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The Society

Uruguay

March 1974

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Uruguay

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in the General Survey dated November 1970.*

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The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

The Republic of Uruguay, containing a homogeneous, largely urban society with no unassimilated Indian minority and few class conflicts, has been outstanding among the countries of South America during most of the 20th century for its political stability, democratic institutions, and social progress. Early in the century, President Jose Batlle y Ordonez (1903-07 and 1911-15) instituted radical reforms in the political, economic, and social life of the nation and established what has been described as the first welfare state in the Americas. Uruguay in fact preceded many European countries in the adoption of liberal measures, including religious toleration, universal suffrage, equality for women, free education, and a comprehensive social security system covering most of the working population. Since the mid-1950's, however, the society has been beset by mounting problems and has suffered from ineffective government. Severe inflation, economic stagnation, high unemployment, and a decline in levels of living have been accompanied by increasing disillusionment among the general public and rising discontent evidenced by labor strikes and student agitation. Seeking to exploit the dissatisfaction, the Marxist-oriented National Liberation Movement (MLN) began to engage in dramatic acts of urban terrorism in the late 1960's.

Since 1968 the government has achieved some reduction in the rate of inflation through fiscal austerity measures and has made an effort, albeit largely unsuccessful, to streamline the bureaucracy, as positions and functions have multiplied out of control

as a result of a long tradition of political patronage. But no recent administration has actively pursued the basic tasks of stimulating the economy and reforming the social security and public welfare systems, which involve a multiplicity of agencies and are subject to widespread abuses, resulting in a heavy financial burden.

In February 1973 a serious political crisis occurred when the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces refused to accept President Juan Bordaberry's choice for the post of Minister of National Defense and proceeded to demand a larger role in government operations. Two years previously, the army had been given broad powers to deal with the leftist terrorists, popularly known as the Tupamaros, and had succeeded in severely crippling their apparatus. In explaining the basis for the new military posture, a spokesman declared that this achievement had given the armed forces the right to participate importantly in national affairs. President Bordaberry met privately with the commanders, and after a week of bargaining reached an accord under which the country would preserve its democratic facade but the military would guide affairs of state through a National Security Council composed of the President as chairman, the Ministers of National Defense, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Economics and Finance, and leaders of the armed services. Gen. Gregorio Alvarez, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, serves as secretary of the council. In June 1973 President Bordaberry, with the support of the armed forces, dissolved the national legislature.

Declaring that they want "clean, effective government," the military leaders have elaborated a Program of National Reconstruction aimed at fighting

corruption, inflation, unemployment, lagging agricultural production, and numerous other ills. In a strongly worded statement to the nation delivered on radio and television on 23 March 1973, the commanders-in-chief reaffirmed their loyalty to the constitution and to Uruguay's institutions and said that they had intervened in the political processes only because the nation had "reached the point of collapse." The statement went on to attack unnamed members of the legislature and politicians in general, accusing them of obstructing national recovery while enjoying special privileges.

By May 1973, the military leadership appeared to have consolidated its central role in the Bordaberry administration. Observers report that the prestige of civilian politicians has never been lower while that of the armed forces is comparatively high, strengthened by some optimism that longstanding problems will at last be attacked. The balance is fragile, however, and is not likely to survive a major confrontation between the military leadership and any of the country's main political forces. In any such confrontation, observers believe that the military might well emerge in full control of the government.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (U/OU)

Although ethnically and culturally homogeneous, Uruguayan society is divided into two contrasting sectors, one centered in Montevideo and adjacent areas and the other in the remainder of the country, commonly referred to as the interior. Representing a large proportion of the total population and with unequalled status as the nation's political, economic, and cultural center, Montevideo has an essentially fluid society which reflects the reforms introduced in the early part of the 20th century by President Jose Batlle y Ordóñez. The educational and welfare facilities available in the capital have reduced social inequalities and created a milieu in which there has been considerable upward mobility, attested to by the city's large and influential middle class. Much less opportunity for socioeconomic advancement exists in the rural interior, where a 19th century mode of life generally prevails. In many areas, particularly in the northern stockraising region, landowners with semifeudal authority rule over large landholdings, or *estancias*, engaging nearly half of the country's agricultural workers as full or part-time laborers or as tenant farmers. Here there are great disparities in wealth, and class lines tend to be rigid. The average rural worker and his family have benefited little from

the social reforms that have so greatly improved the condition of the urban population, and their level of living consequently is much lower.

1. Ethnic composition

The population of Uruguay is estimated to be between 85% and 92% white, the majority of its people being of European background. Between 5% and 10% are mestizos of mixed white and Indian blood, and from 3% to 5% are Negroes or mulattoes. Resident aliens consist mainly of other Latin Americans but also include some Europeans and U.S. nationals; most foreigners reside in Montevideo.

The bulk of the white population is of Spanish or Italian ancestry, the former predominating. As a result, Spanish surnames prevail. Other Uruguayans are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Portugal, Russia, and Switzerland, as well as countries of Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Included are Jews from several nations, their number estimated at about 50,000 in 1970; many of these Jews fled persecution in Nazi Germany. Before the 19th century, most of the European immigrants arrived via Argentina and Brazil, being attracted by the opportunities for stockraising which Uruguay provided. Among the early rural inhabitants were the much romanticized gauchos, usually of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry, who led independent, seminomadic lives centered on roaming herds of cattle and horses. After 1800, a majority of the settlers came directly from Europe and settled in or near Montevideo or in neighboring farm areas.

The native Indian population consisted of nomadic Charrua and Chana tribes and a smaller number of Guaraní. In 1700, the total Indian population in what is now Uruguay is believed to have totaled between 10,000 and 15,000, but by the mid-19th century the Indian community as such had virtually disappeared, largely as a result of intermarriage with whites. The mestizo element deriving from Indian-white unions is concentrated primarily in the northern part of the country. Completely assimilated to the national culture, mestizos retain none of the cultural manifestations of the Indians.

Negroes were first brought to Uruguay as slaves in the early colonial period, imported from Africa mainly through Portuguese slave traders in Brazil. Thereafter during the colonial era most white families owned slaves, employing them as domestic servants or field hands. The proportion of Negroes grew steadily during the 18th century, and by 1800 they constituted

approximately one-fourth of the entire population. This trend was reversed following prohibition of the international slave trade in 1825 and the abolition of slavery in Uruguay in 1853, and also as a result of the increasing immigration of white Europeans. Although they are found throughout the republic, Negroes and mulattoes are most numerous in the north. Many northern blacks are descendants of slaves from Brazil who escaped across the border before the abolition of slavery in that country in 1888. Most are employed as laborers on the *estancias*.

Racial tension is virtually nonexistent, although many Uruguayans tend to look down on Negroes and practice some discrimination against them. Also, while the Jewish community as a whole engenders no animosity, there have been a few isolated anti-Semitic incidents. Generally speaking, other immigrant groups have been assimilated without difficulty. British and Russian settlers tend to hold themselves aloof, however, retaining their respective cultural traditions. Some Russian groups have formed agricultural colonies of their own.

Although Mediterranean physical types predominate among the Uruguayan population, other types can also be seen (Figure 1). Mestizos have a darker complexion than whites because of the admixture of Indian blood, but even among the whites there is considerable variation in skin tones and hair color. The typical Uruguayan is short and stocky. Uruguayan Negroes display common Negroid physical characteristics; mulattoes vary from the norm in accordance with the degree of mixed blood.

Spanish, the official language, is spoken by almost all Uruguayans. Residents of the Montevideo area and other parts of the south speak a dialect similar to that heard in Buenos Aires. This version of Spanish differs from Castilian in various ways. A slightly harsher sound is given to some letters, a rather "Italianate" lilt marks the pronunciation, and a number of words taken from the Italian language are included in the vocabulary. In the northern departments near the Brazilian border there is considerable Spanish-Portuguese bilingualism, and in a few localities of that region Portuguese is spoken almost exclusively. Among the upper and middle classes a knowledge of English and French is common. French was favored by cultivated persons in the past, but English has become more popular since World War II. A number of English words relating to technology, business, and sports have been Hispanicized and incorporated into the speech of the general population. Some words and phrases of Indian and Negro origin can also be heard among certain sectors of the population.

2. Social organization

a. Social classes

Extremes of wealth and poverty are less apparent in Uruguay than in most other South American countries, and the class system is comparatively open. Moreover, the society is characterized by a sense of egalitarianism and a high regard for individual dignity, regardless of social standing. One factor contributing to this situation is the absence of a large ethnic minority to serve as an inexpensive labor pool for the upper class, and the latter's consequent lack of a tradition of aristocracy and exclusiveness. The division of society into urban and rural sectors affects the composition and characteristics of the classes, but the urban-rural differences do not constitute the basis for a dual class system.

Cohesive and well organized, the upper class is estimated to comprise about 3% of the total population, little changed in its proportional size since the mid-19th century. Traditionally the great *estancias* have been its mainstay, but today members of the elite derive their wealth from other sources as well, and occupation has been added to family background as a criterion of status. In addition to wealthy *estancieros*, its numbers include industrialists, financiers, some high-level government officials and military officers, and important professional people. There is little distinction between the urban and rural sectors of the upper class, as almost all *estancieros* and their families maintain close contact with Montevideo, where many reside for a large part of the year.

Although somewhat less internationally oriented than their counterparts in neighboring Argentina and Brazil, upper class Uruguayans are nevertheless quite cosmopolitan, maintaining an interest in world affairs and generally looking to Europe for cultural enrichment. Many send their children abroad for schooling. A university education is an important element of status for upper class men, and additional prestige accrues to anyone who is able to teach a university course as a part-time avocation. While upper class families live comfortably and even luxuriously, they are less ostentatious in their lifestyle than those of similar background in most other South American societies, and they are also less isolated from other classes. Finally, in Uruguay perhaps more than in any other South American nation, the power of the wealthy elite is limited by the politically dominant middle class.

The middle class is diverse and extensive, comprising about one-third of the total population. Its base is a large corps of government employees, but it



FIGURE 1. Representative Uruguayans (U/OU)



also encompasses small businessmen, military officers, teachers and other professionals, and technicians and skilled workers. In rural areas it includes successful independent farmers as well as managers and overseers on the *estancias*. Members of the middle class, while exhibiting wide variations in income, occupation, and lifestyle, nevertheless share certain characteristics. Like the elite, they value education, regarding it as the principal avenue of social mobility; at least some secondary schooling is considered essential for middle class status. They also show a preference for academic education rather than vocational/technical training, with a view to succeeding in white-collar occupations. To the extent possible they emulate the mode of life of the elite, and some lower middle class people indulge in conspicuous consumption, buying luxury items which they can scarcely afford. In order to maintain a comfortable level of living in the face of the rampant inflation, many men in the middle sector hold more than one job and their wives often work.

Since the early part of the 20th century, members of the middle class have dominated the political sphere and the labor movement and have made their own ideals and objectives the norms of society. It is noteworthy that middle class intellectuals have led the leftist guerrilla organization known as the Tupamaros. Believing that only armed revolution can arrest the political and economic decline that has afflicted Uruguay since the mid-1950's, the Tupamaros brought the country close to civil war through armed clashes with police and military in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Accounting for almost two-thirds the total population, the lower class is identified with manual labor and characterized by limited education and low levels of living. In relative terms, however, living conditions among this element of society are better than those prevailing among lower class people elsewhere in South America, with the exception of Argentina. Also, because the urban centers, and preeminently Montevideo, have benefited from social welfare legislation to a far greater extent than the rural areas, the urban poor are better off than their counterparts in the interior. Included in the urban lower class are unskilled laborers, service workers, street vendors, and the unemployed. Many of the latter are recent migrants from the countryside who live in makeshift dwellings on the outskirts of the cities. The rural lower class consists of small farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural laborers, including migrant farmworkers. The small independent farmers, who are identified mainly with the southern, crop-raising part of the country, are generally considered an

upper sector of the rural lower class. Most disadvantaged of all are the farm laborers employed on the *estancias*, who customarily live away from the *estancia* in squalid shantytowns known as *rancherios*. These usually consist of primitive huts housing four to eight persons. Overcrowded and lacking electricity, running water, and sanitary facilities, the *rancherios* are breeding grounds for disease as well as for various social problems, including alcoholism and sexual promiscuity.

With a population containing a large component of persons descended from middle class Europeans, Uruguay has no strongly entrenched tradition of elitism, and a national tendency toward egalitarianism and self-reliance has fostered substantial social mobility. Since the late 19th century, growing urbanization and widespread educational opportunity have contributed toward a blurring of class lines. As a result, during most of the 20th century there has been a gradual increase in the size of the middle class and a concurrent decline in that of the lower class.

The extent of social mobility varies significantly according to region. In the northern, stockraising areas, upward movement is strictly limited by a rigid social order based on traditional relationships between landowners and workers. On the other hand, some downward mobility has been occurring in the north in recent years as middle class independent farmers of the region have been forced into wage labor because of the increasing mechanization of farming, and this in turn has led to a growing acquisition of land by *estancieros*. In the rural areas of the south, class lines are less rigid and social mobility has been favorably influenced by proximity to the capital, where industrialization and educational opportunity are most extensive and the possibilities for advancement are greatest.

Since the 1950's, the potential for upward mobility has been reduced by extended periods of economic stagnation and runaway inflation. Although upper class Uruguayans have sustained only minor financial losses, middle and lower class workers have experienced significant decreases in real wages. Observers have noted a rise in class consciousness resulting from this situation, augmented by the efforts of labor leaders to increase public awareness of the social and economic inequities in the society.

b. Family and kinship groups

During the colonial era and in the early postindependence period, large families were the norm in Uruguay and the family unit commonly was an extended one. Beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, however, rapid urbanization and the influx of

European immigrants began to change traditional family patterns. Today the typical Uruguayan family is nuclear, consisting only of parents and their unmarried children, and as a result of extensive family planning and large-scale abortion it is relatively small, averaging between three and four persons in urban areas and from four to five in rural areas. The housing problem involved in maintaining a large household in a predominantly urban environment has been the principal factor in the change. Of additional significance is the government welfare system, which has gradually replaced the extended family as the source of security for the average individual in time of need.

The extended family nevertheless remains an important concept in most sectors of society in the sense that there is a strong feeling of family cohesiveness extending beyond the immediate family to the larger kinship group. This is particularly true among the upper social strata, where family background is stressed and relations between the generations and between siblings are often solidified through business connections. Among the farming population of the rural south the strength of kinship ties is manifested in numerous forms of mutual assistance.

Under the constitution, a civil ceremony is the only legal means of contracting marriage, but practicing Catholics and active members of other faiths usually have a religious ceremony performed in addition. Until age 25 a man must obtain permission to marry from his parents or guardians; the corresponding age for women is 23. Some couples inevitably establish consensual unions and others engage in casual liaisons. In the 1963 census, Uruguayans over age 15 were grouped according to marital status as follows: single, 32.8%; married, 51.5%; living in consensual union, 4.6%; widowed, 6.6%; and divorced, 1.5%. Marriage instability and illegitimacy are highest in the north, where the *estancia* system has an adverse effect on family life. *Estancieros* have traditionally discouraged workers from bringing their families to live with them on or near the *estancia*, providing few if any facilities for such arrangements. It has been estimated that at least half of all married persons residing in the north do not live permanently with their spouses.

The double standard of sexual morality reportedly is not as prevalent in Uruguay as it is elsewhere in South America. Nevertheless, a man may pursue extra-marital liaisons with tacit acceptance as long as he does not neglect his family and maintains reasonable discretion. Unfaithfulness on the part of the wife, on the other hand, is generally unacceptable. Divorce has

been legal since 1907, the grounds traditionally including cruelty by the husband, adultery, and voluntary desertion for over 3 years. It now is also possible to obtain a divorce by mutual consent of the parties, or a wife may terminate the marriage by her wish alone, a privilege not accorded the husband. According to law, a wife who is not the guilty party in a divorce must be supported by her ex-husband until she remarries. Custody of children is determined by agreement of the parties or by decision of the judge. Both parents are liable for child maintenance.

Family roles are delineated but not inflexibly adhered to. Traditionally the male has been the breadwinner for the family while the female has devoted herself to domestic duties. But many Uruguayan middle class women are acquiring higher education and entering professional fields, and others work at one job or another to augment the family income. In 1970 it was estimated that nearly half of all women age 15 and over in the department of Montevideo were either attending school or working outside the home. Relations between husband and wife, while affected by the tendency toward equality between the sexes within the society at large, usually conform to a tradition of male dominance. In the home the father is the principal authority figure and disciplinarian for the children; the mother is likely to be more indulgent and sympathetic. It is generally accepted that older children dominate their younger brothers and sisters, and that boys dominate girls. Teenagers are allowed to date freely, but some conservative upper class parents still adhere to the custom of having their daughters chaperoned.

3. Values and attitudes

Although Uruguay in many respects has departed far from the Spanish colonial heritage, the basic value system reflects the old Hispanic tradition in that it includes an emphasis on individualism, loyalty to family, and a sense of fatalism. Other values—egalitarianism, self-reliance, and a propensity to enjoy life—stem from the ideals of the independent-minded gauchos who roamed the country in the colonial era, while tendencies toward rationalism and secularism are attributed to the cultural background of middle class Europeans who settled in the country in modern times. Ethnic homogeneity and national cohesiveness have resulted in the widespread adoption of most of these values, with certain regional and class variations. Some of the values have been modified as a result of urbanization, modernization, and other forces of change.

