McNally/Simon
November 26, 1990
Draft Two (B:URUGUAY)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO URUGUAYAN CONGRESS
MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1990

Jack Jurecky
DCM
Uruguay

Mr. Vice President, distinguished Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen, citizens of Uruguay:

Barbara and I have been deeply touched by your warm welcome. You've made us feel at home. And indeed, Montevideo is graced by images that were once familiar features in our own nation's frontier tradition -- the dramatic statues of Belloni and Zorrilla depicting covered wagons, a stage coach, and the Gaucho himself. **For a moment there, I thought we were back home in Texas!** \\\\

Uruguay in Pictures
p. 24
Fodor's S. America
p. 521, 530

The peoples of our two countries have long been linked by bonds of tradition and belief. Both emphasize equality. Both place their trust in the individual. Both are deeply rooted to the land. Indeed, Uruguay is blessed with some of the best farmland in the world -- and, flying over it this morning -- it reminded me of the fertile heartland of the United States. \\\

But the truth is, there is no place quite like Uruguay -- this heart-shaped country that's not only at the heart of the South ern Cone -- but at the heart of South America's exciting new movement towards free markets and free ideas. \\\

Uruguay appears small on the map, but looms large in real life -- large in land, large in character, large in heritage and dreams. More than a century ago, W.H. illiam enry Hudson crossed Uruguay's rolling grasslands and purple banks, and brought them vividly to life in his epic saga, The Purple Land. The Uruguay he saw was a

The Purple Land
1885

trackless prairie of vast spaces and limitless horizons. \\\

Today, the horizons of Uruguay once again open up to a future without limit. Just look around: **Behind me you see Jose Artigas [ar-TEE-gus], father of a modern nation. And before me you see the Uruguayan Congress -- a new generation of Uruguayan pioneers, seeking not to tame a land, but to build a country.**

Our visit comes at a time when the Western Hemisphere stands on the threshold of a new era -- what I told your neighbors in Brazil yesterday marked **"a new dawn for the New World." Together**, we've embarked on a journey spurred by profound, worldwide changes -- political renewal, economic restructuring, social realignment. And **together** we are leading the way.

We have a unique chance to realize the dreams and ambitions of the people who came to the Americas, north and south, seeking a better life for themselves and for those who followed. Like the Unites States, Uruguay is a nation of immigrants. **And the history of our republics is told in the history of our families.**

One such family was Ireland's MacGillycuddy brothers, who left the shores of Eu[illegible] north. One went south[illegible] God, learned the langu[illegible] **their grandchildren a[illegible] MacGillycuddy -- Urugu[illegible] Mack -- United States**

Common dreams. [illegible] first trip to Uruguay,

Mack's great grandfather left Ireland in 1846 and came to the U.S.

Eduardo's grandfather came to Uruguay later.

Eduardo's grandfather was the son of Mack's Great grandfather.

KI-yay] well. We met in Washington last ~~April~~ February, and again in October in New York. Not only does your President have a vision for his country, but he has the rare talent of being able to act on his vision for the benefit of his people.

Last June, I announced the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative -- an ambitious new ~~initiative~~ plan to help create a hemispheric free trade zone. It's a major new step in our shared dream for **the world's first completely democratic hemisphere** -- and President Lacalle was the first head of state to call me to discuss how we could work together to realize its objectives.

The world is changing faster than anyone believed possible. Fundamental changes are sweeping Latin America and Uruguay. From Tierra del Fuego to the Rio Grande, old ways of doing business are being re-examined and new ideas are on the march. The democratic form of government has come to be recognized as the embodiment of political legitimacy. The democratic ideal has become irresistible precisely because it is now an indigenous force the world over, from Poland to Paraguay, from China to Chile.

It has not triumphed everywhere, and, to be sure, not all men and women today live under freedom and democracy. But we have reached the point where all are <u>demanding</u> to live under freedom and democracy as their God-given right.

The Western Hemisphere can take pride in having launched this worldwide transformation from dictatorship to democracy. And nowhere has the process been as impressive as in Uruguay, where your people have demonstrated the courage, cooperation and

self-sacrifice necessary to win success. The transition was difficult, but the potential rewards are great. The conversion of the hemisphere to representative government and to rational economic management opens up the possibility of unprecedented mutual respect and common purpose across the Americas.

Here in Uruguay, President Lacalle has set forth a bold program to restructure the Uruguayan economy, changes which will improve Uruguay's overall strength and prosperity. In time, the economy will produce more goods and services, provide more jobs for all, and in short, improve Uruguay's very quality of life.

But fundamental changes often involve costs. There are no easy solutions. No quick fixes. In the U.S., we are grappling with the budget deficit. Here in Uruguay, President Lacalle has established a social emergency fund to help the most needy. We have been pleased to have been able to contribute to this fund.

Changes are also sweeping the United States. There is new thinking on the Potomac. We will keep our commitments in Central America, and we are also reaching out a helping hand of friendship and cooperation to our neighbors in South America.

I know that many in Latin America fear we have become unduly preoccupied with dramatic developments in the old world. Let me assure you that we have not. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative represents a fundamental shift in our relationship with Latin America. It recognizes a simple truth, a truth President Lacalle ~~coined~~ last June at the O.A.S., a truth that has now been heard and embraced throughout the Americas. **Pros**

see file

perity in our Hemisphere, he said, depends on trade -- not aid.

In order to promote trade, we have signed a framework agreement with your government that commits us to explore practical ways to reduce trade barriers. A strong multilateral trading system is the cornerstone of a healthy, expanding world economy. And that's why my highest trade priority is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations. It presents us an extraordinary opportunity for unparalleled economic growth for all nations, well into the 21st century.

As the traveler in The Purple Land says: "We lose half our opportunities in life through too much caution." **The new dawn is breaking. Let's shake the world. Let's conclude GATT now.** \\\

At the Houston Summit, we stood with Uruguay and other Latin American nations in insisting that countries stop subsidizing agricultural products to the detriment of world trade. The land has historically been at the heart of both our economies. **And from Montevideo to Montana, our farmers and ranchers enjoy shared traditions, shared interests, and shared concerns.**

Improved trade must be bolstered by assistance with investment and with debt. In order to promote investment, we have entered into the bilateral investment treaty with your government that will pave the way for new U.S. investments in Uruguay.

In order to assist with debt, we have asked Congress to approve a new package for the relief of official Latin debt. This will not only allow us to reduce debt, but also to convert other payments to investment in industry, and to swap "debt-for-

nature" to protect Uruguay's natural beauty. **Environmental destruction knows no borders** -- and it is our responsibility to leave future generations not only a more prosperous world, but also a cleaner and safer world. \\\

A safer world also means a world free from the scourge of this hemisphere -- the scourge called cocaine. **For the sake of our kids -- the explosive cycle of <u>drugs</u>, <u>dependency</u> and <u>dollars</u> must be stopped.** \\\

And finally, a safer world also means a world safe for <u>freedom</u>, a world governed by the Rule of Law. And looking out at the assembled Supreme Court of this land only serves to remind us of the importance of the judiciary to the freedom of a <u>democracy</u> -- and the importance of Rule of Law to the freedom of the <u>world</u>.

What the world faces in the Persian Gulf is fundamental. No one in Uruguay needs to be told about the sovereignty of nations. **In 1811, Artigas and his Gauchos led an exodus of free Uruguayans who refused to submit to the control of foreign despots. His demand was simple: complete autonomy for Uruguay.** \\\

Artigas' dream was not realized overnight. But today many believe that -- had it not been for Artigas' brave stand -- Uruguay would surely have been absorbed into another nation.

Exactly 30 years ago, President Eisenhower spoke to the people of Uruguay from this very podium. Our message hasn't changed. He said: **"The United States does not covet a single acre of land that belongs to another. We do not wish to control or dictate to another government... We believe that the people**

of every nation are endowed with the right of free choice, and that the most sacred obligation of the world community is to guarantee such choice to all." \\\\

Uruguay in Pictures p. 27-8

A generation after Artigas, Juan Lavalleja and the "33 Immortals" completed Uruguay's transition to sovereign freedom. Today, their legacy has fallen to you -- an inheritance for Uruguay, and for all the Americas. **Today, the <u>new</u> 33 Immortals are the very nations of this continent -- the 30-some independent nations now barrelling in confidence towards the new century.**

All of us have a stake in working together. Our goal is to work with Latin America to build a hemisphere where trade and investment are unfettered, private enterprise can flourish, and individual rights are respected. I see a hemisphere with strong democratic institutions and leaders; an ever expanding economic opportunity for all members of society; a society free of drugs and crime; a cleaner environment; and a new era of cooperation between Latin America and the United States. \\\

Fodor's S. America p. 534 p. 538

Uruguay is a colorful land of spectacular beauty -- from the lush green expanses outside Salto, to the purple banks of the Yi River, to the white beaches of Punta del Este. **But as a new dawn breaks over the New World, Uruguay, like all of Latin America, will be searching for its own true colors, as vibrant and diverse as the continent itself. As you search, we will be watching with great hopes. And we will be standing with you.** \\\ Godspeed you on this journey. And God bless the people of Uruguay.

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staffed

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One such family was the MacGillycuddys of Ireland, who left the shores of Europe in the last century. One went north. One went south. Both worked hard, prayed to the same God, learned the language of their adopted countries. **And today, their grandchildren are the children of the Americas: Eduardo MacGillycuddy -- Uruguay's Ambassador to Washington -- and Connie Mack -- United States Senator from the state of Florida.** \\\

Common dreams. Common bonds. Common families. This is my first trip to Uruguay, yet I feel I know President Lacalle [la-

KI-yay] well. We met in Washington last February, and again in October in New York. Not only does your President have a vision for his country, but he has the rare talent of being able to act on his vision for the benefit of his people.

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# # #

Nov 9, 90

URUGUAY SPEECH

SETTING

- I have come to visit your country at a time when we in the Western Hemisphere are on the threshhold of a new era. We are witnessing a period of profound changes worldwide--political renewal, basic restructuring of economies, and social realignments--and here in this hemisphere we are leading the way.

- We have the unique chance in the Americas to finally realize the dreams and ambitions of the men and women who came to this hemisphere, north and south, seeking a better life for themselves and for those who have come after them. The history of our republics can be told many times over in the histories of individual families.

  -- One such family is that of your Ambassador Eduardo MacGillycuddy to Washington, and of the United States Senator Connie Mack from the state of Florida. I am sure their grandfathers, immigrant brothers from Ireland, would be proud if they could see their grandsons today.

- This is my first trip to Uruguay, yet I feel that I know President Lacalle well. We met in Washington last April and again in October in New York. President Lacalle is a man of vision.

  -- Not only does he have a vision for his country, but he possesses the rare talent of being able, through his leadership, to act on his vision for the benefit of his countrymen.

- Last June I made an announcement in the White House that my administration intended to work together with the other countries of this hemisphere to initiate a new approach in our relations which would stimulate growth.

  -- President Lacalle was the first head of state to personally call me to discuss the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, and how we could work together to realize its objectives.

- Let me assure you that in the United States, President Lacalle is recognized as a man who can and will make things happen. Uruguay, in both the economic and political sense, is a star performer and an inspirational example for the region.

- I applaud President Lacalle and the Uruguayan people for your initiative, perseverance and intelligence in dealing with a world that is changing faster than anyone ever believed possible.

    -- I found much wisdom in the words of President Lacalle when, at the OAS General Assembly, he said that our hemisphere is ready to address "the profound transformations of our time: the exercise of representative democracy, the expansion of fundamental freedom, and the eclipse of the old, authoritarian regimes."

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

- Fundamental changes are sweeping Latin America and Uruguay. From Tierra del Fuego to the Rio Grande, old ways of doing business are being re-examined and new ideas are on the march.

- The democratic form of government has come to be recognized as the embodiment of political legitimacy.

    -- The democratic ideal has become irresistible precisely because it is now an indigenous force the world over, from Poland to Uruguay, and from China to Chile.

- It has not triumphed everywhere, to be sure; not all men and women today live under freedom and democracy. But we have reached the point where all are demanding to live under freedom and democracy as their God-given right.

    -- Democracy's ideological foes, on the left and the right, have been discredited. The political and economic systems they fashioned stand today in ruins.

- The Western Hemisphere can justly take pride in having launched the epochal worldwide transition from dictatorship to democracy, first in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and lately in Chile, Panama, and Nicaragua.

- In a very short time, we have traveled far toward achieving an unprecedented degree of mutual respect and common purpose among the nations of this hemisphere.

- Nowhere has the democratization process been as impressive as here in Uruguay. Every Uruguayan can be proud of the transition. It was difficult but Uruguayans have demonstrated courage and have shown a willingness to work together and to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve success.

- However, two revolutions are taking place in Latin America: one political, the other economic. The conversion of almost the entire hemisphere to representative government and to the principles of rational economic management opens up the possibility of closer ties than we have ever before enjoyed with our Latin neighbors.

  -- The return to democracy throughout the hemisphere has paved the way for greater economic opportunity and cooperation between Latin America and the United States.

THE NEW ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

- The driving force behind this second revolution is the world's recognition that economic growth and prosperity derive not from central planning and state enterprises, but from the dynamism and energy of individuals.

- This intellectual revolution commands movement away from failed statist doctrines; from dictatorships from the left and right; towards democracy, free government, and free enterprise; toward the true political and economic empowerment of the people.

  -- As your beloved hero, Jose Artigas, so correctly stated, "industry and commerce are the channels for people's happiness."

- Our common goal is to free this economic force: nothing works better than people who want to work; nothing creates better than people who want to create; and nothing succeeds better than people who want to succeed.

- Throughout the world people share the same aspirations:

  -- A better life for themselves and their children; rewards for hard work and initiative; recognition of talent and ideas; and a profound desire for an economic system that rewards not a select few, but all those ready and willing to work.

- Many countries in Latin America are already walking this path. In Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Jamaica, Mexico, Bolivia and here in Uruguay, reforms are taking place to unleash competition on which efficient productive free enterprise is based.

- Fundamental changes frequently involve costs. In many countries, economic restructuring will be accompanied by economic downturn. Some businesses will fail as others prosper; jobs will be lost in some industries as they are gained in others.

  -- Here in Uruguay President Lacalle has set forth on a bold program to restructure the Uruguayan economy, changes which will improve Uruguay's overall strength and prosperity.

  -- Overall and in time, the economy will produce more goods and services, and provide more jobs for all. In short, the improving quality of life.

- There are no easy solutions. There are no quick fixes. We are making tough political decisions.

  -- Those who would defend statism and protectionism as a means to maintain dwindling benefits, will soon realize that they have been sold empty promises and that a failing economic system cannot continue to meet even its minimum needs.

  -- In the United States we are grappling with the important problem of the budget deficit. Here in Uruguay, President Lacalle has established a social emergency fund to help the most needy. We have been pleased to have been able to contribute to this fund.

A NEW ERA OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION

- Changes are also sweeping the United States. There is new thinking on the Potomac. We will keep our commitments in Central America, and we are also reaching out a helping hand of friendship and cooperation to our neighbors in South America.

- I know that many in Latin America fear we have become unduly preoccupied with dramatic developments in the old world. Let me assure you that we have not.

- The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative represents a fundamental shift in our relationship with Latin America. It recognizes a truth that President Lacalle called to the attention of the entire Hemisphere last June 4 at the OAS General Assembly, and reiterated in his October 2 address to the Special Session of the OAS, that long term economic growth and prosperity will be accomplished not by aid, but by trade and investment.

-- We want to promote investment, and to that end we have entered into the bilateral investment treaty with your government that will pave the way for new U.S. investments in Uruguay.

o We also want to assist with the debt burden, and are pleased by the progress you have made in your debt negotiations with the commercial banks. We are confident that Congress will soon approve a legislative package for relief from official Latin debt.

-- This authority will allow us not only to reduce the debt, but also to convert payments on the remainder to investment in industry and to programs to protect the environment in Uruguay.

o We want to promote trade, and to this end we have signed a framework trade agreement with your government that commits us to explore practical ways to reduce barriers to trade.

-- Of course, our first priority is a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations in Geneva which will lead to increased trade for all. We have been pleased to note Uruguay's positive role in these negotiations. The framework agreement we have concluded will allow us to build on the achievements of the Uruguay Round of trade commitments, so that Uruguayan textile manufacturers, and wool and leather producers can more easily sell their products free of international barriers.

o Uruguayans hold dear their agricultural traditions. At the Houston Summit, we made common cause with Uruguay and other Latin American nations in insisting that countries stop subsidizing agricultural products to the detriment of world trade. We will continue in this endeavor.

o The initiative should be a collective effort. All of us have a stake in working together. Our goal is to work with Latin America to build a hemisphere where trade and investment are unfettered, private enterprise can flourish, and individual rights are respected.

WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS

o Of course, bilateral cooperation goes beyond economics and trade. The scourge of drugs, for example, which threatens both our countries, must be stopped so that our greatest resource, our children, can live vigorous and active lives, and enjoy the fruits of our labors.

-- While we recognize that we must do more in the United States to eliminate the demand for drugs, we look forward to working with your government to assist in controlling narcotics trafficking and other narcotics-related crimes.

o Likewise, the degradation of our environment, a problem which does not know or recognize national borders, must be confronted head on. We owe this to our children and grandchildren.

-- It is our responsibility to leave future generations not only a more prosperous world, but also a safer and cleaner world.

o I see a hemisphere with:

-- strong, robust democratic institutions and leaders;

-- an ever expanding economic opportunity for all members of society;

-- a society free of drugs and not plagued by crime;

-- a cleaner environment; and

-- a new era of cooperation between Latin America and the United States.

o I am confident that the spirit of the free and open societies we represent will serve to pave the way toward these goals. Working together, we will create a unity of purpose and action that will benefit both of our societies and create a partnership not only in the present but for future generations to come.

Contact:ARA/SC:CAColloton
10-29-90 x72296
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IMMEDIATE

ACTION

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FOR ARA/SC RICHARD BROWN

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SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

1. PRESIDENT BUSH'S SPEECH COULD INCORPORATE THE FOLLOWING TWO URUGUAYAN HEROES:

-- JOSE GERVASIO ARTIGAS - ARTIGAS IS KNOWN AS THE FATHER OF URUGUAYAN INDEPENDENCE. HE BEGAN THE URUGUAYAN REVOLT AGAINST THE SPANISH IN 1811. ARTIGAS CHAMPIONED THE PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE, REPUBLICANISM, AND CONFEDERATION. ALTHOUGH HE FAILED IN HIS GOAL OF SECURING URUGUAYAN INDEPENDENCE, ARTIGAS IS REVERED BY ALL SECTORS OF THE URUGUAYAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

-- JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA - LAVELLEJA LIBERATED URUGUAY FROM BRAZILIAN OCCUPATION BY LEADING A BAND OF EXILES BACK TO URUGUAY IN 1825. LAVELLEJA AND HIS GROUP, WHO ARE KNOWN AS THE "THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS", IGNITED AN UPRISING WHICH LED TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE IN 1828.

2. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING PHRASES AS A STARTING POINT FOR INCORPORATING THE HEROES INTO THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH:

ARTIGAS

-- LIKE WASHINGTON, BOLIVAR, AND SAN MARTIN, ARTIGAS STRUGGLED FOR AN AMERICA OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS.

-- AS THE LEADER OF THE FEDERAL LEAGUE, ARTIGAS FAVORED A POLICY OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AMONG THE MEMBER PROVINCES.

-- THOUGH THE LEAGUE DID NOT ENDURE, IT SET AN EXAMPLE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION.

LAVALLEJA

-- THE THIRTY THREE IMMORTALS FINISHED THE TRANSITION FROM COLONIAL RULE, AND IN THE SAME BOLD FASHION WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO BEGIN THE TRANSITION TO INTEGRATED ECONOMIC MARKETS

JURECKY

— There are 33-35 independent Nations in the Western Hemisphere. Suggest they are the "new" 33 immortals for being (almost) the first completely democratic hemisphere. Also, our proposed free trade zone makes it even more powerful.

for actions that run contrary to its principles. While the OAU has formally adopted an African charter on human rights, few states have signed it. If the OAU is to be effective in the future, it will have to grapple directly with sensitive questions such as the violation of human rights by its members. See also PAN-AFRICANISM.

PATRICK O'MEARA, *Indiana University*

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS), the intergovernmental organization, established in 1948 under the United Nations Charter, for the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Although Canada, as a member of the (British) Commonwealth, rejected an invitation to join, most of the former European colonies in the Caribbean area that attained independence from 1962 onward have opted for OAS membership. Cuba was suspended from the OAS in 1962.

OAS MEMBERS

Antigua and Barbuda	Honduras
Argentina	Jamaica
The Bahamas	Mexico
Barbados	Nicaragua
Bolivia	Panama
Brazil	Paraguay
Chile	Peru
Colombia	Saint Christopher and Nevis
Costa Rica	Saint Lucia
~~Cuba (suspended)~~	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Dominica	Surinam
Dominican Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Ecuador	United States
El Salvador	Uruguay
Grenada	Venezuela
Guatemala	
Haiti	

Pan American Antecedents. Attempts to promote economic, cultural, and military cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations date from the Latin American movements for independence from Spain and Portugal early in the 19th century. The United States identified with the emerging Latin American nations in 1823 in issuing the Monroe Doctrine, which declared the Western Hemisphere closed to further European colonization. Spanish American leaders, while welcoming U.S. support against Spain and its allies, were wary of North American intentions. South American liberator Simón Bolívar envisioned a league of Spanish American republics formed to guard against possible North American aggression as well as for defense against the Europeans. In 1826, Colombia summoned the other Spanish American nations to a conference in Panama (then a Colombian province) but, contrary to Bolívar's wishes, also invited the United States. The U.S. delegation arrived in Panama after the meeting had adjourned, and the Spanish American states that attended—Mexico, Central America, Colombia (including Venezuela and Ecuador), and Peru—failed to ratify the mutual-defense treaty signed at the conference.

Repeatedly confronted with armed incursions by Spain, France, or Britain, Spanish American governments met in several indifferently attended conferences in the half-century following independence but failed to form a mutual-defense system. The United States, after ignoring the British seizure of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in 1833, reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine in the 1840's and thereafter sided with Latin Americans resisting European aggression. The U.S. stand precluded further European territorial gains in the Western Hemisphere but did not prevent the United States from seizing nearly half the territory of Mexico in 1846–1848. By 1889, when the United States invited the other nations of the hemisphere to a conference in Washington, the European threat had receded, but Spanish American suspicions of the United States remained active.

Nevertheless, the Washington Conference of 1889–1890 was attended by representatives of all the American republics except the Dominican Republic. While the participants agreed to the creation of a permanent bureau for the collection and publication of commercial information, they would not accept U.S. proposals for a customs union and the establishment of machinery for the settlement of international disputes. The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, with headquarters in Washington, was redesignated the Pan American Union in 1910, and the Washington Conference became, in retrospect, the First Pan American Conference. Subsequent Pan American Conferences, held during a period of recurring U.S. military intervention in Mexico and the Caribbean, accomplished little.

In 1933, at the seventh conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, the United States finally agreed to a Latin American-backed resolution denying the right of any state to intervene in the affairs of another. This cleared the way for greater cooperation among Western Hemisphere governments during the World War II period. Hemispheric solidarity in the face of extracontinental threats was proclaimed in 1938 at the Pan American Conference in Lima, Peru. Following the Japanese attack on the United States in 1941, most Latin American nations broke diplomatic relations with the Axis powers and, eventually, declared war on them. A postwar conference held near Rio de Janeiro in 1947 resulted in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty), a formal mutual-defense pact that was ratified by all 21 American republics.

Founding of the OAS. The signatories of the Rio Treaty convened in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948 to establish a comprehensive regional security system under Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations. Meeting at the behest of the United States at the onset of the Cold War, in a city racked by leftist-inspired rioting, the delegates took a strong stand against "international Communism," which was declared incompatable with inter-American principles. The organization launched at Bogotá was the OAS. From its beginning it was resolutely anti-Communist, and, although its charter proclaimed the equality of states, the OAS could not escape domination by the United States.

The OAS charter, as amended in 1967, provides for a General Secretariat, headed by a secretary-general elected for a five-year term, its headquarters in Washington. Also in Washington is the Permanent Council, on which each state is represented by an ambassador having one vote. The Council is the provisional organ of consultation in case of a threat to peace. Collective action cannot be taken without the approval of two thirds of OAS foreign ministers at a formal Meeting of Consultation. Unilateral action by one state against another, except in immediate self-defense, is forbidden.

The policy-making body of the OAS is the General Assembly, which meets annually, with members represented by foreign ministers or heads of state. The assembly also controls the OAS budget and supervises specialized agencies

Before long I began to blame myself bitterly for this imprudent outburst. I dared not hope to continue longer on the old familiar footing. So high-spirited and sensitive a woman as Dolores would not easily be brought to forget or forgive my conduct. She had not repelled me, she had even tacitly consented to that one first kiss, and was therefore partly to blame herself; but her extreme pallor, her silence and cold manner had plainly shown me that I had wounded her. My passion had overcome me, and I felt that I had compromised myself. For that one first kiss I had all but promised to do a certain thing, and not to do it now seemed very dishonourable, much as I shrank from joining the Blanco rebels. I had proposed the thing myself; she had silently consented to the stipulation. I had taken my kiss and much more, and having now had my delirious evanescent joy, I could not endure the thought of meanly skulking off without paying the price.

I went out full of trouble and paced up and down in the orchard for two or three hours, hoping that Dolores might come to me there, but I saw no more of her that day. At dinner Doña Mercedes was excessively affable, showing clearly that she was not in her daughter's confidence. She informed me, simple soul! that Dolores was suffering from a grievous headache caused by taking a glass of claret at breakfast after eating a slice of water-melon, an imprudence against which she did not omit to caution me.

Lying awake that night—for the thought that I

had pained and offended Dolores made it impossible for me to sleep—I resolved to join Santa Coloma immediately. That act alone would salve my conscience, and I only hoped that it would serve to win back the friendship and esteem of the woman I had learned to love too well. I had no sooner determined on taking this step than I began to see so many advantages in it that it seemed strange I had not taken it before; but we lose half our opportunities in life through too much caution. A few more days of adventure, all the pleasanter for being spiced with danger, and I would be once more in Montevideo with a host of great and grateful friends to start me in some career in the country. Yes, I said to myself, becoming enthusiastic, once this oppressive, scandalous, and besotted Colorado party is swept with bullet and steel out of the country, as of course, it will be, I shall go to Santa Coloma to lay down my sword, resuming by that act my own nationality, and as sole reward of my chivalrous conduct in aiding the rebellion, ask for his interest in getting me placed, say, at the head of some large estancia in the interior. There, possibly on one of his own establishments, I shall be in my element and happy, hunting ostriches, eating *carne con cuero*, possessing a *tropilla* of twenty cream-coloured horses for my private use, and building up a modest fortune out of hides, horns, tallow, and other native products. At break of day I rose and saddled my horse; then finding the dignified Nepomucino, who was the early bird (blackbird) of the establishment, told him to inform his mistress that

November 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: URUGUAYAN CONGRESS

AUDIENCE: 130 Senators and Representatives
4 Supreme Court members
about 10 Cabinet members
according to their tradition, President Lacalle does not attend these sessions

INTRO: President Bush will be introduced by Vice President Gonzalo Aguirre. (Thank you, Mr. Vice President)

TIME: 4:00 pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

CHIEF OF STAFF	PATTY PRESOCK
ANDREW CARD	LINDA CASEY
JAMES CICCONI	WILLIAM KRISTOL
DAVID DEMAREST	BRUCE CAUGHMAN
MARLIN FITZWATER	ROSE ZAMARIA
BOYDEN GRAY	PAUL BATEMAN
EDE HOLIDAY	RICHARD TREFRY
FRED MCCLURE	DAVID VALDEZ
BONNIE NEWMAN	BILLY DALE
ROGER PORTER	LAURA MELILLO
SIG ROGICH	JOHN HERRICK
BRENT SCOWCROFT	LAURIE FIRESTONE
CHASE UNTERMEYER	PEGGY SWIFT
SUSAN PORTER ROSE	CATHERINE COUGHLIN
ED ROGERS	TOM HUFFORD
JOE HAGIN	DEB ANDERSON
DAVID CARNEY	TONY BENEDI
CHRISS WINSTON	USSS/PPD OPS
BOBBIE KILBERG	WHCA AUDIO/VISUAL
SICHAN SIV	WHCA OPERATIONS
	WHTV
	MEDICAL UNIT
	PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS
	AIRLIFT OPS

THROUGH: SIG ROGICH
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PUBLIC EVENTS AND INITIATIVES

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO SOUTH AMERICA, DECEMBER 2 - 8, 1990**

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President to South America, December 2 - 8, 1990. Please keep in mind the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE

Sunday, December 2, 1990

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

4:00 pm	Baggage Call. Please place all unlocked baggage outside Room 89 1/2, O.E.O.B, at this time.
7:40 pm	Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base.
7:40 pm	Those Guests and Staff with own transportation and baggage should arrive Andrews Air Force Base, Distinguished Visitors' Lounge, at this time for check-in.
8:00 pm	Those Guests and Staff with own transportation and without baggage should arrive Andrews Air Force Base, Distinguished Visitors' Lounge.

8:30 pm MARINE ONE departs White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

8:40 pm MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

8:45 pm AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Brasilia, Brazil.

(Flying Time: 8 Hours 30 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Ahead 3 Hours)

RON Air Force One

Monday, December 3, 1990

8:15 am — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Brasilia International Airport, Brasilia, Brazil.

8:20 am — MOTORCADE departs Brasilia International Airport en route Planalto Palace.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

8:40 am — MOTORCADE arrives Planalto Palace.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
  - Open Press
  - 21 Gun Salute
  - Anthems
  - Review of Troops
  (8:40 am - 8:55 am)

* ONE ON ONE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT COLLOR
  - Travel Pool
  (9:00 am - 9:30 am)

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING
  - Travel Pool
  (9:30 am - 10:30 am)

* JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY
  - Expanded Pool
  (10:35 am - 11:05 am)

11:10 am — MOTORCADE departs Planalto Palace en route Brazilian Congress Building.

(Drive Time: 3 Minutes)

11:13 am — MOTORCADE arrives Brazilian Congress Building.

* CEREMONIOUS ARRIVAL
  - Open Press
  - Review of Troops
  - Anthems
  - 21 Gun Salute
  (11:15 am - 11:30 am)

* ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
  - Travel Pool
  - Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  - Simultaneous Interpretation
  (11:35 am - 12:25 pm)

12:30 pm — MOTORCADE departs Brazilian Congress Building en route U.S. Embassy.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:35 pm — MOTORCADE arrives U.S. Embassy.

* AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING
  - Closed Press
  - Brief Remarks
  (12:40 pm - 1:05 pm)

1:10 pm — MOTORCADE departs U.S. Embassy en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

1:25 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* LUNCHEON FOR BRAZILIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY HOSTED BY PRESIDENT BUSH
  - Expanded Pool
  - Brief Remarks
  (1:30 pm - 3:00 pm)

* PRIVATE TIME: 5 HOURS
  (3:05 pm - 8:05 pm)

8:10 pm — MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Foreign Ministry.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

8:30 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Foreign Ministry.

* STATE DINNER
- Travel Pool
- Receiving Line
- Brief Remarks
- Toasts
- Dark Business Suit
(8:30 pm - 11:00 pm)

11:05 pm MOTORCADE departs Foreign Ministry en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:25 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

RON Brasilia, Brazil

Tuesday, December 4, 1990

8:20 am MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Brasilia International Airport.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:30 am MOTORCADE arrives Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
- Open Press
- Honors TBD
(8:35 am - 8:55 am)

9:00 am AIR FORCE ONE departs Brasilia, Brazil en route Montevideo, Uruguay.

(Flying Time: 3 Hours 30 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)

12:30 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Carrasco International Airport, Montevideo, Uruguay.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
- Expanded Pool
- 21 Gun Salute
- Anthems
- Review of Troops
(12:35 pm - 12:55 pm)

1:00 pm MOTORCADE departs Airport en route Edificio Libertad.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

1:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Edificio Libertad.

* ONE ON ONE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT LACALLE
  - Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
  (1:25 pm - 1:55 pm)

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING
  - Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
  (2:00 pm - 2:45 pm)

* JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY
  - Expanded Pool
  (2:50 pm - 3:20 pm)

3:25 pm MOTORCADE departs Edificio Libertad en route Legislative Palace.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

3:30 pm MOTORCADE arrives Legislative Palace.

* CEREMONIOUS ARRIVAL
  - Press TBD
  - Anthems
  (3:35 pm - 3:40 pm)

* PRIVATE TIME: 10 MINUTES
  (3:45 pm - 3:55 pm)

* ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF URUGUAYAN CONGRESS
  - Travel Pool
  - Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  - Simultaneous Interpretation
  (4:00 pm - 4:25 pm)

* PRESENTATION OF KEYS TO THE CITY OF MONTEVIDEO
  - Official Photographer Only
  (4:30 pm - 4:40 pm)

4:45 pm MOTORCADE departs Legislative Palace en route U.S. Embassy.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

4:55 pm — MOTORCADE arrives U.S. Embassy.

* AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING
  - Closed Press
  - Brief Remarks
  (5:00 pm - 5:30 pm)

5:35 pm — MOTORCADE departs U.S. Embassy en route Embassy Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

5:40 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Embassy Landing Zone.

5:45 pm — MARINE ONE departs Embassy Landing Zone en route Punta del Este Landing Zone.

(Flying Time: 30 Minutes)

6:15 pm — MARINE ONE arrives Punta del Este Landing Zone, Punta del Este, Uruguay.

6:20 pm — MOTORCADE departs Landing Zone en route Loma Verde.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

6:25 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Loma Verde.

* PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS 30 MINUTES
  (6:30 pm - 9:00 pm)

9:05 pm — MOTORCADE departs Loma Verde en route Posta del Cangrejo Restaurant.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:15 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Posta del Cangrejo.

* DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LACALLE
- Closed Press
(9:20 pm - 10:55 pm)

11:00 pm MOTORCADE departs Posta del Cangrejo en route Loma Verde.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:10 pm MOTORCADE arrives Loma Verde.

RON Punta del Este, Uruguay

Wednesday, December 5, 1990

8:15 am MOTORCADE departs Loma Verde en route L'Auberge Restaurant.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:25 am MOTORCADE arrives L'Auberge Restaurant.

* PRIVATE BREAKFAST WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. LACALLE
- Closed Press
(8:30 am - 9:30 am)

9:35 am MOTORCADE departs L'Auberge Restaurant en route Punta del Este Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:45 am MOTORCADE arrives Punta del Este Landing Zone.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
- Expanded Pool
- Honors TBD
(9:50 am - 10:00 am)

10:05 am MARINE ONE departs Punta del Este, Uruguay en route Buenos Aires, Argentina.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 40 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)

11:45 pm MARINE ONE arrives Aeroparque Landing Zone, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
  - Expanded Pool
  - 21 Gun Salute
  - Anthems
  - Official Delegations
  - Review of Troops
  - Presentation of Key to City
  (11:50 pm - 12:05 pm)

12:10 pm MOTORCADE departs Aeroparque en route Plaza San Martin.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Plaza San Martin.

* WREATHLAYING CEREMONY
  - Expanded Pool
  (12:25 pm - 12:35 pm)

12:40 pm MOTORCADE departs Plaza San Martin en route Casa de Gobierno.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Casa de Gobierno.

* ONE ON ONE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MENEM
  - Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
  (12:50 pm - 1:30 pm)

* GREETING OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS
  - Closed Press
  (1:30 pm - 1:45 pm)

* WORKING LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT MENEM
  - Closed Press
  - 5 on 5
  (1:50 pm - 3:00 pm)

* JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY
  - Expanded Pool
  - Brief Remarks
  (3:00 pm - 3:25 pm)

3:30 pm MOTORCADE departs Casa de Gobierno en route Palacio del Congreso.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

NOTE: The actual drive time to the Casa de Gobierno is 5 minutes, however, THE PRESIDENT's Limo will be escorted by Argentine mounted soldiers (Grenadiers) who will proceed at a parade pace en route.

3:50 pm MOTORCADE arrives Palacio del Congreso.

* ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF ARGENTINE CONGRESS
  - Expanded Pool
  - Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  - Simultaneous Interpretation
  (3:55 pm - 4:45 pm)

4:50 pm MOTORCADE departs Palacio del Congreso en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

5:05 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS 35 MINUTES
  (5:10 pm - 7:45 pm)

7:50 pm MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Sociedad Rural.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:55 pm MOTORCADE arrives Sociedad Rural.

* RODEO AND DEMONSTRATION
  - Expanded Pool
  (8:00 pm - 8:40 pm)

* PRIVATE TIME: 15 MINUTES
  (8:40 pm - 8:55 pm)

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will informally greet Argentine Supreme Court Justices at this time.

8:56 pm MOTORCADE departs Sociedad Rural Holding Room en route Sociedad Rural Restaurant.

(Drive Time: 2 Minutes)

8:58 pm MOTORCADE arrives Sociedad Rural Restaurant.

* STATE DINNER
- Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
- Brief Remarks
- Toasts
(9:00 pm - 10:35 pm)

10:40 pm MOTORCADE departs Sociedad Rural en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

10:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

RON Buenos Aires, Argentina

Thursday, December 6, 1990

8:20 am DEPART Suite and proceed to Blue Room.

* PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH C.A.R.I. DELEGATION
- Closed Press
(8:25 am - 8:35 am)

* PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH U.S./ARGENTINE FORUM DELEGATION
- Closed Press
(8:35 am - 8:45 am)

* AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING
- Closed Press
(8:50 am - 9:15 am)

9:20 am MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Aeroparque.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

9:25 am — MOTORCADE arrives Aeroparque.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
- Expanded Pool
(9:30 am - 9:40 am)

9:45 am — MARINE ONE departs Aeroparque en route Ezeiza International Airport.

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

10:05 am — MARINE ONE arrives Airport.

10:10 am — AIR FORCE ONE departs Buenos Aires, Argentina en route Santiago, Chile.

(Flying Time: 2 Hours 20 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)

11:30 am — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Arturo Merino Benitez Airport, Santiago, Chile.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
- Open Press
- Full Honors
- Official Delegations
(11:30 am - 11:45 am)

11:45 am — MOTORCADE departs Airport en route President Aylwin's Private Residence.

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

12:15 pm — MOTORCADE arrives President Aylwin's Private Residence.

* WORKING LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT AYLWIN
- Travel Pool
- Five on Five
(12:15 pm - 1:40 pm)

* JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY
- Expanded Pool
- Brief Remarks
(1:45 pm - 2:15 pm)

2:20 pm — MOTORCADE departs President Aylwin's Private Residence en route Police Academy Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

2:25 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Police Academy Landing Zone.

2:30 pm — MARINE ONE departs Police Academy Landing Zone en route Naval School Landing Zone, Valparaiso, Chile.

(Flying Time: 40 Minutes)

3:10 pm — MARINE ONE arrives Naval School Landing Zone, Valparaiso.

3:15 pm — MOTORCADE departs Naval School Landing Zone en route Chilean Congress Building.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

3:25 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Chilean Congress Building.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
- Open Press
- Honor Guard
- Anthems
- Review of Troops
(3:30 pm - 3:40 pm)

* ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION OF CHILEAN CONGRESS
- Expanded Pool
- Remarks
- Teleprompter
- Simultaneous Interpretation
(3:45 pm - 4:25 pm)

4:30 pm — MOTORCADE departs Chilean Congress Building en route Naval School Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

4:40 pm MOTORCADE arrives Naval School Landing Zone.

4:45 pm MARINE ONE departs Valparaiso, Chile en route Police Academy Landing Zone, Santiago, Chile.

(Flying Time: 40 Minutes)

5:25 pm MARINE ONE arrives Police Academy Landing Zone.

5:30 pm MOTORCADE departs Landing Zone en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

5:50 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS 20 MINUTES
(5:55 pm - 8:15 pm)

8:20 pm MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route La Moneda Palace.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

8:40 pm MOTORCADE arrives La Moneda Palace.

* CEREMONIOUS ARRIVAL
- Open Press
- Honor Guard
- Review of Troops
- Fanfare
(8:40 pm - 8:50 pm)

* PRIVATE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT AYLWIN
- Expanded Pool
(8:55 pm - 9:10 pm)

* STATE DINNER
- Expanded Pool
- Toasts
- Dark Business Suit
(9:15 pm - 11:00 pm)

11:05 pm MOTORCADE departs La Moneda Palace en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:25 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

RON Santiago, Chile

Friday, December 7, 1990

7:30 am MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Crowne Plaza Hotel.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

7:55 am MOTORCADE arrives Crowne Plaza Hotel.

* PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
  - Closed Press
  (8:00 am - 8:10 am)

* BREAKFAST HOSTED BY CHILEAN/AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  (8:10 am - 8:55 am)

9:00 am MOTORCADE departs Crowne Plaza Hotel en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

9:25 am MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING
  - Travel Pool
  (9:30 am - 9:55 am)

10:00 am MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Arturo Merino Benitez Airport.

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

10:30 am MOTORCADE arrives Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
  - Expanded Pool
  - Honors TBD
  (10:35 am - 10:45 am)

10:50 am AIR FORCE ONE departs Santiago, Chile en route Caracas, Venezuela.

(Flying Time: 6 Hours 20 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)

4:10 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Caracas, Venezuela.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
  - Press TBD
  - Anthems
  - 21 Gun Salute
  - Official Delegations
  (4:10 pm - 4:25 pm)

4:30 pm MARINE ONE departs Simon Bolivar International Airport en route Miranda Airport Landing Zone.

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

4:50 pm MARINE ONE arrives Miranda Airport Landing Zone.

4:55 pm MOTORCADE departs Landing Zone en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

5:15 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS
  (5:20 pm - 7:20 pm)

7:25 pm MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route La Casona.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

7:40 pm MOTORCADE arrives La Casona.

* PRIVATE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PEREZ
  - Closed Press
  (7:45 pm - 8:00 pm)

* STATE DINNER
  - Pool Coverage
  - Toasts
  - Dark Business Suit
  (8:00 pm - 10:00 pm)

10:05 pm MOTORCADE departs La Casona en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

10:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

RON Caracas, Venezuela

Saturday, December 8, 1990

9:00 am MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Pantheon.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:15 am MOTORCADE arrives Pantheon.

* WREATHLAYING CEREMONY
  - Expanded Pool
  (9:20 am - 9:35 am)

9:40 am MOTORCADE departs Pantheon en route Miraflores Palace.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:55 am MOTORCADE arrives Miraflores Palace.

