.

In general, there is a scarcity of storage facilities throughout the country. Warehouses are inadequate for the requirements, especially customs warehouses where storage charges are waived if the importer removes the goods within a fixed time. Bonded warehouses are operated only in the capital.

There is a Chamber of Commerce (Cámara de Comercio de Guatemala), a Chamber of Industry (Cámara de Industria de Guatemala), and a General Association of Businessmen of Guatemala (Asociación General de Comerciantes de Guatemala), all with headquarters in the capital. There is also a Central American Chamber of Commerce in the United States, located in New York City, which encourages commercial relations and tourism between the United States and all of Central America. Most of the national trade associations of the Central American countries belong to a Central American federation of such groups. This federation recommends measures relating to the unification of national laws and regulations on commerce and industry, weights and measures, quality standards, and related matters.

The metric system is official in Guatemala but is seldom used in local commerce where the old Spanish system is still observed and varies from one region to another. One finds the *arroba*, equivalent to 25.35 pounds; the *quintal*, 4 arrobas; and the *tonelada*, 20 quintals; the *fanega*, 1½ bushels; the *vara*, 32 inches, the *manzana*, 100 square varas, the league (*legua*), 3 miles; and the *caballería*, 110 acres. In city commerce some United States measures such as gallons are common.

There is little Government control or intervention in domestic trade apart from the regulations in the commercial code. In 1960 a law combating unfair commercial practices was promulgated, which states that foreign goods may not be sold in Guatemala at prices lower than wholesale prices or cost of production in the country of origin. Competition is also considered unfair if the goods were produced under subsidies in the country of origin. There are various penalties for violations of this law, including

confiscation of the goods. There is price control dating from 1959 on all medicines sold in the country. All transactions in Guatemala must be cited in quetzales, except for minor tourist transactions.

All Government purchases, with a few exceptions, are made by competitive bidding issued by the agency involved. Contracts and purchases of less than Q10,000 may be made without competitive bidding. Foreign goods are purchased only if the item is not manufactured in Guatemala or if the Guatemalan product does not meet certain standards. Central American countries then receive priority over other foreign suppliers.

Transportation

One of the major factors holding back much more rapid economic growth has been the lack of adequate transportation. This was recognized by the Government, and road transportation has developed rapidly as a result of considerable investment in highways since 1950. In 1966, for example, more than half of all investment in transportation facilities was for highways. Despite this investment there was relatively little increase in highway transportation in 1966 and 1967, as compared to 1965. The reason is that the benefit of the major highways cannot be realized until feeder roads are constructed in order to open up inaccessible fertile lands.

Rail transportation has been declining annually in Guatemala as highway construction has increased, permitting truck competition with the railroad. Domestic air transportation is important, and both passenger and cargo traffic increased during 1966 and 1967.

Air Transport

Because of the scarcity of roads in some parts of the country, air transport is important in the domestic transportation system. Domestic air transportation is a monopoly of Compañía Guatemalteca de Aviación (AVIATECA), a Government-owned airline. AVIATECA has scheduled flights to about 14 airports from the capital and a large number of unscheduled flights. Aurora Airport in Guatemala City is considered the best in Central America and can accommodate jet aircraft. There are 46 lesser airfields in the country, half of which cannot be used during the rainy season.

AVIATECA also provides international service to the United States, El Salvador, and Mexico. At least six other airlines also provide international service. Among these are Pan American World Airways, Taca International Airlines, Transportes Aéreos Nacionales (TAN), and Servicios Aéreos Hondureños (SAHSA).

Highways

Guatemala has been engaged in a continual roadbuilding program since 1950, spending about Q200 million in construction, improvement, and maintenance of highways in the period 1950-64. In 1967 the total length of highways was about 7,800 miles; 1,300 are paved; and the balance, all-weather. There are three main highways: the Inter-American Highway, the Inter-Ocean Highway, and the Pacific Coast Highway.

The Inter-American Highway is part of the Pan-American Highway and is also called the Franklin D. Roosevelt Highway. It is 313 miles long, running from the Mexican border at La Mesilla, via Guatemala City, to the El Salvador border at the town of San Cristobal. It is paved most of the way, with the remaining all-weather section near the Mexican border being paved during 1968. Large sections of this highway were resurfaced in 1967 and 1968, and Government experts estimated that the new surfacing would last for 10 years.

The Inter-Ocean Highway runs from Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean to San José on the Pacific, passing through the capital. It is 250 miles long and is entirely paved. The Pacific Coast Highway is the newest highway and runs 213 miles from Talisman on the Mexican border to Pijije on the El Salvador border. It crosses the Inter-Ocean Highway at the city of Escuintla, from where one can go on to Guatemala City. It is paved all the way and is faster than the Inter-American Highway in crossing the country.

From each of the three main highways there are branches totaling about 1,200 miles. In addition, there are about 2,000 miles of lesser roads connecting the smaller towns and an unknown number of rural access or feeder roads. The feeder roads are short local roads facilitating access to adjacent properties or leading to roads going to town. Recognizing the importance of these rural roads in opening up new agricultural regions, the Government embarked on a major rural roadbuilding program in 1967. The total length of these short roads will be about 500 miles, located principally in the central and Lake Izabal areas. International financing is required for about half the cost of this program, and some of it has already been obtained. In addition to the rural roads, more highways are either under construction or being planned. A highway was started in 1967 which will unite Morales in the Department of Izabal with Modesto Mendez in El Petén, and an 80-mile highway will link Cobán to El Rancho in the Department of El Progreso. Eventually, Cobán will be linked to Ciudad Flores in El Petén, and then it should be possible to travel by automobile from Guatemala City to Flores, El Petén.

Latest registration figures indicated there were at least 58,000 motor vehicles in the country. About 30,000 were passenger cars and the rest were commercial vehicles. Nearly 1,000 small trucking companies exist, most of which possess only one truck. About half of these companies are located in the Department of Guatemala. There is a Guatemalan Transport Association consisting of owners of at least three pieces of equipment.

Buses are a very important means of transportation in Guatemala and are used primarily by members of the lower-middle class and small farmers for both passenger and cargo service. Nearly 600 bus companies operate over 800 different bus routes, connecting most villages and towns in the country. Fares are moderate, but many of the buses are dilapidated. Few buses schedule service after 9 p.m. Municipal bus service in the capital is more than adequate; international bus service connects the capital with San Salvador, El Salvador; Tegucigalpa, Honduras; Managua, Nicaragua; San Jose, Costa Rica; and Mexico City, Mexico.

Railroads

There is only one railroad system in Guatemala. This is the Guatemalan Division of the International Railways of Central America (IRCA). The Government owned a 29-mile railroad, the Verapaz Railroad, but abandoned it in the mid-1960's. Initial railroad construction began in Guatemala in 1880, and a Pacific Coast line was completed in 1890, connecting San Jose and Champerico in Retalhuleu with the coffee-growing areas and the capital. In the beginning of the 20th century the main line was built between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City by a United States company which changed its name to IRCA in 1912 when it took over several existing railroads in Guatemala and El Salvador.

The chief line is now the one from Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean to Guatemala City and then to the Mexican border via Escuintla. A branch line goes to El Salvador from Puerto Barrios, leaving the main line at the junction of Zacapa and connecting with the Salvadorean Division of IRCA at the border town of Angiutu. The connection with Mexico is at the border town of Ayutla, also called Tecún Umán. The Mexican and Guatemalan systems were linked by a bridge built at the border in 1942, but the gauge is of different width (all Guatemalan lines are 3-ft. gauge) which makes it necessary to change trains. Three branch lines come off the Guatemalan-Mexican line to connect to the Pacific towns of San Jose, Champerico, and Ocos.

IRCA operates about 510 miles of track in Guatemala. In addition, the United Fruit Company (UFCO) has 180 miles of planta-

tion track. IRCA uses both steam and diesel engines but is attempting to modernize to all diesel.

In the 1930's IRCA ran into financial difficulties and sold 42 percent of its stock to UFCO in return for special rates on banana shipments and rental payments for UFCO's railroad rolling stock used by IRCA. UFCO later divested itself of IRCA stock at the insistence of the United States Supreme Court. The special rate agreement was due to expire in 1968.

IRCA once again ran into financial problems when its traffic started to decline following the completion of the Inter-Ocean Highway. All of IRCA's lines are now paralleled by paved highways. Truck and bus competition has increased to the point where IRCA is now handling only 50 percent of all freight traffic and only 10 percent of domestic passenger traffic. IRCA has not earned a profit since 1958, and in 1967 it was far behind in wage payments to its 5,000 employees, causing them to go on a 72-day strike in early 1968. As a result of the strike the Government intervened and provisionally nationalized the railroad. Under this provisional nationalization the Government established a trust fund of Q4 million to help the railroad pay its bill and start a modernization program, including the elimination of excessive personnel. In return, the IRCA gave the Government a mortgage on all its properties in Guatemala but will continue to operate the railroad.

Water Transportation

Guatemala has seaports on both the Caribbean and the Pacific, but the best harbors are on the Caribbean, which has three ports: Puerto Barrios, Matías de Galvez, and Livingston. Puerto Barrios is the largest port of Guatemala and can handle vessels with a 20-foot draught, offload petroleum via pipelines, bulk handle grains and bananas, and provide adequate warehouse space. It was built in 1912 by IRCA to export bananas and coffee and is still owned and operated by the railroad. Most of Guatemala's foreign trade goes through Puerto Barrios. The port handles about 75 percent of all exports and much of the imports of Guatemala, as well as 20 percent of the imports and 10 percent of the exports of El Salvador. Much of El Salvador's coffee is shipped via Puerto Barrios.

Because it lacked control over the port facilities at Puerto Barrios, the Government began construction of the port of Matías de Gálvez in 1952 at the site of the colonial town of Santo Tomas, only 3 miles from Puerto Barrios. Matías de Gálvez is now owned and operated by the Government as a nationalized port through an autonomous port authority. It handles mostly general cargo imports and some agricultural and mineral exports. It is antici-

pated that Matías de Gálvez will handle future nickel exports. Starting in 1966, a Q6 million expansion program was begun to amplify its port facilities. At the same time, a decree-law ordered all imports and exports of manufactured or semimanufactured products enjoying benefits of the various development laws, agricultural products subject to export quotas, and all minerals to pass through either Matías de Gálvez or the Pacific nationalized port at Champerico.

The third Carribbean port, Livingston, was the main port of Guatemala until the growth of Puerto Barrios. It is now a minor port with little international shipping, handling mostly river and coastal shipping. Its main export today is Verapaz coffee from Cobán. The population of Livingston is largely composed of descendants of immigrants from the British West Indies who worked as longshoremen when it was the major seaport.

On the Pacific Coast there are also three seaports: San José, Champerico, and Ocós. Ocós, a minor port, was largely abandoned in 1967. San José is owned by the IRCA but is leased and operated by a private organization, Agencia Maritima S.C., which employs about 1,000 laborers. It is the second largest seaport in the country and handles about one-half of all imports of the country and some coffee exports. Because of the lack of deep water, ships must anchor about 1 mile offshore and lighters have to be used.

Champerico is owned by the Government and operated by the same port authority which administers Matías de Gálvez. It has a capacity to handle 800 tons of cargo daily but has been averaging only half of that annually. Additional warehouses costing Q3 million are being built at Champerico. Lack of adequate warehouse space at all ports frequently causes port congestion. A new combined trade and fishing port to cost Q15 million is being planned by the Government for the Pacific Coast.

Numerous shipping lines touch at Guatemalan ports. Every vessel entering a Guatemalan seaport must hoist the Guatemalan flag and also that of the country where it is licensed. Guatemala's merchant marine is the Flota Mercante Gran Centroamericana (FLOMERCA), which began operation in 1959 and was originally owned jointly by the Guatemalan and Honduran Governments. In 1962 it was transferred to private ownership with the Government holding shares in the company. FLOMERCA has a fixed itinerary which includes Central American ports, New York, Montreal, and Europe. It owns only two ships but charters seven others, and accounts for 9 to 10 percent of Guatemala's shipping.

One United States company regularly operates a ferryboat service between Miami, Florida, and Guatemalan Caribbean ports. The ferries carry sealed truck trailers loaded with cargo, plus

passengers and other cargo. The sealed trailers are offloaded and then driven to Guatemala City or to other Central American countries. The ferries return to Miami with meat, shrimp, and other produce.

Little utilization has been made of the available aquatic means of transportation for domestic purposes. Most navigation is individual transport. There are about 50 national companies operating commercially on rivers, Lake Izabal, and the Chiquimulilla Canal, but most of them are small, having only one motor launch for both passengers and cargo. Small coastal launches connect Livingston with Puerto Barrios and other settlements. Special installations are being planned at Matías de Gálvez to handle future lake and coastal traffic expected to be generated by nickel exploitations near Lake Izabal. The only canal in Guatemala is the Chiquimulilla Canal, also called the Canal del Sur, on the Pacific Coast and running 50 miles from Iztapa towards the El Salvador border. It is open to vessels of 4-foot draught. Iztapa is the site of Guatemala's first boatbuilding and repair yard, opened in 1967.

There is only one major navigable inland waterway where commercial traffic exists on a relatively large scale. This is the Polochic River—Lake Izabal—Dulce River—Amatique Bay system and was promoted by Germans when they had property in the north of the country. This system is now controlled by the Government. Apart from the Polochic and Dulce Rivers, commercial navigation exists on five other rivers: Motagua (navigable for small craft to 90 miles from Guatemala City), Sarstun (used to transport machinery into El Petén for its development), Chixoy, Passion, and Usumacinta. The Usumacinta, with its tributaries, is used for the exploitation of forest products and to assist agrarian colonization projects in El Petén. It flows north into Mexico and eventually into the Gulf of Mexico under another name.

Telecommunications and Electricity

The Government owns and operates all domestic telegraph and telephone companies. There were two private international cable companies, but one ceased operations in 1965, and the Government acquired the operations of the other, the Tropical Radio Company. In addition, the Government leases channels for commercial purposes from the Central America Corporation for Air Navigation (COCESNA), linking Central American and British Honduras with a communications system for aerial navigation.

The state telegraph company is called Guatel. Its service is occasionally criticized as being too slow. The telephone system is continually being expanded. In 1965 the system was increased to 48,000 lines, and in 1966 over Q1 million was spent on further

expansion of the network. This compares favorably with the 5,000 lines existing in 1955. Telephone service is automatic and adequate in the capital, Quezaltenango, Mazatenango, Escuintla, Zacapa, Antigua, and Amatitlán. There are trunklines to other towns.

In mid-1968 bids were called for a \$15 million microwave link to join all the telecommunications of the five Central American countries. This link will then be united to Mexico and Panama. Work on this system will be completed by 1971. The link, when completed, will be nearly 900 miles long and will have 18 stations relaying radio, radio telephone, and television communications.

The major electric company in Guatemala is the Guatemala Electric Company, which provides about 67 percent of all electricity in the country. The balance corresponds to that generated by State entities, municipalities, and private firms.

Responsibility for electric power development, however, belongs to INDE, an autonomous Government agency created in 1959. The electricity produced by INDE-built powerplants is sold to the Empresa Electrica de Guatemala S.A.

More than 80 percent of the power consumed occurs in the central area of the country. Electricity consumption has been growing by 13 percent annually and should increase by at least 12 percent annually through 1972, but the pattern has remained the same from year to year. About 51 percent is consumed by industry and 45 percent, by residents. The remaining 24 percent is used by the State, commercial establishments, and municipalities.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Foreign Trade

With the exception of 1966, Guatemala has had unfavorable trade balances annually since 1957, although exports have been increasing steadily since 1963. From 1957 through 1965 imports exceeded exports by between Q2 million and Q25 million. In 1966 exports soared nearly Q30 million over imports, due principally to higher sales of all the traditional exports. In 1967 a trade deficit again occurred this time to a record high of Q40 million, caused by sharply reduced coffee and cotton earnings and much higher imports by merchants who used up their inventories in 1966 and who were reacting to unfounded rumors of devaluation of the quetzal. Obscured by the overall decline in exports in 1967 was the fact that many minor export items showed an increase over 1966. Trade deficits have been financed by credits and loans.

The unfavorable trade balance of 1967 extended into 1968, and in June 1968 the Government was forced to impose import restrictions by requiring a prior license from the Ministry of Economy

Table 12. Foreign Commerce in Guatemala, 1960-67
(in millions of quetzales ¹)

| Year | Imports ² | Exports ² | Balance ² |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1960 | 124.8 | 116.2 | -8.6 |
| 1961 | 120.6 | 114.4 | -6.2 |
| 1962 | 122.9 | 118.5 | -4.4 |
| 1963 | 156.0 | 154.1 | -1.9 |
| 1964 | 185.7 | 165.2 | -20.5 |
| 1965 | 214.0 | 192.5 | -21.5 |
| 1966 | 201.8 | 231.6 | +29.8 |
| 1967 ³ | 237.0 | 197.0 | -40.0 |

¹ Q1 equals US\$1.

² All figures are f.o.b. adjusted.

³ Estimate.

Source: Adapted from Bank of Guatemala, *Memoria de Labores y Estudio Economico*, 1966.

for all imports except those coming from the Central American Common Market.

Official foreign trade statistics appear to vary with each source used. According to adjusted figures of the Directorate General of Statistics, imports were Q201.7 million, and exports, Q231.5 million in 1966. Both figures are f.o.b. In 1967 exports were estimated at Q197 million and imports, at \$237 million (see table 12).

Composition

From 1820 to the 1860's, cochineal, a red dyestuff prepared from dried insects which feed on cactus, was practically the sole export of Guatemala. European synthetic dyes effectively eliminated the world market for natural dyes. Coffee replaced cochineal in 1870 as the chief export and has retained its position ever since. President Rufino Barrios (1871-85) personally was interested in coffee growing, even before he became President, and gave away plants to anyone who wanted to grow coffee. Agricultural products now account for nearly 90 percent of all exports by value, and five products account for 90 percent of all agricultural exports: coffee, cotton, sugar, bananas, and beef. Other important exports are essential oils, timber, chicle, and shrimp.

Although coffee continues to be the primary export, its relative importance to total exports has been declining, reflecting the Government policy of encouraging export diversification. In 1956 coffee accounted for 70 percent of all exports; 10 years later it accounted for less than 50 percent, and 1966 was the best export year. In that year coffee brought in Q112 million. In 1967 coffee exports dropped to Q90 million. Guatemalan coffee is similar to that of El Salvador and Colombia. It is a mild "blue" coffee out-

standing for quality brought about by favorable climatic conditions. The country rarely has problems in selling its entire exportable production. Guatemala is a member of the International Coffee Association, which allocates export quotas to producing member countries. Internally, the National Coffee Association allocates the individual quotas. Because of numerous complaints the National Agrarian Bank was authorized in 1966 to purchase coffee from small growers who, in the past, were at the mercy of exporters who had part of the export quota. The bank, in turn, is given an annual export quota and presumably will give the small grower a fairer price for his coffee.

Cotton has achieved the greatest expansion of all exports in recent years, moving from 4 percent of exports in 1956 to about 20 percent in latest years. In 1962 it became the second most important export. The increased cotton exports were made possible by the opening of new land on the Pacific Coast and by a greater yield per acre. The cotton grown is long staple, which has a better world market than short staple cotton.

Sugar became important as an export crop for the first time in 1962 and since then has accounted for as much as 5 percent of exports and has been the third most important export in some years. Another new export steadily growing since 1961 is beef, which became the fourth most important export in 1965 and which may have moved into third place in 1967. Bananas, which accounted for between 20 and 30 percent of export earnings before 1950, dropped to under 5 percent in the 1960's. Banana development started on the lowlands of the Atlantic side of Guatemala in 1906 but shifted to the Pacific side in the 1940's because of plant disease on the Atlantic plantations. In 1964 UFCO withdrew from its entire Pacific area because of disease there and poorer climate conditions for banana growing, and moved back to the east coast. This partially accounted for the decrease in banana exports. Banana exports should once again increase when each coast production is expanded by means of disease-resistant varieties as planned. Other exports, all of them minor, are timber, chicle, minerals, shrimp, vegetables, essential oils, fruit, honey, and manufactures, such as cloth, clothing, cardboard, soluble coffee, and tires.

A future export product which is expected to have an impact on Guatemala's economy is nickel. A 40-year concession was granted to the International Nickel Company in 1965 to exploit large nickel deposits discovered near Lake Izabal. Exports were scheduled to commence in late 1969 or early 1970. Another new export product is flowers. Increased production for export was initiated in 1967.

consisting mostly of carnations, roses, gladioli, and chrysanthemums.

Imports usually consist of about one-third consumption goods; another one-third to two-fifths are intermediary goods and raw materials. Only one-fourth to one-fifth of imports consist of capital goods such as machinery, tools, and equipment. The consumption goods are predominantly food, medicine, clothing, domestic appliances, and automobiles. Since 1962 there has been a spectacular increase in imports of consumer durables, completely unessential to the economic growth of the country. In the period 1964-66 importers accumulated an extraordinary amount of these goods in expectation of an important change in foreign trade policy by the Government. This change actually occurred in 1968 when the Government instituted import licensing and restricted bank credit for certain imports.

