

RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA AND
THE CARIBBEAN ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY:
Some Impressions*

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This note reports on research in Latin America and the Caribbean concerning international relations and foreign policy. It lists persons in the region who are working on these subjects, comments on changing priorities in research by Latin Americans, broadly evaluates the quality of their research, considers the institutional loci and contexts for Latin American work in this field, and discusses the relevance of work in Latin America and the Caribbean to scholars in the United States and other Northern countries, and to those in developing countries beyond Latin America. The report draws on a considerable number of books, journal articles, and unpublished memoranda made available by colleagues, on correspondence with a number of Latin American social scientists, and on several interviews.¹ These notes are surely not complete, and inadvertent inaccuracies may be included, but this version is presented with the hope that it will be helpful to others in its present form and that it may stimulate the submission to LARR of additional pertinent material.

Who Works in Latin America and the Caribbean in the Areas of International Relations and Foreign Policy?

Twenty years ago or even less, few Latin American social scientists worked primarily in the field of international relations as defined and understood in the universities and research institutes of the United States, which is to say that few used the research methods, techniques, and concepts developed in the United States and Western Europe. A number of historians and diplomats wrote on interstate relations, but

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most studies exemplified a descriptive, historical, or legal perspective. A few Latin American social scientists, to be sure, worked on relations between domestic economic and political processes in the region and the international system. The latter group, who have written from a dependency perspective, contributed importantly to understanding in the United States and elsewhere of linkages in the international system, and of the pervasiveness of systematic asymmetries and their effects. Their contributions, however, although important conceptually, led to few empirical research projects on international relations.²

By the early 1980s, a number of younger Latin American scholars (many of them trained in U.S. graduate schools and most of them now clustered in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico) had begun to teach and conduct research on international relations. (Information about these scholars is included in the appendix.) Work in Latin America and the Caribbean on international affairs and foreign policy, however, is by no means confined to these few scholars. A comprehensive list of Latin Americans contributing to analysis of international issues would include also the following categories: (1) academic specialists on Latin American countries, on other Third World nations, and on the United States, Japan, Europe, and the socialist countries; (2) military officers and a few civilian advisers within the national military establishments of Latin America, especially in the war colleges, working on geopolitics, strategy, and international relations; (3) economists in various universities and research institutes that deal with international economic issues; (4) technical specialists in various government ministries and state corporations analyzing the international dimensions of Latin American policies on the production, marketing, distribution, pricing and protection of energy sources, and similar topics; (5) career personnel in foreign ministries, such as the highly regarded Brazilian diplomatic corps; (6) diplomatic and technical personnel (many working in international organizations) who are producing studies on issues like technology transfer, regional economic integration, oil, and investment regulation; (7) those few journalists who comment regularly on international issues, such as Mariano Grondona of Argentina, Oliveira Ferreyros and Carlos Castello Branco of Brazil, and Samuel del Villar of Mexico; (8) a number of former ministers and other public figures in Latin America, such as former ministers of foreign affairs and finance, who write regularly on international affairs; and (9) individuals currently involved in Latin American politics who take positions on international issues. Many of these groups obviously are involved in specific projects for internal purposes. Much of this sort of work cannot be considered part of the cumulative body of knowledge developed from the multidisciplinary study of international relations, but sometimes output from these sources percolates into public discussion.

Priorities for Research in Latin America and the Caribbean

Research priorities differ among the various categories of persons listed above. A few traditional Latin American writers on international relations still tend to emphasize international law, diplomatic history, and regional integration. An important body of literature, however, has emerged as a critique of the "modernization theory" that prevailed in the social sciences in the 1950s. The U. N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), first headed by Raúl Prebisch, elaborated the thesis that underdevelopment in the periphery was directly linked to the structure of the international system. Analysts writing in the dependency tradition in the 1960s and 1970s focused on the center-periphery class alliances that were viewed as perpetuating underdevelopment. In recent years, *dependentistas* have turned away from mechanical center-periphery models to analyze questions such as the evolution of modes of production within individual countries, the dynamic interaction of internal class conflict and contradictions at the international level, and the opportunities for and domestic sources of regime change.

Younger scholars trained abroad as academic specialists on international relations are working on a variety of subjects, including foreign policy decision-making (by Latin American governments and by the United States government on policies toward Latin America), global bargaining on New International Economic Order issues and Latin American strategies for negotiation, arms competition and arms control in South America and the relationships between military regimes and foreign policy behavior, border disputes and intraregional rivalries, regimes for managing the resources of the seas and Antarctica, and Latin America's relationships with Europe, the Socialist bloc, and Japan.

Academic area specialists in Latin America are studying Africa and relations with Africa, intra-Latin American trends and relationships, and the United States. Significant efforts to study the United States have sprung up during the past ten years in Mexican, Cuban, Venezuelan, and Brazilian centers, with considerable communication among these centers. A new initiative of this kind is being planned by the Ecuadorean foreign ministry.

Work in the military institutions and journals is covered well in John Child's article, "Geopolitical Thinking in Latin America."³ Much of this effort is being carried out by retired Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean military officers. Several Latin American journals on geopolitics are published, including *Estrategia*, *Geosur*, and *Revista Geográfica de Chile*. Recent studies of interest have focused on the Southern Atlantic as a security zone, on the changing international context of regional rivalries, and on the relationship between "security" and economic and social development.

The most burgeoning area of research on international relations in Latin America and the Caribbean is being conducted by economists writing on international economic issues and on Latin America's position in the world economy. Significant work that is expanding in quantity and quality is being accomplished in such areas as the changing international division of labor and shifting comparative advantage, the role and effects of the international financial system and its links to particular Latin American countries and their policy choices, commodity markets and regimes, the political economy of specific industries (for example, automobiles in Mexico, agriculture in Mexico and elsewhere), and the general range of issues posed by the changing relations between the dynamic, open, and semi-industrialized economies of South America and the sluggish, protectionist, industrialized economies of the OECD.