* ONE ON ONE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PEREZ
  - Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
  (10:00 am - 10:30 am)

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING
  - Travel Pool (At Beginning Only)
  (10:35 am - 11:35 am)

* JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY
  - Expanded Pool
  - Brief Remarks
  (11:40 am - 12:10 pm)

12:15 pm — MOTORCADE departs Miraflores Palace en route Hilton Hotel.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

12:30 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Hilton Hotel.

* LUNCHEON HOSTED BY VENEZUELAN/AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  - Simultaneous Interpretation
  (12:35 pm - 2:00 pm)

2:05 pm — MOTORCADE departs Hilton Hotel en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

2:20 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING
  - Closed Press
  - Brief Remarks
  (2:25 pm - 2:55 pm)

3:00 pm — MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Miranda Airport Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

3:10 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Miranda Airport Landing Zone.

3:15 pm — MARINE ONE departs Landing Zone en route Simon Bolivar International Airport.

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

3:35 pm — MARINE ONE arrives Simon Bolivar International Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
- Expanded Pool
- Honors TBD
(3:40 pm - 3:55 pm)

4:00 pm — AIR FORCE ONE departs Caracas, Venezuela en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 4 Hours 5 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)

7:05 pm (E.S.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

7:10 pm — MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

7:20 pm — MARINE ONE arrives White House.

URUGUAY

The Purple Land

By
RAFAEL SARDÁ

A native of Uruguay, Rafael Sardá spent over 30 years with the Organization of American States in Washington, DC, as chief of visitor services and the speakers bureau in the department of public information, then as public relations director for the OAS Museum of Modern Art of Latin America. Most recently he was cultural and information officer at the OAS office in Montevideo.

There is nowhere quite like Uruguay, speaking geographically or historically, although it has often been described as the "Switzerland of South America" or "another Riviera." Uruguay is really a city-state and could be compared to ancient Athens. Its main characteristic is its people—a product of the nation's unique institutions, in turn derived from Uruguay's geography, history, and the resulting economy, politics, art, literature, and other aspects of its culture.

Uruguay, as the second-smallest South American country (72,172 square miles), might be described as a big city with a large ranch that spreads over gently rolling hills (none above 2,000 feet), with very few trees native to the land. Most are newly planted in a remarkable reforestation program.

Uruguay's climate is temperate, subject to swift variation. In winter—June through August—the temperature sometimes dips as low as 23°F.,

but averages about 58°F. Summers—December through February—average about 85°F, and are tempered by Atlantic breezes. Along the coast, people wear light sweaters in the evenings, even on days when it has been very hot. Well-distributed rainfall is about 40 inches yearly at Montevideo and 10 more inches in the north.

Uruguay means "River of Birds." The country's vast prairies are often covered with purple flowers and a dark soil rich in potash that grows the world's most superior grasses for cattle and sheep. Only 8 percent of the land is farmed, while 90 percent is used for grazing. There are some sierras, none very high, and no mountains. Of note along Highway 5 entering the department of Rivera are some completely flattop hills or sierras, which were cemeteries of the Chana and Charrua Indians that lived in Uruguay before colonial days. Uruguay's spectacular beauty comes from her 200-mile coastline of famed beaches—the site of some outstanding resorts like Punta del Este.

Montevideo, the southernmost point of the nation, fans out from the center into the hinterland. All roads lead to or from Montevideo. It has the nation's largest university, about half the secondary schools, half the newspapers, with 90 percent of the circulation, half the radio stations, half the doctors, and two-thirds of the hospital beds. Moreover, Montevideo has almost half the population.

This leaves about 100,000 working ranchers and farmers and their families who provide Montevideo's 1,450,000 residents with all the food they need. Fruits, vegetables, and rice are grown in the south and east, grain in the west. Cattle and sheep ranching are concentrated in the north central plateau, although these activities are found everywhere outside Montevideo. Livestock is a major export.

History

Uruguay was inhabited by seminomadic and sometimes warlike Indians, the *Charruas,* until late in the colonial era. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle here and founded the city of Colonia in 1680. In 1726, Spain established a fortress in Montevideo and the two European countries vied for control of the area. After a series of wars, Spain won possession of the whole region in 1726.

When Napoleon moved into Spain in 1808, Buenos Aires declared the Spanish Vice-Royalty autonomous. However, Montevideo still had loyalties to Spain and resisted Buenos Aires' control.

In 1811 José Gervasio Artigas, captain of the Spanish forces in the interior of Uruguay, mobilized Creoles and natives to fight with Buenos Aires for Latin American independence. He took Las Piedras and besieged Montevideo in the winter of 1811. After Portuguese troops moved into Uruguay, an agreement was reached between the conflicting forces and the siege of Montevideo was lifted.

Artigas then organized an exodus of all wishing to join him in an area north of Salto on the west bank of the Uruguay River. About one-fourth of the nation's estimated 60,000 population joined him in what has been compared to the Boer trek in South Africa. Paysandú was one of several communities almost completely abandoned by this force of about 13,000 civilians and 3,000 troops.

Influenced by the young U.S. federal republic and its new constitution, Artigas became the leader of a federal form of government in opposition to Buenos Aires and its desire to control the Plata River area under a centralist form of government. Artigas drove Buenos Aires forces from Uru-

guayan soil in 1815 and held together a federated area of what is now Uruguay and northern Argentina.

Driven out of Uruguay by a Portuguese army from Brazil in 1816, Artigas fell back to Northern Argentina, where he continued to fight Buenos Aires' central government. He was finally beaten and forced to flee to Paraguay in 1820. Uruguay became a province of Portugal once again, until it was annexed by Brazil in 1824.

Thirty-three Uruguayan exiles—known as the "33 Orientales"—returned to Uruguay in 1825, and led a successful revolt against a strong Brazilian occupation force. Uruguay's independence was declared and signed in the Cabildo Building in Montevideo on August 25, 1825, and its first constitution on July 18, 1830, a date which gives the name to the main downtown avenue in the capital city. Fructuoso Rivera, a former Artigas lieutenant, joined the "33" under Juan Antonio Lavalleja and others to vote union with Argentina. This meant war between Argentina and Brazil, fought on Uruguayan soil and adding to the nation's potential for battle monuments. Britain, wanting peaceful commerce in the area, negotiated a peace in 1828 in which all concerned recognized Uruguay as an independent republic. From 1828 to 1872, civil war was frequent in Uruguay between two political forces, the *Colorados* and the *Blancos*. The Colorados were the dominant group over the Blancos, who were mostly ranchers. In 1872, the latter group needed peace to ship their beef to Europe and the two factions were able to reach an agreement by dividing the country into areas of influence. This was a major step towards political stability and the last decades of the 19th century were years of relative peace.

Democratic Growth

José Batlle y Ordóñez became president in 1903 and made Uruguay mostly what it is today—essentially a mixed socialist-capitalist economy, an urban cradle-to-grave welfare state. He served twice as president, 1903–1907 and 1911–1915, and dominated the nation's politics until his death in 1929. He had the combined physical features of a judge, professor, and "Kentucky colonel"—and he had a mental insight into political problems that were to label him one of Latin America's first and greatest reformers, although some feel he did too much for the urban proletariat and too little for the rural peasants. He knew what democracy was and how to obtain it. He emancipated women and gave them the right to vote, thus making Uruguay the first country in Latin America to do so. He also broke relations between church and state, making this also a "first" in Latin America, and built an advanced system of free public education as well.

In his climb to the presidency, he enlisted the middle class, which had been enlarged by European immigrants. Instead of starting his own reform party, he started his own newspaper and shaped the disordered Colorado Party into his own image. He cited both his Colorado and Blanco parties in demanding honest elections and civic responsibility. His first term of office was spent mostly in putting down another bloody civil war with the Blancos.

During four years in Europe between terms, he was impressed with Switzerland's executive council, social legislation, and state-operated industries as a cure for Uruguay's problems. From the editorial page of his *El Día* newspaper, he fashioned his ideas for a new Uruguay during his second term. For better government, he obtained a modified national council, a limited proportional representation in congress, direct presidential election, and complete separation of church and state. For labor, he instituted an eight-hour work day, minimum wages, old-age pensions, and other benefits. For small industrialists, he secured high tariffs to counter what he regarded "foreign economic imperialism." For rural workers who would provide the production to pay for these benefits, he offered little but rural schools. For women, he obtained a divorce law and arranged for education.

"The modern state unhesitatingly accepts its status as an economic organization," he explained. "It will enter industry when competition is not practicable, when control by private interests vests in them authority inconsistent with the welfare of the state, when a fiscal monopoly may serve as a great source of income to meet urgent tax problems, when the continued export of national wealth is considered undesirable." And then he showed just what he meant. He brought the government into insurance, utilities, railroads, banking, meat processing, tourist hotels, and even a "pawn shop."

Gabriel Terra, leader of the conservative faction in the Colorado Party, reversed Uruguay's democratic development in 1933 by installing himself as virtual dictator in collusion with the army. His regime, however, was unable to still the democratic forces that had become a national heritage.

A nine-man National Council replaced the president as executive head of the government on March 1, 1952. The Colorados had been consistently defeated at the polls; so they finally agreed to a system that would give them at least a minority voice in the government.

Until 1966, Uruguay inaugurated a new president every year, to serve as the nation's ceremonial head and preside at the nine-member National Council meetings.

Uruguay's unique elector system placed the government's executive power in the council, composed of six from the winning party and three from the losing party. The first four runners took one-year turns at the council presidency during the council's four-year tenure. Now all this has changed again. As a result of national elections in November 1966, Uruguay returned to its former system of a single executive administration, the people having disposed of the former nine-man National Council by vote.

In 1972, an urban guerilla group (the M.L.N. Tupamaros), was defeated by the military after almost seven years of overt action. A year later, in June 1973, sectors of the army and the navy led a successful coup. With the help of the president Juan Maria Bordaberry, the Armed Forces dissolved the Congress, and the military started to rule the nation.

After losing a plebiscite in 1980, and pushed by popular discontent, the military-led government started to bring the country back to a democratic, freely elected government, and political figures began to appear as candidates for the presidency. Many meetings were held between the military and civilians until a pact was agreed upon and signed at the headquarters of the Navy Club, which became known as "El Pacto del Club Naval." From that time on the race was on for the presidency, with leading candidates of the two old parties, the Blancos and the Colorados, as well as the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), a coalition of many different types. For the first time in all those years, elections were held, and Dr. Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Colorado Party won the presidency, bringing forth a new congress of senators, congressmen, etc., all elected at that time, and who are now governing the nation.

Sanguinetti's government has been fairly successful in controlling the military and slowing Uruguay's economic decline. In December 1986 the Parliament voted an amnesty for human rights violators during the military period. But this measure has been very controversial and more than

half a million Uruguayans have signed a petition to repeal the law. Finally, the decision was upheld in a plebiscite which took place in April 1989.

The Arts

Literature, art and related subjects are organized on the intramural level for the joy of all and great prestige of none in particular. It is the enduring emphasis on the individual and his equality in the national society that characterizes the Uruguayan.

This affinity for the individual and democracy perhaps began with José Pedro Varela, the father of Uruguay's extensive public education system. While visiting the U.S., he came under the constructive influence of Horace Mann, noted U.S. educator, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Argentine statesman-educator. Varela and Sarmiento returned to South America together in 1868—Sarmiento to become president of Argentina and Varela to inspire the formation of the Society of the Friends of Popular Education in his native land. Uruguay's middle-class society, responsible citizenship, and advanced democracy stand today as living monuments to the Uruguayan who did so much for education in just 11 years, before death stilled his boundless energies at the age of 34.

One big exception to Uruguay's intramural type culture is José Enrique Rodó (1872–1917). One of Latin America's several great writers, Rodó exerted considerable political influence with his magic pen. In his *Ariel,* he aroused the fear of many Latins against the U.S., then extending the "big stick" policy of Teddy Roosevelt about the Caribbean. He appreciated such virtues as freedom, education, and dignity in the U.S., but he thought these too mixed with materialism. He wanted a united Latin America that could stand together against the stronger U.S.

A group of novelists covered the taming of the gaucho from wild primitive to reluctant cowboy. Others captured the gaucho's folk songs and music. The latter resulted in Uruguay's national dance, the "pericon," a triple-time round dance resembling the French minuet.

Musical concerts are held often and are well attended. But Uruguay's top composer, Eduardo Fabini (1883–1951), is little known beyond the land. The national symphony orchestra has been compared well with large symphonies in the world and it has broadcast programs across the Plata River to sophisticated Buenos Aires. In summer the best musical performances are given free on open-air stages in different parts of the city.

The first native Uruguayan painter of note was Juan Manuel Blanes (1830–1901), who recorded on canvas much of his nation's rich history, as well as scenes depicting the life of the people in the country and rural activities. Blanes had two sons, Juan Luis (1855–1895), and Nicanor. Juan Luis became the country's first important sculptor, but died very young, while Nicanor became an important painter whose paintings depicted much of military life. Pedro Blanes Viale (1879–1926), was an impressionist who has two well-known historical scenes hanging in the Legislative Palace (Congress Building) and at the National Museum of Fine Arts. Pedro Figari (1861–1938), although he only started to paint after turning fifty years old, became one of the best artists of the nation with his colorful works of life in Montevideo in the nineteenth century. Rafael Barradas (1890–1928) was a well-known draftsman who moved to Spain, where he became one of the pioneers of the modern art movement. Joaquin Torres-García (1874–1949) has become the most internationally known of all Uruguayan artists. He lived in Spain, Italy, France, and New York during his younger years, returned to Uruguay in 1934, and became the leader of the constructivist movement. He founded a workshop, which still operates today, where many of the contemporary artists of Uruguay spent their formative years. His life became the basis for an excellent documentary prepared by the Organization of American States and the University of Texas. Together with Figari's, his works have commanded high prices at art sales and auctions held in New York and Europe.

Sculptors have also played a very important role in Uruguay's artistic life. Two of the leading ones have been José Belloni (1880–1965) and José Luis Zorrilla de San Martín, son of the great writer and poet, Juan Zorrilla de San Martín. Belloni is the author of three outstanding works that have become tourist landmarks in Montevideo. One, the covered wagon, is located at the park by the football stadium; the second, the Stage Coach, can be found at Prado's Park; and the third, El Entrevero, a group of gauchos fighting on horseback, is located in the heart of downtown. Zorrilla's two most important works are the statue of the Gaucho, also in downtown Montevideo, near the City Hall, and foremost, the obelisk commemorating the centenary of the first constitution, a beautiful work with three figures on its base, located at the crossroads of Artigas Boulevard and 18 de Julio Avenue.

informs, however, that anyone who has spent more than 5 days in Brazil prior to coming to Uruguay should be vaccinated for yellow fever. If you wish to contact the PAHO in Montevideo, call 44–455.

Uruguay, a peace-loving country, has no terrorism and no threat of bombings—a rarity in today's world. While the drug problem spans the world, it is a small matter in Uruguay, and those dealing with drugs are dealt with severely by authorities. For example, anyone found selling marijuana is sent to jail, and those found smoking it are sent to rehabilitation centers or hospitals. Foreigners trafficking hard drugs have been caught a few times at Montevideo International Airport and some nightclubs, and have been sent to jail and dealt with according to Uruguay's laws.

Children begging on the streets, something completely unheard of a few years ago, has started to be a common sight in some areas of Montevideo. However, these children are not thieves, and will not attempt to steal your purse or bag. Usually they will ask you for a "monedita," meaning coin. Unfortunately this money is often handed over to a nearby adult.

Uruguay is a safe country for tourists, and there is no reason to feel uneasy in any area of the country you choose to visit. Particularly safe are downtown Montevideo, Pocitos, Carrasco, and the resorts such as Punta del Este. All of the capital cities in the interior are also safe, and most people living here still don't even lock the doors of their homes. In Montevideo robberies have increased in the last couple of years but rarely, if ever, has a tourist visiting the city been the victim of a purse-snatching or had anything stolen from his or her hotel room. Still, it is important to exercise proper caution in these matters. All places where tourists would go—stores, restaurants, etc.—are perfectly safe day or night.

If you do ever need police assistance, dial 999.

HOW TO GET AROUND. Every place the visitor might wish to see in Uruguay may be reached by either plane, bus, boat, or car. There are several bus companies (with fixed rates) under government supervision. Some buses are air-conditioned. Cars rent for about $30 to $85 a day.

Unfortunately, in January of 1988 the government-owned and -operated rail system was closed. Originally built in the late 1800s by the British, this rail system had been poorly maintained and had provided increasingly inadequate service.

There are no scheduled boat lines along the principal rivers, but the Uruguayan River is navigable for pleasure boats or freight (no passenger ships) from Colonia to Salto, and the Río Negro, flowing across the country from northeast to northwest, is navigable to the port of Mercedes, an important rail hub.

PLUNA (Primeras Lineas Uruguayas de Navegación Aerea) Colonia 1021 (92–14–14/18 and 98–06–06), is an Urguayan airline with daily flights to all major points within the country.

Three bus lines—CITA, Pza. Cagancha (91–04–19 and 98–37–90), COT, Sarandi 699 (91–22–66); and ONDA, Plaza Cagancha (92–02–00 and 98–35–70)—provide comfortable travel throughout Uruguay. Buses enable the traveler to see more of the beautiful landscape, and also connect at Brazilian and Argentinian border points.

Cars are available for rent from *Avis, Hertz, Punta Car,* and *Rent-a-Car.* Rates range from about $21 daily, plus $.25 per km, for a FIAT 147—to $50 for a BMW 520 daily, plus $.55 per km.

Exploring Uruguay

MONTEVIDEO

Uruguay has no medieval history or regal colonial past, like that of Peru and Mexico, to provide it with ancient ruins or colonial monuments of great splendor. However, it is a pleasant place to relax and get to know the country, especially in the good weather from December to March.

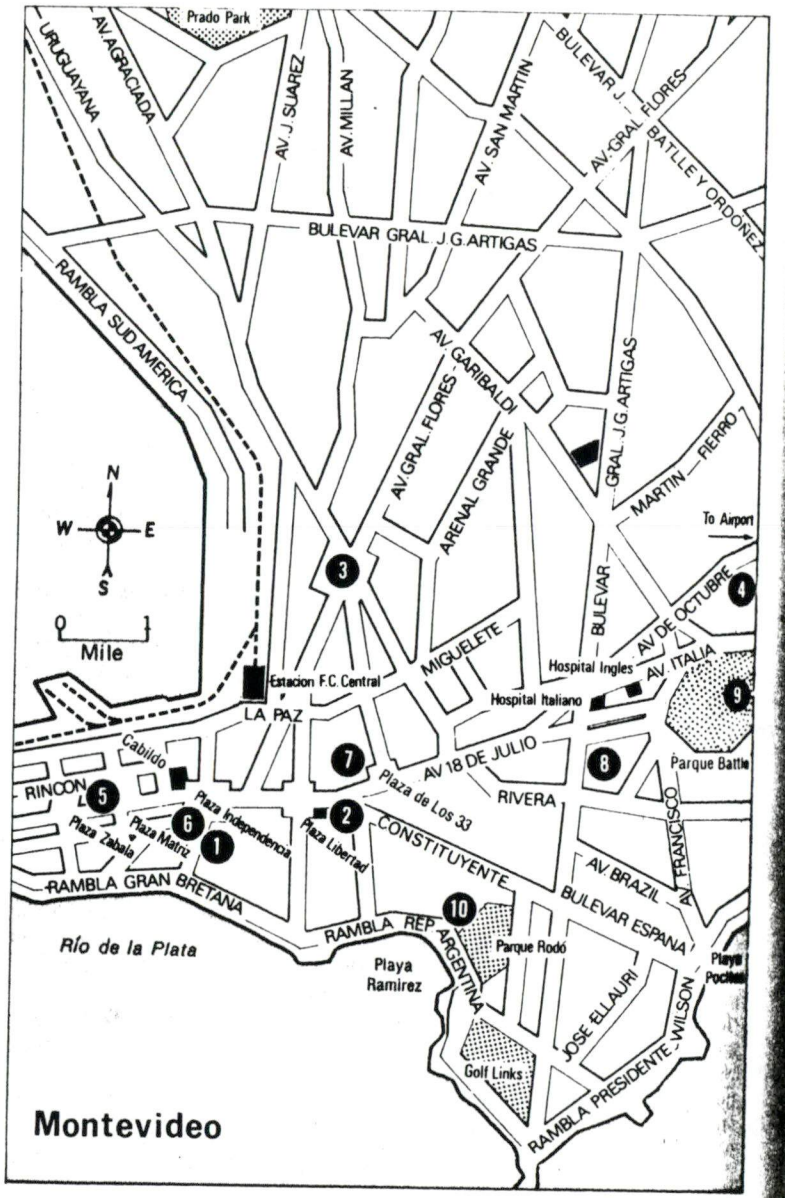
Montevideo is well laid out for the tourist to explore. One might start at the port and customs area and cover the Old City, with its remnants of 19th-century and beautiful early 20th-century architecture. Since about three-fourths of Uruguay's extensive foreign trade is funneled through Montevideo, much of this area involves businesses related to shipping, banking and commerce. Almost all the nation's 73 banks are in this area—an industry probably resulting from the nation's political stability and efficient banking practices.

About five blocks in any of three directions from the waterfront, one finds the first of many combination parks and monuments. One is Plaza Zabala, with a monument to Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, the Buenos Aires governor who brought seven families here and founded Montevideo in 1726. The spot is marked by an outstanding piece of architecture, the Palacio Taranco, built by a wealthy merchant in French style and filled with its original imported furniture, marble floors, statuary, draperies, clocks, and paintings by prominent European artists of the period. At present, the Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for its preservation and runs it as a center for cultural activities. One of the reception rooms has been transformed into a small auditorium that can hold up to 140 people, where the best of opera, chamber and recital concerts, plays, and ballet are offered from March to December.

The late 19th- and early 20th-century atmosphere of the city is evident four blocks up Rincon Street at Plaza Matriz, or Plaza Constitucion, as it is often called. This is the heart of the Old City. Standing face to face across the Plaza is the old Cathedral, seat of the Catholic hierarchy, and the Cabildo Building, where the constitution was signed in 1830. The Cabildo contains an outstanding museum dedicated to the history of the city, beautifully presented, with the best paintings, sculptures, antique furniture, old clocks, and a replica of the old Montevideo bastion. Open in the afternoon for tours, which can be conducted in English, French, and Spanish.

From this plaza, you can see the Río Plata to the right, as well as the walls and gun emplacements that once protected the city from foreign foes. The British stormed this bastion in 1806 and held Montevideo for several months. Their breakthrough occurred near the site of the present Anglican church, another symbol of British influence in Uruguay's early economic development.

From Plaza Matriz, two blocks eastward stands the big gate that was once part of the wall, which opens onto Plaza Independencia. This blends the old with the new and marks the colonial era from the republican one.



Points of Interest

1) Museum of Natural History
2) City Hall and Pre-Columbian and Colonial Arts Museum
3) Legislative Palace
4) Military Hospital
5) Cathedral
6) Solís Theater
7) Gaucho Statue
8) Hospital de Niños
9) Centenario Stadium
10) Museo de Artes Plasticas y Visuales

The Old and the New

The Casa de Gobierno (Government House) is on the south side of the Plaza. This building served as the president's office through the years, until the new administration of President Sanguinetti took over. Since then, the building has been open to the public as a historic landmark, and the president uses it for formal official functions. He and the entire presidential staff conduct their day-to-day activities at the brand new "Edificio Libertad" at the junction of Boulevard Artigas and Avenue Luis A. de Herrera, somewhat removed from the downtown area.

Down from the national hero's monument is an outstanding mausoleum, entirely built in Uruguayan granite and marble, paying due honor to Artigas' memory, and presenting, in different date inscriptions, the various stages of his life and participation in the country's liberation.

The Teatro Solís is located half a block from the plaza. Montevideo's beautiful opera house, known to have some of the best acoustics for a theater of this type in Latin America, is the center of the country's musical activities. Concerts, ballets, operas, etc., are held throughout the year, not only by national artists but also by international performers, including many orchestras from the United States.

Continue eastward down Avenida 18 de Julio and through the main shopping and theater area. Three blocks down this street and slightly left or northeastward is another broad avenue, Agraciada, where you will find the imposing Legislative Palace (Congress). This luxurious century-old building reflects Uruguay's democratic tradition. The building's most important feature is its very large hall, which joins the Senate and House chambers, known as the "Salón de los Pasos Perdidos" (the Hall of the Lost Steps), and whose floors, walls, stairs, and columns are made of the many beautiful varieties of Uruguayan marble. The Legislative Palace is also open to the public—passes to attend the sessions can be obtained at the visitors' office and tours are conducted in English, French, and Portuguese.

One block to the north of the Legislative Palace on Avenue General Flores are the two buildings that house the schools of medicine and chemistry of the Universidad de la Republica (State University). Continuing north and northwest one reaches an old area of Montevideo that is noted for its many old but still splendid homes.

Another mile northward is the so-called Prado. In mid-19th century, this area had many country estates that were a warm-weather retreat from the heat of Montevideo. The Prado has now been enfolded in Montevideo's continuing growth.

The most famous 19th-century resident of this area was José Buschental, a financier who built a 175-acre estate here and married the niece of Don Pedro II, the Brazilian emperor. He brought fish from the Orient to stock the streams that were created by dredging the nearby Miguelete River. He brought flowering plants from throughout the world to beautify his extensive gardens. And the animals, both domestic and foreign, added to the exotic scenery. This area now has a statue of Buschental, 800 varieties of roses, and is known as Prado Park, Montevideo's oldest.

Picking up at the broad intersection of 18 de Julio and Agraciada, travel two blocks eastward to find another plaza symbolic of Uruguayan life. Plaza Cagancha, which contains a column to liberty. Across the intersection and to the left on 18 de Julio is the Ministry of Foreign Relations, a beautiful palace from the late 19th century.

The Famous Gaucho

Three blocks farther down the road is an apex that steers 18 de Julio slightly to the left. Here is the famous gaucho on his horse, one of the two best examples of Uruguayan sculpture. Zorrilla de San Martín was at his best in freezing into bronze the true character of the gaucho: his dashing courage, threatening smile, and enduring freedom.

Another plaza four blocks down 18 de Julio marks another of Uruguay's historical mileposts. This one is named for the 33 brave ones who returned to their native land and expelled the Brazilians.

Down a few blocks is the University of the Republic's main building, which houses the schools of law and social sciences. Next to it stands the National Library building. Schools of engineering and architecture occupy more modern buildings in other parts of the city. With a passion for politics, university students are a serious group, and the professions they later practice are a tribute to their intellectual energies. Many also hold full-time jobs. The university is renowned for its education in medicine and architecture.

This wide avenue finally ends at Parque José Batlle y Ordóñez, a park that introduces the visitor to the man who created the contemporary phase of Uruguayan history. The park contains the 75,000-seat Centenario Stadium, built in 1930 to mark the nation's 100th anniversary of the signing of the constitution, and houses the first Soccer World Cup. The British introduced soccer here in the last century, then the Uruguayans took it from there and made it a national institution. Uruguay has won two Olympic gold medals and two World Championships. Also in the park is Belloni's famous bronze statue of the covered wagon, which reminds one of the covered-wagon days on the western frontier of the U.S. This life-size statue depicts six oxen hauling the covered wagon and a gaucho directing the oxen.

The third interesting travel route in Montevideo is the riverfront drive, called the "Rambla." This drive begins in the port area and runs along a wide sidewalk by the waterfront, clear to Miramar beach, some 12 miles linking all the beaches along the city's coast. The first of these beaches is Ramírez, very popular because of its proximity to downtown. Right at its waterfront stands the "Parque Hotel Casino," one of the two casinos in Montevideo open year-round. Along the beach is Rodó Park, named for one of Latin America's greatest literary figures. This park, with its artificial lake and small boats, is surrounded by beautiful eucalyptus, paradise, palm, and ombú trees. And the park, of course, has a statue of Rodó. The cluster of amusement facilities and refreshment stands gives the park a festive atmosphere. The beach and park are designed eventually to form a large waterfront recreation area. At the park, on the riverfront, there is an open-stage theater where ballet performances, concerts, and stage plays are offered mostly during the summer.

In conformity with this plan, an excellent municipal golf course adjoins the park as one continues along the drive. On Sunday afternoon, golfers must abandon the links so that young lovers may hike along the fairways and old people rest on green, shaded lawns.

Eight blocks along the Rambla is the small beach of La Estacada. Continue four more blocks to see the ornate skyline of Pocitos Beach. This is still part of the residential area of Montevideo, and in warm weather residents of Montevideo line the beach.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR MONTEVIDEO

GETTING AROUND MONTEVIDEO. There are taxi stands all over the city and taxis can also be flagged or called for. Taxis in Uruguay are very inexpensive and comfortable. The cars are black and yellow with a lighted sign on the roof. Montevideo also has a public transportation system and buses go from one end of the city to the other; but a taxi is probably the easiest choice for the tourist.

HOTELS. For definitions of price categories see "Facts at Your Fingertips."

Downtown Area

Expensive

Victoria Plaza. Plaza Independencia 759; 92–05–90 and 92–09–57. Air-conditioned rooms; restaurant; bar; convention facilities.

Moderate

Columbia Palace. Reconquista 468; 96–01–92 and 96–00–01. 150 rooms; bar and convention facilities.

International. Colonia 823; 92–00–01 and 92–00–02. 95 air-conditioned rooms; bar and restaurant; garage.

Parque Hotel. Gonzalo Ramirez 2067; 49–71–11 and 49–71–13.

Inexpensive

América. Río Negro 1330; 92–01–32, 92–08–24, and 92–03–92. 90 rooms; bar.

Europa. Colonia 1341; 92–00–45 and 92–07–11. 64 air-conditioned rooms with color TV and individual freezer; bar; garage.

Embajador. San José 1212; 91–61–14 and 91–61–09; 80 air-conditioned rooms; coffee shop and bar; garage.

Lancaster. Plaza Cagancha 1334; 98–46–21. 80 rooms; bar.

Beach Area

Expensive

Cottage. Miraflores 1360; 50–13–74 and 50–08–67. Coffee shop and bar.

Hosteria del Lago. Arizona 9637; 51–22–10, 51–29–49, and 51–29–81.

Moderate

Casino Hotel Carrasco. Rambla Rep. de México (no street number). 100 rooms, some overlooking the beautiful Carrasco Beach; bar, restaurant and gambling casino.

Oceania. Mar Artico 1227; 50–71–17 and 50–07–21.

There are several lower-priced hotels in Montevideo for those adventurous tourists not expecting first-class service or bilingual staff.

RESTAURANTS. In the Pocitos residential district, 10 minutes by taxi from downtown Montevideo, is one of the best restaurants in town, **Doña Flor,** Bvar. Artigas 1034, offering first class French cuisine in an elegant atmosphere.

For U.S. or European dishes, the **Victoria Plaza** has excellent food at reasonable prices. The **Aguila,** across the plaza and adjoining the Teatro Solís, provides the Uruguayan elite and foreign visitors good food at higher prices. For the budget traveler, there is good food at reasonable prices at **Morini's** half a block off the Plaza Independencia Ciudadela 1229. But wherever in Montevideo one sees a spit turning in what is called *parrilladas,* and here one can get good beef with a good salad at incredibly low prices. The best parrilladas are at *El mercado del puerto,* in the Old City area next to the port. Here, in an iron building that served as a market in the 19th century, are many small restaurants that serve traditional Uruguayan food in a charming atmosphere. **El Palenque,** Perez Castellanos 1579 (95–47–04), and **Estancia del Puerto S.R.L.,** Sarandi 604 (95–46–60), are two good ones.

donado and on to Piriápolis. Its large, excellent Hotel Argentino offers an indoor pool for year-round swimming, sauna, etc. Piriápolis, with its horseshoe-shaped bay, also has plans for building a port geared to pleasure boats. Well-planned, tree-lined streets stretch inland toward the high hills or low sierras that surround the area. Foremost is the Pan de Azucar (Sugar Loaf), with a huge cross on top of it that can be visited inside; the view from here, inside or out, is fantastic. Hill climbing is a popular sport; one of the prime attractions is San Antonio, where a small chapel dedicated to St. Anthony attracts pilgrims in June. Also near Piriápolis is Punta Fria, noted for its rock gardens. There is a brand new highway running along the shoreline from Punta Fria to Barra de Portezuelo, ending at the Intercoastal Highway a couple of miles from the airport at Laguna del Sauce, where daily shuttle flights, several times a day, fly to and from Buenos Aires, as this is the airport serving the internationally-known resort of Punta del Este.

EASTERN URUGUAY

Punta del Este

Punta del Este has, of course, become world famous as an international jet set beach resort, as the site of movie festivals and as a place for international conferences, such as the Meeting of Presidents of the Western Hemisphere nations and Assemblies of the Inter-American Development Bank. This resort on a peninsula, eighty-five miles from Montevideo, draws wealthy vacationers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, the United States, and European countries. Argentines, mainly, own some of the most spectacular homes in the area in sections such as Lugano, San Rafael, and Pinares. Modern high-rises, apartment buildings, hotels, and homes are set among tall pine trees and facing long stretches of white sand beaches, divided at the tip of the peninsula. Entering Punta del Este area is Playa Mansa, or the "calm water" beach, and on the other side, running along to San Rafael and the former fishing village of La Barra, today a very sought-after area, is Playa Brava, or "agitated" beach. People there enjoy a December to March average temperature of 75°F., while enjoying two excellent golf courses in Punta del Este and another at Club del Lago a few miles before coming to the peninsula. You'll also find fishing, yachting (centered around the Yacht Club), waterskiing, wind surfing, polo, and horse shows. Social life is very active in Punta del Este, with dinner and cocktail parties starting near midnight and ending at dawn. Many art galleries have openings and shows presenting the works of Uruguay's outstanding artists. Some of the finest international cuisines can be found in Punta del Este's many restaurants. The Cantegrill Country Club offers tennis courts, swimming pools, theater, residential bungalows, etc. Off the shore of Punta del Este across the port is Isla Gorriti, formerly known as Green Island, a peaceful, beautiful haven of pine trees, beaches, and restaurants (there are two). Small craft from the port constantly make the crossing for tours, taking fifteen minutes for the trip. On the Brava side of the beach, farther out to sea is Isla de Lobos, or Sea Wolf Island. While tourists can not go ashore, it is fascinating to visit this huge colony of seals and sea wolves.

Maldonado

From Punta del Este, you can drive along the coast passing La Barra, Manantiales, and other beaches, reaching Jose Ignacio, another resort famous for its lighthouse. The town of Maldonado, capital of the department, is only three miles from the center of Punta del Este and has some fine examples of colonial architecture, much of it restored, such as the old City Hall—converted today to the Casa de la Cultura, seat of the cultural center, art school, music school, etc. The old Cuartel de Dragones, with its over 100-year-old chapel, cathedral, and Museum of American Art, can be visited before you continue on to the city of Rocha.

Rocha and La Paloma

Rocha is located to the northeast, 115 miles from Montevideo. The capital city of the department of the same name is several miles from the Atlantic Ocean and can be reached by bus or car. As you run along the highway, palm groves stretching from sand dunes will show you the unusual beauty of the countryside. Right from Rocha, along Highway 15, you reach La Paloma, a lovely resort where a port for cruise and cargo ships is being built. Ten miles to the east you'll find La Pedrera, a charming fishing village now turned into a small resort.

Battle Monuments

Beyond Rocha, on the highway to Porto Alegre, Brazil, is the reconstructed fortress of Santa Teresa, which has been converted into a museum. This fortress, built by the Portuguese when they held this area in the 1750's, is part of a national park lined with palm trees and featuring a bird sanctuary and freshwater pools for swimming. Two miles away on the coast is La Coronilla, where people can fish in the ocean for sharks and among the rocks for black corvina and skates (the latter weighing up to 100 pounds).

Another old fortress at San Miguel, near the Brazilian border town of Chuy, has also been adapted to a national park. The park has many plants and animals, both foreign and domestic. There is a museum at the fortress and good surf-bathing at nearby Barra del Chuy. There are accommodations in San Miguel Park at the San Miguel Inn near the fortress.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR EASTERN URUGUAY

HOTELS. For definitions of price categories see "Facts at Your Fingertips" earlier in this chapter. **PUNTA DEL ESTE.** (Maldonado's area code is 042.) **L'Auberge.** *Expensive.* Barrio el Golf (8–26–01). 30 excellent air-conditioned rooms; bar; coffee shop.

San Rafael. *Expensive.* Overlooking the beach (8–21–61/5); 150 rooms; gambling casino; bar; coffee shop and restaurant; convention facilities; swimming pool.

Alhambra. *Moderate.* Calle 28 No. 573 (4–00–94).

Amsterdam. *Moderate.* El Foque 759 (4–26–82).

La Capilla. *Moderate.* Vina del Mar y Blvd. Artigas (8–40–59). 40 rooms (some with air-conditioning); bar and famous restaurant **Troika.** Open all year-round.

Castilla. *Moderate.* Calle 18 No. 933 (4–09–13).

Champagne. *Moderate.* Gorlero 868 (4–52–76/77/78).

Charrua. *Moderate.* Calle 27 No. 617 (4–14–02).

España. *Moderate.* Calle 9 No. 660 (40–02–28).

Marbella. *Moderate.* Insaurraga y Gorlero (4–18–14).

Palace. *Moderate.* Gorlero Av. and 11th. St.; (4–19–19). 60 colonial decorated rooms; coffee shop and bar; restaurant.

Azul. *Inexpensive.* Gorlero 540, (4–11–17). 25 rooms, coffee shop.

Embajador. *Inexpensive.* Parada 1; (8–10–08). 30 rooms, coffee shop.

Playa Hotel. *Inexpensive.* Av. Cont. Gorlero y Risso; (8–22–31/2); 50 rooms; coffee shop.

LA PALOMA. Cabo Casino Sta. Maria. *Inexpensive.* On the beach, with casino (0473–6151/52).

Hotel Portobello. *Inexpensive.* On the beach (0473–6159). 47 rooms.

LA CORONILLA (near Rocha). **Costas Del Mar** (0472–011) and **Parador La Coronilla Hotel** (0472–04), both on the beach and *Inexpensive.*

LA PEDRERA. La Pedrera. *Inexpensive.* On the beach.

RESTAURANTS. To enjoy the best French cuisine, atmosphere, service with French-speaking staff, and elegance, the choices are **La Bourgogne** at Avenida Pedragosa Sierra, and, a couple of blocks away on the same avenue, **La Tabla del Rey Arturo.** Along Roosevelt Avenue are **Krakatoa** and **Bungalow Suizo.** Almost at the entrance to the peninsula by water's edge is **El Club de Pesca.** There are several **Paradores** restaurants along the same route before reaching Punta del Este, all with informal atmosphere and good food. At the peninsula itself, the most exclusive—open only to members and guests—is the Yacht Club. For seafood, try **Mariskonea.** Italian food can be found at **Catari's** at the Palace Hotel at the end of Avenida Gorlero, Punta del Este's main drag. Also, **Caracoles, Iroko's,** and **Club de Ciclistas** are open year-round. At the San Rafael beach, besides the hotel-casino of the same name there is an excellent restaurant and hotel at **La Capilla,** also open year-round; it is located next to the church, which provides some of the most delightful services in the area. Another must at the fishing village of La Barra is **La Posta del Cangrejo.** Owned by the same people who run Montevideo's Doña Flor, it offers fantastic food and an indoor/outdoor setting; especially pretty are the terraces with tables under beach umbrellas, overlooking the rocks, the sand, and the ocean. The proprietors of the Punta del Este Doña Flor also own San Rafael's **Doña Flor.** The Posta del Cangrejo has been host to celebrities such as Julio Iglesias and many American and European artists in its Mediterranean-type hotel.

The English-speaking traveler should always remember that only in the more pretentious restaurants and hotels is English understood. Tourists not speaking Spanish should learn a few restaurant words before going to the more popular and locally patronized restaurants.

CASINOS. There are two casinos in Punta del Este: **Hotel-Casino San Rafael** and **Nogaró.**

BOATING. Motorboat rental is available at **Lanchas Tuttie,** Puerto Punta del Este (4–25–94).

THE INTERIOR

Uruguay's interior unfolds unique scenery and sites for visitors. Much of this area was opened by the Pan American Highway, which stretches from the Brazilian border town of Acegua southwestward across Uruguay to Montevideo, then westward to Colonia, across the Plata River from Buenos Aires.

A trip to Colonia brings into view some of the nation's richest farming area, rolling hills, neat towns, and varied scenery. Santiago Vazquez, on the banks of the Santa Lucia River, is famous for what is known elsewhere as fish-fries, made from fish weighing up to 75 pounds that are caught from the river. The concentration of pleasure craft reflects the popularity of boating in this area. Two hours out of Montevideo and a small distance from the Pan American Highway is "Colonia Suiza," settled by immigrants from Switzerland more than a century ago. This little tourist resort features Swiss-style entertainments, clean and comfortable hotels, fine cheeses, and quiet rest in beautiful surroundings. Nearby are "Colonia Valdense" and "Nueva Helvecia," noted for fine fruits, vegetables, cheese, and quaint, locally manufactured music boxes. Colonia Valdense, founded by evangelical followers of Peter Waldo (12th-century French religious leader), retains many of the customs and practices of its ancestors.

COLONIA

Colonia del Sacramento, about two-and-a-half hours by car from Montevideo, is a hub of traffic toward Buenos Aires and up the Uruguay River. A hydrofoil operates to Buenos Aires three times daily. This 17th-century Portuguese settlement retains more of its colonial atmosphere than other Uruguayan communities. Old houses with barred windows line narrow cobblestone streets. Sights to see include the historic parochial church, municipal museum, viceroy's mansion, and the lighthouse. San Carlos, a warm-weather resort, is four miles from Colonia. The community's bull ring (Plaza de Toros) stands in ruins as a memory of bullfights that attracted many Argentines from across the river before the sport was outlawed a half-century ago.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR COLONIA

HOTELS. COLONIA DEL SACRAMENTO. Hotel Mirador. *Expensive.* (0522–2004). First-class hotel with excellent restaurant, bar, swimming pool, casino.

Posada del Gobernador. *Inexpensive.* Av. Roosevelt (0522–2918, 3018). Good hotel with excellent restaurant in an old colonial building in the heart of the historical area.

COLONIA SUIZA. Hotel Nirvana. *Moderate.* (0522–4081). Countryside hotel with 120 rooms. Tennis court, swimming pool, restaurant, bar.

RIVER COUNTRY

Fifty miles north of Colonia is the picturesque river port of Carmelo, a popular yachting center and resort area. The sheltered waters of a stream flowing into the Uruguay River, Arroyo de las Vacas, form a sort of naturally endowed yacht basin catering to craft from rowboat to luxury dimensions. Historically, Carmelo has the ruins of a Jesuit orphanage, where José Artigas was elected leader of the revolutionary movement in 1811.