Intermediary and raw materials imports are mostly chemical products, such as fertilizers and insecticides, and textiles and metals. Imports of refined petroleum products have started to decline as two domestic refineries increase their processing of crude petroleum. Although the importation of crude petroleum will continue, the cost is much less than that of the refined products.

Direction

Guatemala maintains commercial relations with about 76 countries, although it was not a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as of mid-1968. The United States is by far its most important trading partner, taking about 40 percent of Guatemalan exports and providing almost the same percentage of its imports. From the time of independence until World War I, the United Kingdom had been the chief supplier of Guatemala's imports. During World War I the United States replaced the United Kingdom as the primary supplier and has remained so ever since.

Although the United States is the main trading partner of Guatemala, its relative share has been slowly decreasing. In 1950 the United States supplied Guatemala with nearly 70 percent of its imports and took 90 percent of its exports. Starting in 1955, the percentage began to decrease until it stabilized at about the present level of about 40 percent for both imports and exports, although in 1966 there was a temporary drop when the United States took only 31 percent of Guatemala's exports. West Germany is the second most important individual trading partner, and takes about 13 percent of the country's exports and supplies about 9 percent of the imports. Japan is in third place as an individual country for both imports and exports. Considered as a unit for trading pur-

poses, the Central American Common Market actually is in second place after the United States. Showing remarkable growth since 1960, the Central American Common Market now takes about 22 percent of Guatemalan exports and supplies the country with about 15 percent of its imports.

The diminishing importance of the United States as a supplier of Guatemalan imports has been brought about partly by Central American Common Market production of articles formerly imported and partly by European and Japanese competition for heavier manufactured goods.

About 50 percent of coffee exports goes to the United States; 20 percent, to West Germany; 5 percent, to the Netherlands; and the remaining 25 percent, to some 25 countries. Germany pays the highest prices for Guatemalan coffee and, therefore, the first-grade beans go there. Coffee sent to Germany is frequently packed in brightly colored bags since it is sometimes sold directly from the bag to the consumer as Guatemalan coffee. Coffee sent to the United States is second-grade, but the beans must be perfectly oval and it is bagged in plain bags. Guatemalan coffee is not sold to the consumer as such in the United States; rather, it is mixed, roasted, ground, and packaged with other coffees and loses its identity. Eastern Europe appeared as a new coffee market for Guatemala in 1968, taking 180,000 bags in the first 5 months.

Japan is the prime purchaser of cotton, taking more than 50 percent of the exports. Spain, Italy, and West Germany are the other major buyers, and 15 other countries take minor quantities. Most of the sugar, shrimp, chicle, beef, and essential oil exports go to the United States. Banana exports are now going mainly to West Germany, with very little to the United States. Almost all of Guatemala's exports of manufactured products go to the other members of the Central American Common Market.

Central American Common Market

No study of Guatemala's economy is complete without some discussion of the Central American Common Market, as Guatemala appears to be one of the chief beneficiaries of it. The Central American Common Market has achieved relatively more success than other common markets. It is a combination of a customs union with free internal mobility of labor, capital, and management. The main feature is a uniform external tariff with free trade for domestically produced items. All five members are enjoying rising prosperity and are attracting an increasing amount of investment, although there are some tensions and problems within the market. The Secretariat of the Central American Common Market is located in Guatemala.

In 1951 the five Central American countries, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, with the assistance of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, established a plan for their eventual economic integration. In 1952 a Central American Economic Co-operation Committee was formed at a meeting of Economic Ministers in Honduras to direct the integration program, and Panama was invited to join. Panama had not joined by mid-1968 but was still free to do so. During the first 6 years the work of this committee consisted of a series of studies and the establishment of plans and principles. Two draft treaties were prepared in 1957: a free trade treaty, called the Multilateral Treaty on Free Trade and Central American Integration, and an industrial-integration treaty, called the Agreement of the Regime for Central American Integration Industries.

These treaties were signed at a meeting in Honduras on June 10, 1958. The Multilateral Treaty, the first major treaty, became operative in June 1959 for Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Honduras ratified it in 1960 and Costa Rica, in 1963. The Agreement on Integrated Industries did not become effective until 1963, but it has not been of much effectiveness to date because the various national development laws provide more benefits.

The following year, 1959, the five countries signed an Agreement on the Equalization of Import Duties and Charges (amended in 1960 and later years), under which they would adopt a single tariff for specified commodities coming from other countries. This common external tariff closely conformed to the national tariffs of Guatemala and El Salvador. About 98 percent of all items have a common tariff. National duties apply on the other 2 percent which, however, are important because they represent about 17 percent of the total Central American imports and provide about 10 percent of the customs revenue of the five countries. Some of these items are wheat, petroleum, motor vehicles, and electronic and refrigeration equipment.

Then, in 1960 another treaty was signed. This was called the General Treaty of Central American Economic Integration and provided for immediate free trade in all products originating in the contracting parties, with the exception of items listed in an annex which would be freed over a period of years. Internal free trade by mid-1968 extended to all but 82 tariff items. Twenty-three items, such as cotton, coffee, and sugar, will never be freed, and the balance will be freed when the five countries agree on regional production and supply arrangements. Intra-regional trade has expanded very rapidly. Such trade accounted for 18 percent of all imports of the market in 1967 as compared to only 6 percent in

1960. In absolute figures, trade rose from \$33 million in 1960 to over \$200 million in 1967. Guatemala and El Salvador have been dominating the market's regional trade, and by 1968 the two countries accounted for more than 50 percent of all trade among the five members.

Guatemala has been enjoying annual surpluses in this trade since 1961. This favorable position occurred because a high percentage of the market's regional trade is in manufactures, and Guatemala has had more industrial expansion than the other Central American countries. Guatemala is also the most important supplier of fruits and vegetables to these countries.

Another feature of the market is the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI), which was founded in 1961 in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. CABEI is independent from national policies of the member countries, and its management is international in scope. It makes loans to governments, government entities and private companies but not to wholly foreign-owned companies. The loans must be for a project which has regional implications, and no local projects are to be financed. Loans to industry are made on the assumption that the company will supply the Central American Common Market with its products.

The original capital of CABEI was \$40 million, half of which was paid in equal shares by the members. International institutions and governments have lent CABEI additional funds so that by the end of 1967 it had over \$150 million for loan purposes. By January 1968 nearly 20 percent of all CABEI's loans had been made to Guatemala.

Since 1961 CABEI has opened a Central American Clearinghouse with an imaginary Central American peso which is at par with the United States dollar for its transactions. The purpose of the clearinghouse is to facilitate the payment of balances arising from intraregional trade. The clearinghouse handles between 80 and 90 percent of regional trade. The Bank of Guatemala was an initial member of the clearinghouse.

In addition to the clearinghouse, there exists a Central American Check, which is used as a travelers check. It is similar to a cashiers check in that it is sold by any central bank and is cashed at any bank in Central America without charge.

Balance of Payments

Since 1958 Guatemala generally has been faced with an unfavorable balance of payments situation. This is only partly due to the negative foreign trade balance which had been averaging Q10 million during the period 1960-65. The fundamental cause of the overall negative balance of payments is the large deficit in the services

account, mostly transportation, insurance, dividend remittances, and tourism. This caused a net deficit of \$16 million even in 1966, the best export year.

Guatemala is heavily dependent upon foreign transportation for cargo and passenger service, and this usually accounts for a large portion of the annual deficit. The remittances of dividends and royalties overseas by foreign firms operating in Guatemala also influence the deficit. Contrary to expectations, Guatemala has a net loss on tourism, as Guatemalans traveling abroad spend more than do foreign tourists in the country. Recognizing this problem, the Government imposed some restrictions on tourist travel abroad in 1967. The restrictions stipulate a maximum expenditure per day or per year.

Partially compensating for the large deficits in the current account are favorable balances in transfer payments and the capital account. In recent years the transfer account has shown a favorable balance due, principally to United States AID grants, Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), and Catholic Relief Services activities. The capital account has been registering a net annual inflow, composed of private and official capital, mostly long-term.

Foreign Investment

It is difficult to secure reliable and complete statistics on foreign investment in Guatemala. The total United States private investment in 1966 was estimated at \$250 million. Panama, Switzerland, Venezuela, West Germany, Japan, Mexico, and 10 other foreign countries also have investments. Based upon this figure, there is more foreign investment in Guatemala than in any other Central American country. About 22 percent of the foreign investment is in transportation and communications, followed by commerce, petroleum, and agriculture. More than half of all foreign investment is concentrated in the three Departments of Guatemala, Izabal, and Escuintla. Foreign and domestic capital are treated on a basis of full equality with one exception. Foreigners may not own real property within a 50-kilometer-wide strip of land along all frontiers, except urban property within this strip recorded before March 1, 1956, which may be retained.

Foreign Economic Aid

Guatemala has received foreign aid in the form of grants and loans from the World Bank, IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank, CABEL, the United Nations, the United States, and several other governments. The United States has been the major source of all foreign aid. From 1941 through June 30, 1966, the United

States had lent and granted Guatemala a total of \$151 million, \$88 million of which was in the form of economic grants. The United States maintains an AID mission in Guatemala City, working exclusively with the Guatemala Government. There is also an AID Regional Office for Central America and Panama located in Guatemala and which grants assistance to regional projects.

From 1960 through 1967 loans contracted or under negotiation with the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, IMF, AID, and the United States Export-Import Bank totaled \$70 million, of which about \$40 million was for disbursement in 1968 and later years. In 1966 Guatemala recognized a large sterling debt contracted in 1824, which it had refused to honor because of its dispute with the United Kingdom over British Honduras. The recognition of this debt made it easier for international financial institutions to cooperate with Guatemala.

On December 18, 1946, Guatemala joined the World Bank. Its subscription share of the World Bank capital stock is \$10.7 million of which \$1.07 million had been paid by June 30, 1967. The balance was subject to call. Through June 30, 1967, World Bank loans to Guatemala were \$33.2 million; \$15 million of this amount was a 25-year loan for electric power expansion.

Guatemala became a member of the IMF at the same time it joined the World Bank—December 18, 1946. Its quota was \$25 million as of June 30, 1968. In April 1967 the IMF approved a 12-month standby arrangement authorizing the Guatemala Government to draw up to \$13.4 million to cover payment difficulties as a result of decreased export receipts during 1967. By April 1968 Guatemala had drawn \$10 million of this sum, and the IMF granted another 1-year standby this time for \$10 million. As a result of previous drawings, Guatemala had drawn a total of \$27 million from the IMF by April 15, 1968.

The Inter-American Development Bank administers loan money from three sources: its regular capital, the Fund for Special Operations, and a Social Progress Trust Fund of United States money under the Alliance for Progress. Guatemala's share of the bank's capital is \$18,520,000. The total amount of loans to Guatemala from ordinary capital resources approved by the bank since its inception through December 31, 1967, was \$11,637,804. The largest part of these loans was made to the Bank of Guatemala for industrial, agricultural, and livestock credits.

The Fund for Special Operations is a source of loans on easier credit terms. Guatemala's contribution to this fund is \$6,159,000, and by December 31, 1967, Special Fund loans to Guatemala totaled \$19,304,374. The largest single loan from this fund was

\$9 million for construction and improvement of 498 miles of farm roads.

The Social Progress Trust Fund is used for loans and technical assistance on very flexible terms. Under this program the bank approved \$14,319,659 in loans to Guatemala through December 31, 1967. These loans were for the construction of low-cost housing units, water and sewerage systems, and for farm credit.

Another international financial institution of which Guatemala is a member is the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which it joined in 1956. The IFC is part of the World Bank group and associates with private investors in private enterprises. There was one investment in a flour mill made in Guatemala by the end of 1967.

The United Nations has several projects in Guatemala, such as forest evaluation and a minerals survey. The West German Government provides assistance in the form of vocational training and scholarships, and the French Government provides scholarships for technical training in France.

CHAPTER 9

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, LABOR

Guatemala is an agricultural country, but industry contributes an increasingly important share of the gross national product (GNP). Agriculture, which once accounted for over half the GNP, constituted about 30 percent in 1968. Industry contributed about 15 percent, the highest percentage for any Central American country. Agriculture provided a livelihood for most of the economically active population, employing 918,000, and industry was in second place, giving employment to about 159,000 persons.

The level of technology in both agriculture and industry varies from primitive to modern. The small corn farmer, working an unfertilized, eroded plot with hand tools, contrasts with large plantations utilizing machinery and scientific farming principles. The artisan making handicrafts at home contrasts with large factories using the latest equipment.

Agriculture produces both for export and domestic consumption, resulting in conflicting priorities. Since the major domestic food crops are not always grown in sufficient quantities to meet requirements, imports are necessary. In some years food imports amount to Q20 million (Q1 equals US\$1). The major food staple is corn, which is grown all over the country, but mainly in the central highlands by Indian farmers using primitive techniques. Black beans are the second staple and are raised alongside corn. Wheat is the third food staple and is frequently imported. The United States provides most of the imported wheat and corn, whereas Honduras provides the beans. The country is relatively self-sufficient in rice production. The major export is coffee, followed by cotton, sugar, beef, and bananas. Essential oils, honey, shrimp, and chicle are minor agricultural exports. The basic agricultural problem is striking a balance between the need for increasing food production and the diversification and growth of export crops which are the country's main foreign exchange earners.

There is great disparity in landownership. Most of the landholders own very small plots. The average farm size is just under 8 acres, but half of all farmers have less than the 3.5 acres considered necessary for the subsistence of a family. There are also

thousands of landless peasants who live and work on other people's farms. On the other hand, there are very large, efficient farms and plantations owned by a very small number of persons, but occupying most of the best farming land. Only one-tenth of 1 percent of the farms are over 5,000 acres in size, but they occupy over 40 percent of the farmlands. In addition, much of private and Government land is idle but potentially productive. The Government is, by far, the largest landholder in the country and provides most of the land for the agrarian reform program.

The main goal of the agrarian reform program is resettlement of landless peasants on idle Government and private land on easy terms. The average size of the land plot for a resettler is about 50 acres. Title to the land is given to the peasant when he completes payment.

Industrial production has been increasing at a high rate since 1960 because of the Central American Common Market. The country already had an industrial base at the advent of the common market and built upon it to the extent of being able to produce hundreds of products never before made domestically. Most of the items manufactured are nondurable consumer goods, largely import substitutions. The food-processing industry is the largest, followed by shoes, textiles, and beverages. Most of the persons employed in industry, however, are engaged in making handicrafts at home or in small shops. Only 4 percent of the labor force is actually working in factories, most of which have fewer than 100 employees.

Experts expect the mining industry, dormant for centuries, to make an important contribution to the economy in the near future. There are reserves of nickel and sulfur, and exploitation of them was commencing in 1968. There is much untapped hydroelectric capacity and the Government has several electrification projects under construction. For years, there was little demand for additional electricity, and residential lighting consumed most of the production. In the 1960's demand outstripped production as industry flourished and increasing amounts of energy were continually required.

The labor force is estimated at 1.4 million persons, most of whom are engaged in agriculture. The majority of economically active persons are men, but women and children are also included. Although general underemployment is recognized, there is a shortage of agricultural help at harvest time. Between 500,000 and 600,000 persons receive regular wages. The rest are self-employed farmers or part-time laborers. The total membership in the few labor unions is estimated at 50,000; only about half this number have collective contracts.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The role of the Government is much more noticeable and far-reaching in agriculture than in labor and industry. In agriculture its presence, either directly or indirectly, encourages the private sector to pursue policies favored by the Government.

At one time the Government was also active in the coffee business and accounted for a large portion of the coffee production. It was almost entirely out of the coffee business by 1968, since the present policy is to encourage domestic food production and to diversify agricultural exports. The Ministry of Agriculture has various projects to encourage agricultural diversification and decrease the dependence on coffee as the major export crop. Two of these projects are the growing of citrus fruit and avocados. Another is the cultivation of flowers for export. In 1967 lemons, avocados, and mangoes were planted on 40,000 acres in various areas by the Government. Although bananas are a traditional export, because of their contribution to the economy, the Government considers the encouragement of banana cultivation to be part of agricultural diversification.

Several Government institutions provide agricultural credit. Three of these are banks: the Production Development Institute (Instituto de Fomento de la Producción—INFOP), the National Mortgage Credit Bank (Crédito Hipotecario Nacional—CHN), and the National Agrarian Bank (Banco Nacional Agrario). Another is the Supervised Inter-American Cooperative Service for Agricultural Credit (Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Crédito Agrícola Supervisado—SCICAS), a part of the Ministry of Agriculture which provides credit for very small farmers. Sixty percent of SCICAS loans go to settlers on the land resettlement projects, the main feature of the Government's agrarian reform program. Settlements have sprung up and agricultural production has increased wherever the Government has built new roads, even where it provided no other service. The most striking case was the expansion of cotton production along new roads on the Pacific side (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8).

Through INFOP the Government has a price support program for several crops, such as corn, rice, and wheat. INFOP buys the grain from the farmer, stores it, and sells it at cost during periods of scarcity later in the year. INFOP is also the sole importer of all grain and plans to triple its storage facilities by 1973 in order to be able to maintain stabilization of grain prices. There are consumer price ceilings on some staples such as milk, beef, and flour. The Central American Common Market has a special grain protocol, signed in 1965, which will lead eventually to a regional

plan for stabilizing, marketing, and storing corn, rice, beans, and sorghum.

The Government provides agricultural education at both the secondary and university level. Higher education is given at San Carlos University to over 100 students a year in the School of Agronomy and the School of Veterinary Medicine, which together receive about 11 percent of the university's budget. Besides classrooms and laboratories, each of the schools has an experimental farm. Secondary education is given at two centers, both direct dependencies of the Ministry of Agriculture. One is the National School of Agriculture, which is on a 790-acre farm, at Barcena, 15 miles from the capital, which has a 3-year program. The other is the Central American School of Forestry, with a 3-year program on a small farm. About 20 students enter the forestry school annually. The Barcena school was created in 1921, but graduated a total of only 500 students between that date and 1966 since most students failed to finish the 3-year program. Graduates of both schools receive the title of Agronomic Expert.

Most of the agricultural research in Guatemala is done by the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1968 it had eight experimental stations and was carrying out approximately 70 research projects. Most of the stations are specialized according to commodity, such as coffee, rubber, cacao, and livestock, but one is for lowland agriculture, and one is for crops which can grow well in El Petén. Some research is also done by the Schools of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine and by the various private producers' associations. The Essential Oil Producers Association is the most effective. It received for its research budget the export tax on essential oils. In addition, four international organizations—the International Institute of Agricultural Science, the International Regional Organization of Plant and Animal Health, the Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama, and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)—conduct research projects in Guatemala for Central America as a whole.

The Government also operates two agricultural extension services. One is the Division of Agricultural Extension and consists of approximately 30 regional offices manned by 50 specialists. This service benefits Spanish-speaking owners of small- and medium-sized farms, but only covers about 5 percent of the total number of farms in the country. The other is the Service for the Development of the Indian Economy (Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena—SFEI), operated for the benefit of the non-Spanish-speaking farmers. Initiated in 1963, SFEI has 15 agencies with mostly bilingual personnel. Its program is modest and reaches only 1 percent of the Indian rural population.

In the field of labor, the Government's major role is providing legislation, setting minimum wages and standards, operating labor courts, training personnel for industry in two vocational schools and public employees in a public administration center, and limiting the number of foreigners who may compete with Guatemalans. Ninety percent of the personnel of any enterprise must be Guatemalan nationals, and 85 percent of the payroll must go to such nationals.

Within industry the Government's role is mainly attracting foreign capital and encouraging industrial growth by providing tax benefits under the Industrial Development Law. The Government is also engaged in the development of electric generating capacity which has fallen behind demand. The State owns several plants and, since 1959, has been the prime mover in building new ones, selling the electricity generated to private electric companies or directly to consumers.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the dominant sector of the economy, and plantation agriculture plays the key role by providing most of the exports. Since 1953 more than half of all annual agricultural and livestock production has been exported, accounting for more than 80 percent of all exports. Agriculture also provides about 30 percent of all raw materials used by Guatemalan industry; 26 percent of all domestic commerce is in agricultural commodities.

Agriculture, in its broadest sense, usually contributes between 28 to 32 percent of the GNP. It once contributed over 55 percent of the GNP but, since 1948, its relative share has declined because of falling coffee prices, decreased banana exports, and a successful attempt to diversify the economy. Crops represent about 69 percent of agricultural production; livestock and poultry, about 22 percent; forestry, 8 percent; and hunting and fishing, only 1 percent. Food crops make up only about 36 percent of production. Since 1950 Guatemala has experienced the highest growth rate in Latin America for overall agricultural production. Because most of the increase is in nonfood production, per capita food production increased by a minimal 1 percent annually between 1955 and 1965.