Personalismo, the Hispanic concept which emphasizes the distinctiveness and inherent worth of the individual, is fundamental to the Uruguayan value system. The importance assigned to the individual is based on the belief that every human being possesses an inner dignity which must be respected by others. To protect this inner dignity, elaborate patterns of social courtesy are maintained in interpersonal relationships, and even casual encounters are characterized by gestures and words of friendship designed to express the respect of one person toward another. The importance of the family derives from the concept of *personalismo*, in that the family is viewed as an extension of the individual and as a bastion of moral and material support for him. In upper class circles there is a definite tendency to prize a person socially as a member of a particular family. A negative aspect of *personalismo* is an undue emphasis on individual opinion and a concomitant unwillingness to accept majority judgments.

The independence and freedom historically prized by the gaucho were reintroduced as social values by the European immigrants, many of whom brought with them a dedication to ideologies centered on democratic principles. Implicit in these principles was a belief that all citizens have the right to enjoy civil liberties, to participate in the political process, and to receive aid from the state when they are in need. This concept provided the framework for the innovations of President Batlle y Ordóñez, whose policies gradually became accepted throughout the country as the norm for an ideal social order. Although the extensive social welfare legislation which he introduced has not been completely implemented, this has not diminished the importance of the underlying values in the minds of politically conscious Uruguayans. In fact, there is a preoccupation with security among much of the population, particularly members of the middle class, who expect the state to provide some measure of security for everyone. This has led to a tendency in recent times to rely exclusively on the government to solve the country's social ills—the tradition of independence and self-reliance notwithstanding.

Among the more disadvantaged elements of the population, the Hispanic sense of fatalism pervades the individual's outlook on his situation. Man is seen as unable to affect the course of events or to control his physical environment because a certain unalterable outcome has been appointed for him. Poverty and other ills are rationalized as one's "fate" or as "the will of God." In a more subtle form this attitude affects all levels of society, being manifested in the disinclination to unite for the purpose of seeking constructive

solutions to problems. It is also reflected in what has been called the "come back tomorrow" philosophy of the government bureaucracy, and in the propensity of many Uruguayans to shun constructive effort in favor of long hours spent in such leisure activities as sunbathing on the beaches, socializing with one's friends in cafes and bars, and gambling at racetracks and government-owned casinos.

In personal contacts, Uruguayans are friendly, humorous, and courteous. Foreigners usually find them to be among the most tolerant of all South Americans. Some describe them as too tolerant and easygoing, pointing out that there is much tacitly sanctioned corruption beneath the surface. Bribery of government officials is frequent, and featherbedding is widespread in government enterprises, where the work is seldom demanding of time or effort and the use of public facilities, equipment, and supplies for personal advantage is common. There has been little public disapproval of such practices.

Most Uruguayans have a strong sense of patriotism. Since the people recognize that their country is small and will never play a major role in international affairs, their nationalism has taken the form of pride in its social and intellectual achievements and in its democratic tradition. However, deteriorating economic and political conditions during the past two decades have tended to weaken their faith in the social system. Public opinion surveys conducted between 1968 and 1970 indicated that many citizens were skeptical concerning the capabilities of the government and pessimistic about the chances for improvement in socioeconomic conditions; moreover, most of those polled were convinced that the government favored big business and the large landowners. But despite such dissatisfaction, the majority rejected the idea of social revolution as an answer to the nation's problems. Popular discontent nevertheless has generated a rise in lawlessness and sporadic protest demonstrations. A more extreme manifestation was the terrorism practiced by the Tupamaros, but this now appears to have been virtually eliminated by the military.

Lack of confidence in the administration of President Bordaberry has been blamed for the general indifference to the serious threat to democratic institutions posed by the virtual coup d'état carried out by the military in February 1973, when it demanded and was given a central role in national affairs. Opinion surveys taken since February indicate public support for military "guidance," although the idea of a complete military takeover is opposed. Much of the population appears to be more concerned with

the stresses of daily life than with the larger problems implicit in the question of military or civilian leadership.

While Uruguayans have a generally open and friendly attitude toward foreigners and foreign societies, public sentiment toward Argentina is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, ethnic and cultural similarities create a feeling of kinship; on the other hand, this immensely larger, wealthier, and more cosmopolitan neighbor is the object of some resentment. A minority of Uruguayans attempt to demonstrate their detachment by rejecting Argentine cultural trends in favor of those set by Brazil, Argentina's principal rival in South America. Attitudes toward the United States are largely favorable. Most Uruguayans admire the United States as a great democracy and consider its people to be sympathetic to the aspirations of their country. Some, however, charge it with "financial imperialism" and accuse it of equating anti-communism with freedom and of supporting dictatorial governments when it is advantageous to do so.

C. Population (U/OU)

Uruguay, squeezed between Brazil and Argentina, is the smallest republic in South America. It also has a smaller population than any of the other South American republics except Paraguay and Guyana. With an estimated 2,992,000 inhabitants at midyear 1973, Uruguay had only one-fortieth the population of Brazil and one-eighth that of Argentina. Moreover, Uruguay's rate of population growth has been declining throughout much of the 20th century; the average annual rate for the years 1964-72 (1.2%) was the lowest in South America.

The low and declining rate of population growth has tended to discourage new investment and has been viewed by some as reflecting a lack of confidence in the nation's future. Family allowances have been in effect since 1943, with benefits per child rising as the number of children increases, but these subsidies appear to have been designed primarily to confer liberal social welfare benefits rather than to raise birth rates. In any case, the welfare system has not functioned effectively, and inflation and deteriorating economic conditions have been accompanied by a lowered birth rate. As the birth rate has declined, the age of the population has increased, creating further problems. The economically active sector of the population has been forced to bear a great burden of dependents, and the increasing age of this sector has diminished its productive capacity and decreased its employment mobility.

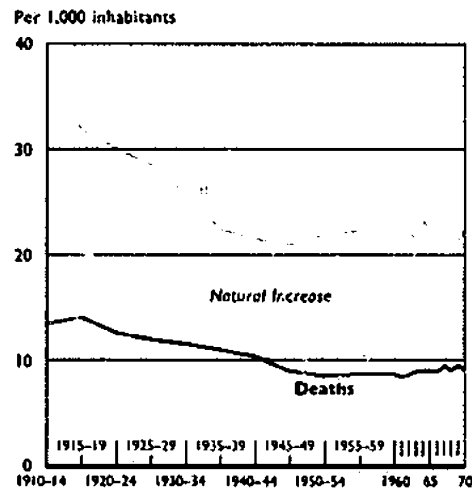


FIGURE 2. Vital rates, 1910-70 (U/OU)

Vital statistics, based on reasonably complete registration of births and deaths, show that the birth rate declined steadily from 36.7 births per 1,000 population in the period 1910-14 to 21.6 in 1940-44 and has since remained fairly stable, fluctuating between 21 and 24 (Figure 2). The rate of 22.4 births per 1,000 population registered in 1970 was still somewhat higher than rates in most of the developed countries, but was among the lowest in South America. The death rate, which stood at 13.5 deaths per 1,000 population in 1910-14, fell below 10 in 1940-44 and has since been fairly constant. Although the rate for 1970 (9.2 deaths per 1,000 population) was higher than those in most other South American countries, this was attributable to the age structure of the Uruguayan population. If the other South American countries had an age structure comparable with that of Uruguay, their death rates would have been higher than Uruguay's. In fact, the death rate in Uruguay compares favorably with rates in many of the developed nations, despite the fact that the infant mortality rate is still fairly high. In 1970 there were 42.6 deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births. The figure for 1970 represented a significant improvement over that in the 1920's, but was substantially above the rates in the United States and the countries of Western Europe.

As a result of the decline in the death rate since the beginning of this century, life expectancy at birth has risen from 50.8 years in the first decade of the century to 69.2 years in 1965-70. In the latter period, life

expectancy at birth for males was 66.4 years and for females 72.3. Both values were among the highest in the Western Hemisphere.

Several factors have contributed to the low and stable birth rate. Uruguay has long been an urbanized nation; today nearly one-half of the people live in Montevideo or its suburbs. The increased financial burden of raising a large family in urban surroundings has been one factor encouraging city dwellers to limit family size. Increased levels of educational attainment, especially among urbanites, has been another. Finally, the birth rate has been held down by the widespread practice of abortion. During the 1960's, for example, it was estimated that there were two to three abortions for every live birth.

Concerned by the rising number of abortions, private interests founded a family planning organization in 1962. This organization, the Association for Family Planning and Research on Reproduction, has sought to promote birth control measures as a substitute for abortion, emphasizing the dangers to health from abortion. Since January 1969 the association and the Ministry of Public Health jointly have operated a family planning clinic in Montevideo; the hospital of the University of the Republic also sponsor such a clinic. Because of financial limitations, however, these clinics are unable to publicize their activities widely, and as a result, few women benefit from their services.

Until about 1960, Uruguay traditionally had been a land of immigrants, immigration having contributed substantially to population growth. As the result of mounting economic problems, however, more persons have left the country than have entered it in the years since 1960. The excess of emigrants over immigrants is not large and does not as yet have any significant impact on population growth. Of some concern to the government, nonetheless, is the loss of skilled manpower. Many of the emigrants are skilled workers unable to find suitable employment in Uruguay; schoolteachers and physicians also are included among those seeking opportunities elsewhere. Argentina, and particularly Buenos Aires, consistently has attracted the most Uruguayan emigrants, with estimates of the number of Uruguayans residing in the country ranging between 300,000 and 500,000. Brazil, Canada, the United States, Venezuela, and Australia are other favored destinations.

The government has taken no recent action to encourage immigration and, with the rise in unemployment, appears unlikely to alter its views. Migration from rural areas, however, is causing concern. In its efforts to slow migration from the

countyside, the government has initiated measures to increase agricultural production and to improve rural education and living conditions. To date such measures have had little success.

I. Density and distribution

Uruguay has no extensive uninhabited areas. The distribution of the population is markedly uneven, however, resulting in extremes of population density. Overall, population density at midyear 1973 was estimated at 41 persons per square mile, compared with 58 persons per square mile in the United States. In the greater Montevideo area, however, density approached 5,000 persons per square mile, whereas two departments of the interior had fewer than 10 residents per square mile in 1963, and stockraising regions in the northwest recorded a density of only 1.3. In general, the population is concentrated around Montevideo; smaller concentrations are found in and near other urban centers and in crop-growing regions along the Rio de la Plata (Figure 3).

Montevideo Department, including the city of Montevideo and suburbs, had a population in 1963 more than 10 times greater than that of any other department. It contained 46% of the total population at that time, although encompassing in area only 0.3% of the national territory (Figure 4). All together, the five southern departments of Canelones, Colonia, Maldonado, Montevideo, and San Jose,¹ collectively constituting about 12% of the total area of the country, accounted for nearly two-thirds of the population. None of the other 14 departments had as many as 100,000 inhabitants.

At the time of the 1963 census, 82% of the population was classified as urban, and the proportion probably has risen slightly since then, as there has been continuing movement to the city of Montevideo. Thus, Uruguay ranks as the most urbanized country of the Western Hemisphere. All departments in 1963 had more urban than rural residents; in eight departments urban residents outnumbered their rural counterparts by more than two to one.

Urbanization in Uruguay has been virtually synonymous with the growth of Montevideo and its suburbs. In 1908, 30% of the total population lived in the capital city; by 1963, the proportion had risen to 45%. During the same period the aggregate population of the other 18 departmental capitals remained at a constant 19% of the total population.

¹For diacritics on place names, see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map in the Country Profile chapter and on the map itself.

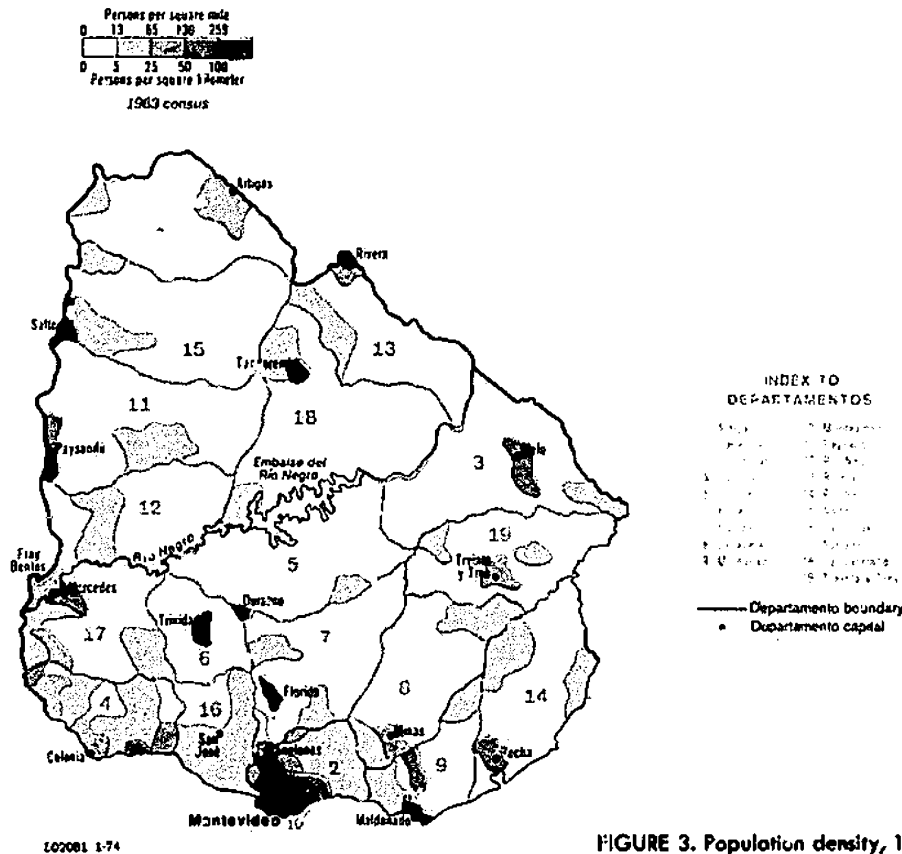


FIGURE 3. Population density, 1963 (U/OU)

while the rural population, as well as that living in towns now classified as urban, declined from 51% to 36%. Thus, significant urbanization has occurred only in Montevideo, which in 1963 accounted for 55% of the total urban population. The remainder of the urban residents lived in 301 other communities classified as urban by the census: 5% in the two cities with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, 11% in the seven cities with between 25,000 and 50,000 residents, 4% in the five cities with 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants, and 25% in the 287 small towns and cities with between 2,000 and 20,000 population.²

The predominance of the capital is not a new phenomenon. Since early in the 19th century, the city has never contained less than a quarter of the nation's inhabitants, and it grew at more than twice the rate of the country as a whole during the 1908-63 intercensal period. The average annual growth rate for 1963-70 has been estimated at 2.9%, resulting in a 1970 population of slightly more than 1.4 million. Montevideo thus is almost 20 times larger than Salto,

²A few communities with fewer than 2,000 residents were classified as urban by the census. Mainly these were suburban areas.

the nation's second largest city, which had about 72,000 residents in 1970. The next largest at that time were Paysandú (64,000), Rivera (49,000), and Las Piedras (48,000).

Clearly a magnet for rural residents, Montevideo has attracted sizable numbers of in-migrants, although no precise measurements of the volume of internal migration are available. Both men and women have deserted rural areas because of unemployment and underemployment, low living levels, a shortage of educational, recreational, and cultural facilities, inadequate administration of social welfare services, and limited opportunities for social mobility. At the same time, the expansion of industrial activity in the capital and the growth of employment in the service sector have made Montevideo the destination of most migrants; Uruguayans sometimes refer to it as "the suction pump." Areas of heaviest out-migration include the livestock-producing regions north of the Rio Negro; Paysandú, Rivera, and Tacuarembó Departments, in particular, have been most effected by out-migration. In addition to permanent movement there is some seasonal migration, mainly

FIGURE 4. Population, area, and population density, by department, 1963 (U/OU)
(Area in square miles)

DEPARTMENT	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Artigas.....	52,853	2.0	4,393	6.1	12.0
Canelones.....	258,195	9.9	1,835	2.5	140.7
Cerro Largo.....	71,023	2.7	5,764	8.0	12.3
Colonia.....	105,350	4.1	2,104	3.0	48.0
Durazno.....	53,635	2.1	5,527	7.7	9.7
Flores.....	23,530	0.9	1,745	2.4	13.5
Florida.....	63,987	2.3	4,075	5.5	13.7
Lavalleja.....	65,823	2.5	1,820	2.7	38.0
Maldonado.....	61,250	2.4	1,587	2.2	38.0
Montevideo.....	1,202,757	46.3	256	0.3	4,098.3
Paysandu.....	88,029	3.4	5,117	7.1	17.2
Rio Negro.....	46,861	1.8	3,271	4.5	14.3
Rivera.....	77,086	3.0	3,795	5.3	20.3
Rocha.....	55,007	2.1	4,281	5.9	12.9
Salto.....	92,183	3.5	4,860	6.7	18.9
San Jose.....	79,563	3.1	2,688	3.7	29.6
Soriano.....	77,906	3.0	3,561	5.1	21.9
Tacuarembó.....	76,044	3.0	8,114	11.2	9.5
Treinta y Tres.....	43,419	1.7	3,683	5.1	11.8
Uruguay.....	2,585,510	100.0	72,172	100.0	36.0

among agricultural laborers, who move about the country and into neighboring Argentina and Brazil following the harvests.