Continuing 18 more miles up the Uruguay River you come to Nueva Palmira, a port of call for river steamers. Another 12 miles is La Agraciada, where the famous 33 patriots landed from Argentina and organized a Uruguayan force that expelled Portuguese occupation troops. A statue to General Lavalleja, group leader, is on the beach. The livestock and resort center of Mercedes lies 30 miles up from the point where the Río Negro flows into the Uruguay River. This can be reached by the road from Colonia or from Montevideo, 186 miles away. Yachting and fishing are popular here in warm weather. Paysandú, on the Uruguay River 299 miles from Montevideo, is a popular fishing area for the dorado game fish.

Uruguay has two new links with Argentina and the rest of South America. Two bridges cross the Uruguay River; one of them connecting the villages of Fray Bentos (Uruguay) and Puerto Unzue (Argentina), by the name of Gral. San Martin, and another one connecting Paysandú, a northern city in Uruguay, with Colón, in Argentina. The latter is called Gral. Artigas Bridge.

These two important engineering constructions, along with the Salto Grande hydroelectric power plant, have become a very interesting feature of the new Uruguay, and a different way to reach other countries overland.

Traveling along Highway 3 past Mercedes, Fray Bentos, Paysandú, and Salto, there are three excellent spots for tourism known as "termas," where natural thermal water is used year-round in swimming pools and whirlpool baths. Hotels and private bungalows provide comfortable accommodations. Slightly northeast from the city of Paysandú you find the first of these spots, called Las Termas de Guayabos. Farther up Highway 3 are Termas de Guaviyu in the department of Salto; near the capital city of the department of the same name are a small cluster of several termas. Finally, in the department of Artigas in the northern tip of Uruguay, a few miles eastward from Highway 3, are Las Termas de Arapey, the largest of them all.

For beautiful scenery and interesting sites, travel north via national route No. 5 from Montevideo through Florida, Durazno, and the surrounding valley of the Yi River, and Tacuarembó to the Brazilian border town of Rivera, from where it is easy to continue on to São Paulo, Brazil. Although the area is not heavily populated, this trip through almost the country's dead center can be made by bus or car.

From Montevideo, the traveler soon picks up a variety of interesting scenery, which includes the vineyards providing the good wines (consumed with even better steaks), dairy and poultry farms, and fields of alfalfa, corn, and tobacco. At Florida, 78 miles from Montevideo, one enters the city through a historically important display of smooth stone. Here, the Uruguayan patriots declared their independence and freedom from foreign domination August 25, 1825. There is good fishing on the Santa Lucía River, which flows by the city. Nearing Durazno on the banks of the Yi River, the so-called "purple land" of Uruguay comes into view. This scenery was made famous by William Henry Hudson in what is perhaps the best travel literature yet done on Uruguay, *The Purple Land.* This book, first released in 1885, was one of Theodore Roosevelt's favorites and perhaps induced him to travel to South America. The nearby hydroelectric plant of Rincon del Bonete produces power from Uruguay's largest artificial lake, stocked with many varieties of fish for the attention of increasing tourists. Plenty of game and fowl are found at Tacuarembó, 279 miles from Montevideo. Visitors here enjoy the caves about 10 miles distant in this hill country. Rivera lies 73 miles beyond, on the Brazilian border, spread over two hills that feature a park, Plaza International, the Cunapiru Dam, and the pleasant aspects of good relations with Brazilians living in the adjoining community of Santa Ana do Livramento. The international boundary line is like a main street in other communities, and both nationalities walk back and forth freely.

The Pan American Highway, running northeast from Montevideo, is one of the country's newest and best-paved roads; it starts as Highway 8 at the outskirts of Montevideo and leads you to Minas, capital of the department of Lavalleja, named for the leader of the 33 patriots, along some of the most spectacular scenery in the sierras. Some tourists find Minas, about 75 miles from Montevideo, to be a nice change from the beach resorts. It features mineral deposits, beautiful marble ranging from pure white to black, mineral springs used for baths, excellent drinking water, nearby caves, and the equestrian statue of Lavalleja. The mineral water of Minas is also used in the excellent beer that Uruguay produces.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR THE RIVER COUNTRY

HOTELS. All hotels in the interior are *inexpensive.* **MERCEDES. Hotel Brisas Del Hum,** Gimenez 766 (05352–633).

FRAY BENTOS. Fray Bentos Hotel, Paraguay St. (0532–358). **Plaza Hotel,** corner 18 de Julio and 25 de Mayo (0532–363).

PAYSANDÚ. Grand Hotel, corner 18 de Julio and 19 de Abril (0722–3400/4200/4600). **Nuevo Hotel Paysandú,** corner L.A. de Herrera and Leandro Gomez (0722–3062, 3063).

SALTO. Gran Hotel, 25 de Agosto, No. 5 (0732–3250/3251); **Los Cedros,** Uruguay 665 (0732–3984/3985); and **Concordia,** Uruguay 749 (0732–2263/2735).

URUGUAY'S LAST FRONTIER

Instead of continuing northward to Melo and the border town of Aceguà, Brazil, most people prefer to turn off at Treinta y Tres and travel northeastward to the border town of Río Branco. Treinta y Tres, 200 miles from Montevideo, can also be reached by rail. Travelers along this route see what was Uruguay's last frontier that has now been recorded in its folklore. It was here that cattle roamed unattended until the wandering gauchos would come along with their baggy trousers, boleadoras, guitars, and *maté* (tea) to camp along a stream. One of the most important words in the Uruguayan vocabulary developed here: *estancia* ("to be located"), the word for ranch. When the ranges were finally fenced in, the adventurous gaucho began to disappear. But, like his counterpart in Argentina and Brazil, he is remembered in the nation's songs and dances. Some modern gauchos still ply their trade and retain the customs of their forebears, but they are bucking the twentieth century.

the economy worsened. Institutions that had managed to contain conflict in the past proved to be inadequate. The collegial executive was replaced in the 1967 constitution by a more powerful single executive. Unrest increased in the university and secondary schools. The trade union movement was radicalized. The Left began to unify in opposition to the Blanco and Colorado hold on the electorate. The Tupamaro guerrilla movement emerged out of frustration and idealism. And, most important, most Uruguayans clung to a security blanket of welfare-state populism that was dying with hardly anyone really noticing. The military would quickly wake everyone up with a nightmare that was all too real.

I dealt with some of these themes and issues in 1975 in my first book, *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure*. This volume will not ignore the historical context, and it will build on the knowledge and controversy engendered by its predecessor. I hope this work will give the reader an understanding of how Uruguay developed and how it misdeveloped. But the bulk of this study will concentrate on the decline of Uruguay's "exceptionalism," the nature and effects of the twelve-year military dictatorship, and the exciting, if problematic, reconstruction of democracy that Uruguay has undergone in the last two and one-half years, as was revealed to me during three trips I made to Montevideo during that time.

This work would not have been possible without the courage of the Uruguayan people and the support of my friends and colleagues, most especially, Louise Popkin, Ronald Hellman, Juan Rial, and Freida Silvert. As always, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my wife, Ruth, without whose inspiration and encouragement this book would not have come to be.

Martin Weinstein

1

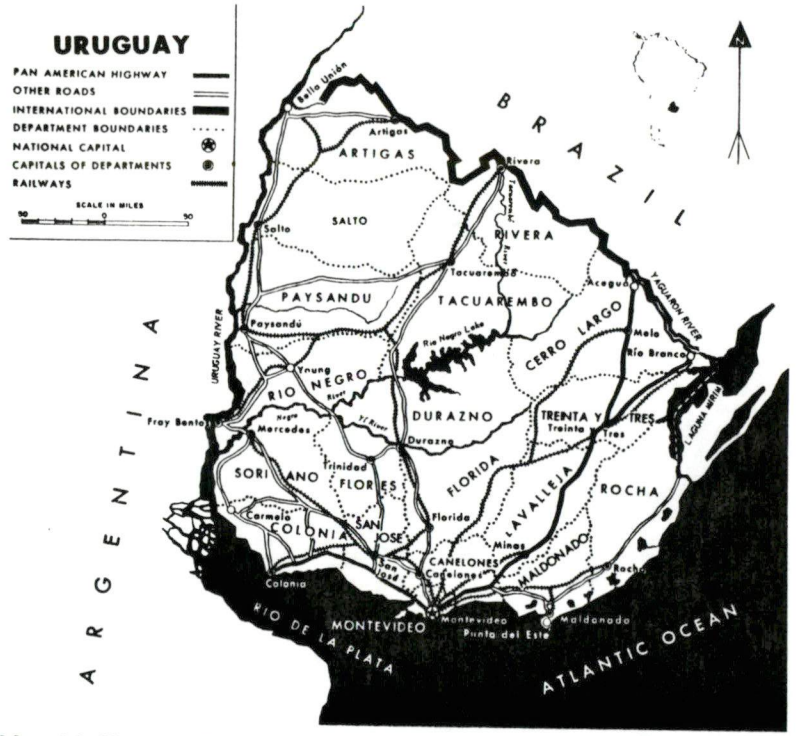
The Land and the People: A Heritage of Moderation and Culture

The Oriental Republic of Uruguay sits between Argentina and southern Brazil at the beginning of the remarkable estuary known as the Río de la Plata (see Map 1.1). The nation's official designation as the Oriental Republic stems from its location on the east bank of the Río Uruguay; that river, the border between Argentina and Uruguay, flows into the River Plate estuary. Prior to independence in 1828, the country was known as the Banda Oriental (eastern shore).

THE LAND

Uruguay is the smallest country in South America; its land area of approximately 72,000 square miles is about the size of North Dakota. Even so, its territory is equal to that of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Costa Rica combined. Uruguay has no significant mountain ranges, its highest peak being only 1,644 feet high. Its undulating grasslands contain no significant mineral resources, but almost 90 percent of its land surface is capable of growing crops, and 70 percent is tillable soil. The country shares the flatness of the Argentine pampa but not the richness of soil with which its neighbor is blessed. In this regard it has much more in common with the land of southern Brazil, Río Grande do Sul, of which, in fact, it is a natural extension.

Uruguay is almost totally bordered by water. Only some 175 miles of its 1,147 miles of geographical boundaries are not ocean, river, or estuary. Sitting in the La Plata basin, which is fed by the Parana and Uruguay rivers, the country has excellent hydroelectric resources. In addition to the Río Uruguay, the country's other major river is the Río



Map 1.1 Uruguay. Source: *Introduction to Uruguay* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, n.d.), p. 1.

Negro, which begins in southern Brazil and continues for some 500 miles down the middle of Uruguay. On the eastern border of Uruguay is the Atlantic Ocean and toward its northeastern limit is a large tidal lagoon, Laguna Merin, that it shares with Brazil. The southern coast is bounded by the Río de la Plata estuary on which Montevideo, with its excellent harbor, is situated.

Uruguay's strategic location makes it a geographic—and thus political—buffer between Brazil and Argentina, and its viability has always been historically important to the commercial trade of the entire region. It was for this reason that the British became increasingly interested in the stability and independence of the Banda Oriental, a goal aided by rising political consciousness in the region that led, with British diplomatic intervention, to political sovereignty.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Uruguay is a country of European stock. Some 90 percent of the population is of Spanish or Italian heritage. The small Indian population the Spanish encountered when they arrived in the seventeenth century was killed off, fled, or eventually intermarried, so that by the 1850s there were no pure-blooded Indians left. Two small Indian tribes in the Banda Oriental when the Spaniards arrived, the Charrúa and the Chana, had been pushed there by the expanding Guaraní empire in Paraguay. Indians resisted the first European explorers and in fact killed many members of the first expedition in 1516. The Indians' continued resistance slowed colonization in the area during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. Eventually they were displaced by the growing groups of Argentines and Brazilians who entered the Banda pursuing cattle and horses. It is estimated that the Mestizos (mixed Indian-Europeans) may comprise 5 to 8 percent of the total population, and they are concentrated in the northern provinces along the Brazilian border.

The black population numbers some 40,000–60,000. In the second half of the nineteenth century thousands of African slaves were brought to Montevideo. By the end of that century, blacks constituted 20 percent of the population of Montevideo and thus an important part of the labor force. With the influx of Europeans, the black population came to represent a smaller and smaller faction. Although some blacks still live in the area of Montevideo known as the Cerro, where some of the meat-packing plants are located, the majority of the black and mulatto population is found in the northern departments near the Brazilian border.

Uruguay's Jewish population has declined tremendously in the last two decades. Estimated at 40,000 in 1970, the community is now considered to number less than 25,000. Most of the Jews left because of the deteriorating economic situation and the rise of military dictatorship. Jews are active in the legal and medical professions and in some commercial enterprises. Originally attracted to Uruguay by its stable democratic and secular culture, they were never active in the political arena. Although living in Montevideo and involved in the liberal professions, they have been heavily Colorado in their political loyalties.

Uruguay's first census, taken in 1908, showed a total population of 1,042,686. Uruguay, like Argentina, had thus apparently experienced a huge growth in population during the preceding generation, owing to an influx of Spanish and Italian immigrants. The census indicated that an incredible 42 percent of the population of Montevideo was

TABLE 1.1
Estimated Total Population and Demographic Rates, 1895-1975
(five-year averages)

	Total population (thousands)	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Migration	Total increase
		(rate per thousand)				
1895-99	826.3	43.4	14.8	28.6	0.1	28.7
1900-04	934.8	38.9	13.7	25.2	0.9	26.1
1905-09	1054.5	37.6	14.0	23.6	2.2	25.8
1910-14	1189.5	36.5	13.5	23.0	1.3	24.3
1915-19	1318.8	31.9	14.1	17.8	0.2	18.0
1920-24	1448.4	30.1	12.6	17.5	2.6	20.1
1925-29	1606.5	28.6	11.9	16.7	3.9	20.6
1930-34	1758.8	25.8	11.5	14.3	1.2	15.5
1935-39	1880.6	22.3	11.1	11.2	0.6	11.8
1940-44	1991.6	21.6	10.3	11.3	-0.1	11.2
1945-49	2111.5	21.1	9.1	12.0	0.5	12.5
1950-54	2263.4	21.2	8.5	12.7	1.4	14.1
1955-59	2436.4	21.8	8.8	13.0	.04	13.4
1960-64	2611.4	22.0	8.6	13.4	0.4	13.8
1969-71[a]	n.a.	22.1	9.6	12.5	n.a.	n.a.
1975[b]	2781.8	21.1	9.9	11.2	-5.4	5.8

[a]Three-year average
[b]1975 only
Source: M.H.J. Finch, A Political Economy of Uruguay Since 1870 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 24.

foreign born; the figure for the country as a whole was 17 percent. The data in Table 1.1 show that the growth in population, explosive around the turn of the century, has been meager in the last two decades.

According to the 1985 census, Uruguay has a population of just under 3 million inhabitants, up only slightly from the 2.6 million at the time of the 1963 census. The low birthrate and heavy emigration of the last two decades, both a reflection of economic decline and political breakdown, account for this very slow growth in population. By 1970 Uruguay had the lowest percentage of population under fourteen years of age and the highest percentage over sixty-five years of age of any country in Latin America. It is estimated that the median age in Uruguay, as of 1986, is 40, easily the highest in Latin America and one of the highest in the world.

Montevideo, because of its strategic location on the River Plate, has always been the principal city of Uruguay and, from the beginning of the country's history, has contained a significant percentage of its population. In recent decades, the economic stagnation of rural areas has led to an internal migration to Montevideo that has maintained the city's population even in the face of the significant (some might say extraordinary) emigration the country has experienced since the 1960s.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Uruguay, especially by Third World or Latin American standards, is a middle-class country. Whether we characterize the middle stratas by economic, social, educational, or valorative criteria, Uruguay, and especially the subsystem of Montevideo, may be characterized as middle class. As Antonio Grompone concludes in his study *Las Clases Medias en el Uruguay:* "Synthesizing, then, Uruguay is . . . a country in which members of the middle class, urban as well as rural, and those who have ties with governmental activities predominate in everything. This explains the idiosyncracies of their mentality and the social interest that appears in the resolution of particular types of conflicts—political, economic and social."[1]

The domination by the middle class of the political and economic life of the capital, coupled with the European ethnic profile, created a sense of a totally integrated society. Although this picture of social integration may be accurate within the capital, it does not accurately reflect the differences between urban and rural Uruguay. The split between city and countryside is wide and deep. Almost four-fifths of Uruguay's industrial production takes place in or around Montevideo. The census shows that there are four times as many people per physician in the interior as there are in the capital. Infant mortality is twice as high in the interior as it is in Montevideo, and a higher proportion of the population in rural areas is under fifteen years of age. More important, life chances in terms of schooling show a significant geographic variation. The proportion of students completing *liceo* (high school) and going on to the university drops precipitously as one moves away from Montevideo.

Uruguay can be accurately described as a city-state in spite of the fact that historically its export capability has been determined by its livestock and agricultural sectors. The 1985 census showed a total population of 2,921,000, of which Montevideo's population of 1,297,000 is an extraordinary 44 percent. To comprehend the overwhelming importance of Montevideo, it should be noted that Salto, the second largest city in Uruguay, has only 81,000 people and that there are only three other urban centers with more than 50,000. Montevideo's dominance is not simply based on population, however. Uruguay's public university (in 1985 a small private Catholic university was established, in Montevideo) is located in Montevideo, as are all of the country's major newspapers and television and radio stations. Over 70 percent of the country's industrial production is concentrated in the department of Montevideo. There is no residency requirement for election to the Senate

Young people in Montevideo. Photo courtesy of Dirección Nacional de Relaciones Públicas del Uruguay.

or Chamber of Deputies, and thus almost all of Uruguay's politicians live and work in Montevideo.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

The land has historically been the heart of Uruguay's economy. The soil is not particularly rich; however, it is suited to the natural grazing of the millions of cattle and sheep that are the mainstay of the country's exports. In 1985 this country of barely 3 million people contained over 9 million head of cattle and 23 million sheep. The extensive use of natural pastures has given Uruguay a land-use productivity figure of some 90 percent, but it is important to remember that most of this land is unimproved pasture. Nevertheless, the ranches, farms, and facilities for dairy production have many of the characteristics of the *minifundia* (small, subsistence farms) and *latifundia* (large farms) found elsewhere in Latin America (see Table 1.2).

Livestock were turned loose in the Banda Oriental by the Spanish under Hernando Arias in 1603. The wild herds multiplied so rapidly that by the time of the founding of Montevideo in 1726 there were an estimated 25 million head of cattle in the region. The result was the designation of the subsequent period in Uruguay as the "Age of Leather."

TABLE 1.2
Agrarian Structure and Performance: Distribution of Land by Farm Size Categories, 1908-1970

	1908	1913	1937	1951	1956	1961	1966	1970
Percent distribution of farms								
Large	8.7	6.1	4.7	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.9	5.1
Medium	35.2	32.4	23.8	21.8	20.9	20.8	21.7	22.0
Small	56.1	61.5	71.5	74.0	75.1	74.8	73.4	72.9
Percent distribution of land								
Large	64.2	55.5	n.a.	56.5	55.8	56.9	58.4	58.4
Medium	30.8	35.7	n.a.	34.3	34.7	34.3	33.7	34.0
Small	5.0	8.8	n.a.	9.2	9.5	8.8	7.9	7.6

Source: M.H.J. Finch, A Political Economy of Uruguay Since 1870 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 105.

Cowhides were the product that would attract the gaucho to the Banda Oriental for the next 150 years. Only with the salting and curing of meat and the increased demand for tallow did the agricultural activity take on some diversification. The opening of a meat extract plant by Liebig at Fray Bentos in 1864 is viewed as the beginning of the modern meat industry in Uruguay. When the *saladeros*, or meat-salting plants, were replaced by the first refrigeration plants (*frigoríficos*), which prepared chilled, frozen, or canned beef, Uruguay's product was finally available to the European market. The introduction of refrigerated ships during the last two decades of the nineteenth century led to the rapid expansion of beef and lamb exports.

The Uruguayan grasslands that W. H. Hudson called the "Purple Land" in his remarkable semiautobiographical volume by that name enjoy a temperate climate broken only by some violent winter storms that are the result of the cold winds of Antarctica coming up against the subtropical air of southern Brazil. Uruguay has little forest (some 3 percent of its land surface) and no hydrocarbon resources. Its only mineral wealth consists of some semiprecious stones such as amethyst and topaz.

Uruguay's agricultural sector has historically been abundant and kind to the 3 million people it now serves, but stagnation and decline have left rural Uruguay relatively inefficient and unproductive in the face of changing international market conditions. The Uruguayan *campo* can be roughly divided into three distinct production areas. In the South, near the capital, the land is exploited intensively to provide Montevideo with fruits and vegetables. The North is the site of the extensive ranches

TABLE 1.3
Land Distribution in Uruguay in 1951

Size of holding (acres)	Number	Number as percent of total number of holdings	Area (acres)	Area as percent of total area
Under 12.5	10,953	13	71,939	
12.5-25	11,117	13	189,350	2
25-50	13,771	16	476,441	
50-125	16,910	20	1,321,485	3
125-250	10,375	12	1,809,127	4
250-500	7,814	9	2,725,936	7
500-1,250	7,241	9	5,611,875	13
1,250-2,500	3,475	4	6,036,623	15
2,500-6,250	2,452	3	9,409,969	22
6,250-12,500	763		6,381,672	15
12,500-25,000	316	1	5,099,932	12
Over 25,000	71		2,790,522	7
Totals	85,258	100	41,924,871	100

Source: Cited in Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Uruguay: Portrait of a Democracy (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954), p. 76.

on which sheep and cattle are raised. The eastern farm belt of the country serves as the principal grain- and cereal-producing region.

The principal livestock export products are wool and beef, although milk and cheese products are also produced in abundance. Corn is grown as a feed concentrate, wheat for bread, and rice both for domestic consumption and as an increasingly important export crop. Beet sugar accounts for 80 percent of sugar production, but total sugar production only accounts for 50 percent of the country's consumption.

Although one cannot speak of a famous "Fourteen Families" as in El Salvador, and the distribution of land has never been a pressing political issue (as Uruguay is underpopulated), concentration of ownership has always been a reality. The data in Table 1.3 describe land distribution in Uruguay in 1951, at the height of the country's economic well-being after World War II.

The 1980 census showed that 5.7 percent of farms controlled 56.6 percent of the land, whereas 68.6 percent of the farms or ranches comprised only 6.9 percent of the land. In addition, most of the large landholdings are of unimproved pastureland and employ very few ranch hands. The number of agricultural workers, which stood at 293,000 in 1956, is believed to number over 150,000 in 1987.

If we group the departments that are the sites of extensive livestock raising—Durazno, Rivera, Rocha, Tacuarembo, Cerro Largo, La Valleja, and Flores—we encounter an increasingly depopulated countryside with fewer and fewer salaried workers. The ranches in these areas are referred to as *estancias cimarronas* (wild ranches) because of the lack of productive activity.

The most productive rural area in Uruguay is in the Southeast—the departments of Río Negro, Soriano, and Colonia—where wheat, other cereals, milk, and cheese production make the area the country's breadbasket. The southernmost departments of San José, Canalones, Florida, and the agricultural area of Montevideo itself are devoted to the intensive production of the fruits, vegetables, and wine that provision the capital. Yet even this area lost 10,000 workers in the decade of the 1970s because of the reduced demand precipitated by economic decline and the collapse of the beet-sugar industry, which lost its subsidy in 1975.

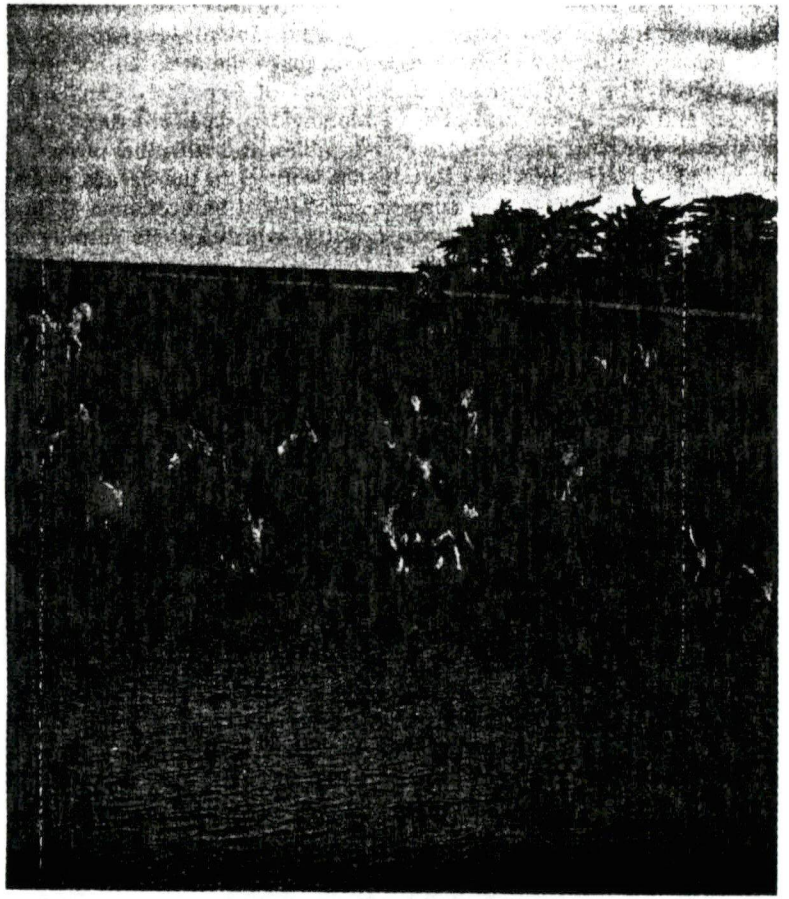
The underclass in the countryside lives in shantytowns that are referred to as *rancherías* or *poblaciones de ratas* (rat towns). Their numbers are dwindling but it is estimated that at least 300,000 people, or 10 percent of Uruguay's population, live in these communities.

Surprisingly, several departments have shown significant population growth. The northern province of Artigas experienced growth along the border with Brazil, most especially in the area around the town of Bella Union, with its agroindustrial cooperatives. The department of Treinta y Tres has attracted labor because of the successful growth of its rice-exporting industry. The department of Maldonado's growth was caused by its proximity to the resort community of Punta del Este and the construction boom there in 1979 and 1980.

In the past, Uruguay's economic health has been based on a dynamic export economy and the conscious distribution of its benefits. Uruguay was built on cattle and sheep, the products of which—wool, meat, and hides—were fortunately tied to the voracious appetite of a Britain propelled by the industrial revolution. This was especially true at the beginning of the twentieth century when, in the period dominated by José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903–1929), the value of exports doubled, principally because of the market for frozen meat. In 1930, just before the Great Depression, all chilled beef, 83 percent of mutton, and 39 percent of frozen beef went to Britain.

Uruguay's industry has been based on the processing of meat and wool and the production of domestic consumables, with the food and beverage industry making the largest contribution. Meat processing and dairy production are the most important activities, followed by textile manufacturing. These industries grew as a result of the urban welfare-oriented distributive policies of Batllismo (as the ideology and policies of José Batlle are known) but received an extra stimulus from the import-substitution industrialization policies that reached their peak in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Uruguay's agricultural production is most notable for its slow growth throughout the century—despite the expansion of exports—and its



The economic basis of Uruguay's welfare state. Photo courtesy of Dirección Nacional de Relaciones Públicas del Uruguay.

stagnation since the early 1960s. Lack of investment is a crucial factor in this phenomenon, and it is in this regard that the policies of mostly urban-oriented Colorado governments should be examined. The usual denunciation of Colorado governments for killing the golden calf—that is, destroying the incentive for productive investment in the agricultural sector by promoting proindustrial welfare-state policies—finds its most famous expression in Julio Martínez Lamas' *Riqueza y Pobreza del Uruguay: Estudio de las Causas que Retardan el Progreso Nacional* (*Wealth and Poverty*

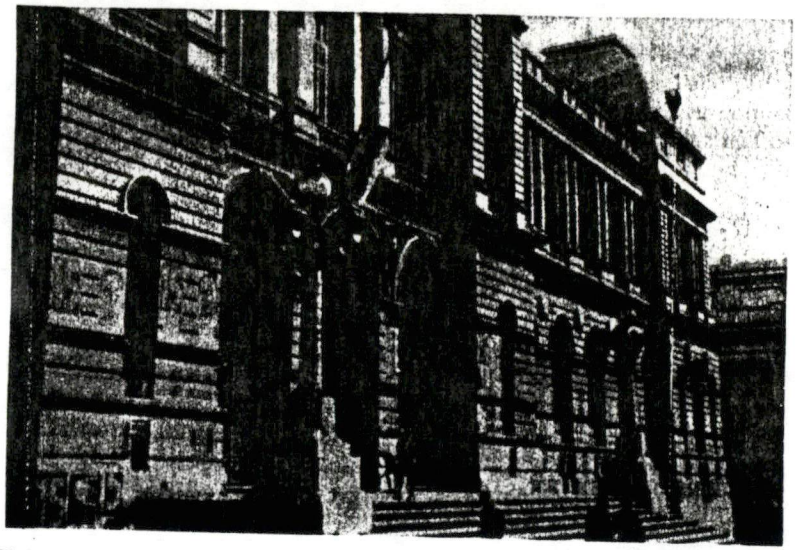
in Uruguay: A Study of the Causes That Retard National Progress) published in 1930.[2] M.H.J. Finch, however, has demonstrated that José Batlle's fiscal policies, although clearly conscious of their redistributive activities, do not account for rural stagnation. Rather, Finch argues that the *latifundistas* themselves were not interested in investing in the intensification of land use, and that the outflow of capital from the rural sector was voluntary before 1930.

Batlle took advantage of the funds generated by the livestock sector and the rapid urbanization of Montevideo to build a political base that gave the Colorado party the power to expand the social welfare functions of the state, buy social peace, and strengthen political institutions. At the time he came to power, 30 percent of the country's population already lived in Montevideo. The most extraordinary legacy of Batllismo was the integration of this population into a stable two-party democratic political system.

EDUCATION

The transformation of public education in Uruguay was the crowning achievement of José Pedro Varela, a friend and disciple of Horace Mann. Varela served in the administration of Lorenzo Latorre (1876–1880), whose regime was the closest thing to an integrating dictatorship that Uruguay would experience in the nineteenth century. His work led in 1877 to the passage of the Law of Common Education, which established the principle of free, secular, and compulsory primary education. Central government expenditures on education during the twentieth century have been among the highest in Latin America. Even as late as 1968, during a very troubled time for Uruguay politically and economically, such expenditures were the second highest in Latin America.

There are several excellent private schools in Uruguay; the British School is considered the best and the one to which most of the elite send their children. Primary-school enrollment quadrupled from 1880 until the time of Batlle's death in 1929. From 1930 to 1963 the index of primary enrollment rose from 100 to 226. The numbers are equally impressive for secondary education. From 1950 to 1965 secondary-school enrollment was up 167 percent. In 1960 Uruguay had the highest percentage of secondary-school-aged population in school for all of Latin America. Education received enormous stimulus under José Batlle, to the extent that by 1930 over three-quarters of all children of primary-school age were attending school. By 1970 this figure was a remarkable 96 percent. Secondary-school enrollment increased some 600 percent between 1942 and 1970. These figures deteriorated somewhat under the



University of the Republic. Photo from U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, *Background Notes: Uruguay* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985).

military dictatorship because of the economic difficulties encountered by the working class.

Uruguay's only public university is the University of the Republic located in Montevideo. It is divided into ten *facultades*, or schools, each of which has a high degree of autonomy through its dean and elected council. The university also has a specialized institute, the Instituto de Profesores Artigas, that turns out educational administrators and, more recently, is responsible for the training of career diplomats. Enrollment is open to everyone who successfully completes the secondary-school cycle, and tuition is free. In the past, the bulk of students enrolled in the schools of Medicine and Law. The majority of students are from the middle or upper class from Montevideo or from urban centers in the interior. Most students consider themselves to be liberal, and the Federation of University Students of Uruguay (FEUU, Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay) is dominated by leftist activists. As the system is modeled after those of continental Europe, most students' degree programs are five to six years in length. In practice, the typical student will spend at least two more years completing all his or her requirements. In 1964, when things were far more "normal" in the university than they have been since that time, one-quarter of all students

had been in the university ten years or longer; during that time, enrollment was 15,000, but the average graduating class numbered only 750. The yearly number of graduates as a percentage of incoming students fell from an average of 56 percent in the 1940s to less than 30 percent in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The situation became even worse in the late 1960s and early 1970s because of student and political unrest.

These data are not totally indicative of the role of higher education in Uruguay. Of course, the university is supposed to provide for social mobility and the training of new professionals and the certification of elites. It performed these roles in the earlier part of the century and was a principal certifying mechanism for the sons and daughters of the middle class from the 1920s to the 1950s. However, a stagnant economy and the failure of political elites to get the country moving again took their toll on university productivity and the life chances of those who were graduated. It appears to me that, since the late 1960s, attending the university and thus being able to call oneself a *universitario* has become an occupational category for Uruguay's young adults. It is one way to keep the sons and daughters of the middle and upper stratas off the streets. Being a *universitario* may confer some status and a false sense of security, but it is not giving the society the scientifically and technologically trained cadres it will need for the twenty-first century. This is especially true because of the inadequate budgets for professors and equipment that has plagued the system for decades and continues to hamper it under President Julio María Sanguinetti's austerity budget.

The university population has expanded dramatically in the 1980s, from a total of 34,000 students in 1980 to over 78,000 in 1985. The number of new admissions skyrocketed in 1984 and 1985, undoubtedly reflecting the return to civilian government and optimism concerning the university. Law continues to be the most popular career option, with engineering enjoying increased student attention in recent years. It still takes over eight years for the average student to complete his or her degree.

ART AND CULTURE

For a small country with no great indigenous heritage, Uruguay's cultural life has been rich, varied, and influential. An early commitment to public education and cultural freedom contributed to this heritage, as did the European influence on artists and intellectuals.

Literary history and criticism have a strong tradition in Uruguay. A massive seventeen-volume study, *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Uruguaya*, was published in 1913 by Carlos Roxlo. Alberto Zum Felde's *Proceso Intelectual del Uruguay*, which appeared in 1930, remains the

seminal work on Uruguay's intellectual and literary work during its first century of independence. The most enduring modern testament to artistic, intellectual, and literary criticism was *Marcha*, an independent weekly founded by Carlos Quijano in 1939. Until its closure by the dictatorship in 1974, *Marcha* was the proving ground for such brilliant writers and critics as Emir Rodríguez Monegal, Angel Rama, and Eduardo Galeano. There has never been a more erudite weekly on literature and politics in Latin America than *Marcha*, and its existence in Uruguay is a testament to the truth that cultural expression is not a function of size.

Uruguay's first writer of note was Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (1888–1931), a romantic novelist who infused his work with a spirit of nationalism. His most famous work is an epic poem, "Tabaré," recounting the history of Uruguay's small indigenous Indian tribe, the Charrúas. He also wrote a prose piece entitled "La Epopeya de Artigas," which exalted the virtues of the man considered to be the father of Uruguay's independence, José Gervasio Artigas.

The most famous Uruguayan man of letters is undoubtedly José Enrique Rodó (1872–1917), whose short masterpiece *Ariel*, written in 1900, remains the classic statement on the confrontation between South American spirit and culture and the materialism and drive for power that, for Rodó, characterized North American civilization.

Of Uruguay's major poets, Juana de Ibarbourou stands out among several accomplished female poets. Short stories are very popular among Uruguay's print-oriented population; Mario Benedetti and Juan Carlos Onetti are recognized as the most accomplished story writers; Benedetti's *Gracias por el fuego* (Thanks for the Fire) is considered the best novella written in Uruguay since the end of World War II.

The theater has always been popular in the Río de la Plata, and the most famous Uruguayan dramatist, Florencio Sanchez, is recognized as the country's greatest playwright, having brought social realism to the theater in the 1920s. In the contemporary period, Mauricio Rosencof, with such works as "Las Ranas," had already established himself as a popular playwright in the early 1960s, but gave up his literary career to help found the Tupamaro guerrilla movement. He has thus emerged as a controversial, if not notorious, figure. Since his release from prison in March 1985, many of his poems and plays, written in prison to help him survive the ordeal of torture and isolation to which he was subjected, have been published and performed to generally favorable critical review.

Uruguay's three most important artists are Juan Manuel Blanes, known for his lifelike historical scenes, Torres Garcia, and Pedro Figari. Figari's impressionistic scenes of rural life and folk dancing have gradually caused him to be recognized as one of South America's most important twentieth-century artists. A very important exhibition of his work took

place at the gallery of the Center for Inter-American Relations in New York during 1985 and 1986.

Many newspapers are available in Uruguay, although far fewer than in the 1960s. None are very good. All the daily newspapers are identified with factions of the political parties, and journalistic standards are very low. The best newspaper currently published is a weekly independent publication, *Búsqueda*, which attempts fairly successfully to summarize the previous week's news and has extensive coverage of the economic situation. *Marcha* has been resurrected as *Brecha*, which despite some lively writing and commentary has not yet approached the level of its predecessor.

Regarding folk music, the gaucho gave Uruguay its national folk dance, the *pericón*, and the tango is almost as popular in Uruguay as it has been in Argentina. As for artisan crafts, a carved gourd known as a *maté* in which the tealike herb *maté* is brewed and carried is the most distinctive example of gaucho culture that has become a permanent fixture in everyday Montevideo. In more recent years, a cottage industry involving the hand-knitting of sweaters—Manos del Uruguay (Hands of Uruguay)—has proven very successful, with major exports to Europe and the United States.

As is clear from this brief discussion, for a small country, Uruguay has a rich and varied cultural and literary heritage. This heritage was nurtured by a sophisticated and democratic political and social system, the foundations of which are the subject of the following chapter.

Trade Section of President's Speech in Uruguay

Prosperity in our hemisphere depends on trade -- not aid. A strong multilateral trading system is a cornerstone to a healthy, expanding world economy. A successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations is my highest trade priority. The Uruguay Round presents us with an extraordinary moment in history to recharge economic growth and provide unparalleled prosperity for all nations well into the 21st Century. We will be working closely with your Foreign Minister, who is the Chairman of the Round's Trade Negotiating Committee, to help bring about a successful outcome.

In June, I announced the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. Behind this initiative lies a vision -- the creation of a hemispheric free trade zone. To realize this long-term goal, we must ensure that trade barriers are brought down among Latin American countries as well as with the United States. In this way we enhance multilateral trade liberalization and strengthen the world trading system.

November 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON RS

SUBJECT: QUOTATIONS BY GEN. ARTIGAS

"There is nothing to fear but the lack of those sentiments that inspire honor, reason, and the welfare of South America."

Dec. 19, 1818

"My greatest hope for a democratic government is that its greatest glory would be in contributing to the happiness of its people."

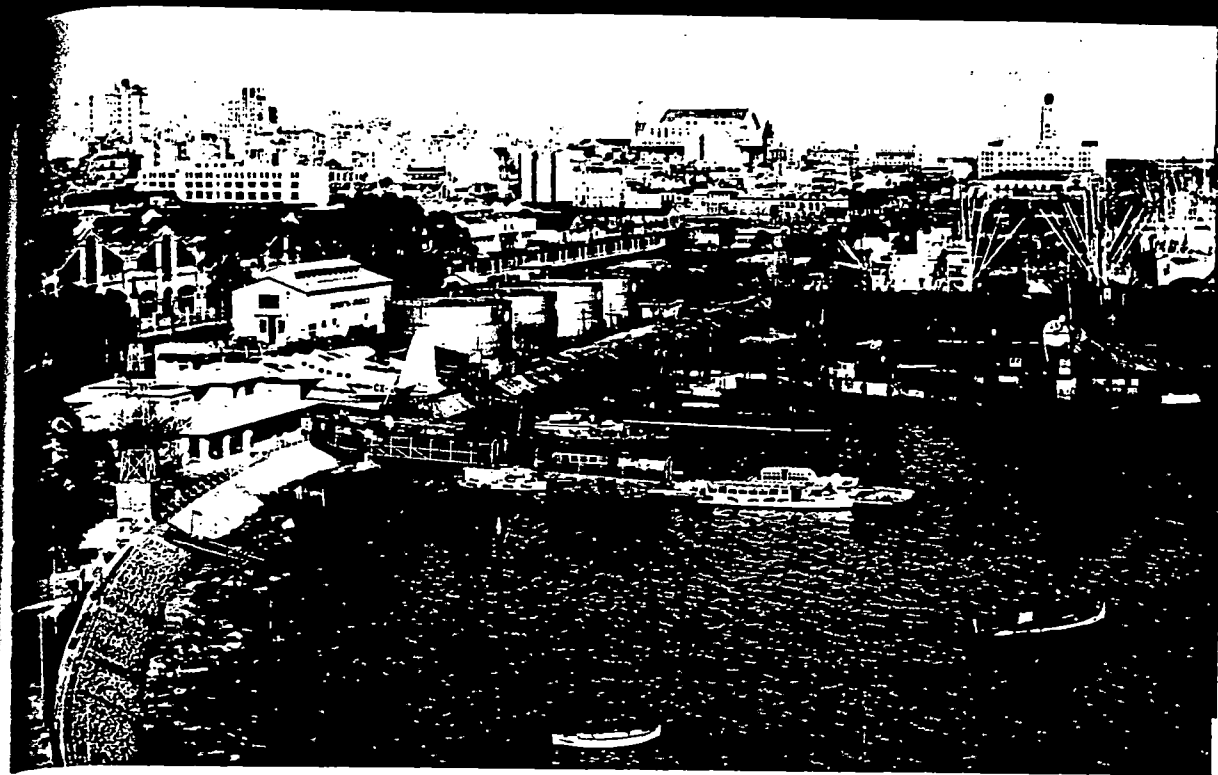
December 7, 1811

"The object and goal of government should be to preserve the equality, liberty and security of its citizens and its cities."

April 13, 1813

"Let nothing be capable of opposing our union; let us regard it as a large family of brothers."

April 20, 1815



EPA

Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, is a major seaport on the Río de la Plata.

URUGUAY, yŏŏr'ə-gwī, a republic in southern South America. Throughout its history, this country has lived in the shadow of its two larger and more powerful neighbors—Brazil, to the north, and Argentina, to the west and south. However, Uruguay has been markedly different from both of them.

All parts of the republic are easily accessible, and the nation has been remarkably homogeneous ethnically and culturally. Largely owing to the impact of a great leader, José Batlle y Ordóñez, Uruguay in the early 1900's experienced fundamental economic and social reforms that were a model for countries of the Western Hemisphere. It evolved a degree of political stability and democracy that was the envy of many of its neighbors.

