
Index

- accountability, 161, 185–89; and costs, 133, 201; electoral, 107; guaranteed, 205; leadership, 201–4, 206; of leadership, 205; legacy possibilities of, 23; reselection possibilities of, 23; selection interval variations of, 23
- Acre dispute (1902–03), 125
- Adams, John Quincy, 102
- Africa: Central America and, 31; electoral constraints and, 86; Nazi occupation of, 127; war and, 51; wars in, 37, 38
- Alfaro, Eloy, 162
- Alfonsín, Raúl, 144, 147, 153, 199–200, 202–3
- Allende, Salvador, 103, 149
- Alvárado, Juan Velasco, 166
- Amazon River, 173, 186, 188; claims to, 164; dispute over, 46, 70–71, 163, 168, 169–72; Ecuador access to, 164, 166; sovereign access to, 176, 188
- “American Law,” 48
- Amon River, 161
- anarchy, 113; cooperation under, 111; international, 12–13; military power and, 110
- Anaya, Jorge Isaac, 152
- Andean Group, 50, 206
- Andean Pact (1969), 166, 172
- Antarctic, 133, 135, 147, 153
- APRA party (Peru), 31, 188, 203
- Arbitral Award, 136–37, 139, 145–46, 150, 196, 248ⁿ16
- arbitration: and Argentina, 154; border disputes and, 48–49; in Central America, 62; and Chile, 69, 148, 154; international, 134–36, 141; *versus* negotiation, 164; and Peru, 162; territorial disputes and, 164; *see also* bargaining; militarized bargaining; negotiations
- Argentina, 29; air power of, 207–8; and arbitration, 154; armament program in, 126; armed forces of, 127, 146, 149; arms request to Germany by, 127–28; and Beagle

Argentina (continued)

dispute, 132–38, 147, 199; bilateral negotiations and, 140; border disputes and, 47, 49, 69, 71–72; and Brazil, 123–29, 129; and Britain, 65, 74, 119, 121, 158; business groups in, 151; cabinet of, 149; and Chile, 25, 38, 148; constituencies of, 144–47; and costs of war, 158; defense expenditure of, 128; Depression in, 126; Dirty War in, 149, 203; economy of, 128; exports from, 123; free trade zone and, 129; and Germany, 65; Gran Colombia and, 47; and imports, 123; Junta in, 144–45, 147, 148, 149, 150–52, 153, 155, 159, 198, 201, 203; labor movement in, 31; Laguna del Desierto controversy and, 49; and links to Europe, 124; and Malvinas War, 31, 82, 92, 123, 156; and militarized bargaining, 144, 195–96, 198; military buildup by, 127; military capabilities of, 143; military coup in, 148–49; military operations of, 143; military professionalism of, 125; neutrality of, 92, 127, 226n42; *Pactos de Mayo* and, 49–50; party systems in, 97; population of, 141; and power preponderance, 119, 121, 122; presidency in, 149; rearmament of, 129; term limits in, 96–97; troop strength of, 142; and U.S. weapons, 129; and use of force, 133, 196; during World War II, 32

Argentine-Brazilian War (1825), 35

Argentine Industrial Association, 152

Arias, Oscar, 49

Arica, 69–70

armed forces. *See* military

arms control: balance of power and, 123; buildups and, 124, 127; in Central America, 49; and economic integration, 208; process of, 50; purpose of, 206; and trading, 123; *see also* weapons

Asia: electoral constraints and, 86; wars in, 37–38

Athens, 6, 90

Australia, Zone of Peace concept and, 49

authoritarianism, 51, 58, 163, 177, 187

Banzer, Hugo, 46

bargaining: challenge of, 164; interstate, 11; overlapping of, 15; problem-solving, 11; strategy of, 143; tactics of, 138–40; *see also* militarized bargaining; negotiations; arbitration

BATNA. *See* Best Alternative to No Agreement

Beagle Channel Islands dispute, 132–33, 135–36, 138–39, 143, 147, 150, 155, 158, 197, 199, 202, 203; chronology, 210–12

