

NOTES

Introduction: Absence of War or Enduring Peace?

1. Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648–1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 304; Steven R. David, “Why the Third World Still Matters,” *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992–1993), p. 131; Steven R. David, “Explaining Third World Alignment,” *World Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2 (January 1991), pp. 253–255; Evan Luard, *War in International Society: A Study in International Sociology* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1986), p. 77; and for a list of wars in the third world, see Guy Arnold, *Wars in the Third World Since 1945* (London: Cassell Publishers, 1991).
2. Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987–1988* (Washington, DC: World Priorities, 1987), pp. 28–31.
3. For those who have been attracted to long periods of peace among Great Powers, see John L. Gaddis, *The Long Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 215–247. Charles W. Kegley, Jr., ed., *The Long Postwar Peace* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991); John E. Muller, *Retreat From Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic Books, 1989); and Stephen R. Rock, *Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989). Examples of works devoted to the study of the long periods of peace in Latin America in general or South America in particular, see Michael Desch, “Why Latin America May Miss the Cold War: The United States and the Future of Inter-American Security Relations,” in Jorge I. Domínguez, ed., *International Security and Democracy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), pp. 245–265; Arie M. Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998); David R. Mares, *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Jorge I. Domínguez et al., “Why So Little Warfare?” in Jorge I. Domínguez, *Boundary Disputes in Latin America, Peaceworks* 50 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000), pp. 20–25; and David McIntyre, “The Longest Peace: Why Are There So Few Interstate Wars in South America?” PhD dissertation, The University of Chicago, December 1995.
4. This study follows the classification advanced by Melvin Small and J. David Singer, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816–1980* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), pp. 82–99. Other compilers, utilizing less stringent criteria, have counted seven and eleven wars respectively. See Robert N. Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830–1905* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 1; and Luard, *War in International Society*.

5. Jack Child, "Conflicts in Latin America: Present and Potential," research paper (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1980); Jorge I. Domínguez, "Ghosts From the Past: War, Territorial and Boundary Disputes in Mainland Central and South America Since 1960," unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, May 1977 as cited by Gregory F. Treverton, "Interstate Conflict in Latin America," in Kevin J. Middlebrook and Carlos Rico, *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), pp. 565–591; Jorge I. Domínguez, "Los Conflictos Internacionales en América Latina y la Amenaza de Guerra," *Foro Internacional*, vol. 25, no. 97 (July 1984), pp. 1–13; Wolf Grabendorff, "Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America," *Working Papers*, no. 116, Latin American Program (Washington, DC: Wilson Center, 1982); and Kenneth Nolde, "Arms and Security in South America: Towards an Alternate View," PhD dissertation, University of Miami, 1980, pp. 285–287.
6. For the methodological significance of this strategy, see James D. Fearon, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," *World Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2 (January 1991), pp. 169–195, specifically see pp. 183–184.
7. Robert Jervis, "War and Misperception," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 106.
8. For those who have examined the absence of war in the Soviet-American rivalry, see those listed in foot note 3 and the literature on crisis management and prevention Alexander L. George, ed., *Managing U.S.-Soviet Rivalry: Problems of Crisis Prevention* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983); Alexander L. George, Philip J. Farley, and Alexander Dallin, eds., *U.S.-Soviet Security Cooperation: Achievements, Failures, Lessons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Alexander L. George, ed., *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991). For works on the absence of war in the developed world, see Karl W. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969); Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, "In Search of Peace Systems: Scandinavia and the Netherlands, 1870–1970," in Bruce M. Russett, ed., *Peace, War, and Numbers* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 239–274; Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 12, nos. 3 and 4 (Summer/Fall 1983), pp. 205–235 and 323–353; Michael W. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 80, no. 4 (December 1986), pp. 1151–1169; and Bruce M. Russett, "The Politics of An Alternative Security System: Toward a More Democratic and Therefore More Peaceful World," in Burns Weston, ed., *Alternatives to Nuclear Deterrence* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989).
9. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (New York: Collier Books, A Division of Macmillan, 1962), pp. 98–102.
10. John L. Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992–1993), p. 25. Emphasis added.
11. Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Press, 1966), pp. 150–155; and Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 221.
12. Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391–425.

