A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

LATIN AMERICA

Special Studies, 1992–1994

Supplement

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
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Guide compiled by
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A microfilm project of
UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
An Imprint of CIS
4520 East-West Highway • Bethesda, MD 20814-3389
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The executive branch of the U.S. government requires a massive amount of information to make policy decisions. The many departments, agencies, and commissions of the government devote much of their energies to gathering and analyzing information. However, even the resources of the U.S. government are not adequate to gather all the information that is needed; therefore, the government contracts universities, colleges, corporations, think tanks, and individuals to provide data and analyses. Because the great majority of these studies are difficult to find and obtain, University Publications of America (UPA) publishes some of the most important ones in its Special Studies series. Latin America, 1992–1994 Supplement consists of studies on Latin America that became available during the period 1992–1994.
ACRONYMS/INITIALISMS

The following acronyms and initialisms are used frequently in this guide and are listed here for the convenience of the researcher.

AID                Agency for International Development (U.S.)
AOR                Area of Responsibility
ATI                Andean Trade Initiative
ATPA               Andean Trade Preference Act
CACM               Central American Common Market
CANF               Cuban American National Foundation
CBERA              Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act
CBI                Caribbean Basin Initiative
CD                 Counterdrug
CI                 Counterinsurgency
CN                 Counternarcotics
CONSEP             National Drug Council (Ecuador)
D.C.               District of Columbia
DGMST              Dirección General de Medicina y Seguridad en el Trabajo (Mexico)
DOD                Department of Defense (U.S.)
EAI                Enterprise for the Americas Initiative
EPZ                Export Processing Zone
ERS                Economic Research Service (U.S.)
FAR                Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>FAS</td>
<td>Foreign Agricultural Service (U.S.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>Fundacion Guayaquil (Ecuador)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNJ</td>
<td>Fundacion Nuestros Jovenes (Ecuador)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FY</td>
<td>Fiscal Year</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>GAO</td>
<td>General Accounting Office</td>
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<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
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<td>IDA</td>
<td>Institute for Defense Analyses</td>
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<td>IFZ</td>
<td>Industrial Free Zone</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>JCS</td>
<td>Joint Chiefs of Staff (U.S.)</td>
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<td>LA</td>
<td>Latin America</td>
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<tr>
<td>LAC</td>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEC</td>
<td>Ministry of Education (Ecuador)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MERCOSUR</td>
<td>Common Market of the Southern Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organizations</td>
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<td>NSD</td>
<td>National Security Doctrine</td>
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<td>NTAE</td>
<td>Nontraditional Agricultural Export</td>
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<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSHA</td>
<td>Occupational Safety and Health Administration (U.S.)</td>
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<td>PDF</td>
<td>Panamanian Defense Force</td>
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<td>PNP</td>
<td>Peruvian National Police</td>
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<td>PRD</td>
<td>Democratic Revolutionary Party (Panama)</td>
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<td>PRI</td>
<td>Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Mexico)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROCOSI</td>
<td>Programa de Coordinacion en Supervivencia Infantil (Bolivia)</td>
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<td>SL</td>
<td>Sendero Luminoso (Peru)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTHCOM</td>
<td>Southern Command (U.S.)</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>USCG</td>
<td>United States Coast Guard</td>
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<tr>
<td>USDA</td>
<td>United States Department of Agriculture</td>
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<td>USM</td>
<td>United States Military</td>
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REEL INDEX

Reel 1

Frame

Argentina

1992

      27pp.
      This report is a comprehensive marketing plan aimed at firms currently
      exporting to Argentina, considering exporting to Argentina, or considering
      establishing operations in Argentina. It includes statistics and narrative
      concerning the following topics: best export prospects for U.S. firms in the
      Argentine market, Argentine commercial and financing environments, and
      trade and investment barriers that affect American business.

1993

0028  Argentina: Nationality, Demography and Security.
      *Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Raul E. Fait. April 22,
      This paper focuses on problems that cause tensions between Argentina and
      its neighbors. The lack of sense of national consciousness in the region,
      Argentina's mayor prosperity, and demographics are putting into motion
      reactions that affect Argentina's security. It will examine the influences on
      the formation of Argentina's national consciousness, including demo-
      graphic aspects, the role of borders, population pressures from bordering
      nations, immigration, and the dangers to Argentina. Finally, it proposes
      policies to reduce the emergence of regional conflicts and to strengthen the
      feeling of national consciousness.
Farmer Perspectives on the Economics and Sociology of Coca Production in the Chapare.


Since 1983, AID has attempted with little success to reduce coca production in Bolivia's Chapare region through crop substitution and other alternative development activities. The report aims to expand understanding of the social and economic factors that support continued coca production. The bulk of the report consists of analyses of interviews with Bolivian peasant farmers on their attitudes towards the coca industry, AID activities, and the role of coca in their household economies. The report concludes that future development efforts should focus on problem areas of the highlands and valleys, rather than exclusively on the Chapare. It is recommended that AID develop a new project, a successor to the Chapare Rural Development Project focused on problem geographic areas.

Bolivia: Financial Sector Assessment.


In the 1980s, Bolivia experienced hyperinflation, which peaked at 12,000 percent a year in 1985, damaging almost all Bolivian financial institutions and wiping out the equity and savings of individuals and companies alike. Although the New Economic Policy initiated in 1985 cut inflation to 16 percent and enabled bank deposits to return to previous levels, economic growth has failed to recover, and the perceived risk for private investors and the cost of financial transactions both remain high. Against a background description of the history, this report assesses the present state of the country's financial sector. Individual sections outline the characteristics of the financial system; describe its regulatory institutions (the Central Bank and the Bank and Insurance Superintendencies); identify needs for reform in banking, insurance, and commercial laws; and examine private banks, state banks and cooperative institutions, capital markets, informal credit markets, and the demand for credit in key economic sectors.
The intent of this Technical Report is to document aspects of the AID Child Survival Program in Bolivia that are particularly relevant to agency policy and program concerns in the child survival area. AID's participation in Bolivia's Child Survival Program began in the late 1980s following political changes in Bolivia and designation of Bolivia as a Child Survival "emphasis country" by AID. The AID Child Survival Program in Bolivia has expanded rapidly, now representing approximately 60 percent of the FY 1992 AID Development Assistance Budget for Bolivia. The program is diverse, combining support for delivery of basic health and child survival services with policy initiatives, experimental research and development activities, and institutional strengthening activities. Both public and private sector services are supported. Three major AID Child Survival project clusters, or "initiatives" were evaluated. These were 1.) the Community and Child Health project; 2.) the Self-Financing Health Care projects; and 3.) the Progama de Coordinacion en Supervivencia Infantil (PROCOSI). This report provides information on the effectiveness of each of these project initiatives.

The five-year Reproductive Health Services Project was originally funded in 1990 for $9.3 million with the goal of improving material and child health in Bolivia. The project has three elements: 1.) support for the government of Bolivia's reproductive health program through assistance to the Ministry of Health, the National Social Security Institute and the Population Policies Unit of the Ministry of Planning; 2.) nongovernmental organization activities; and 3.) social marketing of contraceptives. Technical and some financial assistance is provided through buy-ins to eleven AID centrally funded projects implemented by eight Cooperating Agencies. The project strategy and design were developed in the course of 1989 as a result of an AID-funded Ministry of Health–Catholic Church sponsored workshop entitled "Fight Against Abortion"; an AID supported workshop on reproductive health planning; and a government of Bolivia National Plan for Child Survival and Maternal Health which contained an important chapter on reproductive health.
health. The political climate for a greater effort in reproductive health has become increasingly favorable over the past several years, and the project has achieved notable successes. The National Social Security Institute has begun a major effort to include reproductive health services throughout its network of hospitals and clinics; training centers have been established to train staff of various institutions in reproductive health care; the Population Policies Unit has produced an impressive series of population and reproductive health related studies which have contributed to the more favorable climate for reproductive health; several nongovernmental organizations have made important progress in strengthening their reproductive health services programs; and the social marketing program is exceeding its goals in terms of contraceptive sales.

**Brazil**

1991

**0686**


This thesis examines the military's tendency to accept or reject civilian control in Brazil and Venezuela. A theoretical model is developed which conceives of the military's propensity for subordination as a function of changes in the level of ideological cohesion between military and civilian elites and in the scope of military responsibilities. This model is then applied to Brazil and Venezuela to explain changes in the existence of civilian control. The study concludes with an assessment of lessons learned and discusses the model's relevance in terms of reducing the likelihood of military intervention in government.

**0842**

The Guadalajara Accord Between Brazil and Argentina: A Tentative Step Toward the Nuclear Weapons Free Latin America Envisioned by the Treaty of Tlatelolco.


In 1967, the Treaty of Tlatelolco declared Latin America to be a nuclear weapons–free zone, but this goal remains unfulfilled. Argentina and Brazil, the Latin America nations most capable of building nuclear weapons, refuse to comply with the treaty. Argentine and Brazilian military leaders pursued
the development of nuclear weapons from the 1970s to the late 1980s. The emergence of democratic regimes during the 1980s encouraged the gradual denuclearization of weapons research in these nations. In July 1991, the presidents of Argentina and Brazil signed an accord in Guadalajara, Mexico, each promising to end the development of nuclear weapons. The risks of nuclear proliferation may be reduced because of this agreement. The Guadalajara Accord offers hope that nuclear proliferation in Latin America can be slowed and perhaps stopped. The establishment of civilian control over the military and the reduction in the belligerent rivalry between Argentina and Brazil are central factors in ending the quest for nuclear weapons. The firm commitment of these civilian leaders to pursue only peaceful nuclear activities is a positive sign. The adoption of IAEA full scope safeguards in Argentina and Brazil will be the best guarantee for a nuclear weapons–free Latin America.

Reel 2

Brazil cont.

1992

0001

Security of the Brazilian Amazon Area.

The incalculable resources of the Amazon have been coveted by many countries for a long time. There have been many international pressures on the area, including incursions by foreign powers starting as early as the seventeenth century. Although [Amazonia is] dissociated from the rest of the Brazilian territory and demographically sparse, Brazil has resisted threats against its sovereignty over Amazonia, as well as other attempts at interference in Amazonian affairs by international organizations. There are now new, serious challenges to be overcome as Brazil pursues settlement and development of the Amazon. The natural ecologic systems of the Amazon must be defended with agricultural techniques appropriate to the region and developed within the context of a comprehensive, responsible program that meets Brazil’s needs for economic development. This, however, ought not constitute an obstacle to settlement and rational utilization of the region. To keep the whole of the Amazon area untouched, as a sanctuary of nature, is nonsense fit only for dreamers out of touch with the
realities facing Brazil in the twenty-first century. This paper outlines Brazilian responsibilities for, and autonomy over, the Amazon area from a Brazilian perspective. It analyzes all aspects of the Amazon issue, identifies the roots and aims of different interest groups, and analyzes the possible threats that may be overshadowing the integrity of the Brazilian state. Finally, it proposes measures to address these threats and thereby ensure Brazil's territorial integrity.

The Brazilian Military: Its Role in Counter-Drug Activities.
This thesis examines the role of Brazil's military in counterdrug operations. Drug trafficking in Brazil poses a growing threat to the country's national security, but Brazil's physical size and limited resources have hindered the government's counterdrug efforts. The Brazilian military has been reluctant to assume a more significant role in counterdrug operations. The thesis argues that external, internal, and institutional pressures are driving the Brazilian military to expand its counterdrug role. The thesis recommends that the Brazilian military expand its current support role in counterdrug operations but that it avoid a direct role in law enforcement operations. The United States should support this expanded role, but only to the extent that such a role does not threaten the further consolidation of democracy in Brazil.

The United States is currently pursuing a range of initiatives toward Latin America and the Caribbean to promote free and fair hemispheric trade and encourage private-sector-led economic development throughout the region. A keystone of U.S. efforts is the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), which seeks to strengthen the region's economies through expanded trade, increased investment, and a reduction in official debt to the United States. The EAI, together with ongoing efforts to create a North American Free Trade Area, has spurred demand for statistics on individual states' merchandise exports to Latin America and the Caribbean. To meet the demand, the Department of Commerce in 1991 launched a series of publications on state export performance. This booklet, one of the latest in
the series, focuses on state exports to Brazil, an important and steadily growing market for U.S. products. The presentation covers the years 1987 to 1991.

The United States, Latin America and the Potential for a Naval and Defense Industrial Partnership: The Case of Brazil.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze U.S. security interests in Latin America and examine the potential for a Latin American nation, under a revised maritime strategy, to become both a naval and a defense industrial partner of the United States. The thesis is divided into three parts. The first examines the need to revise the U.S. maritime strategy and makes a case for a greater focus of that strategy on Latin America. The second part assesses the relative strengths and weaknesses of Latin American national and maritime capabilities. The third part examines the potential for arms-cooperation between the United States and Brazil. The thesis concludes that the potential for collaboration between the United States and Brazil is limited because of political and economic constraints in both countries.

Education in Brazil.

Brazil is a sleeping giant in the world community. What is lacking in this country is government support and the will of the people to move forward in pursuing educational excellence. This research paper reviews Brazil's educational system from pre-primary schools through graduate education. Private schooling as well as vocational and technical education are also covered. There is a section that discusses how outside organizations, such as the World Bank, have tried to help. The heart of the paper is the section on issues and problems. Eight specific concerns are identified, including too few schools and too much turnover in teachers. Also noted are the high student dropout rate and a lacking scientific tradition.

Effect of the Brazilian Arms Industry on U.S. Strategy.

Brazil's arms manufacturing capability has made great strides in the international market in the past twenty-five years. Thus far, the United States has only taken action to try and limit Brazil and their actions regarding
their arms exports. This was done once because of human rights violations called out by the Carter Administration and once because of sales made by Brazilian defense firms to destabilizing countries such as Iraq, Libya, and Iran. The United States should see that Brazilian arms industries could provide a sharing of overhead costs and technologies. This could reduce overall unit prices for the two countries' major weapon systems and help promote greater hemispheric stability. Brazil has announced they are open to this. It is up to the United States to seize the opportunity.