Belaúnde, Fernando, 179, 184–86, 188, 203

Belgrano (vessel), 200

Belize, 15, 29

Berlin Wall, fall of, 40

Best Alternative to No Agreement (BATNA), 9, 136–40, 164–69

Bickers, Kenneth, 102

bi-oceanic principle, 135–36, 139–40, 144–45, 148, 153, 155, 196–97, 199

Blaine, William, 62

Bolívar, Simón, 29, 47

Bolivia, 208; Argentina and, 92; border disputes and, 46, 68–72; and

- Brazil, 125; Chaco War and, 35–36; creation of, 47; and imports, 123; and parity and war, 122; party systems in, 97; poverty in, 35; term limits in, 96–97; U.S. hegemony and, 68; war scare from, 140
- border disputes, 222*n*3; between Ecuador and Peru, 163, 253*n*11; in Latin America, 91; *see also under individual countries*
- Brazil, 29; alliance with U.S. and, 127; and Argentina, 123–29, 129; and Bolivia, 125; and covert aggression, 102; culture of, 124; declaration of war by, 127; defense expenditures of, 128; economy of, 128; Estado Novo in, 31; exports from, 123; free trade zone and, 129; and Germany, 65; and imports, 123; infrastructure development of, 127; military of, 125, 126; party systems in, 97; and Peru, 125; and power preponderance, 121; term limits in, 96–97; and U.S., 65–66, 127; during World War II, 32
- Brazilian-Chilean alliance, 125
- Britain: and Argentina, 74, 119, 121, 128; and Chile, 70; colonies of, 29; electoral constraints in, 86; and Fashoda, 14; and Malvinas Islands, 139, 146, 155, 156, 196, 200–201; militarized bargaining and, 198, 200–201; military presence in South America, 65; *Pactos de Mayo* and, 49; political philosophy of, 89; and power preponderance, 121, 122; stagnation in, 65; and Suez Crisis, 156; and Uruguay, 35; and U.S., 59–60, 61, 67; warships of, 60, 125; weapons and training from, 109
- Bucaram, Abdalá, 176–79, 181–82, 258*n*75
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, 11, 15
- Bush, George, 100
- Caldas incident, 129, 207
- Calvo Doctrine, 48
- Cambodia, bombing of, 99–100
- Camilión, Oscar, 129
- Canada, 29, 38
- Caribbean: hegemonic mismanagement thesis and, 82; impact of hegemony in, 73, 74; MIDs and, 105; U.S. control of, 59–60, 67, 72, 79
- Caribbean Legion, 31
- Carter, Jimmy, 141
- CBM. *See* confidence building measures
- Cenepa River, 164
- Central America, 29–30; Contadora Initiative and, 49; distribution of power in, 35; economic integration project in, 36; hegemonic management and, 67, 73; hegemonic mismanagement thesis and, 82; impact of hegemony in, 74; international conflict and, 35; MIDs and, 76, 78, 104–6; nationalism in, 63; negotiated force levels in, 49–50; revolutionary internationalism in, 31; unified, 62; United Provinces of Central America and, 47; U.S. paramountcy and, 59, 61–65, 67, 79; use of force in, 39; *see also individual countries*
- Central American Common Market, 206
- Central American Court of Justice, 63
- Central American Federation, 61

- Central American Integration System, 206
- Central American Union, 61, 63
- Chaco War (1932–35), 35–36, 48, 72, 82
- Chamizal, 50
- Chile, 20, 153–55; and access to Atlantic, 144, 147, 205; advantages of, in warfare, 142; aggression by, 65; arbitration and, 69–70; and Argentina, 25, 38, 127, 128, 145; armed forces of, 115, 130, 143, 158, 208; and Beagle dispute, 132–38, 158, 199; bi-oceanic principle and, 153; border disputes and, 46, 47, 49, 68–72; communications experts of, 174; constituencies of, 148, 199; constitution of, 101; covert action of, 102, 103; democracy in, 40; domestic control in, 132; elections in, 70, 101; and escalation of force, 143; Executive-Legislative relationship in, 101; full-scale war in, 144; geography of, 207; Gran Colombia and, 47; and imports, 123; indemnity payments and, 70; intelligence of, 174; International Court of Justice and, 140; and mediation, 146, 150; militarized bargaining model and, 195; military coup in, 135, 149, 153, 203; military funding in, 100; negotiations and, 196; *Pactos de Mayo* and, 49–50; parity concerns in, 129; party systems in, 97; and Peru, 130, 162; Popular Unity administration, 31; population of, 141; presidents of, 99, 101; sovereignty of, 155; troop strength of, 141–42; and U.S., 103; and use of force, 104, 196; war scare and, 125; war with, 174; during World War II, 32
- Chile-Peru agreement (1929), 72
- civil wars: in Central America, 49; in Latin America, 58; in Nicaragua, 64
- Cold War, 7; and covert aggression, 102; democracy and, 130; end of, 40, 44, 80; hegemonic management and, 56; increased military conflict and, 82; in Latin America, 80; Latin American disputes and, 40; Latin American militaries during, 109; militarized bargaining and, 194; quantitative analysis and, 115; regional security and, 49, 204
- Colombia, 14, 29; armed forces of, 207; border disputes and, 44, 68, 70–72, 129; constitution of, 100–101; creation of Panama and, 35; economic integration and, 206; and Ecuador, 163; Gran Colombia and, 47; military buildup in, 90; military successes of, 72; and parity and war, 122; as part of Gran Colombia, 161; party systems in, 97; term limits in, 96–97; U.S. hegemony and, 68
- Colombia-Venezuela democratic dyad, 129, 207
- communism, 79, 82; in Argentina, 127
- competition: political, 29
- CONAIE. *See Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*
- Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE), 182
- Conference (1907), 63

