

The background of the cover features a large, stylized globe with a grid of latitude and longitude lines. The letters 'NDI' are prominently displayed in a large, bold, serif font across the upper portion of the globe. To the right of the globe, the text 'National Democratic Institute for International Affairs' is written in a smaller, elegant, italicized serif font, arranged in four lines. A vertical dotted line separates the globe from the text.

*National Democratic  
Institute for  
International  
Affairs*

**REPORT OF THE NDI SURVEY  
MISSION TO GUATEMALA**

**July 2-8, 1995**

# National Democratic Institute For International Affairs



conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions

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## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is headquartered in Washington, D.C. and has a staff of 120 with field offices in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the former Soviet Union.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

**Political Party Training:** NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws international experts to forums where members of fledgling parties learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

**Election Processes:** NDI provides technical assistance for political parties and nonpartisan associations to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 25 major international observer delegations.

**Strengthening Legislatures:** NDI organizes seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services, committee structures and the function and role of party caucuses. NDI programs also seek to promote access to the legislative process by citizen groups and the public at large.

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## **REPORT OF THE NDI SURVEY MISSION TO GUATEMALA**

**JULY 2 - 8, 1995**

### **I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This is the report of a four-person survey mission to Guatemala which the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted July 2-8, 1995. The survey team visited Guatemala to assess the current political situation leading up to the November 12, 1995, general elections and to determine the kinds of NDI programs which would be useful and desired by Guatemalans in promoting further participation and credibility of the electoral process. NDI conducted visits and an election observer mission led by former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt for Guatemala's 1990 general elections. NDI's current interest in the elections in Guatemala stems from information that voter participation in Guatemala was seriously reduced in recent elections and concern this could be further eroded in November's balloting.

NDI held wide-ranging discussions with political parties, presidential candidates, a number of Guatemalan and international non-governmental organizations and local think-tanks, business, labor and indigenous leaders, the president of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE), the Human Rights Ombudsman, representatives of the United Nations, USAID and the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala. In addition, it met with President Ramiro de Leon Carpio. Mission members also visited and conducted meetings in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala's second city and center of Mayan cultural and political life.

The mission learned that the factors which could impede voter participation in the upcoming election include a) a lack of credibility in the electoral process and in national political parties and leaders; and b) a series of technical/logistical impediments in current Guatemalan laws and procedures which inhibit voter registration and balloting.

Despite these impediments, the NDI mission believes that several new factors make participation in these elections important for Guatemalans: a) they are intimately linked to culminating and securing the peace process to bring an end to decades of guerilla insurgency and human rights abuse; b) new forces are emerging on the Guatemalan political scene, both locally and nationally which offer new alternatives for Guatemalans to express themselves.

The survey mission recommends that NDI could assist the electoral process and Guatemala's future democratic prospects by conducting activities which are not currently being promoted by other organizations working to support the Guatemalan elections, namely a) civic education, with a focus on grass-roots voter education efforts; and b) political party institution-building and pollwatcher training.

## **II. INTRODUCTION**

A four-person NDI survey team visited Guatemala City from July 2-8, 1995. Two members of the team visited Quetzaltenango, Guatemala's second largest city and center of indigenous cultural and political activities. NDI survey missions, consisting of delegates who are expert political practitioners from the U.S. and third countries and NDI professional staff, meet with a wide spectrum of political, civic and governmental leaders to determine whether there is a role for and an interest in NDI's programs in countries in different stages of democratic transition, development and consolidation.

NDI's survey mission to Guatemala consisted of an international delegate from Paraguay, Esteban Caballero, Director of the Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in Asuncion; Irma Flores Gonzalez, Board Chair of the Washington, D.C.-based National Council of La Raza (NCLR); Darren Nance, Program Assistant; and Daniel Strasser, Senior Program Officer (see annex for bios).

The survey mission met with representatives of nine of Guatemala's twenty-two political parties,<sup>1</sup> four presidential candidates and one vice-presidential candidate<sup>2</sup>, nine separate Guatemalan non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in individual meetings and one joint meeting with nine other NGOs, one representative each of the labor sector, the private sector and a major university, two highly respected local think tanks, the Human Rights Ombudsman and the President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights in Guatemala (MINUGUA), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), two international NGOs engaged directly in democratic development and electorally-related activities, the Ambassador of the United States and the USAID Mission Director and his staff.

The Mission was also invited to the Ambassador's July 4 Independence Day reception where members met numerous political, business and human rights leaders and members of the diplomatic community. In its visit to Quetzaltenango, a two-person team met with a local NGO which supports integrated development, two civic committees, the departmental office of the Registrar of Voters and a local businessman. The team wrapped up its visit with a 45 minute call on President Ramiro de Leon Carpio. (A full itinerary is found in the annex.)

Before leaving for Guatemala, NDI staff conducted extensive research and met with Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States Edmond Mulet, State Department and Agency for International Development (AID) Desk Officers and the AID Deputy Director of the Office of Central American Affairs, the visiting Democratic Initiatives Officer from the USAID Mission in

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<sup>1</sup>. Partido Socialista Democrático (PSD), Partido Social Cristiano (PSC), Frente de Unidad Nacional (FUN), Desarrollo Integral Auténtico (DIA), Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN), Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG), Partido Libertador Progresista (PLP), Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala, Unión Democrática (UD), Encuentro Progresista (independent group supporting PAN).

<sup>2</sup>. Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen (PAN), Fernando Andrade Díaz Durán (UCN-DCG-PSD alliance), Rolando Torres (DIA), Asiselo Valladares (PLP) and Harris Witbeck Pinol (FRG-vice presidential candidate).

Guatemala, the officers in charge of Guatemalan programs or issues at the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), the Organization of American States (OAS) Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC), the director of the Center for Human Rights Legal Action, and the visiting Director of the Guatemalan Fundación Para la Paz, la Democracia y el Desarrollo (FUNDAPAZD). They also attended meetings on Guatemala at Georgetown University and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

### **III. NDI PROGRAMS/CONTACTS IN GUATEMALA**

NDI conducted an intense program in Guatemala in 1990, related to the November 11 general elections that year. A three member team visited Guatemala in August 1990 to gather information on the political situation, acquire background on the upcoming electoral process and determine NDI's program for the election. As a result of the mission and concern expressed by Guatemalans about human rights violations and the potential role of violence in the campaign, NDI decided to place a representative in Guatemala to monitor the election campaign and report on the effect of such abuses on the campaign.

In September, a seven-person international team led by former Governor (now Secretary of Interior) Bruce Babbitt visited Guatemala and conducted wide-ranging meetings with leading presidential candidates, the Supreme Electoral Council (STE), government officials, senior military officers, human rights activists, private sector reps, union leaders, academics, journalists and civic group leaders. A report was issued based on the two delegation visits. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the second visit, NDI conducted a forum on comparative democratic experiences. Several Guatemalans noted the forum brought together diverse groups for the first time in a political dialogue and resulted in the conclusion that elections were important for creating conditions for consolidating democracy.

A 27-member NDI mission, consisting of political figures from 14 countries, again led by

Bruce Babbitt, returned to observe the first round of the elections, dispersing throughout the country in seven teams. An NDI representative observed the January 6, 1991 run-off. The observer mission found the elections themselves to have been technically efficient, peaceful, orderly and free of intimidation. However, voter turnout had declined significantly from 69 percent in 1985 to 57 percent in 1990, and the indigenous population, consisting of about half the population, was largely absent from the balloting. Pre-electoral violence had also inhibited free expression in the campaign. Although the most significant issue overhanging the election was the denial of candidacy to former de facto president Jose Efraim Rios Montt by the STE (on grounds that he had previously come to power via a coup), the NDI mission found that he had sufficient legal means to challenge the decision.