0548

**Calha Norte: Explaining Brazilian Army Presence in the Amazon.**

This thesis examines the rationale behind the Brazilian Army's attempt to establish effective control of the Amazon through the Calha Norte project. The project was initiated in 1985 to satisfy geopolitical needs of Brazil. The thesis argues that the rationale for Calha Norte has expanded to include not only geopolitical goals but also a justification for the military's budget and legitimacy. Furthermore, the expanded rationale has resulted in the Brazilian army enlarging its presence in the Amazon. Contrary to most of the literature, the thesis argues that the Calha Norte project has a favorable impact in the Amazon. The interests reviewed by the thesis include border conflicts, narco-trafficking and environmental conservation. Finally, the thesis recommends that Brazil expand the Calha Norte program and that the United States support such an expansion.

0666

**Brazil's National Defense Strategy: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century.**

This thesis analyzes the factors that have contributed to the reshaping of Brazil's national defense strategy. It addresses the role of geopolitics, the impact of regional economic integration through Mercosur, renewed nationalism, and the uncertain political realities facing Brazil in the 1990s. Further sections review the historical role of the Brazilian armed forces, the fading importance of the Superior War College, the new civil-military relationships, and the concept of strategic planning in Brazil. Lastly, it examines the dilemma facing Brazil's armed forces in attempting to move from an internal to external security orientation. It discusses the military mission to develop and integrate the Amazon and argues that this nation-building mission is in its final phase. In assessing the implications of all these factors, the study
concludes that Brazil is restructuring its military strategy to demonstrate sovereignty in the Amazon while aspiring to occupy the role of regional hegemon.

**Country Marketing Plan: Brazil, FY 1994.**
*International Trade Administration, Sao Paulo, Brazil, NA. 1993. 65pp.*
The report outlines a marketing plan for Brazil for Fiscal Year 1994. Profiles of thirty-one individual industry sectors are provided in addition to a brief country profile and information on the commercial and financial environment.

**Economic Trends Report: Brazil, June–December 1993.**
Brazil’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth for 1993 is now estimated at 4.5 percent (comparing fourth quarter of 1993 to fourth quarter of 1992). Most of the growth occurred during the first quarter of 1993 and was concentrated in industrial production; growth in services and agriculture did not keep pace. The strong first quarter growth is attributed to pent-up demand for consumer durables and a flight from financial assets to real assets, e.g., automobiles and refrigerators, when real interest rates became negative. Exports also contributed. To fight inflation that now exceeds 2,000 percent annually, Finance Minister Cardoso announced a new three-phased fiscal and monetary program on December 7, 1993.

**The Brazilian Military Ideology: Implications for Institutionalized Democracy.**
The Brazilian military possesses an institutional ideology separate from that of civil society. This ideology has in the past mistakenly been identified as the National Security Doctrine (NSD). However, the NSD is merely the codification of a flexible and continuous ideology that began to develop in the nineteenth century. The ideology is based on geopolitical theory which the military believes offers an objective and scientific approach to the problems of national security. According to the ideology, the organic state’s national security is in a constant state of peril which grants the military the role of state guardian. As guardian of the state, the military also views itself as society’s tutor in the process of preparing the nation for the responsible
exercise of democracy. As long as the flexible and authoritarian military ideology is present, democracy in Brazil cannot be institutionalized and will, at best, be a limited democracy.

Reel 3

Caribbean Area

1991


This report is the seventh in a series of annual reports to the Congress pursuant to Section 216 of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA). It analyzes the impact of the CBERA on U.S. trade and employment during the seventh year of operation of the program from 1989 to 1990.

1992


This publication provides the most recent detailed commodity statistics of OECD trade with the Caribbean, trade of the five largest OECD countries with the region, and U.S. trade with several key Caribbean countries.


This report is the eighth in a series of annual reports to the Congress pursuant to Section 216 of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA). It analyzes the impact of duty-free treatment of certain U.S. imports from eligible Caribbean Basin nations under the CBERA on U.S. trade and employment during the first eight years of operation of the program, i.e., the period January 1, 1984 to December 31, 1991.
1993

This report is the ninth in a series of annual reports to the Congress pursuant to Section 216 of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA). It analyzes the impact of the CBERA on U.S. trade and employment during the ninth year of operation of the program from 1991 to 1992.

1994

0425 Guide to the Caribbean Basin Initiative.
The Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is a broad program to promote economic development through private sector initiative in the Central American and Caribbean countries. A major goal of the CBI is to expand foreign and domestic investment in nontraditional sectors, thereby diversifying CBI country economies and expanding their exports. The Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act of 1983 (amended in 1990) provides customs duty-free entry to the United States on a permanent basis for a broad range of products from CBI beneficiary countries. Also, numerous supplemental CBI-linked initiatives have been implemented since the establishment of the CBI program. The major elements of the CBI program available to all CBI beneficiary countries are presented in this guidebook.

Central America

1992

0507 OECD Trade with Mexico and Central America: A Reference Aid.
This publication provides the most recent detailed commodity statistics of OECD trade with Mexico and Central America, trade of the five largest OECD countries with the region, and U.S. trade with Mexico and several key Central American countries.
The Evolution of United States Foreign Policy Toward Central America. 
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Ila Mettee-McCutcheon. 

United States foreign policy has exerted significant influence on Central 
American nations, often with profound effect in the region. U.S. policy varied 
greatly between 1977 and 1992. It was affected not only by significant 
events unfolding in the region during that time but also by the manner in 
which policy was determined and implemented by the U.S. leadership. The 
last three U.S. presidents were selected for scrutiny because their diversity 
in political orientation, focus, and execution of foreign policy demonstrate a 
near full spectrum of approaches and results. A comparative analysis is 
made of U.S. foreign policy toward Central America during the Carter, 
Reagan, and Bush administrations in order to develop a framework for U.S. 
policy in the future.

Chile

This report outlines the Fiscal Year 1992 marketing plan for Chile. It includes 
a brief country profile, prospects, commercial and financing environments, 
trade and investment issues, and a market analysis plan.

The Death of Socialism in Chile. 
Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. 
This study investigates the constitutional legitimacy of the Chilean presi-
The analysis focuses on the significant factors that influenced decisions, 
policies, and programs which contributed to the September 11, 1973 coup. 
The research indicates that Allende, pushed by the Left extremists of his 
own party and his own desire to establish a socialist dictatorship, lost control 
of the coalition he represented and subsequently the support of the entire 
government and society. Violations to the constitution led to a fatal loss of 
the moral authority to serve as Chile's president. Challenged by Congress 
over numerous illegal acts his regime had committed, Allende refused to 
change his methods and continued to tolerate abuse of the constitution. His 
weak leadership led to violations of the constitution that the Congress and 
the military did not tolerate. The country's economic peril took away the time
needed for Allende to take the country where it did not want to go in the first place. With Chile on the verge of civil war, the military intervened and established a military government.

1993

The United States is currently pursuing a range of initiatives toward Latin America and the Caribbean to promote free and fair hemispheric trade and encourage private-sector-led economic development throughout the region. A keystone of U.S. efforts is the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), which seeks to strengthen the region's economies through expanded trade, increased investment, and a reduction in official debt to the United States. The EAI, together with ongoing efforts to create a North American Free Trade Area, has spurred demand for statistics on individual states' merchandise exports to Latin America and the Caribbean. To meet the demand, the Department of Commerce in 1991 launched a series of publications on state export performance. This booklet, one of the latest in the series, focuses on state exports to Chile, a rapidly growing market for U.S. products. The presentation covers the years 1987–1991.

**U.S.–Chilean Trade: Development in the Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Sectors.**
To assess trade relations between the U.S. and Chile focusing particularly on the agriculture, fishery, and forestry sectors, as well as the implications of a future free trade agreement between the two countries, the Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, asked GAO to 1.) review recent trends in U.S. trade with and investment in Chile for these three sectors; 2.) evaluate the development of Chilean agriculture, fishery, and forestry exports to the United States; 3.) analyze the extent to which horticultural exports from Chile complement or compete with U.S. domestic production; and 4.) identify the principal impediments to bilateral agricultural trade and efforts to promote further trade liberalization.
Colombia

1990


This report provides an outlook on foreign trade in Colombia.

Reel 4

Colombia cont.

1991


This report describes the context in which nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) work in Colombia, traces their growth and evolution, and explains why the seed of responsiveness carried by the Inter-American Foundation fell on such fertile soil. It provides information on how the NGOs have learned to cope with the problems of development in Colombia.

1992


Today, we see the demise of communism, the hope for a new world order, and the realization of peace in the world. A dark cloud pervades this state of euphoria. It is the result of the War On Drugs. The purpose of this paper is to show that narcoterrorism is a threat to the United States. Colombia is used as a focal point for the study due the significant role it plays in the American drug war. The paper considers the supply and demand side of the drug problem. It looks at the relationship between terrorism and insurgency. The paper defines narcoterrorism to be the use of terror by narcotraffickers to coerce or intimidate a sovereign government to obtain an objective or end result. It examines the interests of the U.S. at stake in the drug war as well as those Colombian interests that the drug war threatens. A part of this examination is to determine which are vital interests to us and which are threatened.
The Implications of Colombian Drug Industry and Death Squad Political Violence for U.S. Counternarcotics Policy.


Violence dominates daily life in Colombia. Indeed, by any measure of nations not at war, Colombia is one of the most violent countries on earth. Last year, Colombia recorded over twenty-thousand murders, thousands of kidnappings and bombings, hundreds of “disappearances,” and countless other acts of brutality. Moreover, these acts affect much of the nation, from the largest cities to rural and agricultural regions. That a strong democratic tradition survives in the face of this onslaught is testimony not only to the strength and resilience of the political structure in Colombia but to the peculiar nature of the political violence. Historically, bloodshed in Colombia has been a byproduct of the democratic process. Although in some cases the violence is the result of clashes between the state and revolutionary ideologies, more often the mayhem is grounded in left-right political divisions that demarcate traditional political camps. Much of the carnage in Colombia today is a continuation of this historical pattern, but with a new twist. Previously, factors such as disputed elections and political assassination have precipitated prolonged periods of violent conflict in Colombia.

U.S. Exports to Colombia: A State-By-State Overview,


Contents include: Introductory Note; Statistical Regions Used in This Report; Top State Exporters to Colombia; States with Greatest Dollar Growth in Exports to Colombia, 1987–91; State and Regional Exports to Colombia: 1987–91 (organized by region); State and Regional Exports to Colombia: 1987–91 (alphabetical listing); State and Regional Exports to Colombia, 1987–91, Ranked by 1991 Exports; Percent Changes in State Exports to the World and to Colombia: 1987–91; Percent Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1987–91 (ranked by percentage change); Dollar Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1987–91 (alphabetical listing); Dollar Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1987–91 (ranked by dollar change); Percent Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1990–91 (ranked by percentage change); Dollar Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1990–91 (alphabetical listing); Dollar Changes in State Exports to Colombia: 1990–91 (ranked by dollar change); State-by-State Ranking of Colomb-

0291 The Drug War: Colombia Is Undertaking Antidrug Programs, but Impact Is Uncertain.  
Colombian cartels have been a leading source for cocaine being shipped into the United States. In response, the United States has implemented an antidrug strategy designed to provide about $504.3 million to disrupt cartel activities. In February 1992, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the House Committee on Government Operations requested that GAO review the progress that was being made and the problems that were being encountered by U.S. and Colombian agencies in implementing U.S. counternarcotics programs. This report represents the response to that request.

This report is a comprehensive marketing plan aimed at firms currently exporting to Colombia, considering exporting to Colombia, or considering establishing operations in Colombia. It analyzes the country's business and economic climate, giving emphasis to marketing and trade issues. It includes statistics and narrative concerning the following topics: country data, best export prospects for U.S. firms in the Colombian market, commercial and financing environments, trade and investment issues that affect American business, market analysis plan, and trade event plan.

0391 The Illicit Drug Situation in Colombia.  
This report examines drug trafficking in Colombia from the Drug Enforcement Administration's perspective. Colombian drug trafficking organizations are involved in every stage of the illicit drug trafficking process, including cultivation, production, transportation, international wholesale distribution, and money laundering of the resultant profits. Colombia is the world's leading source of cocaine hydrochloride, responsible for the vast bulk of worldwide production. The production and international wholesale distribution of cocaine are dominated by the Cali and Medellin cartels. In the past few years, Colombian drug traffickers also have become extensively involved in the heroin trafficking arena. Unless checked, Colombian drug
traffickers have the potential to become major players in the global heroin trade in the near future. It is encouraging, however, that the Colombian government is tackling the complex drug trafficking problem. While drug kingpin organizations have suffered significant setbacks in Colombia, sustained efforts will be required by Colombian authorities and the international drug law enforcement community if we are to disrupt and eventually dismantle those organizations.

1994

**Guerrilla Violence in Colombia: Examining Causes and Consequences.**
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Juan F. Roman. June 1994. 158pp.*

Colombia's history is replete with acts of political violence. Guerrilla violence has been of major historical significance in the country, where guerrilla groups have operated without interruption since the mid-1940s. This thesis investigates the causes and consequences of guerrilla violence in Colombia. The research begins with an examination of the country's political history, in which the constant oscillation between two traditional parties and their ideologies has often resulted in violent conflict. There is also a discussion of the various stakeholders in guerrilla violence; from the guerrilla groups and political parties, to the Catholic Church, to various economic and social groups, each has had its own motivations and methods in reacting to and/or encouraging the phenomenon of violence for political ends. Due to the recent shift of focus by some guerrilla elements from political to economic objectives, an analysis of the economic causes and consequences of guerrilla violence is also undertaken. Finally, there is a review of the constitutional reform process that has led to an opportunity for the country to resolve political issues through nonviolent means.

