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Scholars have searched for the causes of military intervention into domestic political processes from a variety of analytical perspectives. Using independent variables suggested by some of these perspectives, a new operationalization of military intervention and the technique of multiple regression, this paper explores the causes of military intervention in South America during the period from 1948 to 1967. The best predictors of military intervention are the level of political unrest, the incidence of nonviolent political protest demonstrations, and, negatively, the strength of the governing party. On the other hand, the best predictors of a withdrawal from political power by the armed forces are political unrest, unfavorable balances of trade, and the lack of institutionalization of the regime (as measured by regime age).

This report presents an energy assessment of six Central American countries—Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama—to assist these countries in defining, planning, and meeting energy requirements implicit in their economic and social development goals and also to assist the U.S. Agency for International Development and other development organizations in defining energy programs in Central America.

This volume presents a country-by-country energy assessment of six Central American countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama. For each country it includes an assessment of geographic, social, and economic aspects of energy development, an assessment of energy resources, current and projected energy use, potential strategies for energy development, and
finally recommendations to U.S. Agency for International Development for the orientation of its energy development programs. Each country assessment is supplemented with a summary of energy research and development activities and a description of each country's energy-related institutions.

0485 The Effects of P.L. 480 Wheat Imports on Latin American Countries. 
New York State Coll. of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Ithaca. Cornell international agriculture mimeograph. Lana Hall. Apr. 80. 89pp.
Food aid has long been an important U.S. foreign policy tool and its popularity is likely to continue as worldwide poverty and the need to manage grain supplies in developed countries persist. However, because an increase in local grain supplies provided by food aid can depress local prices and/or lead to inadequate food production and dependence on food imports, the price policy disincentives of food aid in recipient countries should be evaluated. This study analyzes the effects of U.S. Public Law (P.L.) 480 wheat imports on the agricultural development of Brazil, Colombia, and Peru from 1952 to 1975 and provides a basis for evaluating the effects of future food aid policy decisions. An econometric, multiequation commodity model is presented for measuring P.L. 480's effect on supply and demand for cereals, income generation, commercial grain imports, market clearing, the interrelationships of production and consumption and government policies affecting agricultural production, consumption, and trade.

Latin America is becoming more important in the world community, a fact which can be seen subregionally in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America. The next decade will see the continuation of important geopolitical changes: the continued growth of strong and effective national governments, the competition for resources, the resurgence of traditional rivalries and border tensions, and the diffusion of military power to include the possibility of nuclear proliferation. In addition, Latin America will be less and less beholden to the policy preferences of the United States. Indeed, multipolarity will engender a loosening of traditional alignments that will grant greater flexibility to the Latin Americans. The region's increasing importance requires developing a new framework for a meaningful dialogue on the substantive issues of Inter-American security in its broadest sense, economic as well as military.

0611 Congressional Presentation Fiscal Year 1984: Latin America and Caribbean. 
Bureau of Latin America and the Caribbean. 297pp.
This document presents to the Congress all Development Assistance (DA) and Economic Support Fund (ESF) programs for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) for which Agency for International Development is requesting funds for fiscal year 1984.
The document begins with a summary table which provides a breakout by country and appropriation account of the funding requirements for the Latin America and Caribbean Region from fiscal year 1981 to fiscal year 1984. There is also a regional summary table of economic and social data for countries in LAC that receive A.I.D. assistance.
The Latin America and Caribbean overview provides a summary of the Agency's programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. This is followed by country narratives which describe the total A.I.D. program, including those projects for which funds are being requested in fiscal year 1984. The narratives are followed by planned project summary sheets which present in detail requests for proposed new projects in fiscal year 1984 for the three regional programs and fourteen country programs (listed alphabetically).
It concludes with tables on terminating programs and a listing of additional program requirements, also known as "shelf projects." These include projects and
activities not noted in the proposal to Congress but which represent valid development requirements.