2. Age-sex structure

In the age structure of its population, Uruguay more closely resembles the United States and the developed nations of Europe than other South American countries, Argentina excepted. As the result of declining birth and death rates, the median age rose steadily until the late 1960's, increasing from 19.0 years in 1908 to 29.7 in 1963. Since 1963 apparently as a consequence of emigration, especially marked among those in their thirties, the median age has dropped slightly, to an estimated 29.4 years in mid-1970. Even with the decline, the 1970 figure for Uruguay was 1.1 years higher than the median age in the United States at the time.

The aging of the population throughout much of the 20th century has been reflected in proportionately fewer children and a marked increase in the number of elderly persons. During the period 1908-70 the proportion of persons under age 15 fell from 41% to 28%, while the proportion of persons in the 15-64 age group increased from 56% to 63% and those age 65 or older rose from 3% to 9%. Overall, 36.7% of the population in 1970 were in the dependent ages (14 or

younger and 65 or older), whereas 63.3% were in the working ages (15-64). The resulting ratio of 580 persons of dependent age per 1,000 of working ages was nevertheless lower than that in the United States.

The formal dependency ratio for Uruguay understates the actual degree of dependency. The average retirement age is about 50, and some persons retire at 45. Early retirement, made possible by an extensive social insurance program, has hindered economic development by placing a heavier dependency burden on the working population. If, for example, the working-age population were considered to encompass those in the 15-19 age group, the number of dependent persons in the population at midyear 1970 would have exceeded those in the productive ages.

Uruguay's 1970 population profile shows general similarities to that of the United States (Figure 5). Both exhibit a moderate-size base and a relatively broad apex. The proportion of the Uruguayan population under age 5 is greater than that in the United States, but it is smaller in all age groups 5-24. During the peak working years (24-49), the proportion for Uruguay again is greater than that for the United States, but it is slightly lower in all higher age groups.

As revealed by the 1963 census, the age structure of urban and rural populations differed somewhat, and these differences are believed to have persisted.

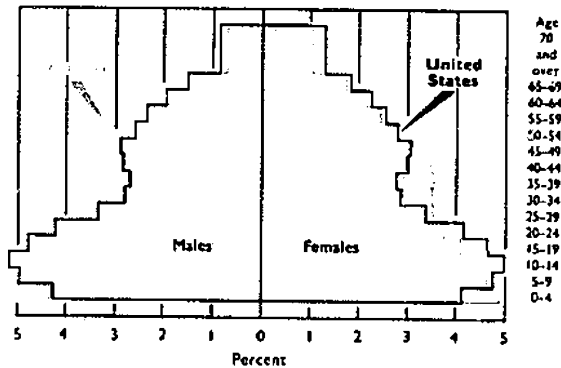


FIGURE 5. Age-sex structure, Uruguay and the United States, 1970 (U/OU)

Children under age 15 accounted for 31% of the rural population, compared with 27% of the urban. Persons 65 or older made up 6% of the population in the countryside and 8% of those in urban areas.

The estimated 1970 population comprised 1,437,000 males and 1,452,000 females, or 99 males per 100 females, a ratio identical to that ascertained by the 1963 census. In 1963, females outnumbered males in all but three of the nation's 25 largest communities, whereas men outnumbered women in rural areas. The 1963 ratio in urban areas was 93 males per 100 females, while in the countryside it was 132:100. The city of Montevideo had the largest excess of females over males, and the gap has since grown wider. In 1971, for example, it was estimated that the capital had a ratio of 89 males per 100 females.

D. Living and working conditions

Measured in terms of health, sanitation, nutrition, housing, and social welfare benefits, living conditions in Uruguay are generally high; they are superior to those of most other South American countries and rival those of some European nations. Regionally, levels of living are highest in Montevideo and lowest in the stockraising areas of the north. Partly as a result of social welfare policies and tax reforms established in the first decade of the 20th century by President Batlle, middle and lower class urban residents enjoy greater purchasing power and a more equal share of the national income than do their counterparts in most other South American countries. Nevertheless, according to an estimate in 1972, 4% of the nation's industrialists controlled 70% of the capital invested in industry, and some 600 families owned about half the arable land. Since midcentury, moreover, economic stagnation and rapid inflation have increased unemployment, reduced real wages, and diluted

pensions and other benefits, especially for middle and lower income groups. As of the early 1970's, these problems were among the most important facing Uruguayans. (U/OU)

The government has devised a variety of schemes to restore vitality to the economy. Prior to 1965, various noncontroversial, short-term measures were enacted in an effort to maintain the social advances and high consumption levels established during the first half of the century. These policies were largely ineffectual, however, as prices more than doubled that year, threatening to ruin the economy. Under the austerity program instituted during the administration of Jorge Pacheco Areco (1967-71) and continued in that of President Bordaberry, wage and price controls, reductions in budget deficits, restrictions on credit, and periodic devaluations of the peso were imposed. These measures have resulted in some lessening of inflationary pressures. (U/OU)

During the years 1962-70—a period of declining public expenditures—proportional allocations for health, education, and welfare dropped, while military spending, principally for internal security, rose sharply. The 1973-77 National Development Plan, drawn up by the Office of Planning and Budget and adopted in April 1973, envisages an increase in public investment from the current level of less than 2% of GNP to nearly 5% by 1977. Slightly more than the equivalent of US\$500 million is to be invested by the public sector during the 5-year period, the bulk of the funds being allocated for infrastructure development in order to improve general living conditions. About 9% of the total is to be invested in social programs, mainly education. Although the current level of real wages is consistent with the goals of the plan, it is projected that future advances will derive from increased production. (U/OU)

In real terms, personal income stagnated during the 1960's, and among some workers it declined substantially, as shown by the following index of earnings in various economic sectors (1961=100):

	1962	1964	1966	1968
Central government	106	106	92	87
Commerce	108	101	93	74
Construction	100	90	89	82
Manufacturing	103	96	102	91

Growing worker dissatisfaction, accompanied by demonstrations and strikes, led the government to declare a series of general pay hikes for all wage earners during the period 1969-71. These increases produced a slight improvement in purchasing power; real income increased approximately 6% among government employees and about 3% among workers in the private sector. (U/GU)

Income distribution is more equitable in Uruguay than in most other countries in the Western Hemisphere. According to a 1968 survey of monthly earnings in Montevideo Department, the income of 47% of all families was between Ur\$15,000 and Ur\$30,000 (approximately Ur\$8.40=US\$1). 30% earned under Ur\$15,000, and 23% had incomes in excess of Ur\$30,000 (Figure 6). Despite pay raises granted after 1968, there has been little change in the proportional distribution of family income. In 1969, most industrial workers earned the equivalent of US\$65 to US\$100 per month, although some, including mechanics and chemical workers, received more than US\$150. The majority of officeworkers, salesmen, and retail employees earned US\$40 to US\$70 per month. Rural workers received the lowest wages, ranging from the equivalent of US\$18 for domestics to US\$37 for ranch foremen. In addition to base pay, most workers are entitled to various supplementary benefits. Employees in the private sector receive a Christmas bonus equal to 1 month's earnings, middle and lower income workers with dependent children are eligible for family allowances, and rural workers receive either free food or lodging or an additional monthly increment in wages. (U/OU)

In recent years, many Uruguayans have been forced to reduce the purchase of nonessential items and to forego virtually all luxury goods, as wage increases failed to keep pace with rising prices (Figure 7). The consumer price index for Montevideo rose by nearly 1,900% in the years 1963-69, with the increase in 1968 alone amounting to 125% (Figure 8). The rate of inflation abated somewhat in the years 1969-71, following the establishment of an economic stabilization program, but prices rose by an estimated 95% in 1972 and by 27% during the first quarter of 1973. During the period 1960-71, clothing and miscellaneous expenses (including transportation, recreation, and personal items) rose most in price, followed by food and housing. Since 1971, substantial increases have been registered in the cost of retail services, including utilities; in food prices, especially meat, milk, and bread; and in rent. During the mid-1960's the average household spent 54% of monthly expenditures for food, 21% for miscellaneous items, 14% for housing, and 11% for clothing. More recent data are unavailable, but it is likely that most families have found it necessary to allocate a larger proportion of income for essential needs, particularly food, and to postpone outlays for such items as home improvement, clothing, and nonessential traveling. (U/OU)

Uruguay's high levels of living and, until recently, its political and economic stability have militated

against antisocial behavior. No single social problem imposes an undue burden on the public institutions charged with guaranteeing the welfare and safety of individuals. Nonetheless, MLN activities, which have included murder, robbery, and assault, have at times strained the capacity of the police and military to maintain public order. (U/OU)

Although official crime statistics for recent years are unavailable, observers have noted that economic stagnation has been accompanied by an increase in such offenses as bribery, embezzlement, fraud, smuggling, and theft. An Economic Crimes Law was enacted in November 1972 in an effort to reduce the incidence of "white collar" crimes, especially in the field of banking and commerce, where usury, illegal currency manipulation, and circumvention of international trade regulations drain millions of pesos from the national economy. Serious crimes against persons and property are believed to have risen since the early 1960's, when reported major thefts and burglaries averaged 17,000 annually; assaults and related incidents 10,000; and homicides 110. In proportion to population, there is less reported crime in the interior departments than in Montevideo. The *rancherías*, however, are believed to be major breeding grounds for crime and juvenile delinquency. Throughout the country only a small percentage of reported crimes are finally cleared by the courts, indicating a low conviction rate for those arrested. (U/OU)

Recent investigations suggest that Uruguay is a transshipment point for heroin and cocaine between Europe and the United States, although the extent of trafficking is unknown. In November 1972 a Uruguayan citizen was implicated in a heroin-smuggling operation involving individuals in France, Uruguay, and the United States, and in January 1973 a special narcotics brigade was established. There is no serious domestic drug problem, however. Reportedly, only small quantities of barbituates and cocaine are used in Montevideo, while the known use of marijuana is limited to foreign seamen in the port area and to youth who frequent the city's discotheques. Under current procedure, an illicit narcotics user, when apprehended, is sent to a hospital for treatment at his family's expense; criminal prosecution usually is not instituted. Anyone who illegally manufactures or deals in narcotics or dangerous drugs, however, is criminally charged. (C)

Gambling is legal and is enjoyed by large numbers of Uruguayans at all socio-economic levels. The gambling casinos in Montevideo and Punta del Este are frequented mainly by the middle and upper

classes; betting at horse races and other sporting events is popular among all citizens. A nationwide lottery is operated by the National Lottery Administration, which also controls all raffles offering prizes of substantial value. In recent years legislators have considered the possibility of enacting laws to curtail the proliferation of raffles, which reduce the disposable income of many individuals. (U/OU)

Prostitution is also legal. In 1970 there reportedly were 15 brothels in Montevideo and one in each of five interior cities, all regulated by the government. Prostitutes who work in these brothels are registered with the Ministry of Public Health and are required to undergo weekly medical examinations. Many others, however, are believed to operate in nonregulated brothels and as call girls and part-time bar girls. Alcoholism is not a major problem. It is most frequently observed among individuals in the lowest socioeconomic stratum, particularly residents of *rancheros*. (U/OU)

1. Health and sanitation (U/OU)

Uruguayans enjoy levels of health, sanitation, and nutrition that are among the most favorable in the world. Some observers have noted a decline in general health conditions in recent years as a result of the country's overall economic difficulties, but health indicators reveal continuing progress in many spheres. A sharp contrast exists, however, between the markedly lower levels of health and sanitation in rural areas and those in cities and towns. Disparities also exist in the quality of medical care available to persons of varying socioeconomic levels. Free state-operated facilities, hampered by overcrowding and a shortage of equipment and trained personnel, provide low-quality service to the poor, while private institutions charging high fees offer superior treatment to the affluent.

The principal environmental factors associated with the incidence of disease are overcrowding in Montevideo's slums and a lack of potable water and waste disposal facilities in rural areas, particularly in the *rancheros* of the north. In most years, childhood illnesses, including measles, chickenpox, and mumps, as well as certain other transmissible diseases often affecting the respiratory system, have the highest morbidity. The leading respiratory disorders are influenza, tuberculosis, and whooping cough. Other prevalent diseases include infectious hepatitis, syphilis, and gonorrhea; diphtheria, typhoid fever, and scarlet fever occur less frequently. Fungal disorders and goiter are prevalent in certain localities of the interior.

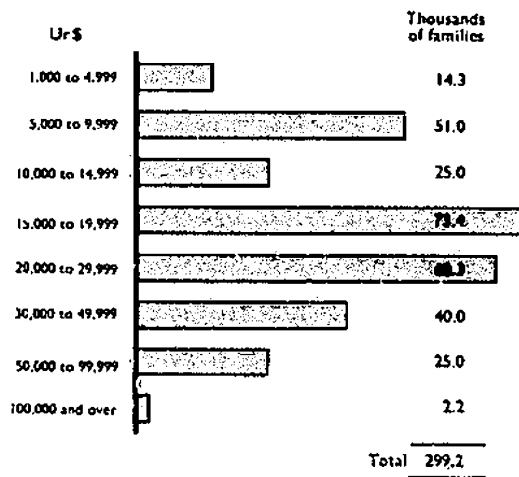


FIGURE 6. Monthly family income, Montevideo Department, 1968 (U/OU)

The mortality pattern, except for a high infant mortality rate, is comparable with that of more economically developed countries. Cancer, heart disease, and cerebrovascular diseases are the leading causes of death, accounting in the early 1970's for about half of all fatalities, excluding those of infants. Other major causes of death are, in descending order, diseases of early infancy; senility; accidents; diabetes; hypertension; gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis; and tuberculosis. Death from most communicable diseases is rare, and in general the mortality rate from such disorders is comparable with that in Western Europe and the United States. Government statistics indicate that the leading causes of death remained largely unchanged during the period 1949-71, except that bronchitis and pneumonia were eliminated as principal causes of mortality and deaths from tuberculosis were substantially reduced.

Government-sponsored disease control and immunization programs have been moderately successful in reducing morbidity and mortality from certain diseases. The marked decline in deaths from tuberculosis during the 1960's has been attributed to the use of mobile X-ray detection and treatment units and vaccination; nevertheless, the disease's morbidity rate remains high. Although information is incomplete, it is estimated that 40% to 50% of the population under age 20 are tuberculin-positive. In the late 1960's extensive immunization campaigns were carried out against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, and smallpox. Poliomyelitis and smallpox, together with malaria and yellow fever, have been all but eradicated. Because of



FIGURE 7. A 1972 cartoon from the weekly *Marcha* criticizing the government's failure to control the consumer price spiral while family income stagnates (U/OU)

the widespread prevalence of substandard housing in rural districts, however, a spraying campaign initiated in 1963 against Chagas disease, a debilitating parasitic illness, has met limited success; at the close of the decade, the disease's vector was believed to be infesting as many as 57,000 dwellings, thereby rendering a high proportion of all rural inhabitants vulnerable to it.

Recognizing the need to expand health services in outlying areas, the Ministry of Public Health, with the aid of several international agencies, has maintained an intensive rural health program encompassing, among other services, maternal and child care (Figure 9), environmental sanitation, health education, and control of communicable diseases. In 1969, the latest year for which data are available, approximately 330,000 individuals had been vaccinated and about 40,000 had received clinical examinations.

Compared with similar outlays in economically advanced countries, Uruguay's expenditures for health are high in relation to GNP, although per capita costs are low. In 1967, for example, the equivalent of slightly over 5% of GNP was devoted to health services, but per capita expenditure amounted to the equivalent of only about US\$44. In the same year Israel, Sweden, and the United States spent less than 5% of GNP on health care, but per capita expenditures ranged from US\$50 to US\$130. Funds allotted annually by the government for health care rose slightly during the 1960's, but the proportionate share

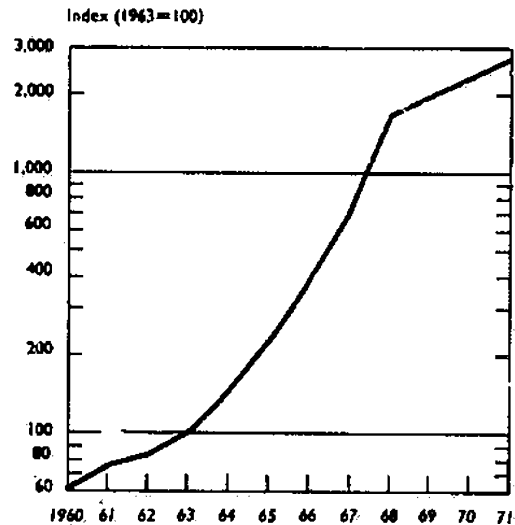


FIGURE 8. Consumer price index, Montevideo (U/OU)

of total expenditures decreased near the end of the decade, and in 1970 only 4.5% of the budget was allocated. Salaries comprised more than three-fourths of the total, leaving approximately one-fifth for operational expenses and the remainder for equipment and repairs.