**Costa Rica**

1992

**Country Marketing Plan: Costa Rica, FY 1992.**

Contents include: country marketing plan; country data; best prospects; commercial environment; financing environment; trade and investment issues/barriers; market analysis plan; trade event plan—FY 1992; and work plan.
Isolating the effects of structural adjustment measures on the poor from the effects of stabilization measures and exogenous factors, such as terms of trade, is difficult even in ideal circumstances and can be further complicated by mismanagement of the adjustment process itself (as has frequently been the case). Costa Rica's structural adjustment program, though not perfect, has been one of if not the best managed and most consistent in the Western Hemisphere and may represent the best available opportunity to analyze the effects of structural adjustment measures on the poor. According to the report, the process of structural adjustment in Costa Rica has not had disproportionately negative effects on the poor.

Cuba

Cuba Adrift in a Postcommunist World.
The Castro regime is experiencing its most profound crisis since it came to power in 1959, one that could lead to its eventual undoing. The crisis is driven by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. That collapse has caused the regime to lose its ideological moorings, as well as the international support system on which the Cuban economy had depended. As a consequence, the island's economic situation deteriorated sharply in 1990 and 1991. Will the Castro regime follow the path of the rest of the Soviet empire, or will it survive in the years ahead? The regime may thus be on the verge of a terminal crisis, particularly if the economic decline is not arrested by 1993. But it could confound adversaries and experts alike by surviving. Either eventuality may mean that the "Cuba problem," which has vexed U.S. policymakers for more than three decades, may be prolonged well into the 1990s.
A New Look at U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Cuba.

In the thirty-three years since the Cuban revolution, U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba remains virtually unchanged. Now that communism in the Soviet Union is dead and Cuban-Soviet relations are weak, it's time for the United States to revisit its foreign policy toward Cuba. To understand how current policy was developed, this research paper presents: (1) a chronology of U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba; (2) a brief history of Cuba through today; (3) an explanation of Cuba's leadership structure; (4) an illustration of the current changing environment; (5) and a number of other factors that must be considered to develop a new foreign policy. The paper presents three alternative policies and their advantages and disadvantages. The author then recommends a new policy which suggests easing pressures, lifting the embargo, and improving the information flow with Cuba.

Latin America's Big Three Sugar Producers in Transition: Cuba, Mexico, Brazil.

Major government policy turning points for Latin America's three largest sugar producers—Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil—could significantly affect U.S. and world sugar trade. The breakup of the socialist trading bloc has reduced Cuba's ability to purchase inputs needed for sugar production, while forcing it to look for new markets. Privatization of the sugar industry in Mexico has revitalized its production efficiency and freedom to trade in the private market. These potential gains must be measured against rapidly growing domestic consumption, which has bumped Mexico from a net sugar exporter to a net sugar importer in recent years. Brazil, meanwhile, continues to balance domestic needs (especially sugar-derived ethanol fuel for its autos) against export earnings. Brazil, unlike Cuba and Mexico, has enough refineries to satisfy a large share of world demand for refined sugar.
Cuba and the United States: Thinking About the Future.


The author reexamines some of the fundamental premises underlying U.S. policy in Cuba and the growing socioeconomic crisis on the island. He argues that, under current conditions, a normalization of relations is neither desirable nor likely. There is a well-organized, well-funded constituency for firmness against Castro and no real constituency for dialogue. Beyond this, the author argues that the end of the Castro regime will not resolve all of the Cuban policy dilemmas facing the United States, but it will pose difficult new ones, such as a massive flight of Cubans from the island, possible civil war, and a need for enormous economic and humanitarian aid. Given these realities, the author concludes that we would be well advised to concentrate less on how to oust Castro—an event which must occur sooner or later in any case—than on how to deal with his doleful legacy once he has gone.

A Decision Modeling Perspective on U.S.–Cuba Relations.


This study applies a framework for analyzing the possible reasoning of opponents in crisis and conflict to current U.S.–Cuba interactions. Based on previous RAND studies of Saddam Hussein’s decisional processes and of Castro’s mind-set, the key elements of this analysis consist of developing two alternative images of Fidel Castro and positioning that both images exhibit substantially, if not purely, rational characteristics. This study has two central objectives. The first is to model, in a semiformal manner, Fidel Castro’s likely reasoning. Next, guided by insights derived from decision modeling, implications for U.S. policy are considered. The second objective of this endeavor is to test the decision theory developed at RAND during the Gulf crisis against a case whose critical elements are only now beginning to unfold. Cuba’s current situation, viewed from the perspectives of the alternative models, appears as either serious or grave. Both images employed in this analysis suggest that Castro will have to choose his predominant strategy from among three major paths, or courses: conciliat-
ing, hunkering down, or confronting. In an effort to broaden the decision modeling effort, the next step in the research applies the same analytic framework to American decision making. It results in the delineation of three plausible strategic approaches for the United States in its dealings with Cuba: easing up, staying the course, or increasing the pressure.

**What is the Role of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) in a Post-Castro Cuba?... What Role Will the U.S. Military (USM) Play?**


Russia has all but abandoned its Caribbean friend and ally, Fidel Castro. Cuba is suffering economically; it is only a matter of time till the Castro brothers see the end of their thirty-three-year-old socialist revolution. The United States continues its decades long trade embargo against the communist island, and shows little sign of beginning to normalize relations with Castro. The U.S. Congress has written several laws over the years that restrict any formal relations between the two countries until communism is gone and democracy is attempted. The political and economic power of the one million or so Cuban-Americans living primarily in southern Florida will have to be dealt with before any bilateral talks can be successful. The real question is, what will the one hundred thousand plus Cuban military do in the event that Fidel Castro dies, retires, or goes out in a blaze of Cuban revolutionary-style glory in a suicide attack on the gringo base at Guantanamo Bay. The Cuban military has a strong, well-traveled officer corps whose senior officers owe their position in Cuban society and government to the continued support by the Castro brothers. U.S. relations have improved with the former Soviet Union; an attempt should be made this year to initiate informal military-to-military relations to pave the way for an immediate response to whatever follow-on government attempts to emerge once Fidel Castro is gone.

**Castro, Cuba and the Future: U.S. Policy Options.**


Castro's Cuba has been and remains a thorn in the side of the United States. Our policy of total isolation and economic embargo as left the island nation to our south in a complete economic disaster. The demise of the Soviet empire freed Eastern Europe, and many new democracies emerged and are struggling to make democracy and free markets work. However, Castro still clings to communist ideology in spite of these world events. Our foreign
policy toward Cuba, recently enhanced by the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 signed into law by President Bush in October 1992, centers around trade sanctions directed at the Cuban government—an attempt to further "strangle" the island's economy and effect a change to democratization. The future for Castro and Cuba can take many different paths. Will Castro follow the way of Noriega, will civil war erupt, will a "velvet revolution" succeed as in Eastern Europe, or will there be a coalition between the party, the army, and Raul? How much longer will Castro survive when the country is under complete economic collapse? After examining these key issues, this study recommends a change in our policy toward Cuba, from confrontation to a policy of constructive engagement, leading to the democratization of Cuba with a free and open market-driven economy. Specifically, we should reengage with Cuba to negotiate an end to "hostilities," repeal the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, encourage joint U.S.–Cuban business ventures, control the ultra-conservative CANF, encourage small-market initiatives in Cuba, encourage a Mexican-style government, with human rights reform and privatization, and lastly, encourage World Bank and IMF investment, all permitting Cuba to change from within.

The United States and Cuba: From a Strategy of Conflict to Constructive Engagement.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Donald E. Schulz. May 12, 1993. 54pp.

The author discusses the potential explosiveness of the present Cuban situation and the possibility that it might lead to U.S. military involvement. The crisis of the Cuban revolution has once again raised a number of security issues for the United States, along with important questions about the effectiveness and wisdom of the three-decade-old U.S. policy of containment and punishment. In particular, we need a better understanding of those forces promoting political stability and instability, as well as the impact of U.S. policy. If, as the author suggests, American policy may actually be strengthening the Castro regime in the short run, while building up tension which may lead to a violent explosion in the longer run, then a strong case can be made for a change to a strategy better suited to fostering a peaceful transition. The author details the components of such a policy.
Prerequisites for Democracy in Cuba: Promoting Liberalization Via Civil Society.
This thesis examines current U.S. policy vis-a-vis Cuba, and its impact on the development of democracy in Cuba. It argues that U.S. policy is counterproductive in promoting a sustainable, inclusive democracy in Cuba, because it demands that the Castro regime hold “free and fair” elections prior to any normalization in the relations between the two countries. This demand ignores the fact that Cuban civil society is woefully underdeveloped and is not prepared to effectively participate in the creation and maintenance of a truly representational government. Without a vibrant civil society, Cuba is likely to fall under the control of an authoritarian, populist regime whose relationship to the United States may prove no more cordial than Castro’s. The thesis recommends practical steps through which the United States can reward Cuban liberalization without requiring immediate political democratization. The goal of these steps is to encourage the opening of political space within which Cuban associational groups with a clear stake in a freer society can flourish.

Cuba: Handbook of Trade Statistics.
Statistics on Cuban trade during the period 1985–1992 are compiled in the handbook, primarily from official data of Cuba’s trade partners so as to provide an up-to-date substitute for official Cuban trade data, which are available only through 1989. The first section of the handbook—tables 1 through 7—includes breakdowns of Cuba’s total trade by countries and commodities. Cuban-reported trade totals and aggregates have been used for the years 1985-89 in tables 1 through 5, while the values for 1990-92 are estimated from the compilation of partner data. The country breakdowns for all years are the values reported by Cuba’s trade partners.

The Castro regime, in what it has portrayed as an attempt to avert economic collapse, has begun implementing a series of measures that break with its longtime policy of opposing capitalist economic methods. Despite Havanna’s assertion that the new policies do not constitute an abandonment of
socialism but rather are “tactical measures” to ensure the regime’s long-term survival, Cuban media reports suggest that ideological hardliners and others with vested interests in the revolution see these actions as undermining the socialist system. Apparently to reassure these longtime supporters—and perhaps restrain overly zealous reformers—the regime is stressing that the reforms are of limited scope and are being implemented in a carefully controlled fashion.

0371

On Negotiating with Castro.
The author examines the economic reforms recently introduced into Cuba by its president, Fidel Castro. He argues that the United States may have arrived at the moment necessary to launch a major political initiative aimed at securing the retirement of the Castro brothers and provide Cuba with a peaceful transition to democracy and a more open economy. The author suggests that if the United States could provide Castro with a way of salvaging his place in history, the Cuban leader might just grab the opportunity. This will provide him with one last chance to play his favorite role as “savior of the Cuban nation” by magnanimously sacrificing himself for the good of his people. While the strategy carries a considerable price tag, it is argued that the risks and costs would be far less than if the United States does nothing and the country explodes.

1994

0387

U.S. Embargo Against Cuba: Should It Be Continued?
With the end of the cold war, it is time for the United States to reassess its embargo against Cuba. Without the help of the former Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc countries, Cuba is no longer a threat to the United States. While the embargo, in conjunction with the loss of Soviet support, is imposing severe economic hardship on the Cuban population, Fidel Castro and his regime continue to hold their firm grip on the country. Thus, the ultimate goal of destabilizing the government has not been reached. In order for the United States to be in a position to encourage and influence a transition to democracy in Cuba, instead of the chaos that could result from destabilization, it should work toward closer relations with Cuba by ending the embargo, encouraging U.S. investment in Cuba, and fostering a freer exchange of information and ideas.
Dominican Republic

1992

**Free Zones in the Dominican Republic.**


The report outlines Industrial Free Zones (IFZ) in the Dominican Republic. An IFZ is a geographic area under special customs and tax controls, in which enterprises are licensed to produce goods or services to foreign markets through the granting of incentives to stimulate their development. IFZ companies are exempt from the payment of import or export duties or any other taxes normally levied.

1993

**Dominican Republic: Bridge or Barrier to Drugs?**


The purpose of this paper is to explore the general idea of the Dominican Republic’s role in drug trafficking. Its geographical situation makes this country very desirable to the drug lords who use it as a bridge from South to North America to transport illegal drugs. However, this country can be a barrier to the same trafficking by the different actions and decisions taken by the Dominican Government in the war against drugs.

Ecuador

1991

**Narcotics Sectoral Assessment for Ecuador.**


Four recent antidrug efforts in Ecuador are evaluated: AID grants to Fundacion Nuestros Jovenes (FNJ) to support drug information activities, and Fundacion Guayaquil (FG) to include antidrug modules in its business training programs, AID grant to the Ministry of Education (MEC) to support a national drug prevention program, and establishment of the National Drug Council (CONSEP). Major findings are: (1) FNJ is having administrative trouble; continued funding should be contingent on improvements in its financial management. (2) FG's program is promising. (3) MEC program has been hindered by politicization. (4) CONSEP is still in the initial stages; AID
should provide technical assistance to improve institutional status before providing financial assistance. The assessment concludes by outlining a global strategy for narcotics prevention in Ecuador. Included are lists of organizations working on drug abuse.

1992

**Ecuadorean Army, Security and Development in the 90s.**

Ecuador’s Political Constitution assigns two missions to the Armed Forces: the country’s internal and external security, and support in the country’s development. The Ecuadorean Army has taken an active part in fulfilling these two missions which form part of national security strategy. This paper explains the way in which the Army helps in the socioeconomic progress of Ecuador through its support for education, agriculture, health care, and its participation in industry. It analyzes both internal and external threats to national security, which include destruction of the environment, the transit of drugs through the country, and the boundary dispute with Peru. It also analyzes future trends during the 90s.

**Gender and Ecuador’s New Export Sectors: A Rapid Rural Appraisal Study.**

A rapid rural appraisal was conducted of the socioeconomic/demographic characteristics of nontraditional agricultural export (NTAE) workers in Ecuador. Key findings were as follows: (1) The proportion of women in NTAE subsectors reflects Ecuador’s gender-based employment patterns. (2) The situation is favorable for women in the export flower sector. (3) Because of frequent and unpredictable overtime, marriage and child care present special problems for NTAE processing workers. (4) In all types of firms, women were more likely to be temporary employees. (5) Women’s wages both contribute to family social welfare and increase women’s self-esteem and their voice in major household decisions. The report compares these results with a study on women’s participation in NTAE in Central America. It then goes on to identify the types of indicators needed for gender-sensitive monitoring, and to present recommendations.
1993

Ecuador: Investment Climate Comparison Study.  