0908 The Caribbean—Implications for the U.S. Army.
Army War Coll., Carlisle Barracks, PA. Frank Zachar. 16 Apr. 82. 35pp.
A survey of historical, political, social and economic forces and trends in the Caribbean. Thesis is that Caribbean is and will continue to be a volatile region which has the potential for major security, political and economic crises for the U.S. Thus, the U.S. Army must focus attention on the region—for contingency planning and also in development assistance.

0943 Inter-American Foundation: Alternative to Traditional Foreign Assistance.
In 1969, the Congress created the Inter-American Foundation as an experimental program providing new direction and emphasis for U.S. aid to Latin America. It is characterized by independence from United States and host governments' short-term foreign policy objectives, responsiveness to the initiatives of Latin Americans, and non-intervention in the affairs of groups supported. Although a number of projects which General Accounting Office reviewed have met their objectives, some projects are having problems doing so. However, these problems could be overcome if monitoring activities were more supportive of grantee efforts. The Foundation, its grantees, and other organizations supporting development activities could benefit if their activities and experiences were shared more systematically.

BOLIVIA

0998 Legacy of the War of the Pacific.
This paper reviews the role of Tacna-Arica and the Bolivian push for a port in the light of the relationships between the three powers directly involved and between them and the rest of the Americas. Prior to the 1929 treaty, these relationships and interactions were highly complex. Chile's willingness to reach a settlement with Bolivia and Peru was in direct ratio to the severity of its boundary problems with Argentina; Argentina's vigor in pressing the dispute with Chile was related to the state of its relations with Brazil. Bolivia's ability to resist Chilean pressure for the cession of her coastal province was influenced by her boundary problems with Argentina and Brazil. Peru's attention was briefly distracted from Tacna and Arica by border disputes with Ecuador and Colombia. The United States and all of independent South America had a part in the action. Moreover, the Tacna-Arica and Bolivian port cases were among the first submitted to the League of Nations, and Bolivia hauled Chile before the Organization of American States in 1962 as the result of a dispute over water rights vaguely related to the port question. This resulted in a suspension of diplomatic relations which endures to this day.

Reel II

BOLIVIA - Cont'd.

0001 An Analysis of Economic Variables for the Southern Valleys of Bolivia.
As part of an Agency for International Development-funded agricultural sector analysis in Bolivia, this report presents results of a 1977-80 socioeconomic survey of 699
representative farm households in Bolivia's southern valleys to determine the factors affecting farm household economic behavior. The author recommends that future studies be focused more on specific agricultural issues and that farm household livestock sectors be analyzed separately from crop sectors.

**BRAZIL**

**0222 Brazil 2000: A Look At an Old Ally That is Changing.**

*Army War Coll., Carlisle Barracks, PA. George Beckett. 26 Apr. 82. 42pp.*

The author looks at the current economics, the politics, and the military of Brazil and her relationship with the U.S. At the same time, he talks about Brazil's status in the future. At the end he denies conclusions and makes recommendations about what the U.S. must do to improve the relationship in the future.

**0264 Brazil: A Country Study.**

*Army War Coll., Carlisle Barracks, PA. W.L. Steininger, Jr. 19 Apr. 82. 30pp.*

Assessed are the political, economic and military factors in Brazil highlighting the country's drive for internal development and international influence. The relationships between the U.S. and Brazil are discussed with emphasis on the declining U.S. presence and influence.

**COSTA RICA**

**0293 Equitable Growth: The Case of Costa Rica.**


Increased concern with equity objectives of development—employment, equality, participation, meeting basic needs—has prompted the search for cases of successful equitable growth. Costa Rica, whose growth is analyzed in this report, represents an example where a rising gross national product has been maintained along with an equitable distribution of benefits. The report begins by presenting a brief overview of Costa Rica's growth and of the historical components, i.e., the physical setting, colonial influences, economic developments, and political changes, which have been responsible for its current socioeconomic condition. Public sector programs developed between 1960 and the early 1970s are treated next, including the development of physical infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and housing; human resources, including education, health care, family allowances, and nutrition; and land reform and wages policy. Issues and alternatives for equitable growth are treated in a concluding chapter.