Although United States-Latin American relations continue to pre-occupy Latin American scholars, new research priorities reflect the changing international realities. Latin America is not only becoming more closely linked to the international economic system, but the nature of its links is changing. The emerging interests of the newly industrializing countries (NICs) are distinct from those of either the other developing countries or the OECD.⁴

Latin America's economies have grown impressively through increasing openness to world economic transactions, although some Latin American writers argue that growth has occurred at a cost of increased dependence and maldistribution. Researchers are focusing on such issues as the role of foreign capital and national-international alliances in these new openings and the relationship between these alliances and authoritarian rule, the domestic impact of anti-inflation programs that are often externally imposed, and the nature of the transition period under disequilibrium growth models. Latin American exports of traditional primary products are in relative decline, and the promotion of manufactured exports raises these new research questions: what are the domestic effects of different mechanisms of export promotion, and how have changes in international commerce affected LDC bargaining for a New International Economic Order (NIEO)? The contraction of the international capital market since the mid-seventies, coinciding with increased Latin American requirements for development finance, is prompting new attention to the politics of debt management. With the increased openness of Latin American economies to global inflationary and recessionary trends, Latin Americans are also becoming more interested in restructuring international markets. Latin American researchers are looking for alternative macroeconomic models that interpret international economic cycles in terms of their specific impact on development strategies in semi-industrialized countries.

The work of technical specialists in government corporations, agencies, and ministries is not easily accessible, but some evidently are contributing importantly to international energy policy and politics, the law of the seas, and international economic order issues.

Journalists and commentators tend to follow the news rather than to foresee issues. Recently they have been emphasizing security issues in the South Atlantic and Caribbean more than before, commenting on the impact of changing U.S.-Soviet relations in the hemisphere, and reflecting on the impact of U.S. domestic economic-policy struggles in the region.

A number of political figures, particularly those in exile, combine political, semiacademic, and semijournalistic writing. These tend to be both actors in and analysts of international relations who write on international issues affecting their respective countries.

Some Qualitative Observations

In general, the studies by those political scientists analyzing "international relations" in a narrowly defined disciplinary sense are competent and useful. Except for the work of individuals like Heraldo Muñoz, who draw on the Latin American dependency perspective within the terms of mainstream U. S. political science, these studies tend to be largely derivative of Northern concepts and approaches. The quality of informed, general, policy-oriented commentary on international issues produced by and for Latin Americans is not impressive; nothing like *Foreign Affairs* or *Foreign Policy* exists in Latin America.

The most exciting work on international relations in the region is that of economists studying the international global economy at places like the Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica (CIEPLAN) in Chile, the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET) and the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE) in Mexico, the Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES) in Argentina, and the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. Significant work is also being done in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the region, on the relation between international economic trends and domestic constraints and choices, and on the way in which adaptation of Latin American economies to a changing political economy affects the evolution of their politics.

Analysis of the emergence of "bureaucratic-authoritarian" regimes and their characteristics, as well as research on transitions from authoritarian rule and prospects for democracy, are usually related by Latin American scholars to the international context. Latin American social scientists such as Guillermo O'Donnell, Manuel Antonio Garretón, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Julio Cotler, Bolívar Lamounier, José Alvaro

Moisés, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and others are among the leading contributors to international seminars and conferences on these subjects.

Latin American researchers today are contributing data and descriptive studies (but not major theoretical work) on arms transfers and regional security issues, on geopolitics, and on Latin American relations with the United States and with other powers. They are in the forefront of studies on the politics and economics of international transformation, and on the shifts in the global political economy.

Institutional Observations

Latin American and Caribbean institutes for research on international affairs are by and large fledgling and vulnerable. The best established is Chile's Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (IEI), recently described in this journal.⁵ It has continued to be productive in contemporary Chile, by exercising care in defining its agenda and terms of reference. Other research institutions—mainly clustered in Chile, Brazil, and Mexico—are each defining their turf and style. Mexico's institutes are increasingly strong and well financed, but lack experience at research, organization, and management. Argentina's institutions generally are aimed more at outreach than at research. Venezuela's, although comparatively well funded, are incipient.

Most of the significant institutes in Latin America are independent of universities, mainly because the take-overs of higher education by authoritarian regimes have led the most creative Latin American intellectuals to establish institutional devices to support their work privately and usually internationally. The Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP) and the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) in Brazil pioneered in such efforts and have been emulated by many institutions elsewhere. Some scholars work outside their native countries for political reasons; others rely on international conferences and contacts with professional organizations abroad to exchange controversial ideas. Funding limitations for autonomous research institutes in the social sciences have weakened the institutional structure for international studies in Latin America.

A promising effort to link Latin American institutions researching international relations is the Programa de Estudios Conjuntos sobre las Relaciones Internacionales de América Latina (RIAL), now headed by Gabriel Valdés, Foreign Minister of Chile under Frei and more recently head of Latin American programs for the United Nations Development Program. RIAL seeks to promote research and exchange and already has stimulated some useful meetings, but it is inherently limited so far because the organization consists mainly of senior figures with few

younger scholars to support them. RIAL is nonetheless addressing a major problem in the field of international relations in Latin America, where interaction among groups (both academic and non-academic) has remained limited. Another effort to promote research on a regional basis is that of the working group on international relations of the Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), chaired by Rosario Green of the Colegio de México. A Latin American Studies Association committee also was set up in 1979 to survey the state of Latin American and international studies both in the United States and Latin America, and to explore the possibilities for strengthening institutional links.