NDI has maintained recent contact with a number of Guatemalans and followed events there with interest. A representative of a Guatemalan civic group participated in the May 1994 NDI observer mission to the Dominican Republic elections. NDI participants in a March 1995 American University seminar on Civil-Military Relations in Latin America and the annual National Endowment for Democracy (NED) World Democracy Conference in April made contact with several Guatemalan participants. Further, NDI invited a Guatemalan civic group, the *Instituto de Investigación y Autoformación Política* (INIAP), to participate in the NDI-sponsored June 2-3 "Civic Group Summit" in Asuncion, Paraguay. The survey mission drew on these recent contacts in planning its upcoming visit to Guatemala.

#### **IV. BACKGROUND**

Guatemala, which will hold general elections (for president, an 80-seat unicameral legislature, representatives to the Central American Parliament and 330 mayors) on November 12, 1995, is at a delicate and critical stage of its democratic consolidation. Guatemala returned to democracy in 1985, following more than 30 years of military rule, with adoption of a new constitution and the election of Christian Democrat Vinicio Cerezo. However, the past ten years have seen continued problems of insurgency; a powerful, tutelary military; marginalization of the



impoverished majority of Guatemalans; widespread human rights violations often linked to Army-backed "self-defense patrols" or PACs, including widespread killings and disappearances; the general growth of violence and criminality; and a lack of confidence in the democratic system.

It is generally believed that democratically elected governments have failed to meet high popular expectations. The Cerezo government was generally troubled by corruption and a lack of concrete achievements in either human rights, settling the insurgency or economic recovery. Gen. Serrano, the dark-horse winner in 1990, stunned Guatemalans in 1993 by seeking a Fujimori-style "auto-coup" which backfired, resulting in his removal by the military and installation by Congress of the current De Leon government. Ramiro de Leon Carpio, the former Human Rights Ombudsman, remains a popular figure. However, the inability of his government to bring the peace process to conclusion and end gross human rights abuses have demonstrated the limits of transitional power without an electoral mandate. Nonetheless, establishment of a United Nations Human Rights Observation Mission (MINUGUA) in November 1994 and strong donor support for the peace process in a June 1995 Consultative Group meeting in Paris were important accomplishments of the current government.

NDI decided to send a survey mission to Guatemala amid concerns the Institute had received from Guatemalans that the November 12 General Elections were threatened by possible lack of participation by many Guatemalan citizens. With less than five months before the election, there was reportedly widespread apathy and disinterest in the electoral process. In the most recent elections, the constitutional reform referendum of January 1994 and the special Congressional elections of last August, only 15.6 percent and 20 percent, respectively, of the registered voters actually cast their ballot. Without participation, democracy in Guatemala would appear to have been installed in form only. Furthermore, a January, 1995 study on Guatemalan civic culture based on 1993 survey data, indicates that "In comparison with other Central American countries, Guatemalans, on the whole, demonstrate low levels of support for

democratic liberties, whether it be the right to participate or the right to dissent."<sup>3</sup>

The NDI survey mission arrived in Guatemala with the desire to explore the reasons for alleged voter apathy and lack of interest in the electoral process. It was charged with defining possible NDI programs which might assist and encourage Guatemalans in exercising their democratic right of suffrage.

## **V. SURVEY MISSION FINDINGS**

The survey mission found that a majority of Guatemalan leaders with whom it spoke were deeply concerned about the potential lack of participation in the elections and alienation of the vast majority of their countrymen. In general, this was attributed, not to a lack of knowledge about voting but to disillusionment with recent national governments and especially with Guatemala's political parties and their leaders.

It should be noted, however, that certain leaders and observers do not believe that voter participation in the November elections will be as low as expected. They point to the fact that the 1994 constitutional referendum and legislative elections were irregular elections with which voters were unfamiliar. The upcoming elections, they point out, will combine all levels of voting, including for President and local mayors, and could draw greater numbers of voters.

### **-- The Political Environment**

Guatemala has 22 political parties. Most of these, however, have traditionally been personalistic parties which have been vehicles for the personal ambitions of individual *caudillos*.

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<sup>3</sup>. "La Cultura Democrática de los Guatemaltecos," published by Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales, in coordination with the University of Pittsburgh and Development Associates, Inc. Guatemala, January, 1995.

Furthermore, parties have tended to serve the interests of Guatemala's landed and industrial elites, offering little to the general population. The more established parties, according to numerous comments, have not only abused power for personal gain, but also they have engaged in widespread corrupt electoral practices, such as vote-buying. Financial resources for providing transport, food and a stipend to voters have also been an important factor in electoral competition. Party campaign workers and pollwatchers have also become accustomed to being paid for their participation.

It was in this context that, once again, as in 1990, the question of former president Efraín Ríos Montt's eligibility to run for the presidency continued to play a major role in the electoral scenario. Ríos Montt, recognized as the "law-and-order" candidate, is viewed as one of the more popular of potential candidates. However, due to Article 186 of the 1985 Constitution, which prohibits former presidents who came to power through coups from running for the presidency, Guatemala's Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) is expected to reject his candidacy should he file for it. Candidacies must be registered by September 12.

A current complication in the Ríos Montt issue is the fact that the former general wields considerable power as the president of the Congress, and his FRG party controls 41 of 80 seats, a simple majority. Further, the mandate of the current TSE--which denied him his candidacy--ended on June 30 and can only be replaced by a 2/3 vote of Congress. Ríos Montt's party has pressed to replace the STE with members sympathetic to his cause, but the other major congressional party, the *Partido de Avanzada Nacional* (PAN), does not want the current members of the STE replaced. Thus a stalemate has prevailed. (PAN's position, however, is broadly supported by many Guatemalans who believe the current TSE merits respect and that a change in TSE membership a few months before a major election would be disruptive.) Meanwhile, according to Guatemalan law, the sitting members of any tribunal are obliged to maintain their seats until replaced.

Many view the controversy over the Ríos Montt candidacy as a distraction from real

issues in the campaign which only deepens voter cynicism regarding politicians, political parties and elections. However, other observers viewed the controversy and strong pressures by Rios Montt forces challenging the authority of the current STE and the Constitutional Court, which supports the mandate of the current incumbents, as destabilizing to fundamental but fragile democratic institutions in Guatemala.

#### -- **Technical Impediments to Voter Participation**

There appeared also to be several technical factors under current Guatemalan electoral law and procedures which inhibit voter registration and participation. First, many complained about an unduly bureaucratic and formal procedure in order to register to vote, requiring first acquiring an identity document, a *cedula*, and then the purchase of--to them--expensive photographs in order to register. Many Guatemalan rural women, are not encouraged to acquire a *cedula* or to vote by their husbands. Further, indigenous people, often wish to avoid taking photographs or signing their names, fearing they will be manipulated by unscrupulous people.

In addition, registration which will end on August 12, only takes place in the municipal capitals at voter registration offices. For some rural Guatemalans, it could take one or two days away from home or farm, the loss of pay and the need to pay transport and food in order to register. For many Guatemalans, reportedly this effort and expense is simply not within their means. Apparently, mobile registration is feasible, but local registration officials have no transportation to conduct mobile registration drives. One facility they plan to adopt in the last month of registration, is to remain open on weekends. Returning refugees from Mexico, though among the more politicized of rural Guatemalans, often face daunting challenges to acquire their paperwork for voting, beginning with lacking any proof of birth.

The same difficulties are repeated on election day. The election and political party law forbids voting outside of municipal headquarters. The purpose of this, it is explained, is that in the past extensive fraud took place in small localities and on farms (*fincas*). However, the effort

and expense for the individual voter to go to the municipal headquarters, is no less inhibiting than for registration. This weakness is turned to advantage by certain political parties which offer free transportation, food and per diem, often at the service of vote buying. Vote buying reportedly occurs thus: at a given location, the first paid voter does not cast his ballot but returns it to the vote buyer. This person marks the ballot and gives it to the next paid voter, who must return his ballot to the purchaser. The chain of vote buying continues. However, the survey mission also was told that among rural people, they will often vote for the person buying their vote out of a misguided sense of keeping their word.