**CUBA**

**0393 Modes of Political Participation in Revolutionary Cuba.**


The study of political participation has traditionally focused almost exclusively upon developed western politics. Participation in underdeveloped nations was presumed to be restricted to elites, and participation in communist systems was regarded as 'inauthentic.' Recent studies have challenged these views and called for research to empirically establish the extent and effects of participation in non-western systems. This article is a study of political participation in revolutionary Cuba which utilizes the conceptual apparatus developed by Nie and Verba's cross-national studies. After reviewing the conceptual and methodological problems of applying this framework to the Cuban case, the article attempts to ascertain: the main participatory acts that Cubans engage in, and whether particular modes of participation can be identified;
how many Cubans avail themselves of various participatory opportunities; what effect mass participation has on the political system; and how these facets of political participation have evolved since 1959.


This paper examines the process of building a new political system in revolutionary Cuba, as reflected in the shifting relationship between the armed forces and the communist party. The institution-building process in Cuba was prolonged and difficult, lasting over a decade; this was the result of the unique way in which the Cuban insurrection developed. The Cuban revolution was the first socialist revolution to succeed without a Leninist party in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. Instead, the armed forces fulfilled the vanguard role usually played by the communist party. A new party was not inaugurated until 1965, and even then it remained so weak during the 1960s that it was incapable of assuming the directive role in the political process from the armed forces. The paper summarizes the building of the new party, examines the party's weaknesses, and details its relationship to the armed forces during the 1960s. It is argued that the military was not only impervious to party control, but that it wielded considerable influence in the party as a whole.

0476 Continuity and Change in the Cuban Political Elite, 1959-1976.  

The aim of this study is to examine, through a diachronic analysis of the Cuban political elite, the dimensions of changes and to suggest some of the dynamics accounting for them. Specifically, we will be examining the changing pattern of institutional relationships within the Cuban political system and the integration of the political elite. The data will show that during the 1960s the Cuban communist party did not play the 'leading role' in politics which is typical of ruling communist parties, and that during this period the party was torn by serious factionalism. Since 1970, however, there is evidence that this factionalism has been reduced, that the political elite has become increasingly integrated, and that the party has finally emerged as the dominant institution in the Cuban political system. Further, we shall find that these major changes were accomplished quite smoothly, with a minimum of attrition among members of the elite. Faced in 1959 with a political landscape devoid of viable institutions, Cuba's revolutionary leaders have now, some seventeen years later, succeeded in creating a political system which corresponds to the Marxist-Leninist model they adopted in 1961.

0520 Dilemmas of Cuban Foreign Policy in the 1980s.  

In both an economic and a military sense, Cuba's national security has been since 1959 a function of its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. Cuba's policy towards the Third World can only be understood within this more important constellation of relations. Cuba's effort to cast itself as a leader in the Third World has been an important element of its overall strategy for survival. Just as Yugoslavia sought the leadership of the Nonaligned Movement to block Soviet retribution for Tito's deviation from orthodoxy, Cuba has sought similar prominence as protection from attack by the United States or abandonment by Soviet Union. In short, there are no more easy gains to be made by Cuban diplomacy. Both in Latin America and in the Third World generally, Cuban foreign policy is reaching the limits imposed upon it by its own ideological commitments and its relations with the Soviet Union. Moreover, the exacerbation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union has once again placed Cuba at the focal point of the cold war, forcing it to concentrate its attention on maintaining the closest possible relationship with the Soviets.
The Demands for Orderliness in the Cuban Revolution in the 1980s.