However, after World War II, the situation in Uruguay changed drastically. The country's economic base deteriorated to crisis proportions. This in turn fueled social and political unrest, which resulted in uncharacteristic resort to violence and, in the 1970's, led to the establishment of a military dictatorship.

The Land. Most of Uruguay is an extension of the great pampas of Argentina, although the land is more rolling than in the exceedingly flat Argentine plains. The north is hilly, but the highest altitude in the republic—only 1,644 feet (501 meters)—is in the south.

Uruguay faces the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Río de la Plata estuary on the south. The country gets its name from the Uruguay River, which forms the western boundary and flows into the Río de la Plata. The only other river of consequence is the Negro, which goes through the center of the country before emptying into the Uruguay River. The largest of several shallow bodies of water near the east coast is Lake Mirim (or Merín), which straddles the Uruguayan-Brazilian frontier. Along the Atlantic are miles of sandy beaches.

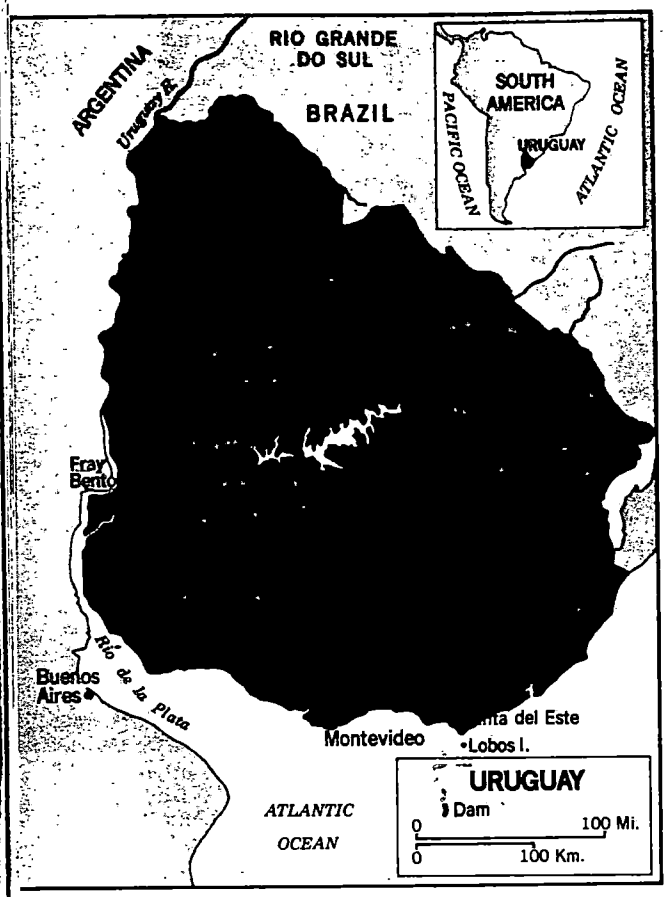
Uruguay enjoys a generally pleasant temperate climate. Average temperatures range from 74°F (22°C) during the summer month of January to 50°F (10°C) in June. In the cooler season, it is advisable to wear a coat in the evening. Rainfall averages an adequate 40 inches (1,000 mm) a year, with April and May the wettest months.

Almost 75% of Uruguay consists of grasslands, suitable for grazing. Only 3% is forested. The forests contain a variety of hardwoods and some softwoods such as willows and acacias. Elsewhere, there are palms (along the coast) as well as pines, cypresses, oaks, cedars, magnolias, mulberry trees, eucalypti, sycamores, and fig trees.

Wildlife includes seals, in colonies on Lobos Island, American ostriches (rheas), deer, otters, capybaras, foxes, armadillos, and wildcats. Among the bird varieties are vultures, parakeets, owls, and game birds such as partridges, quails, and wild ducks. The major poisonous snakes are rattlers and pit vipers.

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Eastern Republic of Uruguay (República Oriental del Uruguay).
Head of State and Government: President.
Legislature: Council of State.
Area: 72,172 square miles (186,925 sq km).
Boundaries: *West,* Argentina; *north,* Brazil; *east,* Atlantic Ocean; *south,* Río de la Plata.
Highest Elevation: Cerro Mirador (1,644 feet, or 501 meters).
Population: (1975 census) 2,781,778 (1980 est.) 2,919,000.
Capital: Montevideo.
Major Language: Spanish (official).
Major Religious Group: Roman Catholics.
Monetary Unit: New peso (= 100 centésimos).
Flag: Four blue horizontal stripes alternating with five white ones, with a 16-rayed golden sun in a white canton at the upper left.
National Anthem: *¡Orientales, la Patria o la tumba! (Uruguayans, our country or the tomb!)*



Uruguay is notoriously bereft of fossil fuels and metallic minerals. The only ores of consequence are iron reserves in the north, which have not been exploited because of the low percentage of metal in the mineral. However, considerable deposits of marble, granite, and semiprecious stones are exploited and the products exported to some degree.

The People. Uruguay is one of the immigrant countries of America. Although at the time of independence in the early 1800's, the majority of the people were *mestizos* (mixed European-Indian), and there were still some Indians, this situation changed drastically in the last decades of the century.

Mass immigration began as the grazing industry developed in the interior of the country, providing increasing quantities of beef cattle and sheep and promoting the establishment of modern packing houses in Montevideo and several other urban centers. Many people who finally settled in Uruguay had first made their way to neighboring Argentina, where an even larger influx of Europeans was occurring. The great majority of Uruguayan immigrants during the 30 or 40 years before World War I made their homes in Montevideo and a few smaller cities.

As a consequence, most Uruguayans are people whose ancestors came from Europe within the last hundred years. They are predominantly of Spanish and Italian descent, although small numbers are of German, East European, and British origin. Only 10% or less are *mestizo*, and less than 2% have some African ancestry.

Spanish is the official language of the country and now virtually everyone's native tongue. The Uruguayans speak a "Río de la Plata" version of Spanish, heavily influenced by Italian.

The great majority of the people of Uruguay are at least formally Roman Catholics. But the church has never been as influential as in some other Latin American countries. Church and state have long been constitutionally separated.

Almost half of the 3 million Uruguayans live in the capital city, Montevideo. No other urban center approaches 100,000 population. The chief provincial cities are Paysandú, Salto, and Mercedes.

In contrast to many other Latin American countries, Uruguay has a relatively slow rate of annual population increase. In 1980 it was estimated at 1.2%. Virtually all of this growth is natural increase because for decades there has been little immigration. Indeed, since the advent of economic crisis in the 1960's and the establishment of a military dictatorship early in the 1970's, many people have left the country.

Uruguay is a strongly middle-class nation. A large percentage of the immigrants established small commercial or artisan enterprises, many of which still exist. During the middle decades of the 20th century, government employment and a wide variety of services vastly expanded the number of middle-class citizens. Upward social and economic mobility was a characteristic of the country. But since the 1960's, Uruguayan society has been much less fluid.

The manufacturing and transportation sectors of the economy support a large manual working class. This group has suffered from a decline in the meat-packing industry, a major source of its employment.

The still appreciable rural population consists of workers on the cattle ranches and small farmers in crop production. Partly because of the country's relatively small area, and partly because of the great preponderance of Montevideo in national life, the contrast between urban and rural life in Uruguay is much less marked than in most parts of Latin America. For a long time it was easy for rural workers to move to the city if they were sufficiently unhappy with their lot—which has been an incentive for employers to provide income and services adequate to keep the agricultural workers on the land. Generalized public education also has helped to homogenize the population.

Until the economic crisis that began in the 1960's, Uruguayans were accustomed to one of the highest levels of living anywhere in America. Most of them tended to dress well, to eat large quantities of meat, pasta, and fruit, and to drink good wine and beer. They shared with their Argentine neighbors a taste for *maté*, a bitter tea grown in northeastern Argentina. The Uruguayans were among those who patronized the national tourist industry. As a result of the reforms launched by José Batlle in the early 20th century, virtually the whole population was covered by health insurance. Certainly, during the middle decades of the century, the people had better and more extensive health care than almost any other Latin Americans. Now, like most aspects of Uruguayan life, even health care has declined.

Uruguayans tend to be intense sports fans, and their favorite sport is soccer. They follow with particular attention their national team in the quadrennial World Cup competition. In the

first such contest, held in Montevideo in 1930, the Uruguayans were the victors.

Education and Cultural Life. The educational system long has been a unifying element in Uruguay. However, cultural life has suffered severely from the political crisis of recent years. Not only have many of the country's literary and artistic elite fled abroad, but the mass exodus of people with advanced education and special skills has restricted the audience for cultural events.

Education. As early as 1877, a law passed under the inspiration of José Pedro Varela formally established free and compulsory public education. In the decades that followed, this kind of educational system became a reality. It was estimated in 1980 that 94% of the total population was literate and that 97% of those children of primary-school age were attending school, while on the secondary-school level, the rate of attendance was 47%.

Higher education also is tuition-free. The University of the Republic, in Montevideo, dates from 1849. In 1980 about 4.7% of the national population was attending the university, which has ten faculties (schools). The Labor University, also in Montevideo, provides technical training in both industrial and agricultural fields. Uruguay has some 40 publicly supported teacher-training schools.

Newspapers, Libraries, and Bookstores. The high rate of literacy is reflected in other institutions. Daily newspapers in the capital city have a total circulation of more than 200,000. Traditionally, the Montevideo newspapers have been closely associated with one or another political faction and have had national circulation. Most of the provincial newspapers are weeklies.

Libraries are widespread. The National Library and the National Archives in Montevideo were long among the best in Latin America, in terms of both organization and collection size.

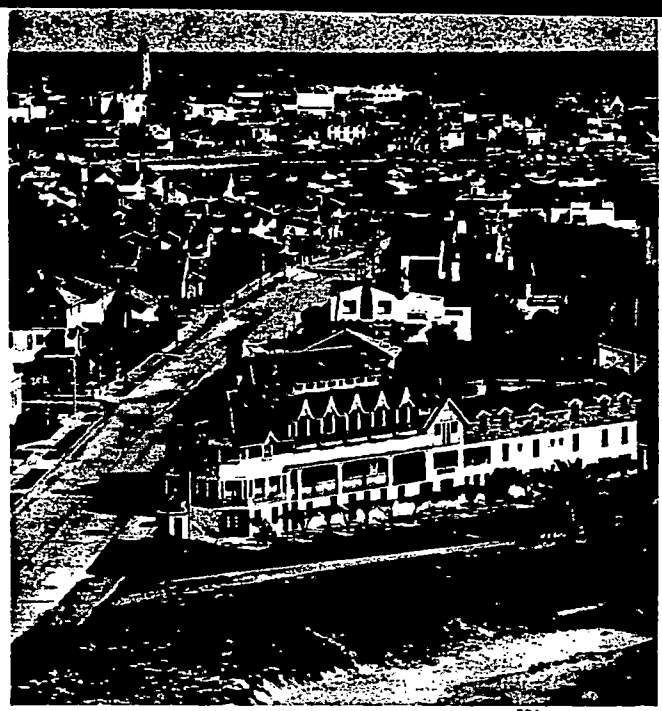
Before the 1973 coup, Montevideo had a small but thriving book-publishing industry. The city's bookstores stocked a wide variety of publications from other Latin American countries, Europe, and North America. One peculiarity was the wide range of books from the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

Prose and Poetry. Undoubtedly, Uruguay's most famous literary figure is José Enrique Rodó, who was primarily an essayist. His small volume *Ariel* (1900), comparing the supposedly cultured spirit of the Latin American with the alleged crass materialism of the Yankee, remains one of the most important Latin American protests against the influence of the United States in the area. Other literary figures of significance are the novelist Carlos Reyles and the poet Juan Zorilla de San Martín, who some have called the finest South American romantic poet. One of Latin America's greatest playwrights, Florencio Sánchez, was born in Uruguay but lived much of his life in Buenos Aires. Some critics compare him with his contemporary, Ibsen.

Uruguay has produced several modern social scientists of distinction. Perhaps the most outstanding is Carlos Rama, whose particular concerns were with the history of organized labor and political movements influenced by it, in Latin America and in Spain.

Art and Architecture. The National School of Fine Arts plays a significant role in encouraging painting and sculpture. Probably the country's most famous painter, and a graduate of the school, is Pedro Figari, who specialized in historical canvases dealing with early 19th century Montevideo. José Luis Zorilla de San Martín, son of the poet, whose bronze statue of the *gaucho* (cowboy) stands in one of the squares in central Montevideo, is particularly well known.

Uruguayan architecture has never had any particular distinction, although at one time the country is said to have had a larger proportion of architects in its population than any country in the world. With the postwar tourist boom in Montevideo and other coastal centers, many



EPA

Punta del Este is Uruguay's most popular resort. The city has hosted numerous international conferences.

A quiet street in Punta del Este offers visitors the pleasure of a leisurely stroll or open-air refreshment.

© CARL FRANK, PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Meat-packing is one of Uruguay's principal industries. Large quantities of beef are processed for export.

© J. ALLAN CASH/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Uruguay produces wool for trade and domestic use. The country exports both raw wool and woolen textiles.

apartment houses were built. Modern in design and constructed of reinforced concrete with liberal use of glass, they sometimes rise 15 to 20 stories, a sharp contrast to the low buildings that have traditionally characterized the capital.

Music. The most important musical institution in the country is the 100-person National Symphony Orchestra in Montevideo. Some provincial cities have their own, smaller orchestras. There are three music conservatories in the capital. Opera and legitimate-theater seasons are features of Montevideo's cultural scene.

Uruguayan popular music is similar to that in Argentina, with the tango particularly favored. One of the most famous songs of this type, *La Cumparsita* (1917), was written by Uruguayan composer Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez.

The Economy. Since colonial times, grazing has constituted the core of the Uruguayan economy. The *gaucho,* almost inseparable from his horse, riding the rolling plains, running down and skinning wild cattle, and fighting both the Indians and encroaching whites, was as characteristic of Uruguay as of the Argentine pampas and the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul.

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing. In the 19th century the countryside of Uruguay was characterized by large landholdings. However, there has been a tendency to divide some of these into family farms.

Nine tenths of the exploited rural land is used for the raising of cattle, sheep, and some smaller animals, whereas only one tenth is used for crop production. Grazing predominates particularly in the center of the country. In 1978 it was estimated that there were more than three times as many cattle as people in Uruguay, and considerably more than six times as many sheep as human beings. Much of the nation's industrial activity is concerned with processing animal products, and the country's export pattern also reflects the continued importance of grazing.

Crop production, which has increased modestly, is concentrated particularly along the Atlantic coast, the Río de la Plata, and the Brazilian frontier. Uruguay is largely self-sufficient in grains, sugar, and wine. Major grain crops include wheat, oats, barley, maize, and rice. The country also produces small amounts of sugarcane and larger quantities of sugar beets. Grapes are grown for table fruit as well as for winemaking. In the north, citrus cultivation is fairly extensive, and from various regions come apples, pears, and other fruits that help diversify the Uruguayan diet.

Forestry and fishing provide small quantities of exports. During the 1970's the government began to take particular interest in stimulating the expansion of commercial fishing.

Manufacturing. Enterprises based on processing of the country's agricultural products include meat-packing houses, wool-processing plants, sugar refineries, wineries, and flour mills. The nation's cement plants also get most of their raw material domestically.

The advent of the meat-packing industry at the beginning of the 20th century gave impetus to the modernization of Uruguay's grazing economy. The first freezing plant was built in 1904, and subsequently slaughterhouses and meat-packing plants were established in Montevideo and five smaller cities. They prepare chilled and frozen meat for local consumption but particularly for shipment abroad.

Sheepherding grew along with cattle raising in the rural areas. Although some lamb and mutton were produced, wool was the most important sheep product. Plants to clean and process the wool and prepare it for export became another important feature of the urban economy.

President José Batlle began the government policy of encouraging manufacturing in the early 20th century. He established the Administración Nacional de Combustibles, Alcohol y Portland (ANCAP) as a government monopoly of petroleum refining, cement production, sugar refining, and alcohol production. He also began the policy of encouraging private enterprise in the manufacturing sector through high tariffs, import quotas, and other protective devices. Tariffs were sometimes as high as 150% of the original price of imported goods. Events outside Uruguay had a role in stimulating the development of national industries. Two World Wars and the Great Depression, by decreasing foreign exchange earnings, greatly limited the country's capacity to import manufactured goods.

As a consequence of these policies and external factors, a sizable textile industry was created, as well as light engineering and electric-products firms and chemical plants. There are also small rolling mills for steel and aluminum.

Because Uruguay possesses no known reserves of petroleum or coal, it depends almost entirely on imported fuel for thermal power plants and motor vehicles. During the decades before World War II a beginning was made in construction of hydroelectric facilities, and since the war these efforts have been greatly intensified. Two projects—Rincón del Bonete, with a capacity of 128,000 kw, and Rincón de Baygorría, with 108,000 kw—were constructed on the Río Negro, with the help of International Bank financing. Power output at the 1,890-kw Salto Grande project, undertaken on the Uruguay River in conjunction with Argentina, began in 1979. Production of electricity, which is a monopoly of the government, had already increased more than 500% between 1948 and 1978.

Transportation, Trade, and Tourism. The infrastructure of the Uruguayan economy was greatly expanded in the early 20th century. Railroads extending nearly 1,860 miles (3,000 km) were built, largely by British firms. They were purchased by the Uruguayan government in 1948. Subsequently an extensive road network was built, amounting to almost 6,200 miles (10,000 km), of which about half have been paved. A major international airport was built to serve Montevideo. A government-owned airline, PLUNA, serves interior cities of Uruguay and flies to Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina.

The economy continues to depend substantially on foreign trade. Two of the three major exports come from the traditional grazing sector—meat and meat products on the one hand, and wool on the other. Textiles constitute a third major export. Raw materials and machinery needed by manufacturing industries are major import items. Despite the development of hydroelectric resources, Uruguay remains dependent on imported petroleum. Since the onset of the world energy crisis in the early 1970's, the government has shown some interest in developing alternatives to oil, including wood.

Patterns of Uruguay's international commerce have changed substantially since World War II. Before then, Britain bought most of Uruguay's meat and wool and provided most of the imported manufactured goods. However, Britain's role declined precipitously. For a short while in the 1960's, the Soviet Union was the chief buyer of Uruguayan wool. Later, Brazil, West Germany, and the Netherlands became the largest purchasers of Uruguayan exports, followed by Britain and France. The major providers of imports are the European Common Market, the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, and Argentina and the United States. No single country is any longer Uruguay's major trading partner.

Tourism is a major sector of the economy. Resort areas scattered along the Atlantic coast draw foreign tourists, particularly from Argentina and Brazil, as well as Uruguayans. Punta del Este is famous as the site of numerous international conferences since World War II.

History and Government. The first European to reach Uruguay was the Spanish explorer Juan Díaz de Solís, in 1516. During the colonial period the future republic was a battleground between the Spanish Empire and that of Portugal, which was reaching down toward the Río de la Plata from Brazil. The Spaniards called the region the Banda Oriental del Río Uruguay, or Eastern Shore of the Uruguay River.

It was the Portuguese who in 1680 founded the country's first town, Colonia, as an outpost across the Río de la Plata from Buenos Aires. Not until 1726 did the Spaniards establish their major foothold in Uruguay, at Montevideo. In 1777, Portugal ceded Colonia to Spain, and Uruguay was attached to the newly created Spanish viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

The Struggle for Independence. The movement for independence in Uruguay began in 1811 under the leadership of José Gervasio Artigas, as part of the general struggle in the Plata viceroyalty. However, as the Argentines fought for their independence and aided the Pacific coast nations against the Spaniards, the Brazilians moved into Uruguay. In 1821, after establishing their control, they incorporated the Banda Oriental into Brazil as the Cisplatine province.

In 1825 a group of Uruguayan patriots crossed the Río de la Plata from Argentina, where they had taken refuge, and began the struggle led by the "Thirty-three Immortals" against Brazilian domination. They were headed by Juan Antonio Lavalleja. Britain had a strong influence in the Plata region because of its trade, and, as the struggle for Uruguayan independence went on, the British government exerted diplomatic pressure. Largely through British mediation, Argentina and Brazil agreed in 1828 to recognize an independent Uruguayan republic as a buffer state between them.

Colorados and Blancos. The lines of future political controversy in the republic emerged among its founding fathers. Divisions soon arose between the Liberals, led by Gen. José Fructuoso Rivera, and the Conservatives, headed by Gen. Manuel Oribe. The two groups quickly came to be known by the colors they chose for identification: the Liberals as the Colorados, or Reds, and their opponents as the Blancos, or Whites.

Colorado-Blanco rivalry led to a civil war (1839–1851), during the last nine years of which

Cattle try to elude the *gaucho's* lasso. Uruguay has more than three times as many cattle as it has people.

COURTESY OF ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

President José Batlle promoted social welfare programs, economic nationalism, and a collegiate presidency.

Montevideo withstood a siege by Blanco troops and forces of the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas. Another round of Uruguayan party strife touched off one of the bloodiest wars in Latin American history. After a revolt launched in 1863 against a Blanco government, the Colorados came to power in 1865 through Brazilian military intervention. Meanwhile, the ambitious Paraguayan dictator, Francisco Solano López, had moved to support the Blancos, provoking the War of the Triple Alliance. Paraguay was crushed by a coalition of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. See also under PARAGUAY—*History*.

The Colorados were to remain in power for 96 years. During the remainder of the 19th century, the country was controlled by a succession of Colorado *caudillos* (political strong men), most of whom seized power by force. On several occasions, they suppressed armed insurrections by their Blanco opponents.

By the latter part of the 19th century, the Colorado and Blanco parties had come to represent fairly well-defined groups. The former spoke for the interests of the urban areas, most particularly of Montevideo. The Blanco party represented the rural interests, especially large landowners.

José Batlle's Reforms. In 1903 the Colorados elected as president José Batlle y Ordóñez, son of ex-President Gen. Lorenzo Batlle, but himself a civilian and journalist. In 1904, President José Batlle suppressed the last attempt of the Blancos to seize power through civil war.

After leaving the presidency in 1907, Batlle made an extended trip to Europe, where he studied the economies and political systems of several countries. He returned to office in 1911, determined to carry out broad reforms in his country's economic and political structure. To ensure national economic independence, he established government ownership of the docks, the insurance business and part of banking, and set up government firms to found cement and oil-refining industries. In the interest of public welfare he organized an extensive system of social security, providing health insurance and old-age pensions for most of the population. He also had a wide variety of labor laws enacted.

One of the reforms that Batlle proposed was not enacted. This was the establishment of a "collegiate" presidency, with nine people—six from the majority party and three from the minority—who would function in place of the single president. However, after leaving the presidency in 1915, he got the constitutional convention of 1918 to adopt a modified version of the *colegiado*. It set up a Council of State of nine members, who shared the functions of the chief executive with a president.

Few people have had as much impact on their nation as José Batlle had on Uruguay. His vision and leadership made Uruguay economically and socially the most advanced country in Latin America and politically the most democratic. However, his achievement was so great that his heirs of the Colorado party, who continued to govern until the end of the 1950's, were content to rest on his laurels. Complacently they failed to come to grips with new kinds of problems that accumulated after World War II.

The Post-Batlle Period. Batlle died in 1929. During the 1930's, Uruguay veered sharply, if temporarily, from the model he had established. In 1933, President Gabriel Terra carried out a coup with the support of the national police and established a personal dictatorship. In 1934 he remodified the constitution to abolish the council of state and reestablish an unfettered single presidency. In 1938 he was succeeded by Gen. Alfredo Baldomir after a democratic election.

During and immediately after World War II, Uruguay suffered substantially from the existence of the regime headed by Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina. Many Argentine political leaders sought refuge in Uruguay from the dictatorship in their own land. Uruguay steadfastly refused to take any steps against the refugees, in spite of Perón's demands.

As a result, Argentina imposed a virtual economic boycott on Uruguay. It refused to allow its citizens to take their customary vacations at Uruguayan resorts, and it cut off wheat shipments to its grain-deficient neighbor. The latter move forced Uruguay to convert some of its grazing land to high-cost wheat production, with damaging long-run results for the economy.

A new constitution promulgated in 1952 finally established the collegiate presidency in the form envisioned by José Batlle. For the next 15 years, the country had as its chief executive a nine-man council with six members of the leading party and three members of the runner-up.

Economic and Social Crisis. The collegiate presidency was a disaster. With nine "presidents" sharing responsibility, in effect no one had responsibility, and, as a result, few efforts were made to face up to new economic and social problems. In 1967 the council was replaced by a president and vice president.

The economic and social crisis grew almost imperceptibly. It had many facets. One involved the manufacturing industries stimulated by the Great Depression and World War II. These had been established behind high protective walls, and their products were costly. Little

was done after the war to make manufacturing more efficient.

A second economic problem was that the Uruguayan grazing industry did not adapt to technological changes taking place in other countries that exported beef and wool. New grasses, new fertilizers and pesticides, and new techniques were not adopted in Uruguay. As a result, Uruguayan beef became increasingly unable to meet its competition. The number of cattle was virtually stable for the quarter-century after 1950. By the mid-1960's, it took 27 head of cattle to produce a ton of beef in Uruguay, compared with 17 in Argentina, 15 in the United States, and 13 in the Netherlands. Also, Uruguay was slaughtering only 13% of its herd each year, compared with 35% in several major meat-producing countries. Similarly, Uruguayan sheep growers were getting only 6.4 pounds (2.9 kg) of wool per sheep, compared with 8.6 pounds (3.9 kg) in Australia.

At the same time the social security and welfare system got out of hand. Instead of there being a single social-security system, more than two dozen funds covered different parts of the population, which meant an exaggerated overhead. Also, exceedingly low retirement ages were established in many of these funds, none of which, however, provided adequate pensions.

In addition a system had developed in which a large part of the work force held more than one job. Usually, a worker was employed by some branch of the government or in a private firm during the morning and had another position with the private sector or with some other part of the government in the afternoon, and perhaps a third position in the late afternoon and evening. The reason for this system of multiple jobholding was that workers were not able to earn at one post enough to maintain themselves at the level to which they aspired. The effect was that a large part of the work force did an inadequate job in all its employments, and the efficiency of the economy as a whole suffered severely.

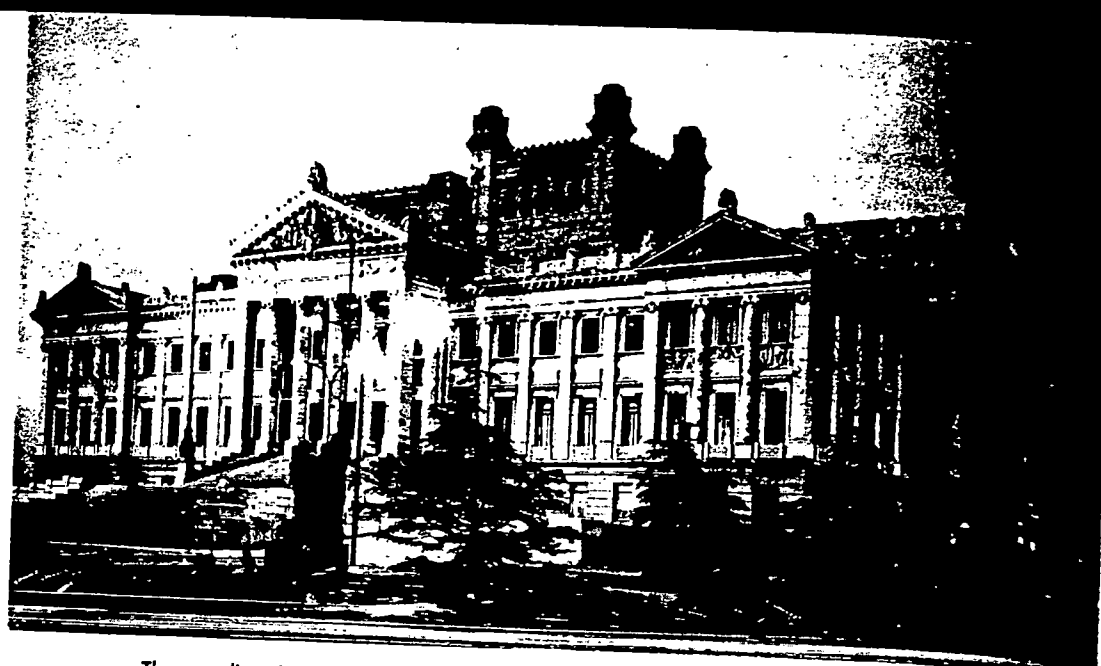
No administration after World War II undertook to deal with these and other wide-ranging problems. The result was a stagnant economy and a growing struggle among various groups over distribution of the national income. In the mid-1960's the country's gross national product was slightly less than it had been a decade before, whereas the population was somewhat larger. At the same time, the cost of living was increasing by more than 50% a year.

Political Discontent. Meanwhile, political discontent had begun to grow in the 1950's. Its initial impact was to bring the Blancos to power for the first time in 94 years. The two Blanco administrations, between 1959 and 1967, made only modest efforts to deal with the country's problems. They did undertake a limited program of rehabilitating the cattle and sheep ranges, but they made no moves to modify social-security legislation, rationalize national industries, or end the system of multiple employment. By the late 1960's the economy was burdened by serious inflation and by grave deterioration in the nation's social overhead capital. Most government firms were running at substantial deficits. Corruption had also become widespread.

Social unrest intensified. The 1960's were characterized by numerous strikes, including two general strikes, and in 1968 the situation got serious enough for the government to suspend constitutional guarantees for nine months. By the end of the decade some political opposition had assumed a different form. Although a Communist party had long existed in Uruguay, and in the 1960's and 1970's tended to control the labor movement, it had never been a major contender for political power. Also, it had never resorted to force as a means of gaining power. But in the late 1960's, a new political movement not only challenged basic elements of the Uruguayan economy and polity, but also resorted to force.

This was the National Liberation Movement, better known as the Tupamaros. Recruited largely from young people of the upper and mid-

Life-size monument to Uruguayan pioneers, José Belloni's bronze *Covered Wagon* is in Batlle Park, Montevideo.



The grandiose Legislative Palace in Montevideo houses the Uruguayan General Assembly. COLOR LIBRARY INTERNATIONAL

main speech site

dle classes, and drawing inspiration from the victorious guerrilla war of Fidel Castro, the Tupamaros organized their own urban "guerrilla war." Their tactics included bank robberies, kidnappings, temporary seizure of small towns as propaganda gestures, and spectacular jailbreaks by captured members of the group. So long as the Tupamaros did not shed blood, they enjoyed wide sympathy among the general populace, which was increasingly frustrated and discontented with the status quo. But when they began a campaign of assassination of policemen and soldiers, public opinion turned against them.

Meanwhile, in the elections of 1971, the Colorado and Blanco parties were for the first time faced with a major opponent, the Broad Front coalition, which included the Socialist, Communist, and Christian Democratic parties, as well as dissident groups from both of the major parties. A Colorado, Juan Bordaberry, won the presidency but received fewer votes than the combined total of the Blanco and coalition candidates. Although the Broad Front came in third, it had challenged the complete domination of national politics by the two traditional parties.

After taking office in 1972, Bordaberry turned over the job of dealing with the Tupamaros to the military. Within a year, they had largely destroyed the Tupamaro organization, arresting, killing, or exiling most of its militants.

Military Interlude. For the first time since the civil war of 1904, the armed forces had played a major role in national politics. Their success against the Tupamaros apparently encouraged them to carve out a still more important place for themselves in the country's political life. In February 1973 the military leaders carried out a coup, the immediate result of which was the dissolution of the legislature. After deposing President Bordaberry in June 1976, they governed behind another puppet civilian president, Aparicio Méndez.

The military dictatorship installed in 1973 proved to be brutal and sanguinary. At one point, Uruguay had a higher proportion of political prisoners to the general population than any country in the world. Important leaders of the opposition were murdered, several by Uruguayan government agents in foreign countries, particularly Argentina. Civil liberties were ended for the average citizen, the rights of labor were curtailed, and the universities and other educational institutions were purged. Impressive numbers of intellectuals fled abroad.

The military government inaugurated a program of relative free enterprise and free trade. It reduced subsidies to various industries and drastically cut protective tariff duties, particularly on chemicals and other products used in the country's grazing and agriculture. By 1980 there was indication that lowered costs of production were having some positive impact on the output of the grazing industry. However, there was still no general movement to reorganize and modernize Uruguayan cattle- and sheep-raising.

Another characteristic of the period of military dictatorship was intense real-estate speculation in Montevideo and its environs. Reflecting continued inflation, this flight of capital to high-rent land and buildings discouraged more fundamental economic investment and reform.

In 1980 the military regime put forward its program for a return to "constitutional normality." This involved a new constitution, which would, in effect, have given the military veto power over any future elected government. In November the plan was strongly defeated in a popular referendum, and the next year Gen. Gregorio Alvarez became president. After protracted negotiations the government and opposition leaders reached agreement in 1984 on a return to civilian rule. Elections were held in November. Early in 1985 the new legislature convened and the president-elect—Colorado centrist Julio María Sanguinetti—took office for a single term of five years.

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NOTES FROM MEETING WITH BERNARD ARONSON & CHIEFS OF MISSION
THE ROOSEVELT ROOM
July 19, 1990

ARONSON (overview):

This is a big event for S. America -- considered by them as historic.

The President's personal relationship is important with these leaders.

The President words will be carefully examined and weighed at each stop. In their eyes, his words represent a commitment by the U.S. government.

All (except Chile) are carrying out complicated, difficult economic reforms. These leaders must be encouraged to continue.

We are working to build the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

We need to give economic reforms a populist tone in these speeches, not theoretical or professorial. Use concrete examples of how they will benefit people, i.e. Hernando De Soto. Talk about how "the people can prosper," not the elites who have been running these countries forever. Stress upward mobility. Free markets work; they deliver prosperity.

The Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations will promote free trade in general, agriculture specifically. It will benefit Latin America, because they can sell more of their agricultural products all over the world.

Latins fear environmentalism as a way to stop their own development. (They aren't uncaring; they just don't want it to prevent them from joining the First World.) Debt-for-nature swaps viewed favorably.

Latins are proud. Hate it when they are not consulted.

There are no serious drug problems in the countries on this trip, although there are fears of it moving into Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. Say it's our problem too on the demand side, but let's stop it from spreading before it undermines your countries too.

URUGUAY:

They have always felt squeezed between Brazil and Argentina.

They are privatizing industries, raising taxes, lowering the budget deficit. They have never missed a payment on their large debt.

The Uruguay Round of the GATT began there 4 years ago and will conclude there in December. (The intervening negotiations occur at GATT HQ in Geneva.)

Give them credit for undertaking difficult economic reforms.

Uruguay is a small country, but it is important because they often take the lead on S. American issues, i.e. free trade.

Montevideo has a Marxist mayor and a leftist government dominates much of the country, despite the right of center President LaCalle [le KI-yay], who took office this year. His party has a minority in the legislature.

Uruguay shares our interests in reducing ag. subsidies in the GATT negotiations. They have some of the best farmland in the world. Flying over it (on Air Force 1), it looks like the heartland of the U.S.

# # #

Chamber of Representatives

elements, a great glass roof soberly ornamented and made of soft coloured glasses which surround the National Shield, rests on it.

The Fore Part. The frontality of the fore part of the room was suppressed by means of two encountered curves, such as those to build honour boxes. Between the boxes mentioned, a triumph arch, in front of which the presidential table outstands with great dignity. The arch, of large dimensions and conceived in a simple way, almost schematic, gives the room a special serenity. Standing on its keystone, we can see an eagle with its wings spread, similar to classical triumph arches it is ended and consecrated by a monumental inscription on its attics. On this one, the expressive and doctrinaire statement of Artigas was placed:

"My authority arises from you and it/stops before your sovereign presence"./Congress - April 1813– Artigas

Through the opening of the arch we can see a huge painting (5.10 x 7.00) by Fernando Laroche, (French) painted in 1925.

It represents the meeting of General Artigas (Commander of the forces of the "Banda Oriental" and General Rondeau (Commander of the forces of the Government of Buenos Aires) at the second siege of Montevideo (February 26, 1813) which was in possession of the Spaniards.

The tables of the hemicycle are made of oak and the seats upholstered with tapestry of fine garnet coloured leather.

All the carpentry of this room and that one of the ambulatories was made by Monti, a shop in Milan. The glass roof was made in 1921, by the firm G. Beltrami from Milan too.

State Dept.

TAB B

URUGUAY (Tuesday, September 18)

- Suggested Venue: a joint session of the Uruguayan congress in Montevideo.

- Probable Audience: members of the Uruguayan Congress, selected members of the GOU, representatives of the diplomatic corps.

- Local Color: the Uruguay Round of the GATT was begun here, making it particularly appropriate for the President to note its successful implementation. President Bush will be the first U.S. president to visit Uruguay since Johnson participated in the Meeting of American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este in 1967.

- Themes:

  -- Two facets of the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- trade and investment -- are of particular interest to Uruguay. In addition to the successful completing of the Uruguay Round of GATT, the U.S. is pleased that Uruguay and its neighbors are actively considering the elimination of reduction of barriers to free trade through a regional trade agreement and through strengthening of ALADI, the Latin American Integration Association.

  -- We also applaud President Lacalle's proposal for a hemisphere capital market as a stimulus to investment, and are encouraged by progress made here and else where on bilateral investment treaties.

  -- President Lacalle's courageous implementation of a wide range of structural reforms will improve the economic environment, while other reforms will reduce the size of the state, bring greater stability to prices and to the currency, reform or eliminate costly state monopolies, and modernize labor relations to make Uruguay more competitive on the international labor market.

  -- We are also encouraged by clear signs that Uruguay is willing to cooperate in controlling international narcotics trafficking, particularly money laundering and other types of criminal financial activity.

Quotable Quotes:

"The economic relationship between Latin America and the United States needs to be reconsidered. We do not believe that the solution is more aid but rather more trade, more investment ... we would also like to point out ... that our countries are undertaking profound transformations in their respective economies creating in this way, a favorable climate for investment. The restructuring of the state has been undertaken as a necessary goal by almost all of the American nations and it is proof of the will towards change which guides the Latin American governments, because we see and recognize that this is not a one-way street." (President Lacalle, OASGA, Asuncion, June 1990)

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16 3x5 color photographs of government buildings in Montevideo, Uruguay

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VOLUME XCIV NUMBER FIVE

THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER, 1948

4-H Boys and Girls Grow More Food
With 15 Illustrations
25 Natural Color Photographs
FREDERICK SIMPICH
SISSON AND ROBERTS

Portugal Is Different
With 10 Illustrations and Map
28 Natural Color Photographs
CLEMENT E. CONGER

The Purple Land of Uruguay
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622

Kodachrome by Clement E. Conger

Toy Town's Rose-trimmed Dollhouses Transport Portuguese Children to Fairyland

Children's Park, Coimbra, covers an acre with 50 Lilliputian cottages, fairy castles, and cathedrals. Miniature streets have tiny gates, fences, and lampposts. Statues are carved to scale.

Nat'l. Geographic

Nov. 1948

The Purple Land of Uruguay

By Luis Marden

With Illustrations from Photographs by the Author

Some three-quarters of a century ago, W. H. Hudson rode the rolling plains of Uruguay and later described them in his unforgettable novel *The Purple Land*.

The Uruguay he saw was a trackless and fenceless land of cattle ranches. Vast *estancias* receded into the purple land of distance. Today, this smallest republic of South America has become the most densely populated. Yet the traveler can still ride for miles in the interior without seeing a house or a human being.

Smaller ranches predominate now, though there are plenty of big ones left. Agriculture grows increasingly important, but 80 percent of the land is still given over to the cattle industry.

A professor of geography at the University of Uruguay told me:

"Don't forget, our smallness is in great part relative. You could put Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Switzerland inside Uruguay and still have plenty of room left over. We look small on the map because maps of this hemisphere use a smaller scale than those of Europe, and also because of our tremendous neighbors."

Two Great River Systems

South of the Amazon Basin, the green continent of South America swings inward from the Atlantic and spills its water mainly into two great river systems: the Paraná-Paraguay and the Uruguay.

Winding southward for more than a thousand miles, the brown and blue waters drain half a continent and rush together at last to emerge, wide and red, as the Río de la Plata—river, bay, or estuary—the geographers are still arguing about it (map, page 625).

On the left bank of the Plata lies the heart-shaped Republic of Urúguay, neatly spanning five degrees of latitude on the map. From its position the country was long called the Banda Oriental—the Eastern Shore of the Río de la Plata. Even today Uruguayans like to be called Orientales.

The little country on the Plata has been a leader in broadening educational opportunity. All schooling is free, and a Uruguayan citizen may progress from primary grades to a university degree without spending a cent, even for books.

Uruguay enacted the first 8-hour day in South America during World War I. Old-age pensions were established later. The State also issues insurance and operates the railroads.

In addition to private broadcasting stations, a Government transmitter in Montevideo plays popular and serious music almost continuously, without commercials. Thus the listener may choose between Beethoven and an ode to hair tonic.

One night I sat on the terrace of a Montevideo club with my geographer friend, Prof. Juan Lagomarsino. Across the indentation of the city's harbor we could see the low outline of the hill that gives the capital its name.

Only 450 feet high, El Cerro, the Hill, looks much higher in this flat region and must have been a prominent landmark when, in 1520, according to the story, one of Magellan's sailors first cried, "I see a hill!" (*Monte vid' eu*). (Page 654.)

Paris, not New York, was the model for Montevideo. From the roof terrace we looked down on the spacious avenues and palm-shaded squares of the capital (page 631). Sidewalk cafes line the main thoroughfare, Eighteenth of July Avenue, and many statues and public monuments increase the resemblance to the French capital.

Though tall office and apartment buildings rise above the downtown area, most buildings in this city of 800,000 are low, and we could see over them to the broad muddy background of the Río de la Plata. The "unlovely red billows" of the Plata have the quick, restless chop of enclosed waters, rather than the slow swell of the open sea.

What Is the Río de la Plata?

As we sat over coffee I asked, "Well, Professor, what is it? Bay, estuary, or river?" I had always called the Plata an estuary.

The Professor's face lighted up. "Ah, that is the question. It fulfills some of the conditions of each. According to international law, it is a river: rivers of course belong to the countries on their banks.