Organizations like the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, or the International Institute for Strategic Studies, where academic researchers systematically exchange ideas with policymakers and business executives, do not exist in Latin America. Scholars and practitioners rarely meet, civilians and military officers are worlds apart, foreign offices and staffs in functional ministries exchange little data, foreign area specialists and foreign policy specialists seldom communicate, and academic economists are not well connected with others working in international relations. Nowhere in the world is the flow of data and concepts among all these groups as complete and fruitful as one would like, but the gaps are particularly striking in Latin America. Academic literature by Latin Americans who are trained in the field of "international relations" within the discipline of "political science" cite U. S. and European sources much more extensively than they do the work of other Latin Americans whose work falls outside the field, but might be very relevant to it. Articles in military journals cite classic texts of geopolitics and other military writings much more often than they do the work of academic theorists of international political or economic relations.

The increasing involvement of Latin America in global affairs creates the potential for the growth of international studies in the region. Important changes in the region's interactions with the world include the diversification of Latin American trade, significant exports of oil by several countries in the region, and the movement toward export-promotion development strategies at a time of recession and rising protectionism in the industrialized West. Countries like Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela are redefining their roles in regional and international organizations as well. The Council on Foreign Relations emerged in the United States when opinion-shapers realized that the international context impinged importantly on the United States and vice versa. Perhaps similar trends will emerge in response to shifts in Latin America's international position.

To some extent, Latin America's internationalization represents a broadening of relations that previously were exclusively bilateral and

corresponds with the decline of U. S. influence previously preponderant in the region. This trend is evident in changing patterns of foreign investment and development financing (multilateral and private sources increasingly replacing official, bilateral aid). This diversification of international transactions provides an impetus for the creation of institutions for the study of international and transnational affairs.

The study of international relations is still in the early stages of institutionalization in Latin America. The field of international relations in Latin America has never been an adjunct of political science, as in the United States. Instead, the field has historically been subsumed under such disciplines as law, history, and sociology. Latin American researchers of international relations also missed the methodological debates of the 1950s and 1960s in the United States and Europe between advocates of the "scientific" (or "behaviorist") and "traditional" approaches to international relations. Institutional dispersion and a lack of methodological definition have complicated efforts to define international studies as an autonomous discipline in Latin America, with a set of distinct approaches or schools.

The body of literature dealing with the state of Latin American international relations study per se is growing. Leading contributors to the discussion on the development of the discipline include Alexandre Barros, Rosario Green, Celso Lafer, Gustavo Lagos, Heraldo Muñoz, Rubén Perina, and Luciano Tomassini.⁶ Their works go beyond an evaluation of the institutional framework and the focus of international studies in the region. Some link questions of research agenda-setting with issues of international relations theory and methodology from a comparative standpoint, that is to say, comparing the assumptions of U.S. and Latin American work. Others use the evolution of the discipline as a starting point from which to analyze Latin America's changing position in the world.

Among the leading Latin American journals publishing articles on international relations are: *Estudios Internacionales* (Chile), *Foro Internacional* (Mexico), *Estrategia* (Argentina), *La Revista Argentina de Relaciones Internacionales*, and *Geosur* (Uruguay). None of these magazines circulates widely, each having less than two thousand subscribers.

Relevance of Work in Latin America and the Caribbean to That in the United States and Elsewhere

Latin American approaches to the study of international relations differ significantly from those in the United States and Western Europe, both because of the distinctive intellectual traditions from which the work emerges and because the Latin American perspective on the international system differs significantly. Whereas research on international

political economy in the United States is grounded in the liberal tradition, classical economic theories, and assumptions of underlying symmetries, Latin American approaches are grounded in Marxist theories of imperialism, analyses of structural dependence, and the facts and perspective of asymmetry. Whereas U. S. and European work on the global crisis of resource scarcity focuses on constraints and management, Latin American approaches tend to concentrate on the politics and economics of redistribution. Partially as a result of these differences, considerably more exchange occurs between scholars in the United States and Latin America in the field of Latin American studies than in that of international relations. Even the most important Latin American writings on international affairs have only been translated and circulated in the United States after long delays, thus limiting their accessibility by non-Latin American researchers of international relations. Work in this field in both Latin America and the North would profit mutually from more systematic exposure and critical confrontation. A strong constructive potential also exists in the complementarity between the extensive U.S. work on micropolitical processes of foreign policy decision-making and the Latin American focus on macrostructural variables in international relations.

Latin Americans have been emphasizing some issues—such as the politics and economics of regional integration, foreign policymaking by Third World actors, and transnational corporations and their bargaining behavior—that might well contribute important findings to the literature of international relations. Conversely, Latin Americans would no doubt profit from more cross-fertilization with Northern researchers in such areas as work on regional aspects of conflict resolution and nonproliferation, intra-Latin American relations at the state and sub-state levels, comparative foreign policy, linkage across levels of analysis (the effects of internal actors and processes on foreign policies), and the structure of the international system as it conditions the international behavior of Latin American states.

Latin American research on the changing international economic order and its political implications is important not only for researchers and practitioners in North America, but also for those studying international relations from other Third World perspectives. Samir Amin and others working on center-periphery dynamics from an African perspective share similar orientations with Latin American dependentistas. A common need exists throughout the Third World to examine and improve Southern bargaining strategies for alternative international economic arrangements. Broader comparative frameworks could be usefully generated, for example, by comparing the operation of transnational corporations in Latin America with those in Asia or comparing

regional schemes for economic cooperation between oil-producing and non-oil-producing developing countries.