More than half the arable land is not being farmed and, because of the low rate of per capita productivity, food production frequently is insufficient to meet demand. In most recent years food staples have had to be imported even though the country is a food exporter. Since 1963 the country has had to import between Q20 to Q27 million in food each year. The basic agricultural problems are to expand and diversify production in order to meet domestic

food requirements and to continue earning high income from export crops.

Over 80 percent of the cultivated land is devoted to only four products: corn, coffee, cotton, and cattle. The Department of Escuintla is the richest in the country, producing 80 percent of all sugar, 70 percent of the cattle, 50 percent of the cotton, and 20 percent of the coffee. Corn and the other food crops are grown mainly on small plots in the highlands by Indians. The production of crops is greatly affected by weather conditions since irrigation is minimal and is found mostly on the plantations which already occupy the best land and which rarely specialize in food crops.

About two-thirds of the population is engaged in some type of agricultural activity. Many of the plantations are owned by absentee landlords and operated by hired administrators. Few of the plantation owners live on their plantations; they are dependent upon a large seasonal labor supply to harvest the crops. Most of the *ladino* farmers, except those who own plantations, are located in the eastern highlands at lower altitudes than the highland Indians. Their farms grow more varied products and have more livestock and mechanical equipment than do the Indian farms. Thus, fewer *ladinos* have to work as seasonal laborers to supplement their farm income.

Indian farmers are largely self-sufficient, even if only on a subsistence level. Most Indians work part of the year on plantations and occasionally sell firewood or excess production and handicrafts in order to purchase the few manufactured items they require. The average plot of land operated by an Indian farmer is too small for efficient production. Although there is much unsettled good land, the Indian is reluctant to migrate to undeveloped areas and prefers to remain in the highlands. This does not imply that he will not relocate, as the Government has established new settlement projects under the agrarian reform program since 1954.

Land Resources and Utilization

Nearly 87 percent of the land area of Guatemala, excluding lakes and rivers, is exploitable or potentially productive for agricultural purposes. This includes Government-owned idle land and forested land. Only 19 percent, or 5.25 million acres, is immediately cultivable. About one-fourth of this, 1.3 million acres, is in natural pastures, leaving slightly less than 15 percent of the total, or 4 million acres, in crops, lying fallow, or being held idle. Nevertheless, this is the second highest percentage of arable land for any of the Central American countries, although it is a low percentage when compared to all of Latin America. According to Guatemalan statistics, a large percentage of privately owned land is idle. An

estimate has been made that 50 percent of the land on medium-sized farms and as much as 20 percent of land on subsistence farms are not being worked. The Government-owned idle land susceptible of being exploited for agriculture or livestock totals over 8 million acres and is the source of much of the land under the agrarian reform program. From 1950 to 1962 an average of only slightly more than 10,000 acres annually was added to production.

The country has varied soils, climates, and altitudes, permitting many products to be raised. Because of the dramatic changes in altitude, temperature, and rainfall, nine distinct agricultural regions are recognized, more than those existing in many larger countries. El Petén and the Caribbean lowlands comprise one region and, together, make up almost one-half the total area. This region is mostly forested, and bananas, chicle, and mahogany are the main products. The central highlands, 4,500 to 9,000 feet in altitude, comprise about 18 percent of the land area and are characterized by Indian subsistence agriculture. Much of the cultivated land in this region is eroded, with only a few valley plains of good soil, the best being the Samalá Valley between Totonicapán and Quezaltenango. The central highlands have a dry season between December and June, but mists and dews moisten the soil enough to permit planting before the beginning of the rainy season. Most of the corn, beans, and wheat are grown in the central highlands.

The high grasslands (*páramos*) in the Cuchumatanes range and the high mountain peaks, all above 9,000 feet in altitude, in Huehuetenango and El Quiché comprise another distinct area. Only potatoes grow well in this region although most of the land is used for sheep grazing. The valleys, plains, and mountains southeast of the central highlands are 1500 to 4500 feet in altitude and sustain such diverse agriculture as fruits, corn, beans, tobacco, rice, vegetables, sorghum, and some cattle. Many of the farmers in this region are independent *ladino* landowners. The most productive land here is irrigated. The area north of the central highlands at the same altitude is called the Cobán and Reina Zones. The Reina Zone is the western section of this region and has soils more suitable for coffee than those of the area around Cobán. Coffee is the most important crop for this entire area, but sugar and agave are grown in addition to beans, corn, vegetables, and fruits.

The hills and valleys of western Huehuetenango generally restrict agriculture but offer good grazing land. Corn is the main crop of this region, but there are also some coffee plantations. The seventh region is the upper Pacific piedmont, or the area between 1500 and 4500 feet in altitude along the Pacific coast from

the Mexican border almost to El Salvador. This area has the finest soil in all the tropics and is where most of Guatemala's coffee is grown. The lower Pacific piedmont, a narrow strip 300 to 1,500 feet in altitude has good soil with gradual slopes suitable for the use of mechanical equipment. This is the main sugar and cotton area. Some cattle ranches are also present, and corn, rice, cacao, bananas, and low-altitude coffee are also grown. Finally, there is the Pacific coastal plain which is the area ranging from sea level to 300 feet. This belt is about 150 miles long and 10 to 25 miles wide. This is an area of cattle ranches, swamps, and forests.

In general, the soils on the Pacific side are more fertile than those on the Atlantic. A detailed study of the soils of the entire country was published in 1959, and studies are continuously made by the Ministry of Agriculture. El Petén has 26 different soil types; 14 of them are extremely sticky and would slow production by adhering to implements. In Izabal, Alta Verapaz, and El Quiché, where forests have been removed, the soil has lost fertility because mineral nutrients have been leached out. This soil is inadequate for corn. On the Pacific coast the land has been kept productive for hundreds of years because of volcanic eruptions which provide the soil with needed minerals.

In the past, little irrigation was practiced. During the first 100 years of independence, only 1685 acres were irrigated. Between 1930 and 1960 over 76,000 acres were added to those under irrigation. As of 1968, a total of about 124,000 acres were under irrigation, with about 80,000 acres being irrigated by private owners and the balance being Government irrigation projects. A United Nations survey of water resources completed in 1963 provides the Government with an excellent basis on which to develop irrigation projects. The Department of Hydraulic Resources of the Ministry of Agriculture has a program to irrigate another 60,000 acres of land by 1970. Most of the irrigation projects are in the southeastern portion of the country where rainfall is inadequate. About 25,000 acres in Jutiapa near the El Salvador border were already being irrigated in 1968 under this program.

Fertilizer use is starting to increase in the country, especially in the west-central highlands where the soil is generally deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus and moderately deficient in potassium. In areas where fertilizer is used, crop yields have been much higher. Corn yield has increased up to 10 times its former yield per acre.

The rate of mechanization in agriculture is the slowest in Central America. The National Economic Planning Council estimated that less than 5 percent of agricultural investment is in machinery. Because of the availability of inexpensive labor, the need for

mechanization has not been pressing on most of the plantations, and the Indian farmer's plot of land is too small to warrant its use. Sugar and cotton plantations are the most mechanized farms and use more modern techniques than do the coffee plantations. Primitive production techniques are still followed by most Indian farmers. In the highlands cultivation is by hand tools. The plow is rarely used and is common only in Huehuetenango. Where it is used, it is generally a homemade wooden plow. Corn is planted on every available piece of land, including steep hillsides. Digging in the cornfield is accomplished by a digging stick or a metal hoe, and a machete is used to cut down weeds and brush. The *ladino* farmer uses an ox-drawn metal plow and even more modern implements. Unlike the *ladino*, the Indian farmer does not practice crop rotation. He does practice fallowing, but this does not build up the soil to the extent rotation does.

Land Distribution and Tenure

Over 98 percent of the farms are less than 100 acres in size and occupy 28 percent of the land being farmed. Only 0.1 percent of the total number of farms are larger than 5000 acres, but they occupy 41 percent of the farming area. The average farm size is less than 8 acres, and about half of all farm operators have less than 3.5 acres of land. The most common unit of land measure is the *manzana*, equivalent to 1.7 acres. Indian farmers usually have the lowest acreage, the *ladinos* the highest. The median *ladino* farm is about three times as large as the median Indian farm. The 1950 census revealed that 1.3 million people were living on 266,000 landholdings averaging 3.5 acres, the minimum amount considered sufficient to satisfy the basic needs of one family. With the population increase, the situation has not improved. The Guatemalan National Planning Council estimated in 1965 that the situation was worse, that the number of landless families had increased by 140,000 between 1950 and 1962, and that over 90 percent of all rural families either were landless or possessed land insufficient for subsistence.

There are five forms of landownership: private, communal, municipal, national, and collective. In addition to ownership, some persons operate land as renters, *colonos*, or squatters. Only a little more than half of all farms are owned by the operators. About 17 percent are operated by renters or tenants, and about 12 percent are operated by *colonos*, who are resident plantation laborers working for the owner, but tilling plots of land given to them for their own use. About 10 percent of the farm operators are squatters, who are tolerated on Government-owned land in El

Petén and Izabal. The balance of farm operators are administrators or managers for absentee owners.

Farms run by administrators occupy one-third of the farming area. About 5 percent of the population owns land. The percentage of private owners is higher in the more densely populated rural areas. Private landownership is highest in the Department of Totonicapán, where about 99 percent of the land operators own the land they work. Private land seldom changes hands; transfers occur more from inheritance than from sale.

Communal landownership is of precolonial origin and generally prevailed in the highlands during the colonial era. Following independence, much of the communal land was divided among the inhabitants of a village. Today communal ownership is found mostly in Sololá, El Quiché, and Huehuetenango. It is seldom found in *ladino* areas. The usual system is for the village council to grant the use of a plot of communal land to a family head for life. If he dies or moves, his land reverts to communal ownership. Some of the communal land is never parceled out, but is used in common for pasturage and wood gathering by all village inhabitants.

Municipal landownership is of Spanish origin and is frequently confused with communal land tenancy. Under municipal landownership, the users of the land pay rent to the municipality and have use of the land for life. There is no reserve municipal land for common use, as under the communal system. The greatest areas of municipal landownership are in parts of Totonicapán and near Mazatenango in the Department of Suchitepéquez.

Including idle, productive, and forested land, national or State ownership covers about 80 percent of all the land in the country. At their height, in 1954, national farms numbered 150, including 130 coffee plantations taken from Germans during World War II and other farms acquired for specific purposes. They totaled over 690,000 acres of land, employed over 85,000 persons, and produced between 20 and 25 percent of the country's coffee. Under the agrarian reform of President Arbenz, all national farms were broken up and distributed among 30,000 persons. In 1954 they were returned to State control but, between that year and 1962, all except 25 farms were distributed anew. One farm was given to the Social Security Institute, one to the School of Agronomy, 11 to other public entities, 28 were exchanged for other real estate, 17 were given to the National Agrarian Bank in payment of State debts, 16 were returned to their former German owners, and the balance were sold. The remaining national farms, capable of being exploited on a cooperative basis, are to be given to cooperatives

formed by the *colonos* living there. The first cooperative national farm was established in mid-1967 by 200 families.

Collective landownership is relatively new in Guatemala. This term refers to land settlement set up by the Government on unexploited land or to the few cooperatives being formed on national farms or other land. Only 13 cooperatives with a total of 1300 families existed in 1962. In a colony each family is given land and housing. Social services, such as schooling and medical facilities, are also provided.

Of the nonowner farm operators, tenants or renters are the most important. About one-third of all renters are found in the three Departments of Escuintla, Retalhuleu, and Suchitepéquez. Cash payments for the use of the land are rare. Only renters of large farms and those close to the capital pay an annual cash rental. The others pay in kind or services. Those who rent land from plantations almost always pay by means of labor during harvest time. The system is also used to rent land for stockraising.

The *colonos* are resident plantation workers who work for the owner on a yearly basis, but who are given housing and the use of a land plot in addition to some wages. There are an estimated 1400 plantations having at least 100 resident workers.

Agrarian Reform

Guatemala was one of the first Latin American countries to adopt a modern basic agrarian reform program. The first basic law was passed in 1952 and has been continued since then in one form or another. The law in effect as of late 1968 was the Agrarian Transformation Law (Ley de Transformación Agraria) of October 11, 1962. Although the year 1952 opened the period of modern legislation, the country actually has had agrarian laws throughout its entire history. The stress on equal distribution or social justice, however, is a new development.

In colonial Guatemala all land belonged to the Crown and was distributed to Spaniards, theoretically on the basis of merit. One land measure used today, the *caballería*, equivalent to approximately 100 acres, depending on the region, dates from this epoch and refers to the amount of land given to a horseman, or *caballero*. Following independence, the first agrarian law was passed in 1825 and permitted the sale of public lands to private persons who had to cultivate the land within a 2-year period or return the land to the State. During the next 50 years 18 additional laws pertaining to land were passed, but little change occurred in landholdings. Then, under President Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-85), a number of liberal laws were passed in an attempt to create a middle class of farmers. In 1873 the sale of national land in lots of 100 to 555

acres on the southwest coast was permitted. In 1877 church properties and village public land were transferred to private owners. In many cases the land was sold to outsiders rather than to the users. In 1894 another law attempted to limit the size of total national land sold to any one solicitant to 1675 acres, but many persons continued to receive more than this limit. This law remained in effect until 1936 when a new agrarian law was passed which was, in reality, a compilation of all extant land legislation. From 1925 to 1944 no important land transfers occurred, with the exception that President Ubico gave away State land in lots of 555 to 1,360 acres to his supporters in the military.

The 1945 Constitution had provisions for a land reform program and, in 1952, under President Arbenz, a controversial Agrarian Reform Law was passed. Although this law has been analyzed as having some reasonable provisions, in practice it had no effect on increasing the production of basic food crops. Its impact was mainly political. It provided for the distribution of public land and for the expropriation of privately owned uncultivated land with eventual compensation. The first lands distributed were from the national farms, but the recipient received only the lifetime use of the plot, and the title remained with the Government. The user was to pay an annual rent amounting to 3 percent of the value of the crop to the State. Upon the death of the user, his family was to have priority for the reassignment of the land. Expropriated land was to be in favor of either the State or the workers on the land. If in favor of the State, it was leased in 25-acre lots to the workers for lifetime use. If in favor of the workers, title was given to them, but they could not dispose of the land for 25 years. Most expropriated land was in favor of the State. Only 14 percent of the recipients actually received titles to the land. In addition to expropriation of private land, the law provided that all land and housing used by *colonos* on plantations was to be given to them permanently. As part of the reform program, a National Agrarian Bank was formed to provide credit at low rates to the new land recipients. This bank is still in existence, providing credit to the small farms. Accurate statistics are not available, but it appeared that at least 1 million acres of productive land were taken from private owners. Only about 600,000 acres, including national farmland, were distributed to approximately 55,000 peasants while Arbenz was President.

After the fall of Arbenz, decrees of July 27 and August 22, 1954, rescinded the Agrarian Reform Law, returned most of the private land to its former owners, and canceled the land grants from the national farms. Many of the Indians were forcibly removed from the land. Although the government of Carlos

Castillo Armas agreed that a land reform program was necessary, it did not believe that the expropriation of productive land was desirable. Therefore, an Agrarian Statute was enacted on March 1, 1956, which provided for a program in four parts, the most important of which was a land resettlement scheme on unused Government and private land. Private land could only be expropriated if it was idle in which case the actual market value had to be paid for it. During the enforcement of the Agrarian Statute, with partial help from the United States, about 5,000 families were resettled in 19 settlements and given plots averaging 50 acres. Although resettlement schemes cost \$20 million between 1955 and 1962, the Government considers this a worthwhile expenditure because the farms distributed have been relatively more productive per acre than other farms. In addition to the settlement programs, land not suitable for subdivision was distributed on a communal basis to over 100 communities. Small 5-acre subsistence-size plots were given to landless peasants, titles to some land distributed under the Arbenz program were confirmed, and residential lots were given to low-income families. The most important aspect of the 1956 law was that permanent titles were given to the users of the land. From 1955 to 1963 over 25,000 families were given a total of 390,000 acres of land under all the various programs, the highest amount of land distribution in all Central America during this period.

The Agrarian Statute was replaced on October 11, 1962, by the Agrarian Transformation Law. The main emphasis of the 1962 law is encouraging production of private idle or underexploited land. Owners of all idle properties over 250 acres, with a few stated exceptions, pay a progressive tax. After the fifth year, if the land is not in production, it may be expropriated at market value and paid for in five annual installments. The National Institute of Agrarian Transformation (Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria—INTA) was created to carry out the law (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8).

The usual size of plots distributed by INTA is about 50 acres. The recipient initially pays 10 percent of the land value and the balance within 20 years. Title is granted only after full payment is made. The recipient may transfer the land to another person with the permission of INTA if the new owner farms the land himself.

INTA's biggest projects are settlements in El Petén and Alta Verapaz. The State owns much unsettled good land and is actively colonizing it. The largest settlement project, popularly known as Sebol, is a 64,000-acre tract of highly fertile land in Alta Verapaz. As of 1968, about 500 families were already at Sebol as

owners. In El Petén, INTA and National Enterprise for Economic Development of El Petén (Fomento y Desarrollo de El Petén—FYDEP) have different programs which are not coordinated. INTA prefers to grant the usual family-size plots of about 50 acres, whereas FYDEP grants huge plots of 2,500 acres each near Flores.

Agricultural Production

Guatemala experiences such different climatic conditions and has so many soil types that it is the best suited of all Central American countries for varied agricultural production. According to a World Bank study, any crop in the Western Hemisphere could be grown somewhere in the country. This fact is advantageous to the Government's policy of diversifying agricultural production. In addition to crops, Guatemala has various noncrop agricultural resources. Its livestock industry is relatively large and contributes greatly to exports and foreign exchange. Its forestry industry has much potential with millions of acres of unexploited hardwoods. Its growing fisheries industry exports more than 70 percent of its catch, almost all of it shrimp.

Major Crops

Coffee is the principal crop of Guatemala in terms of foreign exchange earnings. There is a total of about 138 million coffee trees on all the plantations. In terms of land use, however, almost four times as much land is planted in corn as in coffee. Corn was the major food crop of the Mayas and still is for the rural population. No corn is exported. Cotton is the second most important export crop and is grown on land which has been made highly productive by the use of fertilizers and insecticides. Bananas are an important export crop, but have declined greatly in importance. Less than 2 percent of the cultivated land is planted in bananas. Sugar is raised both for domestic needs and for export. Rice, beans, and wheat are other major crops.

Coffee. Coffee means more to the Guatemalan economy than any other crop or industry. It is the single most important earner of foreign exchange. Coffee is grown on 12,000 plantations ranging in size from 25 acres to 4,500 acres, located in every department except El Petén, which is too hot, and Totonicapán, which is too cold. In addition to the 12,000 plantations, about 28,000 small farmers grow some coffee on small acreages. A total of 340,000 acres in the country is planted in coffee. The three Departments of San Marcos, Suchitepéquez, and Quezaltenango produce over half of all coffee grown; approximately 1,500 of the 12,000 plantations grow 80 percent of the crop.

Coffee is not indigenous to Latin America. It was introduced to Martinique from Ethiopia in 1723 and its cultivation later spread to all of Latin America. In Guatemala coffee was first grown near Antigua and Amatitlán in the mid-19th century. The first exports were made in 1860, but it remained for President Justo Rufino Barrios to actively promote coffee cultivation in the country during the period 1873-85. Ever since, Guatemala has been the major coffee producer of Central America and the fourth or fifth producer and exporter in the Western Hemisphere. Production in 1968 was about 2 million bags (152 pounds each). Internal consumption is high, about 200,000 bags, usually of the poorest grades.

President Barrios invited German planters to Guatemala, and they first settled in the Coban area. A special agreement permitted Germans and their offspring to retain German citizenship; this was later used as the basis for the Guatemalan Government's confiscation of the German coffee plantations during World War II as the property of enemy aliens. Cobán has limited good soil for coffee growing and, during the 1870's, the German planters, as well as English, American, and Guatemalan planters, began to exploit an area on the Pacific side, extending from Mexico to El Salvador at altitudes of from 1,000 to 5,000 feet, called the Upper Boca Chica or upper Pacific piedmont zone. This zone is considered to be an ideal one for the growing of best quality coffee because of the combination of its soil, air temperature, and moisture. More than 80 percent of the coffee is grown in this zone. Cobán is now a secondary zone of production. Some coffee is grown in the lowlands, where farmers take advantage of banana trees as shade trees for young coffee bushes. Although no lowland coffee is of high quality, lowland trees produce heavier coffee beans than highland coffee trees. Yield per acre is variable but very high, about 500 pounds per acre on the average, which is the third highest yield in Latin America. The yield could be even higher if it were not for the age of the trees. Thirty percent are over 20 years old. In some years the crop is so good that Guatemala has more coffee than it can sell under the International Coffee Agreement, which was designed to control production.

Little machinery is utilized on coffee plantations because the availability of inexpensive labor makes it possible to produce coffee without utilizing improved techniques. Pests do not cause much loss because of the high altitude where most coffee grows. The type most commonly grown is mild Arabica, but Bourbon, Maragogipe, and Robusta coffees are also grown. The young tree, really a bush or shrub, matures in 5 years.