Cuba enters the 1980s having witnessed impressive changes during the previous two decades. Cuba has become a major factor in the international system. Its revolutionary government has transformed many aspects of its own society, economics and politics. To its credit, it continues to build on its already impressive accomplishments in certain areas such as education and public health. This paper has had a much more modest goal: What are the demands for orderliness in the Cuban revolution. They are those of a regime that could be described as a 'consultative oligarchy.' The Cuban political system is neither the one-man terroristic dictatorship that its enemies claim nor the participatory egalitarian paradise painted by some of its supporters. Hierarchy, bureaucracy, performance, bargaining over organizational stakes—these are the hallmarks of Cuban politics. Cuba is not unique in this regard, of course, but the two alternative descriptions just cited seem to be more prevalent. The political authority of the top leadership remains unchallenged in effect.

The Cuban Economy: A Statistical Review.


This handbook on the Cuban economy provides a wide range of statistics of general interest. It contains data on agricultural and industrial output, transportation, distribution, the value, direction, and composition of foreign trade, Soviet economic assistance, population and labor force, a section of social and economic comparisons, and Cuba's diplomatic relations and membership in international organizations. The coverage is focused on the years 1970-78; where available, 1979 data have also been included. In the foreign trade section, most data are through 1976 or 1977 due to lack of more recent data. Most tables also include comparative data for 1957 and 1965.


The Cuban economy performed much worse in 1976-80 than in 1971-75, the dynamism of foreign trade slowed down and the degree of trade-partner concentration worsened in the second period. There was an overwhelming percentage of unfulfilled output targets in the 1976-1980 plan and the degree of unfulfillment was extremely high. In the social sector there was continued improvement and fulfillment overfulfillment in education and health but housing and day-care center building targets were unfulfilled. Thus we may conclude that the 1976-80 plan was a dismal failure in economic terms and had mixed results in social terms. The analysis of the feasibility of output targets for 1981-85 suggests that, in spite of a first impression of planners' caution, most of the goals are too optimistic. In the area of foreign trade, the five-year plan forecasts that trade with the USSR will increase from sixty-three to sixty-five percent but that trade with other socialist countries should decline from thirteen to four percent, while trade with market economies should increase from twenty-three to thirty-one percent.

Policy Objective and Options under a Leverage Strategy Toward Cuba.


This study begins by assessing the Cuban challenge to U.S. security and foreign policy interests, the range of objectives that U.S. policy toward Cuba should strive for in the 1980s, and the accomplishments as well as failures of recent U.S. policy toward Castro. The study then examines two conventional policy alternatives, the punitive and conciliatory approaches, with regard to their respective strengths and weaknesses in advancing U.S. objectives toward Cuba. Finally, the concluding part of the study explores the way in which the United States might devise and apply a long-term
strategy for gaining increased leverage against Cuba and, directly or indirectly, the
Soviet Union, with the aim of promoting a range of minimum-maximum objectives
toward Cuba in the 1980s.

**EL SALVADOR**

0792 Applicability of Certain U.S. Laws That Pertain to U.S. Military Involvement in El
Salvador.


Section 21(c)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act requires the President to submit a
report to the Congress within forty-eight hours of the existence or a change in status
of significant hostilities or terrorist acts which may endanger American lives or
property. Despite U.S. Government property losses, the possible endangering of U.S.
personnel, and the use of substantial emergency funds by the President in response
to the Ilopango air base raid, no report was filed. General Accounting Office believes
a report should have been filed. Department of Defense determined that the deploy­
ment of mobile training teams to El Salvador in 1981 did not require a report to the
Congress under the War Powers Resolution. This determination was based on certain
representations. The facts General Accounting Office developed contradict some of
these representations.