- confidence building measures (CBM), 206–8
- conflict: hegemonic management of, 194; international solutions for, 93; interstate, 108; peaceful resolution of, 86, 87, 91, 103–4, 108, 163
- conflict management, 213*n*4; regional, 59; strategies of, 56
- Conservatives: in Mexico, 64
- constituency cost acceptability, 175–77, 199–204
- constituencies: of authoritarian governments, 199; and costs of militarization, 199; democratic, 205; of democratic governments, 199; in Ecuador, 175; leaders and, 26, 28, 155; in Peru, 179, 177; of Pinochet, 199, 203; tolerance of costs and, 158; values of, 208
- constituents, defined, 21
- Contadora Initiative, 49
- Contra war, 100, 119
- Cordillera del Condor region, 165, 168, 171
- Costa, Eduardo Ferrero, 169
- Costa Rica: and border disputes, 44; civil war and, 49; democracy in, 105; independence of, 61; and Mexico, 62; MIDs and, 105; term limits in, 96–97
- costs, 140; and constituent acceptance, 187, 204; domestic, 26, 95, 143; economic, 206; expected, 170–74; and foreign policy, 155; high, 144; of large-scale war, 174; of militarized bargaining, 204; military, 208; restraints on, 144–47; of seizure of Malvinas Islands, 157; summary of, 174; use of force and, 132; of using military force, 87
- Cuba, 29, 204–5; economic integration and, 206; party systems in, 97; revolution in, 31, 224*n*19; U.S. control of, 60
- Cuban Constitutional Convention (1901), Platt Amendment to, 60, 65
- cultures: European, 59; Protestant, 58; Spanish American, 47
- Customs House treaties, 60, 63; Nicaragua and, 64
- decisionmakers, 11; accountability of, 187–89; foreign policy and, 12, 14; and information, 15, 16, 18; militarized bargaining and, 15, 197; militarized conflicts costs and, 3–4; military force and, 193; punishment of, 158; transparency of, 97–98; use of force and, 28, 160; *see also* leaders
- Declaration of Cartagena (1991), 50
- decree powers, 203
- Delian League, 7
- democracies, 213*n*3, 214*n*8, 234*n*5; foreign policy behavior of, 51; large-scale war and, 84; leaders of, 23; *versus* nondemocratic states, 86–87; use of force and, 160; violence among, 5
- democracy: covert action in, 102; definition of, 40; in Ecuador, 166; and electoral constraints, 98; and force, 3, 4; and foreign policy, 104; and guarantee of peaceful relations, 108; institutionalized, 104; international security and, 84; intra-Latin American, 130; in Mexico, 205; and militarism, 89; militarized bargaining and, 194; and military force, 41; and participation in MID, 105, 106;

- democracy (*continued*)
 peaceful impact of, 106; in Peru, 101, 171; and political military strategy, 4; political parties and, 200; quantitative analysis and, 116, 117, 118; regional conflict behavior and, 85; return of, 147, 177; threat to, 84; transition to, 134, 144, 146, 154, 155, 177, 189, 203; U.S. promotion of, 48; and use of force, 107, 108; and veto gates, 99
- democratic peace variants, 104–7
- democratization, 40; in Argentina, 144; balance of power and, 209; of Peru, 44; *see also* redemocratization
- demonstrations, 26, 155, 182, 200
- deterrence theory, 11
- development: aid to, 169; economic, 32, 130; political, 130
- Díaz, Porfirio, 61, 63–64
- dictatorships: in Caribbean, 31; in Chile, 101; constituents and, 21; era of, in Peru, 163; military, 160; personalist, 22; policy decisions and, 14; selectorate and, 13
- diplomacy: bilateral, 124; in Bolivia, 125; in Brazil, 125; in Chile, 150; coercive, 188; democratic states *versus* nondemocratic states, 87; and Ecuador, 172; international, 166; and Latin American alliances, 123; peacemakers and, 188; of 1929–41 period, 73; promises of, 163; secret, 97–98
- disputes: border, 68, 100, 195–96; and constituencies, 187; definition of, 44; escalation of, 56; international, 113; juridical resolution of, 146; militarized, 161; peaceful resolution of, 86; rivalry and, 189; territorial, 123; in twentieth century, 161; and war, 95
- Domínguez, Jorge, 129
- Dominican Republic: attack on Haitian migrants by, 34–35, 48; term limits in, 97; and U.S., 5, 60, 64–65
- Doyle, Michael W., 4, 89
- Drago Doctrine, 48
- Durán Ballén, Sixto, 168, 183, 200
- Easter Island, 70
- economic development, 185, 197–98; in Argentina, 152; balance of power and, 209; and Ecuador, 166–68
- economic integration: of Americas, 205–6; expansion of, 166
- economic restructuring, regional security and, 204
- Ecuador, 30; and accountability of leader to constituencies, 181–83; and Argentina, 31; armed forces of, 171, 173, 174, 182, 183, 207; border disputes and, 46, 49, 68, 70–72, 102; civil society of, 182; Congress of, 181; and constituency cost acceptability, 175–77; constitution of, 203; coup in, 160, 201; and democracy, 177, 185; diplomatic settlement with, 186–87; economic integration and, 206; electoral system of, 181; Executive-Legislative relationship in, 101; and Gran Colombia, 47, 161; mass demonstrations in, 182; militaries of, 115; militarized bargaining and, 195, 198, 200; military defeat of (1981), 177; military funding in, 100; party systems in, 97; and Peru, 5, 25,