13. Robert G. Gilpin attempts to integrate HST (Hegemonic Stability Theory) into the realm of security, Robert G. Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). For background literature on the origin and evolution of hegemonic stability theory, see Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Robert G. Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Stephen D. Krasner, "State Power and the Structure of International Trade," *World Politics*, vol. 28, no. 3 (April 1976), pp. 317–347; Robert O. Keohane, "The Theory of Hegemonic Stability and Changes in International Economic Regimes, 1967–1977," in Ole R. Holsti, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alexander L. George, eds., *Change in the International System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 131–162, specifically p. 136; Duncan Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," *International Organization*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp. 579–614; Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), especially pp. 31–46; and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), especially pp. 40–48. For an analysis of the application of the international regime perspective to the security realm, see Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 357–378.
14. Richard K. Betts, "Systems for Peace or Causes of War?: Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Summer 1992), p. 26.
15. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) and Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979), chapters 7 and 8.
16. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 161–162.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 202. Also, see Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Stability of a Bipolar World," *Daedalus*, vol. 93, no. 3 (Summer 1964), pp. 881–909 and Kenneth N. Waltz, "International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 304–314.
18. Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," *World Politics*, vol. 26, no. 3 (April 1964), p. 390.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 393–396.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 396–400.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 401–403.
22. On the definition of regional or international subsystems, see Louis J. Cantori and Steven L. Spiegel, *The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach* (Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 607; William R. Thompson, "The Regional Subsystem: A conceptual Explication and a Propositional Inventory," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 1973), p. 93; Michael Banks, "Systems Analysis and the Study of Regions," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4 (December 1969), p. 357; and Michael Haas, "International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 64, no. 1 (March 1970), pp. 100–101. For a discussion of balance of power in subsystems, see Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, pp. 218–220.
23. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962); and R. Harrison Wagner, "The Theory of Games and the Balance of Power," *World Politics*, vol. 38, no. 4 (July 1986), pp. 546–576.

24. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 118–120 and 168.
25. For an extended discussion of this point, see Jack S. Levy, “The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence,” in Philip E. Tetlock et al., eds., *Behavior, Society and Nuclear War*, vol. II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 240–243.
26. John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983). For overviews of deterrence theory, see Robert Jervis, “Deterrence Theory Revisited,” *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 2 (January 1979), pp. 289–324; Patrick M. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983). On the psychological dimension of deterrence, see Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). See Christopher H. Achen et al., “The Rational Deterrence Debate: A Symposium,” *World Politics*, vol. 41, no. 2 (January 1989), pp. 143–239.
27. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, pp. 27–28; Erich Weede, “Overwhelming Preponderance As a Pacifying Condition Among Asian Dyads, 1950–1969,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1976), pp. 395–411; David C. Garnham, “Dyadic International War, 1816–1965,” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1976), pp. 231–242; David C. Garnham, “Power Parity and Lethal International Violence, 1969–1973,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1976), pp. 379–394; and A. F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
28. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 112–114, 181, and 293.
29. Robert O. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), p. 11 and Robert O. Keohane, “International Liberalism Reconsidered,” in John Dunn, ed., *Economic Limits to Modern Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989).
30. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” pp. 205–235 and 323–353; Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” pp. 1151–1169; Melvin Small and J. David Singer, “The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965,” *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Summer 1976), pp. 50–69; Dean V. Babst, “A Force for Peace,” *Industrial Research*, no. 14 (April 1972), pp. 55–58; Rudolph J. Rummel, “Libertarianism and International Violence,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 27, no. 1 (March 1983), pp. 27–71; Erich Weede, “Democracy and War Involvement,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 28, no. 4 (December 1984), pp. 649–664; Steve Chan, “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall . . . Are the Freer Countries More Pacific?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 28, no. 4 (December 1984), pp. 617–647; Harvey Starr, “Democracy and War: Choice, Learning and Security Communities,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1992), pp. 207–213; Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdolali, “Regime Types and International Conflict, 1816–1976,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 33, no. 1 (March 1989), pp. 3–35; Jack S. Levy, “Domestic Politics and War,” in Rotberg and Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, pp. 84–88 (see note 7); David A. Lake, “Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 86, no. 1 (March 1992), pp. 24–37; Randall L. Schweller, “Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?” *World Politics*, vol. 44, no. 2 (January 1992), pp. 235–269; Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Bruce M. Russett, “Peace Between Participatory Politics: A

Cross-Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis," *World Politics*, vol. 44, no. 4 (July 1992), pp. 573–599.

31. Richard N. Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), p. ix; Lord Robbins, *Money, Trade and International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1971), especially chapters 9–10 for overview and critique of the liberal position linking free trade to peace. For a critique of the connection between liberalism and the benign use of military power, see Barry Buzan, "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case," *International Organization*, vol. 38, no. 4 (Autumn 1984), p. 624. Also, for the intellectual history of liberalism and its relation to free trade and peace, see F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), chapters 5 and 6.
32. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power*, p. 14. For a historical and analytical overview of the impact of international organizations on the peaceful settlement of disputes, see Inis Claude, Jr., *Swords Into Plow Shares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, 4th ed. (New York: Random House, 1984), pp. 215–244.
33. For a selected list of empirical works dealing with conflict in South America, see John B. Allcock et al., *Border and Territorial Disputes*, 3rd ed. (London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992), pp. 547–611; Gordon Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1971); Alan J. Day, *Border and Territorial Disputes* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1982); Andrés Fontana, "Percepción de Amenazas y Adquisición de Armamentos: Argentina 1960–1989," *Documentos CEDES*, no. 48 (1990), Buenos Aires, Argentina; Michael A. Morris and Victor Millán, *Controlling Latin America Conflicts: Ten Approaches* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983); José Thiago Cintra, "Regional Conflicts: Trends in a Period of Transition," *Adelphi Paper*, no. 237, Spring 1989 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies 1989), pp. 94–126; Virginia Gamba-Stonehouse, *Strategy in the Southern Oceans: A South American View* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); Philip Kelly and Jack Child, *Geopolitics of the Southern Cone and Antarctica* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988); Philip Kelly, "Geopolitical Tension Areas in South America: The Question of the Brazilian Territorial Expansion," in Robert E. Biles, ed., *Inter-American Relations: The Latin American Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 190–209; Jack Child, *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America: Quarrels Among Neighbors* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985); Lester D. Langley, *The Banana Wars: An Inner History of American Empire, 1900–1934* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1983); William R. Garner, *The Chaco Dispute: A Study of Prestige Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1966); Michael J. Kryzaneck, *U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd. ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1990); Bryce Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); Richard J. Bloomfield and Gregory F. Treverton, eds., *Alternative to Intervention: A New U.S.-Latin American Security Relationship* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990); Pope G. Atkins, *Latin America in the International Political System*, 2nd. ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989); Diego Abente, "The War of the Triple Alliance: Three Explanatory Models," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1987), pp. 47–69; and James L. Garrett, "The Beagle Channel Dispute: Confrontation and Negotiation in the Southern Cone," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Fall 1985), pp. 81–109.