**HONDURAS**


Hondurans find themselves near the epicenter of change and revolution in Central
America. The sudden acquisition of geopolitical importance is new for the country. A
civilian government is slated to take office in late January 1982 after nearly ten years
of direct rule by the Armed Forces of Honduras. The return to constitutional rule
began as early as 1976 when an Advisory Council (CONASE), set up by former Chief
of State General Juan Melgar Castro, was charged with devising a new electoral law.
The Constituent Assembly election of 1980 was the next phase. The Assembly has
modified the electoral law and is about to conclude its work on a new constitution.
The final phase of moving from military to civilian government includes elections
scheduled for 29 November 1981 in which voters will select the president of the
republic, deputies to the National Congress, and local officials—the first such elec­
tions in ten years. The 1981 elections are significant in practical terms, for the
symbolic importance they will have for Hondurans, and the impact they will have in
Central America. No less significant are the perturbing questions that the Honduran
situation poses for U.S. policymakers.

**MEXICO**

0831 Special Interests and Transnational Relations in Agricultural Trade: Implications for
United States-Mexico Relations.


Trade issues rank among the most important topics in international relations. Two
characteristics of the international system provide the basis for the increased bar­
gaining power of small states: the internationalization of production and the strategic
value of the smaller states to the major power. This paper examines the process by
which Mexican tomato producers and their government utilized both bargaining
chips to successfully resist U.S. restriction on tomato imports in 1969 and again in
1979.
The purpose of this report is to present new evidence of the magnitude of recent estimated real wage differentials for low-skill laborers across regions within Mexico and through the Southwestern United States; to show the trend in those wage differentials across recent years, with specific attention to the effect of recent devaluations of the Mexican peso; to broaden the analysis of socioeconomic incentives to a series of measures beyond real wages alone, and to suggest policy implications with respect to migration which emerge from this analysis of changing incentives in the context of broader interrelationships between the two countries.

Reel III

MEXICO - Cont’d.

Agrarian Structure and Labor Migration in Rural Mexico: The Case of Circular Migration of Undocumented Workers to the U.S.

The purpose of this study is to determine the specific agricultural conditions in Mexico which cause off-farm wage labor to take the form of undocumented migration to the U.S. The report reviews economic and anthropological migration literature and develops a migration model which is applied to four rural areas of Mexico. The principal conclusion to emerge from this research is that regional agricultural development will not necessarily stem the flow of migratory wage labor to the U.S. The Bajio, which contributed most heavily to the U.S. migration stream, was the most developed of the four zones studied, and within this zone there were no significant differences between migrant and nonmigrant households with respect to most economic indicators. Migrant households were found to be significantly larger through incorporation of more adult members into the extended family. Higher farm incomes in that zone permit more individuals to claim a share of farm production, while lower farm labor requirements and higher cash outlays dictate that the majority of labor by these members will be in off-farm occupations. This household structure encourages U.S. migration by partially offsetting through occupational diversification the higher level of risk associated with this activity.

Petroleum and Political Change in Mexico.

This paper describes and analyzes those conditions of and forces for change. After a brief description of production and export policy and practice and the growth of Petroleos Mexicanos, the effort looks to contributions to institutional change and to policy controversy directly tied to the petroleum industry. The discussion then evolves to other foci of policy disputation indirectly related to the new milieu created by anticipated petroleum earnings. Finally, in a more speculative vein, the paper gauges the significance of the new oil for political change by examining the profundity of the issues at controversy, the scope and intensity of the challenges to governmental authority, and the sectors and individuals involved in the several disputes and departures.

Mexican Industrial Development Plans: Implications for United States Policy.

This study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter discusses the industrial
development plans of Mexico, how they were made, how planning might be accomplished in future administrations, and how effective the plans have been to date. Special emphasis is placed on understanding of history and culture as it affects planning. The second chapter focuses on six key industrial sectors: petroleum, steel, automotive, electronic equipment, agribusiness and transportation. Each sector is analyzed to determine probable levels of production and output, likely commerce with the United States, and constraints on achieving sectoral objectives. Chapter Three considers those constraints which cross all sectors and bear on the entire economy. Particular attention is given to inflation and related constraints common to oil-wealthy developing countries. Financial, budgetary, sectoral, infrastructural, labor and transportation constraints are considered. In Chapter Four the implications of the first three chapters as they relate to trade with the United States are discussed. Dangers which may face both countries, the need for a framework for the relationship between both countries, and major commercial opportunities are considered.