Harvesting begins in late September or early October and lasts as long as 2 months. Another 2 months are required before the coffee is ready for export. By January or February most of the coffee is in the hands of the exporters, with actual exports taking place between January and June.

A National Coffee Policy Committee was created in 1966 to advise the Government on steps considered necessary for the best development of the coffee industry, including foreign trade aspects. This committee represents Guatemala at international coffee meetings and is headed by the Minister of Agriculture. In addition, a National Coffee Association (Asociación Nacional de Café—ANACAFE), a nonprofit organization of coffee producers, controls the distribution of the export quota, provides growers with technical assistance, and makes loans to small producers. By law, all producers of more than 100 pounds of coffee must belong to ANACAFE.

Cotton. During 1950–60 cotton acreage increased by 2,800 percent and production by 6,000 percent. The 1966–67 crop year saw the first decrease in production after many years of annual increases. Before 1953 Guatemala did not produce sufficient cotton to meet domestic needs, and imports were required. In 1954, as a result of increased plantings between 1950 and 1953, the country became a cotton exporter and has remained so ever since, with cotton being the second most important export crop and foreign exchange earner. Most of the cotton is grown on the Pacific side at about 600 feet in altitude, in a belt lying halfway between the seacoast and the Pacific coast highway. More than 75 percent is grown in Escuintla and Retalhuleu. Small amounts are grown elsewhere. The ginning centers are located at Retalhuleu, Tiquisate, and Esquintla.

The yield on the Pacific side is consistently high. According to Government statistics, some of the world's highest yields per acre for nonirrigated cotton are obtained in Guatemala.

Most of the cotton land is of deep unweathered volcanic ash. Some of the cotton land was formerly planted in bananas; some was jungle. The wet season is well marked with daily rainfall permitting planting in July. Harvesting commences in November, when the dry season begins, and lasts through March. Three pickings can be obtained from the same fields during the harvest period. The major problem for growers is pest control, and the cost of insecticides is said to run to 40 percent of the total cost of production. The continual rainfall washes off the insecticide and makes frequent application necessary. Most growers spray from 20 to 35 times per crop year.

In order to maintain orderly production, the Ministry of Agriculture grants an annual planting license to cotton growers and establishes cotton-growing zones. There is a National Council which deals with all matters pertaining to the cotton industry. This council is composed of one representative from each cotton-growing zone, plus Government members.

Sugar. Sugarcane is grown in all departments except Totonicapán, but the greatest area of production is in the low Pacific coastal plain. It is grown commercially in Escuintla, Suchitepéquez, Santa Rosa, Guatemala, and Retalhuleu, with the largest plantations found in the Department of Escuintla. In the rest of the country it is grown for local use only. About one-third of all sugar grown is exported, half to the United States.

Guatemala processes sugar in two different ways, resulting in different products; the processes are centrifugal and noncentrifugal. Granulated sugar is produced by a centrifugal process and is the main type moving in international trade. About 200,000 short tons were produced in the 1966-67 crop year (November-October), a record high. Noncentrifugal processes produce several varieties, but most of the sugar is in the form called *panela*. About 22,000 short tons of noncentrifugal sugar was produced in 1966-67. *Panela* is a crude, hard brown sugar made by boiling the juice from the cane, mixing it with molasses, and then pressing it. *Panela* is used mostly by the Indians as a food and also to distill an illegally made liquor called *aguardiente*. Domestic consumption of centrifugal sugar is increasing annually as many consumers are switching from the use of *panela* to granulated sugar.

There are 11 sugar mills in the country, three of which are owned by the Government. Several of these mills are small. Four mills account for 80 percent of the total sugar production. In addition, there are about 2,000 small sugar plants making the noncentrifugal sugar. Sugar growers deliver their cane to the mill and are paid a price set by the National Sugar Commission, an organization composed of Government and private members. Granulated sugar for the domestic market is gray in color; that exported is chemically bleached for whitening. All exports are made by the Guatemala Sugar Association. Between 9 and 10 million gallons of molasses are produced annually as a byproduct of the sugar mills. This is used for preparing animal feed and for export.

Corn. Corn (maize) is the major Indian crop and main food staple. Virtually every rural family grows it on small plots called *milpas*. It accounts for half the diet for 75 percent of the population. About 50 percent of the corn produced is consumed by the grower and his family; the remainder is sold or bartered. Much of the surplus production is purchased by truckers who come to

the farm and then resell it in other areas, mostly to coffee plantations for food for their laborers. Corn is grown in every department of Guatemala, but the leading areas are Huehuetenango, Alta Verapaz, San Marcos, and El Quiché. Throughout the country an estimated 2 million acres are planted in corn.

Theoretically, corn has a very high seed ratio; 200 pounds of grain can be produced from 1 pound of seed. This is not true, however, throughout Guatemala. Corn can be grown in Guatemala up to 9,500 feet in altitude. Each 1,000 feet of altitude, however, adds about 3 to 4 weeks to the time needed for crop maturation, and as much as 9 months is normal near the frostline. In the lower altitudes the growing season is shorter, but the farmer is faced with insect damage. Much of the high land soil is not well suited for corn. The best land for corn is in the Pacific coastal regions where two crops a year are harvested, but many of the highland varieties of corn will not grow well at the lower altitudes. Special varieties are required. Guatemala has more corn varieties than any other place in the world. Many of these varieties do not grow well outside their particular locale, and corn from other countries, such as the United States, does not grow well in Guatemala. As a result, the overall corn yield is not high, about ninth in Latin America on an acreage basis. The total production is increasing at only a little more than 1 percent per year and, in some years, such as 1967, production does not meet requirements, necessitating imports. In recent years increasing amounts of corn have been going toward the production of animal feed concentrates.

Bananas. Bananas are grown commercially in two areas; the Pacific coast and the lower Motagua Valley near the Caribbean. The Motagua Valley has better climatic conditions, but was unproductive for many years because of banana diseases. It has been replanted since 1932 with a disease-resistant variety called the valery. Ninety percent of the bananas are grown in the Departments of Esquintla, Suchitepéquez, and Izabal. The major grower has always been the United Fruit Company (UFCO), but there are over 2,000 registered banana farms in the country. The amount of land owned by UFCO has been continually decreasing, and it is no longer the dominant enterprise in Guatemala's economy. The company once had over 460,000 acres in concessions but, by 1968, it was planting only about 35,000 acres, the rest of the land having been returned to the State.

The greatest hazard to bananas in Guatemala is Panama disease, a fungus which attacks the roots of the plants. A second major hazard is wind blowdowns, usually on the Pacific side, during May. A 25-mile per hour wind can blow down a banana tree. Blowdown bananas are not exported. Another disease is sigatoka,

a leaf blight which can be controlled by spraying. There is no effective remedy for Panama disease except flooding the land for several years and letting it remain fallow in this condition. Because of disease and blowdowns, banana production has decreased steadily over the years. Growers are hopeful that UFCO's experiments with the disease-resistant variety will be successful and production will once again increase.

All banana exports are made by UFCO which exports its own products and those of other growers with whom it has contracts. The Standard Fruit Company, which owned no plantations but purchased from independent farmers, suspended its operations in 1962 because of decreased production. Growers are paid on the basis of the number of banana rows (or hands) on the stem. A nine-hand stem is the standard; eight-hand stems receive three-fourths of the going rate and seven hands receive only half the rate. Six hands or less are not exported.

Beans. Beans produced are the variety normally called black beans. They constitute the chief source of protein for the rural population and provide about one-third of their diet. Bean production is concentrated in the highlands, although it is grown throughout the country. The overall production is heaviest in Jutiapa, Chiquimula, and Santa Rosa, whereas Suchitepéquez and Izabal have the highest yield per acre. Generally, the annual production of beans is insufficient for domestic consumption, and imports are often necessary. Most farmers plant beans in their cornfields between rows of corn. Usually, this soil is not ideally suited for beans. After his family's needs are met, the small farmer often has little left to market. He may sell the surplus directly to coffee plantations, to urban bean dealers, to truck buyers, or to the consumers and small retailers since there is no fixed marketing pattern for beans.

Rice. Two-thirds of all rice production comes from the extreme southeastern part of the country in the Departments of Jutiapa and Santa Rosa. A second major rice area is in the west, in San Marcos, Quezaltenango, and Retalhuleu. At one time rice production per acre was the sixth lowest in Latin America. It did not meet domestic needs, and large imports were necessary. Because of better seeds distributed by the Ministry of Agriculture and a minimum price support guaranteed to farmers by the Government, rice production has increased to the point where frequent surpluses occur. These surpluses are easily sold on the international market. Under the price support program, the Government is the only purchaser of rough rice, and domestic rice millers must purchase all their supplies from INFOP.

Wheat. Hard wheat does not grow in Guatemala. All wheat grown is of soft varieties. Most wheat is grown in very high altitude areas between 5,400 and 9,000 feet, with Quezaltenango and San Marcos being the principal producers. There are very few large wheat farms. Most wheat is produced by small farmers on land averaging less than 17 acres. Wheat production, about 35,000 tons annually, does not meet domestic demand, which is increasing by 3 to 5 percent annually. The output usually supplies from one-third to one-half of national consumption, with the balance being imported.

In addition to low overall production the yield per acre is the third lowest in Latin America, and the milling quality is poor. Millers prefer hard wheat, which is the type of wheat imported. Because the growing of wheat is so important for the small high-land farmer, the Government maintains the price of domestic wheat above the world price and each mill is given a quota of domestic wheat before it can use imported wheat. Most flour is a mixture of the two types of wheat.

Minor Crops

There are numerous minor crops raised in Guatemala, mostly for domestic consumption, but some for export. The three most important minor export crops are essential oils, tobacco, and honey. Other minor crops—mostly for domestic use—are rubber, cacao, fruits and vegetables, millet, sorghum, potatoes, sesame, cassava, and hard fibers.

Essential Oils. Citronella and lemon grass oil are the two essential oils raised in Guatemala. Essential oils contain a volatile essence imparting the odor of the plant. Oil of citronella is extracted from citronella grass and is used in the manufacture of menthol. Lemon extract is also made from a grass similar to citronella and is used to make vitamin A. These grasses are grown on large plantations over 300 acres in size at altitudes of 500 to 2,000 feet. The oil is distilled by the growers, most having their own distilleries or access to a neighbor's. The distilled oil is then brought to the capital and turned over to the laboratories of the Essential Oil Producers Association (Asociación de Productores de Aceites Esenciales—APAE), which markets all the oils. After being tested for quality and purity, the oil is mixed with similar grade oil of other producers and stored until exported. Meanwhile the farmer receives an advance on the sale. APAE also runs an experimental farm and has a sales office in New York. The world price is the determining factor in sales. If the price is low, APAE does not export as much as it could. In the period 1959-67 APAE earned over \$50 million for its members and has had remarkable

success in maintaining Guatemala's essential oil industry in the face of competition from production in India and Formosa and from synthetic products.

Rubber. A law offering land grants for rubber plantations was passed in 1899, but efforts to stimulate production over the very small amounts being grown were unsuccessful until World War II, when production was increased somewhat in an attempt to replace the Southeast Asian sources lost to the West. Following World War II, production fell again, and cultivation of new trees expanded very slowly during the early 1950's. A rubber tree does not produce for 7 years, and many farmers were reluctant to take the risk. In the 1960's, as early planters made good profits when their trees were finally tapped, others were encouraged to plant rubber, and expansion became rapid. Since 1966 there have been large increases in production. A rubber development scheme, set up in 1961, foresees a total of 80,000 acres planted in rubber (from the then-existing 17,000 acres), which should produce 48,000 tons of crude rubber annually, more than sufficient for domestic needs. Although El Petén and the Motagua Valley appear to be the areas most suitable for rubber production, ecological conditions on the Pacific coast prevent the growth of South America Leaf Blight, the major rubber tree disease and, presumably, new plantings will be made there.

Tobacco. Tobacco is grown for local and regional markets by *ladino* farmers in eastern Guatemala, with one-fourth of the production concentrated in Jutiapa Department. Most of the tobacco is raised for domestic cigarette production, but increasing amounts are being exported as production rises. Tobacco yield per acre was historically low, but improved seed and farming techniques have increased yields, with the actual acreage under production remaining relatively stable.

Honey. Guatemala has always been an important honey and beeswax producer, but production on the Pacific coast dropped in the early 1960's because of harm to the bees by insecticides sprayed on other crops, especially cotton. In 1965 and 1966 many of the apiaries were transferred to El Petén, and production started to increase again. In 1967 the honey crop was about 5.6 million pounds. Most of the honey is exported to Europe.

Cacao. Cacao is grown by small farmers in one section of Suchitepéquez and in the Polochic Valley under the shade of forest trees. The amount raised is small, and more could be grown since there is much virgin soil suitable for cacao.

Fruits and Vegetables. Most fruits and vegetables for local markets are raised on small farms or as supplementary crops on larger farms. Pineapples, oranges, mangoes, papayas, avocados, grapes,

and tomatoes are the more common fruits. Escuintla grows 80 percent of the pineapples. One-third of the avocados are raised in the Department of Guatemala. Citrus production is scattered because some trees are used as shade on coffee plantations and others are used as fencing to mark property lines. There is no commercial citrus production.

Most of the vegetables are grown commercially on small farms near Lake Atitlán. Another vegetable food is plantain, which is similar to a banana but starchy rather than sweet. Most of the grape vineyards are in Antigua. Both table and wine grapes are grown. A new winery in the country is encouraging the planting of additional vineyards.

Livestock and Poultry

The cattle industry has been growing rapidly since 1960 at an estimated annual rate of 3 to 4 percent, because of increasing beef exports to the United States. Guatemala and all of Central America are free of hoof-and-mouth disease, and fresh and frozen beef may enter the United States as long as certain meat inspection standards are maintained. The first beef exports, about 2 million pounds, were made in 1961 and, by 1967, over 18 million pounds had been exported. About 99 percent of the exports go to the continental United States and Puerto Rico. Because of overslaughtering and in an attempt to maintain sufficient supplies of meat for the domestic market, the Government set annual export quotas, beginning in 1967. As of 1968, there was a total of 1.7 million head of cattle in the country.

Most of the beef cattle are now being raised on large ranches on the hot Pacific coastal plain in the Department of Escuintla, Santa Rosa, and Suchitepeque. These departments, plus Guatemala, are also the chief dairy cattle areas. In addition, some cattle are raised in the eastern highlands in Jutiapa and Chiquimula, just as in colonial times. Some of the beef cattle are imported from Honduras for fattening, but most are native stock crossbred with Brahma, Durham, and Brown Swiss bulls. Most of the beef cattle are grass fed since there is sufficient good pasturage. Concentrated feeds are used only for the dairy herds near the capital. All of the export beef comes from the Pacific coast. There are modern slaughterhouses along the highways, with the largest at Escuintla having a capacity of 250 head daily. The beef is boxed and put into 20-ton refrigerated trailers. These are driven to the port of Matías de Gálvez and placed on board the Miami-bound ferries. Upon arrival in the United States, the beef is converted into hamburgers, bologna, and processed meats.

A model Government cattle ranch exists in Alta Verapaz to teach good management and to experiment on improving the stock. The Ministry of Agriculture imports breeding stock and operates an artificial insemination program. A fund to guarantee bank loans to persons borrowing for expansion of herds was set up in 1968. For a premium of 1 percent, cattle raisers can obtain a guarantee for their loans up to 18 months. The various cattle improvement schemes, however, do not include the dairy industry.

All the sheep in Guatemala are found in the southwestern portion of the country, almost equally distributed among the Departments of San Marcos, Huehuetenango, and El Quiché. Most flocks are between 3 and 25 head, with an estimated total of about 800,000 in 1968. The sheep owners use most of the wool themselves, but some of the better grade is sold. The total wool production is insufficient for domestic needs. Sheep are raised for wool, and few are slaughtered for food.

Swine are raised all over Guatemala, but the greatest concentration is found in Jutiapa, El Quiché, Huehuetenango, and San Marcos. Most are raised by Indian farmers and agricultural laborers who sell their surplus to walking buyers, who literally walk around from farm to farm. The buyers resell them to butchers, retailers, and consumers in the cities. Most of the pigs are very small because the growers do not feed them grain and there is no selective breeding. A few specialized hog farms exist in Escuintla, Jutiapa, and Jalapa. Hogs from these farms are of better quality and are sold almost entirely in the capital. There were estimated to be 815,000 swine in 1968.

Other livestock exist in small numbers. There are an estimated 96,000 goats, 156,000 horses, 53,000 mules, and 6,000 donkeys in the country.

Poultry and eggs are produced mostly on small farms, although there are a growing number of commercial flocks. Organized farms had about 2.6 million layers producing about 140,000 dozen eggs daily as of 1966. About 500,000 birds are raised for meat every 2 months on these farms. There were about 50,000 breeding chickens in the country in 1966, producing about 1.2 million hatching eggs annually. Another 6 million chickens are estimated to exist on small farms. Since 1960 fewer eggs and chicks have been imported as the domestic poultry industry has expanded. Special import licenses are now required for chicks and eggs in order to protect the industry.

Forestry

More than half of Guatemala is forested. The exact acreage is not known. The United Nations conducted a 5-year study com-

pleted in mid-1968, to evaluate the forest resources, and the full report was not available in late 1968. Estimates, however, indicate that there are over 17 million acres of forestland, with about 3 million in softwoods, 10 million in hardwoods, and the balance in brush. Of the total area, only 5.6 million acres are accessible. Over 80 percent of the hardwoods are in El Petén, with the balance of the hardwoods found in El Quiché, Alta Verapaz, and Izabal. The softwoods are scattered all over the country.

The most valuable woods being exploited are mahogany and cedar, but most of the wood actually cut is fuel wood. Industrial cuttings account for only 12 percent of the total cuttings. Although some of the hardwoods are exported, all the softwoods are used domestically, partly because of their proximity to the populated areas. A preliminary report of the UN study indicates that there are over 300 species of tropical, subtropical, and temperate varieties of woods in commercial quantities capable of being exploited.

Exploitation of timber has been limited because of inaccessibility, lack of transportation (most logs are floated out of El Petén only during flood season), and Government controls. For example, round logs may not be exported, but must be processed in the country; exporters of sawed wood require special licenses; all exports from El Petén must go on Guatemala flag ships; timber exploiters must pay a tree export tax and build roads and sawmills before a concession is granted. As a result, there are only 100 sawmills in the entire country, most very small, and only two in all of El Petén.

In addition to lumber, forests contain vanilla, sarsaparilla, medicinal barks and herbs, camphor, cinnamon, oil-bearing palms, tannin, bamboo, and chicle. Bamboo is used in small amounts for papermaking. The bark of the chinchona tree produces quinine and was exploited more intensively during World War II than at present. The most important forest activity in El Petén, however, is the gathering of chicle latex; Guatemala is the world's second largest chicle producer.

Chicle is the dried sap of the sapodilla or chicosapote tree and is the preferred base for the manufacture of chewing gum. The tree, which also produces edible fruit, is found scattered wild throughout El Petén. There are no chicle plantations in Guatemala. The chicle gatherers establish jungle camps which are moved frequently. The trees are tapped and the sap is boiled into large balls of gum, taken to jungle airstrips, and flown in small planes to Puerto Barrios where it is exported to the United States. Tree tapping is done from June until the following March, and the chicle gatherers are considered to be well paid for their type of work. The chicle industry is being threatened by increased costs

in obtaining the chicle, by chicle substitutes, and by the fact that the tree is being grown commercially in Florida.

Fishing

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Guatemala has the world's lowest per capita consumption of seafood. The industry is relatively backward, with the exception of shrimping, which is well organized and expanding. Great opportunities exist for the development of both offshore and freshwater fishing. Between 3.5 and 5 million pounds of fish are landed annually, but most of the catch is shrimp, destined for export. Some fish are caught in shrimp nets and sold commercially by the shrimpers, but most of the fish are returned to the ocean because of a lack of processing plants. Shrimpers report that they throw back 5 to 10 pounds of fish for every pound of shrimp caught. No fish are exported.

Shrimp are found in commercial quantities all along the Pacific coast of Guatemala within the 12-mile territorial limit and in less than commercial quantities along the Caribbean coast in the western part of the Bay of Amatique, near Belize. The Caribbean shrimp is a white shrimp and is consumed domestically. The Pacific coast shrimp is predominantly large and white and pink in color, alternating seasonally, with some small shrimp taken occasionally. In 1962 the Government had to limit the number of vessels shrimping on the Pacific coast because of a fear of overcatching. Observers estimate 4 million pounds as the annual maximum potential of the Guatemalan shrimp industry. As of mid-1968, the limit was 50 boats, and licenses were given only to enterprises wholly or partly owned by Guatemalans. All license holders must first satisfy domestic demand before they can export but, since domestic demand is very low, this requirement is not difficult to meet. Most of the shrimp exports, all in frozen form, are destined for the United States market, with some minimal amounts going to Japan and Canada. Shrimp-freezing plants exist in Champerico and San José.