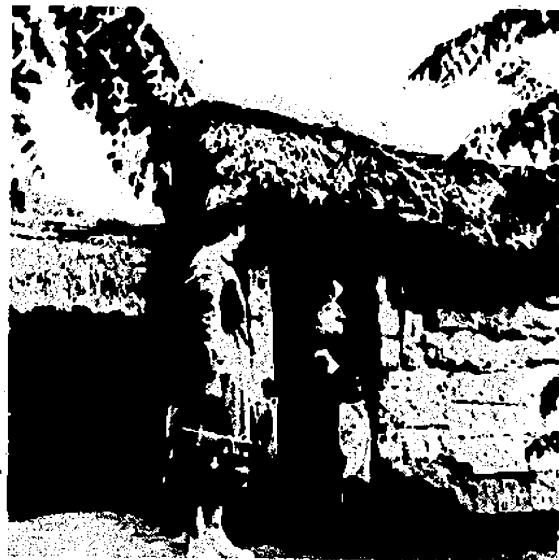


FIGURE 9. Rural health program worker visiting a low-income family in sparsely populated Rivera Department (C)



The 600-bed Hospital de Clinicas, located in downtown Montevideo, is the nation's largest hospital. A government institution operated by the College of Medicine of the University of the Republic, it provides medical treatment to low-income patients and serves as a center for medical research. (C)

Interested mothers gather around a nurse in Montevideo's Pereira Rosset Children's Hospital while waiting for their children to be examined. (U/OU)



FIGURE 10. Medical care facilities

Medical care facilities are well developed by South American standards, but deficiencies exist in their organization and staffing, and their geographic distribution is uneven. As of 1967, 137 hospitals were in service, many of them in Montevideo. Moreover, at least one general hospital was located in each of the other 18 departments—usually in the departmental capital. In 1970, hospitals providing specialized care included four for tuberculosis, three for psychiatry, one for pediatrics, one combining obstetrics and pediatrics, and one for geriatrics. In the late 1960's, outpatient treatment was provided at 17 departmental health centers, 25 auxiliary health centers, 133 rural polyclinics, and 268 first aid posts. Limited medical services were also provided on some of the larger rural estates.

The number of hospital beds in the nation rose from approximately 12,000 in 1960 to 17,400 in 1971, an increase of 45%, while the ratio of beds to population decreased from 1:209 in 1960 to 1:168 in 1971, the ratio in the latter year being the most favorable in South America after that of Argentina (152). Nearly half the total number of beds, however, were in large hospitals of 500 or more beds in

Montevideo (Figure 10). In the early 1970's, public and semipublic institutions maintained by the Ministry of Public Health contained about three-fourths of all beds, one-fifth were in hospitals controlled by mutual assistance societies (*sociedades mutualistas*), and 5% were in private hospitals.

In proportion to population, more physicians practice in Uruguay than in most other nations in the developing world. In 1971 physicians numbered 3,700, a 42% increase over the 1960 figure and more than triple the rate of population growth. In 1971 the ratio of physicians to population was 1:790, compared with 1:650 in the United States. Regional variations are substantial, however. In 1967 the ratio in Montevideo was 1:549; in the remainder of the country it was 1:2,594. Many young physicians, unable to establish a satisfactory practice, emigrate to other countries after completing their university training.

The nation's abundance of physicians is offset by a shortage of graduate nurses. Although the number practicing rose from 300 in 1960 to 800 in 1971, the ratio of nurses to population was only 1:3,655 in the latter year. Because of the shortage, practical nurses,

estimated at 3,900 in 1967, often must perform duties for which they have had little or no formal training. Medical workers, known as health visitors, some of them advanced medical students, help ease the shortage of trained nurses by undertaking routine medical and administrative duties. Friends and relatives of the patients also assist overburdened staffs by providing some patient care. There also is a shortage of other medical and paramedical personnel. In 1967-68, for example, there were only 1,344 dentists, 763 pharmacists, 303 sanitary engineers, and 48 sanitary inspectors.

Medical education is considered average by U.S. standards. Many physicians take postgraduate training in the United States or Europe. The quality of paramedical education varies from mediocre to excellent. Professional training is centered at the University of the Republic in the faculties of medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, chemistry and pharmacy, and engineering—which offers courses in sanitary engineering—and in the school of nursing. Other institutions include the Doctor Carlos Nery School of Nursing, which provides a degree program as well as training in practical nursing, midwifery, physiotherapy, X-ray technology, and nutritional science. The Ministry of Public Health sponsors a 1-year training program for health visitors. At least 13 public and private agencies conduct medical research, and about 200 firms manufacture pharmaceuticals.

Because of the availability of medical care in most of the nation, folk remedies are not widely employed. Nevertheless, midwives still practice extensively, particularly in rural areas, and quinine and such herbs as camomile and sarsaparilla are frequently used in rural homes.

Sanitation facilities are generally well developed by South American standards but vary significantly between urban and rural areas. In 1967, the latest date for which information is available, piped water was largely accessible in urban centers but was rarely available in the countryside, as shown in the following percentage distribution of customary sources of water:

	URBAN	RURAL
Household taps	71.0	3.4
Public taps	10.6	8.0
Wells, cisterns, and other	18.4	88.6
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

In 1969 the sewerage system was virtually complete in Montevideo, where nearly all residences had either piped connections or septic tanks; in 1970, moreover, service was being expanded to a few remaining low-income districts of the capital. Elsewhere, however, only about half of urban residences and virtually no rural dwellings had piped sewage connections.

In the 1965-74 National Development Plan, the government established the following goals: potable water for all communities of 300 inhabitants or more; piped water connections for 93% of urban residences; sewage disposal connections for 84% of urban residences; and both piped water and sewage disposal service for all residences in 110 localities of 1,000 inhabitants or more. As of mid-1973, it is believed, these objectives are far from being realized.

Garbage and trash collection is provided daily in large cities and weekly in most small urban communities. Disposal is by incineration or by dumping in special open areas. In Montevideo, part of the garbage is used for production of nitrogen fertilizer, and in some towns, including Paysandu and Salto, composting methods are employed. In rural areas garbage and trash are dumped indiscriminately.

2. Diet and nutrition (U/OU)

Although some members of the lower class in both urban and rural areas suffer dietary deficiencies, most Uruguayans enjoy high levels of nutrition. Beef (the staple of the diet), mutton, and pork are consumed in large quantities. In 1967, according to U.S. sources, meat consumption was the highest in the world, averaging 227 pounds annually. Milk and milk products also are consumed in sizable quantities. During 1970, milk production for domestic consumption was equivalent to 255 liters per person, approximately three times the per capita production in all of South America. Although daily per capita caloric intake in some interior areas was less than 2,200 in 1966, the average intake for the nation as a whole was 3,020—the highest in South America after Argentina (3,170 calories) and only slightly lower than that in the United States (3,140). Protein consumption is among the highest in the world; in 1965, the average intake was 106 grams per day, compared with 103 in Argentina and 94 in the United States.

The importance of meat and milk in the typical daily diet is indicated in the following percentage distribution of calories and proteins in 1965, which also reveals a low consumption of vegetables:

	CALORIES	PROTEINS
Meat	25.4	45.5
Cereals	31.3	26.0
Sugar	13.2	0.1
Milk	11.8	18.3
Fats and oils	9.0	0.2
Starch	4.6	2.4
Fruit	1.9	0.3
Eggs and fish	1.0	3.0
Pulses, nuts, and seeds	0.9	1.5
Vegetables	0.9	1.2
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Deriving from the insufficient intake of fruits and vegetables, certain shortcomings are evident in the average diet. According to a survey conducted in 1962 by a U.S. group, deficiencies include vitamins A, C, and D, thiamine, and niacin.

Although about 84% of Uruguayan land is arable, only 11% is farmed and the remainder is used for grazing. The nation's principal food crops—wheat, corn, oats, barley, rice, potatoes, sugar beets, grapes, and citrus fruits—are grown mainly in the southern and southwestern areas of the country, while livestock is raised primarily in the central and northern regions.

In general, food production is adequate. The supply of beef, however, has diminished in recent years as ranchers have failed to expand the size of their herds to meet growing domestic and external demands. During the period 1970-72, the increased scarcity of beef was aggravated by the government's decreeing partial and occasionally total bans against the domestic sale of beef in an effort to increase the amount available for export. In addition to causing widespread discontent among consumers, the bans produced little additional foreign exchange and may have exacerbated the problem of cattle smuggling to Brazil, where higher beef prices were offered.

The distribution and handling of agricultural products throughout the country is uneven, and food retailers frequently complain of losses from slow deliveries and spoilage. Improved roads, particularly north to south, are needed to facilitate commodity transport to internal markets. Inspectors check sanitary conditions and problems of adulteration in foods marketed in Montevideo; however, controls are minimal elsewhere in the country. A few supermarkets operate in the large cities, but most commodities are sold in outdoor markets where refrigeration is nonexistent and dust and insect contamination prevail (Figure 11).

3. Housing (U/OU)

Although still satisfactory by South American standards, housing conditions in Uruguay deteriorated steadily during the 1960's, creating an estimated housing deficit ranging from 100,000 to 150,000 units at the beginning of 1973. Major causes of the deficit were a shortage of funds for investment in construction, resulting largely from prolonged economic stagnation; spiraling inflation which restricted mortgage loans; lack of incentive in the private sector to invest in rental properties because of rent controls; and limited public housing programs. As of May 1973, many of these problems continued to plague the country, but changes in the mortgage laws and a reorganization of the government housing program had helped to slow the decline; in fact, in the



FIGURE 11. Throughout the country, outdoor markets, such as this one in Montevideo, are set up each morning and dismantled at night (C)

area of low-cost housing for the poor, conditions had begun to improve for the first time in more than a decade.

Housing is best in Montevideo and other large cities and poorest in rural areas (Figure 12). Montevideo has several substandard sections called *cantegriles* on its outskirts, but there are no large slums of the magnitude found in many other South American capitals. Indeed, the country's greatest slum problem is a rural phenomenon consisting of an estimated 600 *rancherios*, four-fifths of which are in the central and northern departments devoted to stockraising. Inhabited by approximately 100,000 persons, including families of ranch workers, unemployed laborers, and vagrants, the *rancherios* contain substandard dwellings, many with only one room, shared by four to eight persons. Constructed of mud or scrap material and thatch, nearly all lack minimum amenities, including running water and toilet facilities.

The total number of dwellings in the countryside increased between 1963 and 1973, but it is believed that quantitative and qualitative disparities between urban and rural residences remained largely unchanged. A total of 721,425 housing units were enumerated in the 1963 census, with an average of 5.7 persons per unit. Reflecting the dominance of the urban population, more than four-fifths of the total were in urban areas, as shown in the following percentage distribution of dwelling units according to location:

Montevideo	43.1
Other urban	37.2
Rural	16.4
Beach areas, used part of the year	3.3
	100.0



Middle class dwellings in Punta del Este



Worker's house on an estancia in the interior



FIGURE 12. Representative dwellings (C)

A small rancherio, or rural shanty town, in northern Rivera Department. The substandard dwellings lack sanitary facilities and other minimal amenities.

The most durable building materials are used in Montevideo and the least in rural areas, as shown by the following proportional distribution of dwellings by type of construction in 1968:

	OTHER		
	MONTEVIDEO	URBAN	RURAL
Walls of cement or brick; roofs of tile or cement	78	55	7
Walls of cement or brick; roofs of wood, sheetmetal, thatch, or other lightweight material	18	36	55
Walls and roof of wood, sheetmetal, thatch, and other lightweight material	7	7	36
Walls and roof of scrap material	1	2	2
All types	100	100	100

In 1964, according to survey findings of both public and private agencies, approximately 15% of urban and 18% of rural dwellings were regarded as unsafe because of badly deteriorated walls and roofs, as well as other structural defects. Substantially greater numbers, however, lacked amenities for proper health and sanitation. About 35% of urban residences and approximately 70% of rural ones lacked one or more of the following: piped water, connection to central sewerage or cesspool, flush toilet, and adequate heating. About 88% of urban houses had electricity, compared with 34% of rural ones.

Efforts by the government to improve housing conditions have been predicated on the maintenance of a vigorous economy, a goal that has eluded the nation for more than a decade. Consequently, despite the elaboration of detailed plans, the main objectives of the housing program have not been met. As stated by national planners, the general purpose of the government's housing program is to "provide every family, whatever its economic resources, with adequate housing." Specific objectives have included the elimination of three-fourths of the housing deficit by 1970 and the replacement of all inadequate housing by 1980. To meet these objectives, the development plan for the years 1965-74 called for the construction of an average of 32,000 housing units per annum, some 14% of which were to be in the public sector. Indicative of an impending failure to meet the goal, however, an average of about 12,000 dwelling construction permits were issued annually in the private sector and only 464 in the public sector during the first 7 years the plan has been in force.

Although the housing program appeared to be falling well short of official expectations as of the early 1970's, the government has aided many low-income earners in obtaining adequate shelter. A provision of

the 1968 Housing Law that adjusts mortgage obligations according to an average salary index, thereby permitting low-income families to afford financing, is partly responsible for this development. Actual government construction activity also favors the poor. In 1971, for example, of 996 units completed by the National Institute of Low Cost Housing (INVE), 970 were for low-income families and 26 were for middle-income families. In addition, INVE provided assistance to the Malvin Norte Housing Cooperative, a workers housing project near Montevideo sponsored by 14 local labor unions and assisted by the American Institute for Free Labor Development. About one-third complete as of March 1973, the complex was reported to include 1,020 dwellings, a supermarket, and several small shops, making it the first satellite community in the nation. In recent years the government has also received external assistance for public housing construction, including a loan of US\$6 million from AID to back mortgage guarantees for the Malvin Norte project and a loan of US\$8 million from the Inter-American Development Bank to finance more than half of the cost of constructing 4,100 units for low-income families.

4. Work opportunities and conditions (U/OU)

a. The people and work

Since the mid-1950's, economic difficulties have altered traditional patterns of employment and reduced work opportunities in a wide variety of occupations. The government has had some success in raising agricultural and industrial production and slowing inflation since instituting austerity measures in 1968, but worker discontent over wage controls and other government policies has sparked numerous protests and strikes.

According to a number of public opinion polls, unemployment is regarded by most people as the nation's leading problem. Official unemployment rates, however, fail to reflect the magnitude of the problem, as the definition of an employed individual is unusually broad; for instance, unpaid family workers who labor a minimum of 15 hours per week are considered employed. In Montevideo Department, where joblessness apparently has been less severe than elsewhere in the nation, the following unemployment rates were recorded in recent years:

1968	8.5
1969	8.1
1970	7.3
1971	7.6

Had unpaid, marginally employed family workers been included among the jobless, however, the rates would have increased by at least 2 percentage points. Indeed, in May 1973, the government placed the proportion of unemployed nationwide at 10.5%, and some unofficial assessments were as high as 17%.

Although data are inconclusive, it appears that a growing proportion of the unemployed are young workers. Nearly half of those seeking employment during the early 1970's were under age 25, and approximately 70% were under age 35. Among the most frequently unemployed were workers in the textile, construction, and food processing industries, and in commerce and banking. Survey findings also indicate a lengthening in the period of unemployment, with more than 70% of jobless workers being idle for more than 3 consecutive months and a substantial number for more than a year.

Underemployment is also a severe problem, although many workers with needed skills, including government employees, hold two or more jobs, sometimes with overlapping hours of employment, in order to make ends meet. In 1971 nearly a quarter of the economically active people in Montevideo Department were employed less than 30 hours per week, approximately half having worked limited hours because of the scarcity of fulltime jobs. Outside Montevideo, particularly in rural areas, underemployment is believed to be even more pronounced. In the northern stockraising region, unskilled laborers customarily are hired to work on the *estancias* during the roundup, branding, and sheep-shearing seasons for a maximum of 45 days. During the remainder of the year they work only intermittently.

Despite high levels of unemployment and underemployment, skilled workers are in short supply. In the mid-1960's enrollment in the public vocational schools, known collectively as the Labor University, was less than one-third of corresponding enrollment in academic secondary schools, pointing up the greater prestige traditionally attached to academic training and white-collar employment. Skilled workers have been needed in a variety of industrial and agricultural occupations, especially engineering and agronomy. In its 1965-74 National Development Plan, the government envisaged a 46% increase in per capita productivity as a result of creating 63,000 additional jobs in manufacturing, establishing on-the-job training programs, and improving technology. To date, however, workers appear to have benefited little from the program, either in increased employment opportunity or in higher levels of skill.

Unlike the working population of many other South American countries, the Uruguayan labor force is

predominantly urban. In 1963 some four-fifths of all workers were urban residents, nearly half living in Montevideo alone. Many were recent arrivals from the countryside, which has correspondingly experienced a substantial diminution in the size of its work force. Factors causing continuing migration from rural to urban areas, especially Montevideo, include the limited expansion in commercial livestock operations, mechanization of certain farming techniques, increased concentration of land among large property holders, and the workers' hope, not always realized, of finding regular and better paying employment in the city.