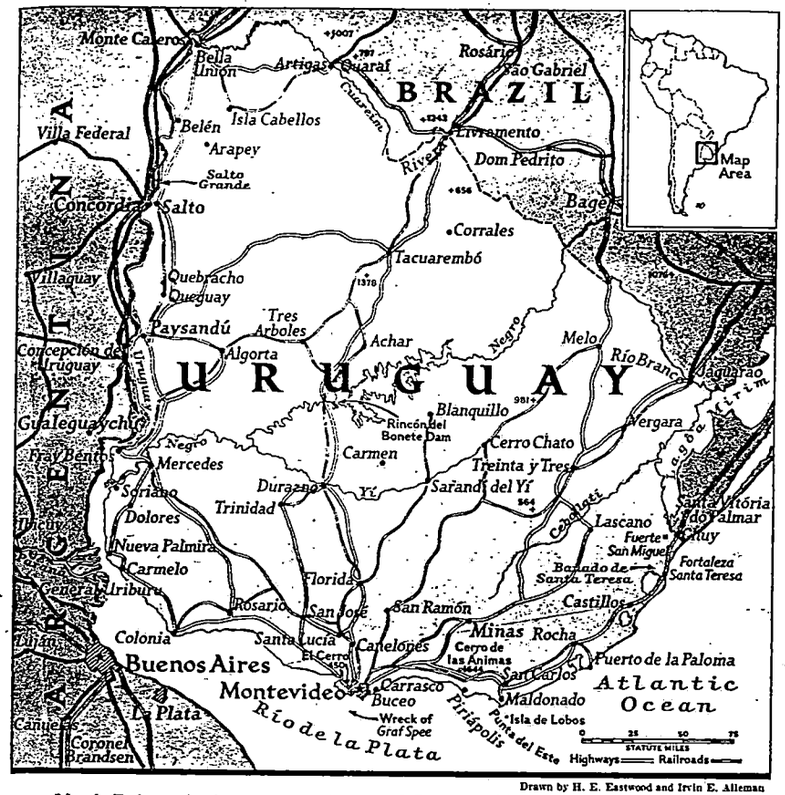
"If it is a river, then it is the world's widest—137 miles."

Sketching rapidly in my notebook, the Professor continued: "At first glance, you might think it an estuary; but it does not fulfill all the requirements of an estuary to the exact geographer.

National Geographic Photographer Maynard Owen Williams

When Sun or Rain Beats on Montevideo, Pedestrians Use the Sidewalk Arcades

This gallery is one of those surrounding Independence Plaza. Leisurely coffee drinkers frequent the sidewalk cafes in the plaza's corners. *Cambio y Lotería* changes money and sells official lottery tickets. The next drawing's winning number will be posted overhead where the ciphers now hang.



Drawn by H. E. Eastwood and Irvin E. Alleman

North Dakota-sized Uruguay Is Squeezed Between Giant Argentina and Brazil

With her neighbor to the left, Uruguay shares the Río de la Plata, on which they have built their capitals, Buenos Aires and Montevideo, 125 miles apart. Only recent maps show the huge lake formed by the new dam and hydroelectric project on the Río Negro (pages 634 and 646).

"The discoverer, Juan Díaz de Solís, in 1516, called it the Mar Dulce—Freshwater Sea: not a bad description.

"So much silt has been carried out of the heart of the continent by the two great rivers that there is a coating of fine ooze 30 feet deep on the bottom of the Plata.

"Ships with a water intake on the bottom cannot enter because of this, and often vessels run aground, slowly and insensibly coming to a stop, until the next tide floats them again."

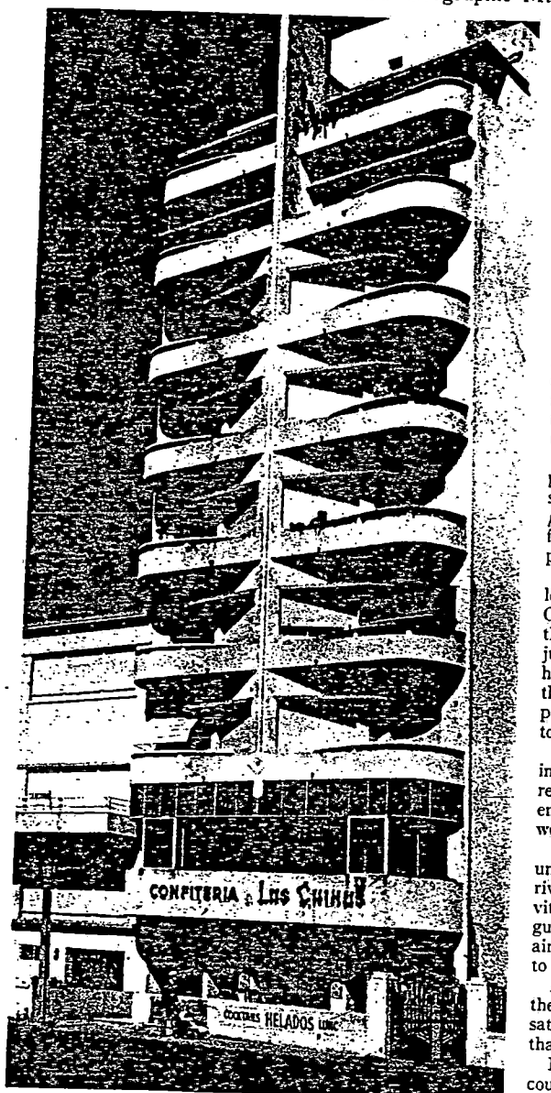
Winds Affect Plata More than Tides

Tides are not strong in the Plata, usually making a difference of little more than three feet. Winds influence the level much more; strong winds, particularly the *pampero*, blowing from the southwest, may raise or lower the level double that amount.

Winds affect the Plata's salinity too. Sometimes it is nearly fresh: then the wind shifts, and it becomes nearly as salty as the sea.

I have seen the Argentine coast at Buenos Aires, 125 miles upstream from Montevideo, one bare mud flat as far as the eye could reach. The wind had blown the Plata completely out of sight!

The sun sank as we rose to leave, and from the dark bulk of the Hill a lighthouse blinked against a salmon-colored sky.



Arthur J. O. Romero

Modern Is the Word for This Soda Bar-Apartment House

Confiteria comes from *confite* (bonbon); this place at Pocitos Beach, near Montevideo, sells sodas, drinks, and food. *Cocktails*, *helados* (ice cream), *lunch* are good Uruguayan words.

Years ago, cattle in Uruguay were bred for hides and horns. Today, hides are still important, but cattle produce for export chiefly beef—chilled, frozen, tinned, and in extract.

The tough old gauchos would be horrified to know that sheep now outnumber cows three to one (pages 645, 651).

Three huge main packing plants prepare beef and mutton for market. One, nationalized, sells meat domestically as well as abroad; the others pack mainly for export. When the American housewife buys a can of corned beef, she may often find upon looking at the label that it comes from Uruguay (page 649).

But to savor the national product at its best, the epicure should eat it in one of the many *parillas*, or grills, that cast a friendly light on the nocturnal pavements of Montevideo.

Toward the back, a big grate leans over glowing charcoal. On the tilted rack, steaks as thick as they are broad drip juice until the embers pop and hiss. White-hatted chefs turn the cuts lovingly and, at the precise moment, flip them off on to the diner's plate.

The succulent steak, a heaping green salad, and a bottle of red wine of the house—it is enough to make a poet of a wooden Indian.

Orientales dine late, often not until 10 or 11. The day I arrived in Montevideo I was invited to dinner by two Uruguayans whom I had met on the airplane en route from Miami to Rio.

At an outdoor restaurant on the outskirts of the capital we sat at tables under a roof of thatch.

In stalls along the wall of the courtyard, men in baggy trousers barbecued beef and kid on long swordlike skewers stuck into the ground at an angle over charcoal fires.

While the juicy cuts were being served, one of my hosts prepared to mix the salad.

"I'll tell you my formula for good salad," he said, expertly wielding bottles and shakers. "You must use salt like a wise man, oil like a spendthrift, vinegar like a miser, and then mix like a madman."

To Tighten a Drum, Build a Fire and Heat the Drumhead

At Carnival time mummers roam Montevideo's streets, dancing for coins to the offbeat rhythm of drums. Lacking drawstrings or other stretching devices, they heat their drumheads over paper fires to raise the tone.

First- and second-generation Spaniards and Italians form large elements of Montevideo's and Uruguay's population. Almost every quarter of the city has its Italian-style *pizzeria*, cafes and grills which serve *pizza*, the hot Italian tomato pie. A generous wedge costs three cents.

Italian surnames occur commonly in the Republic, particularly around Salto in the northwest. In fact, Italians are so numerous in the Rio de la Plata area that the Spanish of the region has acquired an Italian cadence and lilt.

But whether Spanish, Italian, or *criollo* (person of Spanish ancestry born in America), the numerous cafes of the capital give a friendly, convivial air to the city.

Men sit inside or at tables on the sidewalk and consume *café expreso*, strong black coffee in little cups, as they discuss politics, letters, and the arts.

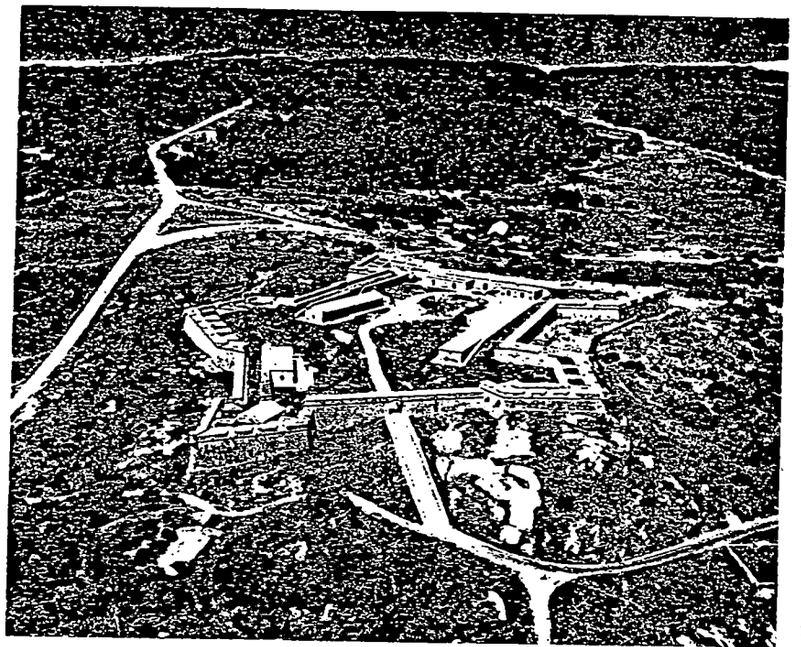
Tipica orchestras play in the larger cafes. These consist of piano, violin, bass viol, and two or three *bandoneones*, the concertina that is the typical voice of the tango.

More nearly square than an accordion, a bandoneón has two sets of push buttons and no piano keyboard. It has a mellower, rounder tone, less shrill than that of the accordion.

Tipicas play chiefly tangos, waltzes, and *milongas*, a faster, jumpier version of the tango.

Uruguay's Tango

Though the tango was born in Buenos Aires, the best-known tango, "La Cumparsita," is Uruguayan. The late Gerardo Matos Rodriguez composed the classic when he was still a



Uruguay Tourist Commission

Santa Teresa Fortress, a Five-pointed Hedgehog, Forms an 18th-century Pentagon

Portuguese started the fortress in 1762. Spaniards captured it the same year and completed the job in the fashion of Vauban, the French fortification genius of the time of Louis XIV. Once abandoned and quarried for building stones, the old fortress now forms the nucleus of a Uruguayan national park close to the Brazilian border (pages 630 and 643).

youth and lived to see it played round the world.

In the back rooms of many cafes convene groups that meet informally for mutual entertainment. In one cafe I heard a Uruguayan pianist, a Brazilian soprano, and an Argentine tenor.

There is another Uruguay, undreamed of in Hudson's day: the summer-colony Uruguay of white beaches that stretch in a nearly unbroken chain from Montevideo to the Brazilian frontier, about 200 miles.

Tourism Nation's Second Industry

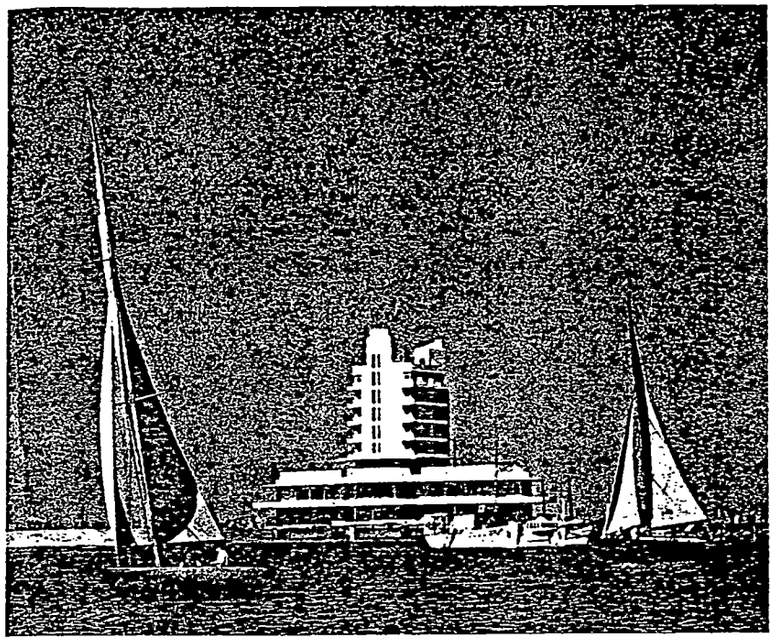
Bolstered chiefly by a spate of Argentines from nearly beachless Buenos Aires, tourist trade has grown into the Republic's second industry. Last year visitors spent more than $25,000,000; only wool and meat bring more into the country.

A map published by the Uruguay Tourist Commission shows more than fifty beaches along the Uruguayan Riviera. The Rambla, a wide boulevard named in sections for various countries and their patriots, connects many of the beaches near the capital. These range from the popular inexpensive resorts to the glitter and formality of Carrasco's twin-towered hotel and Casino (pages 647, 648).

Beaches near the capital show the red-tinged half-fresh water of the Río de la Plata. Eastward along the coast, the water becomes clearer and saltier until at Punta del Este the open blue Atlantic breaks in heavy surf against the promontory.

The inner sheltered beach at Punta del Este is called *Playa Mansa*, Tame Beach; the heavy surf on the east side earns it the title of *Playa Brava*, Rough Beach. Swimmers may suit abilities or mood.

Off Punta del Este lies the small rocky Isla de Lobos, home of one of the two most important colonies of fur seals in the Southern Hemisphere. From Lobos the coast's most powerful lighthouse marks the entrance to the Plata with a flashing finger of light.



White Sails Frame the Tower of the Uruguay Yacht Club: Buceo

From the landward side the club's façade resembles a ship's cutwater, and the jutting balconies look like a liner's multiple decks.

On December 13, 1939, the hundreds of fur seals and few sea elephants that inhabit Lobos must have seen the red flashes and heard the distant thunder of the naval engagement between the German pocket battleship *Admiral Graf Spee* and the British cruisers *Ajax*, *Achilles*, and *Exeter*.

The wreck of the *Graf Spee* still lies where she was scuttled in shallow water off Montevideo. With Prof. Juan Lagomarsino I sailed to the wreck one evening from the Uruguay Yacht Club, a tall white building with balconies like a bridge and a profile like the cutwater of a ship.

Uruguayans Love Yachting

With more than half their national boundary made up of navigable coastline, the Orientales are seagoing people. Ardent yachtsmen race their vessels up and down the coast and compete in international regattas, some as grueling as the Rio de Janeiro-Buenos Aires run.

Don Juan was the only Uruguayan to beat Argentina in an international race. He is one of the country's leading yachtsmen, as well as a geography professor.

"My friend Pepe Gainza will lend us his schooner for the run," he had said. "He and I limp on the same foot"—a way of saying "we have the same hobby."

As we sailed toward Montevideo from the little port of Buceo, we saw the black outline of a freighter, immobile as if nailed to the orange sky. A small pilot boat scuttled about like a water bug.

Suddenly the freighter gave three short blasts on her deep-toned whistle; milky water churned up at her stern and she moved slowly off, laying a scalloped cloud of black smoke along the horizon.

Pointing, Don Juan asked, "See that last

buoy flashing off there to the left? We call that the Buoy of the Good Voyage. It's the last you see as you leave these shores."

"That reminds me," he went on, "I must telephone to find out the arrival time of a ship when we get ashore."

"Do you call the lookout on the Hill?" I asked.

"No. I'll dial 213, and the operator will tell me."

"You mean 'information' lists ship schedules?"

"Oh, yes," said the professor. "And not only ships. This number tells you arrivals and departures of trains, airplanes, and buses; what drugstore is open in your neighborhood at night; notices of sports events; the weather; and what is showing at the local movie. If you hear a fire siren, 213 will tell you where the fire is!"

Later I learned of other services furnished Uruguayan telephone subscribers at no extra charge. A special operator on 214 answers the subscriber's telephone while he is on vacation, takes all messages, and refers callers to his new address. The same operator will also wake up patrons in the morning!

In a light breeze we sailed round the point and past Montevideo. Through glasses we could make out the white curl of breakers over the low-lying wreck. Slowly we drew near to all that is left of the *Graf Spee*.

Almost awash, the rusty hulk lies canted over, one gun still pointing to the sky. Seas swell and break over the wreck, dropping away to reveal the gaping black ports which an instant later spout fifty simultaneous jets of white water.

As we circled and started back to Buceo in the gathering darkness, Don Juan said: "For days after they blew her up, I could see the red glow from my apartment window. Shortly after the scuttling, divers salvaged guns, samples of armor plate and equipment, and sent them to England for study.

"A sand bank is slowly forming around her now; I suppose it will eventually bury her."

Santa Teresa National Park

Beyond Montevideo the sandy coast, dotted with tidal lagoons, runs to Brazil.

Almost at this frontier, the ruins of a big fortress mark the old division between the lands of Portugal and Spain.

In 1750 a treaty signed in Paris advanced the line of Portuguese possessions in Brazil farther to the south. To defend the new border, Portugal began to build Santa Teresa Fortress.

Designed in the style of Vauban, celebrated French military engineer, the star-shaped fortress was captured by the Spaniards, who redesigned and enlarged it.

Later the fortress was taken and lost successively by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Brazilians, and Uruguayan patriots before it fell finally to the newly constituted Republic of Uruguay (pages 628 and 643).

Spanish and Portuguese possessions changed hands rapidly in those days. The Director of National Parks, Don Horacio Arredondo, with whom I drove to the fortress, said, "The Spaniards won the fights, and the Portuguese gained the diplomatic victories."

Don Horacio first proposed the restoration of the historic redoubt after World War I. Now a rebuilt Santa Teresa forms the center of a magnificent national park, with forests, bathing beaches, camp sites, flower gardens, and a zoological park.

The Highest Point in Uruguay

As we drove eastward out of Montevideo, the country grew more rolling until, near Piriápolis, we saw the highest point in Uruguay, the Cerro de las Ánimas, 1,644 feet.

Near Santa Teresa isolated clumps of feathery palms appeared in the fields. Soon they closed ranks and became a solid forest.

"We do all we can to preserve the palms," said my companion. "Unfortunately, cows eat the young plants and shoots, and since cattle were introduced into Uruguay in large numbers no young palms have grown up."

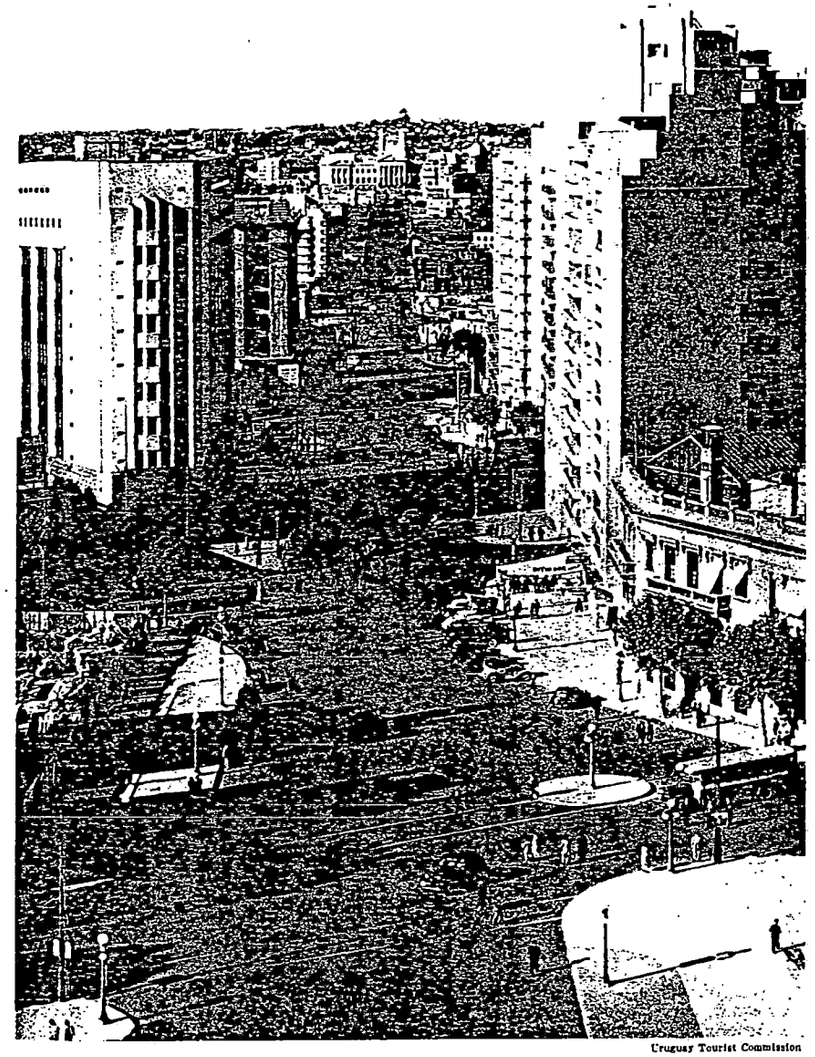
The stately trees are long-lived, but local people frequently defy the law by cutting them down to make palm honey. Felling the tree, they lop off the top and lay the trunk on an incline, top down.

Boiling off the water from the sap that drains out, they get a little more than two quarts of honey in return for the sacrifice of a whole tree.

Santa Teresa stands on an eminence, in an ideal position for defense. Sand dunes and beaches lie before it, and behind stretches the sedgy expanse of the Bañado de Santa Teresa, an area of marsh and inundated land. A shallow tidal lake, one of several along the coast, guards the southwestern flank.

About the middle of the last century the fortress was totally abandoned. Sand dunes moved slowly toward the walls and people took stone from the ramparts to use in building. The dunes had to be anchored with grass and the walls restored.

When the grass had halted the march of the dunes, planners planted shrubs, then trees, literally by the millions, among them 70 kinds



Uruguay Tourist Commission

Uruguay's Classic Capitol Rises at the End of a Broad Montevideo Avenue

Avenida Agraciada has recently been widened and beautified. Big banks and office buildings have made it their home. The second building to the right houses the American Embassy and consulate. Traffic, which a few years ago went to the left, now runs to the right.

of eucalyptus and 27 varieties of palm. Groves of pines grow close to the beaches.

As we walked through the cropped grass of the gently rolling pastures, fat red contented cows regarded us thoughtfully. Territeros, a kind of plover (*Belonopterus chilensis*), started into flight.

Little burrowing owls sat on the ground and stared at us in the blazing sunlight. Overhead, caranchos wheeled.

The carancho, a species of caracara (*Polyborus plancus*), is an undecided bird: it could not make up its mind whether it wanted to be an eagle or a vulture. It kills live prey, but lives mainly on carrion. Ornithologists call it an aberrant falcon.

Feather Dusters of Ostrich Plumes

I noticed something moving in the tall grass. It looked like a row of upended golf clubs slowly moving along. The golf sticks emerged as long-necked ostriches (*Rhea americana*) and stalked sedately about.

Smaller than the true African ostrich, the rhea lacks the beautiful tail plumes of the larger bird. Ignominiously, the rhea's tail feathers are used to make feather dusters.

Gauchos used to hunt the ostrich with *bolcadoras*, the Indian weapon made by tying two or three stone balls to connected leather thongs (page 639). The horseman whirled them around his head and let fly at the legs of the quarry—ostrich, cow, or man. They wrapped themselves tightly around anything they struck and brought it down.*

So fiercely did the original inhabitants of Uruguay fight the European settlers that today not a pure-blooded Indian remains. Particularly ferocious were the Charrúas, whose last survivors were sent to Paris in 1832 and 1833 as subjects for ethnographical studies.

From the edge of the dunes we looked down on the white sand beach that runs without a break to the Brazilian line. Fishermen with long rods cast into the surf for giant rays.

Farthest North for Penguins

"Sometimes, in the spring," my host said, "the current that sweeps north from Cape Horn and the Antarctic Continent brings hundreds of penguins to these shores. We suppose they are blown north by unusual storms; most are stunned or dead by the time they reach here."

A northerner must get used to the idea of cold coming from the south and to January being the height of summer.

In the park administrator's lodge, Don Horacio showed me paintings of gaucho costumes and life of the last century.

Many Uruguayan painters, notably Juan Manuel Blanes, painted scenes of the early Uruguayan countryside, much as Frederic Remington and others pictured our own vanished West.

"There were three principal periods of gaucho dress," he said. "Both of the early costumes were called *chiripá*." This was a diaperlike nether garment that passed between the legs and fastened at the waist, to hang loosely at the sides.

"The primitive chiripá existed from about 1800 to 1840 or so; the second chiripá was used until about 1880 or 1890. From then on the *bombacha* became fashionable" (page 640).

Bombachas are loose, baggy trousers fastened at the ankle; Uruguayans wear them looser and fuller than do Argentines.

"Now," Don Horacio said sadly, "breeches are beginning to replace the bombacha."

Cowboys in Berets

Curiously, the flat-crowned felt hat of the gaucho, worn over a head kerchief, has given way to the Basque *boina*, or beret (page 635). Possibly because of the influence of the large number of Basques in the country, most cow hands wear boina, sash, and rope-soled canvas shoes with the bombacha (page 641).

The gaucho rarely wore boots or shoes. He wrapped his feet and calves in leggings of raw colt's hide with the hair on. Bare toes protruded, so that the big toe could grasp the brass ring or T at the end of the stirrup leather.

"Some of the old boys, from riding so long in this fashion," said my host, "looked like parrots when they walked, with the big toe standing out nearly at right angles."

On the savannas where wood is rare, cow dung furnished the only fuel available to the gaucho. In fact, so scarce was wood of any kind that walls around wells and other low fences were made of cows' leg bones, and horses' and cows' skulls formed the traditional chair of the gauchos.

Rough, self-reliant, quick-witted, and superb horseman, the gaucho was as handy with a guitar as with a knife. He liked to engage in bouts of couplets, sung to a guitar, while relaxing in a *boliche*. These little general stores served liquor from behind an iron grill.

Some boliches even had a kind of portcullis between the bar and the door. If a customer became belligerent and refused to pay, the barkeeper would unfasten a rope, and clang!

* See "Life on the Argentine Pampa," by Frederick Simpich, National Geographic Magazine, October, 1933.

Great Falls of the Uruguay River Block Navigation 200 Miles Upstream

From shore to shore the roaring cataract drops down a ladder of black basaltic rocks. Shadowy patches in the distance mark eucalyptus groves planted in a sea of grass to shelter livestock. Separating Uruguay (right) from Argentina, the river joins the Paraná above Buenos Aires and becomes the Rio de la Plata.

down would come the iron gate to hold him prisoner until the authorities arrived.

W. H. Hudson, Argentine by birth but of New England parents, made the gauchos live again in his book about Uruguay, *The Purple Land*.

All Uruguayans love the colorful gaucho of their country's past, and the highest compliment they can pay you is to say you are *muy gaucho*.

Just beyond Santa Teresa, the border town of Chuy straddles the international line. One side of the main street is Uruguay; the other Brazil.

Oxcart a National Symbol

Near here, a small fort, San Miguel, part of the colonial border defenses, forms another national monument. Here the Government keeps an exact duplicate of the old ox wagon of the plains.

Corresponding to the covered wagon of the American West, the high-wheeled wagon with rounded top was, with the passenger diligence, the only vehicle that crossed the expanses of "shoreless plain."

In Montevideo stands a bronze monument to this piece of the Banda Oriental's past. By the noted Uruguayan sculptor José Belloni, it is one of the most beautiful public monuments I have ever seen (page 644).

Many wars have raged about the frontier area. The Uruguayans have always been known as good, tough soldiers. They tell a story about a General Medina, who fought early in the 19th century against the Portuguese. Leading a cavalry charge against the enemy, he shouted an order.

"Take off your ponchos, boys; it won't be cold in the next world!"

A line drawn from Montevideo to Rivera in the north divides Uruguay almost exactly in half.

I flew to Rivera one morning, crossing at Durazno the River Yi, beloved of the hero of *The Purple Land*.

Vultures Love This Dried Beef, but Can't Touch It

A Uruguay countrywoman hangs meat aloft as if to invite aerial raiders. She knows that native carrion birds must sit to eat. One of these birds is the carancho, which, unable to decide on an eagle's or a vulture's life, hunts prey and scavenges the dead (page 632).

Not far beyond, the Rincón del Bonete power dam backs up the Río Negro into a tremendous ramified lake (page 646). The Negro, largest river within the country's borders, traverses all of Uruguay from east to west before it empties into the Uruguay River.

The big hydroelectric project of Rincón del Bonete assumes particular importance because Uruguay has no oil or coal, except a very low-grade lignite, and must import fuel. Two power lines already carry 75 percent of the potential power to Montevideo, 150 miles away. When fully operating, the project will generate nearly 500 million kilowatt-hours of electricity per year.

Amethysts in Hollow Stones

Near Rivera, agate and amethyst occur in geodes, rounded stones that when broken open reveal a miniature cavern of glittering six-sided crystals of clear quartz and violet amethyst.

In the yard of one house in Rivera I saw walks bordered by crushed amethysts, slowly bleaching white in the hot sun.

No one knows what causes the color in amethysts. It may be manganese, say some; or possibly it has an organic source. If exposed to strong daylight, the violet color slowly fades.

Ancient lava underlies this area. A gem cutter told me how the geodes were formed in it.

"When the lava cooled, millions of years ago, gas bubbles in the plastic mass left hollows, like the holes in Swiss cheese.

"Somehow, water either filtered through or condensed in these hollows, depositing in the hole these layers of mineral, first agate, then quartz, and finally in some cases amethyst."

He told me that all three are basically the same substance, with a hardness of 7 in the scale where the diamond is 10.

Solid stones made up entirely of agate show rings of gray, white, red, and brown when sliced lengthwise. Cutters polish such sections to make ash trays and paperweights.

To cut gem amethysts, lapidaries look for a flawless dark-violet crystal, then usually shape it in square or rectangular emerald cut.

The ancients thought amethysts would prevent drunkenness. (The original Greek form of the name means "not drunk.")

When I asked where the topazes I had seen in the capital's shops were mined, the lapidary smiled and said, "They're amethysts, too. When an amethyst crystal is heated for a time at about 750 degrees, the color changes to golden yellow."

Country people produce these exquisite golden gems by heating the rough crystals in a fire made of cow dung. When the fire, kindled in a hole in the ground, dies down to embers, they put in the crystals and cover the pit with sand, then let it cool slowly for two or three days.

Uruguay's Large Spanish Population Includes Many Bereted Basques

Even the cowboys, gauchos of yesterday, have given up their brimmed felt hats for the beret. This boatman piloted the author through rough seas where the Río de la Plata joins the South Atlantic.

Beef Roasted in the Hide

Flying northwest toward the Uruguay River, we landed at a ranch between Artigas and the river. At an outdoor barbecue here we tasted *asado criollo*, which was a kid split open and roasted whole by spread-eagling it on an X-shaped rack that leaned over a fire.

Over another fire, *asado con cuero*—beef with the furry hide still on—sizzled and sent

an exciting aroma into the air. Naturally, the hide is not eaten; it merely serves to seal in the juices.

While we ate at a long table under the trees, ranch hands sang and accompanied themselves on the guitar.

We flew west to the extreme northwest corner of Uruguay where, at the confluence of the Uruguay and Cuareim Rivers, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay meet; then we flew south along the Uruguay to the city of Salto.

Looking down on the level green of open country, we saw dark rectangular groves of eucalyptus trees. Planted to give shelter to cattle during windstorms, the regularly spaced oblongs looked exactly like ships strung out in convoy over the sea of grass.

Salto vies with Paysandú, 65 miles downstream, for the honor of being the second city of the Republic. At latest count, Salto had a slight edge.

Orange and tangerine groves stretch in geometric patterns about the white houses of Salto. Vegetables ripen more quickly here than in the cooler climate of Montevideo.

Salto at Head of Navigation

The Uruguay River, flowing southward from Brazil, separates Argentina from Uruguay. At Salto, 200 miles from where the Uruguay empties into the Río de la Plata, river steamer navigation ends. A chain of falls and rapids bars navigation.

Motor launches ferry passengers across the wide Uruguay between Salto and Concordia, the city on the Argentine shore.

With Salto city officials I attended a rededication of the monument to Giuseppe Garibaldi, Italian patriot and idealist. Garibaldi wrote a little-known chapter of his adventurous life in Uruguay, when in 1846, at the head of his Italian Legion, he won two battles that helped secure the independence of the Republic.

While Salto's people, many of whom are of Italian descent, gathered at the Garibaldi monument, I noticed what seemed to be dark smoke plumes on the horizon. Slowly the clouds attenuated into wavering lines and came toward us. Then, with a whirring and rustling, millions of locusts swarmed between us and the sun, glistening like metal against the blue sky.

My companions pointed to rows of citrus trees. Most had been stripped to the bare branches, while the glossy green foliage of other rows remained untouched.

"The whole ones are the tangerine trees," said one man. "Locusts don't like their leaves; too bitter."

Locusts periodically sweep south from the Argentine and Paraguayan Gran Chaco to ravage Uruguay and the adjacent Argentine provinces. Airplanes and helicopters spray insecticide over wide areas in a successful war against the devouring invaders.

A short distance above the city of Salto a spectacular series of falls and rapids, the Salto Grande (Great Falls), stretches from shore to shore.

In low water scores of roaring cascades pour over worn black basalt and discharge into long gorges (page 633).

The amber water swirls and foams through the canyons, forming powerful whirlpools in the fast current.

Fishing at Great Falls

Here, in the glassy glides above the lips of the falls and in the turbulent pools below, the dorado loves to lie. *Salminus maxillosus*, one of the world's great game fishes, looks like a yellow salmon, with finely penciled lines of broken dots along its sides (page 653).

These voracious predators sometimes reach a weight of 60 pounds, though they average much less.

At the Salto Grande the Uruguay Tourist Commission maintains a ranch-style guest house. From here I fished for dorado with a friend.

As our boatman rowed us along the foot of the falls, we cast big spoons into the foam-flecked eddies. Masses of floating spume lay like beaten egg white in the backwaters, and the heat beat back from the black rocks.

Suddenly an electric shock leaped along my rod. One hundred yards of 9-thread line melted from the reel, and downstream, so remote that it seemed to have no possible connection with me, a great golden fish leaped and fell back with a smash.

The incredible shock and downstream dash occurred almost simultaneously. Practically nothing can stop a dorado in this initial rush. They fight hard, leaping repeatedly as long as they are in fast water. The biggest I captured weighed just under 20 pounds and took 18 minutes to bring to gaff.

The Colorful Dorado an Epicure's Dish

When fresh from the water, the dorado makes a striking picture. Orange-red fins and tail complement his over-all golden-yellow coloring.

The head and gill covers appear to be plated with amber tortoise shell, and the big mouth shows wicked triangular teeth that cut steel leaders, and sometimes even big hooks, with the ease of wire cutters.

Uruguayan Trenchermen Never Slice Off More than They Can Chew

Old-time gauchos ate barbecued beef by grasping a hunk in the teeth and cutting away all but a bite. The sharp *facón*, or belt knife, served them in combat as well as at dinner. Connoisseurs prize whole beef roasted in the hairy hide, for the juices are sealed in (page 635). This descendant of gauchos works on a cattle ranch near Artigas. His sure hand has never nicked his nose.

Ashore, we cooked some of the dorado over an open fire. I am not much of a fisheater, but fresh-caught dorado, roasted over an open fire, is an epicure's dish, especially when the flaky white flesh is covered with a caper sauce.

When we later waded and fished, armpit deep in the shallower waters at the tail of the cataract, our rope-soled shoes picked up pebbles of many colors, fragments of agate and quartz washed downstream and worn round and smooth by the current.

Some pebbles glowed like tawny red rubies when held between the eye and the sun. Others looked like candy caramels with a spiral white filling.

The Uruguay washes so many agates ashore that the walls and sidewalks of the riverside promenade at Salto have rows of agates set into them.

Everyone Drinks Mate

Most of the world drinks coffee or tea for a pick-me-up beverage. The Río de la Plata countries prefer mate. Like tea or coffee, mate *(Ilex paraguaricnsis)* grows as a shrub or small tree. Mateine, a substance similar to caffeine, provides the stimulus in mate.

Commonly in the cities and towns shortly after sunrise I would see men, still in their pajamas, standing in their doorways and pensively sucking mate out of a pear-shaped or flat-sided gourd.

They call the gourd *mate*, also; the silver drinking tube is the *bombilla*. It takes so long for the liquid to seep through into the perforated bulbous end of the tube that drinkers acquire a patient, thoughtful air while sipping mate.

Friends showed me the proper way to prepare and drink it. Soon, like them, I carried my own mate and bombilla with me when traveling and called for hot water the first thing on awakening in the morning.

To prepare mate, I first placed the bombilla in the gourd; then I filled the gourd about two-thirds full of *yerba*, dried leaves and twigs of the mate tree. I added cold water to saturate the leaves. Now I poured in very hot water, and waited.

It takes time for the liquid to seep slowly into the pierced bulb in the end of the silver tube. Even then, I could draw up only the small amount in the tube. After that, I waited for it to fill up again.

And so the mate drinker goes on, periodically adding hot water from a small kettle, or, if he lives in the city, from a thermos bottle with a specially perforated stopper.

In its natural unsweetened state, mate tastes like green tea, more or less bitter and astringent, according to the variety and source. The herb is intensively cultivated, particularly in northern Argentina, but much of it still comes from wild trees in southern Brazil and Paraguay.

Men Drink the Bitter; Women the Sweet

Men usually drink bitter mate; women like to add a little sweetening. Sometimes they even brew it in a pot, like tea. But confirmed mate drinkers will have none of this effete procedure.

On the cattle and sheep ranches the hands get up about an hour before dawn and sit tranquilly sipping mate while they await the sunrise.

After working all morning on the range, the cowboy or shepherd drinks mate at 11 or so, and then again at the end of the day (page 641).

"But," said my friend who was telling me all this, "there are some who pass the entire day drinking mate."

In the old days, the gaucho subsisted almost entirely on mate and meat—beef, kid, or mutton. Apparently the mate supplied some of the elements needed to balance the diet, although the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson claims man can thrive on fresh meat alone if it contains sufficient fat.

Carnival Time in Montevideo

When I returned to Montevideo from up-river, Carnival had taken over the capital. All Uruguay joins in this festival with as much gusto as the Brazilians of Rio (pages 627 and 652).

Arches of colored lights spanned the principal avenue, from which traffic is cleared at night so that people may take part in the street procession.

At night most of the women are masked and in costume, and celebrants bombard one another with confetti and serpentines from floats or on foot.

Each section of the city erects a *tablado*, an outdoor stage decorated according to the ideas and abilities of the local talent.

On these stages perform mummers' troupes, musicians, and anyone who thinks he has talent. At the end of Carnival the city gives prizes to the most original and ingenious performers.

In the capital's theaters, hotels, and clubs big public balls are given, some starting in the afternoon and lasting until dawn. Usually three orchestras play in relays—a "fox," or American-style dance band; a samba orchestra brought from Brazil; and a típica, which plays tangos, milongas, and fast criollo waltzes.

Women go masked and unattended to these balls, which last not only the regulation three days of Carnival but also for another week.

I stood one night on the edge of a dance floor, watching the revelers dance by, their bright costumes a mass of changing color in the spotlights.

Sensing someone watching me, I turned to look into the dark face of a masque. It was a girl, her head completely covered with a sheath of black stockinet. Bunched and gathered cloth formed upstanding ears, and from eyeholes two bright eyes peered at me quizzically. Whiskers springing from each side of her mouth made her look even more pert.

We stared at each other in silence for nearly half a minute. Finally I asked, "Cat or rabbit?"

Looking as disdainful as two eyes can through black stockinet, she snapped "Bat!" and flounced off.

It would be ungallant not to let her have the last word.

 Kodachrome by Luis Marden

Garbed in Old-time Gaucho Costume, He Sings of Uruguay's Past

For a holiday barbecue this cowboy from Santa Teresa National Park wears the *chiripá* (skirtlike garment), kerchief, and felt hat of the gaucho, Uruguayan plainsman of the last century. Leather-covered weights of the *boleadoras*, Indian throwing weapon, hang from his waist. On his left arm he carries a broad-strapped riding crop.