Researchers in developing countries share a focus on the regional dimensions of international issues. Latin American integration efforts are paralleled by African foreign policy goals of regional unity. Research themes of nuclear proliferation and intraregional conflict in Latin America overlap with the concerns of scholars on the Indian subcontinent. Latin America, which is distinguished from other developing regions by the relative absence of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or religious strife, and by its intermediate stage of economic development, possesses a comparative advantage for focusing on regionalism as an international phenomenon. Other areas of potential complementarity in Third World research include revolutionary movements, self-determination of peoples, and human rights, which is increasingly becoming an issue of international relations in both Southeast Asia and Latin America. In all these areas, potential exists to forge a distinctive international relations tradition based on shared Third World experiences and perspectives.

NOTES

1. Those interviewed included Wolf Grabendorff of the Foundation for Science and Politics Research Institute for International Politics and Security in Munich, Catherine Gwin of the Carnegie Endowment, Carlos Moneta of Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (SELA) in Caracas, Luis M. Premoli of the Centro de Estudios de Relaciones Internacionales y de Estrategia Internacional (CERIEN) in Buenos Aires, and Rubén Perina of the Organization of American States.
2. See the special issue of *International Organization* 32, 1 (Winter 1978) for a balanced, critical discussion of the contributions of dependentistas to the theory of international relations. For an interesting argument that U. S. consumers of dependency writings tend to miss its points and ignore its subtleties, see Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States," *LARR* 12, no. 3 (1977): 7–24.
3. *LARR* 14, no. 2 (1979): 89–111.
4. For more detailed discussion of these trends, see Carlos Díaz-Alejandro, Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, and Ernesto Tironi, *Orden económico internacional y desarrollo: investigaciones prioritarias desde una perspectiva latinoamericana* (Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1978).
5. Heraldo Muñoz, "Social Science in Chile: The Institute of International Studies of the University of Chile," *LARR* 15, no. 3 (1980): 186–89.
6. See, for example, the following collections: Francisco Orrego Vicuña, ed., *Los estudios internacionales en América Latina: realizaciones y desafíos* (Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, 1980). Also, Luciano Tomassini, ed., *Relaciones internacionales de la América Latina* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981).

APPENDIX

Note: This appendix briefly describes institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean where research is conducted on international relations. Information is

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provided under the following headings: name, address, director, key personnel, focus, and journal. Missing headings for a particular institution indicate that the information was not available when the list was prepared.

ARGENTINA

Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES)

Av. Pueyrredón 510-7°, 1032 Buenos Aires

Director: Oscar Oszlak. *Key personnel:* Guillermo O'Donnell (currently at IUPERJ, Brazil), Adolfo Canitrot, Roberto Frenkel. *Focus:* Relations between domestic and international economic policies and political processes (with emphasis on Argentina); relations with IMF and with private financial community. *Journal:* *Estudios Sociales* (6 times/year), *Documentos de Trabajo CEDES* (6-8 times/year).

Centro de Estudios de Relaciones Internacionales y de Estrategia Internacional (CERIEN)

Maipú 889, 2do. A, 1068 Buenos Aires

Director: Col. (retired) Luis Premoli. *Key personnel:* Carlos Pérez, Director of Research; Ing. Carlos Caboli, Science and Technology. *Research focus:* Strategy and foreign policy, oriented toward European and U. S. perspectives. *Journal:* *Estrategia Nacional*; *Cuadernos de Estrategia*; an annual yearbook is contemplated.

Centro de Estudios Internacionales Argentinos (CEINAR)

Defensa 251, 1° B, 1065 Buenos Aires

Director: Luis Dallanegra Pedraza. *Focus:* International law and relations, Latin American integration, geopolitics. *Journal:* *Revista Argentina de Relaciones Internacionales* (3 times/year).

Centro de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales (CICSO)

Defensa 665, 5° Piso C, Buenos Aires

Director: Beba Balvé. *Focus:* Research project on international military linkages, military institutions, security problems, and policies.

Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Exteriores

Uruguay 1734, 6° Piso, Buenos Aires

Director: Carlos Manuel Muñiz. *Key personnel:* Felix Peña. *Focus:* Self-consciously modeled on the Council on Foreign Relations of New York. First speaker was Henry Kissinger. Membership includes various former foreign ministers, international lawyers, business figures. Special concern with Argentina-Brazil relations, and Argentine policies on Latin American integration. *Journal:* Occasional reports on conferences and seminars, including December 1980 "Argentina-Brazil" seminar.

Fundación Bariloche

Casilla de Correo 138, San Carlos de Bariloche

Key personnel: Jorge Sábato. *Focus:* Limits of growth, world order modeling, nuclear energy and proliferation.

Instituto Argentino de Estudios Estratégicos y de las Relaciones Internacionales
C. Pellegrini 983, 8° A, 1009 Buenos Aires

Director: Gen. (Ret.) Juan Gugliamelli. *Focus:* Geopolitics, strategy, mili-

tary and political problems of Latin America and southern hemisphere, more generally. *Journal: Estrategia*.

Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos, Universidad de Belgrano
Federico Lacroze 1959, Buenos Aires

Director: General (Ret.) José Teófilo Goyret. *Focus:* Geopolitics, armaments, etc.

Instituto de Estudios Geopolíticos (IDEG)
Libertad 94, 6° L, Buenos Aires

Key personnel: Augusto B. Rattenbach. *Focus:* Geopolitics, especially Argentina and Southern Cone. *Journal: Geopolítica* (4 times/year).

Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad de Belgrano
Federico Lacroze 1959, Buenos Aires

Director: Marcelo Monserrat. *Key personnel:* Roberto Russell, Carlos Pérez Llana. *Focus:* Global political assessment; U.S.-U.S.S.R., Middle East, etc.; North-South dialogue; NIEO; foreign policies of Southern Cone countries. *Journal:* Some works published under the Editorial de Belgrano, which is affiliated with the Universidad de Belgrano.

Instituto para la Integración de América Latina (INTAL)
Cerrito 264, 2° Piso, 1010 Buenos Aires

Director: Eduardo R. Conesa. *Focus:* Problems of Latin American economic integration; trade. *Journal: Integración Latinoamericana* (12 times/year).

BRAZIL

Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP)
Rua Morgado de Mateus 615, Vila Madalena, 04015 São Paulo, S.P.

Director: Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo. *Key personnel:* Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Octavio Ianni, Carlos Estevan Martins, Paulo Singer. *Focus:* Relations of Brazil's economic model to its social, political, and foreign policy behavior. *Journal: Estudos CEBRAP* (4 times/year).

Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Estratégicos (CEBRES)
Av. Presidente Antonio Carlos 375, Sala 1202, 20.020 Rio de Janeiro, R.J.

Director: Brigadeiro Nelson F. Lavenere Wanderly (President), Coronel Amerino Raposo Filho (Executive Director). *Focus:* Brazilian geopolitics and strategy (arms control and inter-American collective defense; aerospace, maritime, and nuclear power; energy politics; Brazil's geopolitical position in Africa, the South Atlantic, Antarctica, the Amazon, and Latin America).

Centro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos (CEAA), Conjunto Universitario Candido Mendes

Rua Joana Angelica 63, 2242 Rio de Janeiro

Director: José Maria Nuñez Pereira. *Key personnel:* Jacques d'Adesky. *Focus:* Politics and society of Asia and Africa, and Brazil's relations with these areas. *Journal: Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*.

Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC), Fundação Getúlio Vargas

Praia de Botafogo 190, 22250 Rio de Janeiro, R.J.

Director: Celina Moreira Franco. *Key personnel:* Gerson Moura, Monica Hirst. *Focus:* CPDOC emphasizes archives on Brazil's foreign policy and diplomatic history. The Fundação also has a Department of Economics which is engaged in research focusing on Brazilian problems (mostly internal development and short-term economic analysis).

Conselho Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais

Caixa Postal 04-0289, Brasília, D.F.

Director: Hélio Jaguaribe. *Key personnel:* Carlos H. Cardim, Walter Costa Porto, Celso Lafer, Ronaldo Sardenberg, Monica Hirst, Luiz G. de Souza Lima. *Focus:* Coordination of work of Brazilian specialists in international relations. Forum for discussion of foreign policy issues.

Departamento de Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais, Universidade de Brasília

Asa Norte 70.910, Brasília D.F.

Director: Antonio Augusto Cançado Trindade. *Key personnel:* José Carlos Brandi Aleixo, Lyton Guimarães. *Focus:* International politics, Latin American (especially Brazilian) foreign relations, international law, political theory. *Journal:* *Relações Internacionais* (3 times/year).

Departamento de Geografia e História, Universidade de Brasília

Asa Norte 70.910, Brasília D.F.

Director: Amado Luiz Cervo. *Key personnel:* Corcino Medeiros dos Santos. *Focus:* Diplomatic history and historical aspects of Brazilian foreign policy (e.g., role of Congress).

Departamento de Direito Internacional, Universidade de São Paulo

Largo San Francisco 95, São Paulo, S.P.

Key personnel: Celso Lafer, Vicente Marotta Rangel.

Escola de Guerra Naval

Ave. Pasteur No. 480, Praia Vermelha, Rio de Janeiro CEP 22.290

Director: Admiral Múcio Piragibe Ribeiro de Barter. *Focus:* Sea power, maritime law. *Journal:* *Revista Marítima Brasileira* (4 times/year).

Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG)

Fortaleza de São João, USCA, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, ZC 82

Director: Gen. Alacyr Federico Werner. *Focus:* International conflict, national development, national defense policy and strategy. *Journal:* *Seguridad y Desarrollo* (3 times/year).

Fundação Centro de Estudos de Comércio Exterior

Av. Rio Branco 120, Gr. 707, Rio de Janeiro, R.J.

Director: Roberto Fendt. *Focus:* Brazil's international commercial and economic relations.

Instituto de Estudos Políticos e Sociais

Rua Barão de Oliveira Castro 22, Jardim Botânico, 22460 Rio de Janeiro, R.J.

Director: Hélio Jaguaribe. *Key personnel:* Paulo Costa Moura, Waldir Pires. *Focus:* Oriented toward study of the state and society; research, seminars and

discussions. Jaguaribe's research is on Brazil-Argentina relations and on Latin America's sociopolitical trends, including prospects for democracy. *Journal*: None; a document center is planned.

Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro

Rua Marques de São Vicente 225, 22453 Rio de Janeiro

Director: Luis Gonzaga de Sousa Lima. *Key personnel*: Carlos Alberto Plastino, Cloris Brigagao, Maurício David, Pedro Malán, Sonia de Camargo. *Focus*: International, economic, and political aspects of processes of democratization; Brazilian and Latin American external debt.

Instituto de Relações Latinoamericanas (IRLA), Pontifícia Universidade Católica, São Paulo

Rua Monte Alegre 977, Perdizes, 05014 São Paulo, S.P.

Director: Luiz Eduardo Wanderley. *Key personnel*: Gerónimo de Sierra, Paulo Kriskie, León Pomer, Frances Rocha. *Focus*: Latin American politics, literature, and political thought.

Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), Programa de Relações Internacionais

Rua da Matriz 82, 22260 Rio de Janeiro

Director: Olavo Brasil de Lima, Jr. *Key personnel*: Maria Regina Soares de Lima, Alexandre de S.C. Barros, Guillermo O'Donnell (Visiting Professor). *Focus*: Political implications of changing Brazilian economy, U.S.-Brazil relations, international conflict in South America, international comparative research on process of democracy. *Journal*: *Dados* is published by IUPERJ, but it covers a wide spectrum of the social sciences.

Programa de Economia, Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro

Rua Marques de São Vicente 225, 22453 Rio de Janeiro

Key personnel: Edmar Bacha, Andre Reyende, José Camargo, Pedro Malán, Dionesio Carneiro Netti, Paulo Juede, Eliana Cardoso. *Focus*: Poststructuralist thinking of macroeconomic problems of open, semi-industrialized economies.

Programa de Estudios Conjuntos sobre Integración Económica Latinoamericana (ECIEL)

740 Praia Flamengo, 11884 Rio de Janeiro

Director: Eduardo Albertal, Coordinator. *Focus*: Studies on national and international economic development in the region. *Journal*: (A journal is planned.)

Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP)

C. Postal 1170, Cidade Universitária, Barão Geraldo, Campinas, 13100 São Paulo, S.P.

Key personnel: Luciano Coutinho, Carlos Estevan Martins, Maria de Conceição Tavares, Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro.

CHILE

Asociación Chilena de Investigaciones para la Paz (ACHIP)

Casilla 80, Correo Miramontes, Santiago

Director: Augusto Varas (also at FLACSO). *Key personnel*: Hugo Frühling,

Latin American Research Review

Gustavo Lagos, Heraldo Muñoz, Carlos Portales, Raquel Salinas, Alberto Van Klaveren. *Focus*: Promotion and coordination of interdisciplinary research on: development and the international economic order, militarism and disarmament in Latin America, communications and culture, human rights/peace education.

Círculo de Estudios Internacionales, Academia de Humanismo Cristiano
Catedral 1063, 5° Piso, Santiago

Director: Hernán Santa Cruz. *Key personnel*: Gabriel Valdés, Gustavo Lagos, Oscar Pinochet, Heraldo Muñoz, Alejandro Hales, Carlos Portales, Juan Gabriel Valdés. *Focus*: Forum for discussion of international issues, Chile's foreign relations, food and raw materials problems, East-West and North-South affairs, Chile and the transnationalization of communications.

Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica (CIEPLAN)
Avenida Cristobal Colón 3494, (Casilla 16496, Correo 9), Santiago

Director: Alejandro Foxley. *Key personnel*: Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, Oscar Muñoz, René Cortázar, Nicolás Flaño, Patricio Meller, Pilar Vergara. *Focus*: Political economy of semi-industrialized countries in changing international economy; external financial relations and their impact on the Latin American economies. *Journal*: *Estudios CIEPLAN*

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)
Casilla 179-D, Santiago

Director: Enrique V. Iglesias. *Key personnel*: Norberto González, Jorge Graciarena, Aníbal Pinto, Osvaldo Sunkel, Luciano Tomassini, Carlos Massad, Roberto Zahler, Andrés Bianchi, Ernesto Tironi. *Focus*: New international division of labor and take-off of newly industrialized countries, effects of international financial system on development, international energy resources and their implications, international links of Chile's economic development, alternative development styles. *Journal*: *Revista de la CEPAL*.

Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)
Sede Programa Santiago, Casilla 3213, Santiago

Director: José Joaquín Brunner. *Key personnel*: Manuel Antonio Garretón, Tomás Moulián, Carlos Portales, Augusto Varas, Felipe Agüero, Angel Flishfish, Norberto Lechner, Enzo Faletto. *Focus*: Arms race and implications for conflict in South America, military intervention in politics and implications for conflict in South America, inter-American military relations, relations between U.S. security concepts and those of the Latin American military, security doctrines of Chile's armed forces, Chile's role within the international system, U.S.S.R. and Latin America.

Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (IEI), Universidad de Chile
Avenida Condell 249 (Casilla 14187, Sucursal 21), Santiago

Director: Francisco Orrego Vicuña. *Key personnel*: Heraldo Muñoz, Walter Sánchez, Gustavo Lagos, Alberto van Klaveren. *Focus*: International relations; regional economic integration; dependency; NIEO and North-South relations; law of the seas and other issues of natural resources; Latin American relations with Europe, the U.S. and the Pacific; and human rights. *Journal*: *Estudios Internacionales* (4 times/year).

Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET)
Santiago Office/ILET-Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Providencia 175,
Depto. 42, Santiago

Director: Juan Gabriel Valdés. *Key personnel:* Guillermo Campero, Diego Portales, Augusto Góngora, José Valenzuela. *Focus:* Transnational economic relations, transnationalism and authoritarian regimes in the Southern Cone, labor movements, new international order in communications, Chile's insertion in the contemporary world order.

Programa de Estudios Conjuntos sobre las Relaciones Internacionales de América Latina (RIAL)

Europa 2048, Clasificador 41, Correo 9, Santiago

Director: Gabriel Valdés. *Key personnel:* Luciano Tomassini (Coordinador Académico), Manfred Wilhelmy. *Focus:* Coordination of joint research efforts of Latin American scholars on international structural changes and their impact on Latin America, international economic negotiations, intra-Latin American relations, Latin American relations with other areas, Latin American political systems and international relations. Sponsors international seminars and academic exchanges and publishes documents. *Journal:* None. RIAL has an arrangement with the Editorial de la Universidad de Belgrano for publication of collected works in international relations. An International Documentation Center in Rio de Janeiro is under consideration.