Chapter 1 Peace in South America: Norm, Anomaly, or Historical Paradox?

1. Arie M. Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 67–124.
2. Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [repr. 2004]), pp. 150–182.
3. Miguel A. Centeno, *Blood and War: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).
4. Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 6th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 130–132 and 240–243; Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 453–454; and Robert Jones Shafer, *A History of Latin America* (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1978), pp. 597–599.
5. Melvin Small and J. David Singer, *Resort To Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816–1980* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), pp. 46–54.
6. Robert N. Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830–1905* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 1. He lists all interstate armed conflicts in South America, therefore the incidence of war is higher (seven conflicts). However, it should be noted that in the study conducted by Melvin Small and J. David Singer, using more restrictive criteria to classify wars, they put the number at five in a one-hundred-and-fifty-six-year period.
7. Small and Singer, *Resort To Arms*, pp. 50, 55–57.
8. Information scattered in various studies reveals fifteen different conflictual dyads, each involving one or several serious incidents. For more details, see Jack Child, “Conflicts in Latin America: Present and Potential,” research paper (Stockholm: SIPRI [Stockholm International Research Institute], 1980); Jorge I. Domínguez, “Ghosts From the Past: War, Territorial and Boundary Disputes in Mainland Central and South America Since 1960,” unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, May 1977 as cited by both Gregory F. Treverton, “Interstate Conflict in Latin America,” in Kevin J. Middlebrook and Carlos Rico, eds., *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), pp. 565–591 and Wolf Grabendorff, “Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America,” *Working Papers*, no. 116, Latin American Program (Washington, DC: Wilson Center, 1982); and Kenneth Nolde, “Arms and Security in South America: Towards an Alternate View,” PhD dissertation, University of Miami, 1980, pp. 285–287.
9. The data for this comparative historical analysis was tabulated from the study on international and civil wars conducted by Small and Singer, *Resort To Arms*, pp. 82–99.
10. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*, p. 155.
11. See Grabendorff, “Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America,” p. 18 for complete list of the conflicts he considers.
12. Both, for a relative and an absolute analysis of the composition and capabilities of the South American armed forces, see Adrian J. English, *Armed Forces of Latin America: Their Histories, Development, Present Strength and Military Potential* (New York: Jane’s Publishing, 1984).
13. Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 75. Note that while this translation refers to war as an “an act of force,” others

- refer to it as “an act of violence.” For the latter, see Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Press, 1966), p. 21.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
 15. Johan Galtung, “Editorial,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1964), p. 2.
 16. Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1969), p. 183.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 190, n. 31.
 18. Kenneth E. Boulding, *Stable Peace* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978), p. 3.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
 24. For further details on the debate on the appropriate definition of peace, see Robert Pickus, “New Approaches,” in W. Scott Thompson and Kenneth M. Jensen, eds., *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1991), especially pp. 230–233.
 25. Glenn H. Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 10. Also, it is suggestive that Richard Ned Lebow’s study on international crisis is titled *Between Peace and War*, see Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
 26. Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 149.
 27. Paul F. Diehl, “What Are They Fighting For? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 3 (August 1992), p. 333.
 28. For summary and analysis of the conditions and causes of war, see Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1988); Bernard Brodie, “Some Theories On the Causes of War,” in *War and Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 276–340; Michael Howard, *The Causes of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Jack S. Levy, “The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence,” in Philip E. Tetlock et al., eds., *Behavior, Society and Nuclear War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), vol. I, pp. 209–333; and Stephen W. Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Root of Conflict* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
 29. For further details on these three possible outcomes of a crisis situation, see Snyder and Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations*, pp. 14–15.
 30. John L. Gaddis, “International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War,” *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992–1993), p. 25.
 31. Blainey, *The Causes of War*, p. x.
 32. Bruce M. Russett and Harvey Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1989), p. 411.
 33. For further details on this conclusion, see the model of crisis phases developed by Snyder and Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations*, pp. 6–15.
 34. Emphasis in original, see Levy, “The Causes of War,” p. 227. Other analysts have also stressed the importance of primary issues as the leading causes of war, see