Kodachrome by Luis Marden

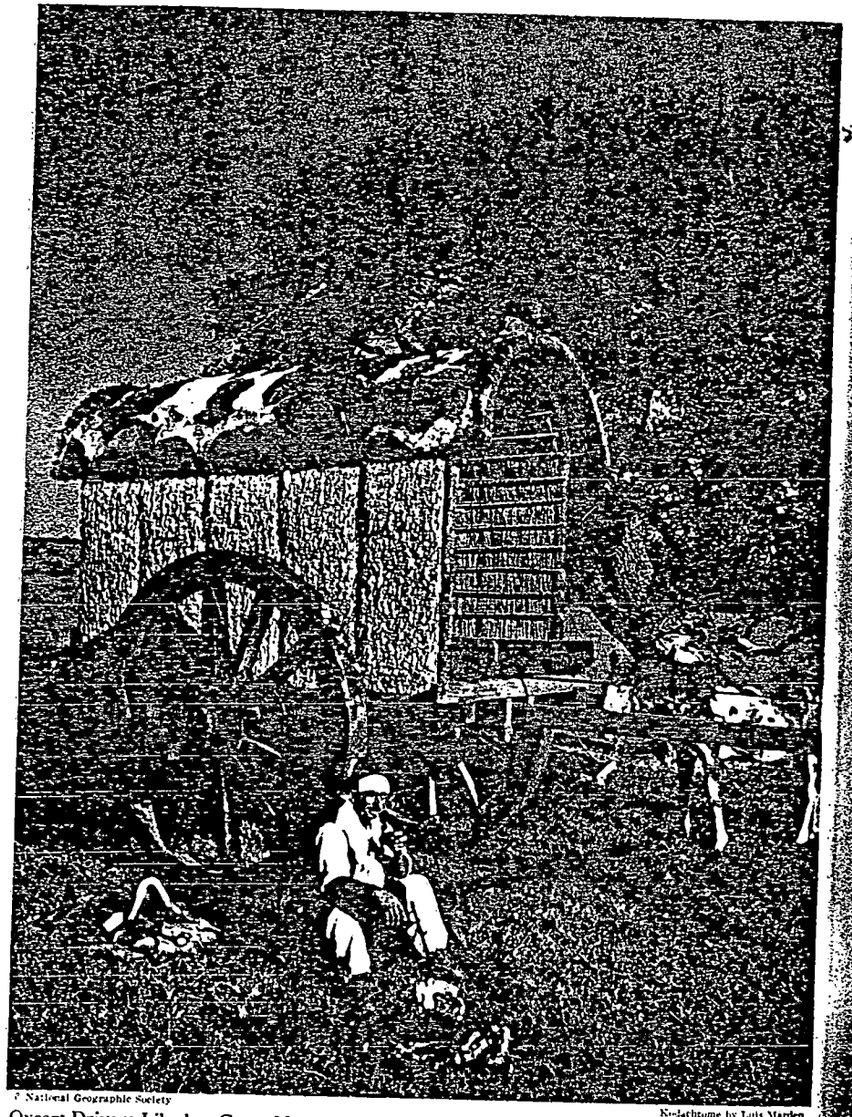
This Painting by a Noted Uruguayan Artist Displays Three Epochs of Gaucho Dress

Juan Manuel Blanes here shows three generations of last-century Uruguayans. Mate-drinking grandfather (right) wears the original skirtlike *chiripá*. Father (center) wears the middle-period *chiripá*, no longer split in front. A suitor, calling on the householder's daughter, uses the loose, baggy trousers, [illegible] still worn in rural Uruguay and Argentina.

Kodachrome by Allen Fisher

Fire and Mate, Stimulating Tealike Drink, Warm Uruguayan Cowboys When Day's Work Is Done

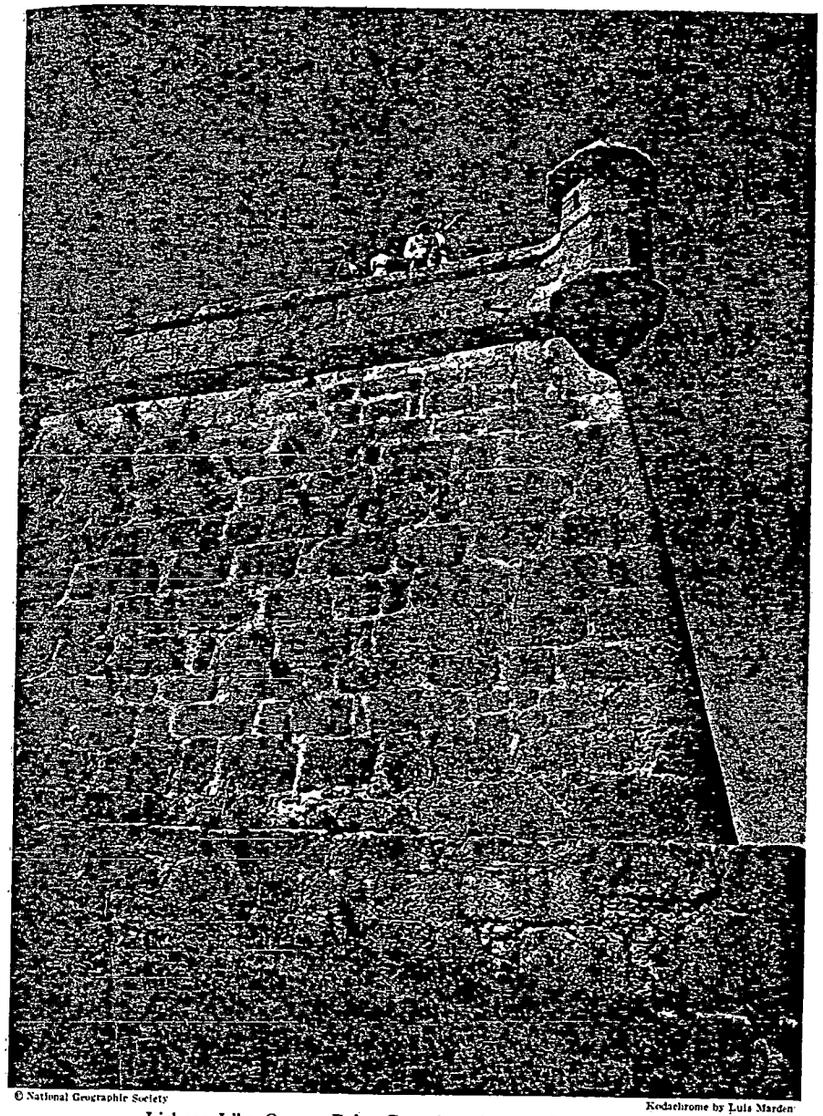
The men sip mate through silver tubes from flat-sided gourds, more popular in Uruguay than the pear-shaped gourds used in neighboring Argentina. Drinkers fill gourds about two-thirds full of dried mate leaves, then add nearly boiling water from the kettle. These ranch workers wear Spanish-style rope-soled canvas shoes.



 Kodachrome by Luis Marden

Oxcart Drivers Liked to Camp Near a Shady Ombú When Crossing the Nearly Treeless Plains

At San Miguel National Monument, the Government maintains this replica of the old-style ox wagon. High wooden wheels helped smooth inequalities in the ground; cowhides with the hair left on covered the top. The driver, in gaucho dress, sips mate while roasting a steak on a skewer.



 Kodachrome by Luis Marden

Lichens Like Orange Paint Coat the Walls of Santa Teresa

Restored by the Uruguayan Government, this fortress forms the nucleus of a large national park. On the shore close to the Brazilian frontier, it was built in 1750 to protect Portuguese possessions from Spain. The bastion changed hands in many wars among Portuguese, Spaniards, Brazilians, and Uruguayans.

Frozen in Bronze, Oxen Struggle to Release Their Wagon from a Mudhole: Montevideo's Famed Oxcart Monument

Uruguayans like to photograph one another against this covered wagon of the pampa, a creation of the sculptor José Belloni.

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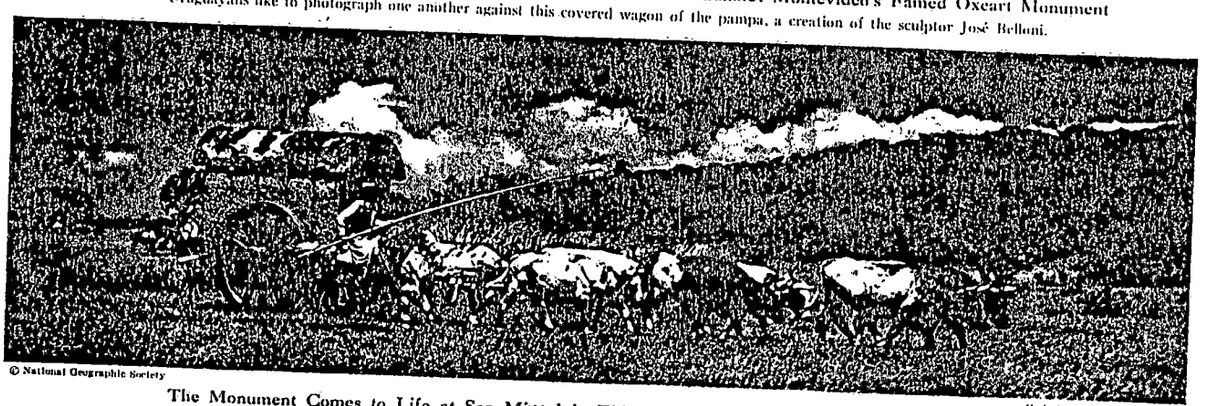

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Kodachromes by Luis Marden

The Monument Comes to Life at San Miguel in This Reproduction of Yesterday's Plains Wagon

Visitors may also see a duplicate copy of a diligence, the coach which formerly carried passengers and freight across the "shoreless plain."

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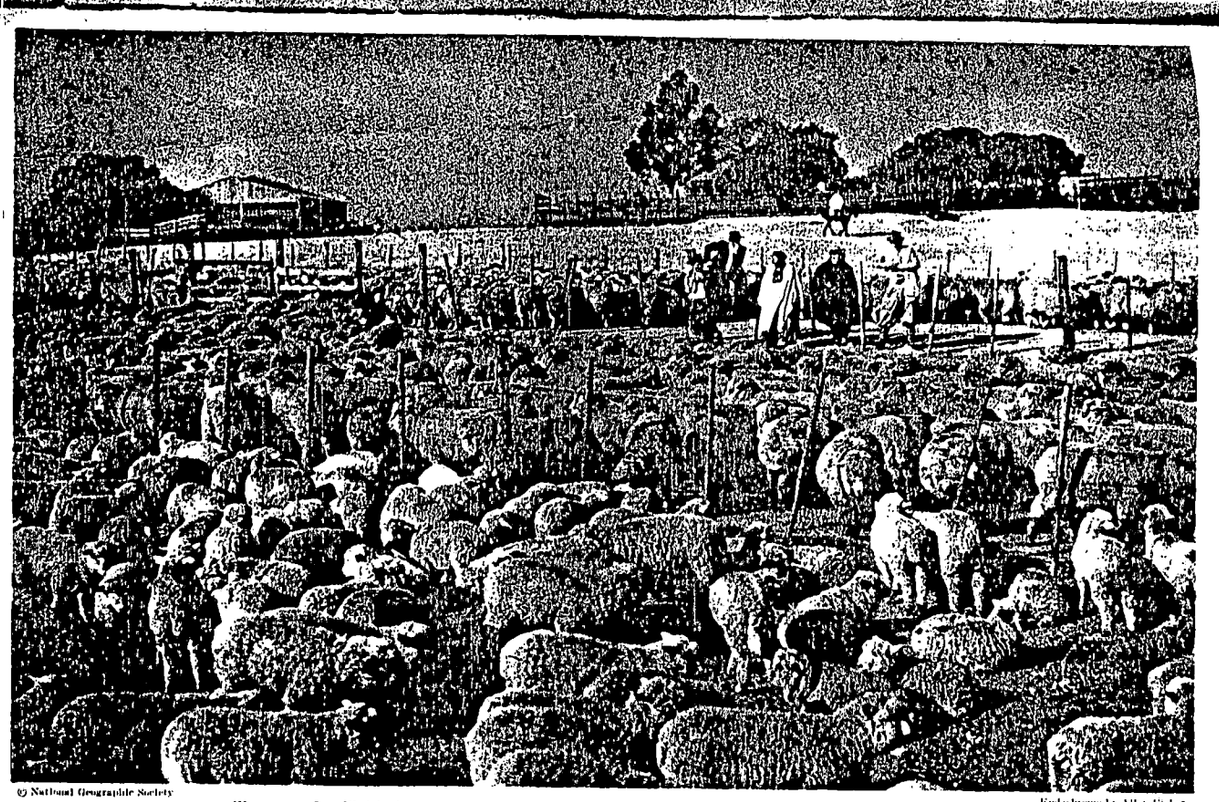

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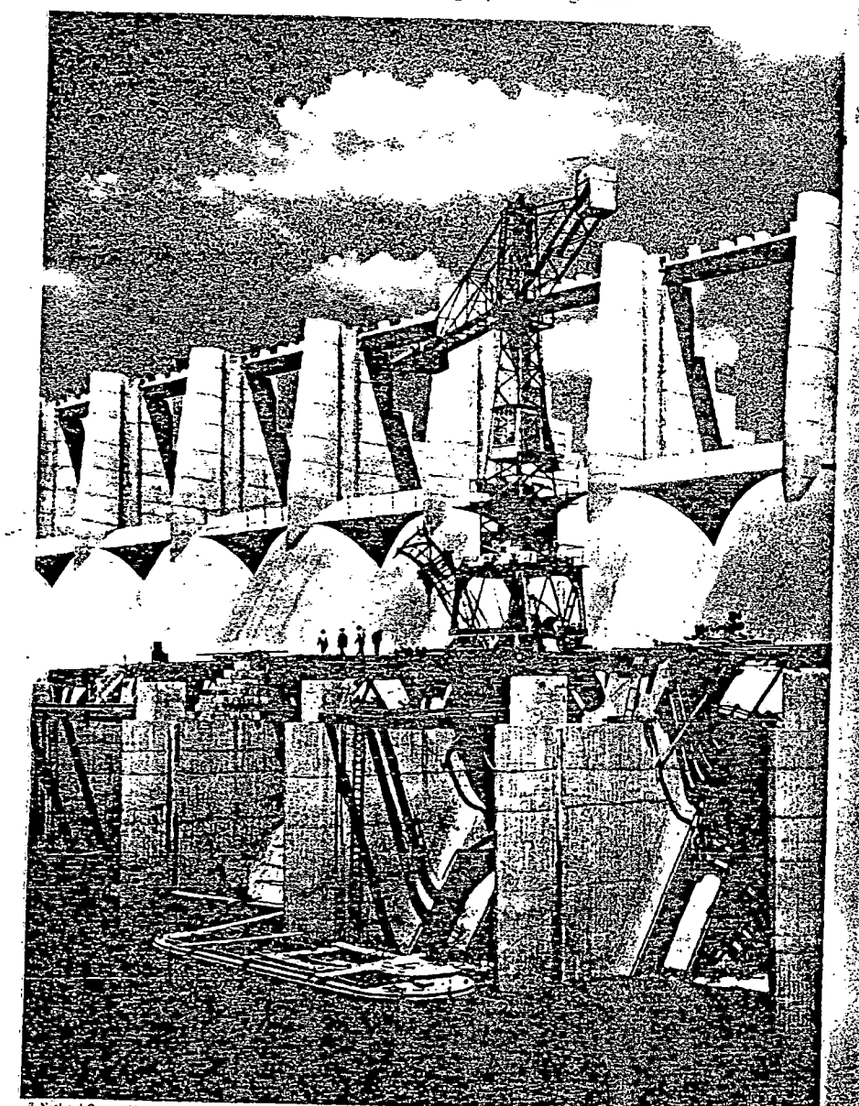
Kodachrome by Allen Fisher

Sheep at La Tablada Market Carry on Their Backs Uruguay's Most Valuable Export

Sheep now outnumber cows three to one in the Republic and furnish mutton as well as wool for export. Buyers assemble at dawn at this cattle market on Montevideo's outskirts. Against early-morning chill many wear long woolen ponchos. Most appear in comfortable plus-fours-like *bombachas* (page 6401).



 Kodachrome by Allen Fisher

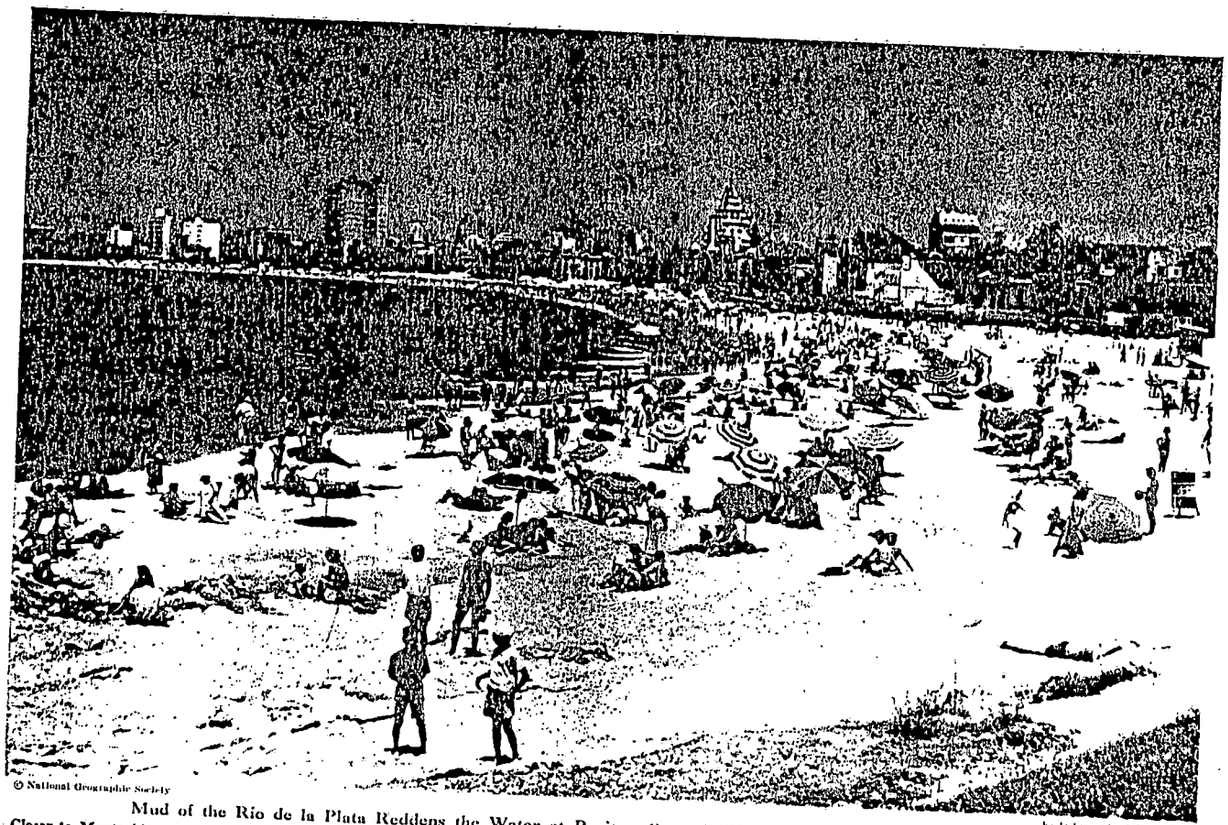
A Concrete Dam Impounds Waters of the Río Negro in Uruguay's First Hydroelectric Project

Situated almost exactly in the country's center, the Rincón del Bonete Dam forms an enormous lake. Two power lines carry electricity to Montevideo, 150 miles away. Flatcars on rails haul small boats around the dam. Eventually, two locks will permit larger vessels to navigate this largest Uruguayan river.

 Kodachrome by Allen Fisher

Waves Break Like Ocean Surf in the "Sweet Sea" at Carrasco Beach

Spanish discoverers in 1516 named the fresh-water expanse of the Rio de la Plata, *Mar Dulce*. When winds blow from the east, Atlantic waters surge upstream, making the water at Plata beaches clearer and saltier. A suburb of gardens and summer houses here surrounds an elaborate resort hotel and casino.



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Kodachrome by Allen Eicher

Mud of the Río de la Plata Reddens the Water at Pocitos, One of Fifty Beaches on the Uruguayan Riviera

Closer to Montevideo, Pocitos Beach waters are slightly less salty than those of Carrasco (page 647) and beaches farther east. Hotel and apartment houses with set-back style replace many older private residences like those at right. A broad boulevard, the Rambla, connects beaches close to the capital.

by National Geographic Society

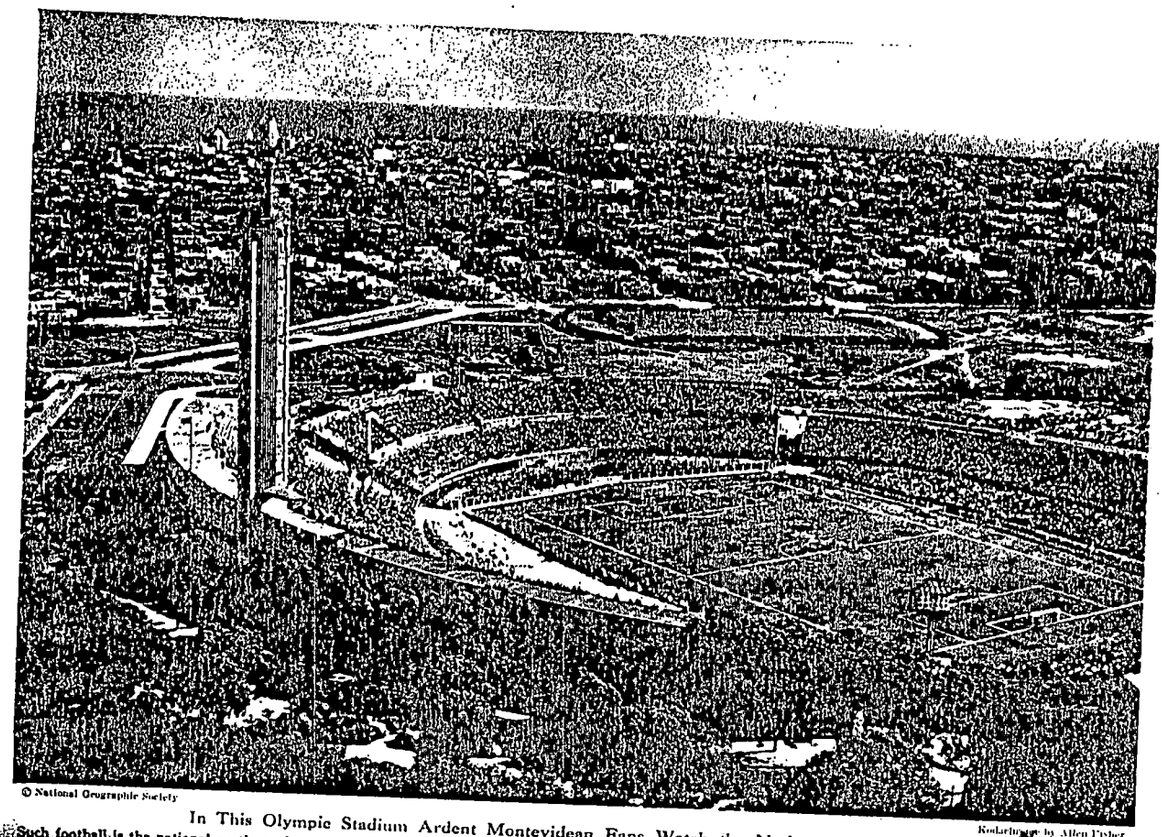
Uruguay's Excellent Corned Beef Travels Round the World

Canned meats are second to wool among the Republic's exports. Other meat products are beef extracts, frozen and chilled beef and mutton. Hides, once all important to the national economy, are of less value today.

Kodachrome by Allen Eicher

Schoolgirls Combine Good Looks with Good Books

The highly literate Republic stresses education, which is free from primary school to university degree. These girls, studying at home, attend the University of Women in Montevideo.



Kodachrome by Allen Fisher

In This Olympic Stadium Ardent Montevidean Fans Watch the National Sport—Soccer

Such football is the national pastime of most of Latin America. In Montevideo, intense rivalry exists between two professional teams: *Nacional* and *Peñarol*. Like the United States' World Series, national matches make fans of all citizens. *Peñarol* won this championship game, 3–2.

At Early Morning, Whiteface Cattle Await the Last Roundup at La Tablada Stockyards

Horsemen lead their cows to and from market by calling repeatedly, "*Venga, venga, venga!*" (Come!), and herd sheep by rattling cans filled with stones.

Kodachromes by Allen Fisher

Buyers and Sellers Discuss Beef on the Hoof at La Tablada Before the Drive to the Packing Houses

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They Dance and Pound Out African Rhythms for Coins During Carnival in Montevideo

Householders toss coins from windows to these groups, perhaps so they will move on, as they raise a tremendous din. To tighten nailed-on drumheads, players build fires of scrap paper in the gutter, then hold drums over the flames.

Kodachrome by Luis Marden

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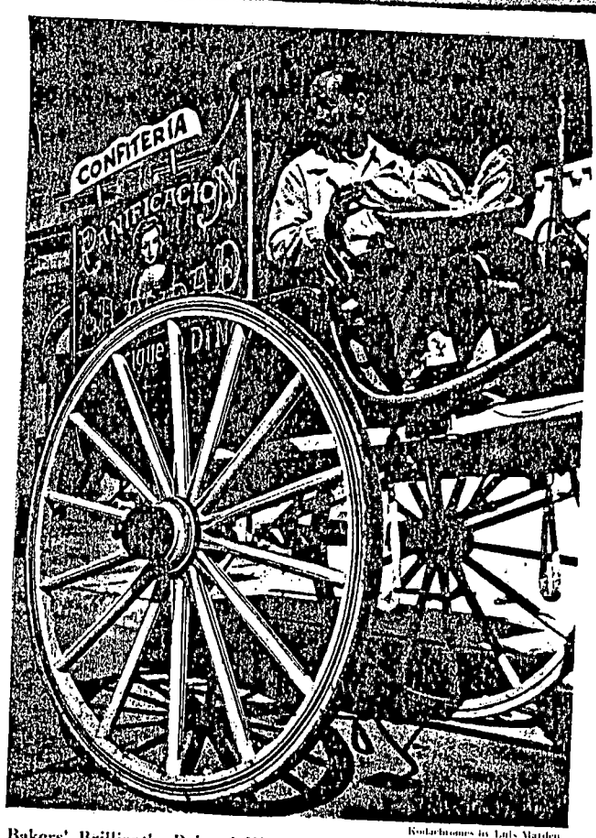
The Leaping Dorado Fights Harder than a Salmon



Kodachromes by Luis Marden

Bakers' Brilliantly Painted Wagons Brighten Montevideo Streets

Kodachrome by Luis Marden

The National Ensign Waves Before El Cerro, the Hill That Gave Montevideo Its Name

The cry of Magellan's Portuguese lookout in 1520—"Monte vid' eu!" (I see a hill!)—named the city. The ensign flies from the staff of a Uruguayan cruiser. Cargo ships lie at anchor in the harbor. Beyond, El Cerro rises to its height of 450 feet. The old fort atop the mount now houses a military museum and lighthouse.

The Fire of Heaven

Electricity Revolutionizes the Modern World

By Albert W. Atwood

IN the short space of a single lifetime man has wrested from the universe its very essence, electricity, and by means thereof has literally transformed the world.

Man lived on earth hundreds of thousands of years before he learned to use this strange, invisible force. The ancients knew that amber, whose Greek name was *elektron*, would pick up straws if rubbed, and they no doubt cowered before the lightning.

But it is only in the last 65 or 70 years that electric power has been substituted in ever-increasing degree for the muscles of men and horses to perform thousands of laborious tasks and to provide us with a myriad of previously undreamed-of comforts, conveniences, luxuries, and pleasures.

Although electricity is a vital force in more than 40,000,000 homes, farms, schools, stores, offices, and factories in this country alone, and has probably changed our mode of life more than any single invention, its use has come to be taken for granted, much like that of water.

Seventeen years ago when Thomas A. Edison died it was suggested that a fitting tribute would be the turning off for just 60 seconds of every electric power plant in the country. But it was quickly realized that this magnificent tribute would also be a continental disaster.

What Power Means to Man

If all power were shut off, there would not only be darkness but the stoppage of all manner of vital industrial, commercial, agricultural, and domestic processes and functions. A large part of all our transportation and communication systems would cease, including telegraph, telephone, motion pictures, radio, television, and radar.

Without lights, signals, and dispatching systems, railroad trains would barely creep along, if they could move at all. Airplanes could not communicate in the air, nor could they land, and even automobiles would have difficulty in refueling. Naturally there would be no fire, police, or street signals.

Water supply and sanitation mechanisms would stop. Hospitals and surgeons would be terribly handicapped: compressed air and hoisting machinery in mines would not function; ships in distress would have no modern means of asking for help; vital scientific machines and experiments would be halted or ruined; weather-reporting apparatus and electric-eye devices would go out; crowded elevators would be trapped between floors; people would be caught in subways under rivers—there would be terror, panic, and death.

It is a curious fact that, although the use of electricity is well-nigh universal and indispensable, the thing itself is very difficult to define. The common saying is that while we know many of the things which electricity does and how to make it, we do not know what it is, even after two or three thousand years of experience.

An old but pertinent story is that of the unhappy undergraduate who at the very start of an early-morning class was asked by the professor of physics to define electricity.

"I knew last night," replied the unfortunate youth, "but I've forgotten it."

"What a calamity!" exclaimed the professor. "The only man in the world who can define electricity and he has forgotten it!"

One reason we find electricity difficult to define is that it is not directly available to us in Nature in a form in which we can use it; we cannot run a steel mill by touching an electric eel, or by rubbing a parlor rug on a dry day, the stiff hair of a cat's back, or a piece of amber.

True, lightning is very powerful, and there are 16 million lightning storms a year over the earth (page 657). But lightning is too erratic to use: as Juliet said to Romeo of their love, "Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be ere one can say 'It lightens.'"

Sources of Electricity

Fortunately, we know how to get huge amounts of controllable and usable electricity out of falling water and from the steam which comes from burning coal, and to a less degree from oil and gas.

Electricity is only one of many forms of energy, which in turn is merely a name for capacity to work, and no law of physical matter is more fundamental than that of the transformation of energy from one form into another.

True, water power, coal, oil, and gas are by no means the only things which contain energy; it is found in food, wind, the tides, the sun, and in breaking up the atom (nuclear fission).

But atomic power waits upon the solution

Independent Picture Service

Top-quality wools from Uruguay's sheep are among the country's major exports.

This is an all-new edition of the Visual Geography Series. Previous editions have been published by Sterling Publishing Company, New York City, and some of the original textual information has been retained. New photographs, maps, charts, captions, and updated information have been added. The text has been entirely reset in 10/12 Century Textbook.

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A monument to the gaucho, or cowboy, stands in front of the Commercial Bank in Montevideo.

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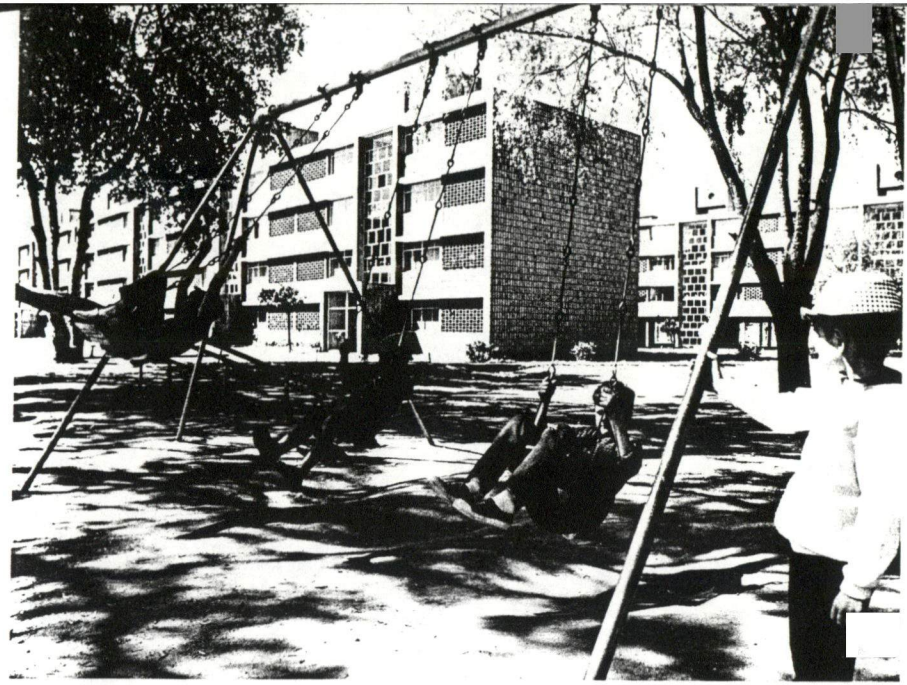

Courtesy of Inter-American Development Bank

As the price of single-family homes becomes more expensive, more families live in high-rise apartment complexes. The housing project where these children are playing is located on Avenida Centenario in suburban Montevideo.

Uruguay in Pictures © 1987

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Independent Picture Service

The extravagantly designed Palacio Salvo—which originally served as a hotel but now houses offices and apartments—remains one of Montevideo's landmarks. The bulging tower atop its multiple stories soars high above the city's palm trees.

has remained fairly stable throughout most of the twentieth century.

No other city in Uruguay is even remotely comparable to Montevideo, though special mention should be made of Punta del Este, the country's leading pleasure resort. Located on the Atlantic coast, a little more than an hour by car from Montevideo, Punta del Este has served as a conference site for major inter-American meetings in recent years—a point of national pride.

Paysandú and Salto, though important as secondary ports, have populations of only about 70,000 each. The inland towns of Mercedes and Rivera, with populations of 35,000 and 50,000 respectively, serve as business centers. Other towns of note include Fray Bentos, a meat-packing hub with a population of 20,000; Canelones, a suburban extension of the capital with a population of 15,000; and Maldonado, a colonial town on the Atlantic coast that was once a pirate stronghold, now with a population of 25,000.

In contrast to Montevideo, the rural towns and villages of Uruguay are quiet places that exist mainly as supply depots for the outlying ranches and farms. Rural towns are located on well-paved roads that fan out from the capital, and the commerce of the countryside thus easily flows toward Montevideo.

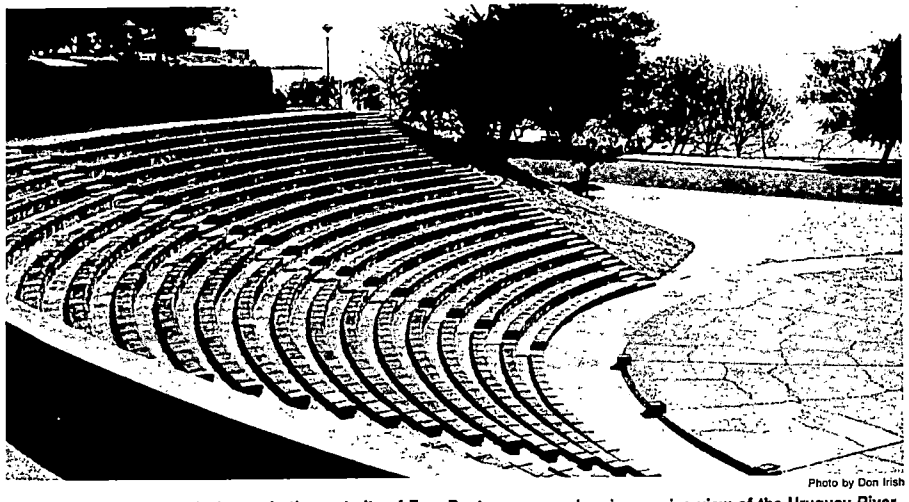


Photo by Don Irish

The seats of this open-air theater in the port city of Fray Bentos command an impressive view of the Uruguay River.

Courtesy of Organization of American States

Montevideo, as depicted by an artist in 1861, was a bustling center of commerce.

2) History and Government

Without gold, silver, or precious stones to attract greedy eyes, Uruguay was largely untouched by Spain's New World conquerors. Whereas the native inhabitants in other places in the Americas were forced to work in the mines to increase Spain's wealth, Uruguay's Indians were left to enjoy their ancestral lands. Eventually, the Spanish crown did send missionaries to convert the Indians of Uruguay to Christianity. Fortunately, however, Spain did not impose feudal systems for working the land—probably because the region's agricultural richness did not require them.

Early Explorers

Throughout its history Uruguay has had the advantage of being somewhat removed from well-traveled paths, which has aided its development as a self-reliant and independent nation. During the sixteenth century, a few New World explorers did stop off briefly in Uruguay while looking in vain along the Río de la Plata for a water passage through the heart of the continent to the Pacific Ocean. The first of them, Juan de Solís, dropped anchor in 1516 just a short distance from the present site of Montevideo.

Pleased with what he saw, Solís ordered his armed party to put ashore, but he and his men were quickly overpowered by the fierce Charrúa Indians. There on the beach, the cannibals built fires and devoured the hapless explorer and his men. The only surviver was a cabin boy—who managed to live on among the Indians until his rescue a dozen years later.

In 1520 Ferdinand Magellan—a Portuguese captain in the service of Spain and the first man to lead an expedition to sail around the world—traveled along the south coast of Uruguay. Like Solís, Magellan was looking for a passage to the Pacific. According to popular legend, when

Photo by Don Irish

Sculpted in bronze by José Luis Zorilla de San Martín, *El Ultimo Charrúa* (The Last Charrúa) can be seen today in Montevideo's El Prado Park.

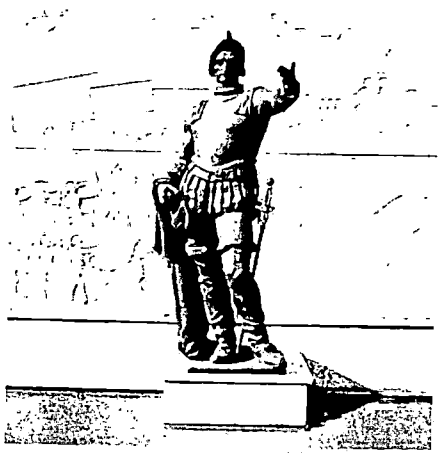
one of Magellan's lookouts saw the site of the present-day Uruguayan capital from the crow's nest he cried out, "Monte vide eu!" ("I see a mountain!" in Portuguese), thus giving the place its future name.

Seven years later Sebastian Cabot—an Englishman in the service of Spain—sailed to the Uruguayan coast and found the surviving cabin boy who was by then a young man. Cabot was pleased to have the lad as an interpreter to communicate with the Indians in their own tongue, and the youth was overjoyed to be rescued. It was on this visit that Cabot gave the Río de la Plata, or River of Silver, its name. Whether the explorer was inspired by the silvery shimmering surface of the water or by the mistaken notion that the banks of the river were rich in silver deposits remains unknown.

Little is known of Uruguay during the remainder of the sixteenth century. Beginning in 1580 the thrones of Portugal and Spain were united for 60 years, thus eliminating a source of Old World rivalry for Uruguay's territory. The Charrúa Indians —for the most part left undisturbed— rarely needed to repel intruders with their clubs, spears, bows and arrows, and bolas, or "stone-throwers."

Cowboys and Missionaries

The next century, however, found the peace of the Indians permanently disrupted by the arrival of cattle raisers and missionaries. Hernando Arias, first governor of nearby Paraguay, is generally credited as the one who introduced ranching into Uruguay. Arias, while shipping some cattle



Independent Picture Service

Hernando Arias, who introduced horses and cattle to Uruguay, is commemorated in this statue on Montevideo's waterfront.

and horses downstream through Uruguay, turned them loose to run wild on the territory's native pastures. The animals thrived and multiplied rapidly on the abundant grasslands. Soon the herds of these undomesticated creatures attracted the attention of gauchos, or cowboys, who lived across the Río de la Plata in the increasingly well settled area around Buenos Aires.

The rugged gauchos, who eventually became heroic figures in the literature and folklore of the area, were a nomadic and uncouth lot. Having no settled abodes, they cared nothing for titles to land or the development of civilization. They preferred simply to follow the cattle herds —using their hides for clothing and, with careless abandon, slaughtering the beasts when hungry.

In 1624 Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries followed the gauchos, not to herd cattle, but to lead the Charrúa into villages, where the Indians were taught Western habits and were assembled as a captive audience to hear sermons on the Christian way of life. The missionaries succeeded in

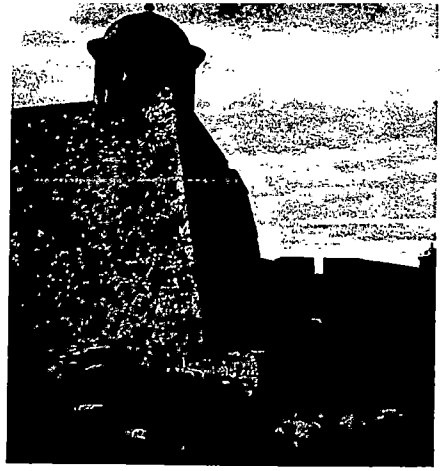
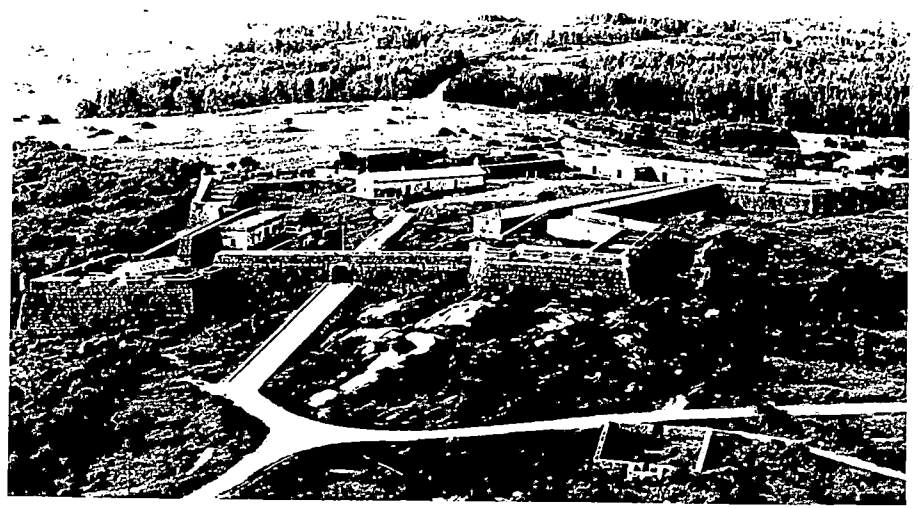


Photo by Don Irish

Now restored and converted into a museum, the colonial fortress of Santa Teresa *(above and below)* on the northeastern coast of Uruguay was built by the Spanish in the 1760s to resist Portuguese invasions.

Christianizing the Charrúa, in extending Spanish culture and influence, and in storing up wealth for themselves and their religious orders—something that would eventually lead to their undoing.