This study was conceptualized to answer for the Ecuadoran government the question "Why are foreigners investing in Chile, Colombia, and Costa Rica, but not in Ecuador?" The study compares the foreign direct investment (FDI) regimes of the four countries and attempts to draw conclusions and make recommendations for Ecuador. Ecuador's problem is that the country has a relatively small, stagnant economy and so many disincentives or contraindications for investment—local or foreign—that there is not yet a basis for investor confidence that Ecuador is an inviting place for FDI. This report makes recommendations for the Government of Ecuador on the general FDI regime, macroeconomic policy reform, government bureaucracy, infrastructure and productivity, labor regime reform, intellectual property rights protection, trade-related measures, and tourism.

El Salvador

1992

The Decade of the Seventies in El Salvador: Prelude to Revolution.  
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, James R. Crouch Sr. June 5, 1992. 98pp.*

El Salvador is coming to the end of a civil war that cost more than eighty-thousand lives. This thesis surveys the factors which led to this war and, soon thereafter, to United States involvement. The historical, economic, social, and political development of El Salvador determined that the pattern of land tenure, dominated by large coffee plantations and concentrated ownership of land in the hands of a small elite, would eventually lead to a politically and economically powerful oligarchy. Oligarchic domination of politics, supported by the military, created a situation which denied the majority of the population access to economic security and political power. The decade of the 1970s brought the polarization of politics, solidifying of the leftist organizations, and the reaction of the military in politics. The impact of policies that a succession of juntas enacted following the 1979 coup are examined, along with the proclamations and reform policies of the successive juntas, to determine the successes and failures and their impact on the political realm. The paper concludes with the election of 1982, when civilian politicians were put in power for the first time since 1931.
This paper begins by briefly tracing the dimensions of El Salvador's economic crisis, discussing the domestic and external factors that made the decline in per capita GDP the second most severe in the region (after Nicaragua's), and examining the policy measures adopted by Salvadoran governments in the early 1980s to overcome the crisis. A similar exercise is then carried out for the period of very slow economic recovery between 1983 and 1989, and for the more rapid recovery since then. Finally, concluding observations provide some comparisons between El Salvador and Nicaragua and highlight major obstacles to sustained economic recovery and social peace during the remainder of the 1990s.

Report of the Secretary of State's Panel on El Salvador.
From April to July 1993, the Secretary of State's Panel on El Salvador has conducted a comprehensive assessment of how the State Department and the Foreign Service handled human rights issues involving that country from 1980 to 1991. The Panel reviewed the public and State department record, including classified documents. It interviewed over seventy individuals, inside and outside the department, who were directly involved. It convened a public hearing and heard testimony from twenty-five witnesses. It paid particular attention to nine of the most egregious cases of human rights abuse reported by the UN Truth Commission in March 1993. Throughout, it was mindful of its mandate (1) to review human rights performance, not overall American policy toward El Salvador, and (2) to concentrate on the actions of the State Department and Foreign Service, not the U.S. Government as a whole.
1994

0107

**El Salvador: Implementation of Post-War Programs Slower than Expected.**


In April 1993, the Salvadoran government estimated that about $1.83 billion would be needed through 1996 to finance the implementation of the remaining programs mandated by the peace agreement, but the government and international donors, including the United States, have committed about $1.15 billion so far. This will leave the government about $682 million short of its estimated funding needs, although the shortfall could be somewhat less if there are fewer beneficiaries for the land transfer program than the 47,500 originally estimated. Unless additional funding is forthcoming, the Salvadoran government expects that the programs will be implemented on a more modest scale than originally intended. An additional $197 million in assistance from donors has been pledged, but the agreements for this funding have not been finalized, and obtaining any additional donor pledges is unlikely. The Salvadoran Government may be able to increase its own contributions, however, as better-than-anticipated economic growth is forecast over the next several years.

**Guatemala**

1991

0132


Early in 1991, Guatemala, which has the second highest rate of illiteracy among women in the Western Hemisphere (50 percent), held its first national conference on the role that the education of girls plays in the country's social and economic development. The report summarizes the data presented at the conference, as well as its principal conclusions and recommendations. Data from Guatemala confirm the findings from studies worldwide on the correlation between girls' education and social and economic development. Action decisions of the conference were directed to developing a national emergency plan for the education of women and a complementary public awareness and promotion campaign. The conference also named a national commission to oversee the proposed educational program.


The report outlines the Fiscal Year 1992 marketing plan for Guatemala. It includes a brief country profile, prospects, commercial and financing environments, trade and investment issues, and a market analysis plan.


Guatemala, jointly with the other countries of the Central American Common Market (CACM), has reversed its old policies of import substitution and protection and has embarked on trade liberalization and development of nontraditional exports. This radical policy shift is due to pressures from international financial institutions and is also an integral part of deregulating the economy to stimulate efficient, dynamic development by the private sector in a competitive environment. The Central American countries have jointly carried out a program of reducing external import tariffs, phasing out restrictive licensing, eliminating special exemptions from tariffs, and freeing intra-area trade from all restrictions. The countries have proposed adopting a common external tariff schedule.

Guatemala: Labor Relations Analysis.

Interamerican Management Consulting Corporation, Arlington, Virginia.

Over the past several years the government of the United States, through the United States Agency for International Development (AID), has provided support for the economic expansion of the private sector in Guatemala, especially in the export of nontraditional manufactured and agricultural products. Recently, there has been growing concern in the United States that Guatemalan workers have not shared equally in the economic benefits of Guatemala's development and that expansion may be occurring at the expense of workers' rights. In response to these concerns, AID/Guatemala is developing a project that will address the dual goals of increasing trade and improving labor relations. The purpose of this assessment is to identify and prioritize those activities which can be undertaken under the new
project, the Trade Policy and Labor Relations Project, to support improved labor relations in the context of expanding trade in the nontraditional industrial and agriculture sectors.

1994

0363


As part of its long-standing commitment to work with the OAS on its efforts to help resolve conflicts and promote democracy in the Americas, the United States Institute of Peace convened a conference on July 26, 1993, two months after Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano Elias attempted a coup. The purpose of the conference was to consider the political implications of the coup and the nature of the domestic and international responses to it. Fifty-two experts gathered to hear nineteen presenters give first-hand accounts and analyses of events during the crisis. The participants included the secretary general and assistant secretary general of the OAS, permanent representatives to the OAS, Latin American ambassadors to the United States, U.S. policy officials, Guatemalan civil leaders, members of international nongovernmental organizations on Latin America, and academics. This report summarizes the presentations and discussion from this conference.

Guyana

1992

0392

Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, NA. 1992. 144pp.
The Guyanese election of October 5, 1992 is of historic importance for Guyana and for all of Latin America and the Caribbean. For the first time in twenty-eight years, all of the political parties of Guyana and the international observers agreed that the election was free and fair and a peaceful transfer of power occurred. The document reports on the electoral process as observed by the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government.
Haiti

1992

Evaluation of AID Child Survival Programs: Haiti Case Study. 
AID's child survival program in Haiti, which includes efforts in Expanded Program of Immunization, diarrheal disease control, family planning, nutrition, and breastfeeding, has had a positive impact on the health of children and has helped reduce overall rates of infant and child mortality. The infant mortality rate has dropped from 144 per 1,000 live births in the early 1970's to roughly 100 per 1,000 live births in the late 1980's. In some areas where AID funding is concentrated, such as the Cite Soleil slum in Port-au-Prince, infant mortality rate declines have been especially dramatic. These improvements have occurred despite zero or negative economic growth, a decaying public sector infrastructure, and social and political instability and decline, and are therefore attributable to efforts in health education and promotion, and increased access to primary health care, with a particular focus on outreach and child survival interventions.

1993

Did the USCG Use the Lessons Learned from the 1980 Mariel Boatlift from Cuba in Dealing with the Haitian Migration Crisis of 1991–1992. 
During the Mariel Cuban Boatlift in 1980, we essentially had a government-sponsored evacuation of Cuban refugees, assuming them all to be fleeing an oppressive communist regime. Eleven years later, our government vacillated in policy guidance, making a challenging humanitarian crisis intervention mission much more difficult to execute. Operation Able Manner continues to deal with this problem today. Clarity and consistency of policy guidance must be defined in order to deal effectively with future crises involving political and/or economic refugees. Clear and consistent policy in these situations will likely be absent. The USCG must develop written doctrine based on national security interests, and concept plans based on lessons learned and future intelligence, which will guide us in our planning and crisis response.
Haiti: Costs of U.S. Programs and Activities Since the 1991 Military Coup.

Following a request by Congressman Charles Rangel, the GAO identified the costs of U.S. involvement in Haiti since the overthrow of its president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, in September 1991. The GAO's objectives were to identify (1) the various operations and activities the U.S. had initiated since the overthrow, (2) the U.S. agencies involved in Haitian programs, and (3) the costs to the U.S. for its involvement in these operations and activities.

Reconciling the Irreconcilable: The Troubled Outlook for U.S. Policy Toward Haiti.
*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Donald E. Schulz and Gabriel Marcella. March 10, 1994. 74pp.*

The authors analyze the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Haiti and for democracy and socioeconomic development there. They suggest the crisis is a zero-sum game in which the contending forces may well be fundamentally incompatible. The authors describe different courses of action and the steps that the United States might take to implement them. None of the choices are attractive, and none of them can guarantee success. Moreover, even if President Jean-Bertrand Aristide can be restored to office, the outlook for democracy and socioeconomic development will be highly problematic. Such changes would require a wholesale transformation of the political culture, a process which would take at least a generation to accomplish, if indeed at all. They would also require substantial long-term aid from the international community and the United States.


This report outlines the Fiscal Year 1992 plan for Honduras. It includes a brief country profile, prospects, commercial and financing environments, trade and investment issues, and a market analysis plan.
Central Report: Honduras, Financial Sector Assessment.
This report assesses various Honduran financial institutions, including the Central Bank, commercial banks, savings and loans, government financial institutions, pension funds and insurance companies, and capital markets. It also discusses the macroeconomic environment, the supervision of financial institutions, and informal finance. A major finding is that the Central Bank is involved in a number of inappropriate activities which interfere with its basic functions. Informal financial markets are highly important and include a wide variety of agents, institutions, and arrangements. The report concludes by outlining a strategy for financial sector reform, including not only high-priority policy adjustments, but also actions to strengthen specific institutions, both public and private.

How Honduras Escaped Revolutionary Violence.
This study examines why Honduras did not fall victim to revolutionary violence in the 1980s and assesses the prospects for continued stability in the future. In addition, it draws attention to a number of trouble spots in U.S.-Honduran relations and suggests some lessons that can be learned by both sides based on the Honduran experience with non-revolution.

Education in Honduras: A Critical Profile.
This is a broad survey of the education industry in one of the least developed countries of the Western Hemisphere. Generally, education is a part of most nations' development plan, but is seldom accorded one of the highest priorities. As we are slowly realizing here in the United States of America, investing in human capital is essential for the economic, political, and social well-being of all countries. Informed citizens in a young democracy like Honduras can ensure the political system’s longevity and foster a more dynamic economy, as well as a more egalitarian society. Access to school-
ing has grown enormously, but much remains to be accomplished in raising quality and efficiency and matching educational output to the needs of the Honduran marketplace.

**AID’s Family Planning Program in Honduras.**
The Agency for International Development (AID) support for family planning in Honduras began in 1965. Since then, AID has given priority to population and family planning activities, despite periods of fierce political and religious opposition, policy indifference, and implementation setbacks. Overall, the program has resulted in significant progress. In 1976, the national contraceptive prevalence rate was 12 percent. Today, thanks in part to AID assistance, the national contraceptive prevalence rate has risen to 46 percent.

**Reel 7**

**Honduras cont.**

**1993 cont.**

**A Strategic Assessment of Legal Systems Development in Honduras.**
Because Honduras possesses classic political and socioeconomic characteristics of early developing countries, the U.S. Agency for International Development’s (AID’s) experience there with judicial reform through its Administration of Justice (AOJ) program holds particular relevance for replication. This report reviews the program’s origins, impacts to date, management, and overall strategy, and presents the lessons learned. The assessment concludes that the program is reaching a critical threshold at which the good faith and commitment of the government of Honduras will have to be fully evident if reforms are to proceed.
1994


In a post–cold war period of shrinking defense budgets, bottom-up reviews, and a general downsizing of U.S. defense forces, the Department of Defense has begun to take a realistic look at its defense needs and size its base force accordingly. One result is that the United States has begun to close many of its overseas bases and posts, concentrating on agile, flexibly trained forces for power projection abroad. The U.S. Southern Command (Quarry Heights, Panama) maintains a small presence at a Honduran base known as Soto Cano AB. This paper compares and contrasts the benefits and shortcomings of two policy options. The criteria used fall into four main categories: (1) costs; (2) economic impact on Honduras; (3) U.S. and Honduran political ramifications; and (4) contribution to regional military objectives.

Latin America

1991

The Return of the “Good Neighbor”: A Policy for Achieving U.S. Objectives in Latin America Through the Nineties and Beyond.


This thesis applies “Good Neighbor” policy principles, developed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to U.S. interests in Latin America today. Good Neighbor policy principles are identified, and specific goals of the policy are analyzed. These are compared to current U.S. security interests, which are themselves analyzed in terms of their relevance to U.S. policy towards Latin America in the 1990s. The international climate and issues of the early twentieth century are compared to today’s issues and environment. It is determined that broad similarities do exist in terms of U.S. policy objectives. Specific differences are also identified, and the Good Neighbor policy principles are reinterpreted to account for these differences. Five options for U.S. policy towards Latin America are discussed. The thesis concludes that a policy of cooperative multilateralism, based on Good Neighbor principles, is the most effective policy for achieving U.S. objectives in Latin America.
1992

0229 Evolving U.S. Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean. 
This document presents papers presented during a National Defense University symposium entitled “Evolving U.S. Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean.” This symposium provided a forum for distinguished U.S. and Latin American experts to address the changing nature of this relationship—particularly the need to revise our regional policies in light of the end of the cold war. It’s now possible for the United States to treat Latin America on its own merits rather than as a battlefield for the superpowers—a purer, less sullied relationship. The essays collected here are as pertinent now as when first presented. They are, in effect, a casebook outlining mutual concerns and opportunities that will affect the hemisphere well into the twenty-first century.