- R. W. Mansbach and John A. Vasquez, *In Search of Theory: A New Paradigm for Global Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 28–68. These authors suggest that the focus should be changed “from the issue of power to the power of issues.”
35. Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order 1648–1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 306–325. Although religion is included in his hierarchy of issues, many analysts consider that to be a dubious element at best in the modern state system. For an analysis of religion as a potential cause for conflict, see Roger Williamson, “Why Is Religion Still a Factor in Armed Conflict?” *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, vol. 21, no. 3 (September 1990), pp. 243–253.
 36. Robert Jervis, “War and Misperception,” in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 106.
 37. Randolph M. Siverson and Harvey Starr, “Opportunity, Willingness, and The Diffusion of War,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 84, no. 1 (March 1990), p. 63. For other sources, analyzing the centrality of territorial dispute in interstate armed conflict, see Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz, “Interstate Conflict Over Exchanges of Homeland Territory, 1816–1980,” *Political Geography Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 4 (October 1991), pp. 342–355; and Robert Mandel, “Roots of Modern Interstate Border Disputes,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 24, no. 3 (September 1980), pp. 427–454.
 38. For further details on these and other areas, involving conditions for conflict in South America over territory and resources, see John B. Allcock et al., *Border and Territorial Disputes*, 3rd ed. (London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992), pp. 547–611; and Gordon Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971).
 39. Boulding, *Stable Peace*, pp. 12–13. For an alternative typology, organizing various approaches to the study of international peace, see Kenneth M. Jensen and W. Scott Thompson, “The United States Institute of Peace and the Intellectual Map Project,” in Thompson and Jensen, *Approaches to Peace*, especially pp. xiii–xviii (see note 24).
 40. Russett and Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, p. 412.
 41. Karl W. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969).
 42. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 44. *Ibid.*, 5. Emphasis is in original version.
 45. These are: main values (i.e., constitutionalism, democracy, and noncommunist economies); mutual responsiveness (i.e., constant communication); distinctive way of life; the capability of core areas; superior economic growth; expectation of joint economic reward; wide range of mutual transactions; broadening elites; links of social communication; greater personal mobility; reluctance to wage fratricidal war; the existence of an outside military threat; strong economic ties; and ethnic and linguistic assimilations. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–159.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
 50. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

51. These conditions seem to grow out of the type of peace that Deutsch is trying to explain, therefore, they can not be taken as independent variables to explain other cases of interstate peace (e.g., South America).
52. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, pp. 199–200.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–129.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–133.
55. Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, “In Search of Peace Systems: Scandinavia and the Netherlands; 1870–1970,” in Bruce M. Russett, ed., *Peace, War, and Numbers* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 239–274.
56. The basic tenet of this theory is that population growth and technological development generate increasing domestic demands for resources. Unsatisfied demands and needs for resources create “lateral pressure” for access to raw materials beyond national boundaries. Usually, lateral pressures have led to “colonial-type wars” against the colonized people and/or against other expansionist rivals. This dynamic is what leads to a “war-prone system.” Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, *Nations in Conflict: National Growth and International Violence* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975).
57. Choucri and North, “In Search of Peace Systems,” p. 242.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 254–261.
59. Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
62. Stephen R. Rock, *Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
63. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Emphasis is in original.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12 and 17–18.
65. “Hypothesis 1: A state of peace is most likely to emerge among states that are heterogeneous in the exercise of national power. Hypothesis 2: A state of peace is most likely to emerge among states that are heterogeneous in their economic activities. Hypothesis 3: A state of peace is most likely to emerge among states that are homogeneous in their societal attributes. Hypothesis 4: Even if the exercise of power, economic activities, and societal attributes favor pacific relations, some catalytic event may be required to set the process of reconciliation in motion. The most probable candidate for this role is an acute crisis between the two states.” *Ibid.*, pp. 12–17.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
67. John L. Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 215–245. This work inspired several other studies, which were subsequently published as chapters of two separate editions, see Charles W. Kegley, ed., *The Long Postwar Peace: Contending Explanations and Projections* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991) and Sean M. Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1991).
68. Gaddis, *The Long Peace*, pp. 230–237.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
70. Gaddis, *The Long Peace*, p. 232. Other analyses concur on this point, see, e.g., Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 26–34 and 150–157; Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. ix, 7, 8–13, and especially pp. 23–24; and Michael Mandelbaum,

The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics Before and After Hiroshima (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

71. Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," *Adelphi Paper*, no. 171 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981).
72. John Mueller, *Retreat From Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).
73. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Chapter 2 Political Realism: Peace through Power?