Internal commercial fishing in lakes and rivers also requires a license, issued by any municipality and valid throughout the country except during May, July, or August, when no fishing may be done. There is also a special season for catching alligators.

The Government has started a program of pisciculture in the highlands because fish are an excellent source of protein, but the lack of refrigeration facilities has prevented greater consumption of fish brought in from a distance. Fish, basically carp, are grown in tanks which will eventually be located in Huehuetenango, El Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, El Progreso, Zacapa, and

Jalapa. This program projects a production of 1.6 million pounds of fish annually when fully operating.

INDUSTRY

Guatemala has experienced phenomenal industrial activity since 1960 and is producing a wider range of goods than before, but industrialization still has a relatively small influence on the economy. Most of the new industries involve the manufacturing of simply made articles, requiring small capital investment and a relatively small labor force. There are very few large modern industries. The percentage of the economically active population engaged in manufacturing has only slightly increased since the 1950 census. The majority of the industrial labor force actually produces handicrafts. Raw materials account for over 50 percent of the cost of production of manufactured articles, labor costs are less than 30 percent, and the balance consists of administrative and miscellaneous costs. Most factories are concentrated around Guatemala City, and consumer products are the chief manufactures.

Manufacturing

The contribution of industrial production to the GNP has grown steadily since 1948 and accounted for about 15 percent by 1967, the highest percentage of the GNP for all of Central America. The average rate of increase of industrial production from 1961 to 1966 was 12 percent. The rate was below that in 1967 because of some market saturation. By value, the production was 67 percent consumer goods, 29 percent raw materials, and a small balance in capital goods. Consumer goods production was split 73 percent for nondurables and 27 percent for durables.

The last industrial census was taken in 1965 and indicated there were over 16,500 manufacturing establishments. Most of these, however, were making handicrafts and were so small in size that they could not be called factories. Over 73 percent of all industrial production came from 2,100 factories, and of these, only 1,200 were found to be organized firms (see table 13). The others were unorganized (proprietor-owned) and, in actuality, were carrying out shop-type activities. Most of the 1,200 factories were small and unincorporated, with low productivity, low capital, and a small labor force. Few firms have transformed themselves into corporations. The number of factories employing more than 100 persons is less than 100, and their average fixed capital is only Q600,000. Most industrial establishments in Guatemala employ between five and 14 persons.

Table 13. Industrial Establishments in Guatemala According to the 1965 Industrial Census

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|-------|
| Bakeries | 226 | Alcoholic beverages | 17 |
| Miscellaneous food products .. | 219 | Watch manufactures | 17 |
| Chemicals and products | 219 | Bricks | 17 |
| Printers | 214 | Bicycles and motorcycles | 16 |
| Miscellaneous clothing | 197 | Fat and oils | 15 |
| Nonmetallic mineral products .. | 142 | Glass products | 13 |
| Metallic products | 130 | Tobacco manufacturing | 12 |
| Furniture | 127 | Sugar mills | 12 |
| Electrical machinery and apparatus | 119 | Soft beverages | 11 |
| Sawmills and woodworkings .. | 116 | Fruit and vegetable preservation | 10 |
| Shoes | 102 | Sacks and cordage | 9 |
| Vehicle repairs | 102 | Seafood preparation | 7 |
| Textiles | 84 | Nonferrous metals | 7 |
| Knitted clothing | 66 | Scientific and professional equipment | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 55 | Optical and photographic equipment | 6 |
| Milling | 46 | Paints | 6 |
| Meat packing and preparation .. | 44 | Nonelectric machinery | 6 |
| Leather products | 42 | Iron and steel products | 5 |
| Rubber products | 36 | Boat construction | 4 |
| Candy and confectionery | 34 | Petroleum and products | 4 |
| Nonclothing textile articles .. | 29 | Porcelain | 4 |
| Jewelry manufacturing | 28 | Musical instruments | 2 |
| Miscellaneous wood products .. | 26 | Hydraulic cement | 1 |
| Milk Products | 22 | | |
| Pulp, paper, and paper articles .. | 21 | | |
| Vehicles and parts | 20 | | |
| | | TOTAL | 2,694 |

Source: Adapted from Guatemala, Dirección General de Estadística, *Directory of Industrial Establishments*, 1967.

Industry is concentrated in a perimeter around the cities of Guatemala and Quezaltenango because of better communication radiating from these two cities and a more abundant supply of electricity. About 1,500 of the 2,100 factories are located in the environs of the capital and along the highway to Escuintla, and over 270 are in and around Quezaltenango. Another 100 factories are found around the three cities of Escuintla, Mazatenango, and Retalhuleu. The rest are distributed throughout the country. Escuintla has a 311-acre industrial park with ample water, sewerage, and electricity for new industry. Although most industry is located in the Department of Guatemala, less than 25 percent of the economically active population in that department is employed in manufacturing. The Department of Totonicapán actually has the highest percentage (33 percent) of persons employed in manufacturing. This is because many small household industries making handicrafts are located there.

The relatively rapid growth of manufacturing since 1960 has been brought about by an expanding domestic market, the Central American Common Market (CACM), and tax incentives under the Industrial Development Law. When the CACM began, Guatemala had one-third of all industries already existing in the CACM countries, giving it an initial advantage. About 40 percent of CACM trade is in manufactured products.

Industrial growth since 1960 has been keeping pace with the growth of the GNP. The major obstacle to still further industrial growth, however, is demand. According to the Government, only about 10 percent of the population uses manufactured articles on a fairly regular basis, and even the improved market created by the CACM has its limits since it cannot support heavy industry and can provide a market only for consumer products and a few intermediary and capital goods. The only two industries of any size exporting outside the CACM are artisan craftwork, mostly textiles, and instant coffee. All the other export industries are concentrated in providing import substitutes for the CACM. Another obstacle to further growth is long-term financing of new plants and equipment, although this is ameliorated somewhat by foreign credits and investments. Another problem is effective marketing and distribution. Many manufactured items have a high retail price, not necessarily caused by production costs, but rather by high profit margins placed on the articles by handlers during its marketing chain. The state of technology varies considerably from one industry to another. Many factories do not enforce quality control.

Although industrial output still consists largely of what are known as traditional manufactures—for example, food processing, beverages, tobacco, flour milling, brewing, textiles, furniture, footwear, and clothing—new industries have sprung up since 1960, but none of them accounts for as much as 5 percent of the value of industrial production. Food processing, beverages, and tobacco account for 45 percent of the total industrial products. Some of the major new products, imported before 1960 but now being made in Guatemala, are spark plugs, razor blades, television and radio sets, phonograph records, kitchen stoves, water heaters, tires and tubes, tin cans, dental equipment, construction materials glass containers, petroleum products, steel plates, bars and sections, petrochemicals, sewing machines, animal feeds, refrigeration equipment, rayon filament, and paper products. In the 3-year period 1960–62, 136 new companies were formed and 56 expanded, taking advantage of the tax benefits under the Industrial Development Law. In 1967 alone 95 new industries were approved under

this law. Many of the new plants have been erected exclusively to sell to the CACM.

The Industrial Development Law, dating from 1959, makes no distinction between foreign and domestic capital. Under this law, new industries, as defined in the law, receive certain tax benefits such as a 10-year exemption from import duties and a 5-year exemption from income tax. Existing industries are eligible for certain lesser benefits when expanding. Most of the new foreign investment goes into nontraditional industries. The integrated industries scheme of the CACM has had a relative lack of success because most of its benefits are also available under each member country's national development laws, and it is easier to obtain approval from only one Government (see Foreign Economic Relations, ch. 8). Although Guatemala has been one of the most ardent supporters of the integrated industries scheme, it is one of the countries offering more to potential investors under its Industrial Development Law. To offset the problem of the integrated industries scheme, the CACM established a Central American Agreement on Tax Incentives providing uniform tax incentives for all countries. This agreement was approved by Guatemala, but was still pending ratification by one more country in late 1968 before it could go into effect. When it does enter into force, it will affect almost all of Guatemala's national legislation on industrial development since all national laws different from the treaty are to be abrogated.

Based upon the value of production, the food-processing industry is the largest. This is followed by clothing (including shoes), textiles, beverages, petroleum products, chemicals, transport equipment, tobacco, furniture, wood products, printing, paper products, and rubber products, in that order. A large amount of the new investment is also going into food processing, especially the canning of vegetables and juices, and soluble coffee. Some foreign firms have joined Guatemalan companies in these endeavors. Sixteen plants produce juices, vegetables, pickles, sauces, jams, and jellies, and four pasteurizing plants exist which also make powdered milk and butter. Meatpackers, processing beef for export, also make tinned meat and refined tallow for the CACM, and the instant coffeemakers are branching into packaged desserts and powdered soft drinks. Alcoholic beverages are produced in virtually every department. The most popular beverage is *aguardiente*, a crude distilled liquor made from unrefined sugar. Beer consumption is low compared to other countries. Three breweries produce 90 percent of the beer consumed. Soft drink consumption is also low.

The textile industry is one of the oldest in the country. Cotton and woollen goods are made by methods which range from hand-work to the use of the most modern equipment. About 7,000 persons are formally employed in factories in the textile industry. The country produces all of its raw cotton needs, but only a part of its wool needs. Handicraft weaving is an important element of the textile industry and, although some of the goods are exported, most of the production is consumed domestically. Textiles are made by almost all Indian women and by some men. Some regional specialization of certain products has developed. For example, the specialties of Chichicastenango are shawls, belts, and blouses, whereas in Momostenango, they are woven blankets and wool suit cloth.

Apart from textiles, many other handicrafts are produced by Indian families who supplement their agricultural work with household industries or who do it as their full-time livelihood. The foremost handicraft is not textiles but, rather, pottery, usually consisting of pots and water jars. Totonicapán is the chief pottery center of the country; much handmade furniture also comes from there. Most of the baskets used in the country are made in only eight townships. The Coban area and three other towns specialize in ropemaking. Other important handicrafts are costume jewelry, woven mats, making of grinding stones for corn, lime-burning (used to bleach the corn), palm hats, brooms, candles, charcoal, and incense. Most shoes are handmade, as shoe manufacturers farm out production to individuals working at home. There is little high-grade leather produced in the country and, as a result, much of it has to be imported.

Flour is made by 13 large mills and 100 small mills. One paper plant opened in 1964 which makes cardboard and cartons utilizing waste paper and spent grass from essential oil production. A new paper and pulp plant is under construction in Izabal with triple the capacity of the old plant. Guatemala's tire and tube factory is the largest factory in all of Central America, with over 400 employees and a production of over 1,000 tires daily. There are over 100 firms in the metallurgical industry, but few of them employ more than 10 workers, and more than half do nothing more complicated than welding. Two refineries are in operation, one in Escuintla and one in Puerto Barrios, producing gasoline, bunker fuel, kerosene, and diesel fuel. Their combined capacity is 15,000 barrels daily, the highest total of any Central American country. One cement plant in the capital supplies most of the country's cement requirements, producing over 200,000 tons annually.

About half of all construction in the country is done by private

industry, and the other half is contributed by public works. Over 75 percent of private construction is middle-class residential housing in urban areas. Private construction is yielding between Q16 and Q17 annually. Many of the construction materials, such as plywood, steel pipe, nails, metal doors, and windows, previously imported, are now made in the country. Most buildings are constructed of reinforced concrete.

Mining

The contribution of mining to the GNP was virtually insignificant as of late 1968. Over 200 mining properties are registered, but most are not being exploited. There are fewer than 2,500 persons employed in the mining industry. The future of mining, however, is more promising. High-grade nickel deposits exist near Lake Izabal. A 40-year concession contract was signed in July 1968 with the Izabal Mining Exploration and Exploitation Company (Exploraciones y Explotaciones Minerales Izabal SA.—EXMIBAL), a subsidiary of the International Nickel Company of Canada. EXMIBAL plans to invest a total of \$125 million in a mining and refining complex supporting a new town of 10,000 persons. This is expected to be the largest enterprise in the country when it is completed in 1972. In addition to nickel, sulfur deposits exist on the slopes of Tecuamburro volcano near Lake Ixpaco. Exploitation of the sulfur began in 1967 by an Italian company; this may become almost as large an endeavor as the nickel industry. Finally, a 3-year United Nations minerals survey, covering over 4,500 square miles, was finished in 1968 and should be the basis for future mining exploitations.

Since the colonial era all mining has been small in scale and unsystematic, with the extent and quality of the deposits being worked not fully determined. Most of the mining ventures have been marginal, and only three companies operate on a continual basis. All others operate sporadically. A new mining code became effective in 1965, annulling all previous mining legislation. Under the new code, all minerals are the property of the State, but concessions may be granted for prospecting, exploration, and exploitation. Mining companies with more than 51 percent Guatemalan capital are favored in the granting of concessions. If the minerals are processed in the country, the mining company may obtain the tax benefits of the Industrial Benefit Law. A separate code dealing only with petroleum dates from 1955.

Metallic Minerals

Only a few metallic minerals are being exploited, and these are in small quantities. Cobán is the leading metallic mining region,

with high-grade zinc and lead predominating and some silver, copper, and gold also being mined. One lead and zinc mine, located only 10 miles from the city, has been worked continuously since 1946. The total lead and zinc production has fallen drastically since the period 1960-62 and is only about one-tenth of the average for those years.

Antimony is mined in Huehuetenango, but annual production, which has never been more than 100 tons, fluctuates. Some silver mines near Huehuetenango have been exploited since colonial days and are still productive in very small quantities. Between 7,000 and 8,000 tons of iron ore are mined annually, but used entirely in the manufacture of cement. When price conditions seem to warrant, chrome, manganese, cadmium, and tungsten are also worked, but the known deposits are of low quality.

Nonmetallic Minerals

Besides sulfur exploitation, only 10 of the 53 known non-metallic minerals in the country were being extracted in 1968. Green mica is mined by one company for export. Salt is produced from the evaporation of sea water, and 16,000 to 18,000 tons are extracted annually. Bentonite, found in southern El Petén, is used by oil refineries and in oil drilling. Cement materials are produced for the domestic construction industry and meet the needs of the country. Crushed stone, dimension stone, and gravel are produced for construction and sometimes for ballast. Diatomite, found in abundant quantities, is utilized as an insulating material. There is a small production of clay for the needs of a few ceramic foundries. Granules, used for roofing, are also produced in small quantities.

Petroleum

A number of companies have engaged in exploratory work for petroleum since 1959, but the results have not yielded commercial quantities, and most companies have abandoned their initial concessions. One company is conducting offshore explorations in the Pacific Ocean, and 13 new concessions were granted in August 1968 on a total of 1.5 million acres in El Petén, El Quiché, Izabal, and Alta Verapaz.

Electricity

Power resources were not fully exploited until the mid-1950's because the demand was small until then. Agriculture used electricity only for processing coffee and, in some cases, for irrigation. No industry existed which required large amounts of electrical energy. One result of this is that residential consumption of elec-

tricity is larger than agricultural consumption and almost as large as industrial consumption. In spite of this, most of the population is without electricity. There were only 155,000 consumers of electricity in the country in 1966. As of 1967, installed capacity was 140,000 kilowatts, 45,000 of which was hydroelectric. Per capita consumption in 1967 was only 116 kilowatt-hours, fourth lowest in Latin America. This is an average figure based on the entire population. Average annual consumption by the 155,000 actual users is about 2,500 kilowatt-hours, a rather high figure.

Very little of Guatemala's hydroelectric potential is being exploited. The United Nations estimated that the total hydroelectric potential from 80 rivers and streams capable of being harnessed for generation is over 4 million kilowatts. In recognition of this, the Government initiated a 10-year plan in 1964 to develop hydroelectric resources. The plan foresees spending a total of Q62 million on 12 hydroelectric projects in order to increase capacity to 270,000 kilowatts.

The first of these projects, with a generating capacity of 13,000 kilowatts, began operations in mid-1966 on the Los Esclavos River. Another, the Jurun-Marinala plant, is under construction on the Marinala River, 30 miles south of Guatemala City, and is being built in three sections of 20,000 kilowatts each, with the first section scheduled to go on stream in 1969. It is said that, even with the Jurun-Marinala plant in operation, the needs of the area around the capital will not be met. The hoped-for answer to the needs of the central area is the harnessing of 400,000 kilowatts of potential power from Lake Atitlán. This is the Government's principal project and will be the largest in Central America. Construction on it is planned to begin in mid-1969, in four stages of 50,000 kilowatts each. The first stage should start operating in 1972 and the final one, in 1981. Feasibility studies for this project are being done as a grant by the Austrian Government.

LABOR

Characteristics

The 1964 census indicated an economically active population of 1,317,140 persons, of which 1.15 million were men and 166.5 thousand were women. A 1966 estimate placed the economically active population at 1,403,000 persons. No more recent labor data are available except for some scattered figures. Guatemala's official definition of the labor force includes anyone over 7 years of age who is working. Over 25,000 children between the ages of 7-9 were counted as economically active in the 1964 census; 99 percent of them were engaged in agriculture. Half the labor force is under 29 years of age. Over 87 percent of the economically

active persons were found to be males in both the 1950 and 1964 census. *Ladinos* comprise nearly 57 percent, reflecting the increase in the *ladino* percentage of the general population. The Department of Guatemala has the highest percentage of economically active persons. Almost 20 percent of the labor force works in that department.

Agriculture and related activities engage 65 percent of the labor force. Industry and services account for 11 percent each, and commerce, which includes banking, accounts for another 6 percent. The balance is either unknown or divided into minor activities such as mining, construction, or transportation (see table 14). Services have been the fastest growing activity since 1950. These include domestics, approximately 43,000 Government employees, professionals, and defense personnel. Half of all the economically employed women are in services, principally as domestics; 22 percent are in manufacturing; and 14 percent are in commerce. Of the economically employed males, 73 percent are in agriculture, and only 10 percent are in manufacturing. Although manufacturing accounts for over 11 percent of the labor force, only 4 percent are factory workers. The others produce handicrafts in small shops or at home.

The 1964 census also compiled data by occupation. Almost 65 percent of the economically employed were farmers, hunters, loggers, and fishermen. Almost 14 percent were craftsmen, artisans, and skilled workers, and approximately 7 percent were service and recreation workers. Technicians, administrators, clerical workers, manual and day laborers accounted for almost 2 percent each.

Table 14. Occupation of Economically Active Population in Guatemala—1964

| Occupation | Male | Female | Total | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Farmers, hunters, fishermen, loggers | 829,860 | 18,800 | 848,660 | 64.5 |
| Craftsmen, artisans, skilled workers | 143,580 | 34,900 | 178,480 | 13.6 |
| Service, sport, recreation workers | 20,180 | 67,080 | 87,260 | 6.7 |
| Salesmen and saleswomen | 38,860 | 15,540 | 54,400 | 4.2 |
| Manual and day laborers | 29,700 | 2,420 | 32,220 | 2.4 |
| Professionals and technicians | 18,700 | 11,900 | 30,600 | 2.2 |
| Clerical workers | 19,700 | 8,080 | 27,780 | 2.1 |
| Administrators, executives, and managers | 18,040 | 6,500 | 24,540 | 1.9 |
| Transport and communication workers | 23,740 | 220 | 23,960 | 1.7 |
| Miners and quarrymen | 2,360 | 60 | 2,420 | 0.2 |
| Workers not classified by occupation | 5,860 | 900 | 6,760 | 0.5 |
| TOTAL | 1,150,580 | 166,500 | 1,317,180 | 100.0 |

Source: Adapted from Guatemala, Departamento de Censos y Encuestas, Dirección General de Estadística, *Censo de Población, 1964*.

No unemployment statistics are collected on a regular basis. The 1964 census indicated that 1.5 percent of the labor force was unemployed. In the capital the census found that 5.4 percent were unemployed. The Government has employment offices in urban areas where the unemployed may register for work. Only 100 to 200 persons are on the registers in any one month. These figures are not indicative of unemployment because the gainfully employed rate is growing by only 2 percent per year, and the labor force is growing at a much higher rate, based upon the general rate of population growth. There is no formal unemployment in agriculture, but about 50 percent of the agricultural work force is underemployed.

The coffee industry is a major employer of agricultural labor, but generally on a seasonal basis. Resident laborers, the *colonos*, are usually contracted for long periods of time—about four years—and live on the plantation permanently. There are about 70,000 permanent laborers on coffee plantations. The seasonal workers, numbering about 400,000, are contracted only during the harvest season. Seasonal laborers who work on the coffee and sugar plantations are known as *cuadrilleros*, which means members of gangs or bands. During the harvest entire families migrate from the highlands to the plantations. Their wages usually are higher than those of the resident laborers because of the urgent need for their services. In addition to wages, the migratory seasonal worker also receives a daily corn ration. Some of the medium-sized plantations and farms employ day laborers on either a seasonal or permanent basis, but these workers do not live on the farms; they merely receive daily wages. Some small landholders have been known to hire themselves out during the harvest season to earn additional money.