0433 Educational Crisis in Latin America: The Financial Constraint and the Dilemma of Quality versus Coverage. 
This paper reviews public sector primary education in six Latin American countries—Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama. The following aspects of the crisis are identified. (1) Funding is inadequate for even minimum-quality universal primary school coverage. (2) Teachers’ salaries have seriously declined due to inflation and are too low to attract capable professionals. (3) These conditions have created antagonism, rather than strategic alliances, between ministries and teachers’ unions. (4) Management systems are incapable of maintaining maximum use of resources, obtaining more resources, or providing leadership for educational development. (5) Academic standards and achievement seem to be declining. The paper states that the educational decline is eroding the human resources of many countries in the region, with far-reaching implications for economic development. An educational strategy specifying the roles of government, schools, teachers, parents, the private sector, and donors is presented in conclusion.
Social Costs of Adjustment: The Case of Latin America and the Caribbean.
It is widely believed that the 1980s were characterized by worsening conditions for the poor in developing countries. The paper examines the extent to which this was true in Latin America. It is concerned only with empirical results, and with evidence on changes in poverty, in social indicators (e.g., consumption expenditures, nutrition, and infant mortality), and in public expenditures, especially in the poverty-sensitive sectors (health and education). The paper concludes that the perception of worsening conditions is false and that, compared to the 1970s, the 1980s were characterized by increased calorie intake, less malnutrition, longer life expectancy, better vaccination rates, and less infant mortality. Moreover, in most countries access to primary education did not decline, though real public spending per pupil did fall. The report also disputes the view that structural adjustment has a disproportionate burden on the poor. In explaining how the misperception took hold, the report identifies biases and weaknesses in the research.

OECD Trade with South America: A Reference Aid.
The publication provides the most recent detailed commodity statistics of OECD trade with South America, trade of the five largest OECD countries with the region, and U.S. trade with several key South American countries.

Latin America and the Caribbean: Selected Economic and Social Data.
Economic, political, social, environmental, and health statistical data for the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region are presented in the report, the second in a series to be updated annually.
Latin America cont.

1992 cont.

0001 The Role of the Inter-American Defense Board Within the New World Order.


The Inter-American Defense Board was founded fifty years ago in response to an external threat during World War II. During that time, attempts were made by the Board to achieve a more significant operational role and to institutionalize itself within the Organization of American States. These attempts were consistently resisted by the Latin American nations because of the historic opposition to a militarized Organization of American States and fear of U.S. intervention. The cold war has ended, and prospects for more regional cooperation look bright. Latin American governments are changing, and for the first time, the entire Western Hemisphere, with the exception of Cuba and Haiti, has democratic governments. The current political, military, and economic environment in Latin America is now more conducive to regional cooperation than in the past, because Latin American nations are beginning to look at the U.S. as less of a threat to their sovereignty. The trend towards democracy and a more pragmatic approach towards economic and social issues in Latin America have created new opportunities for the Inter-American Defense Board. This paper shows that the Board has a role to play in facilitating security cooperation and economic development and is reorienting its thinking and activities to tackle the new threats and problems in the hemisphere.


On June 27, 1990, President George Bush announced the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI). The centerpiece of that Initiative is a proposal for free trade throughout the Americas. The proposal represents a significant departure in U.S. policy toward the rest of the hemisphere by stressing mutually beneficial trade, rather than aid, as the basis for economic relations, development, and growth. The president’s proposal has been
heralded by most of the hemisphere's leaders, but is opposed by some groups, both in the United States and abroad. The study reviews the genesis of the proposal—the dramatic pro-democracy and pro-market reforms of the past few years—and examines the theoretical basis for hemispheric free trade within the context of global U.S. trade policy. It concludes that hemispheric free trade, if pursued in consonance with our global trade objectives, would enhance U.S. and hemispheric prosperity and security. It concludes further that decisive U.S. leadership is necessary to bring the vision of free trade in all the Americas to fruition.

The Andean Strategy: America’s Drug Bust?


The Andean Strategy was developed and implemented in 1989 as part of the President's National Drug Control Strategy. As the international arm of the President's strategy, the Andean plan was designed to reduce the amount of illicit drugs entering the United States. It is aimed at supporting the principal cocaine source countries—Colombia, Peru and Bolivia—in their efforts to control and defeat the drug trade. In addition to reducing the cocaine flow into the United States, the key objectives are to strengthen the capability and effectiveness of these countries to disrupt and dismantle the trafficking organizations. This paper intends to assess the effectiveness and viability of the Andean Strategy to achieve its objectives.

The U.S. Army in a Civil–Military Support Role in Latin America.


This paper examines U.S. security-related efforts in the Latin American region, with particular emphasis on the U.S. Army's role. It outlines those challenges the Latin American countries will be facing in the coming years where their militaries may have a role to play. The paper also provides an overview of specific security assistance programs and U.S. Army programs that provide opportunities for military-to-military contacts. Using these assessments, it then evaluates past and future civil-military support roles of the U.S. Army in Latin America, focusing particular attention on civic action and counterdrug activities and the advantages and disadvantages of participating in these roles.
The Role of Security Assistance in the Andean Initiative.
This study analyzes security assistance programs supporting the president's Andean Initiative. It describes conditions in Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia which foster coca growing, and the local police and military agencies with counterdrug responsibilities. The thesis examines the nature of security assistance and how various security assistance programs support the goal of supply reduction. It also examines congressional changes to security assistance legislation. The findings reveal that problems of corruption, weak economies, and poor institutional development in the Andean countries limit the effectiveness of American security assistance in reducing the flow of cocaine into the United States. The study concludes that security assistance is unlikely to contribute to reducing the flow of cocaine. The nature and perception of the problem in the Andean Region, together with widespread local corruption, negate the intended effects of security assistance. It also concluded that the threat posed by illicit drugs cannot be eliminated by supply-side measures.

Guidebook to the Andean Trade Preference Act.
The Andean Trade Initiative (ATI) recognizes the challenge to Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru of creating alternatives to the demand for coca leaf production. As the trade component of the U.S. government’s antidrug efforts, the ATI offers a series of programs to assist these countries with economic development, especially in agriculture, and to stimulate private-sector initiative. A primary element of the initiative was accomplished with the passage of the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA) in December 1991, which provides broadened duty-free access to the large and lucrative U.S. market. This guidebook provides an overview of the ATPA, the types of assistance available to U.S. businesses interested in doing business in the region, and the four eligible beneficiaries.
Resources and Constraints Affecting U.S. Army Activities in Latin America.
This paper examines two factors of paramount concern to the U.S. Army's ability to conduct civil-military support activities in Latin America: available resources and potential constraints. In conjunction with other IDA work on Latin America about the challenges facing the region and the kinds of activities the U.S. Army has pursued there, this paper describes the type of U.S. Army forces that have historically been used in these efforts and the implications of personnel and budgetary reductions. In addition, it assesses constraints that can affect U.S. Army activities, such as the role of U.S. and Latin American public opinion, the effects of activities by the U.S. Congress, and the challenge of interagency cooperation.

Environmental Market Conditions and Business Opportunities in Key Latin American Countries.
Environmental markets and U.S. business opportunities in six Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela—are reviewed in the report. Specific issues covered include environmental policy, the current and prospective environmental market, market opportunities and competition, and market entry strategies; a regional overview of these issues is included. The most promising opportunities exist in high-priority sectors such as improving water-pollution control in Mexico and Brazil, reducing air emissions from copper smelting in Chile, and reducing mobile source emissions in Mexico and Chile. Opportunities also exist in wastewater treatment in Argentina, particulate controls for power plants and industry in Colombia, and pollution control and waste management for the petroleum sector in Venezuela.

The Impact of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) on Labor in Latin America with a Focus on Gender.
The effect of export processing zones (EPZs) on labor markets (particularly women) in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico is studied in this report. The first section discusses the legal and regulatory framework of EPZs generally. Section II summarizes the literature on labor markets,
particularly with regard to female employment. This section covers only the Dominican Republic and Mexico. Section III discusses the policy literature, and Section IV discusses recommended studies. Appendices present tables summarizing the available data on labor market aspects of Latin American EPZs. The report concludes that firms are attracted to Latin American EPZs principally because wages are low by international standards, the EPZ allows firms to avoid tariff and non-tariff import barriers, and, perhaps, to avoid unionization.

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0803

**Warriors in Peacetime Conference—Latin America: The Unfinished Business of Security.**


This report is a product of the Warriors in Peacetime Conference held at the Inter-American Defense College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, D.C., on December 11–12, 1992. This meeting was organized to explore the relationship between the theory and practice of democracy in Latin America on the one hand and the changing roles of the U.S. and Latin American militaries on the other. The dialogue brought together a diverse group of scholars and civilian and military officials from the United States and Latin America. It was constructed around two major addresses, one by General George Joulwan, Commander in Chief of the U.S. Southern Command, and the other by the Honorable Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Three panels addressed the themes “The New World Order and the Democratic Imperative in Civil-Military Relations,” “The Unfinished Business of Security,” and “Winning the Peace.” This report and the accompanying transcript cover the heart of the conference, namely “The Unfinished Business of Security.”

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1993

0842

**U.S. Policy and Latin America in the 1990s.**


The Air Force Academy Political Science Department hosted the 35th Air Force Academy Assembly entitled “U.S. Policy and Latin America in the 1990s” from February 23–27, 1993. To assist participants, the Air Force Academy Library Reference Branch prepared this highly selective bibliography. Citations include books, journal articles, and government publications. The books have copyright dates no earlier than 1982, and with a few
exceptions, journals and government publications have copyright dates no earlier than 1990. Citations exclude newspaper articles and report literature.

Environmental Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean.
Throughout the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region, there is increasing attention and dedication to sustainable development through environmental protection and conservation. Central American leaders established the presidential-level Central American Commission for Environment and Development. In South America, the government of Bolivia began the process of elaborating a National Environmental Action Plan to provide a framework for the integration of environmental considerations into their planning and decision-making process for social and economic development. Across the Caribbean, leaders and professionals are deepening their commitment to protecting and managing natural resources. The United States is committed to supporting the efforts of Latin American and Caribbean leaders to modernize and liberalize national economies, strengthen democratic processes, protect the environment and manage natural resources in ways which are consistent with long-term, sustained economic and sociopolitical development. Under the framework of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), President George Bush launched his landmark, hemisphere-wide initiative to foster increased trade, investment, and reduction of official debt to the United States. The debt reduction component of EAI includes a mechanism to provide support for environmental projects in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Depressed Commodity Prices: Implications for Latin America's Economic Growth.
The first part of this study evaluates the export experience of Latin America as a whole during the 1980s. It considers three questions. First, to what extent did the region's export earnings suffer because of falling commodity prices? Second, facing low primary product prices, did the region's export sector turn increasingly to non-primary exports? Third, what were the economic growth implications of lower export revenues? The second part focuses analysis on four countries—Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Jamaica—which offer a range of experiences that taken together provide a
complete view of the implications of sharply lower commodity prices in the 1980s. According to the study, the declining prices for primary commodities have led the region's export sector to shift away from the primary sector, though to different degrees for different countries.

Reel 9

Latin America cont.

1993 cont.

In this research, the effect of socioeconomic factors on terrorism and government instability in Latin America is studied. A commonly held opinion is that terrorism and instability are caused by repressive conditions. The objective of this research was to generate a methodology to forecast terrorism and instability, given certain socioeconomic indicators. This methodology was generated for individual countries, two groups of countries, and a composite developing country. A set of twenty-eight socioeconomic factors were evaluated and reduced based on correlation analysis. Patterns of terrorism and instability were investigated through data analysis and factor analysis. Multiple regression was used to develop predictive models. Although autocorrelation was present in most of the models, all terrorism trends, except in the individual country models of Paraguay and Venezuela, were fairly well fitted by the models. Similar results were observed in modelling the trend of instability generated for Argentina. Data analysis showed that there was a correlation between terrorism and some socioeconomic factors. Generally, countries having a relatively high level of standard of living experienced less terrorism.

Between the end of World War II and 1980, the economies of many Latin American countries grew substantially. This growth came to an abrupt halt in the early 1980s. The primary reasons were a sharp decline in world oil and other export commodity prices, heavy government debt burdens, sharp
increases in world interest rates which made servicing the heavy debt burden nearly impossible, and structural economic inefficiencies resulting from excessive government involvement in business and the economy. The economic adjustment endured by Latin American countries during the 1980s was so severe that this period of time is now referred to as "The Lost Decade." Many Latin American economies are now, however, poised to resume substantial economic growth and development. This study will examine the economic transition experienced by four Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico) during the 1980s. It will identify possible lessons learned which may be applicable to other developing countries and countries of the former Soviet bloc as they attempt to improve their economic well-being by shifting to market-based economies.

The end of the cold war provides the United States with an unprecedented opportunity to help establish the conditions for permanent peace and prosperity in Latin America. To do so, the United States must encourage the region's trend toward democracy and liberal economic policies based on the market and free trade. While the primary emphasis of a U.S. strategy toward Latin America should be economic, a successful policy will lead to an improvement in U.S. security as well. Now is the time for the United States to seize the opportunity within the framework of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

0210 The U.S. Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: Support for Western Hemisphere Economic and Trade Reform.
Western Hemisphere countries are seeking trade liberalization that may eventually lead to a hemispheric free-trade zone. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI) is a U.S. program supporting economic and trade reform underway in Latin America and the Caribbean. The initiative's objectives are to promote liberalized trade, reduce official debt, and increase foreign investment in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. These countries have renewed regional agreements and have taken new steps toward stabilizing their domestic economies. No longer following
protectionist import-substitution policies, regional and subregional groups of countries are promoting unilateral reductions in trade barriers and greater international interaction by their members.