1. E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 63.
2. For a view challenging the characterization of Thucydides as the father of realism or neorealism, see Daniel Garst, "Thucydides and Neorealism," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 1 (March 1989), pp. 3–27.
3. The definition of paradigm employed throughout is that advanced by Robert K. Merton. He defines a paradigm as "a systematic statement of the basic assumptions, concepts, and propositions employed by a school of analysis." See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 69–72. In the field of international relations, Robert O. Keohane defined a paradigm "as a set of beliefs defining an area for study and identifying the crucial questions that should be asked about it . . ." Robert O. Keohane, "The Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond," in Ada Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1983), p. 503. Finally, from the philosophy of science, Thomas S. Kuhn, who has offered twenty-one different definitions, asserts that "a paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share, and, conversely, a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm." See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 176. John A. Vasquez has argued that realism can be viewed as a dominant paradigm in international relations. See John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics: An Empirical Evaluation of the Scientific Study of International Relations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981), especially chapters 2 and 3. Also, Kalvi J. Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp. 7–10.
4. In addition to prediction and description, explanation is one of the aims of science and theory. Accordingly, John L. Gaddis asserts that "one way to confirm the validity of theories is to see how successfully they perform each of the tasks expected of them. The failure to accomplish a particular task would not necessarily invalidate an entire theory, but it should raise questions in our minds. It would be a warning signal, suggesting the need to rethink underlying assumptions." John L. Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992–1993), p. 10. In contrast to Gaddis, who focuses on the predictive or forecasting power of various theories, this study tests the explanatory power of several hypotheses in order to ascertain their theoretical validity. For a view of a philosopher of science favoring explanation over forecasting and prediction, see Stephen Toulmin, *Foresight and Understanding: An Enquiry Into the Aims of Science* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), especially pp. 21–43.

5. Imre Lakatos, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programs," in Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds., *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), particularly pp. 116–122.
6. For example, Robert O. Keohane, "The Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond," in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), especially pp. 160 and 163–182; Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence," in Philip E. Tetlock et al., eds., *Behavior Society and Nuclear War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 224; Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, especially chapters 2, 3, and 4; and Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," in Stanley Hoffmann, ed., *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), p. 15.
7. Since the purpose here is not to rewrite an exhaustive intellectual history of Political Realism, it is recommended for that purpose James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981), pp. 84–133.
8. Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Sir Richard Livingstone (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 46. See also book 1 and 2, pp. 33–141.
9. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Mark Musa (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964).
10. For an extended discussion of this topic, see William K. Frankena, "Utilitarianism and Justice," in William K. Frankena, *Ethics* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 29–46, particularly pp. 29 and 37.
11. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 127. For another view stressing the immoral and irreligious character of *The Prince*, see Leo Strauss, *Thoughts On Machiavelli* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 12 and 174–223, *passim*. See also Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
12. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (New York: Collier Books, A Division of Macmillan, 1962).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
15. Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 4. All my references throughout will be to this latest edition.
16. Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933); Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1940); George Schwarzenberger, *Power Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1941); Nicholas J. Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1942); Martin Wight, *Power Politics*, pamphlet no. 8 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1946).
17. For an analysis of Morgenthau's work and paramount influence in the field of international relations, see Stanley Hoffmann, "Hans Morgenthau: The Limits and Influence of 'Realism,'" in Hoffmann, *Janus and Minerva*, pp. 70–81 (see note 6); Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 22–28; and

- Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 10 and 163.
18. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 3.
 19. These authors have been grouped together before under the realist rubric. See, Robert O. Keohane, "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics," in Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics*, p. 9 (see note 17); Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations*, pp. 94–124; and Trevor Taylor, "Power Politics," in Trevor Taylor, ed., *Approaches and Theory in International Relations* (New York: Longman, 1986), pp. 122–123.
 20. Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," *Daedalus*, vol. 106, no. 3 (Summer 1977), p. 44.
 21. See the title of chapter 2 in Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 18.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–14.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 24. He points out that "the intention of this book, which is to present not an indiscriminate description of political reality, but a rational theory of international politics." *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
 26. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
 28. Robert W. Cox is credited with coining the name "neorealism" or "American realism," see his "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," in Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics*, p. 211 (see note 17). To corroborate this assertion, see Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Neorealism and Neoliberalism," *World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 2 (January 1988), p. 241. For other names of this school of thought, see Robert G. Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," *International Organization*, vol. 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984), p. 287.
 29. Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little, *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 9.
 30. Kenneth N. Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1990), pp. 30 and 32.
 31. Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992), p. 395. Prior to the advent of neorealism, Robert Jervis distinguished realism à la Morgenthau from another version preoccupied with the structure of the situation leading to the security dilemma. Reacting to an assertion made by Herbert Butterfield, he notes: "From this perspective, the central theme of international relations is not evil but tragedy. States often share a common interest, but the structure of the situation prevents them from bringing about the mutually desired situation. This view contrasts with the school of realism represented by Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr, which sees the drive for power as a product of man's instinctive will to dominate others." Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 66. For a view that does not distinguish between realism and neorealism, especially as it pertains to the meaning of anarchy and its effects on states, see Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *International Organization*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1988), p. 485, n. 1.

32. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 60–67.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–99.
34. For a review and internal critique of Kenneth N. Waltz's structural conception, see John Gerard Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis," *World Politics*, vol. 35, no. 2 (January 1983), pp. 261–285.
35. Keohane, "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics," in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, p. 10 (see note 17).
36. For example, see Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), pp. 23–24; Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapters 2 and 3; *ibid.*, pp. 7 and 163–164; Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," pp. 290–291; Robert G. Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 42–43; Levy, "The Causes of War," pp. 224–225; and Trevor Taylor, "Power Politics," in Taylor, *Approaches and Theories in International Relations*, pp. 127–129. (See note 19.)
37. For a distinction of the principles of international separation or segmentation prior and subsequent to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, see Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity," p. 274.
38. For different critiques of the anarchy assumption in political realism, see Charles R. Beitz, "International Relations As a State of Nature," in Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 35–50; Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (January 1991), pp. 67–85; Nicholas Onuf and Frank F. Klink, "Anarchy, Authority, Rule," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2 (June 1989), pp. 149–173; and Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," pp. 391–425.
39. For works emphasizing the first face of power, see Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950); Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power" *Behavioral Science*, vol. 2 (June 1957), pp. 201–215; Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984); Robert A. Dahl, "Power," *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), vol. 12, pp. 405–415. For illustrations of the first face of power in international relations, see Stephen B. Jones, "The Power Inventory and National Strategy," *World Politics*, vol. 6, no. 4 (July 1954), pp. 421–453; Robert Art, "To What Ends Military Power," *International Security* vol. 4, no. 4 (Spring 1980), pp. 3–35; David Baldwin, "The Power of Positive Sanctions," *World Politics*, vol. 24, no. 1 (October 1971), pp. 19–38; David Baldwin, "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends Versus Old Tendencies," *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 2 (January 1979), pp. 161–194. For studies concentrating on the second and third faces of power, see Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 56, no. 4 (December 1962), pp. 947–952; Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Decisions and Non-decisions: An Analytical Framework," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 57, no. 3 (September 1963), pp. 632–642; Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974); and Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Power and Marxist Theory: A Realist View* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). For an illustration of the third face in international relations, see Frederick V. Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms and Decision, On*

- the Condition of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 283–315.
40. Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 28–32.
 41. Arnold Wolfers, "The Actors in International Politics," in Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 13–14.
 42. Wolfers, "The Actors in International Politics," pp. 19–20.
 43. For definition of "self-help," see Roger D. Masters, "World Politics As a Primitive Political System," *World Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4 (July 1964), pp. 595–619, especially pp. 600–605.
 44. Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167.
 45. Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 123.
 46. Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," pp. 186–206.
 47. Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics*, vol. 38, no. 1 (October 1985), pp. 1–24.
 48. For respective works explaining these solutions, see Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), especially chapter 2; Robert O. Keohane, "Reciprocity in International Relations," *International Organization*, vol. 40, no. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 1–27; Charles E. Osgood, *Alternative to War or Surrender* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 85–134; and Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
 49. For similar comments, see Levy, "The Causes of War," p. 231.
 50. Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order 1648–1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 282–284 and 329–332.
 51. For several views representing both sides of this debate, see Manus I. Midlarsky, *The Onset of World War* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988), chapters 3 and 4; Manus I. Midlarsky, "Hierarchical Equilibria and the Long-Run Instability of Multipolar Systems," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed. *Handbook of War Studies* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); and, from an opposite angle, Ted Hopf, "Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 85, no. 2 (June 1991), pp. 475–493. For an exchange of views, see Manus I. Midlarsky and Ted Hopf, "Polarity and International Stability," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 1 (March 1993), pp. 173–181.
 52. See, e.g., John H. Herz, *International Politics in the Atomic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962); Klaus Knorr, *On the Uses of Military Power in the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*; Richard N. Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Future," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1966), pp. 314–327; Stanley Hoffmann, *Gulliver's Troubles* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); and Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), especially pp. 61–65.
 53. See, e.g., Jack S. Levy, "The Polarity of the System and International Stability: An Empirical Analysis," in Alan Ned Sabrosky, ed., *Polarity and War: The Changing*

- Structure of International Conflict* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), p. 47. For recent refinements of the manner to classify alternative polar configurations, see Edward D. Mansfield, "Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 1993), pp. 105–128; and Randall L. Schweller, "Tripolarity and the Second World War," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 1993), pp. 73–103.
54. For a similar definition, see Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Spring 1993), p. 5. Also, see the definition of "primacy" in Robert Jervis, "International Primacy: Is the Game Worth the Candle?" *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 52–53 and in Samuel P. Huntington, "Why International Primacy Matters," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Spring 1993), p. 68.
 55. See Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 170–176.
 56. Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," *World Politics*, vol. 26, no. 3 (April 1964), p. 390.
 57. *Ibid.*, pp. 404 and 406.
 58. *Ibid.*, pp. 393–403.
 59. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*. Also, see Kaplan's discussion of the fourth and fifth rules, pertaining to the number of essential national actors and the flexibility of alliances opportunities for the stability of the "Balance of Power" system. Morton A. Kaplan, *Systems and Process in International Politics* (Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 21–36, but particularly, pp. 24, 27, 30, and 34–35; and Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), pp. 94–95. For a critique of use of the concept of "balance of power" as a system, see Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations*, pp. 40–93.
 60. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 363.
 61. The principal exposition of this hypothesis is found in Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Stability of a Bipolar World," *Daedalus*, vol. 93, no. 3 (Summer 1964), pp. 881–909; Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, chapters 7 and 8 and Kenneth N. Waltz, "International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 304–314.
 62. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 161–162.
 63. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
 64. *Ibid.*, pp. 168–176.
 65. Robert Jervis, "Systems Theories and Diplomatic History," in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), p. 212.
 66. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, pp. 218 and 220–221.
 67. On the definition of regional or international subsystems, see Louis J. Cantori and Steven L. Spiegel, "The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach to Five Subordinate Systems," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4 (December 1969), pp. 361–362; William R. Thompson, "The Regional Subsystem: A conceptual Explication and a Propositional Inventory," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 1973), p. 93; Michael Banks, "Systems Analysis and the Study of Regions," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4 (December 1969), 357; and Michael Haas, "International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 64, no. 1 (March 1970), pp. 100–101. For a discussion of balance of power in subsystems, see *ibid.*,