During most of the eighteenth century, the settlement of Uruguay continued—



Courtesy of Organization of American States

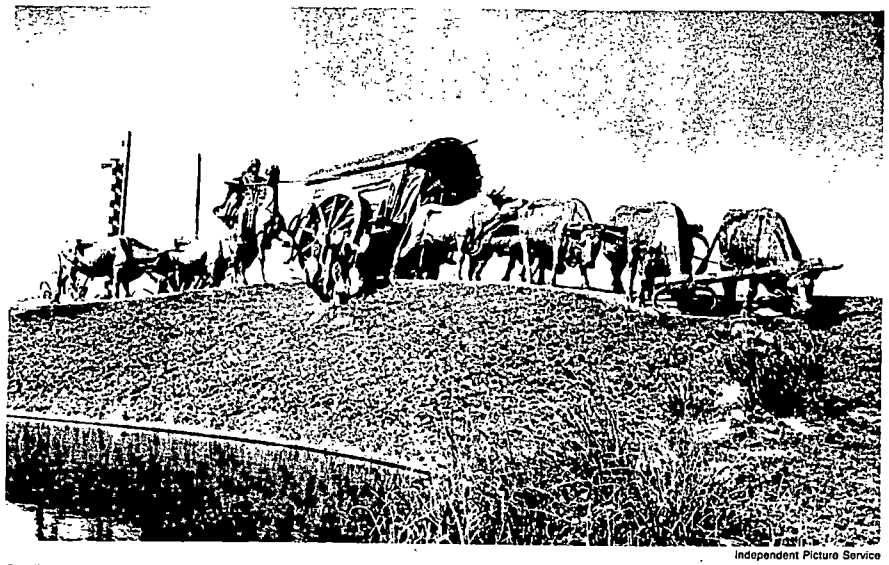
with neither help nor hindrance from Spain. Spain's presence was mainly represented by priests. In promoting Christianity and Spanish culture, the work of the missionaries was facilitated by Uruguay's open grasslands and lack of remote jungles and mountains where unwilling Indians might have hidden from the Europeans. Instead, with Christian ways and clothes, the Indians were soon absorbed into the more numerous immigrant population. The Charrúa Indians proved to be strong and valuable workers on the cattle estates.

With the founding of Montevideo in 1726, pressures increased to free the colony of Uruguay from the oppressive influence of church officials—many of whom had grown extremely wealthy. In 1767, in response to the growth of local enterprise and initiative, the Spanish crown expelled the Jesuit priests, a group that many felt had grown too big and too successful. From that moment the Roman Catholic missions in Uruguay entered a period of decline, from which they were never to recover.

Rivalry with Portugal

In the mid-seventeenth century, when the crowns of Spain and Portugal once again separated, an intense rivalry began within the region of the Río de la Plata for the surrounding territory and trade. As if to defy Spanish claims, the Portuguese established a settlement in 1680 at Colonia, directly across the Río de la Plata from the Spanish settlement at Buenos Aires.

Because Colonia threatened Spain's monopoly over an increasingly profitable river trade, Spain at once sent troops to capture and occupy the town. This incident sparked a feud that set Spain and Portugal intermittently at odds with one another for the next century and a half.



Independent Picture Service

Dedicated to the pioneers of Uruguay, *La Carreta* (The Two-wheeled Cart) is a bronze grouping of three yokes of oxen drawing a covered wagon, followed by a bearded horseman and two free oxen. Located in Montevideo's Batlle Park, the life-sized sculpture was created by Uruguayan artist José Belloni.

Three-hundred-year-old historic ruins still stand at Colonia—a small town on the Río de la Plata founded by Portuguese settlers from Brazil in 1680.

Photo by Don Irish

Though Portugal regained control of Colonia in 1763, 14 years later Spain took permanent possession of the town and, along with it, had enduring influence within the territory of modern Uruguay. In 1776 Spain's Bourbon monarchs began tightening up administration within their empire. They created a new viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata area and strengthened the region's military defenses.

Viceroyalty of La Plata

In addition to the present-day territory of Argentina, the new viceroyalty—with headquarters in Buenos Aires—embraced the area of modern Paraguay and Uruguay and parts of Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile. Uruguay and its capital of Montevideo were thus reduced to a subordinate status, and Uruguayans were resentful of this demotion. Their resentment smoldered for the next two decades until, toward the end of the eighteenth century, Spain and Great Britain were at war. As the conflict developed, the British fleet exercised a clear-cut supremacy over the aging Spanish flotillas.

The British occupied Buenos Aires in 1807 and Montevideo in 1808—the year when Napoleon Bonaparte and his armies overran Spain, imprisoned Spain's king

Ferdinand VII, and placed Napoleon's brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. Settlers in Uruguay, as elsewhere in Spanish America, were divided in their loyalties. Some pledged their allegiance to Ferdinand —Spain's rightful sovereign—and others supported Joseph Bonaparte.

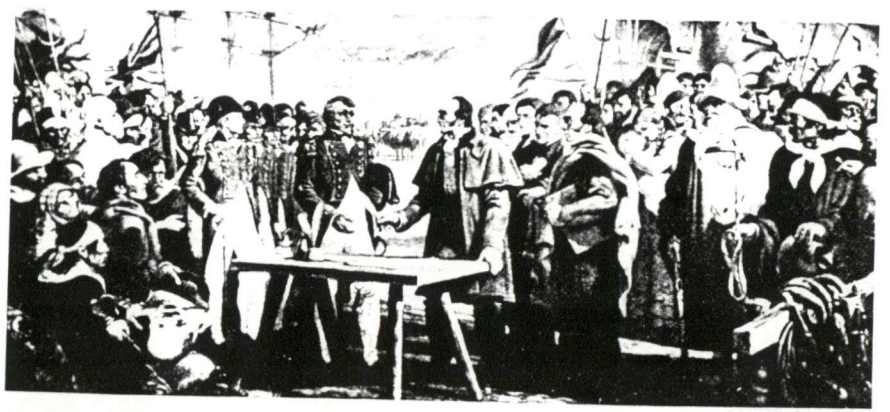
José Artigas

The rise of José Gervasio Artigas and the Uruguayan independence movement occurred amid Uruguayan anger over the mismanagement of their homeland by far-off authorities in Spain. Son of a Montevideo family, Artigas had adopted the gaucho way of life. He opposed the Spanish administration in Buenos Aires, especially its discrimination against Montevideo's trade. He thought deeply about the situation of his country, and he nourished his opinions by reading such publications as *Common Sense* and *The Rights of Man*, written by the North American Thomas Paine. Though these works were considered dangerous by Spanish authorities, Artigas had managed to secure them in Spanish translation.

Artigas organized an army of gaucho forces and in 1811 laid seige to Montevideo, the seat of Spanish rule in Uruguay. Portuguese troops from Brazil intervened —trying to gain Uruguay for themselves.

Photo by Organization of American States

José Gervasio Artigas, a patriot and gaucho from Montevideo who became the leader of the independence movement, led Uruguayans in revolt against Spain in 1811.



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The Uruguayan painter Zorilla de San Martín has depicted Artigas negotiating a commercial treaty with the British.

In response Artigas led an exodus of about 15,000 Uruguayans—one-fourth of the total population—to the west bank of the Uruguay River in neighboring Argentina and Paraguay.

For two years Artigas refused to submit to the control of Spanish authorities in Buenos Aires. His price, which Buenos Aires rejected in 1813, was a guarantee of complete autonomy for Uruguay. Buenos Aires troops took Montevideo in 1814, but Artigas and his gauchos drove them out in 1815 and declared independence. The rebels set up a federal republic patterned after the United States and held together a large federated area—including not only the Banda Oriental, or eastern bank of the Río de la Plata, but the northern provinces of Argentina as well.

In 1816 Artigas was driven out of Uruguay by new, larger, and stronger Portuguese forces from Brazil. Artigas withdrew to the northern Argentine provinces, where he continued to oppose the Buenos Aires central government. When he was finally defeated in 1820, Artigas sought sanctuary in Paraguay, where he lived in poverty for 30 years. Admirers of Artigas say that through his heroic deeds he created a Uruguayan sense of national pride and laid the foundation for the country's independent existence.

Given Uruguay's geographical location —across the river from Buenos Aires, southern South America's foremost city, and south of Brazil, the continent's biggest nation—Artigas's accomplishments are even more striking. Had it not been for Artigas, present-day Uruguay would surely have become part of either Argentina or Brazil. That Uruguay survived into nationhood at all is largely due to the jealousies of European powers anxious to absorb as big a portion as possible of the Río de la Plata region. Uruguay's independence is also due to the rivalry—which still continues—between Argentina and Brazil. Throughout its history, Uruguay has survived mainly by serving as a buffer state —that is, by tempering and limiting contact between the two bigger nations.

The 33 Immortals

Before Artigas could complete his mission, Brazil annexed the Banda Oriental. Brazilian rule was mild enough, but the Uruguayans' newfound pride suffered. In 1825 a group of Uruguayan exiles living in Buenos Aires invaded their homeland.

Known to history as the 33 Immortals, the rebels—under the leadership of Juan Antonio Lavalleja and José Fructuoso Rivera—mounted an impressive revolt. The local population was quick to rally to their banner. Moreover, the authorities in

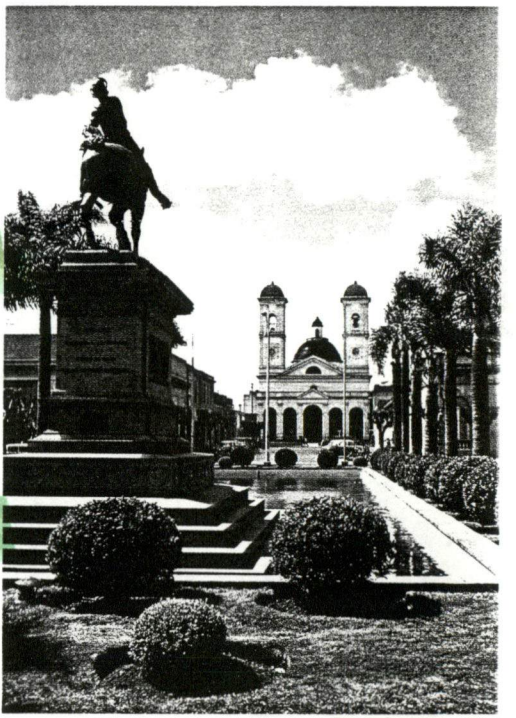
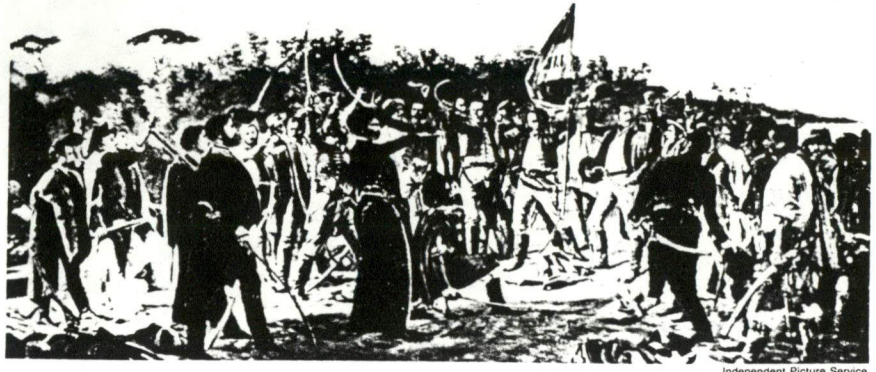


Photo by Don Irish

A bronze equestrian statue of Juan Antonio Lavalleja—co-leader of the 33 Immortals who brought independence to Uruguay—adorns the public square in the town of Minas.



Independent Picture Service

In a period painting, Uruguay's 33 Immortals swear allegiance to their homeland. Their successful campaign to win freedom for Uruguay began in 1825.

Buenos Aires, seeing a chance to incorporate the Banda Oriental into their sphere of influence, sent land and naval forces to help the rebels.

Argentine intervention brought war between Argentina and Brazil, with the Brazilians subjecting Buenos Aires to a tight and effective naval blockade. The blockade put a virtual stop to Great Britain's trade in the area, and British diplomats in 1828 succeeded in negotiating a settlement between the two warring South American rivals. As part of the settlement, Uruguay was designated as a buffer between Argentina and Brazil. From this negotiated beginning, Uruguay has maintained its independence—though at times somewhat precariously—ever since.

Courtesy of Organization of American States

Rich in dramatic style and realism, *The Two Ways*—by nineteenth-century Uruguayan artist Juan Manuel Blanes—depicts two gauchos at a crossroads.

Nationhood

At the time of its creation as a nation, Uruguay's prospects were scarcely promising. The land was nearly deserted, with fewer than 100,000 people. Most were either gauchos, who managed the land and their cattle in a Wild-West style, or shepherds, who tended flocks of sheep scattered about the nation's grasslands. Only in the capital city was there a group of people with more than the barest essentials of education, and this constituted an unrepresentative elite. Yet it was precisely this group that had to wrestle with the problem of creating a nation.

On July 18, 1830, Uruguay enacted its first constitution. The drafters either did their job exceedingly well, or their successors had neither inclination nor skill to do better. This first constitution remained in effect for 89 years—a remarkable record considering the frequency with which constitutions were scrapped and rewritten in other South American republics.

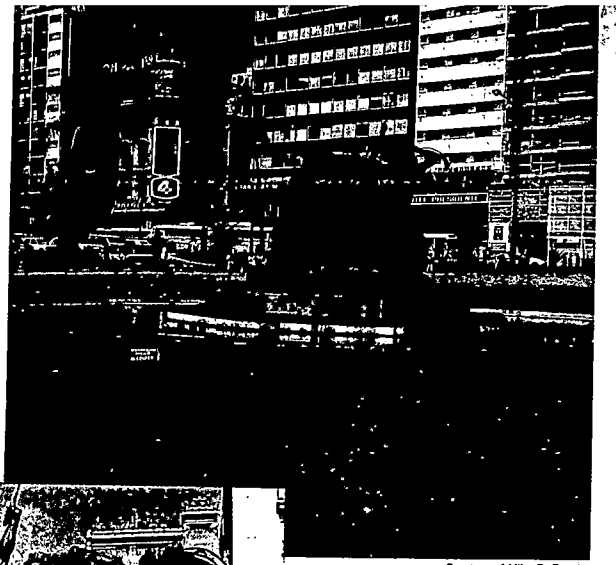
One probable reason for the survival of the Uruguayan constitution was the freedom that it allowed. Local political groups could revise and modernize public institutions as well as reapportion power as realignments occurred within the nation's parties. In addition, Uruguay's leaders were zealous protectors of free speech within the nation's parliament—even when legislators voiced views directly opposed to those of the executive branch.

For the next 70 years Uruguay's continued existence was threatened by nearby countries and by internal strife. Perhaps as a strengthening measure, the nation early adopted a two-party system of politics and government. By 1836 two well-defined parties, each with its own private gaucho army, had grown up around former leaders of the rebellious 33 Immortals. Manuel Oribe became the chief of a group of conservatives called Blancos, or Whites, because of the white ribbons they wore on their hatbands for identification. Their

Courtesy of Organization of American States

Eighteenth of July Avenue runs into Plaza Independencia in this 1865 street scene.

At Plaza del Entrevero in Montevideo, this statue *(right and below)* by Uruguayan sculptor José Luis Zorilla de San Martín depicts a group of gauchos engaged in battle.



Courtesy of Mike R. Rassier

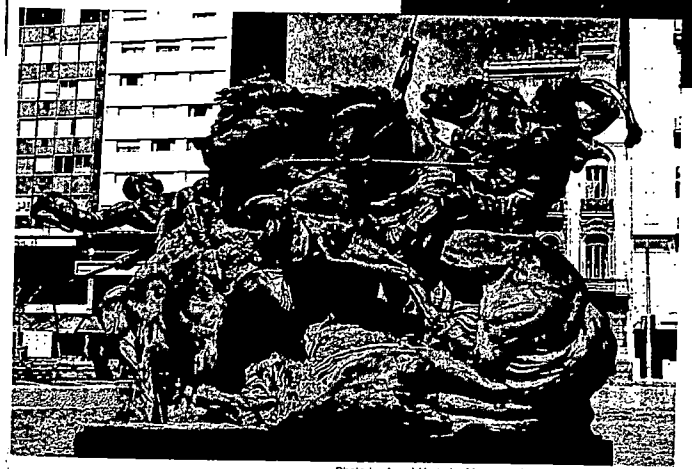


Photo by Angel Hurtado, Museum of Modern Art of Latin America

opponents, led by José Fructuoso Rivera, wore red ribbons and were called the Colorados, or Reds.

A New Troy

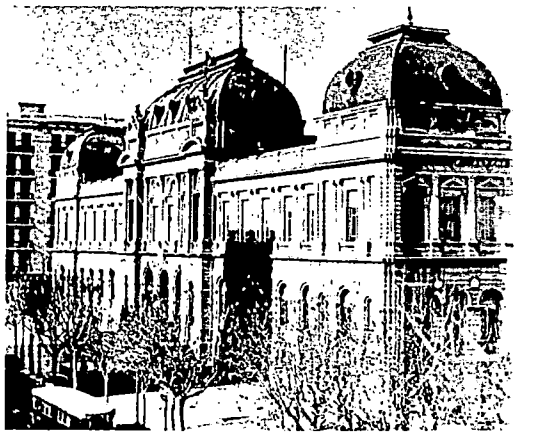
The rivalry of the Blancos and Colorados, which continues to this day, has been periodically complicated by the meddlesome interventions of other nations. In 1843, for example, the Argentine dictator Manuel Rosas supported the Blancos and thereby helped touch off an eight-and-a-half-year struggle, known in local history as the Great War.

The fighting included a prolonged Argentine siege of Montevideo, which was held by the Colorados. The Blancos, aided by the Argentines, imposed a naval blockade and intermittent land assaults. In Paris the Uruguayan struggle inspired the great French writer Alexandre Dumas—in a book called *Montevideo: A New Troy*—to compare the lot of the Uruguayan capital to that of ancient Troy, long ago laid siege by the Greeks.

Besides becoming the focus of international attention, the war took on the proportions of a civil war in Argentina as well as in Uruguay, with the opposing sides

Photo by Don Irish

The School of Law *(above)* is one of many departments at the University of the Republic, founded in 1849 in Montevideo. This and earlier views of the law school *(right)* and of the School of Medicine *(below)*—also in Montevideo—reflect the massive, ornate style of the late nineteenth century.



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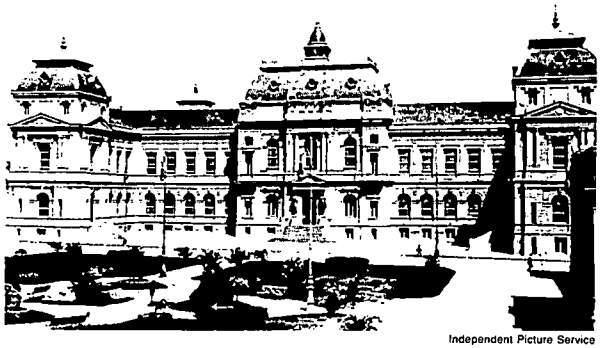

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Courtesy of Organization of American States

The battlefront of the War of the Triple Alliance—in which the forces of Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina joined against Paraguay—is depicted in this historical painting.

either for or against the tyrant Rosas. Arriving from Italy, Giuseppe Garibaldi—one of the founders of the modern nation of Italy—won a hero's laurels for his part in toppling Rosas during an Argentine uprising in 1851.

Revolutionary Strife

With the signing of a peace treaty on October 8, 1851, Uruguay found domestic tranquillity short-lived. Twice during the next 16 years, President Venancio Flores of the Colorado party had to request Brazilian help to maintain himself in office. In return for this help, Flores committed Uruguay to join with Argentina and Brazil from 1865 to 1870 in the War of the Triple Alliance against heavily armed, but hopelessly overpowered, Paraguay.

No sooner was this conflict over than Uruguay was torn once again by internal strife. The Colorados easily emerged the winners, and by 1872 it had become apparent that they were strong enough to maintain their political hold indefinitely. Widespread acceptance of this fact led both Colorado and Blanco civil and military leaders to strike a deal. The Blancos were given control of key public offices and local police forces in four of the country's nine departments (provinces), while the Colorados were allowed to dominate the balance of the departments and to run the national government. Following a brief uprising in 1897, Blanco control was increased to include six departments.

Independent Picture Service

The war against Paraguay lasted six years, until the Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López was killed. Here, the raising of the white flag of truce ends the war, while Uruguay's Florida battalion pays its respects to its commander, who has just fallen in battle.

This arrangement provided the basic organization of Uruguay's two-party system, which through the years has seen the conservative Blanco party dominant among rural-based ranchers, and the more liberal Colorado party dominant in the cities, especially in Montevideo.

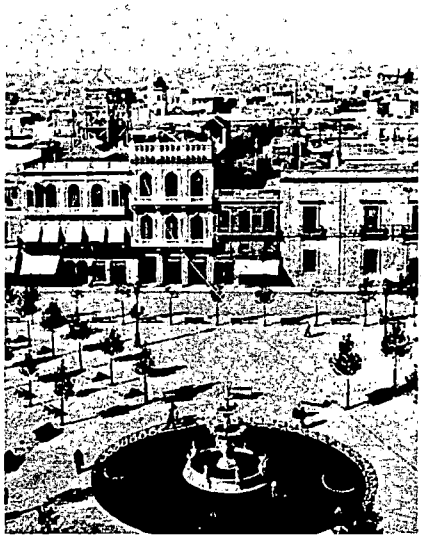
While this system for exercising national and local power was being hammered out, Uruguay itself was changing. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, revolutionary violence subsided, and the nation's leaders succeeded each other peacefully. In contrast to the earlier rough-hewn gaucho caudillos, or political strongmen, more and more of Uruguay's presidents and ranking public officials were regular army officers.

The Late Nineteenth Century

During the late nineteenth century, social and political changes were accelerated by heavy immigration from Europe, particularly from Italy. The immigrants and their families—many of them skilled workers hailing from countries with well-defined political traditions—made a marked contribution to Uruguayan life. They demanded improvements in the country's schools, they increased the nation's productivity, and they added a fresh measure of social awareness to both of Uruguay's political parties.

If there was a single turning point in Uruguay's struggle for stability, it was perhaps the accord that followed the assassination of President Juan Idiarte Borda in 1897. Idiarte Borda—a Colorado with dictatorial tendencies—relied on the army for support, which led to civil war. Upon his death, leaders of both political parties laid down their arms and signed an agreement that guaranteed the political rights of all citizens.

The incoming Colorado president, Juan Lindolfo Cuestas, made the achievement of domestic peace his highest priority and put an end to the civil strife that had stagnated productivity on the nation's farms. Uruguayans, who had seen or participated in some 50 revolutions in the previous 70 years, breathed easier. Finally, with the national spirit of harmony following the death of Idiarte Borda, there was hope. Besides resolving their disagreements, Uruguay's feuding parties had



Independent Picture Service

In 1900 Montevideo was a provincial capital, with low buildings and open, tranquil parks—such as the Plaza Constitución.

perhaps unwittingly created an atmosphere in which the nation's leaders could work toward defining Uruguayan solutions to Uruguayan problems.

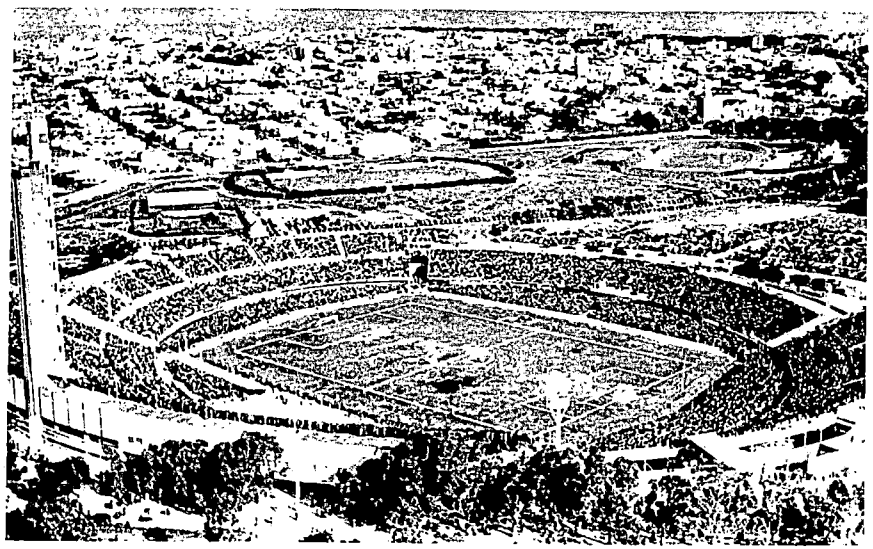
José Batlle y Ordóñez

As the nation's political situation improved, José Batlle y Ordóñez appeared on the scene. Son of a former president of Uruguay, Batlle founded a leading newspaper and, after several years' service as a congressman, was elected senator in 1898 and president in 1903.

Armed with a strong personality, new ideas, and a genius for political organization, Batlle not only led a new administration but also launched a new era. He served twice as president, from 1903 to 1907 and from 1911 to 1915, and remained a dominant influence in Uruguayan politics long after his death in 1929. Batlle based his appeal to the electorate on moral force. He sought and won backing from

Courtesy of Organization of American States

José Batlle y Ordóñez—Uruguay's president from 1903 to 1907 and from 1911 to 1915—founded the liberal Colorado party newspaper *El Día* and instituted liberal democratic reforms.



Independent Picture Service

Named for the man who brought modern social legislation to the nation, Batlle Park in Montevideo is the home of this stadium, where full-capacity crowds throng the stands during soccer matches.

the nation's forgotten workers and a then-silent middle class—two groups not previously wooed by office seekers.

Under Batlle's leadership, armed politics gave way to electoral politics—though not without a fight. The fight was a Blanco rebellion, which lasted nearly a year, from its beginning on Christmas Day, 1903, to the rebel defeat on September 1, 1904. In putting down the insurrection, Batlle exercised firmness and persuasion. In the process, he gave Uruguayans a sense of purpose and a positive national morale. They began to believe that social progress and a better life for all could be achieved.

Batlle energetically promoted education, improved conditions among the nation's workers, and increased efficiency in public administration. During his years in office railways were built; ports were modernized; and waterworks, gas, electricity, and telephones were introduced. He emancipated his country from foreign exploitation and safeguarded free institutions.

By channeling the currents of change, Batlle was able to give reforms focus and sweeping force. At the same time, he held off radicals who wanted faster reform, Conservatives who wanted no reform at all, and dawdling politicians who were mainly interested in pocketing the rewards of office. As a result of his leadership, in the early 1900s, Uruguay achieved social and economic goals that much of the world is still far from reaching today.

Under Batlle's influence a new constitution became effective in 1919. The constitution provided for a popularly elected president, a nine-member national council of administration, and a two-house congress. The congress also was equipped with a seven-member permanent commission that was empowered to act while congress was not in session. The Blancos did not oppose this new charter. It was hard for them to campaign against social security, workers' rights, and the breakdown of class divisions when the country was, in fact, enjoying peace and prosperity.

Photo by Don Irish

Built in 1897, this Parisian-style building—with wrought-iron balconies and intricately colored vertical panels—adds subtle beauty to Eighteenth of July Avenue in Montevideo.

Photo by Don Irish

Prominently displayed on Uruguay's government buildings, the coat of arms dates from 1908. Framed by olive and laurel branches, the emblem displays scales, standing for justice; the fortress of Montevideo, standing for strength; the bull, representing abundance; and the horse, freedom.

The Mid-Twentieth Century

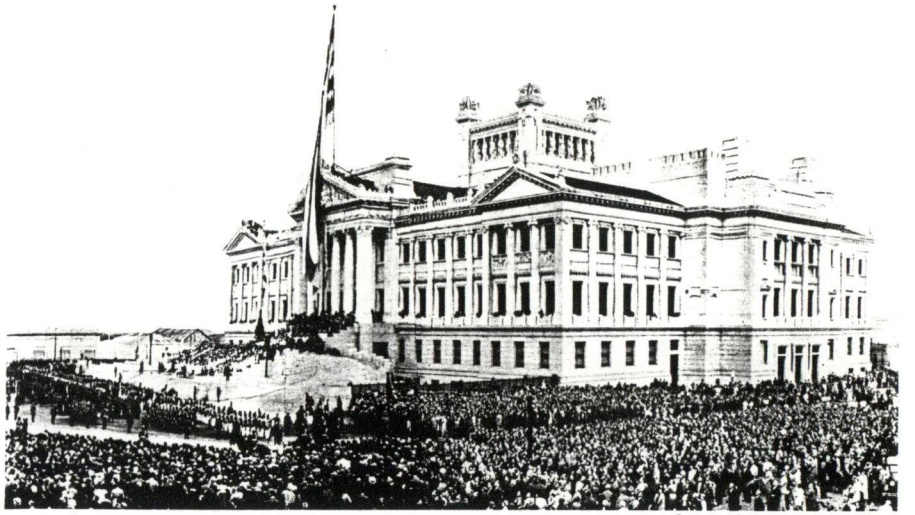
Following Batlle's principles, the government of Uruguay worked fairly smoothly until the Great Depression, which lasted from 1929 until the mid-1930s. During these years of extreme, worldwide economic decline, the normal procedure of government broke down. President Gabriel Terra quarreled with the National Council of Administration and was the object of impeachment proceedings by the congress. After using force to suppress his opposition, Terra dissolved both the council and the congress and for four years ruled as a dictator. In 1934 he persuaded the country to accept a new constitution, which provided for a representative and democratic form of government. The nation was headed by an elected president and assisted by a nine-member council of government—whose members were appointed by the president, not elected by the people.

This revised constitution worked well enough until the end of 1951, when the people voted to substitute for the president a nine-member executive body—the National Council of Government—under which the presidency rotated from one member to another, allowing the Colorado and Blanco parties to share power. Under this system, the Blancos won a national election in 1958 for the first time in 93 years.

Uruguay's economy began to decline during the 1950s. Inflation increased dramatically, and the country lost markets for its agricultural exports. At the same time, the cost of imports and of the nation's social programs increased. The National Council of Government proved unable to deal with these problems effectively.

Independent Picture Service

The presidential offices are housed in this impressive building on Montevideo's Plaza Independencia. The presidency of Uruguay has undergone a number of changes since the office was first established by the Constitution of 1830.

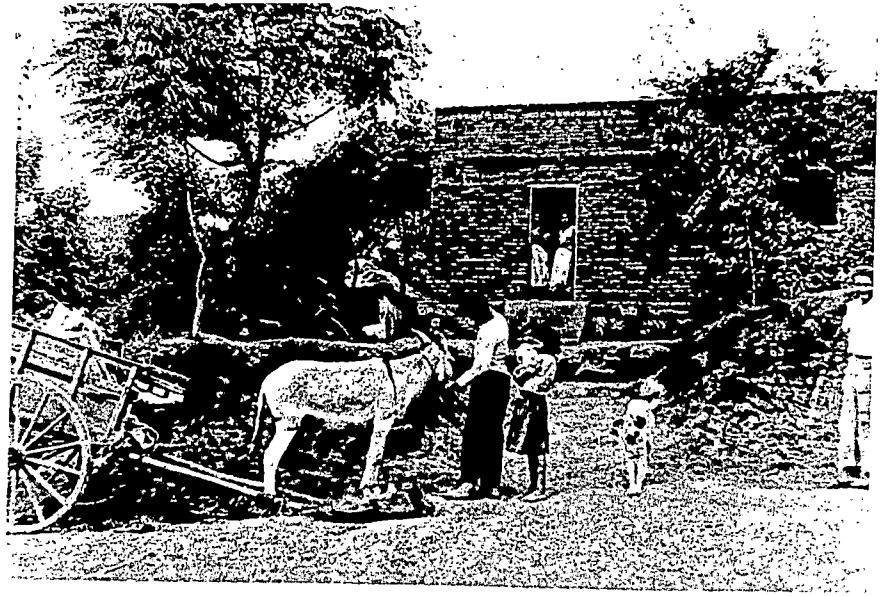


Courtesy of Organization of American States

A huge celebration in 1930 commemorated the centennial of the construction of the capitol.

Courtesy of Organization of American States

In 1960 Uruguayans marched in full-dress parade to welcome visiting U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.



Independent Picture Service

In Uruguay's mild climate, rural people often go barefoot and live in simple houses. They are much better off, however, than the impoverished farm laborers in many other Latin American countries, for they are literate and very well nourished.

In expressing beliefs of this nature, Uruguayan farmers are well spoken, generally well informed and forthright. In contrast to many of the campesinos (farm laborers) of other Latin American nations—who scratch out a poverty-level existence from worn-out, rocky soil—Uruguayan farmers till and ranch some of the most prosperous lands in South America. Well-fed and often well-educated, Uruguayan farmers and their families are productively self-employed.

The Gaucho

Uruguay's legendary gaucho—who is something like the stereotyped cowboy of North America's Wild West—is an idealized version of the real-life gaucho. Today's gauchos wear blue jeans, topcoats, and soft black hats with the brim upturned in the front. While horseback riding is still a popular sport in Uruguay, today's gauchos are more likely to drive a jeep or truck when working. Those who do ride horses probably mount a western-style saddle, rather than the sheepskin saddle of the rugged gaucho past. Many gauchos carry a transistor radio and a thermos of hot water for making maté (tea). They have also added vegetables to their once meat-heavy diet.

Although Uruguay's gaucho has clearly changed, the memory of the old-time gaucho—clad in a long woolen poncho, riding hard, and fighting with a facon (knife) at every opportunity—is still in the national consciousness. The traditional image of the South American gaucho was immortalized by José Hernández, an Argentine who over a century ago wrote the epic poem, *Martín Fierro.* Widely read in Uruguay as well as in Argentina, this epic has become a part of the national heritage. Parts of it have even been absorbed into the modern Spanish language, just as parts of Shakespeare's works and the King James version of the Bible have been assimilated into the English language.

This dairy farmer and his family are German-Swiss descendants who live near the city of Treinta y Tres.

Courtesy of Inter-American Development Bank

Courtesy of David Mangurian

Although few Uruguayan farm workers retain the traditional outfit, these gauchos still wear bombachas (baggy trousers), leather boots, and facons—short, daggerlike knives carried on the back of their belts.

Gauchos wearing traditional clothing "break" a horse for riding.

Independent Picture Service

80 ¶ Address Before a Joint Session of the National Congress of Uruguay. *March 2, 1960*

Mr. President, distinguished members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen, citizens of Uruguay:

Before I give to you my communications, the thoughts that I have wanted to say to you, I want to express something of my feelings concerning the welcome that has been given me by Montevideo—all the way along the beaches, through the streets with their majestic buildings, and by a people that seemed to be expressing the utmost in friendship.

My only regret is that every member in every dwelling in the farms and cities of my country could not have seen this day, because they would have realized that this people was trying to say "We are with you, in believing in freedom, in our dedication to liberty, and because we are so joined with you we send across these oceans to you from North America, our very best wishes."

I deem it a high honor to address you, the democratically elected representatives of the people of Uruguay.

I bring you from my people and my government earnest expressions of friendship and good will.

The United States shares with Uruguay an abiding desire to live in freedom, human dignity, and peace with justice.

The great wonder of history is that leaders—knowing that peoples everywhere, regardless of economic station, race, or creed, possess a burning desire to achieve these values—still have been unable to prevent the world from becoming tragically divided by mistrust, threat, and even overt hostility.

In our time, the destructive power available for misuse is awesome. We have now reached the point in human progress where the choice before us is mutual annihilation or abiding cooperation in the construction of the peace that lives as a cherished dream in the hearts of people everywhere.

At this fateful time, the people of the United States find themselves carrying unbelievably heavy burdens. They do this not just in their own interest, but for the benefit of all who cherish freedom—all who believe that human affairs should be managed in harmony with basic moral law. They do this for all who are deeply convinced that peoples have the

inalienable right to live in peace, with their creative energies devoted exclusively to building the social, cultural, and economic institutions consonant with their own desires.

My country makes these sacrifices with no avaricious end in view. The United States does not covet a single acre of land that belongs to another. We do not wish to control or dictate to another government. We do not desire to impose our concepts of political, cultural, or economic life upon either the largest or the smallest, the strongest or the weakest, of the nations of the earth. We believe that the people of every nation are endowed with the right of free choice, and that the most sacred obligation of the world community is to guarantee such choice to all.

Need I document these assertions? The Philippines today are independent—by their own choice. Alaska and Hawaii are now, proudly, equal partners in our federated, democratic enterprise—by their own choice. Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth within the United States system—by its own choice. After World War I, World War II, and the Korean War, the United States did not in any way enrich itself at another's expense—even from former enemies.

Indeed, it did the opposite. We offered substantive help to others, first for reconstruction, and then, because of thundering threats, for the creation of a cooperative defense system to protect the free world from deliberate attack or the miscalculation of arrogance.

I am aware of the feeling of many people in Latin America that the United States, while giving bounteously for postwar reconstruction and mutual security, has been less generous with our good neighbors of this hemisphere.

I am the first to acknowledge the fallibility of nations and leaders, even those with the best intentions. But I ask you and all our good friends of the Americas to consider this:

The aid we gave to Europe after the Great War helped restore that area as a producer and buyer, to the benefit of Latin America as well as to ourselves. During the war, the trade of Latin America with the United States increased six-fold, and has been sustained at a higher level since then.

The resources we have exported for the construction of a defense perimeter have been for the benefit of all who desire freedom, independence and the right to be unmolested as they work for the improved well-being of their own people.

Attn Writers:

New dawn in the

New World ⟹ theme

for big speeches in So. America.

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

My thoughts today could have no better forum -- my words, no better audience -- than here, in Brasilia. A city that so aptly symbolizes the energy and aspirations of a great people -- the bold and expansive spirit of a great nation -- and the promise of a bright future for **all** of the Americas.

We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And throughout the range of issues we've discussed, all of us, I think, have been seeking for a way to express what we see as a new, more mature relationship among the Americas.

President Collor, who represents a new breed of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades. Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another brilliant achievement in Brazilian democracy -- and **I congratulate you and all Brazilians.**

President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree.

I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long compromised political and economic relations in the Americas. **Let us instead speak of the New World.**

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, the rule of law, and the rights of man.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- this is a moment to look to the future of the New World. For while we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, in the Americas,

too, we have heard the rolling thunder of political and economic revolution. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, **I contend we have just begun to press forward, toward the real promise of the Americas.**

Ideals endure. Territories may end at borders, continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. **The sun is not setting in the West. I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.**

To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.

To truly fulfill the New World's freedoms, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must now embark on a venture for the coming century: **to create the first fully free, fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind.** The first hemisphere wholly devoted to freedom -- to free speech, free trade, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.

It is within our power to make this hemisphere the largest trading center of sovereign nations in the world. From the northern-most reaches of Canada to the tip of Argentina, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will **bring unprecedented prosperity and stability.**

Latin America's economic adjustment is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

This new model of Latin American development presents a challenge to traditional political culture. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians --- **by all of the Americas.**

That was the spirit of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In **trade**, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

For **investment in the Americas**, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples out of poverty. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the $10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. They create widespread prosperity. And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual over the power of government -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the Americas will stretch on forever. Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes, who opened "new paths never trod, never known," **we, too must be willing to move in new directions.**

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why **the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas** is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on concessionary terms. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that **real solutions must be collective**. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership.

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, **we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability** -- in regional arms control, in nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

But underlying all of the issues we face together is a more fundamental challenge, whose success will affect them all.

We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the political revolutions we've witnessed. We must make ours a hemisphere where economic competition is embraced -- not as a threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity.

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, **let us together enact the unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights** -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward **a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.**

This vision of a completely free, completely democratic hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is now within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, **let us now make our relations the world's inspiration.**

With our hearts and minds and hands, let us meet a challenge worthy of our heritage -- worthy of this land of boundless frontiers and limitless opportunity.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- **let the new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.**

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

# # #

the economy worsened. Institutions that had managed to contain conflict in the past proved to be inadequate. The collegial executive was replaced in the 1967 constitution by a more powerful single executive. Unrest increased in the university and secondary schools. The trade union movement was radicalized. The Left began to unify in opposition to the Blanco and Colorado hold on the electorate. The Tupamaro guerrilla movement emerged out of frustration and idealism. And, most important, most Uruguayans clung to a security blanket of welfare-state populism that was dying with hardly anyone really noticing. The military would quickly wake everyone up with a nightmare that was all too real.

I dealt with some of these themes and issues in 1975 in my first book, *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure*. This volume will not ignore the historical context, and it will build on the knowledge and controversy engendered by its predecessor. I hope this work will give the reader an understanding of how Uruguay developed and how it misdeveloped. But the bulk of this study will concentrate on the decline of Uruguay's "exceptionalism," the nature and effects of the twelve-year military dictatorship, and the exciting, if problematic, reconstruction of democracy that Uruguay has undergone in the last two and one-half years, as was revealed to me during three trips I made to Montevideo during that time.

This work would not have been possible without the courage of the Uruguayan people and the support of my friends and colleagues, most especially, Louise Popkin, Ronald Hellman, Juan Rial, and Freida Silvert. As always, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my wife, Ruth, without whose inspiration and encouragement this book would not have come to be.

Martin Weinstein

1

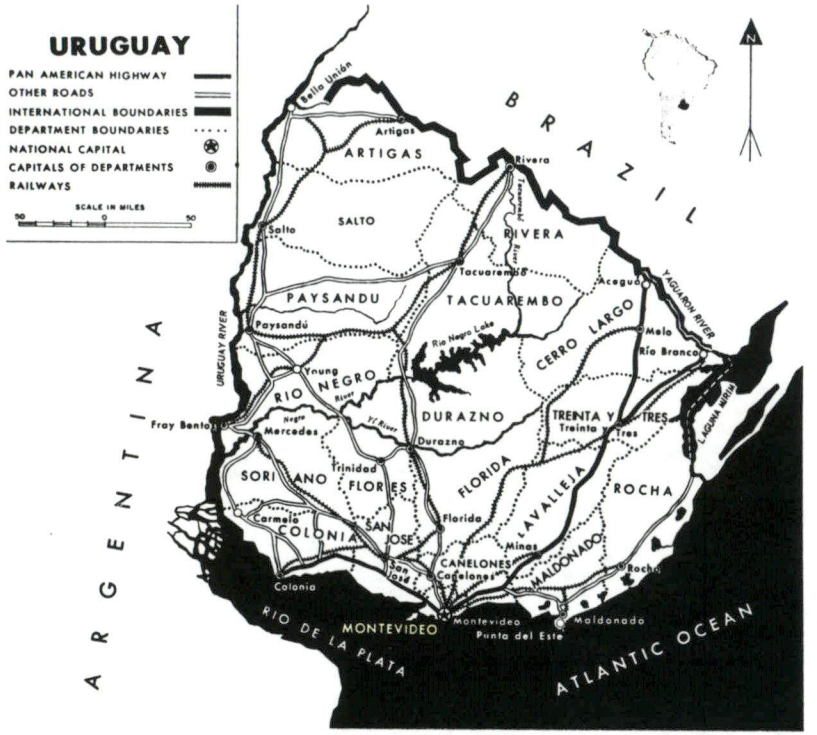
The Land and the People: A Heritage of Moderation and Culture

The Oriental Republic of Uruguay sits between Argentina and southern Brazil at the beginning of the remarkable estuary known as the Río de la Plata (see Map 1.1). The nation's official designation as the Oriental Republic stems from its location on the east bank of the Río Uruguay; that river, the border between Argentina and Uruguay, flows into the River Plate estuary. Prior to independence in 1828, the country was known as the Banda Oriental (eastern shore).