- 29–30, 31, 38, 50, 92, 95, 160–89, 161–69, 207; and power
preponderance, 119, 122;
presidents of, 100, 181;
redemocratization in, 40, 177;
strikes in, 182; Supreme Court of, 181; term limits in, 96–97; U.S. hegemony and, 68; use of force by, 196; and 1995 war, 90, 175, 177; Zarumilla War and, 34, 36, 37
- Ecuador-Peru war (1941), 34, 82, 112, 119–21
- Egypt, 156
- elections: in Ecuador, 176–77; free, 88, 153; in Peru, 183; presidential, 180; *see also* voter preferences
- electoral accountability, 85–87, 95–104, 107
- El Salvador, 19; arbitration and, 62; border disputes and, 44, 49; democracy in, 40; democratization of, 43–44; economic integration and, 206; Gulf of Fonseca and, 95; independence of, 61; party systems in, 97; and power preponderance, 121, 122; term limits in, 96–97; war with Guatemala, 63
- El Salvador-Honduras war (1969), 112, 119, 121
- Emancipation Proclamation, 89
- enduring rivalries, 25–26, 38, 110
- Esquipulas agreements, 49
- Europe: creditor nations in, 60; culture of, 59, 124; and Mexico, 62; power politics of, 47; wars in, 37, 38
- exit strategy, 155
- Falklands Islands, 152; *see also* Malvinas/Falklands War (1982)
- Fashoda, 14
- Fisher, Roger, 8
- force: characteristics of, 133, 173–74, 193, 198, 207; costs of, 5, 158, 160; decision to use, 152; effect of democracy on, 26; right-wing, 154; threat of, 155; use of, 5, 12, 26, 38, 39, 48, 58, 74, 75, 82, 91–92, 97, 99, 130, 132, 139, 150, 161, 196, 204, 205; *see also* military force
- foreign policy: of Argentina, 147; of Chile, 155; covert mechanisms of, 97; democratic, 87; and domestic problems, 113; hybrid political philosophy and, 90; Latin American, 130; Malvinas Islands and, 155; military force and, 113; Peruvian, 166, 170; and pollsters, 90; and security, 111; selectorate and, 13; theoretical assumptions for, 12; of U.S., 30; use of force in, 3, 4, 41, 84, 110; Western hemisphere and, 29
- foreign policy good, 138–40, 155, 157, 158, 169–70
- Fourteen Points program, 69
- France: electoral constraints in, 86; and International Court of Justice, 134; and Suez Crisis, 156; warships of, 60; weapons and training from, 109
- Fujimori, Alberto, 96, 160, 167–69, 170, 171, 177, 180, 183–87, 197, 198, 200, 202
- Galtieri, Leopold, 144, 146, 151–52, 155–58, 199–200, 201–3
- García, Alán, 177, 179, 184–86, 188, 203
- George, Alexander, 11

- Germany: and Argentina, 65, 127–28;
and Brazil, 65; and Mexico, 32, 74;
and Paraguay, 65; and Uruguay,
65; and U.S., 60, 65–66; warships
of, 60; weapons from, 109
- Glorious Revolution (1688), 89
- governments: authoritarian, 23, 154;
coalition, 23; electoral constraints
on, 86–87, 94; interventions to
overthrow, 55; military, 132, 133,
148, 149; recognition of, 48; U.S.,
150
- Gran Colombia, 35, 47, 161
- Great Britain. *See* Britain
- Great Powers, 125
- Greece, 5–6, 7
- Guatemala, 15, 35; arbitration and, 62;
and covert aggression, 102; and
democracy, 185; democracy in, 40;
democratization of, 43–44; and
Mexico, 61–62; party systems in,
97; term limits in, 96–97; U.S.
security and, 61; war with El
Salvador, 63
- Guayaquil, 161, 175–76
- guerrilla activity: in Argentina, 151;
border disputes and, 129; in Latin
America, 91
- Guevara, Che, 31
- Gulf War (1991), 20, 100
- Guyana, 29
- Hague, 133, 162
- Haiti: abolishment of military in, 49;
migrants from, 34–35, 48; and
U.S., 60, 64, 95, 119
- Hanson, Victor David, 6
- Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), 30
- hegemonic management, 55–83,
232ⁿ68
- hegemonic mismanagement, 79–82
- hegemony, 76–78; anti-communist,
80, 82; constitution of, 58;
regional, 74, 75
- Hermoza, Nicolás de Bari, 186
- Hispaniola, 60; *see also* Dominican
Republic; Haiti
- Hitler, Adolf, 65
- Honduras, 19, 36; border disputes and,
44, 49; democracy in, 40, 41;
economic integration and, 206;
elections in, 41; and El Salvador,
119, 121; Gulf of Fonseca and, 95;
independence of, 61; neutrality of,
63; party systems in, 97; and power
preponderance, 119, 122; term
limits in, 96–97; and U.S., 20
- Hughes, Charles Evans, 71
- human rights, 141; abuses of, 171; and
Chile, 148; of citizens, 31; in Latin
America, 224ⁿ19; violations, 157,
186
- Huntington, Samuel P., 90
- Ibañez, Carlos, 70
- Iguazo electrical project, 128
- independence: in Central America,
31, 61; Latin America wars of, 32,
35; of Peru, 161; from Spain, 30
- India, 38, 156
- individualism, 58, 89
- institutions: constraints on, 85–104;
democratic, 204–5; and social
interaction, 85
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal
Assistance (Rio Treaty; 1947), 30,
66–67
- international community, 172–74,
189, 198
- International Court of Justice (ICJ),
133, 136–37, 141
- internationalism, 31, 91