#### -- **Local and Indigenous Versus National Politics**

Guatemalan electoral law only permits nationally registered political parties to offer candidates for the National Assembly. This impedes purely local, regional or ethnic candidacies from emerging for the national legislature. However the law does permit local "civic committees" to register candidacies for mayorships. This system encourages strong local governance, and some political parties have developed based on formation of several local civic committees around the country. However, the system also encourages a certain separation between local and national political life, reinforcing a tendency to be suspicious of and disinterested in political parties and national politics, especially among indigenous peoples. Indigenous communities appear to have a cultural affinity to civic committees (in many locations, there is only one "civic committee," representing the local leaders of the community) but may be deeply distrustful of *ladino*-dominated political parties. Nonetheless, evolution of Guatemala's Mayan people from a current cultural resurgence to a national political force appears to be occurring with the formation this June of the *Nukuj Ajpop* movement, with ties to the emerging Frente Democratico Nueva Guatemala.

#### -- **A New Alternative: the Fourth Option**

A totally new political factor introduced itself into the electoral scenario while the survey

team was visiting Guatemala. This is the emergence and formal declaration of the so-called New Guatemala Democratic Front (*Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala*), made up of what are described as "popular and labor groups." Evolving from the civil society movement which supported the removal of President Serrano and the peace process through the Asamblea de la Sociedad Civil and the human rights movement, a number of formerly non-partisan groups have offered themselves as a united alternative, or "fourth option," to the three current options: FRG, PAN and the UCN-PSD-PDCG alliance.

However, in order for the New Guatemala Democratic Front to register candidacies, it must work through one or more established smaller parties. Reportedly, it has chosen four such parties. However, as of the survey team visit, there was still some controversy over which parties would remain in the Front, no consensus on who would be the Front's Presidential candidate and a need to find a mechanism for selecting candidates for other offices.

The relationship of the Front to the Guatemalan guerrilla movement (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity-URNG) remained a point of controversy. Reversing its position in previous elections, the URNG has urged participation in the 1995 elections. Members of the New Guatemala Democratic Front, however, were concerned over contradictory statements coming from different guerrilla commanders in Mexico about the relationship between the URNG and the Front. Without a cease-fire or a peace, the URNG remains an outlaw organization for Guatemalan security forces. Confusion in identities between the Front and the URNG some Front leaders indicated could have adverse consequences for some Front representatives at the local level. Still a loose grouping of organizations, the Front appears to be independent of the URNG. Meanwhile, the appearance on the electoral scene of a left-of-center political option may encourage voter participation. The Front, however, may find its natural constituency among those who have greater difficulty acquiring registration, such as refugees.

## -- **The Elections and the Peace Process**

Emergence of this Front is actually welcomed by many of the other contenders in the Presidential elections. This is because of the perceived important link between the peace process and the elections. Many lament that the Guatemalan guerrilla movement cannot participate directly in these elections. But it is recognized that a peace may be agreed to just before or after the presidential run-off elections next January. The new President will be called upon to implement the agreement and the Congress will have to approve the accord. Together the executive and legislative branches will administer the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction, including the use of considerable international funding which has been pledged. It is this link between the election and the peace process which encourages some to think that voter participation can be augmented through appropriate civic education.

Some, however, see a possible negative linkage. It is conceivable that the new Congress may refuse to ratify the peace accords. Others have expressed concern that a poor showing by the New Guatemala Democratic Front might be interpreted as a the weakness of forces linked to the URNG and thereby undermine the willingness of certain conservative sectors in the armed forces and the business class to terminate a peace treaty.

## **VI. PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS**

The NDI delegation met with various Non-Governmental and International Organizations during its Survey Mission to Guatemala. NDI met with the following organizations to assess what activities were being conducted related to the elections and to provide NDI with an idea of what, if any, role NDI might play.

**Center for Electoral Assessment and Promotion (Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral; CAPEL)**

The *Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral* (CAPEL) is conducting a three phase Voter Registration and Participation program supported by USAID funding. CAPEL's project is designed to get people registered to vote, encourage them to vote and determine the causes of abstention and how it might be addressed in the future. This is a pilot project that will employ innovative, community based strategies to encourage voter participation. Communities in each of the principal geographical areas of Guatemala have been chosen to participate. The project is divided into three phases: Pre-electoral, Electoral and Post-electoral phases.

In the Pre-electoral phase, efforts will be made to increase voter registration through radio spots taking into account the main indigenous languages and the non-literate. The Electoral Phase will encourage citizens to vote by hosting public forums for candidates to debate relevant issues, radio programs and posters (in Spanish and Indigenous languages) that will include information as to where and how to vote. The Post-electoral phase will consist of a three month analysis of voter participation in the elections. CAPEL plans to develop a medium and long term strategy for promoting electoral/civic participation in Guatemala.

The Inter-American Institute for Human Rights (IIDH) through CAPEL will carry out this project in close coordination with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE).

#### **America's Development Foundation (ADF)**

America's Development Foundation (ADF) is managing an umbrella Civic Education Project as part of a three-year USAID funded civil society program supporting local NGO's in their efforts to educate the public in order to get out the vote. The programs to be supported include; holding public candidates debates and encouraging women and the indigenous to participate in the electoral process. This project will be closely coordinated with the efforts of CAPEL and the TSE.

The following organizations are part of the umbrella Civic Education Project being



managed by ADF:

### **Compañeros de las Américas/Convergencia Cívico-Política de Mujeres**

Compañeros de las Américas is a well known organization throughout the hemisphere in conducting exchanges of citizen participation in local government. Convergencia Cívico-Política de Mujeres is a movement of Guatemalan women with the objective of promoting the identity and participation of women in democratic processes in Guatemala, especially educating women from semi-rural areas of their rights as citizens to participate in the electoral process.

### **The Dolores Bedoya de Molina Foundation**

The Dolores Bedoya de Molina Foundation is a non-governmental organization that conduct programs to help communities within Guatemala to develop educated actions to improve the way of life for members of the community. It's programs have put special interest in the active participation of indigenous and non-indigenous women. It's program with ADF focuses on motivating and informing women in participating in the electoral process.

### **The Institute of Teaching for Maintaining Development (Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible - IEPADES)**

IEPADES is a nongovernmental organization constructed of a group of Guatemalans concerned about the social, economic and political crisis in Guatemala. Most of IEPADES programs are in the education of the rural population in administration and management of community based projects to produce a educated and organized rural community in Guatemala. It's project with ADF focuses on motivating and assisting active community groups in three departments to develop a community based program of participation in the electoral process with the hopes of a continued effort of participation in decision making at the local level.

## **The Myrna Mack Foundation**

The Myrna Mack Foundation is a nongovernmental organization that promotes social cohesion so as to support the construction of a social democracy. Its program with ADF focuses on mechanisms of monitoring the electoral process of 1995, including extensive databases, so that the citizens know the candidates they are voting for and what they represent so to hold the elected officials accountable to the people they represent.

## **Foundation for Peace, Democracy and Development (Fundación para la Paz, la Democracia y el Desarrollo - FUNDAPAZD)**

FUNDAPAZD is a nongovernmental organization whose programs focus on Supporting Peace, Development and Women's participation. Its program with ADF concentrates on establishing a greater more active role of the community in civic education within the country. FUNDAPAZD has also just submitted a proposal to NDI to conduct a Domestic Election monitoring/Parallel Vote Tabulation effort.

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## **Other organizations whose activities may affect the electoral process in Guatemala:**

### **Institute of Political Research and Self-Formation (INIAP)**

INIAP is a nongovernmental organization which promotes civic participation to those sectors traditionally excluded from political participation. They conduct research and education programs and experience in the production of training materials. INIAP is currently conducting a civic education program in high-schools throughout Guatemala. Miguel Castillo of INIAP participated in an NDI Civic Summit in Asunción, Paraguay in June, 1995.

### **Center of National Economic Investigation (CIEN)**

CIEN conducts research on economic issues and indicates that it has a "neoliberal" agenda in economic policy. It does not deal with the economic process specifically, but is presently involved in a legislative assistance project dealing with economic issues.