The scarcity of jobs notwithstanding, sex discrimination in hiring is minimal, and a fairly high proportion of workers are women (Figure 13). Although most women are housewives, female workers comprise a growing proportion of the labor force. In 1963 women accounted for one-fourth of the economically active population; in 1971 in Montevideo Department they comprised nearly one-third of the labor force. In the former year women outnumbered men in personal service occupations and in certain professional, technical, and related fields, including teaching, nursing, and medical technology. Additionally, women predominated among secretaries, bookkeepers, cashiers, textile workers, and meatpackers.

Legislation has long assured women of special consideration. Since 1914 women have been prohibited from engaging in hazardous work, and they may not be employed in industrial jobs at night. The "chair law" of 1918 requires that provision be made for female employees to sit whenever their work permits. The first law guaranteeing maternity benefits dates from 1909, and present provisions require the granting of a total of 12 weeks of maternity leave at full pay. Furthermore, the constitution requires equal pay for equal work.

Labor by minors is regulated by numerous laws, including the Children's Code and nearly two dozen other statutes, some of which evolved through the ratification of ILO conventions. The legal minimum age for work by minors varies from age 12 in small industries where one of the child's parents is also employed to age 21 in cafes, cabarets, and theaters. Work by minors under 18 is limited to 6 hours per day with a 2-hour midday break and a 36-hour week, while manual training of minors under 14 may not exceed 4 hours per day. Work by youngsters in the lower age groups is not widespread, but it is substantial among older teenagers; in 1963 only about 8% of the population age 10 to 14 but half of those age 15 to 19 were economically active.



FIGURE 13. Women in the labor force

Operating a weaving machine in a Montevideo cotton mill. Women comprise approximately 60% of the workers in the textile industry. (U/OU)



Shaping cans in a corned beef cannery about 20 miles west of Montevideo (C)



Hand-canning tomatoes in a factory near Montevideo (C)

b. Labor legislation

In addition to the existence of comprehensive social insurance and of special laws prescribing work standards and governing employment terms, labor affairs are regulated by certain constitutional articles, by provisions of the commercial and civil codes, and by legislative endorsements of ILO agreements. Contemporary legislation provides for a basic 8-hour workday and 48-hour workweek, overtime pay, annual bonuses, paid holidays and vacations, and severance pay. Maximum and minimum wage rates also are controlled by law. Except for domestic servants, minimum wage laws apply to most wage earners, including agricultural workers. Laws regulating collective contracts, labor unions, strikes, and lockouts are limited in scope, resulting in unclear procedures for the settlement of labor disputes.

Numerous boards and courts play a conciliatory role during such disagreements, but compulsory arbitration is virtually unknown. Upon prior notice to the government, all workers, whether organized or not, are guaranteed the right to strike. Although public employees are enjoined from striking, the prohibition has been consistently ignored by civil servants and only sporadically enforced by the government, for reasons of political expediency.

Responsibility for enforcing statutory provisions concerning conditions of work rests with the Inspectorate General of Labor and Social Security, which has been unable to ensure thorough compliance with the regulations. In 1969 the Inspectorate, an entity of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, had only 137 labor inspectors, most of whom received their appointments through political connections and

lacked technical qualifications for the work. Some inspectors, moreover, have been known to overlook violations in return for bribes from employers.

Prior to 1968 minimum pay rates were set by wage boards operating within the various sectors of the economy, and wages higher than those prescribed by the boards could be obtained through collective bargaining. In December of that year, legislation established the Commission on Productivity, Prices, and Wages (COPRIN), composed of representatives of government, labor, and business. The centralization of authority to set minimum wages, coupled with COPRIN's subsequent imposition of wage ceilings over certain occupational groups, has aroused considerable protest among workers. Although COPRIN has raised the minimum wage levels on numerous occasions, many workers believe that the revisions have been unduly late and the amounts too small; as of January 1973 the legal minimum monthly wage was equivalent to US\$39.75.

Some of the confusion in industrial relations derives from the lack of clear statutory guidelines concerning the jurisdiction and functioning of labor unions. Mechanisms for resolving conflicts between contending unions or between competing factions within unions are virtually nonexistent. In the absence of these, governmental intervention in union matters has tended to be erratic, leaving trade unionists in doubt as to when they can anticipate official assistance in the resolution of disputes. There reportedly exists a particular need for governmental supervision of union elections and for the use of the secret ballot in order to reduce campaign abuses, which have included coercion and intimidation. Desiring to safeguard their prerogatives, however, union leaders have been reluctant to endorse the imposition of measures governing the internal affairs of their organizations.

c. Labor and management

Uruguay has developed a strong labor movement. The earliest ideological influence on the nation's workers was anarcho-syndicalism introduced by Spanish and Italian immigrants. The first labor organizations, dating from the mid-19th century, were little more than mutual aid societies, but industrial expansion in the 1930's fostered the growth of modern forms. Communism gradually gained strength in the labor movement, and in 1942 Communists established the General Union of Workers (UGT), the first national confederation. In 1951 non-Communists, primarily socialists, established the rival Trade Union Confederation of Uruguay (CSU). The rivalry between Communist and non-Communist unions is a

continuing factor in the labor movement and has contributed to almost kakidoseopic shifts in union organization.

In 1959 the UGT dissolved in favor of the Central of Uruguayan Workers (CTU), which was formally organized in 1961. CTU President Jose d'Elia, once considered staunchly committed to democratic unionism, helped to strengthen the CTU's image and its relations with autonomous unions. In 1964 the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) organized another labor front, using the old UGT name, which attracted support from some unions that would not affiliate with the openly Communist-controlled CTU. Some individual unions retained independent action, but the UGT became increasingly responsive to PCU labor policy. Meeting in a labor congress in 1966, representatives of 394 unions terminated the UGT and formed a new confederation called the National Convention of Workers (CNT), still Communist-oriented but comprised of unions from nearly every sector of Uruguayan labor. This organization also replaced the CTU.

During the 1950's and 1960's the non-Communist labor sector remained weak and divided. The CSU deteriorated as the result of internal strife and was dissolved in 1966. For about 3 years the Communist CNT was the only national labor central. Then in March 1969, delegates from former CSU affiliates and independent locals representing 84 unions established the Uruguayan Confederation of Workers (CUT). Although it has grown in membership, the CUT remains weak as a result of uncoordinated policy, decentralized control, and the autonomy of local unions. In early 1973 dissidents from four influential affiliates, representing approximately one-fifth of the confederation's members, left the organization because of inept leadership, dishonest management of union funds, and rightwing political activities of the confederation's youth section. Two of the dissident affiliates formed a new confederation, the National Labor Union of Workers (UGNT), in April 1973.

The two major labor centra's have adopted new strategies in recent years. Until the latter part of 1971 the CUT attempted to incorporate only unaffiliated unions. After persuading two former CNT-affiliated textile unions to join its ranks, however, the CUT gained the confidence to approach other organizations under CNT sponsorship. On the other hand, the CNT decided at its national convention in June 1971 to group its affiliates into federations according to industry, apparently to better mobilize the various economic sectors for strikes and other protest activities. Additionally, by minimizing the connection of the

new federations to the CNT, it hoped to increase its appeal to unions outside the Communist labor central in the name of labor unity.

The incidence of strikes was lower in the early 1970's than during the mid-1960's, when industrial disputes escalated into more than 700 stoppages annually. Nonetheless, strikes, which have tended increasingly to assume political overtones, remain the preferred tactic for underscoring labor's demands. CNT protests frequently have included denunciations of "repressive" measures by the government and demands for the reestablishment of democratic liberties, freedom for persons detained without judicial process, and an end to "torture." In 1971 the CNT's economic and political power was demonstrated by its sponsorship of three general strikes during the first 6 months of the Bordaberry administration. The 24-hour general strikes called by the CNT on 9 November 1972 and 21 June 1973 to protest a number of grievances against the government brought the nation to a standstill.

The CNT's sponsorship of a 15-day general strike from 27 June to 11 July 1973 to protest the closing of Congress, however, resulted in the strongest reaction ever by the Bordaberry administration against organized labor. On 30 June 1973 the government decreed the dissolution of the CNT, charging it with impeding vital services and supporting violence against the well-being of the nation. On 4 July the government banned all strikes—under any circumstances—and authorized the dismissal of workers engaged in work stoppages. The following day the President ordered the arrest of more than 50 leaders of the CNT for having incited the general strike. In addition, he decreed that workers who participated in the stoppage were subject to loss of 3 days' pay for each day absent from work.

Because of the large number of loosely affiliated organizations, frequent shifting of members from one union to another, and the movement of unions from one federation to another, complete information is lacking on union strength and affiliation. Moreover, dues-paying members comprise only a fraction of the total claimed membership. According to the best available estimates, union members numbered about 360,000 early in 1973—perhaps 55% of the labor force. The CNT was by far the largest labor central, with about 70 affiliates and an estimated membership of 300,000. The remaining organizations were divided between the CUT, with six national federations and an estimated 17,000 members, and independent unions with approximately 63,000. Union membership is concentrated largely in Montevideo. Unions

and regional federations exist in the interior, but few are strong. Except for sugar workers in the Departments of Artigas and Salto, almost no rural workers belong to labor unions.

Numerous labor organizations participate in international labor affairs. Prior to being declared illegal the CNT maintained no formal international affiliation; however, it has "fraternal" ties with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), with which four of its most important constituent unions, representing about 17,000 workers, maintained formal links. Uruguayan Communist labor leader Enrique Pastorino Viscardi was president of the WFTU in 1972. The CUT and its predecessor, the CSU, have been affiliated since 1952 with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) through its regional organization, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), but relations have been strained in recent years because of friction between the CUT's and ORIT's leadership. The CUT and its affiliates cooperate with and receive technical, educational, and financial assistance from the American Institute for Free Labor Development and AID.

The entrepreneurial group is highly organized in both the agricultural and the business-industrial sectors. Most managerial organizations have a dual function, serving as professional associations and pressure groups. Some, such as the National Chamber of Industries, exercise a powerful influence on government policy and regulation. Almost all major manufacturing and commercial enterprises are members of employer organizations, of which there are several score. Among other functions, they often represent their constituents in collective bargaining. Although they give occasional support to an individual employer confronted with a labor conflict, they have contributed little, if anything, to furthering the cause of responsible trade unionism.

5. Social security (U/OU)

a. Social insurance

Funded by contributions from workers and employers, including the government, Uruguay's social insurance system is one of the oldest and most comprehensive in the Western Hemisphere, providing coverage for over 400,000 workers, or about 13.5% of the total population at mid-1972. Poorly administered and underfinanced, however, the system is a conglomerate of many separate schemes for various occupational groups, each one having its own rules of eligibility and benefit levels. The system includes

pension, retirement, and survivors' benefits for most categories of workers; limited sickness benefits for some occupational groups; sickness and maternity benefits for employed women; limited work-injury benefits for employees in industry and commerce, agricultural workers, and public employees; unemployment compensation for workers in industry and commerce; and family allowances of several types. As of May 1973, pension, retirement, and survivors' benefits, the core of the system, were administered by eight different semiautonomous agencies known as *cajas*, or funds. The three largest, providing coverage for most insured workers, were the Fund for Industrial and Commercial Workers, the Fund for Civil Servants and Teachers, and the Fund for Rural and Domestic Workers. Additionally, about three-fourths of the insured were covered by one or more funds providing disability and unemployment insurance, health insurance, and maternity benefits.

Because of the rise in the median age of the population since the early decades of the 20th century when many social security laws were enacted, the system in recent years has had to support an increasing number of insured. In addition, economic stagnation and high inflation since the mid-1950's have reduced both the amount and the value of contributions from employers, both public and private. As a result, the funds are in such serious financial difficulty that if the administrators were required to fulfill their legal obligations and immediately process all pending applications, the entire system would collapse. This threat of insolvency restricts benefits to a fraction of their authorized amount. In 1968, for example, individual payments by the three largest funds averaged the equivalent of US\$14 per month; the average monthly pension for a retired rural worker was US\$12 and for a retired domestic US\$7.80. Since that time legal entitlements have more than tripled; but none of the funds has been able to pay the increases.

Financial difficulties would be eased if contributions were normally paid as required by law. In fact, however, employers often are late or fail entirely to contribute either their share or that portion deducted from wages. Delays, moreover, are encouraged by the fact that delinquent payments may be made without penalty. The national government itself is a principal offender, frequently issuing bonds to the funds instead of paying its share as an employer; in 1969 its debt to the various funds amounted to about one-fourth of the total domestic debt.

Coverage of the social insurance program is uneven, providing excessive benefits in some areas and inadequate protection in others. Among the noteworthy provisions are monthly family allowances

to lower income workers with one or more dependent children under age 14; family allowances to all wage and salary workers who have established a household, and lump-sum payments at the birth and marriage of each child; eligibility for most workers to retire at age 50 with 30 years of service; pension benefits for many equaling 100% of base salary during the last 5 years of employment;³ lifetime pensions for surviving daughters regardless of their marital or employment status; lifetime maternity pensions for women with 10 years of service; and old age pensions for all inhabitants over age 60 and for disabled of any age who lack means of support. Widows receive survivor pensions equal to half the amount to which their husbands would have been entitled in retirement benefits.

Administrative problems add to the inefficiency of the system. Numerous agencies and complicated rules of collection and deduction generate a large volume of paperwork, keep administrative costs high, and cause delay, lasting several months in Montevideo and more than a year in the interior, in the payment of benefits. Furthermore, the lack of complete files covering length of service has allowed some individuals to receive full retirement pensions solely on the basis of personal testimonials; many are believed to have contributed only part of the legally required time.

In 1967, in an effort to simplify the system, the government established the Social Welfare Bank, a central agency which was supposed to assume control over the three largest funds. Subsequent legislation was drafted calling for supervision of all social insurance services by the Social Welfare Bank, but as of May 1973 several funds retained their separate identities and continued to operate under their own regulations. Reforms recommended by the Bordaberry administration include: standardizing retirement benefits for workers in hazardous or unhealthy work; eliminating retirement pensions for dismissed employees over 30 years of age with 10 years or more of service, placing such persons instead on unemployment compensation; reducing the length of maternity pensions from life to a maximum of 2 years; terminating surviving daughters' pensions upon their marriage; eliminating the requirement of 1 year of service to be eligible for a work-injury pension; and assigning a single identity number to each covered employee, regardless of the system covering him, thus helping to reduce instances of fraud. None of these proposals had been approved by the national legislature as of May 1973.

³Because of the generosity of the retirement provisions, in the late 1960's an estimated 80% of those who received pensions were under age 50.

b. Welfare services

Supplementing the government's extensive program of social insurance are various child and maternal welfare services sponsored by the Ministry of Public Health, the National Council of Teaching, and the Children's Council. The last-named agency is organized into nine divisions which provide such benefits and services as prenatal and postnatal care, dental care, food stamps for needy families, day nurseries for children of working mothers, nutritional instruction for mothers, and vocational guidance for adolescents.

Because of longstanding participation by the government in welfare activities, private agencies do not operate on a large scale (with the exception of the Uruguayan Red Cross). The "Gustavo Volpe" movement attempts to combat juvenile delinquency by organizing clubs and summer camps for underprivileged children and by investigating youth-related social problems. Several private welfare groups provide medical care; prominent among these are the Uruguayan Anti-Tuberculosis League and the National Association for Crippled Children. Welfare activities of the Catholic Church, although limited in scale, include the operation of hospitals, youth clubs, and recreation centers.

E. Religion (U/OU)

Although Roman Catholicism is ingrained in the national culture and its teachings influence the values of many within the population, religion has had a less significant role in shaping national life in Uruguay than in most other South American countries. About 30% of the nation's inhabitants profess no religious affiliation, and no more than 15% of all Catholics attend Mass weekly. Women and children, mainly from middle or upper income families, make up most of the regular churchgoers. Men of all classes generally regard religious observance primarily as the responsibility of the women of the family.

Catholic priests accompanied the Spanish colonists who founded Montevideo in 1726 and then settled most of the rest of the country. Because colonization came later to Uruguay than to most other South American countries, however, Catholicism never became as firmly entrenched. Moreover, many of the 19th century immigrants, particularly those from Italy, brought strong anticlerical attitudes with them, and the political leaders of the late 19th and early 20th century were such staunch secularists that whatever privileges Catholicism had once enjoyed were gradually withdrawn or curtailed. Secularism and

anticlericalism were prominent features of Uruguayan society well into the 20th century and still retain some of their original force. Since midcentury, however, a lessening of anticlerical feeling among influential groups, more social awareness on the part of the Catholic Church, and renewed Protestant evangelism have contributed to a slight increase of interest in religion.

After Uruguayan independence from Spain, the first constitution (1830) recognized Roman Catholicism as the official religion of the country, with full government support. During the course of the next 80 years, however, the position of the church was so undermined by the steady secularization of society that the union of church and state never became a reality. Freemasonry, along with materialistic and scientific philosophies of 19th century Europe, set the stage for landmark decisions which gradually reduced the influence of the church and of religion in general. Properties of the Franciscan Order were confiscated in 1838. Cemeteries in Montevideo were removed from ecclesiastical control in 1861 when the church refused to bury a Mason. In 1876 a secular school system was established, further eroding the church's domination of education that had begun with the opening of the University of the Republic in 1849 by Masons. In 1880, civil marriages were made compulsory, and the recording of vital events was removed from church to civil registries. During the administrations of President Battle, divorce and remarriage were sanctioned, religious instruction and the study of Latin were banned in the public schools, and welfare institutions were secularized. Hospitals and other welfare entities were prohibited from displaying religious symbols.