Only between 500,000 and 600,000 persons receive salaries or wages on a regular basis. The rest of the economically active population consists predominantly of Indians working their own plots, who may become wage earners during the harvest season. The overall level of salaries has been increasing by about 3 percent per year, with the smallest increases occurring in agriculture and the services, and the largest increases, in mining, electricity, and manufacturing. The highest average annual salaries are paid to workers in electricity, banking and commerce, and transportation. The lowest average annual salaries are paid in agriculture and construction (see table 15).

Since 1964 a National Minimum Wage Commission has been recommending minimum wage legislation. During the period 1964–67, 15 minimum wages were set, 14 of them on an industry-wide basis. Six other industries were expected to set minimum

Table 15. *Economically Active Population of Guatemala and Average Annual Salary*

| Activity | 1964 Census | | 1966 Estimate | | Average annual 1966 salary (in quetzales *) |
|--|----------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|---|
| | Number persons (thousands) | Percentage | Number persons (thousands) | Percentage | |
| Agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing | 861 | 65.3 | 918 | 65.4 | 95 |
| Manufacturing | 149 | 11.3 | 159 | 11.3 | 852 |
| Services (including public administration and defense) | 149 | 11.3 | 158 | 11.2 | 961 |
| Commerce and banking | 82 | 6.2 | 88 | 6.3 | 1,456 |
| Construction | 34 | 2.5 | 37 | 2.6 | 646 |
| Transportation, gas, and water | 28 | 2.1 | 30 | 2.1 | 1,259 |
| Mining | 2 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.2 | 1,030 |
| Electricity, gas, sanitation | 2 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.2 | 2,162 |
| Unknown or not specified | 10 | 0.8 | 10 | 0.7 | |
| TOTAL | 1,317 | 100.0 | 1,404 | 100.0 | |

* Q1 equals US\$1.

Source: Adapted from Guatemala, Departamento de Censos y Encuestas, Dirección General de Estadística, *Censo de Población 1964*; Banco de Guatemala, *Memoria de Labores y Estudio Económico, 1966*.

wages during 1968. There is no minimum agricultural wage, and many other industries have no minimums. The lowest daily wage of the 15 existing minimum wages was Q1.36 for the retail and wholesale trade, construction, and restaurants and bars. The highest minimum daily wage set so far was Q2.00 for distillery workers. Many industries pay much more than the minimums, and many industries not covered also pay higher rates. Unskilled workers receive Q30 to Q50 monthly; semiskilled workers, about Q150 to Q200 monthly; and technically skilled workers, Q300 to Q500 monthly. Manufacturing wages have been averaging about 37.3 centavos per hour as of 1966, with the highest hourly wage, 62.5 centavos, paid in the tobacco-manufacturing industry, and the lowest, 23 centavos, in the lumber industry.

Rural labor wages range between Q0.25 and Q2.00 per day. Coffee plantations pay between 50 and 75 centavos daily, whereas cotton pickers were receiving Q2.00 per day in 1968. The cotton plantations have to pay higher wages in order to attract laborers down to the coast; they cannot use cotton-picking machinery because of the high and heavy foliage of the Guatemalan cotton plant. The highest salaries in the country are paid to senior Government officials. The President of the Republic receives a monthly salary of Q2,000 plus Q4,000 for representation expenses. The Vice President receives half as much, and Cabinet Ministers receive Q600 per month, with varying amounts for representation. Supreme Court Justices receive Q750 monthly, and departmental governors' salaries range between Q400 and Q500, about the same as those of skilled workers.

Supplemental payments do not add much to the basic wage. The workweek for those on weekly salaries is 48 hours, and for those on day rates, 45 hours. Overtime is 150 percent of normal pay, with 200 percent being paid for holidays worked. From 1956 to 1966 the average number of hours worked in all industries has been between 45 and 46 per week, so that little overtime is paid. Government workers have 14 paid holidays, and workers in private enterprise have 13 days. Paid vacations are granted after 1 year's employment and range from 15 days in commerce to 10 days in factories having 10 or more employees and on plantations with more than 500 employees. All others receive 6 days of vacation. Severance pay is 1 month for each year worked, with no minimum or maximum. Some employers provide fringe benefits such as free housing, schools, and medical facilities. By law, agricultural employers must provide housing for their employees unless exempt by the Ministry of Labor because of financial difficulties.

All workers receive a Christmas bonus. One fringe benefit

unique to Guatemala is the Workers Recreation Institute. This institute provides recreation facilities for all workers and families covered by Social Security and is financed by private employers who contribute 1 day's total payroll annually. The Recreation Institute has several centers, the first of which opened in 1963 on Lake Amatitlán.

No adequate statistics on labor productivity are available, but it is generally recognized as being low because of the low level of education, shortage of skilled workers, lack of job incentives, debilitating illnesses, and scarce managerial talents. Only 2 percent of the labor force has a secondary or university education, and only another 7 percent has finished primary school. Trained civil servants for Government are still lacking, even at the administrative level. A Government survey of 350 of the highest level administrators throughout the Government Ministries and agencies revealed that most of them had only a secondary education and that none of them had studied public administration. Their concept of their function was to maintain the status quo and make no innovations. As one result of this survey, the Center for the Development of Public Administration was established and is training people in all aspects of public administration from secretarial skills on up. The center has facilities for training 3,000 people at all times. In addition, a 2-year training program in the United States at the graduate level on scholarships is given to a limited number. The best trained civil servants frequently work for international or Central American regional organizations.

Labor Legislation

There are a number of labor laws, the two basic ones being the Labor Code (Código de Trabajo) of 1961 and the Organic Law of the Guatemala Social Security Institute. The Labor Code applies to all workers except civil servants. They were not covered by labor legislation until 1968 when the country's first civil service law was passed. In addition to laws, a labor charter was promulgated in 1963 which stated certain principles, essentially the same as those contained in the Labor Code. The Constitution also contains several provisions pertaining to labor which delineate rights and obligations.

Guatemala did not have a labor code until 1947. Most of the labor legislation before that date was designed to provide a source of agricultural labor to the plantations. A law of 1877, which was in effect until 1934, required all agricultural workers to remain on plantations until their debts were paid off. The plantation stores extended credit and, as a result, the workers were virtually always in debt. If they ran away, they were fugitives under the

law. When a worker died, his debts were transferred to his sons. In 1934 debt peonage was abolished and replaced by a new vagrancy law. Under this law, all persons not having a trade or a profession and not cultivating a specified amount of land had to work for someone else either 100 or 150 days per year, depending on various factors. Every worker between 18 and 60 years of age carried a booklet in which the employer noted the days worked. If a person worked fewer than the stipulated number, he was arrested as a vagrant. This vagrancy law was abolished in 1945 following the overthrow of President Ubico, and the first labor code was passed in 1947, amplifying in detail the principles referred to in the 1945 Constitution.

The 1947 Labor Code was amended partially after the overthrow of President Arbenz. Most of its liberal provisions were retained. In 1961 a new labor code came into effect. In 1963, when President Peralta came to power, his first decree-law was on labor reform. He decreed equal pay for Indians and *ladinos*, an 8-hour day, a 48-hour week, paid vacations, maternity leave, and the right of farm labor to organize, all of which were incorporated into the Labor Code. One of the principal parts of the Labor Code is the right of workers to organize and the right to strike. Obligations of the employer and the employee are listed, and working conditions are specified. All labor disputes are subject to the jurisdiction of labor courts. There are three types of labor courts, one of which is an appeal court. Arbitration is permitted if both parties agree. A Labor Law Association, composed of persons experienced in labor law practices, was formed in 1967 to provide private arbitration and mediation as an alternative to official arbitrators.

The 1965 Constitution, in addition to spelling out certain principles, contains two new provisions never before included. One is a mandatory Christmas bonus of half a month's salary, unless financial conditions prevent it. Rural workers receive their bonus in kind twice a year. The other new provision provides that survivors' benefits shall be paid by the employer to the wife or minor children of a worker who dies while in his employ; that is paid at the rate of 1 month's salary for each year of work if the worker is not covered by Social Security.

Labor Movement and Organization

The growth of labor unions has been slow. Before 1945 the labor movement existed only sporadically. During the administrations of Presidents Arévalo and Arbenz, unions flourished, but were disbanded after the fall of Arbenz and have not regained the numerical strength they had during that period. Workers have

the right to organize under the Labor Code, provided there is a minimum of 25 members. Two or more unions may form a federation, and two or more federations may form a confederation. Unions can only be formed for the social and economic interests of their members and are prohibited from engaging in politics. Any labor union which violates the law may be fined or dissolved. This partially accounts for the reluctance of workers to organize. Another reason for the slow growth of unions is that union officers may not legally serve more than 2 years and may not be re-elected, thus handicapping the development of effective unions because of a scarcity of capable leadership. In 1967 the total union membership was estimated at only 50,000 persons, a very small percentage of the working force.

The first labor organizations in Guatemala were mutual benefit societies and craft unions starting in 1870. A bakers' union, the Sindicato General de Panificadores (SGP), was founded in 1920 and formed the nucleus of a Regional Federation of Workers (Federación Regional de Trabajadores—FRT) in 1926. The FRT became a branch of the Confederation of Central American Workers in 1929 and went underground in 1932 after Ubico came to power. During Ubico's administration the only recognized labor organization was the Workers Federation for the Legal Protection of Labor (Federación Obrera de Guatemala para la Protección Legal del Trabajo—FOG), founded in 1927, which was more of a mutual aid society than a real union.

Almost immediately following Ubico's downfall in 1944, the Guatemalan Confederation of Workers (Confederación Guatemalteca de Trabajadores—CGT) was founded. The lack of effective leadership resulted in its being taken over quickly by Guatemalan and Central American Communists who had been in exile in Mexico. The first union the CGT formed in 1944 was the Railway Workers Union for Action and Betterment (Sindicato de Acción y Mejoramiento de los Ferrocarrileros—SAMF), which conducted the first strike in Guatemala's history and signed the first collective labor agreement with management in 1948. The second union formed by the CGT was a teachers' union, Sindicato de Trabajadores Educaciones de Guatemala (STEG), in 1944, which became very influential in left-wing unionism. In 1945 the banana plantations were unionized, and the CGT seemed to be well on its way to becoming the dominant labor organization in Guatemala but later in the year non-Communist leaders left it, taking 15 dissident unions with them, including the railroad and banana unions. They, in turn, formed the Guatemala Union Federation (Federación Sindical de Guatemala—FSG) in 1946. Later the FSG and the CGT worked together through a coordinating

committee. The CGT continued to lose strength when the artisans in the area of the capital left it and formed the Regional Labor Federation (Federación Obrera Regional de Guatemala—FORG), and the non-Guatemalan labor leaders were expelled by Arevalo, who also closed the labor indoctrination school operated by the CGT.

In 1951 the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala—CGTG) was formed by a merger of the remnants of the CGT with the FSG and FORG. The CGTG quickly became Communist-dominated, but was itself shattered when the National Confederation of Peasants (Confederación Nacional de Campesinos de Guatemala—CNCG), representing 1,785 local agricultural unions, separated from it because of the belief that CGTG leaders did not understand the peasants. A number of smaller unions organized into the Guatemalan Autonomous Labor Federation (FLAG), in 1952, in opposition to the CGTG. On the eve of the fall of Arbenz, an estimated 100,000 urban workers and 200,000 rural workers were organized into about 50 unions.

In 1954 the union movement was abruptly halted when President Carlos Castillo Armas dissolved all unions for a 90-day period. Most union leaders left the country, and those remaining required Government permission to hold their offices. The labor movement has not been able to regain the strength it had under the Arbenz administration and has been careful not to offend Government leaders. There were only about 60 unions in existence in 1968. The unions, with the exception of a few independent ones, are organized into two confederations and one textile federation. The principal confederation is the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Guatemala—CONTRAGUA) and is affiliated with the Latin American Confederation of Christian Unions (Confederación Latino-Americana de Sindicatos Cristianos—CLASC). The other confederation is the National Trade Union Council (Consejo Sindical Nacional) and is affiliated with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), an anti-Communist democratically oriented organization.

The largest and best organized union in the country, however, is the independent railroad union, SAMF, with about 5,000 members. Not all of the unions engage in collective bargaining, which is important mainly in the transportation, communications, and electrical power industries. In 1967 only 45 unions had collective contracts, covering about 25,000 of the unionized employees.

CHAPTER 10

ARMED FORCES, PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

The country's Armed Forces have been organized to defend against possible invasion, preserve internal order, and assist in national development. During the past few years, tactical elements have been developed that are well trained, adequately equipped, and have demonstrated capability for operating effectively in the field. Since neighboring nations represent no serious external threat, greater expenditure of efforts may be devoted to vital missions other than national defense. Some activities already undertaken by the Military Establishment may tend to reduce and eventually eliminate the great social and economic disparity between the Indian and *Ladino* (non-Indian) segments of the population and thereby instill more national unity.

The preservation of internal security has increasingly become the Army's principal military function. Although, as a rule, public order is generally the mission of the police, the Army has become more involved in the law enforcement role. While the police have had some limited capability to deal with the threat in a few of the urban centers, the Army has had to contend with guerrilla and terrorist groups in rural areas. The guerrillas, lacking popular support of the rural laborers and being under constant pressure from organized military action in the countryside, have begun to focus most of their activities in the urban areas.

Public disorder was manifested mostly in acts of terrorism against governmental authorities and noted public figures, domestic and foreign. The crimes committed appeared to be part of organized plots by members of both extreme rightist and leftist groups. The latter had the avowed purpose of overthrowing the Government by undermining public faith in its ability to keep order, whereas the rightists took the law into their own hands. This form of violence was increasing, particularly in the national capital. Crime perpetrated by individuals and common offenses pertaining to public safety did not show any significant rate of increase.

The police establishment was a highly centralized, quasi-military force, whose Chief and numerous other supervisory personnel

were Army officers. The subordinate agencies included the National Police, for the usual urban law enforcement; an elite Border Patrol, too widely deployed for its many varied missions; and a Judicial Police, a combination of a secret service and intelligence agency. All of these were under jurisdiction of the Minister of Government. The capability of the civilian police force was insufficient to maintain law and order within the capital and the few other population centers where they were stationed. Practically all rural communities and areas relied on the Army or the locally appointed constabulary to provide much needed Government protection.

The Constitution provides adequate individual safeguards and a court system for the administration of justice. These personal guarantees and the normal procedures prescribed by law have been suspended for prolonged periods of time, however, because of troubled conditions. In times of national emergency not only all the law enforcement agencies, but also the administration of justice legally come under military jurisdiction. Military tribunals are not subject to review by the Ministry of Justice, nor do they function under the precepts of civilian legal codes. Their authority stems from the Ley Constitutiva del Ejército (Basic Law of the Army).

By the late 1960's, the Guatemalan Army was developing into an adequately equipped, well-trained force, capable of operating in the field. It was organized to preserve internal order, defend against possible invasions, and assist in national development. Since the country's immediate neighbors represented no serious external threat, military expenditures amounted to only about 10 percent of the national budget, or roughly 1.5 percent of the gross national product (GNP).

Organizationally, the Armed Forces consisted of an Army with small air and naval contingents that have little autonomy. The country was divided into six area commands and the major regional commanders exerted influence within their zones. Besides their military responsibilities over active and Reserve forces, they superseded departmental Governors by legal authority during national emergencies.

Although military service was compulsory, less than 10 percent of the estimated 40,000 men eligible for callup each year were required to serve. In practice, most conscripts were illiterate Indians and others in the lowest socioeconomic groups. Military service enables the Government to educate and train persons who would otherwise remain illiterate and unskilled. The literacy program was only one of many national development projects undertaken by the military under the Civic Action program.

Accredited United States military missions in Guatemala have assisted in a moderate and balanced procurement of equipment which, with a coordinated effective training program, has adequately modernized the forces. Logistic support is improving but is still handicapped by a shortage of skilled specialists. Incentives are apparently insufficient to hold long-term technically trained enlisted personnel.

THE ARMED FORCES

Historical Development

Tecún Umán, the Maya-Quiché chieftain in 1524, is the legendary hero of the large, unassimilated Indian society of Guatemala. When the invading Spanish met the main body of the Quiché Army, according to legend Tecún Umán, armed with a spear, sought out the Spanish leader, Pedro de Alvarado, to engage him in personal combat. The battle was short and decisive. After Alvarado killed the Indian chieftain with his sword, the leaderless Indian Army was quickly destroyed. Alvarado's subjugation of the entire Central American region with only 300 Spanish soldiers may be credited as much to deceit and ruthlessness as to superior weapons and the mobility of his cavalry. On the other hand, gullibility, superstition, and lack of unity on the part of the Indians contributed greatly to their defeat. Although it was too late to preserve their freedom after all their leaders had been liquidated, the Indians continued to revolt sporadically for several years, forcing the Spaniards to pull back to the western highlands in a strategic move to keep open the route to Mexico. The members of Alvarado's force were mostly European adventurers who, with a contingent of impressed Mexicans and their successors, maintained effective control during the colonial period (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

The independence of Guatemala in 1821 required no military action. It merely followed in the wake of the Mexican revolt against Spain. A Mexican Army of 600 occupiers was able to maintain tenuous control for a little over a year, disintegrating in 1823 at the end of the union with Mexico.

For a few years there was no widely recognized military authority within the United Provinces of Central America. Guatemala became one of five independent states. With civil war and intermittent agitations brewing, General Francisco Morazán managed to gain control and formed an improvised army for the Central American Confederation in 1829. He gathered together men who had some combat experience from other nations, integrating them with the armed revolutionaries who had put him in power. The United Provinces and its Army fell apart in 1839

when Rafael Carrera, an illiterate fanatic of Indian descent, revolted with "a horde of followers armed with rusty muskets, old pistols, fowling pieces, some with locks, and some without . . . clubs, machetes, and knives."

From 1839 to 1944 a series of strong-willed men ruled, each one demanding the absolute personal loyalty of his military followers. Border disputes, attempts to revive the federation, armed political intervention in neighboring countries, and buccaneer harassment of the coastal areas provided ample military activity, albeit generally on a minor scale.

Somewhat representative of the armed campaigns of this period was the revolutionary advance on the capital in 1870, begun by two generals, Rufino Barrios and Garcia Granados, returning from exile with "an army of 45 men." General Justo Rufino Barrios, Guatemala's national hero, is credited with establishing the Army for the first time in 1871 as a permanent national institution, relatively well qualified professionally and technically. He was a strong advocate of a united Central America. In 1885 he decreed the union, named himself supreme chief, and started out with an armed column to enforce his edict. In the skirmish, while crossing the border into El Salvador, he was one of the first killed, thus ending one of the many attempts at confederation.

Out of a total of 20 Government heads between 1871 and 1968, 15 have been military men or have borne military titles while occupying the Presidency. In 1944 the success of revolts instigated by university students and young Army officers sent the former dictator, General Jorge Ubico, into exile. He took with him most of his high-level supporters, including every general of the Army. The highest rank on active duty remained colonel for the next quarter of a century, until September 1968 when the five senior officers were promoted to fill brigadier general billets.

Although most Army officers who become involved in politics are considered rightist, an exception was Colonel Jacobo Arbenz. Upon ascending to power as Chief of State in 1951, he permitted the Communists to completely permeate the Government. This regime was ousted 3 years later, amidst charges of external intervention, largely because the Army refused to support his government against a small invading force of Guatemalan exiles. Most of the organized subversion today stems from the extreme liberalism of that period. After his overthrow Arbenz continued to support subversive efforts from Cuba.

Position in Government

The Army is the only constitutionally authorized military force, and specific provision is made within the Army Establishment for

land, sea, and air force elements. The wording of the document describes this military institution as "one and indivisible, and essentially nonpolitical and not deliberative." The President, identified by law as the commanding general of the Army, issues military instructions through the Minister of National Defense. The powers of the Chief Executive relating to the military forces explicitly mentioned are: decreeing mobilization and demobilization; granting of promotions from 2d lieutenant to colonel inclusive; conferring of military decorations and honors; and granting of special pensions. Article 220 of the Constitution establishes that the Army is to be governed principally by its own constitutive law and by military laws and regulations as approved by the Minister of National Defense.

Detailed figures for national defense expenditures are not openly published. In fact, security regulations preclude the inclusion of itemized figures in the annual budget submitted to the Legislature.

Unofficial records and estimates by the United States Agency for International Development (AID) indicate a rather uniform rise from 5 to 10 million quetzales (Q1 equals US\$1) in annual expenditures for the Armed Forces during the 20-year period 1945-1964. Calculated on the basis of a percentage of the GNP, this would indicate a fluctuation of about 0.7 to 1.2 percent.

Since 1964 there has been a sharp increase in defense costs. In 1965 the expenditures rose to over Q14 million; in 1966, to nearly Q15 million. Future projections indicate a continuing increase. This has been caused largely by the troubled internal security situation in the form of sporadic guerrilla insurgency. The cost per member of the Armed Forces doubled from \$857 in 1955 to \$1,765 in 1965.