THE LAND

Uruguay is the smallest country in South America; its land area of approximately 72,000 square miles is about the size of North Dakota. Even so, its territory is equal to that of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Costa Rica combined. Uruguay has no significant mountain ranges, its highest peak being only 1,644 feet high. Its undulating grasslands contain no significant mineral resources, but almost 90 percent of its land surface is capable of growing crops, and 70 percent is tillable soil. The country shares the flatness of the Argentine pampa but not the richness of soil with which its neighbor is blessed. In this regard it has much more in common with the land of southern Brazil, Río Grande do Sul, of which, in fact, it is a natural extension.

Uruguay is almost totally bordered by water. Only some 175 miles of its 1,147 miles of geographical boundaries are not ocean, river, or estuary. Sitting in the La Plata basin, which is fed by the Parana and Uruguay rivers, the country has excellent hydroelectric resources. In addition to the Río Uruguay, the country's other major river is the Río



Map 1.1 Uruguay. Source: *Introduction to Uruguay* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, n.d.), p. 1.

Negro, which begins in southern Brazil and continues for some 500 miles down the middle of Uruguay. On the eastern border of Uruguay is the Atlantic Ocean and toward its northeastern limit is a large tidal lagoon, Laguna Merin, that it shares with Brazil. The southern coast is bounded by the Río de la Plata estuary on which Montevideo, with its excellent harbor, is situated.

Uruguay's strategic location makes it a geographic—and thus political—buffer between Brazil and Argentina, and its viability has always been historically important to the commercial trade of the entire region. It was for this reason that the British became increasingly interested in the stability and independence of the Banda Oriental, a goal aided by rising political consciousness in the region that led, with British diplomatic intervention, to political sovereignty.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Uruguay is a country of European stock. Some 90 percent of the population is of Spanish or Italian heritage. The small Indian population the Spanish encountered when they arrived in the seventeenth century was killed off, fled, or eventually intermarried, so that by the 1850s there were no pure-blooded Indians left. Two small Indian tribes in the Banda Oriental when the Spaniards arrived, the Charrúa and the Chana, had been pushed there by the expanding Guaraní empire in Paraguay. Indians resisted the first European explorers and in fact killed many members of the first expedition in 1516. The Indians' continued resistance slowed colonization in the area during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. Eventually they were displaced by the growing groups of Argentines and Brazilians who entered the Banda pursuing cattle and horses. It is estimated that the Mestizos (mixed Indian-Europeans) may comprise 5 to 8 percent of the total population, and they are concentrated in the northern provinces along the Brazilian border.

The black population numbers some 40,000–60,000. In the second half of the nineteenth century thousands of African slaves were brought to Montevideo. By the end of that century, blacks constituted 20 percent of the population of Montevideo and thus an important part of the labor force. With the influx of Europeans, the black population came to represent a smaller and smaller faction. Although some blacks still live in the area of Montevideo known as the Cerro, where some of the meat-packing plants are located, the majority of the black and mulatto population is found in the northern departments near the Brazilian border.

Uruguay's Jewish population has declined tremendously in the last two decades. Estimated at 40,000 in 1970, the community is now considered to number less than 25,000. Most of the Jews left because of the deteriorating economic situation and the rise of military dictatorship. Jews are active in the legal and medical professions and in some commercial enterprises. Originally attracted to Uruguay by its stable democratic and secular culture, they were never active in the political arena. Although living in Montevideo and involved in the liberal professions, they have been heavily Colorado in their political loyalties.

Uruguay's first census, taken in 1908, showed a total population of 1,042,686. Uruguay, like Argentina, had thus apparently experienced a huge growth in population during the preceding generation, owing to an influx of Spanish and Italian immigrants. The census indicated that an incredible 42 percent of the population of Montevideo was

TABLE 1.1
Estimated Total Population and Demographic Rates, 1895-1975
(five-year averages)

	Total population (thousands)	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Migration	Total increase
		(rate per thousand)				
1895-99	826.3	43.4	14.8	28.6	0.1	28.7
1900-04	934.8	38.9	13.7	25.2	0.9	26.1
1905-09	1054.5	37.6	14.0	23.6	2.2	25.8
1910-14	1189.5	36.5	13.5	23.0	1.3	24.3
1915-19	1318.8	31.9	14.1	17.8	0.2	18.0
1920-24	1448.4	30.1	12.6	17.5	2.6	20.1
1925-29	1606.5	28.6	11.9	16.7	3.9	20.6
1930-34	1758.8	25.8	11.5	14.3	1.2	15.5
1935-39	1880.6	22.3	11.1	11.2	0.6	11.8
1940-44	1991.6	21.6	10.3	11.3	-0.1	11.2
1945-49	2111.5	21.1	9.1	12.0	0.5	12.5
1950-54	2263.4	21.2	8.5	12.7	1.4	14.1
1955-59	2436.4	21.8	8.8	13.0	.04	13.4
1960-64	2611.4	22.0	8.6	13.4	0.4	13.8
1969-71[a]	n.a.	22.1	9.6	12.5	n.a.	n.a.
1975[b]	2781.8	21.1	9.9	11.2	-5.4	5.8

[a]Three-year average
[b]1975 only
Source: M.H.J. Finch, A Political Economy of Uruguay Since 1870 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 24.

foreign born; the figure for the country as a whole was 17 percent. The data in Table 1.1 show that the growth in population, explosive around the turn of the century, has been meager in the last two decades.

According to the 1985 census, Uruguay has a population of just under 3 million inhabitants, up only slightly from the 2.6 million at the time of the 1963 census. The low birthrate and heavy emigration of the last two decades, both a reflection of economic decline and political breakdown, account for this very slow growth in population. By 1970 Uruguay had the lowest percentage of population under fourteen years of age and the highest percentage over sixty-five years of age of any country in Latin America. It is estimated that the median age in Uruguay, as of 1986, is 40, easily the highest in Latin America and one of the highest in the world.

Montevideo, because of its strategic location on the River Plate, has always been the principal city of Uruguay and, from the beginning of the country's history, has contained a significant percentage of its population. In recent decades, the economic stagnation of rural areas has led to an internal migration to Montevideo that has maintained the city's population even in the face of the significant (some might say extraordinary) emigration the country has experienced since the 1960s.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Uruguay, especially by Third World or Latin American standards, is a middle-class country. Whether we characterize the middle stratas by economic, social, educational, or valorative criteria, Uruguay, and especially the subsystem of Montevideo, may be characterized as middle class. As Antonio Grompone concludes in his study *Las Clases Medias en el Uruguay:* "Synthesizing, then, Uruguay is . . . a country in which members of the middle class, urban as well as rural, and those who have ties with governmental activities predominate in everything. This explains the idiosyncracies of their mentality and the social interest that appears in the resolution of particular types of conflicts—political, economic and social."[1]

The domination by the middle class of the political and economic life of the capital, coupled with the European ethnic profile, created a sense of a totally integrated society. Although this picture of social integration may be accurate within the capital, it does not accurately reflect the differences between urban and rural Uruguay. The split between city and countryside is wide and deep. Almost four-fifths of Uruguay's industrial production takes place in or around Montevideo. The census shows that there are four times as many people per physician in the interior as there are in the capital. Infant mortality is twice as high in the interior as it is in Montevideo, and a higher proportion of the population in rural areas is under fifteen years of age. More important, life chances in terms of schooling show a significant geographic variation. The proportion of students completing *liceo* (high school) and going on to the university drops precipitously as one moves away from Montevideo.

Uruguay can be accurately described as a city-state in spite of the fact that historically its export capability has been determined by its livestock and agricultural sectors. The 1985 census showed a total population of 2,921,000, of which Montevideo's population of 1,297,000 is an extraordinary 44 percent. To comprehend the overwhelming importance of Montevideo, it should be noted that Salto, the second largest city in Uruguay, has only 81,000 people and that there are only three other urban centers with more than 50,000. Montevideo's dominance is not simply based on population, however. Uruguay's public university (in 1985 a small private Catholic university was established, in Montevideo) is located in Montevideo, as are all of the country's major newspapers and television and radio stations. Over 70 percent of the country's industrial production is concentrated in the department of Montevideo. There is no residency requirement for election to the Senate

Young people in Montevideo. Photo courtesy of Dirección Nacional de Relaciones Públicas del Uruguay.

or Chamber of Deputies, and thus almost all of Uruguay's politicians live and work in Montevideo.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

The land has historically been the heart of Uruguay's economy. The soil is not particularly rich; however, it is suited to the natural grazing of the millions of cattle and sheep that are the mainstay of the country's exports. In 1985 this country of barely 3 million people contained over 9 million head of cattle and 23 million sheep. The extensive use of natural pastures has given Uruguay a land-use productivity figure of some 90 percent, but it is important to remember that most of this land is unimproved pasture. Nevertheless, the ranches, farms, and facilities for dairy production have many of the characteristics of the *minifundia* (small, subsistence farms) and *latifundia* (large farms) found elsewhere in Latin America (see Table 1.2).

Livestock were turned loose in the Banda Oriental by the Spanish under Hernando Arias in 1603. The wild herds multiplied so rapidly that by the time of the founding of Montevideo in 1726 there were an estimated 25 million head of cattle in the region. The result was the designation of the subsequent period in Uruguay as the "Age of Leather."

TABLE 1.2
Agrarian Structure and Performance: Distribution of Land by Farm Size Categories, 1908-1970

	1908	1913	1937	1951	1956	1961	1966	1970
Percent distribution of farms								
Large	8.7	6.1	4.7	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.9	5.1
Medium	35.2	32.4	23.8	21.8	20.9	20.8	21.7	22.0
Small	56.1	61.5	71.5	74.0	75.1	74.8	73.4	72.9
Percent distribution of land								
Large	64.2	55.5	n.a.	56.5	55.8	56.9	58.4	58.4
Medium	30.8	35.7	n.a.	34.3	34.7	34.3	33.7	34.0
Small	5.0	8.8	n.a.	9.2	9.5	8.8	7.9	7.6

Source: M.H.J. Finch, A Political Economy of Uruguay Since 1870 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 105.

Cowhides were the product that would attract the gaucho to the Banda Oriental for the next 150 years. Only with the salting and curing of meat and the increased demand for tallow did the agricultural activity take on some diversification. The opening of a meat extract plant by Liebig at Fray Bentos in 1864 is viewed as the beginning of the modern meat industry in Uruguay. When the *saladeros*, or meat-salting plants, were replaced by the first refrigeration plants (*frigoríficos*), which prepared chilled, frozen, or canned beef, Uruguay's product was finally available to the European market. The introduction of refrigerated ships during the last two decades of the nineteenth century led to the rapid expansion of beef and lamb exports.

The Uruguayan grasslands that W. H. Hudson called the "Purple Land" in his remarkable semiautobiographical volume by that name enjoy a temperate climate broken only by some violent winter storms that are the result of the cold winds of Antarctica coming up against the subtropical air of southern Brazil. Uruguay has little forest (some 3 percent of its land surface) and no hydrocarbon resources. Its only mineral wealth consists of some semiprecious stones such as amethyst and topaz.

Uruguay's agricultural sector has historically been abundant and kind to the 3 million people it now serves, but stagnation and decline have left rural Uruguay relatively inefficient and unproductive in the face of changing international market conditions. The Uruguayan *campo* can be roughly divided into three distinct production areas. In the South, near the capital, the land is exploited intensively to provide Montevideo with fruits and vegetables. The North is the site of the extensive ranches

TABLE 1.3
Land Distribution in Uruguay in 1951

Size of holding (acres)	Number	Number as percent of total number of holdings	Area (acres)	Area as percent of total area
Under 12.5	10,953	13	71,939	
12.5–25	11,117	13	189,350	2
25–50	13,771	16	476,441	
50–125	16,910	20	1,321,485	3
125–250	10,375	12	1,809,127	4
250–500	7,814	9	2,725,936	7
500–1,250	7,241	9	5,611,875	13
1,250–2,500	3,475	4	6,036,623	15
2,500–6,250	2,452	3	9,409,969	22
6,250–12,500	763		6,381,672	15
12,500–25,000	316	1	5,099,932	12
Over 25,000	71		2,790,522	7
Totals	85,258	100	41,924,871	100

Source: Cited in Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Uruguay: Portrait of a Democracy (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954), p. 76.

on which sheep and cattle are raised. The eastern farm belt of the country serves as the principal grain- and cereal-producing region.

The principal livestock export products are wool and beef, although milk and cheese products are also produced in abundance. Corn is grown as a feed concentrate, wheat for bread, and rice both for domestic consumption and as an increasingly important export crop. Beet sugar accounts for 80 percent of sugar production, but total sugar production only accounts for 50 percent of the country's consumption.

Although one cannot speak of a famous "Fourteen Families" as in El Salvador, and the distribution of land has never been a pressing political issue (as Uruguay is underpopulated), concentration of ownership has always been a reality. The data in Table 1.3 describe land distribution in Uruguay in 1951, at the height of the country's economic well-being after World War II.

The 1980 census showed that 5.7 percent of farms controlled 56.6 percent of the land, whereas 68.6 percent of the farms or ranches comprised only 6.9 percent of the land. In addition, most of the large landholdings are of unimproved pastureland and employ very few ranch hands. The number of agricultural workers, which stood at 293,000 in 1956, is believed to number over 150,000 in 1987.

If we group the departments that are the sites of extensive livestock raising—Durazno, Rivera, Rocha, Tacuarembo, Cerro Largo, La Valleja, and Flores—we encounter an increasingly depopulated countryside with fewer and fewer salaried workers. The ranches in these areas are referred to as *estancias cimarronas* (wild ranches) because of the lack of productive activity.

The most productive rural area in Uruguay is in the Southeast—the departments of Río Negro, Soriano, and Colonia—where wheat, other cereals, milk, and cheese production make the area the country's breadbasket. The southernmost departments of San José, Canalones, Florida, and the agricultural area of Montevideo itself are devoted to the intensive production of the fruits, vegetables, and wine that provision the capital. Yet even this area lost 10,000 workers in the decade of the 1970s because of the reduced demand precipitated by economic decline and the collapse of the beet-sugar industry, which lost its subsidy in 1975.

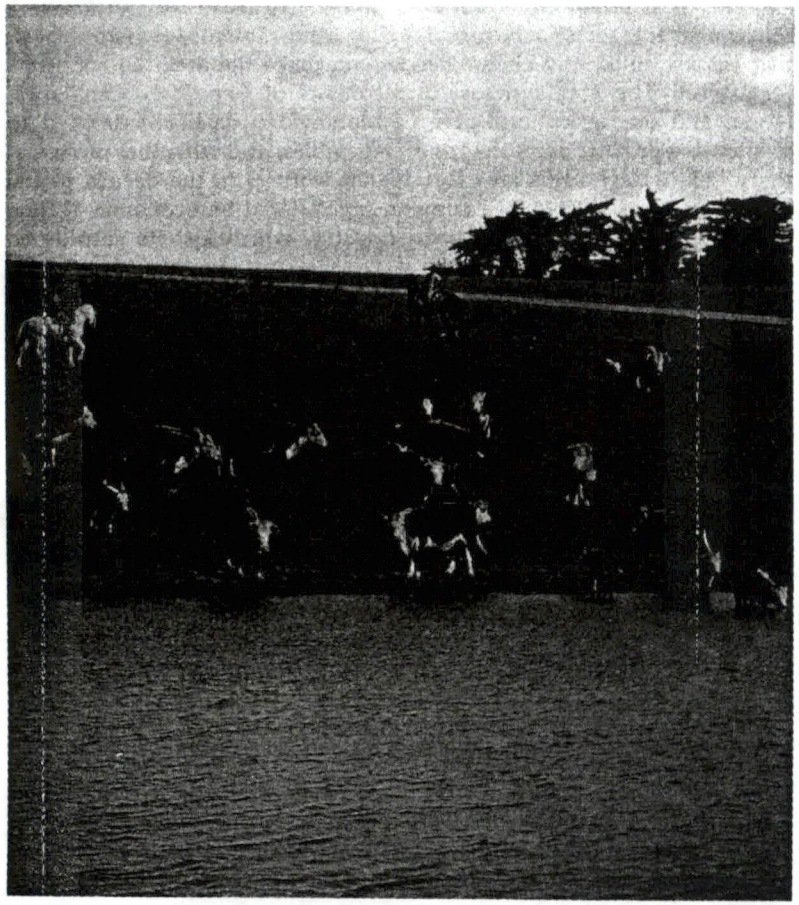
The underclass in the countryside lives in shantytowns that are referred to as *rancherías* or *poblaciones de ratas* (rat towns). Their numbers are dwindling but it is estimated that at least 300,000 people, or 10 percent of Uruguay's population, live in these communities.

Surprisingly, several departments have shown significant population growth. The northern province of Artigas experienced growth along the border with Brazil, most especially in the area around the town of Bella Union, with its agroindustrial cooperatives. The department of Treinta y Tres has attracted labor because of the successful growth of its rice-exporting industry. The department of Maldonado's growth was caused by its proximity to the resort community of Punta del Este and the construction boom there in 1979 and 1980.

In the past, Uruguay's economic health has been based on a dynamic export economy and the conscious distribution of its benefits. Uruguay was built on cattle and sheep, the products of which—wool, meat, and hides—were fortunately tied to the voracious appetite of a Britain propelled by the industrial revolution. This was especially true at the beginning of the twentieth century when, in the period dominated by José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903–1929), the value of exports doubled, principally because of the market for frozen meat. In 1930, just before the Great Depression, all chilled beef, 83 percent of mutton, and 39 percent of frozen beef went to Britain.

Uruguay's industry has been based on the processing of meat and wool and the production of domestic consumables, with the food and beverage industry making the largest contribution. Meat processing and dairy production are the most important activities, followed by textile manufacturing. These industries grew as a result of the urban welfare-oriented distributive policies of Batllismo (as the ideology and policies of José Batlle are known) but received an extra stimulus from the import-substitution industrialization policies that reached their peak in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Uruguay's agricultural production is most notable for its slow growth throughout the century—despite the expansion of exports—and its



The economic basis of Uruguay's welfare state. Photo courtesy of Dirección Nacional de Relaciones Públicas del Uruguay.

stagnation since the early 1960s. Lack of investment is a crucial factor in this phenomenon, and it is in this regard that the policies of mostly urban-oriented Colorado governments should be examined. The usual denunciation of Colorado governments for killing the golden calf—that is, destroying the incentive for productive investment in the agricultural sector by promoting proindustrial welfare-state policies—finds its most famous expression in Julio Martínez Lamas' *Riqueza y Pobreza del Uruguay: Estudio de las Causas que Retardan el Progreso Nacional* (*Wealth and Poverty*

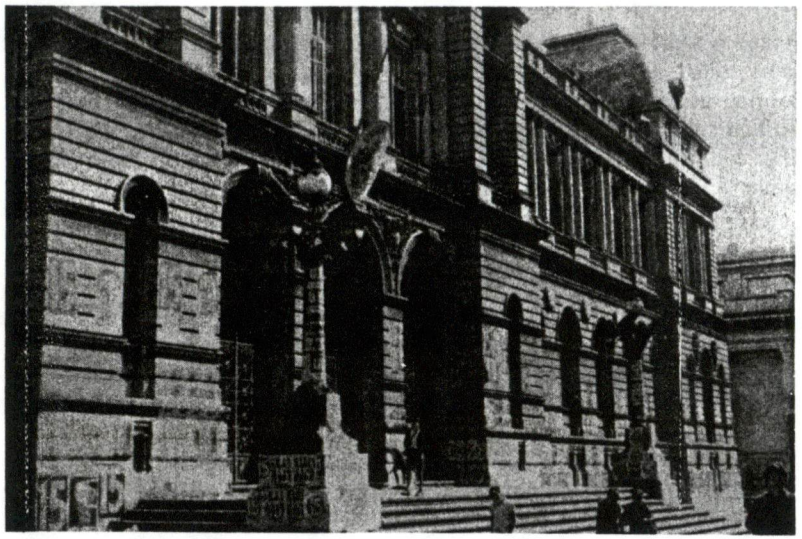
in Uruguay: A Study of the Causes That Retard National Progress) published in 1930.[2] M.H.J. Finch, however, has demonstrated that José Batlle's fiscal policies, although clearly conscious of their redistributive activities, do not account for rural stagnation. Rather, Finch argues that the *latifundistas* themselves were not interested in investing in the intensification of land use, and that the outflow of capital from the rural sector was voluntary before 1930.

Batlle took advantage of the funds generated by the livestock sector and the rapid urbanization of Montevideo to build a political base that gave the Colorado party the power to expand the social welfare functions of the state, buy social peace, and strengthen political institutions. At the time he came to power, 30 percent of the country's population already lived in Montevideo. The most extraordinary legacy of Batllismo was the integration of this population into a stable two-party democratic political system.

EDUCATION

The transformation of public education in Uruguay was the crowning achievement of José Pedro Varela, a friend and disciple of Horace Mann. Varela served in the administration of Lorenzo Latorre (1876–1880), whose regime was the closest thing to an integrating dictatorship that Uruguay would experience in the nineteenth century. His work led in 1877 to the passage of the Law of Common Education, which established the principle of free, secular, and compulsory primary education. Central government expenditures on education during the twentieth century have been among the highest in Latin America. Even as late as 1968, during a very troubled time for Uruguay politically and economically, such expenditures were the second highest in Latin America.

There are several excellent private schools in Uruguay; the British School is considered the best and the one to which most of the elite send their children. Primary-school enrollment quadrupled from 1880 until the time of Batlle's death in 1929. From 1930 to 1963 the index of primary enrollment rose from 100 to 226. The numbers are equally impressive for secondary education. From 1950 to 1965 secondary-school enrollment was up 167 percent. In 1960 Uruguay had the highest percentage of secondary-school-aged population in school for all of Latin America. Education received enormous stimulus under José Batlle, to the extent that by 1930 over three-quarters of all children of primary-school age were attending school. By 1970 this figure was a remarkable 96 percent. Secondary-school enrollment increased some 600 percent between 1942 and 1970. These figures deteriorated somewhat under the



University of the Republic. Photo from U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, *Background Notes: Uruguay* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985).

military dictatorship because of the economic difficulties encountered by the working class.

Uruguay's only public university is the University of the Republic located in Montevideo. It is divided into ten *facultades*, or schools, each of which has a high degree of autonomy through its dean and elected council. The university also has a specialized institute, the Instituto de Profesores Artigas, that turns out educational administrators and, more recently, is responsible for the training of career diplomats. Enrollment is open to everyone who successfully completes the secondary-school cycle, and tuition is free. In the past, the bulk of students enrolled in the schools of Medicine and Law. The majority of students are from the middle or upper class from Montevideo or from urban centers in the interior. Most students consider themselves to be liberal, and the Federation of University Students of Uruguay (FEUU, Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay) is dominated by leftist activists. As the system is modeled after those of continental Europe, most students' degree programs are five to six years in length. In practice, the typical student will spend at least two more years completing all his or her requirements. In 1964, when things were far more "normal" in the university than they have been since that time, one-quarter of all students

had been in the university ten years or longer; during that time, enrollment was 15,000, but the average graduating class numbered only 750. The yearly number of graduates as a percentage of incoming students fell from an average of 56 percent in the 1940s to less than 30 percent in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The situation became even worse in the late 1960s and early 1970s because of student and political unrest.

These data are not totally indicative of the role of higher education in Uruguay. Of course, the university is supposed to provide for social mobility and the training of new professionals and the certification of elites. It performed these roles in the earlier part of the century and was a principal certifying mechanism for the sons and daughters of the middle class from the 1920s to the 1950s. However, a stagnant economy and the failure of political elites to get the country moving again took their toll on university productivity and the life chances of those who were graduated. It appears to me that, since the late 1960s, attending the university and thus being able to call oneself a *universitario* has become an occupational category for Uruguay's young adults. It is one way to keep the sons and daughters of the middle and upper stratas off the streets. Being a *universitario* may confer some status and a false sense of security, but it is not giving the society the scientifically and technologically trained cadres it will need for the twenty-first century. This is especially true because of the inadequate budgets for professors and equipment that has plagued the system for decades and continues to hamper it under President Julio María Sanguinetti's austerity budget.

The university population has expanded dramatically in the 1980s, from a total of 34,000 students in 1980 to over 78,000 in 1985. The number of new admissions skyrocketed in 1984 and 1985, undoubtedly reflecting the return to civilian government and optimism concerning the university. Law continues to be the most popular career option, with engineering enjoying increased student attention in recent years. It still takes over eight years for the average student to complete his or her degree.

ART AND CULTURE

For a small country with no great indigenous heritage, Uruguay's cultural life has been rich, varied, and influential. An early commitment to public education and cultural freedom contributed to this heritage, as did the European influence on artists and intellectuals.

Literary history and criticism have a strong tradition in Uruguay. A massive seventeen-volume study, *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Uruguaya*, was published in 1913 by Carlos Roxlo. Alberto Zum Felde's *Proceso Intelectual del Uruguay*, which appeared in 1930, remains the

seminal work on Uruguay's intellectual and literary work during its first century of independence. The most enduring modern testament to artistic, intellectual, and literary criticism was *Marcha*, an independent weekly founded by Carlos Quijano in 1939. Until its closure by the dictatorship in 1974, *Marcha* was the proving ground for such brilliant writers and critics as Emir Rodríguez Monegal, Angel Rama, and Eduardo Galeano. There has never been a more erudite weekly on literature and politics in Latin America than *Marcha*, and its existence in Uruguay is a testament to the truth that cultural expression is not a function of size.

Uruguay's first writer of note was Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (1888–1931), a romantic novelist who infused his work with a spirit of nationalism. His most famous work is an epic poem, "Tabaré," recounting the history of Uruguay's small indigenous Indian tribe, the Charrúas. He also wrote a prose piece entitled "La Epopeya de Artigas," which exalted the virtues of the man considered to be the father of Uruguay's independence, José Gervasio Artigas.

The most famous Uruguayan man of letters is undoubtedly José Enrique Rodó (1872–1917), whose short masterpiece *Ariel*, written in 1900, remains the classic statement on the confrontation between South American spirit and culture and the materialism and drive for power that, for Rodó, characterized North American civilization.

Of Uruguay's major poets, Juana de Ibarbourou stands out among several accomplished female poets. Short stories are very popular among Uruguay's print-oriented population; Mario Benedetti and Juan Carlos Onetti are recognized as the most accomplished story writers; Benedetti's *Gracias por el fuego* (Thanks for the Fire) is considered the best novella written in Uruguay since the end of World War II.

The theater has always been popular in the Río de la Plata, and the most famous Uruguayan dramatist, Florencio Sanchez, is recognized as the country's greatest playwright, having brought social realism to the theater in the 1920s. In the contemporary period, Mauricio Rosencof, with such works as "Las Ranas," had already established himself as a popular playwright in the early 1960s, but gave up his literary career to help found the Tupamaro guerrilla movement. He has thus emerged as a controversial, if not notorious, figure. Since his release from prison in March 1985, many of his poems and plays, written in prison to help him survive the ordeal of torture and isolation to which he was subjected, have been published and performed to generally favorable critical review.

Uruguay's three most important artists are Juan Manuel Blanes, known for his lifelike historical scenes, Torres Garcia, and Pedro Figari. Figari's impressionistic scenes of rural life and folk dancing have gradually caused him to be recognized as one of South America's most important twentieth-century artists. A very important exhibition of his work took

place at the gallery of the Center for Inter-American Relations in New York during 1985 and 1986.

Many newspapers are available in Uruguay, although far fewer than in the 1960s. None are very good. All the daily newspapers are identified with factions of the political parties, and journalistic standards are very low. The best newspaper currently published is a weekly independent publication, *Búsqueda*, which attempts fairly successfully to summarize the previous week's news and has extensive coverage of the economic situation. *Marcha* has been resurrected as *Brecha*, which despite some lively writing and commentary has not yet approached the level of its predecessor.

Regarding folk music, the gaucho gave Uruguay its national folk dance, the *pericón*, and the tango is almost as popular in Uruguay as it has been in Argentina. As for artisan crafts, a carved gourd known as a *maté* in which the tealike herb *maté* is brewed and carried is the most distinctive example of gaucho culture that has become a permanent fixture in everyday Montevideo. In more recent years, a cottage industry involving the hand-knitting of sweaters—Manos del Uruguay (Hands of Uruguay)—has proven very successful, with major exports to Europe and the United States.

As is clear from this brief discussion, for a small country, Uruguay has a rich and varied cultural and literary heritage. This heritage was nurtured by a sophisticated and democratic political and social system, the foundations of which are the subject of the following chapter.

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INSTRUCTION ON OPERATING TELEPHONES

For all phones connected to switchboard: To call outside, dial "9". To signal operator, dial "0" (including outside party on the line). To transfer outside call to another extension, depress the hook switch for approximately one-half to one second. When dial tone is received, dial extension, advise of call and hang up. To consult with another extension during outside call, depress the hook switch. When dial tone is received, dial extension. To return to outside call, depress the hook switch again. To receive call when operator is off duty and hall bell rings, dial "8". Transfer call by depressing hook switch and then dialing extension number.

November 23, 1900
1:15 p.m.

Bob and Ed:

Don Johnson just called down from NSC -- the US Ambassador to Uruguay called him with the following note:

> The Uruguay Joint Session Speech:
> The entire Supreme Court will be seated in the well in front of the podium. The Ambassador/NSC would like you to include a graph recognizing them and the importance of the judiciary in a democracy, etc.

If you've got questions, call Don Johnson -- X4592

— Carolyn

NOTES FROM MEETING WITH BERNARD ARONSON & CHIEFS OF MISSION
THE ROOSEVELT ROOM
July 19, 1990

ARONSON (overview):

This is a big event for S. America -- considered by them as historic.

The President's personal relationship is important with these leaders.

The President words will be carefully examined and weighed at each stop. In their eyes, his words represent a commitment by the U.S. government.

All (except Chile) are carrying out complicated, difficult economic reforms. These leaders must be encouraged to continue.

We are working to build the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

We need to give economic reforms a populist tone in these speeches, not theoretical or professorial. Use concrete examples of how they will benefit people, i.e. Hernando De Soto. Talk about how "the people can prosper," not the elites who have been running these countries forever. Stress upward mobility. Free markets work; they deliver prosperity.

The Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations will promote free trade in general, agriculture specifically. It will benefit Latin America, because they can sell more of their agricultural products all over the world.

Latins fear environmentalism as a way to stop their own development. (They aren't uncaring; they just don't want it to prevent them from joining the First World.) Debt-for-nature swaps viewed favorably.

Latins are proud. Hate it when they are not consulted.

There are no serious drug problems in the countries on this trip, although there are fears of it moving into Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. Say it's our problem too on the demand side, but let's stop it from spreading before it undermines your countries too.

URUGUAY:

They have always felt squeezed between Brazil and Argentina.

They are privatizing industries, raising taxes, lowering the budget deficit. They have never missed a payment on their large debt.

The Uruguay Round of the GATT began there 4 years ago and will conclude there in December. (The intervening negotiations occur at GATT HQ in Geneva.)

Give them credit for undertaking difficult economic reforms.

Uruguay is a small country, but it is important because they often take the lead on S. American issues, i.e. free trade.

Montevideo has a Marxist mayor and a leftist government dominates much of the country, despite the right of center President LaCalle [le KI-yay], who took office this year. His party has a minority in the legislature.

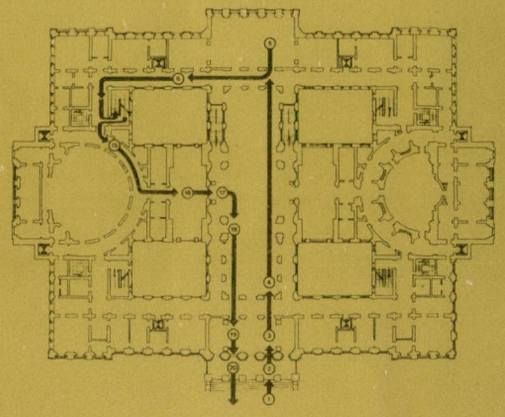
Uruguay shares our interests in reducing ag. subsidies in the GATT negotiations. They have some of the best farmland in the world. Flying over it (on Air Force 1), it looks like the heartland of the U.S.

# # #

Rough high school Spanish translation:

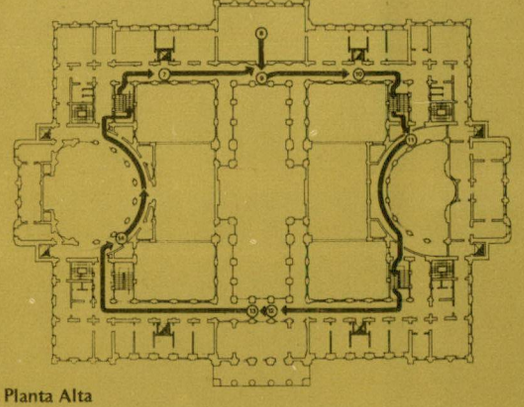
In the chamber of Deputies presides a great work/piece by the painter Fernando La Roche (Frenchman). It depicts the encounter/meeting betw. Gen. Artigas & Gen. Rondeau in Montevideo on Feb. 26, 1813

Visita Guiada



Planta principal

1 - Escalinata principal (ascenso)
2 - Ingreso por el frente principal
3 - Vestíbulo de Honor
4 - Pasos Perdidos (en dirección norte)
5 - Sala de Fiestas.
Corredor Planta principal N.O.
6 - Vista patio interior N.O. con esgrafiados.
Ascenso por escalera Diputados N.O.
15 - Ambulatorio de Diputados.
16 - Antesala Cámara Diputados.
17 - Desemboque en Crucero de Pasos Perdidos
18 - Desplazamiento por Pasos Perdidos, en dirección S.
19 - Vestíbulo de Honor
20 - Salida por la puerta principal.
Escalinata principal (descenso)



Planta Alta

7 - Corredor planta alta N.O. en dirección E.
Vista de la Linterna con las Cariátides, caras O. y N.
8 - Biblioteca, Salón Central (vista del Cerrito)
9 - Vista de Pasos Perdidos desde planta alta, dirección N.S.
10 - Vista de la Linterna con las Cariátides, caras E. y N.
Descenso por escalera Senado N.E. hasta la Barra.
11 - Barra del Senado, con vista Sala de Sesiones.
Ascenso por escalera Senado S.E.
12 - Corredor Senado planta alta S.E.
Vista Vestíbulo de Honor, desde planta alta.
13 - Vista de Pasos Perdidos desde planta alta, dirección S.N.
Descenso por escalera Diputados S.O.
14 - Barra de Diputados planta alta, con vista Sala de Sesiones.
Descenso por escalera Diputados N.O. hasta Ambulatorio.

Todo esfuerzo por conocer un hecho histórico es el mejor camino para interpretarlo y comprenderlo; de ahí que aproximarnos a nuestro Palacio Legislativo con el conocimiento de las etapas principales de su edificación sea importante para gustarlo plenamente.

El proceso de construcción del Palacio, tuvo tres etapas principales.

1904. - **Víctor Meano** (italiano, 1860 - 1904) gana el concurso internacional para erigir un Palacio Legislativo en Montevideo. Según este proyecto el edificio debía levantarse en el solar ocupado por el Instituto Nacional de Docencia General Artigas (Avda. Libertador Brigadier General Lavalleja, frente a la iglesia de la Aguada).

1905.- Se resuelve elegir otro solar —el actual— y ampliar los planos de Meano conservando su estilo y disposición. Este trabajo lo realizan los arquitectos **Jacobo Vázquez Varela** (uruguayo, 1872 - 1954) y **Antonio Banchini** (italiano).

El 18 de julio de 1906 se coloca la piedra fundamental del Palacio y en 1908 se comienzan las obras según los planos de Vázquez Varela y Banchini.

1913.- El gobierno contrata a **Cayetano Moretti** (italiano, 1860 - 1938).

Este recubre el Palacio de mármol e introduce en el mismo profundas modificaciones; algunas de éstas son total recreación del mismo Moretti, como el Salón de los Pasos Perdidos y la Linterna que corona el edificio.

Todos los granitos, pórfidos y mármoles empleados son nacionales.

El edificio fue inaugurado el 25 de agosto de 1925.

En el **Vestíbulo de Honor** se encuentra el célebre cuadro del pintor uruguayo **Pedro Blanes Viale** (1879 - 1926) "La jura de la Constitución de 1830" (mts. 4.75 x 4.75).

El Salón de los Pasos Perdidos esplende en mármoles y pórfidos.

Obsérvese la composición arquitectónica correspondiente a las entradas monumentales de la Cámara de Diputados y de Senadores. Entre las obras de arte que atesora este inmenso salón son dignas de nota los dos grandes vitrales de colores, según proyectos de **Juan Buffa** (italiano 1871 - 1954).

En la amplia **Sala de Fiestas** se puede admirar el cuadro de Pedro Blanes Viale "Congreso de abril de 1813" (mts. 5.20 x 2.70) en cuya ocasión Artigas presentara las célebres Instrucciones del año XIII.

El aula de la **Cámara de Diputados** está presidida por una gran tela del pintor **Fernando Laroche** (francés, 1866 - 1939) representando el encuentro del general Artigas con el general Rondeau en el segundo sitio de Montevideo, 26 de febrero de 1813 (mts. 5.10 x 7.00).

La sala destinada a reuniones del **Senado** es un recinto de suntuosa y relevante arquitectura; obsérvese el alto zócalo de caoba, sobre el que reposa la teoría de arcos que rodea la Sala.

En el piso alto se encuentra la **Biblioteca.**

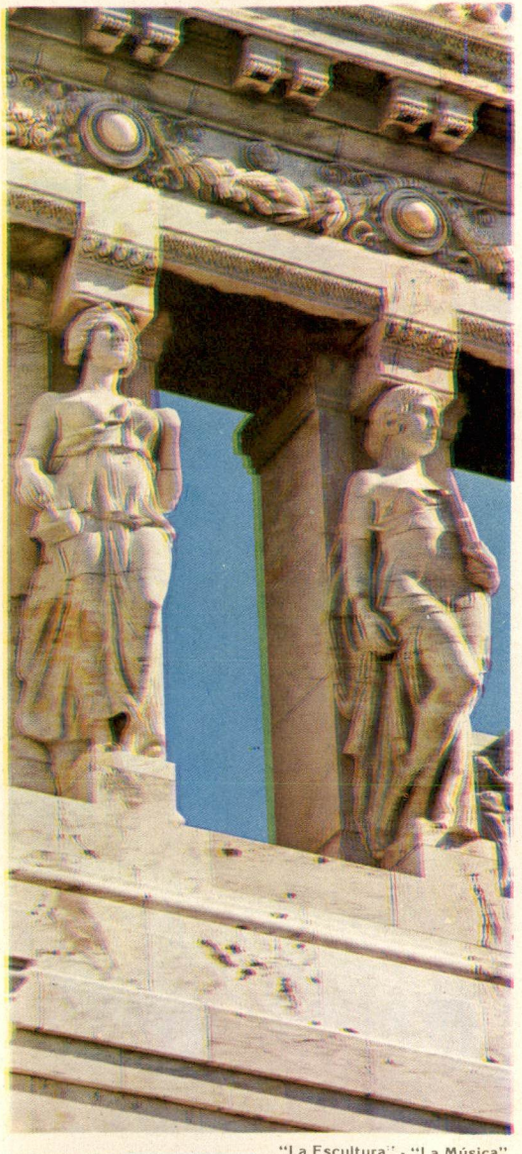
Su salón central está dispuesto con ponderada suntuosidad, contribuyendo a ello una muy fina carpintería. La Biblioteca custodia alto número de volúmenes y posee varios miles de títulos de publicaciones periódicas (diarios, revistas, boletines, etc.) precioso material que está a disposición del estudiantado y del público en general en los horarios establecidos.

Imprimex S. A. - D.L. 208.393

PALACIO LEGISLATIVO

MONTEVIDEO

URUGUAY



"La Escultura" - "La Música"
"Sculpture" - "Music"
"A Escultura" - "A Música"
"La Sculpture" - "La Musique"

"La Justicia" (N.O.)
"Justice" (N.W.)
"A Justiça" (N.O.)
"La Justice" (N.O.)

Salón de los Pasos Perdidos
Lost Steps Room
Salão dos Passos Perdidos
Salle des pas perdus

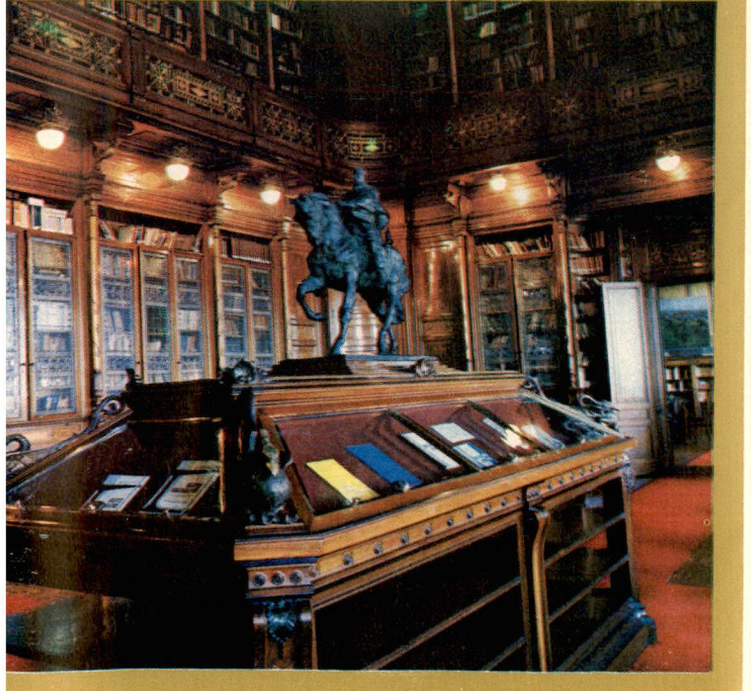
Câmara de Senadores
Chamber of Senators
Cámara de Senadores
Chambre des Sénateurs

Sala de Fiestas
Reception Hall
Salão de Festas
Salle des fêtes

Pasos Perdidos (detalle)
Lost Steps Room (detail)
Passos Perdidos (detalhe)
Salle des pas perdus (détail)

Biblioteca
Library
Biblioteca
Bibliothèque

Grupo escultórico en bronce
Sculptural bronze group
Grupo escultórico em bronze
Groupe sculpturel en bronze



Cámara de Diputados
Chamber of Representatives
Câmara de Diputados.
Chambre des députés

Joint Session site.
Note inscription & painting. (See memo)