- international law, 29; and bilateral diplomacy, 124; and Chile, 143, 145
- international relations, 3, 51
- interstate conflict, 28, 51, 56
- Iquitos, 169
- Irangate scandal, 100
- Iraq, 20, 100
- isolationism, 94
- Israel, 20, 156, 168, 174
- Italy, 60, 109, 134
- Japan, 32, 70, 215ⁿ¹⁰
- Jefferson, Thomas, 59
- Junta (Argentina), 144–45, 147, 148, 150–52, 155, 159, 201, 203; composition of, 149; control over, 153
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 157
- Korean War, 32, 38
- Kugler, Jacek, 114–15
- Laguna del Desierto controversy, 49
- Lanusse, Alejandro A., 134
- Latin America: border and migration issues in, 96; democracies in, 204; democracy and, 90; electoral constraints and, 86; incompetent armies of, 115; international conflict and, 35; international politics of, 28; interstate conflicts in, 30, 51; legislative-executive relations in, 99; “long peace” in, 3; MID behavior of, 38; militarized interstate conflict in, 193; military governments in, 204; and military power, 109; National Period of, 35, 38–39, 122; political integration in, 47; political philosophies of, 88, 89–90; politics of, 47–48; regional conflict in, 85; regional relations and, 35; security problematique in, 32; self-identification of, 30; use of force in, 107; violent conflict in, 26; violent peace in, 7; war in, 36–37; *see also individual countries*
- laudo*, 136, 140
- leaders: accountability of, 23–24, 201–4, 240ⁿ⁶⁷; and constituencies, 25, 26, 28, 155, 181; costs of military actions and, 27; means of selecting, 133; polity and, 86; reselection of, 23; and use of force, 26, 132–59; *see also* decisionmakers
- League of Nations, 29, 69, 71–72
- Leguía, Augusto, 68–72
- Leigh, Gustavo, 154
- Lennox Island, 133–34
- Leticia War (1932), 34, 37, 48
- liberalism, 58, 89, 213ⁿ³
- Liberal Peace paradigm, 14
- Liberal Republicans, 47
- Locke, 88
- Luminoso, Sendero, 185–86, 207
- Machiavelli, Niccoló, 111, 235ⁿ¹⁰
- Mahuad, Jamil, 160, 182
- Mainwaring, Scott, 97
- Malvinas/Falklands War (1982), 76, 82, 123, 128, 138, 146, 148
- Malvinas Islands, 31, 133, 139, 152, 158, 202; decolonization of, 156; and military bargaining model, 196; seizure of, 92, 147, 155–57, 198
- Manwaring, Max G., 128
- Marañón River, 162
- Marañón War. *See* Zarumilla War
- Marines, 60, 64
- Massera, Emilio, 145, 152

- Mearsheimer, John J., 111
- Menem, Carlos, 186
- Mercosur, 206
- Mexico, 29, 205; and Central America, 61–63; and Germany, 32, 74; and Guatemala, 61; hegemonic management of, 73; and Nicaragua, 64; party systems in, 97; resources in, 74; Revolution of, 50, 61, 64; term limits in, 96–97; and U.S., 50, 61; and war, 102
- Miami Summit of American Nations, 84
- Middle East, 20, 37, 38
- MID I, 80
- MID II, 80, 104
- MIDs. *See* militarized interstate disputes
- migration: economic development and, 32; European, 59
- militarized bargaining, 7–10, 15, 16–23, 143–44, 155, 158–59, 187, 188, 193–209; characteristics of the force of, 16, 20–21, 24; constituencies acceptance of costs and, 16, 21, 24; costs of, 205; degree of accountability of policymakers and, 16, 22, 24; by Ecuador, 197; explanation of, 16–23; in Latin America, 193–209; leaders and, 24, 27; political-military strategy of, 16–18, 24; strategic balance and, 16, 18–20, 24; voter preferences and, 88
- militarized bargaining model, 160, 194–98, 203, 204, 208
- militarized disputes, 161; history of, 32–40; participation in, 105
- militarized interstate disputes (MIDs), 26, 75; behavior, 104–7; characteristics of, 173–74; and Chile, 141; and Chile and Argentina, 133; contemporary, 40–47; and democracy, 41, 43; distribution of power and, 112; and Ecuador, 162; and Ecuador-Peru war, 34, 166–67, 171; hegemonic management and, 56, 73; increase in, 38–39, 79; intra-Latin American, 41, 130; Latin American, 28, 80; Peru and, 34, 162, 166–67, 171; post-Cold War, 43, 44; regional hegemony and, 74
- military: abolishment of, 49; balance of, 189; civilian control of, 88, 100, 182, 186; expenditures of, quantitative analysis and, 116, 118; and external defense, 110; force alternatives and, 95; and multilateral action, 94; and professionalism, 125; professionalization of, 189; publicization of, 153; reserve-based *versus* standing army, 95; resources, 124
- military force, 9, 13, 137; against another democracy, 14; as bargaining tactic, 5, 8, 131, 132, 138–40, 160; characteristics of, 133; costs of using, 3–4, 18, 21, 87, 94–95, 99; decision to use, 7, 16, 25, 130, 131, 160; and democracy, 83, 102; deterrent, 208; and economic infrastructure, 19; efforts to de-legitimize, 47–50; electoral constraints and, 87; influence of U.S. on, 82; low-level use of, 17–18; against Mexico, 50; multilateral, 94; *versus* negotiation, 14; standing, 20; by third parties, 17–18; use of, 19, 20, 40, 56, 74, 81, 89, 91, 93, 94, 110, 148, 156,