The 1965 Constitution refers only twice to missions for the Military Establishment. Article 215 states: "The institution is designed to maintain the independence, sovereignty, and the honor of the nation, the integrity of its territory, and peace within the republic." Article 219 states: "The army must offer its cooperation in emergencies and in times of public disaster."

Maintenance of independence, sovereignty, and integrity of the nation's borders are implicit as the major function of the military arm. There have been no concerted assaults on the coasts, however, or a sustained invasion of her borders by a hostile foreign force during modern times. Border disputes with Mexico, Honduras, and Belize (British Honduras) at the end of the last century and in 1964 resulted only in minor skirmishes and diplomatic conflicts. Incursions from neighboring States have been on a minor

scale and consisted mostly of national partisans returning from exile in attempts to overthrow existing regimes.

In practice, the tasks of defending the national borders, cooperating in disaster relief, and preserving internal order constitute only part of the Armed Forces' activities. They also render assistance in economic and social development. Some military leaders have interpreted their duties and responsibilities broadly, sometimes to the point of exercising a decisive role in the political arena and assuming direct control of the Government as guardians of the Constitution.

Since World War II Guatemala has joined with the other Latin American States and the United States in various reciprocal assistance pacts. There has been senior officer representation since 1945 on the Inter-American Defense Board, a military planning organization affiliated with the Organization of American States.

In 1947 Guatemala became a cosignatory of the Rio Treaty. The nations of the Western Hemisphere ratifying this agreement stipulated that individual and collective measures should be taken to repel aggression against any one country: these measures included breaking diplomatic relations, imposing economic sanctions, and using armed force. This implied that, under certain circumstances, the country might provide military forces to support a hemispheric cause. Furthermore, Guatemala provides the site and major personnel contributions to the military staff of the Permanent Commission of the Council for Central American Defense (Comisión Permanente Consejo de Defensa Centroamericana—COPECODECA), founded in 1964 by all Central American nations except Costa Rica. Despite these commitments and an offer of temporary use of military operating bases during the first Cuban crisis, there is a deep-seated sentiment in the Guatemalan Government for the principle of nonintervention and a reluctance to surrender national defense functions to a hemispheric organization.

Civic Action

The concept of the Armed Forces contributing their special skills and resources to assist in solving social and economic problems of the civilian sectors is encouraged in top governmental circles and accepted as a normal role by military leaders. A wide range of projects has been undertaken. Some have proved to be of immediate value to the local community, whereas others aim at potential or long-range benefits to national development.

On a local basis, some military units provide school lunches, repair or construct classroom facilities, and organize recreational youth activities. In more remote regions medical teams are sent

regularly to vaccinate whole communities against epidemics, perform emergency surgical operations, or establish 1-day medical clinics, donating the necessary drugs. Dispensaries have been established at various localities in the interior where military medical personnel pay weekly visits. Wells for potable drinking water have been drilled by special Army teams in places that formerly had none.

Road construction is a major form of Civic Action for engineer units utilizing heavy earth-moving equipment. Most of the unskilled manpower requirement is provided by the local communities or through arrangement with other Government agencies, making these major projects a joint effort. The most extensive undertaking is an attempt to open for settlement the practically uninhabited northern Department of El Petén, in hopes of attracting immigrants from the overpopulated central highlands. This program has not progressed much beyond the planning and pilot project stage.

In 1945 the Army created a special section, the Literacy Department of the Army (Departamento de Alfabetización del Ejército), with instructions to start an intensive literacy campaign to improve the effectiveness of its troops. At that time a large proportion of the Army spoke only Indian dialects. Until 1959 this was the only organized literacy program in Guatemala.

When the Director of the Army's literacy program, in 1959, requested an evaluation by the United States AID mission, a new phase of the program commenced. United States funds were allocated for the study and development of improved teaching methods and materials, plus the installation of a small Army printshop to expand the project.

With the recruitment of civilian teachers trained in new techniques, a formal pilot project was carried out at two military centers and at the national penitentiary. Although the program was oriented to military needs, news of its success spread and soon requests came in for further civilian participation.

A mass pilot project was next launched in the Department of Jutiapa, which had a high illiteracy rate. The Ministry of Education gave minimal official support, providing only two technical supervisor employees. The actual instruction was carried out primarily by unpaid volunteer teachers, who were residents of the area. Statistical records kept by the Army during a 1-year period of this operation (1964) indicated that 57,028 people were taught to read and write in 2,465 centers under the direction of 658 literacy instructors (see Education, ch. 7).

The Army's office of Civic Action (Acción Cívica Militar) has continued to provide primary sponsorship, most of the reproduc-

tion facilities, transportation, and miscellaneous support functions for the adult civilian literacy program, as well as for the troops. Some military men have questioned the advisability of military involvement in these programs. Proponents of Civic Action point out that dissident elements have gained no significant foothold within rural areas where there were meaningful Civil Action projects. Furthermore, Army leaders enthusiastically support the Civic Action function and openly express satisfaction with the results.

More than three-fourths of the Armed Forces members are voluntary enlistees who have completed their compulsory service. This indicates that military life is favorably viewed by the youth of the country. Many older people have also been favorably impressed by the Civic Action benefits, as well as by the skills and training brought back to their villages by veterans after 2 years of military service.

Organization of the Forces

The overall Military Establishment consists of an active duty contingent (Fuerza Permanente) and a sizable military Reserve. The regular force is composed of a number of functional groupings: the line or combatant branches, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Aviation, and Naval Units (*armas*); plus the administrative and technical services, such as Military Police, Ordnance, Medical, and other branches.

The air arm of the Army was created in 1945 with the arrival of the first military aircraft. Most of the pilots, transferring after the required 2 years of infantry duty, were sent for flight training to the United States, although a few have attended courses in Latin American countries, notably Venezuela and Mexico.

The Guatemalan Navy, newest branch of the Armed Forces, was established in January 1959 to control smuggling and to prevent poaching by foreign fishing boats, essentially Coast Guard functions. Naval forces are an integral part of the Army, under control of the Army General Staff. The Navy is commanded by a senior Army officer, since none of the original nautical personnel has as yet attained sufficient seniority. Although most of the officer personnel had attended the military academy with subsequent naval training under the Aid program, some were trained at Venezuelan and Argentine naval academies.

There is now an assortment of fixed and rotary wing aircraft which can provide some tactical and transport support for ground troops as well as perform rescue and emergency evacuation missions.

The best equipped and most effective military units of the Armed

Forces have been supported in recent years with giant aid under the United States Military Assistance Program. From 1954 through 1967 expenditures of about \$15 million provided construction equipment for Civic Action activities as well as assistance for the counterinsurgency effort.

The country is divided regionally into six military zones, each comprising one or more of the 22 departments. A general officer or colonel of one of the principal combatant branches is designated by the Minister of National Defense as the regional military commander of each of the military zones. These are the major territorial commands and control the Reserve structure. Other separate special commands, identified as Military Forces, Military Bases, Air Force, Naval and Military Education Centers and Groups, are operational entities not subject to the control of the territorial commands.

A strictly consultive body, the Superior Council of National Defense, made up of the Minister of Defense and top commanders, advises the President on matters involving both military and political affairs. It also acts as the Superior Tribunal of the Armed Forces and the senior court of military justice. Every member of the Armed Forces theoretically has a right to be heard by it.

The President, as head of the Armed Forces, deals directly with his Minister of National Defense and the Chief of Staff on military matters. The law provides no Cabinet-level security council—nor is there precedent for one—to advise and make recommendations on matters pertaining to national security. Considerable autonomy is given the Minister of National Defense who traditionally is a senior Army officer. He appoints not only the six military zone commanders but also a Commander of Reserves for each department, who is the military counterpart of the Governor, the civil authority appointed by the President. The law provides that the Governor will relinquish his civil authority in times of national emergency or state of seige. These departmental commands are basically administrative, controlling induction, Reserve elements, and some minor active units.

The Army Chief of Staff personally exercises operational control over most of the major forces, with the principal exception of the Palace and Presidential Guard whose commander receives his orders directly from the President. The Chief of Staff directly supervises the General Staff, coordinating all policy, administrative, and logistical functions of the military services, including all air and naval elements. Under him are the Territorial Commands, Special Commands, Chiefs of Arms, Services, and Centers of Education and Instruction. The ground force element of the Guate-

malan Military Establishment, is probably the largest and best qualified professionally of any in Central America.

Reserves

Reservists attend periodic basic infantry training and are subject to military law and regulations only during those periods. They come from those temporarily or permanently exempt from active duty.

As a result of the compulsory service laws, Guatemala has the structure for a sizable mobilization base, but there is no evidence that the mechanism for callup has been tested in actual practice. Two federally subsidized schools give military instruction and provide graduate students with Reserve commissions as 2d lieutenants. Usually, they serve a duty tour of only a few months to fulfill the obligated commitment, but no provision is made for further training or promotion.

Reservists must meet their training obligation on a schedule as follows: first year, every weekend; second year, one weekend per month; third and fourth years, a weekend of training every 3 and 6 months, respectively. Regular Army units in the vicinity are charged with the responsibility for insuring compliance with this program under the direction of the regional commanders. In some of the more remote areas small detachments of regular units are sent out on temporary duty to form Reserve training battalions within the Indian communities. In such cases the Indians wear their own colorful tribal attire rather than uniforms.

Quasi-Military

The organizing or functioning of any militia outside the supervision of the Army is strictly prohibited by the Constitution and is punishable. This restriction on militia does not, however, deter the Army from using armed civilian groups under its control when the need arises. As recently as the 1967 campaign against a guerrilla stronghold in the mountainous Zacapa area, the Army supplied and supported vigilante groups of small landowners of the region to supplement the five regular rifle companies operating there.

The National Police, charged with the maintenance of local law and order, traffic control, and other nonmilitary functions, are not considered an actual military force even though they are organized along semimilitary lines. In case of national emergency (e.g., a Presidential declaration of a state of siege), however, all police forces come under control of the Army, with local regional commanders assuming command of police elements within their

areas of jurisdiction. The type of weapons and equipment they acquire is subject to close scrutiny by military leaders.

Source and Quality of Manpower

Officers

The National Military Academy (La Escuela Politécnica), founded in 1874, is the primary source of regular officers for all the Armed Forces. Cadets, selected by competitive examination administered within each department of Guatemala, come mostly from middle-class families. Admission is highly prized. Cadets graduate with a diploma in Science and Letters after a 4-year course of instruction. All graduates are initially commissioned in the Infantry and immediately assigned to units throughout the country. After 2 years they are permitted to apply for transfer to other arms and services, including the Air Force and Navy. Some of these young officers, qualified for entrance in the university with their academy diploma, matriculate in such fields as medicine and law.

Officers receiving commissions from the National Military Academy and those graduating from military academies in other countries are known as *graduados* (graduates) or *de escuela* (from school). The few who come up through the ranks are identified as *de linea* (from the line).

Noncommissioned Officers

Traditionally the officer corps had purposefully limited the numbers and responsibilities of senior grade enlisted personnel, fearful that they might become too powerful. Most voluntary enlistees were allowed only one reenlistment and very few ascended beyond the rank of corporal. More opportunities are provided today, however, for them to move into the various levels of sergeant, since modern equipment and the need for sustained field operations have made the requirement for long-term career specialists and senior noncommissioned officers clearly evident. The top military leadership now recognizes the need for specialist continuity for administrative and logistic support, as well as seasoned leadership at troop level.

Volunteers, especially *ladinos* (non-Indian—see Glossary), from those completing the obligatory service are increasing as promotions increase and educational benefits improve. Noncommissioned officer academies within the country and the training at the School of the Americas in Panama are developing well-qualified cadres. New legislation and regulations fostering a career of up to 20 years of service are under development.

Lower Ranks

Most of the manpower requirements are met by the Selective Service system applicable to all male citizens from 18 years of age to 50. The term of service for those called to active duty is 1 to 2 years depending on the branch of service to which they are assigned. In theory, military service is obligatory, with all men required to register upon reaching 18 years of age. In practice, however, only Indians and a few *ladinos* are inducted into service.

Inductions under the draft occur four times a year. After preliminary testing and medical examinations at the induction sites, recruits are lined up by height and selected by representatives of the various arms. Those for the Palace Guard are chosen first, then Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Engineers, Air, and other services may choose, in that order. Service in the Infantry and some of the services with low technical prerequisites are for 1 year, while most of the others require 2 years.

Training

Preliminary individual training is accomplished in special recruit centers and usually involves instruction in weaponry, physical education, and Spanish for those who do not speak it. This basic training is normally of 16 weeks' duration. Literacy training does not commence until after the individual is assigned to a unit, but then great emphasis is put on teaching all recruits to read and write Spanish.

Those who have had sufficient education to obviate the need for further literacy training are in great demand and will be selected for assignments requiring greater aptitude. Technical skills usually come from on-the-job training within the units; more advanced formal instruction is reserved for the volunteer careerist. The only in-country school for training officers of the Armed Forces is "La Escuela de Aplicación." It conducts a variety of combat arms courses for officers of all grades.

Since the end of World War II, as a result of bilateral agreements, United States training and advisory groups have operated in Guatemala. A standardization of equipment of United States origin under both grant aid and purchase has simplified the task of equipping and training forces.

Schooling of military personnel outside the country has had a significant effect in improving technical and professional capabilities. In a recent annual message to the Chief of State, the Minister of National Defense indicated that 113 individuals, officer and enlisted, had been sent to courses in other countries. The majority of these went to schools in either the continental United States or

in the Panama Canal Zone, but a few went to Mexico, Argentina, and France.

Morale Factors

Ranks, Promotion, and Retirement

The three normal categories of officer ranks—general, field grade, and company grade—are authorized by statute. Since the revolution of 1944, however, there have been no generals on active duty. New regulations, written during this period, established progressive promotion based on time in grade, type of assignments, training, and merit. Appointments and promotions in the grades from 2d lieutenant to colonel must be approved by the President. Congressional confirmation is required for nominees to general officer level.

Involuntary retirement was formerly effective at 70 years of age or after 34 years' service. Recently, however, the maximum age has been lowered to 60 years, and a study in progress may result in measures to lower it to 55 or even to 50 in the near future. This is expected to improve morale by accelerating opportunities for advancement. In computing time for retirement, certain tours in disagreeable zones are counted as double time.

Emoluments

Pay for members of the Armed Forces depends on allocations from the annual governmental budget. The basic monthly salary for a new recruit is believed to be about Q10, but is expected to be increased to Q15. Of this amount, Q1 is retained by the Army in the form of forced savings, which may be withdrawn by the soldier upon completion of his term of service.

Officers receive salaries generally commensurate with those of Government officials with comparable responsibilities, but some inequities exist. It is sometimes possible for these officers to augment their pay by taking jobs in other agencies in positions with higher remuneration, on a temporary duty basis. Some officers with special skills, such as pilots, are granted extended leave without pay, which enables them to fill high-salaried positions with commercial firms.

The Army has a commissary where military personnel may make purchases at prices lower than within the civilian economy. Some imported items are free of import duty.

Uniforms and Insignia

For daily work and dress the troops wear khaki shirts, trousers, and visored caps. Officers have, in addition, an olive green wool gabardine uniform with a roll collar blouse and trousers, or with

breeches and boots for mounted units. The formal blue uniform is worn with a gold belt and includes a narrow gold stripe down the trousers. Officer rank insignia is placed on the collar when a shirt is the outer garment, otherwise on shoulder boards.

Personnel of the air arm use the same rank or grade insignia as ground forces; however, it is worn on a light blue Air Force uniform. Navy personnel wear dark blue wool or white twill uniforms.

Decorations and Awards

Decorations are presented at appropriate ceremonies to military personnel of all ranks for meritorious service of varying degrees. Guatemala's highest decoration, presented only by the President, is the Order of Quetzal in the grade of the Great Cross (La Orden del Quetzal in el grado de Gran Cruz). Others, in order of importance, are: Cross of Military Merit in grades I, II, and III; Cross of Distinguished Services (Cruz de Servicios Distinguidos); and Medal of Achievement in the Service in the three grades (Medalla de Constancia en el Servicio).

Military Justice

Jurisdiction over crimes or misdemeanors committed by members of the Armed Forces is vested in military courts or tribunals established under authority of the Basic Law of the Army. Civilians generally may not be tried in military courts except in cases involving leaders of armed action taken against public authority. When the nation or a region is declared in a state of siege by the Chief Executive, all persons in the affected area come under the jurisdiction of military courts for virtually all offenses and are tried under military codes.

LAW AND ORDER

The Indians, living near subsistence level, are generally apathetic toward social problems and prefer to live by their own society's rules, settling all but major offenses among themselves. Those who migrate to the cities find adjustment difficult.

The large urban slum areas, particularly in the capital, are the spawning grounds for both organized terror and individually motivated acts of violence. The bulk of police manpower and resources is utilized here. Reorganization of agencies, pilot models for testing new plans, or operational methods are mostly focused on restraining the criminal elements in these areas.

Communist guerrilla activity sporadically springs up in some rural areas, especially in the Zacapa zone and along the transportation routes from Puerto Barrios to the capital. Army pressure

and influence in the countryside restrict its magnitude there, however, and the guerrillas find better concealment, an easier life, and more lucrative targets in the cities. Opposing them are several groups of rightists which, while identifying themselves with patriotism and anti-communism, use terrorist tactics similar to those of the leftist extremists. Journalists have estimated that there have been between 4,000 and 6,000 killings over a period of several years. As a result of the continuing terror and the inability of the police to control it, the public faith in the regularly constituted forces has been shaken.

Law of Public Order

The Constitution makes provision for suspending basic freedoms guaranteed in it whenever the Chief of State determines that a serious disturbance of the peace or public calamity threatens. When such a situation develops, the President of the Republic issues a decree invoking the Law of Public Order (*Ley de Orden Público*) and specifying its justification, the particular guarantees suspended, the areas affected, and the length of time it shall last. At the end of the maximum period of 30 days it may be renewed indefinitely.

The Law of Public Order may be invoked in any one of four progressive stages of severity: state of prevention, state of alarm, state of public calamity, and a stage of siege or war. It has been common practice in the past for the Chief Executive to pass over the three lesser degrees of emergency whenever the situation became serious (see *Political Dynamics and Values*, ch. 6).

Types and Rates of Crime

Statistical records of law enforcement and the administration of justice lack comprehensiveness, accuracy, and uniformity, partly because of diversity and multiplicity in recording and reporting among the various responsible agencies. The overall rate for all types of offenses recorded during a period of several years ranged from 26 to 32.3 per 1,000 inhabitants in Guatemala City. Well over half of all offenses were crimes against public order; about 35 percent constituted crimes against the person; and offenses involving property amounted to only about 6 percent.

Single men in the age group 21-30 committed the greatest number of major crimes, whereas married persons were mostly arrested for cases relating to property, such as theft. Crime is concentrated in the months of August, December, and October respectively, when religious and national celebrations take place. Payday for laborers is normally on Saturday, while that of the middle class generally falls during the middle and end of the

month. These coincide with days of maximum consumption of liquor and the highest incidence of crime. Attacks against police and Government authorities in recent years have been proportionally greater than those against the general public and have led to a buildup of police forces.

Police Forces

The primary function of protecting life and property and the preservation of peace in the community is vested in the National Police Force of Guatemala, functioning under the Minister of Government. The Judicial Police (distinct from the investigative force of the judiciary), a separate entity within the same Ministry, performs a police intelligence and investigative role. The Border Patrol has as its chief responsibility the collection of tariffs, taxes, and other revenue due the Government. Notwithstanding its Treasury Department function, this police element was transferred in 1967 to the Ministry of Government to attain maximum across-the-board law enforcement.

All three of these agencies have nationwide jurisdiction and responsibility; yet, the Border Patrol is the only one of the three with the majority of its personnel assigned to tasks outside the capital area. Largely by default, the Armed Forces have moved into the rural areas to deal directly with the internal security problems, including civilian law enforcement. A special unit of the Army, called the Mobile Military Police (Policía Militar Ambulante), has been formed recently to combat rural insurgency and banditry where civilian police protection was lacking. These troops are now deployed in small detachments in numerous outlying communities.

Some 6,200 small communities of 200 or more people have no paid police. The local mayor (alcalde), usually the Justice of the Peace in addition to his administrative functions, selects one or more individuals from the community to serve for 1 or 2 years as local constabularies, frequently without pay. These are not recognized as having formal police status by the Government, but are respected as the "lawmen" locally. Over 4,000 of these localities are organized farms constituting a form of company town work force. Some develop fairly sizable security units of their own, making governmental control largely unnecessary from the viewpoint of the farmowner.

Effectiveness

The Government has substantially increased its financial support of the civilian police agencies in the late 1960's. This has permitted the purchase of additional vehicles, equipment, and uniforms. More

than 2,000 men have been added to the various forces. Plans are nearing realization for a Police Academy which will provide a wide range of courses for all police agencies on a regular basis.