### **Mutual Support Group (GAM)**

GAM is a grassroots network that focuses on Human Rights and Civic Education. GAM has strong ties to the New Democratic Guatemala Front (Frente Democrático Nuevo Guatemala). They have experience in the production of training materials.

### **Nukuj Ajpop**

Nukuj Ajpop is an informal group of Mayan leaders interested in the political participation of the Mayan indigenous people. They are interested in designing a voter participation and pollwatcher training program for the indigenous people and civic committees.

### **Association for Local Empowerment ( Asociación por el Poder Local - APOLO )**

APOLO is a nongovernmental organization that promotes local decentralization and empowering rural communities. Funding for APOLO has come through the International Republican Institute (IRI). APOLO has conducted programs including direct mailings and door-to-door campaigns in issue-oriented advocacy, decentralization and privatization.

### **Pro-Democracy and Development Institute (Instituto Pro-Democracia y Desarrollo-IDE)**

IDE is a private, non-profit, non-partisan research and training organization that works with community organizations and leaders to promote democratic principles including liberty,

personal responsibility, decentralized government, and a free market. IDE has worked with IRI in a series of Good Governance Workshops on corruption and transparency and is currently planning a series of Debates between candidates for Congress (Diputados) during the electoral period.

**Association of Investigation and Social Studies (Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales - ASIES)**

ASIES is a private nonprofit think-tank interested in the analysis and research of national realities to stimulate a general interest in the search and implementation of concrete solutions to the problems that affect Guatemala, inspired on the principal of citizen participation. ASIES conducts research and analysis of the political, economic and cultural reality of Guatemala; promote the study and discussion of national problems; and provide information and training by means of the publication of the results of its research and analysis. ASIES has conducted forums on the Role of Political Parties and a major study of Guatemalan democratic culture.

**National Coordination of Guatemalan Widows (Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala - CONAVIGUA)**

CONAVIGUA is a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization composed of mainly widows of the guerilla movement and mothers and spouses of men forcibly recruited by the military. They serve as an information source on human rights laws of Guatemala and conduct campaigns against forced military service.

**United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights in Guatemala**  
*Misión de las Naciones Unidas para la Verificación de los Derechos Humanos en Guatemala*  
**(MINUGUA)**

MINUGUA along with other Human Rights organizations actively participate to

strengthen other Guatemalan institutions to promote and defend Human Rights. MINUGUA has offered to act as an advisor on electoral materials through the United Nations to the Electoral Tribunal with the emphasis on supporting citizen participation in the election. During the electoral period, MINUGUA is focusing some of its efforts on monitoring respect for the exercise of political rights.

### **The Guatemalan Chamber of Deputies (La Cámara de Diputados de la Nación)**

The Guatemalan Chamber of Deputies is financing a voter registration and participation campaign to promote citizen participation and to help support the electoral process. The campaign will focus on a Radio and Television promotion drive expressing the importance of participating in the electoral process.

## **VII. SURVEY TEAM CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The survey team completed its visit just as concerned about the potential problem of non-participation in the November elections as when it arrived, but hopefully with a more sophisticated view of the root causes of voter disinterest and apathy. There is widespread lack of credibility, not only in the electoral process, but also in the democratic political system itself, especially the role of political parties, political leaders and political institutions, such as the National Assembly. Furthermore, there are strong divisions between indigenous and *ladino* peoples and between urban and rural Guatemalans, with a great problem of economic and social inequality which have not yet been addressed through democratic forms and procedures. Finally the team learned of the logistical and technical impediments to registration and voter participation which exist in Guatemala.

The survey team came to see four possible general areas of activity in which NDI could engage to assist the Guatemalans with their electoral process. Given the limited resources which

NDI is likely to have for such a project, it is clear that the Institute can only conduct successfully one or perhaps two of these activities.

### **-- Voter Registration**

First, the survey team explored the possibility of NDI seeking to assist participation by an immediate effort and infusion of resources to promote the voter registration process before the August 12 deadline. NDI believes that voter participation begins with registration. We were pleased to learn that CAPEL and the Guatemalan National Assembly are developing programs through the electronic media, specifically radio, using both Spanish and the four principal indigenous languages, to promote voter registration. However, the survey team was concerned at the lateness of the effort and the lack of time remaining to conduct effective civic education around registration as well as the limited geographical reach of the effort. Further, it was concerned that the difficulties posed to voters to register were such as to render questionable any additional effort to encourage registration. In short, **for this particular election, it appears too late and an inefficient use of scarce NDI resources to promote registration.** Hopefully, some of the flaws in the voter registration process can be improved for future elections.

### **-- Civic and Voter Education**

The second area of possible activity for NDI is in basic civic education (Why vote) and voter education (How to vote). These are the areas in which the most pre-election resources appear to be placed. As indicated above, a good deal of the effort of Guatemalan and international NGOs are to promote voter participation and turnout.

NDI's team remained concerned by the centralized system of voting only in municipal capitals (cabeceras). Several of the team's contacts suggested that providing transportation to voters would be a useful way of overcoming some of the physical and financial constraints to voter participation. The team was very pleased, therefore, in its meeting with President de Leon

Carpio to learn that the government is considering offering public transportation to voters on election day. The President indicated such resources would be made available to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, and that some of the resources pledged to Guatemala at the June Consultative Group meeting were intended to support the elections. The survey mission for its part encouraged the President to pursue this proposal and further encouraged him to consider promoting transportation for a mobile voter registration effort. The President indicated that it would be important for the government to extend facilities for registration to the thousands of refugees returning to Guatemala so they can participate in the elections.

Given that numerous groups are currently engaged in voter participation and civic education activities, the survey mission, concluded that **NDI could make a unique contribution by focusing its civic education efforts on support for voter education.** Such an effort, would of necessity be labor intensive: it is difficult to demonstrate the proper method of balloting without direct face-to-face contact with voters. Television provides an expensive alternative with a very limited reach beyond major cities. Radio is not useful for voter education. NDI has experience in grass roots voter education efforts in a number of countries, including the use of balloting simulation kits. Two or three-person, trained voter education teams made up of local personnel visit small towns and villages to demonstrate the whys and hows of voting. They distribute simple materials and put up posters on the voting process and engage the local population in a mock vote. The effect of this activity tends to stimulate an interest in voting, enhance voter knowledge of how to effectively exercise the franchise, reduce the number of spoiled, blank and invalid ballots and promote greater respect for secrecy and reduction of fraud.

NDI would work on such a labor-intensive project in collaboration with Guatemalan NGOs. A core group of NGOs could be responsible for preparing written materials, posters, election simulation kits, and radio spots announcing the nature of the campaign so that voter education teams will be expected and welcomed. A second tier of locally-based NGOs would actually conduct the voter education activities by training a network of volunteers and providing them with materials and logistical support. Such an effort should focus on sectors of Guatemalan

society which traditionally are politically marginalized, such as indigenous people, women, youth and refugees.

#### **-- Domestic Monitoring Efforts**

NDI has supported domestic election monitoring in a number of countries, including most recently in Mexico and Peru, supporting local civic groups or alliances which organize to promote election transparency, credibility and to provide a parallel vote tabulation (PVT).

NDI was approached by one Guatemalan NGO which demonstrated a strong interest in conducting a domestic monitoring effort. Although good discussions were held with a representative of this NGO, **NDI only received a concrete written proposal after the survey team had left Guatemala and is awaiting evidence of broader interest in the NGO community in conducting such monitoring.** Although fraud does not appear to be a problem in Guatemalan elections and the STE is highly regarded for its professionalism by most knowledgeable Guatemalans, the value of a domestic monitoring effort was related to the team more along the lines of providing moral support to the STE, providing a further check against election-related violence and vote-buying and as a non-partisan political participation vehicle. **Given the limited time available to prepare a domestic monitoring effort, NDI may not be able to effectively support it, especially given the limited current level of organization.** Should such an effort develop, NDI might provide some technical assistance to it.