**Property Law Innovation in Latin America with Recommendations.**
*University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, Madison, Wisconsin, Steven E. Hendrix. May 1993. 67pp.*

In most Latin American agrarian reform movements, governments restrict property size and the ability to mortgage, inherit, sell, and rent, and also mandate some form of land use (e.g., agriculture), all in order to prevent a reconsolidation of landholdings and the return of large estates. Since 1990, Nicaragua, Peru, Mexico, and Honduras have passed new legislation to eliminate at least some of these restrictions. The study analyzes and compares these new laws and their impact on the historically disadvantaged, trade and investment, and the environment. The study suggests that the removal of restrictions on agrarian reform properties should be undertaken with care; preliminary evidence indicates the need to take account of the special needs of women, the poor, and indigenous groups, and to balance private sector needs against those of the historically disadvantaged environmental policy. General guidelines for efforts to modernize property law are presented in conclusion.

**The OAS and Regional Security.**

To examine the role of the OAS in regional security, on October 8, 1992, the United States Institute of Peace held a seminar that involved OAS ambassadors, other officials of the Secretariat and prominent experts and scholars. The seminar was divided into three sessions: the first was devoted to a discussion of inter-American security in the post-cold war period; the second focused on civil-military relations in Latin America—a key factor in regional security; and the third addressed new issues in hemispheric security. This report broadly follows the agenda for the day's discussions. Based on presentations made at the seminar and the discussions they engendered, the report seeks to capture the substance and the flavor of the debate. As the report clearly illustrates, there was a broad consensus that the end of global polarity offers a real opportunity for the OAS to overcome some of the obstacles that have hindered closer hemispheric cooperation in the past and to take up some of the new challenges that are likely to threaten the security and stability of the region.

This paper reviews the experiences of Mexico and ten South American countries (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, and Venezuela) during the economic crisis of the 1980s to see if any common patterns can be discerned. Section II examines the pace which different countries took toward adjustment, while Section III analyzes patterns in real wages, employment, and poverty levels. Labor force participation rates are discussed in Section IV and the relationship between real wages, exchange rates, and trade liberalization in Section V. Section VI assesses the effect of inflation on wages and unemployment, and Section VII reviews impacts on poverty rates. The report concludes that the movement of real wages and unemployment in the eleven countries followed on a fairly well-defined pattern. With the onset of economic crisis, real wages tended to fall and unemployment to increase. Once effective programs of stabilization and comprehensive structural adjustment were enacted, economic growth resumed, real wages recovered, and unemployment declined.

Alternative Coca Reduction Strategies in the Andean Region.

This publication identifies opportunities for and constraints to reducing Andean coca production through (1) improving U.S. alternative development efforts and (2) applying biological control technology (biocontrol) to eradicate illegally produced coca.

Shift in the National Drug Strategy: Implications for the SOUTHCOM AOR.
*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, William J. Semrau. February 8, 1994. 27pp.*

The present administration is in the midst of formulating a comprehensive drug strategy vowing renewed efforts and resources directed toward demand reduction. Commitment to Latin American (LA) source and transit nations, demonstrated by the recently announced FY-94 counterdrug (CD) budget, is significantly reduced. This study reviews the national strategy under the Bush administration, the emerging national strategy under Presi-
dent Clinton, and DOD's implementation in the Latin American Region. A
discussion of the impact on Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) follows,
with regard to budget, affected programs, and theater strategic objectives.
Possible implications for the future of this region and the impact on U.S.
national security interests are addressed. The study suggests that the drug
problem is a long-term commitment requiring U.S. support throughout the
source-transit-demand spectrum. The United States must continue to
provide the necessary resources through a multilateral approach because
the trafficker has no regard for international borders. Finally and perhaps,
the key to the significant reduction of illicit drug flow is to continue support
for nation-building by the U.S. military.

United States Military as an Instrument of United States Foreign Policy
in Latin America.
Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio,
The United States has shown an interest and actively participated in the
affairs of Latin countries. This has been the situation since the region's
independence from Spain in the early 1800s. Perhaps most symbolic of the
U.S. presence in Latin America is the involvement of the U.S. military in the
region. Although the history of such involvement was varied, the author
shows there is still a need for a U.S. military presence in Latin America.
Through a typology, the the author outlined the types of military actions
available to the United States. These categories were divided into three
levels of involvement: Minimal Involvement, Active Participation, and Com-
bat Operations. A review of previous U.S. military involvement in Latin
America revealed three separate eras of U.S.–Latin American relations
from 1898 to the present. The eras were Uncontested Hegemony (1898–
1945), East-West conflict (1945–1989), and Regional Cooperation (1989–
present). A review of military options from the typology disclosed there was
a trend away from categories under Combat Operations toward the use of
categories in the first two levels.

The Emergence of Economic Trading Blocs: The Role of Japan and the
Implications for Latin America.
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Linda T. Yeargin. March
With the emergence of regional economic blocs, the focus has shifted to
recent economic development in the Latin American region. This thesis
addresses the question of Japan's economic influence in the region and the
implications for Latin America's economic future. It is argued that Japan's strategy in the region is based upon economic needs and the importance of securing a position in the regional economic development and potential Americas trading bloc. It is proven by using an analysis of economic relationships and trade patterns used by Japan in Asia compared to current Japanese economic activities in Latin America. Major findings conclude Japan's strategy is situational on targeted countries for either raw material access and/or Western Hemisphere market access.

Reel 10

Mexico

1992


The continuing flow of drugs from Mexico to the United States has been a major source of tension between the two countries over the past two decades. At present, Mexico accounts for a large share—perhaps more than half—of U.S. imports of marijuana and heroin; it also serves as a transshipment point for a large and apparently increasing proportion of cocaine imports. This study assesses the effectiveness and political aspects of Mexican drug control efforts in the 1970s and 1980s. Using official U.S. government production and price figures, we estimate that export earnings from heroin and marijuana in 1988 were between $2.2 billion and $6.8 billion; we believe that the lower figure is more likely. These revenues appear to have been increasing rapidly in recent years. Drug revenues currently constitute between 1.25 and 4 percent of Mexico's gross national product (GNP); they add 5 to 20 percent to recorded export earnings. We were unable to estimate cocaine export revenues. The difficulty of uprooting an industry of this size is compounded by the fact that Mexico has long been a platform for many types of smuggling into the United States. Highly organized smuggling operations, e.g., of migrant workers and stolen automobiles, developed rapidly in Mexico in the 1970s. Many powerful smugglers have been able, through corruption, to establish protected positions for themselves and their businesses within Mexico's political system on a regional, if not national, basis.
A Comparison of Occupational Safety and Health Programs in the United States and Mexico: An Overview.


This overview of the occupational safety and health programs of the United States and Mexico is one in a series of joint endeavors initiated by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) in the United States and the Mexican Dirección General de Medicina y Seguridad en el Trabajo (DGMST) under the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed by the United States and Mexican labor officials in May 1991. Cooperative activities initiated under the MOU include exchanges of information and of professional and technical personnel, sponsorship of joint conferences and other professional gatherings, the conduct of joint research projects, and the establishment of systems for sharing technical assistance and training. The purpose of the overview, which is the first in a series of publications under the program, is to further understanding of each country's laws and policies and to act as a basis for concrete action to promote the development and implementation of maximally protective occupational safety and health programs in both countries.

A Comparison of Labor Law in the United States and Mexico: An Overview.


This comparison is a concise summary of basic elements of United States and Mexican labor law. Its purpose is to capture the essence of the respective labor law systems, not all of the details and nuances. The paper addresses freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, minimum wage, compensation, and hours of work.


In the "Response of the Administration to Issues Raised in Connection with the Negotiation of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)," provided to Congress on May 1, 1991, the administration undertook to provide a review of U.S.–Mexico environmental issues with particular emphasis on the possible environmental effects of a NAFTA. This review was conducted by an interagency task force coordinated by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative in parallel with negotiations of the NAFTA. This report summarizes the key conclusions of that review.
The Changing Face of United States–Mexican Commercial Relations and the Free Trade Issue.


The issue of free trade between the United States and Mexico represents the core topic addressed by this essay. To fully evaluate the free-trade issue, a historical perspective is provided covering the failed years (1970–1985) of U.S.–Mexican commercial and trade relationships and the transition period (1985–present) covering the new courses each country is pursuing economically. With a brief history provided, the free-trade agreement between the two countries is analyzed in context of the internal benefits to Mexico and the overall economic strategy the United States is pursuing in Latin America. Lastly, the forces for and against the agreement within the United States are analyzed with the projection that the agreement will be approved in 1993, after the presidential elections.

Agriculture in a North American Free Trade Agreement: Analysis of Liberalizing Trade between the United States and Mexico.


This report builds on the Interim Review provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to Congress in April 1991 and was written, reviewed, and updated by analysts in the Economic Research Service (ERS) and the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) of USDA. It is based on information and data gathered by USDA and by ongoing research being conducted by USDA. The overall negotiations are between the United States, Mexico, and Canada; however, the focus of the report is the effects of an agreement on the United States and Mexico. The Agricultural Counselor’s office in Mexico City helped with all aspects of the report.

Mexico Foreign Investment Report.


This report analyzes foreign investment opportunities in Mexico as of August 1992. It begins with an economic overview of Mexico, followed by sections on its government policies, legal framework, market, corporations, taxation, investment incentives, environmental regulations, agriculture, labor practices, and exchange rates.
Maquiladoras: Corporate America Moves South of the U.S.–Mexican Border; Encouraged by Lax Environmental Enforcement and the Prospect of a NAFTA That Fails to Integrate Internationally Binding Health, Safety and Environmental Safeguards with GATT Principles of Free Trade.


The severe environmental problems that currently plague the U.S.–Mexico border area have been primarily attributed to Mexico's long-standing acceptance of foreign industrialization. In turn, the Mexican maquiladora program has become corporate America's preferable economic alternative to skyrocketing U.S. environmental costs, particularly in the area of hazardous waste disposition. Lax Mexican enforcement has encouraged and sustained that corporate shift, while contributing significantly to the untenable border conditions. If NAFTA negotiations fail to integrate internationally binding health, safety, and environmental standards with the GATT principles of free trade, the resulting agreement will likely aggravate existing U.S.–Mexican border problems. Ultimately, Mexico's ability to cope with the ramifications of free trade are questionable. Although a U.S.–Mexican free trade agreement may be viewed as inevitable, present and future trade impacts on health, safety, and environmental issues cannot be discounted. At this juncture, Mexico has not met the prevailing environmental enforcement needs in the border area.

The Mexican Military and Political Transition.


This thesis assesses the future of Mexican civil-military relations. Mexico is unique among Latin American nations for its professionalized and depoliticized military. While the Mexican armed forces have shunned an active role in politics since 1940, they continue to rely on the hegemonic political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI, for power and prestige. This dictates a close and mutually supportive working relationship. Within the next twenty years, however, the PRI is likely to lose its hegemonic position to increasing political opposition, severely straining the military's sixty-year tradition of loyalty to both its Constitution and party. The military will be pressured to take on a more dynamic political role with the demise of its long-standing patron. This thesis demonstrates that the Mexican armed forces are likely to resist this temptation to repoliticize.
Mexican Laws and Regulations Governing Occupational Safety and Health: A Selection of Principle Documents.


This compilation of Mexican laws, regulations, and standards dealing with occupation safety and health is the second in a series of publications being developed jointly by the United States and Mexico in connection with the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed in May 1991 by Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin and Mexican Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare Arsenio Farell Cubillas. A first essential step under the MOU has been to learn more about the system for protecting worker safety and health in the two countries. The volume, which makes these documents on Mexican labor law available in English for the first time, is designed to foster understanding of the legal framework governing the occupational safety and health system in Mexico. Knowledge gained through this process will serve as a basis for concrete action to promote the development and implementation of maximally protective occupational safety and health programs in both countries.

Free Trade with Mexico and U.S. National Security.


On August 12, 1992, the United States, Mexico, and Canada agreed on a trade pact calling for free commerce and investment among the three countries (North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA). If the three countries' legislative branches approve the NAFTA, it will become effective January 1, 1994. This paper analyzes the trade accord within the context of U.S. national security and looks specifically at its economic, immigration, and political impact on Mexico. This analysis draws three conclusions: One, NAFTA will have a positive impact on the United States and Mexico, but in the United States the impact will be statistically marginal, because Mexico's small economy is unlikely to affect the much larger U.S. economy to any significant degree; in the long term, NAFTA will provide U.S. businesses with an important competitive advantage. Second, NAFTA will not have a
significant impact on Mexican undocumented immigration to the United States because of the current and expected labor surplus in Mexico and the likelihood that wages in the United States will remain substantially higher than in Mexico for years to come. While support for democratization remains a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy, the United States has refused to leverage NAFTA to compel Mexican reforms, and NAFTA-driven economic liberalization in Mexico will not necessarily lead to democracy. Adam Przeworski's theoretical paradigm predicts two possible outcomes for authoritarian regimes such as Mexico's: political reform leading to full democracy or political reforms that are immediately reversed and followed by a return to authoritarian stasis.

0553 United States–Mexican Joint Ventures: A Case History Approach. Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Richland, Washington, N.L. Moore, R.J. Chidester, K.R. Hughes, and R.A. Fowler. March 1993. 63pp. Because the Mexican government has encouraged investment in Mexico by increasing the percentage of ownership of a Mexican business that a U.S. company can hold, joint ventures are more attractive now than they had been in the past. This study provides preliminary information for U.S. renewable energy companies who are interested in forming a joint venture with a Mexican company. This report is not intended to be a complete reference but does identify a number of important factors that should be observed when forming a Mexican joint venture: (1) Successful joint ventures achieve the goals of each partner. (2) It is essential that all parties agree to the allocation of responsibilities. (3) Put everything in writing. (4) Research in depth the country or countries in which you are considering doing business.