Major improvements in administration and operations have also been instituted. An integrated Central Complaint Division, a concept completely new to police forces in Guatemala, has recently been inaugurated. Reports of crimes and other incidents brought to the attention of any law enforcement agency will be centralized in one place on standard forms for permanent written record. A central crime laboratory is expected to eliminate much duplication and facilitate court actions.

The adoption of a new fingerprint system is providing a better and more uniform procedure. A model precinct approach, proven effective in reducing crime in one test location, is being expanded to include all of the capital. A rural pilot project involving a Pilot Model Department and a Rural Mobile Patrol is planned for implementation in the Department of Escuintla. Procedures are being developed for the more efficient use of communications equipment and facilities, including coordination with other agencies.

Considerable emphasis has been placed on increasing police effectiveness through training. Some senior grade personnel and limited numbers in middle supervisory positions attend police courses in other countries. The great majority have enrolled in the International Police Academy, Washington, D.C., while lesser numbers have studied in Panama, Puerto Rico, and El Salvador. The effectiveness of this training is cumulative since many of the trained personnel return to instruct others.

The National Police

The Director General of the National Police, generally a senior active duty officer on loan from the Defense Department, reports directly to the Ministry of Government on all operational and administrative matters. This type of assignment provides for close liaison and a personal link between the Armed Forces and the police, accounting, in part, for the military aspects of the latter. The police command structure is composed of a small staff in charge of operational divisions in the central headquarters and the five regional zones. Authority and control are so highly centralized that most routine operational and administrative matters are referred to the Director.

The National Police Force in late 1968, numbering over 5,000 men, had about two-thirds of its strength allocated to the national capital. The remainder were deployed largely in the 21 other department capitals under four zonal commands, similar to the military regional areas. The remaining outlying police elements

were assigned to departmental stations and substations in fewer than 100 other population centers (*municipios* or *aldeas*). There were, however, 14 mobile detachments which could be readily dispatched to trouble spots.

The major uniformed operational elements under central control in the capital and environs were the precinct enclave, a variety of patrol units (foot, motorcycle, jeep, and patrol car) and a Traffic Department, with the combined functions of Traffic Division and Department of Motor Vehicles. Responsibility for accident investigation rests with still another section of the uniformed police division.

For a period of almost a year, in 1964-65, the National Police agency operated without a criminal investigation or detective unit when that entire element was transferred to the Judicial Police. Subsequently, a new Director General took steps to reestablish the Investigative Division with a group of graduates from the International Police Academy. Complete coverage in criminal investigation was then restored in crimes of homicide, assault, robbery, fraud, and sex offenses.

The Division of Administration and Services incorporates all the personnel and logistic support elements, such as maintenance of buildings, vehicles, and supplies; the communications network; licensing, detention centers, and related areas. A modern criminal laboratory, with mobile units and radio equipment contributed by the United States Agency for International Development program, has materially increased the capability for law enforcement.

A few other agencies in the police structure come directly under the Chief of Police. An internal investigation section handles strictly police problems. The Police Academy is a small instructional unit which, periodically, offers short training courses covering a wide range of police activities.

The Judicial Police

The Judicial Police agency is the principal intelligence and investigative element of the civilian law enforcement establishment for public offenses. It has a personnel complement of about 450, all of whom are stationed in Guatemala City, with only occasional assignments in the provincial areas. The members are more highly skilled and better paid than other police. The three operational divisions, in order of size, are the Internal Division, the Transient Division, and the International Division. These titles are somewhat indicative of the general areas of their jurisdiction. Details concerning their authority and responsibility are not available.

Border Patrol

The Guatemalan Border Patrol (Guardia de Hacienda) was initially established in 1954 as a semimilitary law enforcement body, uniformed and armed, to operate under direction of the Minister of the Treasury. The Chief and his staff have offices at central headquarters in Guatemala City. In the past regulations provided for a governing council of four or more Treasury officials to act in a supervisory capacity in order to assure proper implementation of Ministry directives. This council continues to meet periodically but on a merely coordinating or advisory basis, now that operational control of the patrol has passed to the Minister of Government.

Patrol units of varying strength are assigned to each of the 22 departmental capitals and to most border or coastal departments; one or more additional units are located at strategic sites. Departmental chiefs are subject to the intermediate zonal command of the National Police organization but may also report directly to the patrol hierarchy. Nearly two-thirds of the 1,165 members of the Border Patrol are assigned to field units or border detachments.

The patrol has a wide range of prescribed duties, mostly relating to customs and revenue enforcement. It prevents smuggling into the country, apprehends violators, and seizes contraband; enforces immigration, emigration, and passport laws; prevents illegal manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages; mounts guard at such places as ports of entry, customs warehouses, and authorized distilleries; enforces tariff laws and prevents theft, enforces laws against counterfeiting and narcotics, controls exports, and performs other duties.

Patrol members, in addition, have been charged with remaining alert to any indication of subversive activity. They are expected to detect the entry, exit, internal movement, or other activity of domestic or alien subversive elements. They are directed to enforce all laws relating to peace and public order, as well as to act as auxiliary to the military, in case of national emergency. Under the conditions of instability existing during 1968, the latter responsibilities demanded more of their time and effort than their primary functions. The training and experience gained in locating and raiding illegal stills proved most valuable in ferreting out guerrilla arms caches.

While the capability of the patrol may be best utilized for countersubversion in the countryside, it is lacking in equipment and personnel stability. The dispersed location of posts and facilities, combined with the stress on patrolling border areas, conflicts with

the added organizational requirements of the countersubversion tasks. The basic law provides that the Border Patrol be a mobile organization, but transportation and communication are inadequate except at higher headquarters. Most members can read and write because of a grade school educational requirement that is, nevertheless, waived on occasion.

Administration of Justice

The judicial branch is organized along the typical Roman-Napoleonic-Spanish systems of laws. Law is codified. Cases and arguments are reduced to writing in great detail. There are no juries.

In principle, the courts are separated from executive authority and are able to function free of political influence. Nevertheless, some subservience to Congress derives from congressional authority to appoint, replace, or remove—under certain circumstances—senior members of the judiciary.

The Code of Criminal Procedure establishes the principal precepts governing the organization and functioning of the judicial system. This code includes jurisdiction of courts, special proceedings for crimes and misdemeanors, extraditions, appeals, and execution of judgments. The code in effect during late 1968 had been very recently adopted from a commission study initiated in 1961 and, at that time, was the first major revision since Guatemalan law was codified in 1898. Many provisions of the latter were found to be at variance with constitutional guarantees and the Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. Most basic rights of the individual are guaranteed by the Constitution. Provision is made for compulsory public trials except when public morals or exceptional exigencies require otherwise. During national emergencies, such as the state of siege which existed during much of 1968, the civil courts do not function, and all trials are held in military courts.

The Court System

The judiciary is composed of the Supreme Court of Justice, various courts subordinate to it, and five special courts (military courts are outside this jurisdiction). Below the Supreme Court are the Court of Appeals and Court of general and limited jurisdiction of first instance.

The Supreme Court of Justice is responsible for the administration of justice throughout the Republic. Its responsibilities also include final determination of the validity of election fraud claims. The Chief Justice, in addition, functions as president of the Guate-

malan judiciary, in which capacity he is charged with the discipline and internal administration of the entire court system.

All members of the Supreme Court—which must have at least seven members—and the justices of the Court of Appeals and of certain special courts are elected by Congress for a 4-year term. A judge elected to two successive terms automatically receives life tenure in that post, retiring at age 70 with a pension. The Supreme Court appoints and may transfer or remove from office all judges who are not elected. Specific prerequisites and professional qualifications for all these positions are embodied in the Constitution.

The lowest court in the judicial system is the court of limited jurisdiction, or Justice of the Peace, charged with hearing cases of misdemeanor. There are about 333 of these throughout the country at the township, or *municipio*, level. Usually, the Justices of the Peace are the mayors in the rural communities. Legal training is not a prerequisite for these appointments but is recognized as desirable. In the capital most of the Justices of the Peace are fifth-year law students.

The proceedings in rural areas are on a more personal or informal basis than in the cities. Fines collected or work exacted in lieu thereof are vitally important to the maintenance of local government.

Criminal cases, as a rule, are tried by courts of general jurisdiction. The proceedings of these courts are divided into three stages or functional areas for the development of a criminal trial. The first stage is that of pretrial investigation, extending from the time a complaint is made until the record of the case is sent to court for trial.

The second stage consists of a 30-day period for the taking of proof to substantiate, supplement, or contradict proof obtained in the pretrial investigation. After this, the trial (*vista*) is conducted before the court who hears witnesses, experts, the accused, as well as prosecution and defense lawyers, and decides the case on the basis of all evidence introduced in all three stages. In effect, the code of procedure appears to be a more or less continuous progression of investigation, intermediate stage, and final hearing, all blended together. Within 15 days after the trial is completed the court must impose the sentence. The execution of sentence comes under the jurisdiction of the judge of execution, who constitutes the final division of the trial courts of limited jurisdiction. Despite efforts to speed up the administration of criminal justice, it has been relatively common for an accused to be detained from 6 to 8 months before the date of the final hearing.

Crimes and civil cases exceeding claims of Q500 in value receive their initial formal hearings in the courts of general jurisdiction

of first instance. There are nine of these in the capital and at least one in each of the other departments. These judges, by constitutional mandate, must be lawyers and, very often, are recently graduated lawyers being sent to outlying areas to gain judicial experience, operating their courts usually without benefit of district attorneys or solicitors. Although they exercise primarily original jurisdiction, they may also hear appeals arising from cases handled in inferior courts.

The various chambers of the Court of Appeals constitute the next level above the Courts of First Instance. There are six of these chambers, each composed of three judges, a solicitor, and an attorney. The attorney (*procurador*), who represents the interests of society, defends the criminally accused persons, should such action be necessary. He also uses his office for the adequate presentation of charges. The solicitor (*fiscal*) renders opinions on law and procedure when so requested.

Since, under the Guatemalan judicial system, there may be no more than two trials in any one case, the Supreme Court of Justice generally may hear only cases of cassation and *amparo* (similar to habeas corpus—see Glossary). In a few exceptional cases it may sit as the superior court in the event the Court of Appeals has acted as a Court of First Instance.

The Court of Amparo, one of the five special courts having particular jurisdiction, is especially noteworthy. It adjudicates requests from a private citizen or corporation that any branch of Government or a court restrain from continuing an action which threatens the political rights or constitutional guarantees of that person or corporation against whom the action is directed.

Criminal Procedures

The police are authorized to arrest without a warrant for all major crimes, if based on reasonable cause, and for lesser criminal offense attempted or committed in their presence. There is no territorial or geographic limitation on a police officer's power to arrest; he lawfully functions as a peace officer throughout the Republic. By constitutional provision, the domicile may be entered by police for search only with the permission of the owner or tenant, or by court order—even then not before 6 a.m. or after 6 p.m. This prohibition is not applicable, however, to business establishments, places of entertainment, or public buildings. Property illegally seized may not be introduced as evidence.

An accused must be taken before a magistrate within 48 hours after arrest, or the arresting officer may be held personally liable. To detain the person longer, a formal complaint must be rendered. A period of preventive detention, not to exceed 5 days, is then

permitted prior to formal indictment or release. The writ of habeas corpus is effective and honored.

The Constitution stipulates certain safeguards. No one is obliged to testify against himself, a spouse, or a close relative (defined as parent, child, or sibling). An accused may have a defense counsel, who may have access to him at any convenient hour. Local interpretation, however, usually defines convenient hour as normal visiting hours. At the time of formal arraignment he is given the name of his accuser and the nature of the punishable offense he is alleged to have committed.

Penalties

The Penal Code, one of the several codified substantive laws of the country, defines in detail the various punishable offenses and assesses penalties. In some instances an upper and lower limit is set on the period of confinement or on the amount of the fine, allowing the judge or justice latitude in sentencing. In others, notably the Customs Code, the law establishes an inflexible sentence depending on the value of tax avoided. For minor offenses, fines may be converted into days of work on a fixed rate basis. This is a common practice in the remote Indian communities which are on a subsistence economy.

Capital punishment is authorized for murder and treason. A judge may convert a sentence with an applicable penalty of not greater than 6 months in prison to preventive imprisonment. This is carried out in the home of the accused. It is intended for persons reputed to be honest and for the sick or infirm. A pregnant woman or mother of a child no older than 6 months may be sentenced thus even though the crime has a penalty greater than 6 months.

Penal System

The overall direction and coordination of detention facilities, rehabilitation, and parole is the responsibility of the Director of Prisons, under the Ministry of Government. Three major penitentiaries for men are located on the outskirts of Guatemala City and in the Departments of Quezaltenango and Escuintla. The major penitentiary for women is Santa Teresa in the capital. In addition, there are 19 prisons for men and 20 for women in the other departments of the Republic. The largest prison was designed for 1,800 inmates but has held, at times, as many as 2,500. The average number of prisoners under sentence at any one time in the entire prison system is about 5,000. In addition, there is a central house of correction for juvenile delinquents. The majority of juvenile cases deal with robbery and theft

Local jails come under the jurisdiction of the police or the Justice of the Peace in towns and larger villages. Outlying Indian communities and many of the plantations maintain their own small jails, which are also used for those arrested by public authorities for local infractions of the law while awaiting trial or a judgment from higher up. Until an accused is finally sentenced he may not be held in the same prison cell with those serving a sentence for crimes.

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GLOSSARY

- aguardiente*—Liquor made from distilled sugarcane juice.
- AID*—United States Agency for International Development.
- alcalde*—Mayor. Also, in Indian society, a high official of a religious brotherhood.
- aldea*—Hamlet or small village.
- amparo*—Similar to habeas corpus. It is an order of restraint against imprisonment or an administrative act which infringes on one's rights.
- audiencia*—Administrative and judicial body and, by extension, territorial division of the Spanish colonial system.
- AVIATECA*—Empresa Guatemalteca de Aviación (Guatemalan Aviation Company). The national airline, a semiautonomous agency under the Ministry of Economy.
- bachillerato*—Diploma acquired after 5 years of schooling at secondary level, including 2 years of liberal arts.
- caballería*—Land measure, equivalent to 111.5 acres. In colonial times it referred to the amount of land given to a horseman (*caballero*).
- cabecera*—Capital of a department or *municipio*.
- CACM*—Central American Common Market. Composed of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. A regional economic organization designed to have a unified customs tariff and free movement of goods among member states.
- campesino*—A rural dweller who earns his livelihood through manual labor in an agricultural or pastoral endeavor.
- cantón*—A territorial subdivision roughly equivalent to a country, if rural, or a ward, if urban.
- CARE*—Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere.
- caserío*—Rural community too small to be considered an *aldea*. Often only a collection of scattered dwellings.
- caudillo*—Forceful leader or strongman. He rules or controls principally by force of personality without necessarily having recourse to rules, laws, or other institutional means of control. He often demands total personal loyalty, above legal or moral consideration, from those he leads.
- centavo*—One one-hundredth of a quetzal, q.v.

CGT—Confederación Guatemalteca de Trabajadores (Confederation of Guatemalan Workers), a major confederation which included both manual and white-collar workers with Marxist leanings. It was formed in 1944 and abolished in 1954, when it was under Communist domination.

CHN—Crédito Hipotecario Nacional (National Mortgage Credit Bank), the largest bank in Guatemala, originally established in 1929.

ciudad—City.

cofradía—A religious brotherhood. In *ladino* society, a social organization composed of upper-class men. In Indian culture, a religious group of men in charge of community tradition, with members chosen for a 1-year term. In some Indian townships, women form a parallel organization.

colono—Agricultural laborer who resides on a plantation permanently and who receives the usufruct of a small plot of land in addition to wages.

comadre—Lit., comother, see *compadre*.

compadrazgo—Lit., godparenthood. A system of ritual kinship bonds between parents, children, and godparents.

compadre—Lit., cofather; the reciprocal term of address used between parents and godparents.

costumbres—The traditional pattern of doing things, passed down from ancestors. Considered the legal and proper mode of activity. Specifically, customary religious rituals.

criollo—In colonial times, applied to Guatemalan-born persons of Spanish descent.

DCG—Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca (Guatemalan Christian Democracy); The fourth major political party. A Christian democratic party formed in 1955 which has slowly been growing stronger and moving to the left.

encomienda—Fiduciary grant of tribute collection rights over groups of Indians, conferred by Spanish Crown on individual colonists who undertook, in return, to maintain order and to propagate Christianity among their charges.

facultad—A college within a university.

fiesta—Feast. It may be a religious celebration held on holy days or honoring the community patron saint, or it may be held to celebrate important agricultural, civic, or family events, such as Independence, baptism, or marriage.

finca—Farm or estate of varying size, but not one that contains merely a subsistence plot.

finquero—Owner or operator of a *finca*.

FYDEP—Empresa Nacional de Fomento y Desarrollo Economico de el Petén (National Enterprise for Economic Development of

- El Petén). A dependency of the Ministry of Economy which is in charge of all economic development of the El Petén Department.
- huipil*—A usually sleeveless blouse made from one or more rectangular pieces of cloth and worn predominantly by Indian women.
- indigena*—Indian. Considered a more polite or less derogatory form.
- INFOP*—Instituto de Fomento de la Producción (Institute for Development of Production). An autonomous Government entity which engages in many economic activities designed to increase production. Most active in the field of agriculture.
- INTA*—Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria (National Institute for Agrarian Transformation). Major organ for carrying out the agrarian reform program. Under the Ministry of Agriculture.
- intendente*—Administrator of a district in colonial times.
- IRCA*—International Railways of Central America. The main railroad which operates in both Guatemala and El Salvador.
- ladino*—First applied in colonial times to acculturated Indians and individuals of mixed heritage who lived in the Spanish settlements, accepting their language and many Hispanic customs. Later extended to all groups who did not espouse an Indian style of life. According to 1964 Official Census, term applied to anyone who was not a cultural Indian, which includes persons of European and Asiatic heritage as well as acculturated Indians. Label is resented by members of the upper class who prefer to use it synonymously with *mestizo* (mixed white and Indian ancestry).
- machismo*—Lit., maleness. It is applied to a complex of values regarding masculinity and the ideal male personality. Taken from *macho*, the man who seems the epitome of such qualities.
- mestizo, -za*—A person of mixed Indian-white ancestry.
- metate*—Stone on which corn is ground.
- milpa*—A small plot of land used for growing corn, sometimes interplanted with beans and squash.
- MLN*—Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Movement). A major political party, formed in 1958, which is militantly anti-Communist.
- MNR*—Movimiento Nacional Reformista (National Reformist Movement). A minor political party formed by a group of anti-Communist organizations.
- mozo*—Lit., a servant or one who works with his hands. Usually applied to Indians by *ladinos*.

- municipio*—Political subdivision of a department. Similar to a township in the United States.
- padrino*—The ceremonial kinship name given to godparents by their godchildren.
- páramo*—High-altitude grasslands.
- patrón*—Master or protector, benefactor or sponsor; traditionally an employer or social superior who forms long-term paternalistic tie with someone of lower status, in theory rewarding deference and loyalty with protection and an active personal interest.
- peninsulares*—Spanish-born persons who lived in the colony, occupying the highest offices and comprising the upper class.
- personalismo*—A complex of values stressing personal status and interpersonal trust over ideology and institutions.
- PGT*—Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo (Guatemalan Labor Party). The Communist Party of Guatemala. Has operated clandestinely since 1954, when it was proscribed.
- PID*—Partido Institucional Democratico (Institutional Democratic Party). A conservative political party formed in 1965. By 1968 it was one of the major parties.
- PR*—Partido Revolucionario (Revolutionary Party). Major political party. Won national elections in 1966. Founded in 1957 by Mario Mendez Montenegro. Considered to be moderately left of center.
- principal*—Prominent leader in the Indian communities who, in most townships, has risen to his position by serving in all offices of the religious brotherhoods. Prior to 1945 he was the official Indian representative in the municipal corporation, usually informally selected by the Indians and approved by the *ladino* officials.
- PSG*—Partido Social Guatemalteco (Guatemalan Social Party). A minor political party organized in 1965 by DCG dissidents.
- pueblo*—Village.
- quetzal*—Unit of currency, equivalent to one U.S. dollar. Also the national bird of Guatemala.
- simpatía*—A complex of emotions characterized by fellow feeling, congeniality, and a type of empathy.
- sindicato*—The smallest unit of labor organization.
- tierra caliente*—Lit., hot country. Land between sea level and approximately 2,500 feet, where daytime temperatures average 85 to 90° F., nighttime temperatures average 70 to 75° F.
- tierra fría*—Lit., cold country. Land above 5,500 feet in altitude, where daytime temperatures average between 75 and 80° F., nighttime temperatures average 50 to 55° F.

tierra templada—Lit., temperate country. Land between 2,500 and 5,500 feet above sea level, where daytime temperatures average 75 to 80° F., nighttime temperatures average 60 to 70° F.

UFCO—United Fruit Company. Major banana grower and exporter.

URD—Unidad Revolucionaria Democrática (Revolutionary Democratic Unity). A proscribed political party which was formed in 1958 by Partido Revolucionario dissidents.

villa—Small town, larger than pueblo.

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