VECTOR—Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales

Miraflores 590, Depto. 7, Santiago

Director: Pedro Felipe Ramírez. *Key personnel:* Pilar Romaguera, Ricardo Lagos. *Focus:* Chilean economy, foreign economic relations of Chile. *Journal:* *Informe de Coyuntura Económica*.

COLOMBIA

Fundación para la Educación Superior y el Desarrollo (FEDESARROLLO)

Apartado Aéreo 20513, (Calle No. 37, 2027), Bogotá

Director: Miguel Urrutia. *Key personnel:* Guillermo Perry, Hernando Gómez Buendía, Eduardo Sarmiento, Yesid Castro. *Focus:* Export strategies and economic development, foreign debt and development strategy. *Journal:* *Coyuntura Económica*.

Universidad de los Andes

Apartado Aéreo 4976, Bogotá

Director: (a) José Antonio Ocampo, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico; (b) Gabriel Murillo, Departamento de Ciencias Políticas. *Key personnel:* Mario Carrizosa, Mario Valderrama, Gerhard Drekonja, Fernando Cepeda. *Focus:* Income distribution and foreign trade, agriculture and economic integration, U.S.-Colombian relations; Latin American international relations (Drekonja).

Latin American Research Review

COSTA RICA

Escuela de Relaciones Internacionales
Universidad Nacional Heredia, Apartado 86, Heredia

Director: Roberto de la Ossa Thompson. *Focus:* International relations of Central American countries, Central American politics, U.S.-Latin American relations, international law. *Journal:* *Relaciones Internacionales* (twice a year).

Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)
Apartado Postal 5429, San José

Director: Daniel Camacho, Secretario General. *Key personnel:* René Zavaleta, Director, Sede Académica de México; Jorge Feldman, Director a.i., Programa de Buenos Aires; Gonzalo Abad, Director, Sede Académica de Quito; José Joaquín Brunner, Director, Programa de Santiago. *Focus:* Latin American studies, the state and social classes, rural problems; labor problems. *Journal:* *FLACSO Noticias*.

CUBA

Centro de Estudios sobre América
Avenida 3° No. 1805, Miramar, Playa, La Habana

Director: Santiago Díaz Paz. *Key personnel:* Rafael Hernández, Fernando Martínez Heredia, Alberto Prieto. *Focus:* Interdisciplinary research on contemporary economic and political developments in the Western Hemisphere. Marxist focus, combining structural and conjunctural analysis of historical processes. Emphasis on concrete class struggles, U.S. imperialism, characteristics and power apparatuses of the ruling class in Latin America (the State, political parties), U.S.-Cuban relations. *Journal:* *Avances de Investigación* (summaries of in-house research); *Cuadernos Económicos Trimestrales*.

ECUADOR

Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales
Calle Guayaquil 1914 y Briceño, Quito

Director: General Antonio Moral. *Focus:* Ecuador's security and development policies.

JAMAICA

Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), University of the West Indies
Mona Campus, Jamaica

Director: Vaughn Lewis. *Key personnel:* Eddie Greene. *Focus:* Range of choice for Caribbean nations in changing international system. *Journal:* *Social and Economic Studies*.

MEXICO

Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo (CEESTEM)
Carretera Porfirio Díaz 50, San Jerónimo Lídice, México 20, D.F.

Director: Luis Echeverría. *Key personnel:* Jaime Estévez, Adolfo Aguilar,

Iván Menéndez, Carlos H. Maldonado, Rosario Green (Associate), Hector Dada Hirezi. *Focus*: New international economic order; work on Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, Arab world and Asia; projects on women, rural development, information. *Journal*: *Estudios del Tercer Mundo* (3 times/year); *Tercer Mundo y Economía Mundial* (4 times/year).

Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE)
Apartado Postal 41–553, México 10, D.F.

Director: Antonio Sacristán Colón, Trinidad Martínez Tarragó. *Key personnel*: Fernando Fajnzylber, Samuel Lichtensztein, Pedro Vuskovic, Jaime Rus, Oscar González, Alejandro Vásquez. Institute for Studies of the U.S.: Luis Maira (Coordinator), Roberto Bouzas, Olga Pellicer de Brody, Atilio Borón, Carlos Rico, José Miguel Insulza, María Isabel Sen. *Focus*: Changing international economic order; shifting comparative advantage and its implications; studies of the United States; economic, political, social, and international aspects of Mexico's economy; Latin American economic problems and prospects. *Journal*: *Estados Unidos: Perspectiva Latinoamericana: Cuadernos Semestrales* (twice a year); *Estados Unidos: Perspectiva Latinoamericana: Carta Mensual*; *Economía Mexicana: Análisis y Perspectiva*; *Economía de América Latina* (twice a year).

El Colegio de México

Apartado Postal 20-671, México 20, D.F.

Director: Víctor Urquidi. *Key personnel*: Mario Ojeda Gómez, René Herrera, Rafael Segovia, Lorenzo Meyer. *Focus*: Mexico's national development and international relations, foreign policy, relations with Third World and with the U.S., politics of energy, debt policy, etc. *Journal*: *Foro Internacional* (4 times/year).

Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)

Torre de Humanidades, Ciudad Universitaria, Coyoacán, México 21, D.F.

Key personnel: J. M. Calderón, Antonio Cavalla. *Focus*: Foreign policies of U.S., U.S.S.R., Mexico and key Latin American countries; Latin America and the Third World. Three research institutes under the aegis of the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales work specifically on international relations: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos (CELA), Centro de Relaciones Internacionales (CRI), and Centro de Estudios Políticos. *Journal*: *Relaciones Internacionales* (4 times/year).

Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)

Apartado Postal 20-721, México 20, D.F.