0616 Mexico Economic and Financial Report. U.S. Embassy, Mexico City, Mexico, NA. April 1993. 99pp. This report is a comprehensive study of the Mexican economy, prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. Issues covered include Mexican economic policy, external debt, inflation, wages, foreign investment, balance of payments, and others. A short-term economic outlook, business opportunities in Mexico, and thorough trade and economic statistics covering topics ranging from Mexican aggregate supply and demand to Mexico's trade balance are provided.
Mexican Perspectives on Mexican–U.S. Relations.


Mexican politicians and intellectuals view the United States as a somewhat pretentious, probably conceited, and often hypocritical nation that perceives only those aspects of its own actions deemed worthy of its own mythology. Whether on the subject of Texas independence or today's "war on drugs," many Mexicans tend to accentuate the darker aspects of American life, those which the United States itself often refuses to acknowledge in its dealings with its southern neighbor. Can the United States and Mexico successfully implement a treaty if we have different perspectives on the intrinsic value of the agreement? The United States and Mexico must have a better understanding of each other before we can normalize our relationship.


The bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States has been hard and complex during most of its history. The two countries have developed different patterns of society. One is rich; the other not. They have different models of social organization. They speak different languages, follow different customs. And they have distinct perspectives on the international stage. Thus it is common that frictions arise easily, especially on issues like the environment, immigration, and drugs, where perceptions on how to solve shared problems are different. In recent years, the dynamic of the world has been changing. A new world order is requiring new forms of international relations. This study examines the past and present of the Mexican–U.S. relationship, the efforts that both countries have been making to build a better sense of comprehensive bilateral cooperation, and the factors that could permit the achievement of a closer and more open relationship.

Drug Control: Revised Drug Interdiction Approach Is Needed in Mexico.


Acting on a request by the former Chairman and Co-Chairman, Task Force on International Narcotics Control, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the GAO reviewed the Northern Border Response Force program, which was established by the United States and Mexico to eliminate the use of northern Mexico as a staging area for U.S.-bound cocaine shipments. The GAO's
objectives were to examine the (1) status of the program, (2) problems encountered in implementing the program, and (3) future plans to expand drug interdiction activities in Mexico and neighboring Latin American countries.

Reel 12

Mexico cont.

1993 cont.


This report presents detailed statistics on U.S. state exports to Mexico for 1987–1992. Although the report provides a brief overview of key trends in U.S./Mexico trade, its most important section consists of statistical analyses of each state’s total exports, divided into numerous industries and segmented by year.


To assist Members of Congress in their deliberations over the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the GAO has prepared this report on the major issues associated with the agreement. NAFTA represents a dramatic step in the process of North American economic integration that has engendered substantial controversy over its potential impact. NAFTA has been negotiated to enter into force on January 1, 1994, but must be ratified by the legislatures of Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The GAO’s work is presented in two volumes. In the first volume, they briefly summarize major provisions of the agreement and provide a discussion of its broad impacts—on the economy, the environment, labor, and immigration.
To assist Members of Congress in their deliberations over the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the GAO has prepared this report on the major issues associated with the agreement. NAFTA represents a dramatic step in the process of North American economic integration that has engendered substantial controversy over its potential impact. NAFTA has been negotiated to enter into force on January 1, 1994, but must be ratified by the legislatures of Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The GAO's work is presented in two volumes. In the second volume, organized as a sourcebook, the GAO gives more detail on specific provisions of the agreement. In particular, the GAO discusses the objectives of negotiators from each country, the major components of the agreement, and the issues that remain unresolved. Specifically, the sourcebook includes information on NAFTA's (1) provisions to liberalize trade and investment in North America, (2) special provisions for trade-sensitive economic sectors, (3) rules to implement the agreement, and (4) potential impacts.

This document represents a statement-by-statement refutation of material unfavorable to U.S. ratification of the NAFTA agreement appearing in the Perot/Choate NAFTA Book. Statements in the Perot/Choate book and the page numbers on which they appear are shown in the left-hand columns, while the U.S. Trade Representative's statements responding to the charges appear in the columns on the far right.

The reports on thirty-six manufacturing sectors and small business collected in the volume indicate that the NAFTA provides significant new benefits and opportunities in Mexico and Canada for U.S. industries. These thirty-six sectors together accounted for over $280 billion in exports last year.
and employed over twelve-million Americans. They range in size from $1 billion in shipments up to $380 billion and include export-oriented industries as well as import-sensitive ones.

1994

0691 The Mexican Military Approaches the 21st Century: Coping With a New World Order.


In 1993, the Strategic Studies Institute and the University of Arizona cosponsored a conference on “Mexico Looks to the 21st Century: Change and Challenge.” It brought together a distinguished group of academic and government specialists to discuss Mexico’s future, particularly the changes likely to be brought about by the North American Free Trade Agreement and their implications for the United States. Of the papers presented at this meeting, this report was the one that struck closest to the concerns of the U.S. Army. The author’s discussion of the roles and missions of the Mexican armed forces has special salience in this area of “alternative missions.” Here is a classic case of a military institution whose principal missions of civic action and counternarcotics are those with which our own army has had to deal in recent years. Colonel Wager’s study provides a timely and instructive lesson on how our Mexican colleagues have wrestled with these challenges.

0725 The U.S. Presence in Mexico’s Agribusiness.


U.S. investment in Mexico is expected to increase with the implementation of the NAFTA. This report reviews U.S. investment in Mexico from 1987 to 1992 and evaluates its impact on the U.S. and Mexican economies. U.S. investment in Mexico’s food industry and agribusiness reached $2 billion in 1992, a five-fold increase from 1987. U.S. direct investment is expected to increase at an even faster rate during the 1990s and to spur economic growth in Mexico’s food and fiber sectors, providing additional employment and trade opportunities. The U.S. economy will benefit from increased returns on investment and bilateral trade opportunities.
Nicaragua

1990

Financial Sector Reform in Nicaragua.
When the Chamorro administration assumed office in Nicaragua in April 1990, it inherited a collapsed financial system. Under Sandinista rule, the country’s banking system, once the most fully developed in Central America, had deteriorated into little more than a mechanical arrangement for delivering subsidized credit under the auspices of the Central Bank of Nicaragua without any meaningful supervision or surveillance by monetary authorities. In recent years, hyperinflation has further debilitated Nicaragua’s financial system and severely eroded the asset and deposit bases of banking institutions. All four lending institutions—Banco Nicaraguense de Industria y Comercio, Banco Nacional de Desarrolo, Banco Popular, and Banco Inmobiliario—are insolvent. Routine transfers between cities may take up to a month before payment is finally credited.

1992

Nicaragua: Municipal Government Assessment.
This report analyzes Nicaragua’s municipal sector and presents recommendations for AID. The analysis focuses on democratic and participatory systems and processes. Issues covered include (1) the evolution of municipal government mandates from 1835 to 1988; (2) existing municipal mandates and functions under constitutional and statutory law; (3) the structure of local government; (4) the national and regional-level institutional environment within which local governments operate; (5) forms of municipal and community empowerment; and (6) municipal revenues and expenditures, with special reference to Managua. Five priority areas for AID action are identified: decentralization strategies, municipal finance, capital investment mechanisms, community representation and participation, and municipal support institutions. Annexes present conclusions reached in seminars held with municipal and central government officials to discuss the results of the analysis.
American policy toward Panama has been dominated by the Panama Canal, but the Canal has never been the direct cause of American military interventions in Panama. Since the nineteenth century, the United States has on occasion played the role of a policeman in Panama. Most of the U.S. interventions took place before the Canal was completed in 1914. The last of these interventions occurred in 1925, when U.S. forces stationed in Panama subdued riots in Panama City. Operation Just Cause was carried in part for reasons that strongly resembled the earlier justifications for intervention. By the time Manuel Noriega became an internationally recognized menace and President Bush decided to intervene, the Canal itself was only a background issue. The Bush administration was far more concerned with ending Noriega's ability to use the Panama Defense Forces to control the country. When Noriega refused to accept the victory of an opposition party in the May 1989 elections, it was final proof that Panama's economy and its civil society could not function effectively as long as Noriega remained in power.

This thesis examines Torrijismo's legacy and impact on the Public Force's professionalization and institutionalization in an attempt to ascertain prospects for the successful demilitarization of Panamanian politics. As a result of the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama, twenty-one years of military dominance in Panama ended. The Panamanian military and police institution, the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF), was dismantled and replaced with a new organization known as the Public Force. Due to its large complement of former PDF members, the Public Force has been faced by civilian suspicion and mistrust. Public Force attempts at professionalization and institutionalization have been opposed for fear that Panama's armed
institution will once again intervene in politics. Dissatisfaction with the civilian government and the increasing political clout of Torrijismo's political party, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (DRP), forebodes a new Torrijista, PRD–Public Force political alliance. Based on this analysis, the author recommends that the United States delegate its mentor role to politically neutral agencies such as the United Nations or the Organization of American States.

1992

0172 Narcotics Awareness and Education Project: Survey on Drug Prevalence and Attitudes in Urban Panama. 

This study measures levels of drug use in Panama's three principal urban centers (Panama City, San Miguelito, and Colon) and, for comparison, one small urban center, Penome. Overall, alcohol is the most frequently used drug. Panamanians differ from other Latin American and Caribbean populations in that they use analgesics (narcotics-based painkillers) more than tobacco, and in their relatively high use of cocaine and other coca derivatives. Generally, males have tried more drugs than women. In sum, Panama's drug problem, while concentrated among a small portion of the country's population, is significant in its intensity, with a high frequency of current use of marijuana, cocaine, crack, bazuco, and inhalants.

0281 The Fog of Peace: Planning and Executing the Restoration of Panama. 

This study addresses the effects of Operation Just Cause in Panama. It raises questions about where postconflict activities belong in the planning and execution processes. The author demonstrates the interaction of the Active Components and the Reserve, both day-to-day and in extraordinary circumstances. He explores the interagency arena and uncovers the weakness of the interaction between the military and other government agencies. While he shows that the Unified Command system is eminently well adapted to achieving operational success, he points out that, in the complex post–cold war world, it is not adequate to the task of independently effecting strategic success. The study challenges the military reader to look beyond the purely military in seeking ways to apply military resources effectively to the termination of conflict. It challenges the civilian reader to see military resources as among the tools available to the U.S. government during the
transition from war to peace, as well as in the twilight world of low-intensity conflict. Finally, the study demonstrates that postconflict activities are perhaps the critical phase of the military campaign. In that case, achieving the strategic political-military objectives will depend on the extent of integrated, effective interagency planning for the conduct of the war and the associated civil-military operations.

1993

*International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA.* 1993. 25pp. This report is a comprehensive marketing plan aimed at firms currently exporting to Panama, considering exporting to Panama, or considering establishing operations in Panama. It includes statistics and narrative concerning the following topics: best export prospects for U.S. firms in the Panamanian market, Panamanian commercial and financing environments, trade and investment issues that affect American business, market analysis plan, trade event plan, and work plan.

0417 Panama Canal Beyond the Year 2000.
*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., William T. Maddox.* 1993. 32pp. The Panama Canal has been a part of the history of the United States since 1903. The construction and operation of the Canal is an extraordinary feat that Americans can point to with pride. On December 31, 1999, this period of history will end when the Canal is turned over to the Panamanian Government in accordance with the treaties negotiated by President Carter in 1977. Will the Panamanian Government be able to run that extremely complicated engineering operation or will the Canal become the monument to greed, corruption, and mismanagement? It remains to be seen, but all indications are that the Panamanian Government will be totally unprepared to assume control. Given the evidence that is available today the probability that the Panama Canal will, after December 31, 1999, remain an efficient, dependable waterway for world shipping is small.

0449 Operation JUST CAUSE: An Application of Operational Art.
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Timothy D. Bloechl.* May 13, 1993. 68pp. This monograph describes the history of the planning and execution of Operation Just Cause. It focuses on the operation’s relationship to the theory and doctrine of operational art to answer the question: Was Opera-
tion Just Cause an application of operational art? This monograph first summarizes U.S. Army doctrine and selected theoretical works on operational art. Next, to understand the strategic and operational setting within which the military created plans, the paper provides an overview of the crisis in Panama. It emphasizes pre-Just Cause political and military actions, and associated military planning efforts, followed by a summary of operational results. The paper then compares Operation Just Cause planning and execution to doctrine and theory to determine if military planners applied operational art. This monograph concludes that Operation Just Cause was an excellent application of operational art. Its planners apparently understood the existing conditions and used the art to develop a highly effective operational plan that attained the desired strategic goals. The planners received the visionary guidance of three gifted officers, General Thurman, Lieutenant General Staner, and Lieutenant General Foss. These officers also benefitted from having leaders in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Bush Administration who gave them their head and did not tinker with their plan. The result was a stunning American victory accomplished in short order with minimum casualties.

Foreign Assistance: U.S. Efforts to Spur Panama’s Economy Through Cash Transfers.


In January 1990, the executive branch advised Congress that as a result of over two years of U.S.-imposed economic sanctions and the December 1989 military intervention, the new democracy in Panama might not survive without an immediate infusion of funds. The President proposed an economic recovery plan for Panama that included about $500 million in credit guarantees, export opportunities, and other incentives, and another $500 million in economic assistance. In February 1990, the Congress provided $41 million for Panama as part of the Urgent Assistance for Democracy in Panama Act, and in May 1990, another $420 million was provided as part of the Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act. The latter act required the Agency for International Development (AID), in cooperation with Panama and nongovernmental organizations receiving assistance, to establish systems and controls to ensure that the assistance was used for its intended purposes. This GAO report discusses the status of AID’s assistance to Panama. The report focuses on the cash grant program implemented pursuant to the Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act. It does not assess the development projects funded under the act,
because most projects were just getting started at the time of our review and
the GAO has reported separately on two large projects that have been
implemented.