#### **-- Political Party Development and Pollwatcher Training**

The survey mission repeatedly heard criticisms of Guatemala's political parties. The 1993 study of Guatemalan civic culture rates political parties at the bottom of support by the population, 18 percent, compared to 39 percent for the Congress, 41 percent for the Army, 52 percent for the Supreme Electoral Tribunal and 62 percent for the Human Rights Ombudsman. An indication of the deterioration of political parties as well is that the older more traditional



parties appear to have the least support, while relatively new parties are more popular and gained control of the Congress last year. While some of the newer parties are conservative, other have an ideologically diffuse message.

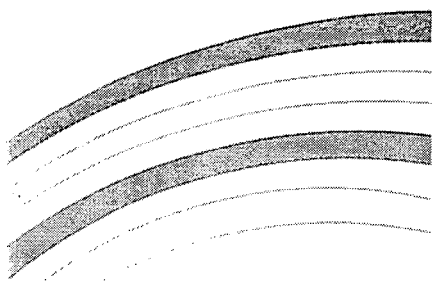
**The core issue of confidence in the democratic political system appears to be a strengthening of Guatemala's political parties.** Strengthened, more responsive political parties are ultimately the key toward fostering greater political participation and voter turnout, even if this may be a long-term effort.

Furthermore, **in discussion with nine of Guatemala's parties, they universally welcomed the possibility of NDI conducting training of party pollwatchers (*fiscales*).** Party pollwatcher training is an activity which NDI has conducted in numerous countries. The survey mission recommends that NDI conduct pollwatcher training following some seminars on political party building, grass-roots organizing, internal democratization, outreach and ethics. Working with the parties now, should be viewed as the possible beginning of a longer-term NDI effort at institution-building in the parties and the National Assembly. Any organizational or pollwatcher training will be especially useful for newly formed parties.

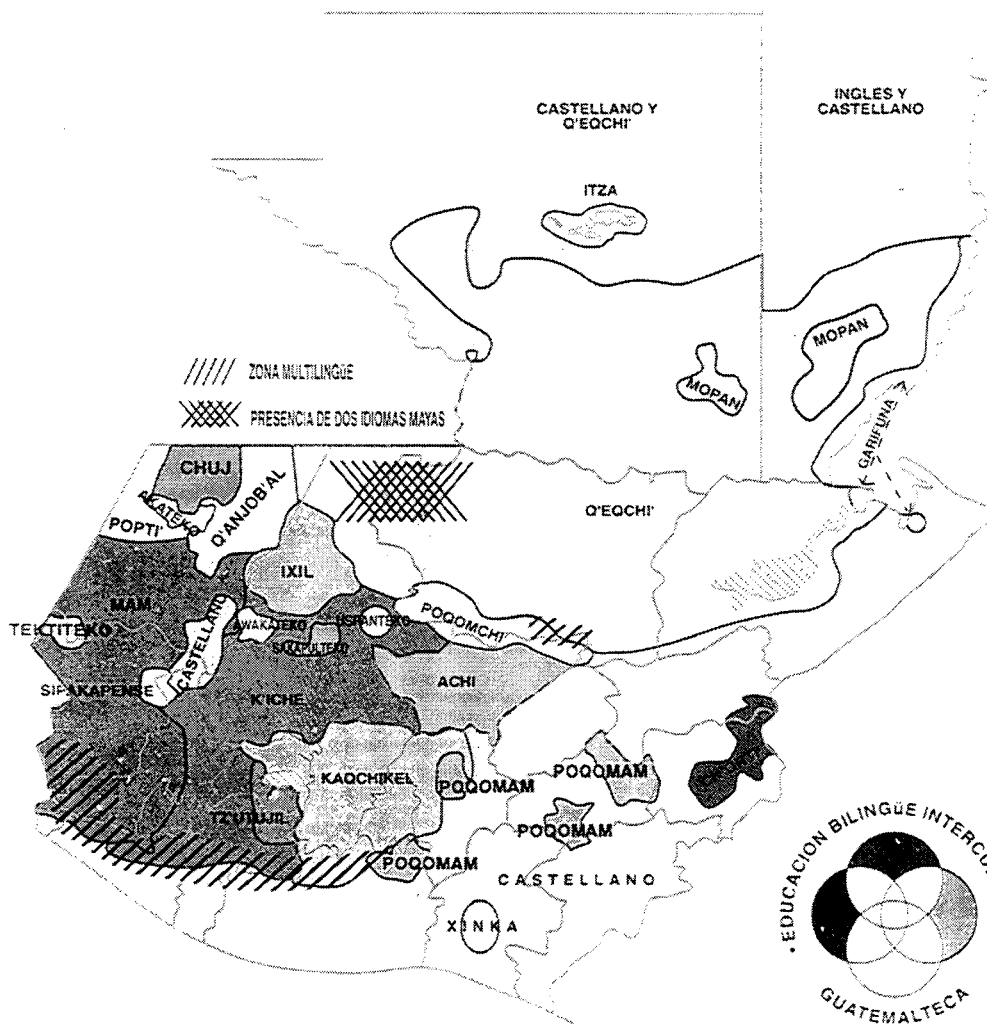
It is possible to work through the STE, the parties themselves and certain NGOs in order to conduct party institution-building and pollwatcher training. A permanent body of national-level *fiscales*, designated by their parties, exists within the STE. Actual training of the pollwatchers at the departmental level can be conducted by NGOs, under NDI guidance. The same core group of NGOs engaged in voter education materials development and organization can expand their work into the pollwatcher training materials and training. Thus voter education and pollwatcher training can be seen as two sides of a single effort with some economies of scale.

## **APPENDICES**





# IDIOMAS DE GUATEMALA



- Achi'
- Akateko
- Awakateko
- Castellano
- Ch'orti'
- Chuj
- Garífuna
- Itza'
- Ixil
- Kaqchikel
- K'iche'
- Mam
- Mopan
- Popti'
- Poqomam
- Poqomchi'
- Q'anjob'al
- Q'eqchi'
- Sakapulteko
- Sipakapense
- Tektiteko
- Tz'utujil
- Uspanteko
- Xinka

Ministerio de Educación  
 Programa Nacional de Educación  
 Bilingüe Intercultural,  
 Proyecto BIESF 520-0374  
 AID/Guatemala.

En Guatemala se hablan 24 idiomas; 21 idiomas mayas, el castellano, xinka y garífuna, por eso es un país multilingüe. Dentro de este contexto sólo el castellano posee el carácter oficial mientras los otros son calificados como insuficientes, inferiores y sin gramáticas.

En honor a la solidaridad, a los derechos humanos y a la vida democrática es urgente la oficialización de los 21 idiomas de origen maya, xinka y garífuna a nivel regional. No está de más recordar que leyes nacionales e internacionales reconocen la existencia de todos los idiomas del mundo sin discriminación alguna, como **La Declaración Universal sobre los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas**, párrafo 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 y 12 de la parte dispositiva. **Constitución Política de la República**: Artículos 58, 66 y 76. **Acuerdo Gubernativo número 10-46-87** de fecha 23 de noviembre de 1987. **Acuerdo Gubernativo 1,093**. **Ley de Educación Nacional Decreto No. 12-91** Art. 56, 57 y 58 **Convenio 169 de O.I.T.** sobre pueblos indígenas y tribales en países independientes 1.989. El proceso de ratificación por el Congreso de la República de Guatemala.

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**Team Biographies**  
**Guatemala Survey Mission**  
**International Consultants**

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**Esteban Caballero**

Mr. Caballero is the Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in Asunción, Paraguay. CED is a non-governmental organization that conducts voter education programs and trains political party pollwatchers. CED co-sponsored with NDI a regional meeting of Latin American civic organizations in Asunción in June of 1995. Mr. Caballero is a former member of Paraguay's Constituent Assembly and has participated in several NDI election programs throughout Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Africa. He also participated in NDI's survey Mission to Haiti in November of 1994.