- 169–73, 194, 200; *see also* force: use of
- mini-war (1981), 175, 180
- missiles, surface to air, 174
- mobilizations: Argentine domestic, 143; Beagle Channel dispute and, 132; domestic, 20; full, 161; of units, 143
- monarchy, Brazil as, 124
- Monroe, James, 29, 59
- Monroe Doctrine (1823), 29, 55; European creditor nations and, 60; Roosevelt Corollary to (1904), 30, 62–64; security and, 59
- Montoneros, 145
- Morgan, T. Clifton, 102
- Morgenthau, Hans J., 111
- multilateralism, 91–92; hard-line, 93, 94; soft-line, 94
- Multipartidaria, 155
- Munich, Germany, 14
- Napoleonic Wars, 47
- nationalism, 82; of Argentina, 127, 145, 147; British, 157; in Central America, 63; *versus* communism, 79; and democracy, 26; and Nicaragua, 64; in Peru, 68–69, 70–71; rhetoric of, 208; right-wing, 148; sentiments of, 21
- National Security Council (NSC), 134
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Nebót, Jaime, 178–79
- negotiations: bilateral, 17, 134, 138, 163, 164; on bi-oceanic principle, 144–45; and border disputes, 134; in Chile, 151; and Ecuador, 172–73; international treaties and, 172; and Malvinas Islands, 156; on maritime limits, 135; militarized bargaining model and, 194–96; military and, 150; multilateral, 164; peaceful, 107; and Peru, 162; problem-solving, 10; resolving a dispute with, 94; War of the Pacific and, 142; *see also* bargaining; militarized bargaining; arbitration
- neofascism, 31
- New Zealand, Zone of Peace concept and, 49
- Nicaragua, 35; border disputes and, 71; and Colombia, 29; conservatives in, 64; Contadora Initiative and, 49; Contra war in, 100, 119; and covert aggression, 102; Gulf of Fonseca and, 95; Liberals *versus* Conservatives, 64; Mosquito lands of, 63; party systems in, 97; and power preponderance, 121, 122; Sandinistas in, 19, 31; term limits in, 97; and transisthmus canal, 62; and U.S., 31, 61, 119, 121
- Nixon, Richard, 99
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 35
- Northeast Asia, war and, 51
- North Korea, 30
- NSC. *See* National Security Council
- nuclear weapons, 128–29; nonproliferation of, 50
- Nueva Island, 133
- OAS. *See* Organization of American States
- Organization of American States (OAS), 29, 92, 260n3; arms control and, 50; creation of, 66; and dispute resolution mechanisms, 145; and Ecuador, 165–66, 170, 182; Miami Summit of American

- OAS (*continued*)
 Nations of, 84; Peruvian president and, 160; Santiago Resolution of, 260n4; threats to democracy and, 84
- Organski, A. F. K., 114–15
- Ortiz, Miguel Angel Zavalla, 134
- Owen, John M., 88–89
- Pactos de Mayo* (1902), 49–50, 133
- Panama: abolishment of military in, 49; creation of, 35; party systems in, 97; and power preponderance, 121, 122; term limits in, 96–97; U.S. invasion of, 5, 92, 119
- Paraguay: and Argentina, 127; border disputes and, 68; Chaco War and, 35–36; and democracy, 185; elections in, 101; free trade zone and, 129; and Germany, 65; and parity and war, 122; party systems in, 97; poverty in, 35; term limits in, 97; war against, 124
- paramountcy, 60, 67
- party systems: competitive, 97; hegemonic, 97; inchoate, 97; strength of, 97; weakness of, 187–88
- Pastor, Carlos Washington, 150
- Patagonia, 133
- Patton, Bruce, 8
- peace, definition of, 3, 6
- peacekeeping, 46; on Ecuador-Peru border, 92; international, 92
- Pedemonte-Mosquera Period, 161
- Peloponnesian War, 6–7
- Pérez, Carlos Andrés, 100
- Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier, 180, 185
- Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague), 162
- Perón, Juan, 31
- Perón, María Estela Martínez de, 135, 145
- Peronist party (Argentina), 144, 147, 153
- Peronists, 145, 147, 200, 202
- Persian armies, 6
- Peru, 30; and accountability of leader to constituencies, 183–88; APRA party in, 31, 188, 203; armed forces of, 130, 174, 180, 207; bombing ban and, 50; border disputes and, 46, 47, 68–72, 102; and Brazil, 125; and Chile, 130; civil-military relations in, 186; and constituency cost acceptability, 177–80; constitutions of, 101, 183–84; creation of, 47; decree powers in, 184; democracy in, 41; democratic status of, 160; diplomatic successes of, 173; economic integration and, 206; and Ecuador, 5, 25, 31, 50, 92, 95, 160–89; elections in, 101; Executive-Legislative relationship in, 101; and imports, 123; indemnity payments and, 70; legislative restraint on Executive in, 183–84; losses in a population, 34; militaries of, 115; and militarized bargaining, 195, 198, 200; and parity and war, 122; party systems in, 97; population of, 141; and power preponderance, 122; presidential elections in, 69, 96; public opinion in, 180; regional disarmament and, 50; term limits in, 96–97; troop strength of, 142; U.S. hegemony and, 68; use of force by, 196; war and (1995), 90; war scare from, 140; war with Ecuador, 34, 82, 112, 119–21; Zarumilla War and, 34, 36, 37

- Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 47
 Peruvian-Colombian border agreement (1922), 70
 Pictón Island, 133
 Pinochet, Augusto, 101, 140, 145, 147, 148, 153–55, 158, 199, 203, 205, 249*n*21, 252*n*64
 Platt Amendment. *See under* Cuban Constitutional Convention
 Plaza, Galo, 165
 police, domestic control and, 132
 political philosophies, 87–90, 91
 politics: domestic, 4, 12, 13, 20; of federalism, 47; international, 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 24, 28, 48; Latin American, 40; Liberal Republican, 47; power, 32, 58
 Polk, James K., 102
 Ponce, Camilo, 175
 Popular Unity government (Chile), 103
 Portuguese colonies, 29
 power: balance of, 110, 112, 113, 123–30, 124; bargaining, 164; decree, 203; distribution of, 123–24, 130, 194; dyadic balance of, 95; great, 60, 62; innate drives for, 111; *versus* insecurity, 111; manifestations of, 58; military, 110–13; military, and democratic institutions, 110; quality of military, 130; relative, 131; *versus* security, 111
 power, distribution of, 35, 111; bilateral, 113; and military conflict, 108, 109; quantitative analyses of, 115–23; regional, 113; and regional peace, 109; and war, 114
 power parity, 113, 114, 117, 122, 130
 power preponderance, 114–17, 119, 121–22, 130
 Prado, Manuel, 254*n*14
 Putumayo River, 71
 Quito, 161, 165, 168, 175–76
 Radical Party (Argentina), 144, 147, 203
 Reagan, Ronald, 100, 221*n*58
 redemocratization: and accountability, 187–88; and Argentina, 135; and Chile, 101, 138; in Latin America, 40; modern militaries and, 110; and Peru, 177, 183; regional security and, 204; *versus* sovereignty, 147; *see also* democratization
 Reed, W. Robert, 11
 Reform Act (1832), 89
 Rhodesia, 156
 Rio Branco, Baron, 125–26
 Rio Group, 92
 Rio Plata region, 126
 Rio Protocol (1942), 164–65, 170–73, 175, 177, 180, 187, 188, 201; militarized bargaining model and, 195, 197
 Rio Treaty. *See* Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance
 rivalries, 114, 123; Argentine-Brazilian, 124; and arms trading, 123; and disputes, 189; between Ecuador and Peru, 188; enduring, 25–26, 38, 110
 Roca-Runciman Treaty, 126
 Rojas, Juan Manuel, 124
 Roldós, Jaime, 166, 167, 182
 Romero, Matías, 61
 Roosevelt Corollary. *See under* Monroe Doctrine
 Russett, Bruce, 102–3
 Russian Revolution (1918), 80

- Salomón-Lozano treaty, 71
 Salvadoran invasion, 36
 Samore, Cardinal Antonio, 146
 SAMs, 208
 San Andrés Islands, 30
 Sánchez Cero, Luis M., 72
 sanctions, 19; difficulty of imposing, 99; targeted, 58
 Sandinistas, 19–20
 Sandino, Augusto César, 31
 Santiago River, 164
 Schelling, Thomas C., 10
 Scully, Timothy R., 97
 security, 113; hegemony and, 59; *versus* power, 111; for states, 57
 security complex: conflict in, 194; hegemonic management and, 67, 73–78; of Latin America, 208; Latin American, 28, 29–32, 48, 83; regional, 57–58; U.S., 79
 security problematique, 28, 32, 57
 selectorate, 13, 14
 Serrano, Jorge, 15
 Shackleton affair, 135
 Siverson, Randolph M., 15
 small states, 11, 18, 19
 Socialist Party (Chile), 103
 Socialists-Communists alliance, 154
 South Africa, 59
 South America, 20; decrease of violence in, 80; distribution of power in, 35; hegemonic management and, 67, 73; impact of hegemony in, 74; international conflict and, 35; MIDs and, 76, 78, 80, 104–6; neofascism in, 31; U.S. paramouncy and, 59, 65–67, 67; use of force in, 39; *see also individual countries*
 sovereignty: *versus* peace and prosperity, 57; *versus* redemocratization, 147
 Soviet Union, 7, 209
 Spanish American Empire, 124
 Spanish Americans, 47
 Spanish American War (1898), 60
 Spanish colonies, 29–30
 Straits of Magellan, 137
 strategic balance, 161, 189, 193, 196–98, 207
 strategy: and conflict management, 56; military, 196; political-military, 133, 140–41, 143, 156, 161, 170–72, 171, 188, 195–96, 196
 structural realism theory, 232n68
 Suez Crisis (1956), 156
 Suriname, 29
 Syracuse, 90
 Tacna, 69–70
 Taft, William Howard, 64
 term limits, 96–97
 Thatcher, Margaret, 156, 200, 201, 252n71
 Thucydides, 111, 217n31, 236n23
 Tiwintza, 168, 177, 186, 197
 trade: between Argentina and Chile, 197; expansion of, 166; free, 175; and peace, 205
 transisthmus canal, 62
 treaties: international, 171, 172; sanctity of, 175; use of force and, 48
 Treaty of Ancón, 69
 Treaty of Asunción (1991), 129
 Treaty of Friendship (1832), 161–62
 Treaty of Peace and Friendship (1984), 147, 197
 Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967), 129
 Troccoli, Antonio, 147
 Turkey, 59
 UCR. *See* Unión Cívica Radical
 unilateralism, 91–92, 93

- Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), 150
- United Nations, 46, 156–57, 166, 170, 251n62
- United Provinces of Central America, 35, 47
- United States, 29, 209; anti-communism in, 81; arbitration of, 63; and Argentina, 157; and Brazil, 32, 125, 127; and Central American canal, 62–64; Civil War in, 47; Congress of, 100, 102; culture of, 58; economic system of, 55, 65, 67; and Ecuador, 173; electoral constraints in, 86; and Europe, 29; and Germany, 65–66; and Great Britain, 59–60, 60; and Haiti, 49; hegemonic power of, 56–59, 71; and Honduras, 20; intervention by, 59, 60, 62, 69; loans to South America by, 60; management of interstate relations of, 55; and Mexico, 50, 63–64; militarization of southern border of, 50; militarized bargaining and, 193; military arms policy of, 109; military intervention by, 115; military paramountcy of, 67; military violence threats from, 7; and Nicaragua, 64; and Panama, 49; perception of security of, 47; and Peru, 69–70, 170; political philosophy of, 89; and power preponderance, 121, 122; predominance of, 59–67, 60; president and Congress and, 100, 101; presidents of, and secret diplomacy, 97–98; sphere of influence of, 30; term limits in, 96–97; unilateralism of, 32; use of force and, 22; Vietnam War losses of, 36; and war, 38; “way of life” of, 58; weapons from, 109, 129; and World War I, 74
- Uruguay: and Argentina, 127; and Britain, 124; creation of, 35; elections in, 101; free trade zone and, 129; Germany and, 65; party systems in, 97; use of force in, 104
- Ury, William, 8
- Ushuaia, 133
- Velasco Ibarra, José Mariá, 164, 166, 175, 201
- Venezuela, 14, 29; armed forces of, 207; border disputes and, 44, 71, 129; constitution of, 100; economic integration and, 206; Gran Colombia and, 47, 161; party systems in, 97; presidents of, 100; strength of party systems in, 97; term limits in, 96–97; territory disputes and, 90; U.S. influence in, 65
- veto gates, 85, 98–104, 107
- Videla, Jorge, 139, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149–52, 158, 199, 201
- Vietnam War, 13, 100
- Viola, Roberto, 144, 145, 146, 149–52, 158, 199, 201
- violence: internal civil, 55; large-scale, 67; in Latin America, 28, 40; Latin America and, 51; military, 38; regional hegemony and, 78; use of, 36
- voter preferences, 87–96, 107; *see also* elections
- war: in Ancient Greece, 6; Argentine-Brazil (1825–28), 124; costs of, 3, 171, 198, 199; declaration of, 132; defensive, 142; definition of, 3, 6, 32; demonstrations against, 155;

- war (*continued*)
 escalation to, 5, 28, 39–40, 74, 75, 95, 112, 115, 143, 144, 146, 173, 198; full-scale, 143, 144; history of Latin-American, 28; land, 146; large-scale, 155, 173, 174; Latin America and, 51; loss of, 15; and militarized bargaining strategy, 143; *versus* militarized disputes, 5, 34; nuclear, 7; requirements of, 99; risk of, 59–60; support for, 158; use of force as, 132
- War of the Pacific (1879), 46, 65, 67, 133, 142, 162
- War of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation (1836–39), 35
- War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70), 35, 124
- War Powers Act, 100, 220ⁿ56
- wars: African, 37; Asian, 37, 38, 51; colonial, 37; draft dodging during, 21; extra-systemic, 37; of independence, 32, 161; international, 37; interstate, 37; Latin American, 35, 122; Middle Eastern, 37; post World War II, 37–38; regional, 81; small-state, 114; tax evasion during, 21; *see also individual wars*
- war scares: and Beagle dispute, 128; and Bolivia, 140; and Chile, 125, 140; and Peru, 140, 163, 168; in Rio Plata region, 126
- weapons: of mass destruction, 50; modern, 109; purchases of, 174; technology of, 112; types of, 206; *see also* arms control
- Western Hemisphere, 29; Argentine wealth and, 124; and Europe, 59; MIDs in, 76–78; uniqueness of, 48; U.S. sphere of influence in, 30; Zone of Peace concept and, 49
- Wilson, Woodrow, 69
- Wood, Bryce, 67–68, 72–73
- World Court, 44, 49
- World War I, 32; Argentine armaments purchases and, 126; economic leadership after, 67; European training before, 109; German defeat in, 65; intra-Latin American conflict and, 67–68; and United States, 74
- World War II, 7, 29, 37, 38, 127–28, 202; Argentina neutrality and, 92; balance of power during, 74; international community and, 172; Japan and, 32; Mexico during, 32; U.S. military arms policy after, 109; U.S. paramountcy and, 67
- Yugoslavia, NATO attack on, 35
- Zamora River, 164
- Zarumilla War (1941), 34, 36, 37
- Zeballos, Estanislao, 126
- Zelaya, José Santos, 62–64
- Zone of Peace concept, 49