The secularization process was completed with the 1918 constitution, which formalized the separation of church and state. Government support for religion was ended, although the church was permitted to retain its property. As stipulated in the 1918 constitution, and reaffirmed in that of 1967, all faiths are guaranteed the right to proselytize, and no faith is accorded special protection or privilege. By way of emphasis, the official calendar of holidays was nominally purged of religious festivals. Thus, Christmas was renamed "Family Day" and Holy Week became an official 7-day observance called "Tourist Week."

According to an estimate made early in 1973, some 66% of the population were Roman Catholics, 30% were agnostics or professed no religious faith, 2% were Protestants, and 2% were Jews. A 1970 survey in Montevideo Department alone revealed a similar distribution, although the proportion of Catholics was slightly lower and that of nonbelievers or those

without church affiliation was slightly higher. Approximately 90% of Uruguay's Jews reside in Montevideo.

Administratively, the Roman Catholic Church is divided into the Archdiocese of Montevideo, headed by an archbishop, and nine dioceses, each administered by a bishop. The 10 ecclesiastical sees contained a total of 211 parishes in 1971. Inasmuch as more than half the total church membership resides in the archdiocese, the bulk of the facilities and clergy are concentrated there, but Catholic schools and charitable institutions are also found in other urban centers.

In the years 1966-71, the number of church-sponsored schools rose from 282 to 337. There was also an increase in the number of hospitals and other charitable institutions sponsored by the church. During the same period, however, the number of priests and nuns serving in Uruguay declined, the former from 662 to 601 and the latter from 1,851 to 1,068. Because of the small number of Uruguayan youth seeking a religious vocation, many priests and nuns are not natives of the country. In 1969, for example, 15% of diocesan priests, who account for about one-third of the total number of ordained clergy, were foreign-born. Among the more numerous religious priests—i.e., members of religious orders—the proportion of foreign-born was about 60%. Because of the insufficient number of priests and the concentration of religious personnel in urban areas, smalltown and rural residents are often without the regular services of a clergyman.

The shortage of ordained personnel is but one of the problems facing the church. Meager financial resources add to the stress of the situation. Many parishes rely entirely on weekly collections to meet expenses, and some churches in the interior are supported largely by nearby landowners, who can effectively limit any church program that might run counter to their own interests.

Despite the irregularity of their religious observance, most Uruguayan Catholics attend church on the major religious holidays. Most also are married in the church (in addition to a civil ceremony), buried from the church, and see to it that their children are baptized and receive their first communion (Figure 14). Moreover, increasing numbers are sending their children to Catholic schools. The growing popularity of Catholic education, however, is based less on religious considerations than on the general stability maintained by the church schools, which have not experienced the interruptions from strikes and political demonstrations that have plagued the public schools.

In 1969, slightly more than 20% of all primary and secondary students were enrolled in Catholic institutions, 60% of them in Montevideo alone. Tuition fees, the main financial support for the church schools, effectively exclude children from lower class families.

Since about 1960, the church hierarchy in Uruguay—traditionally conservative, has become increasingly divided in its response to the new currents sweeping the Catholic Church throughout the world. Responding to the papal encyclicals of the 1960's concerning the church's responsibility for social justice and to the pronouncements of the Second General Conference of the Latin American Bishops' Conference, held in 1968 in Medellin, Colombia, one group of church leaders, led by Archbishop Carlos Parteli of Montevideo, has taken the initiative to involve the church in new endeavors. Through a series of pastoral letters and public statements, clergymen within this group have attacked the defensive attitude of priests content to operate their churches, schools, and organizations without reference to the social and political problems of the nation. In 1969, "Our National Reality," a study prepared by a joint lay-clergy group at the request of Archbishop Parteli, ascribed national problems to international imperialism and foreign intervention from the outside, and to capitalism, cartels, landowning interests, and white-collar crime from within.

This progressive wing within the church is opposed by a group of almost equal size, led by several bishops outside the Montevideo area who strongly oppose church involvement in social and political affairs. They are supported by conservative Catholic laymen and by those members of the Colorado Party who traditionally have objected to church participation in nonreligious matters. In January 1970 a group of conservative Catholic laymen denounced Archbishop Parteli and his followers as "supporters of communism, subversion, and guerrilla warfare." The archbishop subsequently reiterated the church's right to speak out forcefully on matters of social and political reform.

Despite differences of opinion, the hierarchy has not been split asunder as some had feared. In June 1972, the Permanent Council of Uruguayan Bishops agreed on a statement deploring the "atmosphere of violence" in the country, attributing the condition in part to the terrorism of extremist groups, such as the Tupamaros, and in part to repressive activities of the government.

Protestantism has not had a major impact. In Uruguay today, some 25 different denominations are



FIGURE 14. Girls making their first communion in a Catholic Church in Montevideo (C)

active. The traditional churches, represented by Methodists and Anglicans, have not grown significantly in size over the years. More rapid growth has been experienced by more recently established evangelical sects, which appeal to some urban lower class elements. The three largest Protestant denominations in the country are the Waldensian Church, founded by Italian colonists in 1858; the Seventh-day Adventists, one of the fastest growing fundamentalist sects; and the Methodists, a predominantly middle and upper class church.

The Federation of Evangelical Churches of Uruguay serves as a coordinating body among Protestant groups on such issues as education, evangelism, and human rights. Generally, however, the focal point for social action policy among Protestants in Latin America is the Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL), which has its headquarters in Montevideo. ISAL receives support, but not direction, from the World Council of Churches. The Methodist Church is one of the few Protestant denominations involved in social and

political issues. It has been active in community development work within the slum areas of Montevideo, and Methodist leader Rev. Emilio Castro has stressed the necessity for understanding Marxist doctrines in the search for social change.

Within the Jewish community there are three distinct cultural groups representing people of Germanic, East European, and Iberian origins. All together there are eight synagogues in Uruguay, six of them in the Montevideo area. Most Jewish families are members of a synagogue, but weekly attendance is low. Three Hebrew schools, with a combined enrollment of approximately 1,100, and a training school for rabbis (*yeshiva*) operate in the Montevideo area. The Uruguayan Jewish community seldom interrelates with Christian groups, although Jews have entered into a Jewish-Christian Conference of Uruguay.

Syncretisms of Catholic, African, spiritualist, and Spanish folk beliefs are prevalent in remote rural areas where little formal religious training is available. This is especially true in the northern departments, where

Catholicism has been influenced by African religions brought into Uruguay by former Brazilian slaves. Belief in a particular "saint" has given rise to the cult of San Cono (Saint Cono), known to exist primarily in Florida Department. San Cono is believed to be capable of miraculous intervention, particularly in games of chance.

F. Education (U/OU)

Since the late 19th century, Uruguay has achieved an outstanding record in the field of education. Formal schooling was introduced in Montevideo by Roman Catholic orders early in the 18th century but was available only to seminarians and the children of the elite. Although a law providing for public instruction was enacted in 1826, recurrent political and economic crises deprived the public system of the attention and funds needed to expand. In the mid-19th century about 30,000 students were enrolled in some 30 schools at all levels, including the University of the Republic, founded in 1849. In 1877, however, largely through the efforts of a young scholar, Jose Pedro Varela (1845-79), who had been impressed by the emphasis in the United States on public education, the Law of Common Education was enacted, transforming the public system. The 1877 law provided for free, compulsory primary education, which was also to be coeducational—a significant break with the long Hispanic tradition restricting education for females.

In the ensuing years education came to be viewed as the principal avenue to social and economic mobility, and much progress was made. As the lower classes began to send their children to school, an impressive increase in enrollment occurred and literacy advanced markedly. Education at the secondary and university levels was provided free for all who could qualify, including resident aliens. Private schools, although receiving no direct government assistance, were exempted from taxation if they admitted a prescribed number of students free of charge.

The present-day education system is a source of national pride, but it is nevertheless hampered by inadequate funds; by a scarcity of classrooms, equipment, and professional personnel, by antiquated teaching methods that tend to emphasize memorization and rote learning, by a lack of continuity in curriculums between different levels, and by frequent disruptions in school life resulting from the high degree of politicization of secondary and university students and faculty. Although according to the 1967 constitution secondary education is compulsory, this

requirement is not enforced. In addition, despite the country's need for skilled labor, academic secondary education leading to white-collar employment is preferred to technical and vocational training; less than one-third of all secondary students were enrolled in technical or vocational courses in 1970. At the university level, because traditional education in law, medicine, and the humanities is valued over practical training in fields in which expertise is needed, many professionals, educated at great public expense, cannot be absorbed by the economy and emigrate to other countries.

In 1967 the official estimate of literacy among the population age 15 and over was 91.4%, the highest rate in South America after Argentina. Literacy is defined, however, as merely the ability to read and write one's name. If functional literacy, generally believed to be established with a minimum of 4 consecutive years of education, were used as a criterion, the rate was probably between 75% and 80%. According to the 1963 census, simple literacy was highest among persons age 10-34, averaging more than 95%, and lowest among the group age 65 or over, averaging nearly 75%. Literacy rates for 1963 among the population age 8 and over varied only slightly by sex but significantly by urban-rural residence (Figure 15). The highest rate (95.5%) occurred among men in Montevideo, the lowest (82.4%) among men in the countryside. Of the administrative divisions, Montevideo Department had the highest rate, with 95.2% of its inhabitants age 8 and over classified as literate, while Rivera Department, with 81.7%, ranked the lowest.

Although literacy rates are high, in 1963 over half the population age 8 years and over had had less than 6 years of primary education or no formal schooling at all (Figure 16). These data are supported by related information from a census of public employees in 1969, which indicated that 48% of all government workers were in this same category. According to official statistics, however, the percentage of the population completing primary school is increasing. In

FIGURE 15. Literacy of the population age 8 and over, by sex and residence, 1963 (U/OU). (Percent)

RESIDENCE	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
Montevideo.....	95.5	94.4	95.2
Other urban.....	90.1	89.7	89.9
Rural.....	82.4	86.3	84.0
Total.....	90.4	91.1	90.7

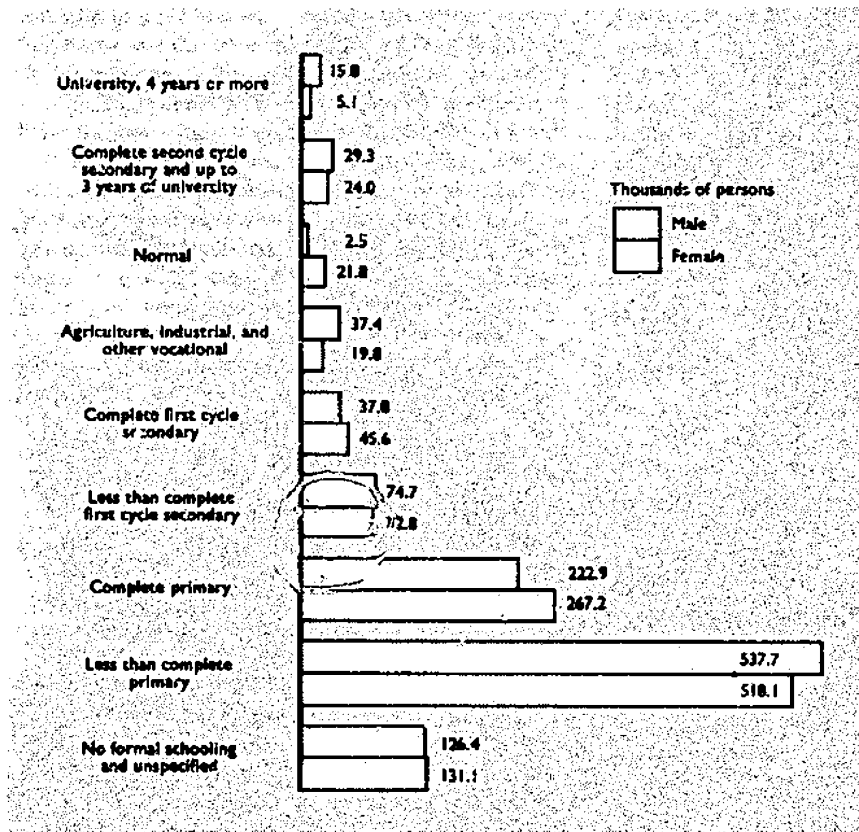


FIGURE 16. Educational attainment of the population age 8 and over, by sex, 1963 (U/OU)

addition, most of those who have not completed primary education do not lapse into illiteracy, largely because of continuing pressure to meet requirements for employment and other demands of a predominantly urban society.

Comparatively few persons receive training beyond the primary level. Less than 5% of the population age 8 and over had completed 4 years of secondary school in 1963, and less than 1% had received 4 or more years of university instruction. The educational attainment of the female population was roughly similar to that of the male; however, a slightly higher percentage of girls had completed primary school, while a larger proportion of boys had graduated from secondary school and received some university training. Agricultural, industrial, and other vocational training was more common among males, while teacher training was dominated by females.

As a result of government efforts to provide broader and more advanced education, enrollment in educational institutions at all levels has risen

significantly since the mid-20th century (Figure 17). General secondary school enrollment registered the largest gain, increasing by more than 300% in the 20-year period 1950-70, while that of vocational schools rose by 280%. In 1970 an estimated 82% of the children in the relevant age group were enrolled in primary school and about 62% in secondary school. These figures represent steady improvement over those for 1955 (65% and 35%, respectively). Increased enrollment also has resulted from higher student retention rates.

School construction, meanwhile, has failed to keep pace with increasing enrollment. The number of primary schools, both public and private, for example, rose from 1,819 in 1947 to 2,323 in 1967, only a 28% increase, and secondary schools from 224 to 346, a 54% increase. Because of the scarcity of classroom space, overcrowding has become a major problem. In many schools daily classes are held in two or more 4-hour shifts, and over one-third of the classes have 40 or more students.

FIGURE 17. Enrollment in educational institutions (U/OU) (Thousands)

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
Primary.....	249	227	320	357	127
General secondary.....	34	40	70	91	138
Vocational.....	10	13	19	28	38
Normal.....	na	3	4	6	7
Higher.....	na	14	15	17	20

na Data not available.

All costs of public education, with the exception of those for books and other teaching aids at higher levels, are assumed by the central government. These expenditures are paid out of the general budget, augmented by grants and loans from various international agencies and foreign governments. At the primary level, parent-teacher organizations contribute funds for supplemental equipment and activities, but all salaries are paid by the state. The proportion of the national budget allocated to education increased and then declined during the 1960's, as shown in the following tabulation:

1961	16.1
1963	18.5
1965	27.5
1967	30.1
1969	26.1

In relation to enrollment, the university and the secondary vocational schools received the most support and the primary schools the least.

Despite the large sums allocated to education, funds have been insufficient to keep pace with rapidly rising enrollment. Moreover, since 1968, when austerity measures were first enacted, funds budgeted for education have frequently been delayed or reallocated to more urgent programs. Consequently, classrooms, textbooks, library and research materials, and other teaching aids are in short supply.

Although teaching has become an increasingly respected profession, it remains one of the least lucrative. As of January 1973, the minimum salary for instructors at all levels was raised to the equivalent of US\$128 per month, up 47% from US\$87, the previous minimum. While this salary compared favorably with that of most clerical workers, it was lower than the wages of some industrial workers and only slightly more than triple the national minimum wage. Because low pay discourages men from entering the teaching profession, women teachers outnumber men by a wide margin in all schools except some vocational institutions and in the University of the Republic. Lack of adequate remuneration is responsible in part for a shortage of adequately trained teachers. The

number of normal school graduates prepared to teach at the primary level has risen sharply in recent years, thereby helping to meet the demand at that level. Without a salary differential or special fringe benefits, however, there is a shortage of primary teachers in remote rural areas. The number of graduates of the Artigas Teachers Institute and the University of the Republic who are qualified to teach at the secondary level has been insufficient to satisfy the growing need for general and vocational secondary school teachers.

The educational system comprises four levels: preprimary, primary, secondary, and higher. Preprimary schools in Montevideo accommodate children ages 3-5, while those for children age 5 are attached to many primary schools throughout the country. Compulsory primary education, beginning at age 6, is provided at "complete" and "incomplete" schools. "Complete" schools, found largely in urban localities, offer the full 6-year course of instruction leading to secondary school. "Incomplete" schools are located in rural areas; since 1958 most of these institutions have offered 4 years of instruction, although by 1973 some had 5-year curriculums. Because 6 years of primary study are required for admission to secondary school, few rural children are able to continue formal education beyond the primary level.

Three types of secondary education are available: general, vocational and technical, and teacher training. The general secondary schools, called lyceums (*liceos*), are divided into a 4-year basic cycle and a 2-year university preparatory cycle. Vocational and technical schools, specializing in agricultural, industrial, and commercial studies as well as fine arts, offer terminal programs varying in length from 1 to 7 years; completion of certain courses in mechanics and electricity, however, qualify graduates for entry into university engineering programs. Primary level teacher-training schools called normal institutes (*institutos normales*) and secondary level training at the Artigas Teachers Institute, requiring the completion of the basic cycle of the general secondary school for entry, offer 4-year courses leading to teaching certificates, as well as eligibility for university study. University instruction is largely provided at the University of the Republic of Uruguay in Montevideo, which confers the only officially recognized professional degree in the country, although there are a few small specialized institutions offering courses of study at the higher level. Adult education is sponsored by the National Board of Adult Education, which administers evening programs ranging from basic literacy courses to cultural enrichment studies at some 89 centers throughout the country. Special education

for mentally and physically handicapped children is provided at approximately 75 public and private schools. Spanish is the official language of instruction at all levels, but courses in some private primary and secondary schools in Montevideo are given in English. The school year extends from March to early December; however, there is some variation from this pattern in agricultural schools and certain university faculties.