- pp. 218–220. Also, see the Barry Buzan’s “security complexes” concept in Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), particularly pp. 105–115 and n. 33.
68. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 98.
 69. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
 70. Michael Haas, “International Subsystems,” pp. 120–121.
 71. Cantori and Spiegel, “The International Politics of Regions,” pp. 368.
 72. For details see, J. David Singer and Melvin Small, “Formal Alliances, 1815–1939: A Quantitative Description,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1966), pp. 1–32 and Melvin Small and J. David Singer, “Formal Alliances, 1816–1965: An Extension of the Basic Data,” in J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, eds., *Measuring the Correlates of War* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990), pp. 159–190. Also, no evidence of intraregional military alliances in South America from 1935 to 2003 was found in a search of the following dataset on the world’s military alliances, see Brett Ashley Leeds, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long, “Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions Project (ATOP),” Department of Political Science, Rice University, 2005, <http://atop.rice.edu/search> and <http://atop.rice.edu/data> and Brett Ashley Leeds, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long, “Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions, 1815–1944,” *International Interactions*, vol. 28, pp. 237–260.
 73. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1988), p. 109.
 74. For background literature on the origin and evolution of hegemonic stability theory, see Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Robert Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Stephen D. Krasner, “State Power and the Structure of International Trade,” *World Politics*, vol. 28, no. 3 (April 1976), pp. 317–347; Robert O. Keohane, “The Theory of Hegemonic Stability and Changes in International Economic Regimes, 1967–1977,” in Ole R. Holsti, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alexander L. George, eds., *Change in the International System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 131–162, specifically p. 136; and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), especially pp. 40–48.
 75. For the nucleus of the power preponderance theory, see A. F. K. Organski, *World Politics* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1958); A. F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); George Modelski, “The Long Cycle of Global Politics and the Nation State,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (April 1978), pp. 214–235; William R. Thompson, “Cycles, Capabilities, and War: An Ecumenical View,” in William R. Thompson, ed., *Contending Approaches to World System Analysis* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983) and William R. Thompson, *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988).
 76. See Duncan Snidal, “The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory,” *International Organization*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp. 579–614; and Scott C. James and David A. Lake, “The Second Face of Hegemony: Britain’s Repeal of the Corn Laws and the American Walker Tariff of 1846,” *International Organization*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 1–29, especially, pp. 3–9.

77. This strand of the theory is best represented by Charles Kindleberger, "Systems of International Economic Organization," in David Calleo, ed., *Money and the Coming World Order* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Charles Kindleberger, "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2 (June 1981), pp. 242–254; and Keohane, *After Hegemony*, especially pp. 31–46.
78. Ikenberry and Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," pp. 283–315, especially pp. 285–294.
79. The "coercive" strand of the theory is best represented by Krasner, "State Power and the Structure of International Trade," pp. 317–347 and Robert G. Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
80. Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 359–360.
81. Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," pp. 589–590 and 596–597.
82. For area study specialists who support this tenet, see Wolf Grabendorff, "Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America," *Working Papers no. 116, Latin American Program* (Washington, DC: Wilson Center, 1982), pp. 4 and 16; Jerome Slater, *The OAS and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Columbia, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1967); Tom J. Farer, "Limiting Intra-regional Violence: The Costs of Regional Peacekeeping," in Tom J. Farer, ed., *The Future of the Inter-American System* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979); and for an observer who limits this causal relationship to Central America and the Caribbean Basin, see Jorge I. Domínguez, "Los Conflictos Internacionales en América Latina y la Amenaza de Guerra," *Foro Internacional*, vol. 25, no. 97 (July 1984), p. 3.
83. Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Press, 1966), pp. 150–155.
84. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 221.
85. Richard K. Betts, "Systems for Peace or Causes of War?: Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Summer 1992), p. 26.
86. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 70.
87. See Eric O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 70 and 340.
88. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, chapters 11 and 12; and R. Harrison Wagner, "The Theory of Games and the Balance of Power," *World Politics*, vol. 38, no. 4 (July 1986), pp. 546–576.
89. See Stephen M. Walt, *The Origin of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), especially pp. 5 and 21–28.
90. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 118–120 and 168. Also, see Morgenthau's discussion of "the pattern of direct opposition" in his analysis of balance of power as a mechanism to limit the national power of states. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, pp. 192–194.
91. For an extended discussion of this point, see Levy, "The Causes of War," pp. 240–243.
92. Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 11; John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 14; Christopher H. Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," *World Politics*, vol. 41, no. 2 (January 1989),