Director: Arturo Bonilla Sánchez. *Key personnel*: José Luis Ceceña Gómez, Alma Chapoy, Irma Manrique, Ramón Martínez Escamilla, Dinah Rodríguez, Víctor M. Bernal Shagún. *Journal*: *Problemas del Desarrollo: Revista Latinoamericana de Economía* (4 times/year).

Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET)

Apartado 85025, México 20, D.F.

Director: Juan Somavía. *Key personnel*: Raul Trajtenberg, Raul Vigorito, Donald Castillo, Edgardo Lifschitz, Fernando Molina, Miguel Tenbal, Enrique Ponce de León. *Focus*: Political economy of Latin American agriculture; banking,

automobile industry; communications; interdisciplinary focus on transnational processes: economic, political, and social.

PERU

Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM)
Avenida Escuela Militar, s/n Chorrillos, Lima

Director: Gen. Luis Vásquez Duclos. *Focus:* National development and security. *Journal:* *Defensa Nacional* (twice a year).

Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo (DESCO)
Avenida Salaverry 1945, Lima 14

Director: Henry Pease García. *Key personnel:* Fernando González-Vigil, Alberto Adrianzen. *Focus:* Peru's relation to international economic order. *Journal:* *Qué Hacer*.

Centro de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales de la Universidad de Lima (CIESUL)

Apartado Postal 852, Lima 100

Director: José Antonio Encinas del Pardo. *Key personnel:* Luis Jiménez Villada, Gabriela Mondaca Elías. *Focus:* Military expenditures and development in South America. South American arms races and international conflict in the region (especially Argentine-Brazil tensions and Bolivia's search for outlet to the sea).

Grupo de Análisis de Desarrollo (GRADE)

Apartado 5008, Miraflores, Lima 18

Director: Helán Jaworski. *Key personnel:* Claudio Herzka, Francisco Sagasti. *Focus:* International relations, Peruvian foreign policy, science and technology.

Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)

Horacio Urteaga 694, Lima 27

Director: José Matos Mar. *Key personnel:* Julio Cotler, Oscar Ugarteche, Heraclio Bonilla. *Focus:* Peru's national development and its relationship with the international system, Peru-U.S. relations, Peru's domestic history, democratization in Peru and Andean region.

Instituto Peruano de Estudios Geopolíticos y Estratégicos (IPEGE)

Avenida Arequipa 310, Lima

Director: Gen. (Ret.) Edgardo Mercado Jarrín. *Focus:* Geopolitics in South America, Peru's foreign relations. *Journal:* *Estudios Geopolíticos y Estratégicos* (3 times/year).

TRINIDAD

Institute of International Relations

University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad

Director: Anthony T. Bryan. *Key personnel:* Herb Addo, Anselm Francis, Aubrey García, Henry Gill, Ramesh Ramsaran, Rosina Wiltshire-Brodber. *Focus:* Caribbean politics (especially the Commonwealth Caribbean), international relations of the Caribbean region, Caribbean-Latin American and U.S.-Caribbean

relations, diplomatic history, North-South relations, development problems. *Journal: The Caribbean Yearbook of International Relations.*

Trinidad and Tobago Institute of the West Indies
22-24 Cipriani Boulevard, Port-of-Spain

Director: Lloyd Best. *Focus:* Caribbean development issues. *Journal:* *Trinidad and Tobago Review.*

URUGUAY

Asociación Sudamericana de Estudios Geopolíticos e Internacionales (ASEGI)
Casilla de Correos 5006, (Quiebrayugos 4814), Montevideo

Director: Bernardo Quagliotti de Bellis. *Key personnel:* On governing board: Gen. (Ret.) Carlos Meira Mattos (Brazil); Gen. (Ret.) Edgardo Mercado Jarrín (Peru); Gen. (Ret.) Alvaro Valencia Tovar (Colombia). *Focus:* Geopolitics, especially of Southern Cone region; international relations. *Journal:* *GeoSur* (12 times/year).

Instituto Uruguayo de Estudios Geopolíticos
Casilla de Correos 5039, Montevideo

Director: Jorge Chebataroff. *Focus:* Geopolitics, especially of Southern Cone region. *Journal:* *Geopolítica* (4 times/year).

VENEZUELA

Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo (CENDES)
Caracas 1857

Director: José Agustín Silva Michelena. *Key personnel:* Sergio Aranda, Claudio Rama. *Focus:* Transformations of international system and effects on Latin America; economic integration.

Departamento de Ciencias Políticas, Universidad Central de Venezuela
Ciudad Universitaria, Caracas

Key personnel: Carlos Guerón, Eva Guerón. *Focus:* U.S.-Venezuela relations.

Escuela de Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Central de Venezuela
Ciudad Universitaria, Caracas

Director: Argenis Ferrer. *Focus:* Teaching of international politics, law, economics, etc.

Instituto de Altos Estudios de América Latina (IAEAL), Universidad Simón Bolívar

Apartado Postal 17.271, El Conde, Caracas, 1015-A

Director: Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas. *Key personnel:* Juan Carlos Puig, Leslie Manigat. *Focus:* Role of political leadership in Latin America, Brazilian studies, theories of international relations of Latin America, intervention and prospects for democracy. *Journal:* *Mundo Nuevo* (4 times/year).

Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (SELA)
Apartado Postal 17035, El Conde, Caracas 101

Director: Carlos Alzamora. *Key personnel:* Carlos Moneta, Sergio Bitar.
Focus: Latin America's changing role in world economy and implications for Latin American relations with U.S., Europe, and Asia; specific negotiating possibilities on NIEO issues. *Journal:* *SELA en Acción* (4 times/year).