0667 The Role of the Armed Forces in the Mexican Economy in the 1980s.
It is common belief that expenditures for defense harm the economic growth of countries. Mexico presents a special case in this respect, because its expenditures on defense expressed as a percentage of its GNP represent an average of 0.71 percent in the last thirty years. This thesis provides an awareness of the key role that the Armed Forces have played in Mexico's economic growth. Defense expenditures have not harmed economic growth. Rather, in fulfillment of their duties the Armed Forces produce a spin-off effect in the economy by supplying skilled manpower, education and training, and generating an aggregate demand. The Armed Forces can contribute to the achievement of national objectives without neglecting their military duties through programs of technology, employment, education and training, shipbuilding, food production and nursing, and social programs.

Army War Coll., Strategic Studies Inst., Carlisle Barracks, PA. Edward J. Williams. 15 Mar. 82. 35pp.
This memorandum posits and critically analyzes several apologies, motivations, and principles contributing to Mexico's increasingly active foreign policy role in Central America. It sets out a series of explanations including those typified as socio-cultural, historical, and ideological, economic, political, and strategic/security. In each case, the author proposes the argument and then exposes it to analysis, featuring its strengths and weaknesses. The several categories define distinct and distinguishable parts of the larger foreign policy matrix, and their proposition and elucidation contribute to an enriched understanding of the formulation and articulation of Mexican policy in Central America. In this effort, the author is not concerned essentially with the substance of Mexico's Central American policy, but rather with the motivations and principles informing the policy (or policies) and the apologies devised to explain Mexico's activities in the region.

0799 Mexico and Her Place in the World Tomorrow.
Army War Coll., Carlisle Barracks, PA. Joseph W. Hutchison. 10 May 82. 48pp.
'Mexico and Her Place in the World Tomorrow' is an extremely well researched and written essay. It provides focus on the population projections for Mexico as they relate to the North American continent and to the rest of the world. After establishing the fact that increases in Mexican population will be overwhelming by the year 2000, the author provides a perspective on the implications for the United States, in particular. These implications are broad ranging and cover the social, economic, and political areas. The final two chapters assess the responses made by the government of Mexico and the U.S. and detail possible future relationships. Graphs, charts, and tables are used most effectively throughout and the writing style provides for interesting and easy reading.
Implementing the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977—Good Planning But Many Issues Remain.


So far, progress has been good in implementing provisions of the Panama Canal Treaty, as illustrated by the smooth transfer to Panama of various port and railroad activities, certain health and sanitation services, and other functions. The Panama Canal Commission and the Department of Defense have made substantial progress in enacting importing personnel changes required by the Treaty or its implementing legislation. Several unresolved issues and problems hinder full implementation of the Treaty; however, the parties involved are working toward solutions to problems in the following areas: Termination of U.S. jurisdiction in the former Canal Zone; transfer to Panama of considerable property, port and railroad facilities, and certain public services; and Defense's assumption of certain functions previously performed by the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government. In addition, there is potential for better interagency coordination.

Examination of Fiscal Year 1979 Financial Statements of the Panama Canal Organization and Treaty-Related Issues.


The report is on the General Accounting Office examination of the Panama Canal organization's financial statements for fiscal year 1979, the last year before the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 entered into force, and on Treaty-related issues. Chapter three of the report discusses the issue of Treaty-related costs and savings and our recommendation for coordination by the agencies to define, identify, and account for such costs and savings. The report also highlights in chapter four the impact of Treaty legislation on the Panama Canal Commission's budgeting and accounting system.
The following index is a guide to the major subjects of the three reels. The Roman numeral refers to the reel, and the Arabic numeral refers to the frame number at which a particular study begins. Hence III: 0212 directs the researcher to the study which begins at Frame 0212 of Reel III. By referring to the Reel Index which comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this study.

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