**In the Aftermath of War: U.S. Support for Reconstruction and Nation-
Building in Panama Following JUST CAUSE.**
*Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Richard H. Schultz

What factors led to the decision to use force in Panama? President George
Bush listed four reasons: to protect American citizens abroad, to defend
democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking, and to protect the integrity
of the Panama Canal treaties. For Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Chairman Colin
Powell, six criteria had to be satisfied: Was there sufficient provocation?
Powell thought yes. Has the PDF (Panamanian Defense Force) changed
and gone out of control? Again yes. Would Blue Spoon (the military plan for
intervention) resolve the problem? Yes. Would the plan minimize damage
and casualties? Yes. Would it bring democracy? Yes. And public and press
reaction? Probably positive. These statements coincide with four guidelines
for using force in the aftermath of the cold war detailed in chapter 1. First,
there was an identifiable threat to U.S. interests on three counts. The killing
of a U.S. Marine officer on 16 December 1989 and the physical abuse of a
Navy lieutenant and his wife had put Americans at risk. Noriega and the
Panamanian Defense Force (PDF) appeared to be going out of control. By
extension, this situation was seen as threatening the Panama Canal. PDF
violence might put the canal at risk. Finally, there was Noriega’s involvement
in the international drug trade, an increasingly important U.S. national
security issue. However, the decision to intervene entailed more than the
defense of U.S. interests. It included the normative objective of supporting
democratization in Panama.

**AID Assistance to Panama: Evaluation of the Post-1989 Program.**
*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., Jacques Polak,
Anne Krueger, and John Newton. September 1993. 54pp.*

In response to the economic crisis following the surrender of General
Manuel Noreiga in December of 1989, the United States initiated a $1 billion
assistance package for Panama, of which nearly one half was to be
administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development through
Economic Support Funds for Panama’s economic recovery and emergency
needs. Announced by President Bush on January 25, 1990, the AID
program had three objectives: (1) to alleviate the suffering of low-income
groups adversely affected by Operation Just Cause, (2) to support economic recovery in general and to lay the groundwork for sustained growth, and (3) to support the democratic process. The bulk of the AID assistance focused on Panama’s economic recovery. This report provides an evaluation of the AID program since their implementation.

1994

0712


A complex series of events forced the U.S. senior leadership into the realization that the invasion of Panama and removal of General Manuel Antonio Noreiga from power was imperative to protect U.S. national interests. After careful consideration of U.S. objectives and available resources, very specific plans and concepts were developed. The campaign plan, although clearly articulated and precise, was influenced by many outside factors. Leadership, doctrine, strategy, technology, political-military integration, air power, and joint warfighting all played a critical role in shaping these courses of action for Operation Just Cause, providing an excellent framework for analysis.

Paraguay

1990

0747


This report outlines the current foreign trade outlook for Paraguay. It includes trade regulations, government policies, foreign investment, and a market profile for Paraguay.

1991

0785


This report provides an overview of the political situation in Paraguay two years after the February 1989 coup which removed General Alfredo Stroessner from power. The political transition to a more democratic regime
is described and the role of the key goals analyzed. The report also summarizes the situation regarding the economy and Paraguay's foreign relations.

**Peru**

1991

0823


The people in the Peruvian Amazon directly engaged in agriculture are the leading cause of deforestation and can be divided into two groups, colonists and indigenous groups. The factors affecting the rate at which each group causes deforestation differ. The paper explores these differences in Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley (the principal coca producing region in the world), focusing on the interrelationships between land availability, land tenure laws, and market forces on one hand and agricultural intensification and deforestation on the other. The study concludes that the technological decisions of the two groups are guided by diverse sets of socioeconomic factors.

1992

0853


Peru suffers from a combination of problems so severe that they threaten its democracy and present a major challenge to United States security policy. With the economy in a desperate state and social tensions dividing its people, Peru is plagued by rising insurgency. The country is heavily dependent on the income from the production of coca, from which the majority of the world's cocaine is derived. The United States wishes to reduce coca production, but the Peruvian government resists demands to make meaningful inroads into the industry, recognizing the threat to its fragile democracy from alienating the one million people who depend on it; a concern also shared by the United States. A fresh approach is required by the supporting power, which would recognize the financial realities and provide suitable support and advisory structure. With the adoption by President Fujimori of a counterinsurgency strategy modeled on British
experience in Malaya, and the United States in an unchallenged position on
the world stage, the moment seems ideal to embark on a new approach.
However, disparity of interests between the Administration and Congress,
the legacy of Vietnam, and domestic pressures in an election year prejudice
the implementation of a suitable strategy.

0919

The Rise and Development of Sendero Luminoso in Peru.

Sendero Luminoso, or as it is more commonly known, the Shining Path, strikes a chord of fear in the hearts of the Peruvian people. To Sendero's supporters, they are freedom fighters, but to the world community they are fanatic insurgents. Since 1980, Sendero Luminoso, under the leadership of Abimael Guzman, has used random acts of violence in an effort to dismantle the democratic government of Peru. The Indians, who occupy a remote geographical area of Peru, have been exploited for centuries and disregarded by their government. Guzman and his followers addressed the inequities and problems of the Indian population of this nation. Thus, Sendero Luminoso found fertile ground for its philosophy among the Indians and succeeded in building an effective revolutionary base. This organization could not only destroy the democratic institutions of Peru, but could serve as a catalyst for instability throughout the region. The United States, without becoming militarily involved in Peru's internal strife, needs to promote economic development and the growth of democratic political institutions in this region in order to preclude wholesale bloodshed if Sendero Luminoso achieves its goal.

0954

The Shining Path: The Successful Blending of Mao and Mariategu in Peru.
Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas,

This study analyzes the Peruvian Maoist Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) movement to discover an explanation for its survival and growth in power. The nature of the insurgency—to include the movement's goals, forms of warfare, ideology, strategy, organization and unity, popular support, and external support—is analyzed within the context of the Peruvian environment and the government response. The author concludes that the Shining Path's survival and growth in power results from the movement's superior strategy, its organizational capability, and the government's response. The Shining Path has adapted Maoism to Peru's current realities. Its strategy,
although controversial for its use of terrorism and sabotage of Peru's economic infrastructure, has proven successful to date. Most importantly, it has a cohesive organization that is remarkably adaptable. The Shining Path’s external support network aids in politically isolating the Peruvian government internationally and provides significant funding from coca cultivation. The government’s failure to recognize the nature of the insurgency, its seeking of a primarily military solution to the insurgency, and the brutal repression it has imposed have contributed to the Shining Path’s success.

Reel 14

Peru cont.

1992 cont.

0001


This report is the product of a roundtable held at the U.S. Army War College on June 11, 1992, in response to the growing socioeconomic and political crisis in Peru. Its purpose was to bring together a wide range of experts from both government and academia to discuss causes and nature of the crisis, probable outcomes, and implications for the United States and, in particular, the U.S. Army. They examined U.S. interests in the region, the prospects for a Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) victory, and laid out some of the elements of a strategy that might increase the chances of an outcome acceptable to both the U.S. and Peruvian governments. There was a general consensus that the current U.S. policy, which seeks to push President Fujimori back on the road to democracy, is the right one. Selective sanctions have demonstrated our resolve without so completely isolating the Peruvian government and crippling the economy as to threaten the regime’s immediate survival. At the same time, a formidable long-range problem remains unresolved: an apparent conflict between our counterinsurgency and counternarcotics objectives exists, such that the pursuit of the latter may prove detrimental to the attainment of the former. [Note: Frames 0037 to 0071 contain an exact duplicate of the preceding report.]
What Role Should the Department of Defense Play in the U.S. Andean Drug Strategy in Peru?


To meet the long-term objectives of the U.S. Andean Drug Strategy, the Department of Defense (DOD) must recommend that the government of Peru implement a counterinsurgency (CI) strategy to achieve stability, even though this could forego short term gains in the counternarcotics (CN) strategy. At little additional cost to the U.S. government, DOD can continue its current CN role and also train the Peruvian police and military in CI. The combination will eliminate the unchecked terrorism of the Sendero Luminoso (SL), increase the professionalism of Peru's military and police, allow infrastructure construction to provide alternatives to growing coca, and thus begin the strengthen Peru's democracy. With the CI strategy added to CN, Peru will be doing more to constrict the coca economy than interdiction (which actually raises coca leaf prices in the long term) can do alone.

Currently, the destabilization created by SL affects the legitimacy of the Peruvian government and its ability to govern. In the absence of a secure environment, police are unable to perform basic functions, democratic institutions including a fair judicial system cannot exist, and counternarcotics operations and crop substitution cannot succeed. CI would reduce the SL threat to Peruvian citizens and government agencies. Then democratic institutions could be rebuilt, social programs reestablished, infrastructure projects continued, and subsidized agriculture markets established to promote coca crop substitution. At the same time, with added security, the Peruvian National Police (PNP) will be able to focus on the interdiction of coca paste, cocaine hydrochloride, and traffickers.

Beyond Guzman: The Future of the Shining Path in Peru.


Peru's Shining Path revolutionary movement is at a crossroads. With the September 1992 capture of its founder Abimael Guzman and much of its Central Committee, the movement that appeared so strong has now been decapitated. Given this, it is tempting to dismiss the Shining Path as a significant threat to Peru's current order. This thesis contends that it is too early to close the book on the Shining Path as a long-term threat. The most important determinant of the Shining Path's fate will be its ability to contain the damage of Guzman's capture by adapting to a new state of affairs. This
thesis analyzes the organization’s record of flexibility and appeal by examining the ideology, strategy, and tactics employed through the course of its twelve-year war. The thesis concludes that the organization, while uncompromising at the ideological level, has demonstrated an exceptional degree of flexibility at the strategic and tactical levels. This flexibility will be essential if the organization is to regroup and continue its assault. While the outcome is uncertain this soon after Guzman’s capture, the Shining Path’s demonstrated capacity to adapt to diverse circumstances suggests that the organization has the capability, after a period of reconsolidation, to renew itself and continue its revolutionary war.

1993

0253

The Peruvian Government’s Counterinsurgency Efforts to Defeat the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path).


This study analyzes the counterinsurgency efforts of the Peruvian government to defeat the Maoist Shining Path movement. An examination of the government response within the context of the Peruvian environment reveals the government’s failure to recognize socioeconomic conditions which give the Sendero its strength. The author further examines the nature of the insurgency, its leader, ideology, objectives, organization, and tactics which contribute to the movement’s success. The government’s military solution to a political-military problem and its subsequent failed counterinsurgency efforts validate the hypothesis that Peru is losing the war against the Sendero.

0351


This thesis will demonstrate that Peru’s inability to physically operate and politically control large sections of the country is the result of eroded internal state sovereignty. The decline of Peru’s internal sovereignty is a function of economic, ethnic, and social cleavages which have remained virtually unchanged since the Spanish conquest of the Inca in 1533. As a result, Peru evolved into a polarized society which is ethnically and culturally divided, with a substantially wide margin between state authority and rural social autonomy. This marginalization of state sovereignty has facilitated the emergence and growth of the Shining Path insurgency, which has coupled with the expanding cocaine trade. Together these two processes have

71
accelerated the erosion of functional sovereignty in Peru. Given this reality, the policy goals set forth by the 1992 National Drug and Control Strategy remain unattainable in Peru, and have little prospect for success.

**Uruguay**

1994

*Impacts of the MERCOSUR Agreement on the Uruguayan Economy.*


This thesis examines the MERCOSUR agreement (Common Market of the Southern Zone), specifically the provision for a common external tariff and its impact on the economy of Uruguay. The thesis begins by examining the economic regionalism which gives rise to trade agreements such as MERCOSUR and investigates the trade mechanisms through which such regionalism is accomplished. The provisions and background of the MERCOSUR agreement are explored, as well as the economic conditions, current and historical, which exist in the participant countries. The work continues by exploring two possibilities for Uruguay: (1) to continue economic integration by entering a customs union scheduled to take effect on January 1995 or (2) to remain in a free-trade zone with the other three countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay). These two possibilities are analyzed using traditional and new theories of international trade. The study further examines foreign direct investment and technology in the context of Uruguayan participation in MERCOSUR or in a free-trade zone. The study concludes that if Uruguay, due to its small size, could obtain the special treatment of a free-trade zone, the costs of trade diversion would be reduced and Uruguayan welfare would increase.
Venezuela

1992

0620


This thesis examines the unstated reasons behind Venezuela’s attempts to abrogate the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitral Treaty signed on October 3, 1899, which supposedly settled the boundary dispute between the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (then British Guiana) and the Republic of Venezuela. The research focused on the periods immediately preceding the February 1944 release of the Mallet-Prevost Memorandum and the formal rejection by Venezuela of the 1899 Arbitral Award at the Seventeenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly on August 18, 1962, to the collapse of the Port-of-Spain Protocol on June 17, 1982. Research was further conducted to examine some of the relevant factors in Venezuela’s foreign relations with its neighbors and domestic issues which may have affected its decision to nullify the Arbitral Award and demand reexamination of the boundaries with the Republic of Guyana.

0792


This report outlines a marketing plan for Venezuela for fiscal year 1992. It includes a brief country profile, data on prospects, commercial and financing information, trade and investment issues, and a market analysis plan.

1993

0860


Contents include: Introductory Note; Statistical Regions Used in the Report; Top State Exporters to Venezuela; States with Greatest Dollar Growth in Exports to Venezuela, 1987–91; State and Regional Exports to Venezuela: 1987–91 (organized by region); State and Regional Exports to Venezuela: 1987–91 (alphabetical listing); State and Regional Exports to Venezuela, 1987–91, Ranked by 1991 Exports; Percent Changes in State Exports to the World and to Venezuela: 1987–91; Percent Changes in State Exports to Venezuela: 1987–91 (ranked by percentage change); Dollar Changes in State Exports to Venezuela: 1987–91 (alphabetical listing); Dollar Changes
Lessons Learned by Venezuela Fighting in Low Intensity Conflict.
During ten critical years, the Venezuelan democracy made a strong stand against communism and struggled bravely for its survival. Thanks to the resolve of the administration in charge and the decisive action of the Venezuelan armed forces, the scourge of subversion could finally be defeated both politically and militarily. The 1960s were a decade of agitation and violence for Venezuela, a period of its contemporary history from which many lessons can be drawn. Although the ghost of communism has vanished, these lessons are still applicable, and failure to heed them may lead to yet another regrettable replay of history. This paper examines the Venezuelan strategy developed to confront the Castro-Communist insurgency of the 1960s and the lessons learned by democracy during that struggle.
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