**Irma Flores González**

Ms. González has an extensive background in community organizing and activism. She is presently the Chairperson of the Board of the National Council of La Raza, an organization dedicated to increasing the effectiveness of Hispanic community-based groups and improving employment opportunities for Hispanics. The National Council of La Raza has played a crucial role in bringing community attention to the needs of Hispanics in the areas of education, employment, government funding for low-income housing, and the development and financing of Hispanic community organizations. She was a founding member of both the Northwest Multicultural Institute in Portland, Oregon and the Oregon Council of La Raza. She also works as a Community Needs Consultant for the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and serves as a Board Member of the Center for Community Change in Washington, D.C.

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**Team Biographies**  
**Guatemala Survey Mission**  
**NDI Staff**

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**Darren Nance**

Mr. Nance is a Program Assistant on the Latin America and the Caribbean Team at NDI. He is from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma and earned a degree in Interpersonal/Intercultural Communication and Spanish Literature from the University of Oklahoma and *La Universidad de las Americas* in Pueblo, México. Mr. Nance is Student Liaison Coordinator for the Washington, D.C. chapter of the American Field Service, an organization that conducts International-Intercultural exchange programs for high-school students around the world. He participated in an AFS program in the Dominican Republic. At NDI, his projects include programmatic work on El Salvador, Panamá, Dominican Republic, and Guatemala.

**Daniel Strasser**

Mr. Strasser is currently a Senior Program Officer for the Latin America and the Caribbean regional team on detail to NDI from the Department of State. He serves as manager for NDI's Haiti program and has taken the lead in examining the possibility of resuming NDI programs in Brazil. Prior to working at NDI, Mr. Strasser served as Chief of the South American Division for the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters at the Department of State. His other positions include Chief, Political Section, U.S. Consulate General, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Principal Officer and Consul, U.S. Consulate, Salvador da Bahia, Brazil; Chief, Political/Economic Section, U.S. Embassy, La Paz, Bolivia; Advisor for Latin America and Decolonization Issues, U.S. Mission to the United Nations; Political Officer, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; and State Department Desk Officer for the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
(NDI)**

**SURVEY MISSION TO GUATEMALA, JULY 2-8, 1995**

**Sunday, July 2, 1995**

- 2:00 p.m. Arrival in Guatemala City.
- 5:00 p.m. Survey Team Briefing/ Meeting
- 7:30 p.m. Dinner with Erick Bolaños from IDE  
at the Hotel Camino Real

**Monday, July 3, 1995**

- 7:45 a.m. Breakfast with Miguel Castillo  
Instituto de Investigación y Autoformación Política (INIAP)  
6 Calle 35-83, Zona 11. Residencial V.  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala.  
tel: 94 74 09, 94 74 20  
fax: 94 64 30
- 9:00 a.m. Sergio Alejandro Flores Cruz,  
Secretary General  
Partido Socialista Democrático (P.S.D.)  
12, Calle 10-37 Zona 1  
tel: 53 94 77
- 11:00 a.m. Alfonso Alonso Barillas  
General Secretary of Partido Socialista Cristiano (PSC)  
12 Calle 1-62 Zona 3  
tel: 27 1 84
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch
- 2:00 p.m. Ambassador Marilyn McAfee  
US Embassy  
7-01 Avenida de la Reforma, Zone 10  
APO AA 34024  
tel: 31 15 41 fax: 31 88 85

3:00 p.m. William Stacy Rhodes, Director of Mission  
US Agency for International Development  
tel: 32 02 02

5:30 p.m. Dr. Jorge Mario García la Guardia  
Ombudsman of Human Rights  
12 Av. 12-72 Zona 1  
tel: 30 08 74

**Tuesday, July 4, 1995**

9:00 a.m. Fundación para la Paz, la Democracia, y el Desarrollo (FUNDAPAZD)  
Av. La Reforma 12-01, Zona 10  
Edificio Reforma Montufar  
Torre "A" Of. 602  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel/fax: 31 92 37

10:30 a.m. Byron Morales  
Unión Sindical de Trabajadores de Guatemala (USITRAGUA) and  
Unidad de Acción Sindical y Popular (UASP)  
11 calle 8-14 Zona 1  
3° Nivel Oficina 34  
Edificio Tecún  
tel: 2 2772

12:00 p.m. Ambassador's Fourth of July Reception  
U.S. Ambassador's Residence

2:30 p.m. General Hector Gramajo  
Presidential Candidate  
Frente de Unidad Nacional (FUN)  
contact: Luki  
5 Ave. A, 13-64, Zona 9  
Tel. 721816, 347419

4:00 p.m. Leonardo Franco  
Misión de Naciones Unidas para Guatemala (MINUGUA)  
Avenida las Américas, 9-08 Zona 13  
Hotel las Américas, 9° Nivel  
tel: 39-34-31 (Margarita de Sosa, ext. 43)



5:30 p.m. Rolando Morales Chávez, Secretary General  
and Dr. Rolando Torres Casanova, Presidential Candidate + 20  
members of the Board of Directors  
Desarrollo Integral Auténtico (DIA)  
12 calle A 2-18 Zona 1  
Tel. 28 044; 81 338

8:00 p.m. APOLO  
Ana Elizabeth Valdes, Director  
Carol Ríos, Junta Directiva  
Tel. 315956

**Wednesday, July 5, 1995**

8:30 a.m. Unión Democrática  
Dra. Patricia Chea  
Ave. Reforma 12-01, Zona 10  
Edificio Montufar, Torre A, Nivel 13,  
Ofic.1304

10:00 a.m. Fernando Andrade Díaz Durán;  
Presidential Candidate,  
UCN-DCG-PSD alliance  
Ave. las Reformas 10-00 Zona 9,  
Condominio Reforma 6º Nivel  
tel: 31 89 28

12:00 p.m. Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen  
Presidential Candidate,  
and Marco A. Solares, Secretary General  
Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN)  
7ª Avenida 10-38, Zona 9  
tel: 34 10 16 or 31 99 06

1:30 p.m. Eduardo Nuñez and Claudia Cabrera of Centro de Asesoría y Promoción  
Electoral (CAPEL)  
Hotel Las Americas  
(María Leal at USAID is contact person)  
32 02 02

3:30 p.m. Sergio Cambronero  
Americas Development Foundation  
Avenida Reforma 6-64 Zona 10  
Plaza Corporativa J4, Nivel 1  
tel: 39 10 11 al 17

4:30 p.m. Meet with Local NGOs working with  
Americas Development Foundation (ADF):

Carmen Rosa de León: IEPADES  
tel: 69 33 28, 51 14 29  
fax: 33 47 57

Estuardo Zapeta: CECMA  
tel/fax: 53 87 88

Luis R. Dávila: CIDECA  
tel: 2 5974

Juan David Villatoro Herrera: CADISOGUA  
tel/fax: 61 46 35

Reginaldo B. Tiguido: Asociación Campesina Indispensable para el  
Desarrollo en Salud, Social, Economico, Educación, y Agropecuario  
(ACIDSEA)  
7 Avenida 9-34, Zona 1  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel: 61 46 35

Nineth Montenegro: Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM)  
8ª Calle 7-46, Zona 1 Interior 15  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel/fax: 8 4134

José Angel Zapeta: Instituto Wajxaqib B'atz  
tel: 8 4430  
fax: 8 0997

Victor Hugo Gudiel: Fundación para la Juventud "Olivero Castañeda de  
León"  
tel: 76 98 19

8:00 p.m. Dinner at Hotel Camino Real with Dra. Aracely Conde de Paíz  
of Encuentro Progresista and Amanecer (Sak' Arik)  
2ª Calle 7-38, Zona 1  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel/fax: 2 8816

**On Thursday, July 6, 1995 the Survey Mission Team split into two two-person teams. Team A, which went to Quetzaltenango to meet with indigenous groups in Guatemala's interior, consisted of Daniel Strasser and Irma Flores González. Team B, which stayed on in Guatemala City to meet with more political parties and NGOs, consisted of Darren Nance and Esteban Caballero.**