Public schools predominate over private both in number and in size of enrollment. Incomplete information in the late 1960's indicated that about 25% of the student population was enrolled in private institutions, many of them sponsored by the Catholic Church or by ethnic communities in Montevideo. These schools were largely preprimary, primary, and general secondary establishments, but a few offered technical and vocational education at the secondary level.

In the public system, instruction at the primary and secondary levels tends to center on memorization and rote learning, as most instructors prefer these traditional teaching methods over modern approaches aimed at motivating students to think. At the primary level, curriculums are regarded as a guide rather than as a body of required courses; moreover, the process of relating various branches of study to one another is left to the individual teacher. In the basic cycle of secondary school the emphasis of the nine to 12 subjects covered is on the classical humanities and history, although in recent years modern literature and civics have been added. Because of the government's failure to make changes in this traditional curriculum, secondary schools graduate students with only a rudimentary knowledge of science and technology.

In most instances, secondary students must choose their future field of university study at the beginning of the preparatory cycle, at about age 16. If a student decides later on another career, he must repeat the 2 years of preparatory schooling to be admitted to the university in another field. The inflexibility of this requirement has been recognized, however, and pilot programs are underway in some secondary schools with a revised preparatory curriculum that will provide for a choice of enrollment in several university faculties. Curriculums at the university are based on the rigid pattern of the European university, and few opportunities for elective courses exist for students attempting to complete their studies in the minimum period.

In part because of a lack of continuity between the curriculums at different levels, various administrative reforms were introduced in the 1960's to standardize

and coordinate courses of study. Nevertheless, the various sectors of the system continued to operate for the most part independently under the direction of four autonomous councils: primary, secondary, vocational, and university. In February 1970, however, President Pacheco ordered direct government control of the secondary and vocational systems—a move was made not to effect a curriculum reform but to halt the "deterioration" of public education and to lessen the political influence of leftist student and teacher organizations. A council of "interventors" was named by the executive branch to replace the secondary and vocational councils. The authoritarian administration of the interventors resulted in clashes between antagonistic student groups, requiring police intervention, the dismissal of teachers and the expulsion of students, and the closing of the schools 4 months early in 1970. In June 1971, over the objection of President Pacheco, the national legislature passed a law replacing the interventors named by the executive with a similar group chosen by the lawmakers. The most recent development in school administration, included in the Education Reform Law passed in January 1973, was the establishment of a council composed of five members named by the executive branch—with the consent of the national legislature—to coordinate and administer the primary, secondary, and vocational schools.

The University of the Republic of Uruguay, which has been a fully autonomous institution since 1958, is headed by a general council and a rector, who is elected by representatives of the faculty, students, and alumni. The university comprises 10 semiautonomous faculties and 11 specialized schools. Effective operation of the institution is hindered by the decentralization of facilities and the duplication of coursework and libraries by the faculties and schools. Plans for the establishment of a central campus have been delayed for several years because of a lack of funds. University administrators have proposed the elimination of the semiautonomous faculties and the structuring of the university into departments which could be used by students from a variety of fields. The opposition of faculty and students, however, is expected to prevent the adoption of this reform.

The 20,200 students registered at the university in 1970 represented a 43% increase over enrollment 15 years earlier. As in the past, however, disproportionate numbers of students were pursuing careers for which there was little market demand, and few were being trained for professional occupations urgently needed by the national economy. In 1963, enrollment among the faculties was concentrated in law, medicine, and

economic sciences, as shown in the following percentage distribution of students:

Law	27.3
Medicine	20.5
Economic sciences	10.8
Architecture	8.1
Dentistry	5.1
Humanities	4.7
Engineering	3.7
Agronomy	2.8
Chemistry	2.7
Veterinary science	1.9
Specialized schools*	12.4
	100.0

*Dietetics, dental hygiene, medical technology, nursing, obstetrics, rural technology, library science, and the fine arts.

Between 1960 and 1968, enrollments roughly doubled in law, agronomy, and veterinary science but declined in engineering, chemistry, and architecture. In recent years university graduates have averaged about one-fifth of initial matriculations. The retention rate is lowest in the freshman year, when about 30% of students drop out. Dropouts are substantial in medicine, architecture, economic sciences, and the humanities.

According to data based on a 1968 census of university students, approximately 53% of new enrollees were men and 47% were women. About 60% were Montevideo residents, 32% were from the interior, and 8% were from foreign countries; only 2.5% of the total came from rural areas. Classified by social background, about 30% were upper class, 59% middle class, and 11% lower class. Most students were enrolled part time, the average student requiring more than 10 years to complete his studies. Almost all students work, many on a fulltime basis. Most university professors were likewise engaged in other occupations. Of 2,200 professors employed, more than one-fourth taught at the university only 3 hours weekly, and only about 6% devoted their full time to education.

The university, like the secondary schools, is a center of leftwing activity and agitation, a relatively small number of activists having succeeded in politicizing most of the faculty and students. In the past, moreover, Communists have been successful in discrediting faculty members who opposed them and in controlling student political declarations. In 1972, however, student supporters of the conservative Blanco Party won elections in the Faculty of Veterinary Science and appeared to be gaining attention, if not active support, elsewhere in the

university. The government has been able, through the use of force, to maintain stability, but this has prevented any real dialog between the activists and the government.

Following a bomb blast in the engineering school in October 1973, President Bordaberry met with the National Security Council and then ordered the closure of the university. The government announced the arrest of at least 150 people, including the rector and nine of the faculty deans, and in its decree, charged the university with being an indoctrination center and refuge for conspirators against the government. No mention was made of how long the university would be closed.

G. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Favorably influenced by a high level of literacy and a large, urban-based middle class, Uruguay has developed an extensive, if not distinctive, cultural tradition. Artistic expression, moreover, is not dominated by a small elite, isolated from the rank and file, but is broadly based in terms of support, participation, and appreciation. The nation's cultural life is centered in Montevideo, the site of the national university and most theaters, museums, galleries, libraries, and research institutes. Government support of the performing arts has largely been channeled through the Official Radiobroadcasting Service (SODRE), which has become in effect a national cultural agency. In addition to operating a "good music" broadcasting station, SODRE sponsors a national theater company, the National Symphony Orchestra, a chamber music group, several choirs, a school of music, and a school of ballet. It also arranges the visits of leading foreign artists, as well as symphony orchestras, opera companies, and theater and dance groups from abroad.

Artistic expression is characterized by an absence of any significant works from the colonial period, by a rivalry between those who follow the latest European modes and those who rely on native and regional inspiration, and by a close affinity with the culture of Argentina. As a cultural and economic backwater of the Spanish colonial empire, the small settlement on the east bank of the Rio de la Plata generally lacked the resources and inspiration to engage in cultural activities. The first major stimulus to cultural development was provided by the revolt against Spain, which aroused interest in patriotic poetry and drama.

Literature, in fact, eventually became the most highly developed form of cultural expression, reaching its zenith in the works of lyricist and essayist Jose

Enrique Rodo (1872-1917), one of the most distinguished men of letters in Latin America. Along with the Nicaraguan poet Reuben Dario, Rodo was a major force in popularizing the modernist movement throughout Latin America. This school of writing, characterized by elegance of style and exotic subject matter, became dominant in Uruguayan poetry and influenced the novel, the short story, and the essay. Rodo's humanist philosophy is best expressed in his famous *Ariel*, an essay published in 1900 and widely read for decades; even as late as the 1950's it was regarded as the ethical bible of Latin America. Written in matchless prose in the form of a teacher's farewell to his students, the essay reaffirms the humanist values of Greek and Latin civilizations and urges young people to create an aristocracy of spirit, symbolized by Ariel, to counteract the materialism of the United States, personified by Caliban. Other works by Rodo, including *Nuevos motivos de Proteo* (New Discourses on Proteus), also deal with moral and ethical problems.

Next to Rodo, perhaps the most celebrated literary figure of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, known as the golden age of Uruguayan literature, was the poet Juan Zorrilla de San Martin (1855-1931). Although influenced more by European romanticism than by modernism, Zorrilla was a fervid nationalist who wrote largely about the history and legendary heroes of his homeland. *Tabare* (1888), his most distinguished work, is an epic poem concerning the son of a Spanish woman and a Charrua chieftain. When Tabare, who embodies the Hispano-Christian spirit of his mother and the warrior traits of his Indian father, dies at the hands of the conquistadores, the entire Charrua race symbolically dies with him. Another contemporary, Julio Herrera y Reissig (1875-1910), led a widely influential school of poets. Other poets include the mystical Maria Eugenia Vaz Gerzeira (1875-1924) and Delmira Augustini (1886-1914), who was noted for her melancholy and erotic themes. Juana de Ibarbourou (1895-), admired for her sensuous love poetry, is known as Juana de America to her fellow writers in Latin America and was named "Woman of the Americas" for 1953 by the Union of American Women. A younger generation of poets includes Dora Isella Russell, Juan Cunha, Carlos Brandy, and Jorge Medina Vidal.

Among the novelists of the Rodo era, Eduardo Acevedo Diaz (1851-1924) was perhaps the most notable. In his best known novel *Soledad* (Solitude) (1894), Acevedo employed romanticized gaucho characters to bring into focus the rugged life of the 19th century pampa. Also writing about the pampa, but in a realistic style which has been compared to

that of Emile Zola, was Javier de Viana (1872-1925), who strips the gaucho of his legendary heroism and portrays him in a state of degeneration, pushed and crowded by an advancing civilization. Another novelist inspired by gaucho themes is Justino Zavala Muniz (1897-). Enrique Amorim (1900-60), also a novelist of the realist school, gained an international reputation for such works as *Paisano Aguilar* (Countryman Aguilar) (1934), which concerns a country boy educated in the city who returns to the countryside where he slowly gives in to the inertia of the rural environment, vegetating in the end like a gaucho.

The short story is best exemplified by the works of Horacio Quiroga (1878-1937), one of the most notable and prolific writers in Latin America. His stories, including *Cuentos de amor, locura y muerte* (Tales of Love, Madness and Death) (1917), deal brilliantly, if morbidly, with the dominant forces of nature. A number of contemporary writers, including Carlos Martinez Moreno (1917-) and Mario Benedetti (1920-), are concerned largely with office workers and members of the urban middle class who face the hazards, not of violence and oppression, but of smugness and excessive concern for security. The protagonist of Martinez' novel *El paredon* (The Wall), for example, is a journalist whose visit to revolutionary Cuba points up the political indifference of his countrymen, while the characters of Benedetti's short story *El presupuesto* (The Budget) are civil servants whose only purpose in life is waiting for a pay raise.

A contemporary of Rodo, Florencio Sanchez (1875-1910), initiated social realism in drama, which had long been imitative of Spanish styles and highly moralistic. Regarded as one of Latin America's most distinguished playwrights, Sanchez developed the theme of family conflict in the Uruguayan setting. In *Barranca abajo* (Downhill) (1905), perhaps the best tragedy in the South American repertory, he portrays a Creole landowner who, divested of his property, watches the gradual disintegration of his family and, after the death of his favorite daughter, takes his own life. Other social realist playwrights of the Rodo period were Ernesto Herrera (1886-1917), best known for *El leon ciego* (The Blind Lion) (1911), and Otto Miguel Cione (1875-1945), whose works, including *El arlequin* (The Harlequin) (1908), reveal the influence of Ibsen. Surrealist drama is represented by *La fuga en el espejo* (The Flight into the Mirror) (1937) by Francisco Espinola (1901-). Since the mid-20th century the theater has largely reflected the influence of European and North American drama. Contemporary playwrights include Jose Pedro Bellon, Francisco Imhoff, and Victor Perez Petit.

In the field of nonfiction, the great educational reformer Jose Pedro Varela (1845-79) wrote notable studies on pedagogy, and in the first half of the 20th century Carlos Vaz Ferreira (1873-1958) was the nation's leading philosopher. Alberto Zum Felde, an outstanding contemporary literary critic and social historian, was perhaps the most widely read writer of the 1960's. Among his works is *Proceso historico del Uruguay*, first published in 1920 and reprinted in 1967. Other contemporary writers include Carlos Quijano, publisher and editor of the weekly magazine *Marcha*, who is regarded as one of the country's most caustic and best informed social critics, and Carlos Maggi, also a playwright, who gained fame with his humorous satire *El Uruguay y su gente* (Uruguay and Its People) (1963). Maggi's second book, a tongue-in-cheek view of folk culture was a best seller in 1964 and is still being sold. Luis Carlos Benevento, whose writing skill popularized economics, stirred considerable discussion in 1967 with *Breve historia del Uruguay*, an easy-to-read and concise economic history of the nation. Another popular economist is Enrique Iglesias, whose brief books, such as *Uruguay: una propuesta de cambio* (Uruguay: A Proposal for Change), describe prevailing economic trends in simple language similar to that of syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter in the United States.

Like literature, architecture and the fine arts were not particularly distinguished during the colonial period. Noteworthy among the few structures remaining from this era are the *cabildo*, or old municipal building, and the cathedral (Figure 18), both located on Montevideo's main plaza and both dating from the early 19th century. The *cabildo* has a neoclassic facade, while the cathedral is a stone and brick structure about 135 feet high, its three entrance arches topped by a four-columned facade and its dome flanked by cupolas. The Faculty of Architecture of the University of the Republic has given impetus to contemporary architecture. Modern trends are evident in the functional design of Montevideo's new apartment buildings (Figure 19), hotels, and private residences. Outstanding architects include Julio Vilamajo, who collaborated in the design of the United Nations building in New York, and Roman Fresnedo Siri, who designed the Pan American Health Organization building in Washington, D.C.

The art of painting developed late, and styles have been mostly derivative, with Italian influence paramount in the 19th century and French in the 20th. Juan Manuel Blanes (1830-1901) was Uruguay's first important painter and foremost historical artist. Combining a European academic approach with a dramatic but naturalistic style, Blanes' paintings are

characterized by their large size, realistic detail, and skillful blend of color (Figure 20). Although his best known work is "Episode of the Yellow Fever," most of his paintings have patriotic and military themes, notably "Oath of the Thirty-three," and "The Battle of Sarandi." The first Uruguayan painter to achieve international acclaim was Pedro Figari (1861-1938), also an eminent lawyer and penologist. Subordinating all other values to color and movement, Figari depicted early 19th century life in Montevideo and among gauchos and blacks. His best known paintings include "Pericon," representing the national dance, and "Flores Silvestres," depicting a Negro horseman attired in top hat and tails with his hands full of wild violets. Joaquin Torres Garcia (1874-1949) was Uruguay's first influential abstract painter and a leading exponent of the movement known as constructivism. Inspiration for his distinct pictographic style, as seen in "Composition" and other works, derives from the abstract art of Europe and the geometric symbolism of pre-Columbian Bolivia (Figure 21).

Among contemporary artists are Vicente Martin, a painter of vigorous seascapes; Juan Ventayol, winner in 1961 of a first-prize at the Sixth Sao Paulo Biennial Exposition; and Carlos Paez Vilaro (Figure 22), whose works include the world's longest mural, "Roots of Peace," which is located in the headquarters building of the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. An active promoter of the arts, Paez is the founder of the Museum of Modern Art in Montevideo. Other contemporary artists are expressionists Jose Echave and Jorge Damiani and a group of abstractionists including Miguel Angel Pareja, Raul Pavlotzky, Lincoln Presno, and Julio Verdei.

The best examples of sculpture, located primarily in Montevideo's parks, deal with national life, such as the striking *La carreta* (The Covered Wagon) by Jose Belloni (1882-1966) and *El ultimo Charrua* (The Last Charrua) by Jose Luis Zorilla de San Martin (1891-), son of the poet. Exceptions to the romantic-naturalist tradition include *Monumento Cosmico* (Cosmic Monument) by the abstract artist Joaquin Torres Garcia and *Monumento a Juan Antonio Lavalleja* at Minas by the expressionist Juan Manuel Ferrari (1874-1916). Among contemporary works are an equestrian group *Monumento a Bernardo O'Higgins* in Montevideo by expressionist Bernabe Michelena (1888-) and a 7-foot onyx sculpture in Ibirapuera Park, Sao Paulo, Brazil, by abstract artist Eduardo Diaz Yepes (1910-), who is noted for his symbolic abstractions of such objects as plants and shellfish.