**Schedule for Team A: Daniel Strasser and Irma Flores González  
Thursday, July 6, 1995**

- 6:30 a.m. Depart Guatemala City for Quetzaltenango by vehicle.
- 11:00 a.m. Arrive Quetzaltenango, Pension Bonifaz
- 11:30 a.m. Visit CODISOGUA (Southwest Guatemala Integral Development Coordination Group), Ana Margarita Chojolan Q., Rural Credit Program Coordinator, 7a Av. 9-34, Zona 1, Telefax: 0614635
- Meet at CODISOGUA with Comité Civico Xela Ju and its mayoral candidate Rigobert Queme Chay
- 2:30 p.m. Visit Departmental Office of Supreme Electoral Tribunal/  
Registrar of Voters
- 4:00 p.m. Accompany CODISOGUA to San Martin Sacatepequez (45 minutes from Quetzaltenango) to meet with Comité Civico Mam Tineco
- 7:00 p.m. Dinner with local businessman Jose Vicente Leon Lau,  
Owner of Hotel del Campo

**Friday, July 7, 1995 - Team A**

- 6:00 a.m. Depart Quetzaltenango
- 10:30 a.m. Arrive Guatemala City to rejoin Survey Team B

**Schedule for Team B: Esteban Caballero and Darren Nance**  
**Thursday, July 6, 1995**

- 9:15 a.m. Asisclo Valladares, Attorney General and  
Presidential Candidate of the  
Partido Libertador Progresista (PLP)  
contact: Olga de Portilla  
15 Ave. 9-69, Zona 13  
Tel. 326054, partido; 347174, Oficina
- 10:30 a.m. Raquel Zelaya, Director  
Asociación de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociales (ASIES)  
10ª Calle 7-48 Zona 9  
34 71 78
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch
- 1:45 p.m. Amelia Velasquez  
Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala  
(CONAVIGUA)  
8 Avenida 2-29, Zona 1  
tel: 2 5642
- 2:30 p.m. NUKUJ AJPOP (Indigenous Political Movement)  
José Angel Zapeta  
Contact: Amelia Velazquez  
8 Avenida 2-29, Zona 1  
tel: 2 5642
- 3:30 p.m. Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo  
Nineth Montenegro de García  
8 calle 7-46 Zona 1  
Pasaje Fenix Interior 15
- 5:00 p.m. Universidad Rafael Landiver (Univ. Católica)  
Vice-Rectora Guillermina Herrera  
Vista Hermosa #3, Zona 16, edif. H
- 8:00 p.m. Dinner with Helen Mack  
Myrna Mack Foundation  
6ª Calle 1-36, Zona 10  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel: 32 58 46

**Friday, July 7, 1995**

8:30 a.m. Tribunal Suprema Electoral, TSE  
Mario Roberto GUERRA ROLDÁN, Presidente  
Contact: Lucy de Guevara  
4a. Calle "A", 0-19, Zona 1  
Tel. 300788, 20382, 341478

**After the first meeting Friday morning, Team A rejoined Team B in Guatemala City for the remaining meetings.**

12:15 p.m. Harris Whitbeck  
Vice Presidential Candidate and  
Party Leader in National Assembly  
Frente Republicano Guatemalteco  
Asemblea Nacional de Guatemala  
9a. Ave., 9-48, Zona 1, Tercer Piso  
Tel. 21260, 518889, 21261(-69)

3:00 p.m. **Team A:**  
Elfidio Cano del Cid and Miguel Castillo  
Instituto de Investigación y Autoformación Política (INIAP)

**TEAM B:**  
Marco Tulio Coronado Silva and Lic. Hugo Maúl Rivas  
Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (CIEN)  
5ª Avenida 15-45, Zona 10  
Centro Empresarial, Torre 1  
Ofs. 205 y 302  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel: 33 70 14, 33 70 22  
fax: 33 70 22

4:30 p.m. William Stacy Rhodes, Mission Director;  
and Elizabeth B. Warfield, Chief of Program Direction and Support;  
Len Kusnitz, Political Officer; Chief of Project for Judicial Sector  
Reform, Brian Leo Treacy.  
USAID, U.S. Embassy  
Ambassador's Office  
1ª Calle 7-66, Zona 9  
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala  
tel: 31 35 73

5:30 p.m. Ricardo Stein,  
Representative of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
Meeting at Hotel Camino Real

7:00 p.m. Survey Team Dinner Meeting: Final Discussions/ Conclusions

**Saturday, July 8, 1995**

7:45 a.m. Erick Bolaños, IDE  
Breakfast at Camino Real

8:30 a.m. Frente Democratico Nueva Guatemala:

Mariel Aguilar  
Treasurer, Executive Committee  
tel: 53 23 85

Georgina Navarri  
National Coordinator, Relations Commission  
tel: 8 1663

Oscar Escobedo  
National Coordinator, Commission on Electoral Affairs  
tel: 94 01 55

10:00 a.m. President Ramiro de León Carpio  
Presidential Palace  
contact: Carolina Midenze, Dir. of Protocol

12:51 p.m. Delegation leaves Guatemala City

## Major Guatemalan Political Parties - 1995

**National Advancement Party**

*Partido de Avanzada Nacional, PAN*

The National Advancement Party is considered conservative by most sectors of the Guatemalan community although it is currently supported by an independent group of leftists in the Encuentro Progresista. PAN has 24 seats in congress. Alvaro Arzú is the founder and former Secretary General of the party and the current Presidential candidate. Arzú is the former popular mayor of Guatemala City who elected his successor. Marco Solares is the Secretary General of the party. In 1990, Arzú also campaigned for president and garnered 17.3% of the vote.

**Guatemalan Republican Front**

*Frente Republicano Guatemalteco, FRG*

The Guatemalan Republican Front was created as an electoral vehicle for the 1990 national elections, to support the candidacy of the former chief of state, General Efraín Ríos Montt, who is also the party leader. In 1990, Ríos Montt's candidacy for president was ruled invalid due to his participation in a coup d' état in 1982. The Guatemalan constitution excludes from the presidency any individual who became chief of state as a result of a military coup. The candidacy of Ríos Montt is still in question for the 1995 presidential elections. There is speculation that if he is not allowed to run that he will run his wife or current Vice Presidential nominee, Harris Whitbeck Pinol in his place. Whitbeck is the head of the majority party in congress. The FRG has the majority in the Chamber of Deputies with 41 Deputies, and Ríos Montt is the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

**Democratic Socialist Party**

*Partido Socialista Democrático, PSD*

The Democratic Socialist Party is in alliance with the Union of the National Center (*Unión del Centro Nacional, UCN*) and the Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party (*Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca, DCG*) with Fernando Andrade Díaz Durán as their presidential candidate. Sergio Alejandro Flores Cruz is the Secretary General of the party. The party is a member of the Socialist International. During military regimes, its membership was persecuted and its leader, Fuentes Mart, was killed.

**Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party**

*Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca, DCG*

The Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party governed Guatemala under the country's first democratically-elected government in 40 years, that of Vinicio Cerezo, elected in 1985. It finished third in the 1990 elections and currently has 13 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. They are in alliance with the UCN and PSD parties in the presidential race.

**Social Christian Party**

*Partido Social Cristiano, PSC*

The Social Christian Party broke away from the PDCG, which it considered to be too conservative. Currently, it is one of the small parties in the New Guatemala Democratic Front. The Secretary General of the party is Alfonso Alonso Barillas.

**National Unity Front**

*Frente de la Unidad Nacional, FUN*

The National Unity Front is a smaller party that in the past has formed coalitions with other parties of the right during the electoral period. General Hector Gramajo is the presidential candidate. Most of the party's strength is at the rural level.

**Authentic Integral Development**

*Desarrollo Integral Auténtico, DIA*

DIA stresses community development and has 20 years experience as a social movement. DIA has been an official political party for 2 years. Dr. Rolando Torres Casanova is the Presidential candidate. The party's multisectoral platform is based on national reconciliation and granting more power at the local level. It has shown the ability to generate widespread support and a large number of followers for its events.