FIGURE 18. Cathedral of Montevideo, built from 1790 to 1804. This structure is one of the country's few remaining examples of architecture from the colonial period. (C)

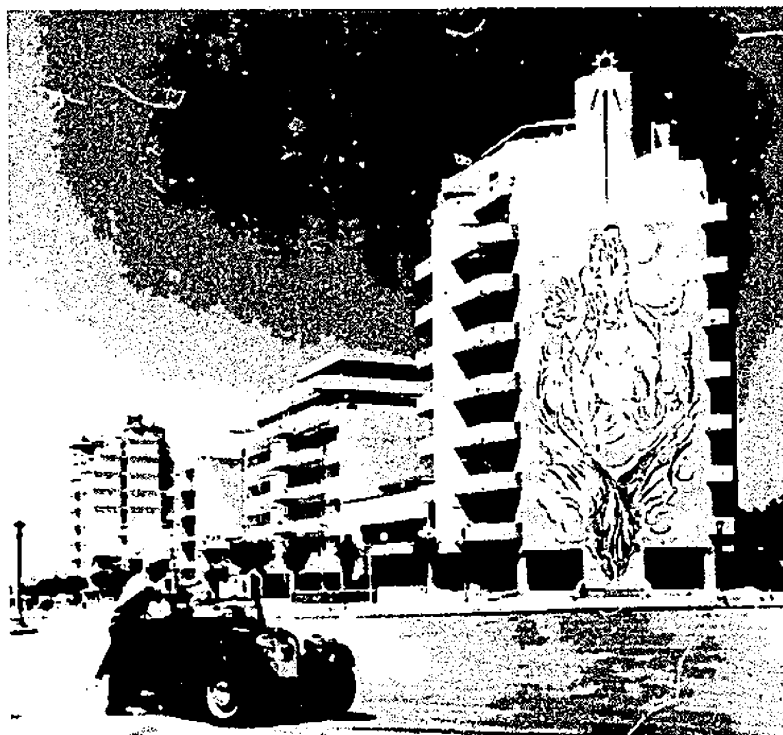


FIGURE 19. A modern apartment on Calles Leyende Patria and Ellanse in Montevideo. Contemporary architectural design has predominated both in public buildings and in private residences since about 1950. The ornamentation shows a galloping horse ridden by an Indian whose feathered headgear and bow and arrow can be seen to the left of the horse's head. (C)



FIGURE 20. *Knucklebones* (c. 1885) by Juan Manuel Blanes. The founder of Uruguayan painting, Blanes applied European techniques to Creole themes and was a graphic chronicler of the history of the Rio de la Plata region. (U/OU)

Interest in the performing arts, particularly music and dance, is widespread. Folk music is based primarily on the improvised verse of the gaucho but is also influenced by various Negro elements as well as songs and dances adapted from those of Argentina. The principal creators of Uruguayan folk music were gaucho balladeers, known as *payadores*, who wandered from place to place, performing wherever people gathered—in markets and squares and at weddings and wakes. Accompanying themselves on native guitars called *charangos*, the *payadores* sang ballads modeled on the Spanish *romance*. Popular



FIGURE 21. *Constructive City with Universal Man* (1942) by Joaquín Torres García. This influential painter abandoned studies of nature, perspective, and chiaroscuro in seeking the basic principles of "constructive universalism." (U/OU)



FIGURE 22. Carlos Paz Vilaro beside one of his paintings at his vacation house near Punta del Este. In addition to painting, Paz works in ceramics, composes music, and writes poetry and prose. (U/OU)

subjects from the early colonial period are songs of broken hearts, passion, tragedy, personal exploits, and gallantry, while themes from a later period, after the gauchos became famous as soldiers and patriots, dwell on military prowess, love of country, and hatred of Spain.

A number of folk music and dance forms, developed largely by an evolutionary combination of Creole and Negro music, are shared with Argentina. The traditional dance most closely identified with Uruguay is the *pericon*, a round dance in 3/4-time created by the gauchos. Since 1887, when an official arrangement of the dance was made for military bands by Gerardo Grasso, the *pericon* has been regarded as the national dance. Although the origin of the tango, a melancholy music and dance form combining French, Spanish, and African folk influences, is disputed by musicologists, one of the best known compositions of the type is *La Cumparsita*, the work of the Uruguayan composer Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez.

In the field of classical music, Eduardo Fabini (1883-1951) is considered the most outstanding composer. Trained in Belgium, Fabini used folk themes in his works and gained international recognition for his symphonic poems, including *Campo* (Countryside) and *La Isla de los Ceibos* (The Island of the Ceibo Trees). Another prominent composer, Vicente Ascone (1897-), also employs folk themes. *Suite Uruguaya* for orchestra, his best known work, is based largely on Charrúa motifs. Also notable

among contemporary composers are Leon Birotti and Hector Tosar Errecart. Birotti has composed chamber music and works for orchestra, piano, and voice, while Tosar's best known work is *Danza Criolla* (Creole Dance), a fiery piano composition based on gaucho themes. Other influential figures are musicologists Francisco Curt Lange and Lauro Ayestaran. Lange edited and published the *Boletín Latin-Americano de Musica*, a five-volume archive of Latin American musicology, and founded the *Instituto Americano de Musicología* in Montevideo, an official government institution since 1940. Ayestaran's career has been devoted largely to the promotion of music in schools and universities. Orchestral groups include the National Symphony Orchestra, supported by SODRE, the Arcos Orchestra, founded by Birotti, and the Chamber Orchestra of Musical Youth.

For many years Buenos Aires was the focal point for Uruguayan actors and playwrights, who joined forces with Argentinian artists to present theatrical productions in both countries. In 1947 the first permanent repertory company, the *Comedia Nacional*, was established in Montevideo to present the classics as well as works by Uruguayans. Underwritten by the municipal government and supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the *Comedia* aroused new interest in drama. Various professional and amateur companies followed, including the Odeon Theater, specializing in Shakespeare and modern drama, and the Verdi Theater, emphasizing comedy. Other groups are located in various colleges of the University of the Republic and in the cities of Fray Bentos, Paysandu, and Salto. Until its destruction by fire in September 1971, the National Theater in Montevideo, built in 1889 and owned by SODRE, was one of the cultural landmarks of the nation. A new theater is planned, but as of mid-1973 it had not been constructed.

H. Public information (U/OU)

Uruguay's public information media, which are concentrated in Montevideo, are largely the domain of private enterprise. These media, especially the press and radio, are highly developed and reach virtually the entire population. Several Montevideo newspapers circulate nationwide on the day of their publication, and these are supplemented by provincial newspapers which provide local coverage. Although radio claims a more extensive audience, the press is generally credited with having a greater impact in molding public opinion. Television blankets the country, but the high cost of receivers has limited its influence.

Traditionally, Uruguayans have taken pride in their constitutional guarantees of free speech and press and have shown tolerance toward the right to dissension, even toward terrorism. In June 1968, however, the government, fearful of complete disruption of normal life by terrorists, declared the country under a limited state of siege. Newspapers were prohibited from reporting the activities of seditious groups, particularly the Marxist Tupamaros. In August 1971 this censorship was broadened through the implementation of a presidential decree, promulgated in June 1969, which prohibited all oral or written information regarding strikes, trade union resolutions, or other measures that would "directly or indirectly contribute to a state of unrest in the nation." Included in the decree was a ban on the importation of printed matter which "originates in nondemocratic countries dealing with subversive or totalitarian ideals." Censorship was expanded still further in April 1972 through a military document known as "Security Order Number 1," by which the press and broadcast media were prohibited from reporting or commenting on any military or police operations unless first announced in an official communique. The expression of opinions regarding the actions of the armed forces and the police which might be detrimental to their morale or reputation was also prohibited. Continuation of terrorist activities through December 1972 brought General Assembly agreement to extend the suspension of certain constitutional rights, including those affecting the media. President Bordaberry extended this suspension by executive decree in May 1973.

1. Printed matter

Daily newspapers, the most influential of the information media, are mainly partisan journals representing the point of view of only one political party or faction. Thus, readers, especially those who are decisionmakers, such as government officials, trade union leaders, and businessmen, need to follow several newspapers for a balanced view of the political scene. Although most newspapers derive their revenues wholly from sales and advertising, a few papers receive financial assistance from the partisan group whose viewpoints they represent, and these dailies often provide employment to party stalwarts. In addition to the cost of inflated staffs, publishers have experienced other financial difficulties in recent years, resulting from higher costs for imported newsprint and other materials, losses in advertising which has shifted to television, and a general decrease in sales as the cost of living has soared. The estimated circulation of daily

newspapers in Montevideo declined from approximately 500,000 in 1960 to 300,000 in 1967, but had risen to 375,000 by early 1973.

In spite of financial and technical problems, journalistic standards in Uruguay remain fairly high. The press is generally objective in its front page news, with editorializing confined to the editorial pages and the byline columns. Selection of news to be covered, however, often shows clearly the publisher's political viewpoint. Further proficiency and professionalism are impaired by low salaries. In 1969 the monthly salaries of newspaper employees ranged from the equivalent of US\$40 to US\$200, with the average salary among professionals seldom more than US\$120.

The format of the daily publications is similar to that of European and North American newspapers. Both regular and tabloid styles are published, usually ranging between eight and 16 pages in length. Some papers publish a Sunday supplement. Local and international news, vital statistics, market reports, sports news, letters to the editor, comic strips, and lists of lottery winners are the regular fare. Many newspapers use stories supplied by the National Information Agency (AFI), which has approximately 75 correspondents throughout the country. The principal dailies in Montevideo also use information from one or more of the following wire services and news agencies: *Agence France-Presse* (AFP), *Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata* (ANSA), *Associated Press* (AP), *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (DPA), *Agencia Latinoamericana de Informacion* (LATIN), Reuters, and TASS. The Cuban-based *Prensa Latina* was banned from Uruguay in June 1971.

In early 1973 the Uruguayan press consisted of nine principal daily newspapers in Montevideo and 21 smaller dailies in Montevideo and elsewhere. Circulation figures stood at 375,000 in Montevideo and 75,000 in the interior, bringing the combined circulation of daily newspapers to roughly 450,000. Of the principal newspapers, the morning daily *El País* has the largest circulation (Figure 23). Attracting predominantly middle and upper class white-collar readers, it is popular among Blanco Party supporters. Although credited with less political impact than other Montevideo papers, *El Diario* furnishes a balanced roundup of economic and political news, sports, and human interest features, which accounts for its position as the nation's second most widely read journal. The influential morning daily *El Día*, founded in 1896 by reformist Jose Batlle y Ordonez, represents the political views of the dominant wing of the Colorado Party. Recently, *El Día* has softened its traditional anticlerical stand. Another prominent daily

is *Accion*, an afternoon paper ideologically oriented toward the Colorado Party. Among the newspapers generally critical of government policy are *El Popular*, militant organ of the PCU, *Ahora*, supporter of the PDC, and *Ultima Hora*, with a far-left orientation. *El Telegrafo*, published in Paysandu, is one of the best known dailies outside of Montevideo. The *Buenos Aires Herald*, a tabloid of international news, stock market quotations, sports, and comics is the only English-language daily circulating in Montevideo on the day of publication.

Among the 45 weekly newspapers published in Uruguay, the most prominent is the leftist *Marcha*, widely read by Latin American intellectuals. An estimated circulation of 22,000 in 1972, however, indicates that *Marcha's* sales extend beyond the academic and scientific communities to single purchases from news vendors by average citizens. Other nondaily newspapers include: *El Oriental*, publication of the PSU; *Azul y Blanco*, a militaristic rightwing weekly; *Semanario Hebreo*, a weekly paper in Spanish for the Jewish community; and *L'Ora d'Italia*, an Italian-language fortnightly.

Some 30 periodicals are published, many of them stressing cultural subjects rather than news. Popular foreign periodicals include *Manchete and O Cruzeiro* from Brazil, and *Analysis and Sete Dias* from Argentina. Among regularly available U.S. magazines are *Time* and *Newsweek*. Others, including *Esquire* and *Ladies Home Journal*, can be purchased on an irregular basis (usually at twice the U.S. price) at many of Montevideo's numerous newsstands (Figure 24).

Despite the high literacy rate and wide support for newspapers, Uruguayan book production is low. The high cost of labor, a relatively small market, and an inefficient distribution system hinder the development of a viable book-publishing industry. Adverse exchange rates make some foreign books, especially those from Argentina, quite expensive. Among the leading publishers are the University of the Republic and the Ministry of Education and Culture. In 1967 nearly half the 341 books printed in the country were in the field of literature, and approximately 70 were in the social sciences.

2. Radio, television, and motion pictures

Radio reaches almost the entire population in virtually all areas of the country. Ranking second to newspapers in the distribution of news and commentaries, radio is most influential in rural areas where the delivery of printed matter is expensive. Since the development of low-priced transistor radios,

FIGURE 23. Principal daily newspapers, Montevideo, 1972 (U/OU)

NAME	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	DATE FOUNDED	ORIENTATION
El País	80,000	1918	Blanco Party orientation; conservative in domestic affairs; anti-Communist; pro-United States.
El Diario	60,000	1923	Independent; conservative; neutral toward the United States.
El Día	50,000	1886	Colorado Party orientation; moderate.
Ahora	40,000	1971	Christian Democratic Party (PDC).
B.P. Color	40,000	1965	Spirited tabloid; Catholic orientation; conservative.
Acción	30,000	1948	Colorado Party orientation; appeals to middle income groups.
La Manana	25,000	1917	Colorado Party orientation; appeals to middle and upper income groups.
El Popular	17,000	1957	Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) organ; expounds party line.
Ultima Hora	10,000	1972	Leftist; edited by members of the PCU and Socialist Party of Uruguay (PSU).



FIGURE 24. One of the numerous newsstands in Montevideo which provide a large selection of Uruguayan and foreign periodicals (U/OU)

the number of receivers in use has risen steadily since 1960, and now roughly equals 500 receivers per 1,000 inhabitants—a ratio higher than that in most other countries in the Western Hemisphere. Almost all radio stations are commercially operated; several are owned by or affiliated with newspapers or television stations. Among the few noncommercial stations are those operated by the government-sponsored SODRE, which provide news, classical and popular music, and cultural programs in a comprehensive pattern. The majority of the broadcasting stations are located outside the Montevideo area; they are organized into two cooperative groups sharing news and other services.

Programming consists of news summaries, soap operas, sports features, and music. The tango from the Río de la Plata area and the bossa nova from Brazil are heard on many stations, but modern rock from the United States and the United Kingdom is also popular. Some stations have late night shows featuring jazz and semiclassical music. Although local newscasts are better edited and presented than those in many other South American nations, few stations can afford large news staffs. Consequently, many stations use the services of an affiliate with a teletype printer for daily national and international news reports. The leading supplier of national news and commentaries is *Radio Carve*, owned and operated by Raul Fontaina, a former president of the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters.

Television has been growing rapidly in Uruguay, from an estimated 25,000 receivers in 1960 to 300,000 in 1972. The regular viewing audience is calculated at over 1 million persons. Signals from the five television stations in Montevideo are received throughout the country, and stations also exist in Artigas, Colonia, Fray Bentos, Maldonado, Melo Paysandu, Rivera, Rocha, Salto, Tacuarembó, and Treinta y Tres. SODRE operates on two channels. Other stations are privately owned and commercially supported.

Educational television, established in 1964, telecasts through the facilities of channel 5 in Montevideo. Programs are prepared by the National Council of Primary School Education. Progress has been slow, however, and programming has only begun in primary schools.

Patterns of programming for commercial television are similar to those in the United States, as they include news summaries, soap operas, situation comedies, drama, variety shows, and sports. The government and commercial channels in Montevideo have presented documentaries on the danger to health from poor dietary habits, inadequate personal

hygiene, alcoholism, and smoking. Documentaries and television dramas by the nation's leading writers compare favorably with similar efforts in the United States. A large part of television fare, however, consists of U.S. imports dubbed in Spanish; these include "Bonanza," "The Dean Martin Show," "Dragnet," "Mission Impossible," and "Panorama U.S.A." Other video tape programs come from Argentina, Brazil, and Europe.

Modest admission prices make motion pictures a major form of entertainment. With the exception of two or three feature films each year, domestic film production is limited to newsreels and documentaries. Films are imported from France, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

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Glossary (u/ou)

ABBREVIATION	SPANISH	ENGLISH
ANI.....	Agencia Nacional de Informaciones...	National Information Agency
CNT.....	Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores..	National Convention of Workers
COPRIN.....	Comision de Productividad, Precios e Ingresos	Commission on Productivity, Prices, and Wages
CSU.....	Confederacion Sindical del Uruguay...	Trade Union Confederation of Uruguay
CTU.....	Central de Trabajadores del Uruguay...	Central of Uruguayan Workers
CUT.....	Confederación Uruguaya de Trabajadores	Uruguayan Confederation of Workers
ICFTU.....	International Conference of Free Trade Unions
INVE.....	Instituto Nacional de Viviendas Economicas	National Institute of Low-Cost Housing
ISAL.....	Iglesia y Sociedad en America Latina..	Church and Society in Latin America
MLN.....	Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional...	National Liberation Movement
ORIT.....	Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores	Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers
PCU.....	Partido Comunista del Uruguay.....	Communist Party of Uruguay
PDC.....	Partido Demócrata Cristiano.....	Christian Democrat Party
PSU.....	Partido Socialista del Uruguay.....	Socialist Party of Uruguay
SODRE.....	Servicio Oficial de Difusion Radio Electrica	Official Radiobroadcasting Service
UGT.....	Union General de Trabajadores.....	General Union of Workers
WFTU.....	World Federation of Trade Unions