**Democratic Union**

*Unión Democrática, UD*

A small party with one Deputy in the National Assembly. The Secretary General is Jose Luis Chea Urruela. The UD has a Social Democratic political orientation. In the 1994 election, it finished third in the capital and sixth nationally.

**New Guatemala Democratic Front**

*Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala*

The Front is a coming-together of various popular and labor groups associated with Guatemala's civil society movement to offer a left-of-center alternative in the November 1995 elections. Several small parties, including the PSC, will offer themselves as electoral vehicles.

**Liberal Progressive Party**

*Partido Liberal Progresista, PLP*

The Liberal Progressive Party is a small party, currently the vehicle for the Presidential candidacy of Attorney General Asisclo Valladares.



**National Centrist Union**

*Unión del Centro Nacional*, UCN

The National Centrist Union is a center-right party currently supporting the candidacy of Fernando Andrade in alliance with the PSD and the DCG. Its leader, José Carpio Nicolle, a prominent newspaper owner and first cousin of President de León, was assassinated in 1993. Carpio finished third in the 1990 presidential elections.

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**THE 1990 NATIONAL  
ELECTIONS IN GUATEMALA**

*Foreword by Bruce Babbitt*

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**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

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## FOREWORD

I was honored to be part of the National Democratic Institute's international observer delegation to the November 11, 1990, national elections in Guatemala and would like to thank all those, Guatemalans and others, who made this effort possible. Leading this delegation was particularly satisfying as I was able to build upon my experiences in Guatemala, experiences that began some 20 years ago as I hitchhiked across the country with my young wife. Since then, I have taken a personal interest in this country's often tragic history and its transition to democracy, which began with the historic 1985 elections.

Five years ago, Guatemala planted the seed of democracy despite overwhelming obstacles. With the successful presidential election of 1990, the roots of this democracy are growing deeper. For the first time in nearly 40 years, this country has witnessed a transition from one civilian administration to another.

I was particularly impressed with the integrity of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal headed by the highly respected Arturo Herbruger. Nearly all of those involved, despite party affiliation or political ideology, demonstrated unwavering confidence in this man's honesty and objectivity. Mr. Herbruger and the electoral tribunal were instrumental in ensuring a fair and transparent process.

Participants in any democratic system, however, should never feel satisfied. It is my hope that Guatemalans, having perfected the technicalities of a free election, will address the more profound problems facing their nascent democracy.

Of particular concern to the delegation was the pervasive threat of violence that often inhibited political debate during the campaign. Additionally, we were struck by the indigenous community's lack of participation, due, in part, to this fear of violence.

I congratulate the Guatemalan people for the significant accomplishments in building democracy. This report emphasizes the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the present system. Its intent is to contribute to this continuing democratization effort.

*Bruce Babbitt  
June 1991*

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

A 27-member delegation, organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), observed the November 11, 1990, Guatemalan elections for president, congress, municipal positions and the Central American Parliament. These elections and the presidential runoff on January 6, 1991, won by Jorge Serrano led to Guatemala's first transfer of power from one civilian government to another in more than 35 years.

NDI collected information on all aspects of the electoral process. Two monitoring teams visited Guatemala during the campaign period, and an NDI representative was based in Guatemala for the three months preceding the November 11 elections. An NDI representative also observed the January 6, 1991, runoff. The following are the delegations' summary conclusions regarding the election process:

- 1) The balloting and counting procedures on both election days were particularly efficient. The process was peaceful, orderly and free of overt intimidation. The highly regarded Supreme Electoral Tribunal and its president deserve credit for overseeing the nearly flawless process.
- 2) The police provided security for the voting and were generally helpful. The military, which has a large presence in some areas of conflict, remained in the background.
- 3) Voter turnout declined significantly compared with the 1985 presidential elections, from 69 percent of registered voters to 57 percent. This decline may be the result of a number of factors, including a new law making voting voluntary and perceived failures of the Cerezo government.

4) Indigenous groups, by virtue of their exclusion from the economy and institutions of Guatemalan society, lack the opportunity and incentives to organize or participate in national political life. Turnout in indigenous areas, especially among women, was particularly low.

5) The threat of political violence had deleterious effects on the election campaign. A vigorous and nationwide campaign by the leading candidates and ubiquitous political advertising were marred by killings of and threats against candidates and others involved in the electoral process. The campaign environment did not allow for unfettered debate. Freedom of expression was liberally permitted under the law, but violence constricted the political spectrum by discouraging participation in the political process and suppressing countervailing points of view.

6) Social and political violence, combined with unprecedented high inflation, has led many Guatemalans to question the efficacy and desirability of democracy. According to one public opinion poll, respondents divided evenly between a preference for democracy and military rule.

7) The Supreme Electoral Tribunal's decision to prohibit a former president, Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, from contesting the election because of his participation in a coup was consistent with the Guatemalan Constitution. Ríos Montt was provided sufficient legal channels to challenge the prohibition of his candidacy. Still, he has widespread support; a significant number of ballots were invalidated to express support for his candidacy.

## Misión estadounidense llega al país y ofrece asistencia a proceso electoral

Delegados del Instituto Nacional Demócrata para Asuntos Internacionales, del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, arribaron ayer al país para sostener varias reuniones con personalidades guatemaltecas y ofrecer asistencia en el proceso electoral que se avecina, informaron fuentes oficiales.

El grupo está encabezado por el ex gobernador demócrata Bruce Babbitt, secretario del Interior del gobierno estadounidense, y la agenda comprende reuniones con organizaciones y personalidades involucradas en los procesos democráticos.

La agenda comprende entrevistas con el presidente Ramiro de León Carpio, el ministro de Gobernación Carlos Reynoso Gil, magistrados de la Corte Suprema de Justicia y el Tribunal Supremo Electoral, así como líderes civiles, sindicales, indígenas, religiosos y Organizaciones No Gubernamentales.

Según las fuentes, los visitantes

buscan la posibilidad de participar en un programa de promoción del voto en las próximas elecciones, a través de campañas que motiven la participación del mayor número de electores inscritos en los padrones respectivos.

También contemplan reuniones con los secretarios generales de los partidos políticos y sus respectivos candidatos presidenciales, a quienes se les planteará la opción del programa y las intenciones de enviar una misión de observadores para los eventos electorales del 12 de noviembre y 6 de enero, en caso fuese necesaria una segunda vuelta.

El Instituto Nacional Demócrata, creado por el Congreso de Estados Unidos, mantiene varios programas en América Latina relacionados con procesos democráticos más amplios, y en algunos casos trabaja con partidos políticos locales afines a su corriente ideológica.

# Delegados del Instituto Demócrata observan proceso electoral del país

## OBSERVADORES INTERNACIONALES.

Los visitantes Daniel Strasser, Esteban Caballero e Irma Flores, del Instituto Nacional Demócrata para Asuntos Internacionales, con sede en Washington, cuando llegaban a Casa Presidencial para entrevistarse con el presidente de la República, licenciado Ramiro de León Carpio. (mc)



**U**NA DELEGACION del Instituto Nacional Demócrata para Asuntos Internacionales, con sede en Washington, Estados Unidos, visitó ayer al presidente de la República, en su calidad de observadora del desarrollo del actual proceso electoral guatemalteco.

El jefe de la misión, Daniel Strasser, manifestó que siguen de cerca el acontecer político de Guatemala, y que obser-

*van con satisfacción el empeño del Gobierno por encauzar al país por la senda de la paz y la democracia.*

Agregó que su presencia en Guatemala tiene por objeto fortalecer el proceso democrático guatemalteco, logrando elevar la calidad de los observadores e impartiendo cursos de capacitación a los fiscales de los diferentes partidos políticos.

Además de Strasser, oficial de programas del Instituto Nacional Demócrata para Asuntos Internacionales, la misión es integrada por Irma Flores, presidenta del Consejo Nacional de la Raza, de Estados Unidos; Darren Nance, asistente de programas para América Latina y el Caribe, y Esteban Caballero, director ejecutivo del Centro de Estudios Democráticos de Paraguay. (rafg)