- pp. 150–151. For a critique of the application of the rationality assumption in the model of rational deterrence, see Frank C. Zagare, “Rationality and Deterrence,” *World Politics*, vol. 42, no. 2 (January 1990), pp. 238–260.
93. For a detailed elaboration of the concepts of “general” and “immediate” deterrence, see Patrick M. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 28–43.
 94. For a five-stage typology illustrating and explaining a dynamic process from general deterrence initiation to immediate deterrence failure, see Paul Huth and Bruce M. Russett, “General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 1 (March 1993), p. 62.
 95. Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), p. 1.
 96. Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, p. 58. Emphasis added.
 97. For the distinction between deterrence by denial and deterrence by punishment, see Glenn H. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).
 98. For overviews of deterrence theory, see Robert Jervis, “Deterrence Theory Revisited,” *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 2 (January 1979), pp. 289–324. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis*.
 99. For examples of the cognitive model of deterrence, see Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*; Jervis, Lebow, and Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence*; and Deborah Larson, *Origins of Containment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
 100. For examples of the rational model of deterrence, see Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960); and Achen and Snidal, “Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies,” pp. 143–169.
 101. See Blainey, *The Causes of War*, pp. 112–114, 181, and 293.
 102. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, pp. 27–28; Erich Weede, “Overwhelming Preponderance As a Pacifying Condition Among Asian Dyads, 1950–1969,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 20, no. 3 (September 1976), pp. 395–411; Erich Weede, “Dyadic International War, 1816–1965,” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2 (June 1976), pp. 231–242; David C. Garnham, “Power Parity and Lethal International Violence, 1969–1973,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 20, no. 3 (September 1976), pp. 379–394; and Organski and Kugler, *The War Ledger*.
 103. For a brief description of these two types of deterrence processes and background sources for this important distinction, see Richard K. Betts, *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987), p. 10. For an illustration of type I, albeit its focus on superpowers, see Albert Wohlstetter, “The Delicate Balance of Terror,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 2 (January 1959), pp. 211–234. For an example of type II, see Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, pp. 35–91.
 104. See Huth and Russett, “General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals,” p. 63.
 105. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations*, p. 377.
 106. Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, “Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable,” *World Politics*, vol. 42, no. 3 (April 1990), pp. 336–369.
 107. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations*, p. 377.
 108. Huth and Russett, “General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals,” pp. 62–63.

109. Robert Jervis, "Models and Cases in the Study of International Conflict," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1990), p. 87.
110. For a formulation of the rational deterrence model, see Paul Huth and Bruce M. Russett, "Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference," *World Politics*, vol. 42, no. 4 (July 1990), pp. 469–472.
111. For definition of "crucial case," see Harry Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory*, vol. 7 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 113–123, but more specifically pp. 118–119.
112. For an explanation of the outbreak of war as a result of "windows" of opportunity and vulnerability dynamic, see Stephen W. Van Evera, "The Causes of War," PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1984, pp. 61–71.
113. Alexander L. George, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Lauren, *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy*, pp. 43–68 (see note 65).
114. See Janet Buttolph Johnson and Richard A. Joslyn, *Political Science Research Methods*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991), pp. 47–48.
115. For detailed explanation of these methodological problems, see Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), pp. 15–56; and Julian L. Simon, *Basic Research Methods in Social Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1985), especially chapters 11, 20, 22, and 26.
116. According to Julian L. Simon variables may be scaled either qualitatively through "classification," or quantitatively through "measurement." See *ibid.*, p. 292.

Chapter 3 Balance of Power, Empirical Findings, and Peace

1. See, for purpose of illustration, the works of Glenn H. Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), especially pp. 28–31; Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979); and Jack S. Levy, "The Polarity of the System and International Stability: An Empirical Analysis," in Alan Ned Sabrosky, ed., *Polarity and War: The Changing Structure of International Conflict* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), specifically p. 47.
2. For a sample of those who define polarity according to the number of alliance clusters, see J. David Singer and Melvin Small, "Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of Wars, 1816–1945," in J. David Singer, ed., *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 247–286; Michael Haas, "International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 64, no. 1 (March 1970), pp. 98–123; and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Measuring Systemic Polarity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1975), pp. 187–216.
3. For a sample of those who distinguish between "polarization" and "polarity," see Joseph L. Noguee, "Polarity: An Ambiguous Concept," *Orbis*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Winter 1975), pp. 1193–1225; William D. Jackson, "Polarity in International Systems: A Conceptual Note," *International Interactions*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1977), pp. 87–95; David P. Rapkin and William R. Thompson with Jon A. Christopherson, "Bipolarity and Bipolarization in the Cold War Era: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Validation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*,

- vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1979), pp. 261–295; Frank Whelon Wayman, “Bipolarity and War: The Role of Capability Concentration and Alliance Patterns Among Major Powers, 1816–1965,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1984), pp. 61–78; Jefferey A. Hart, “Power and Polarity in the International System,” in Sabrosky, *Polarity and War*, pp. 25–40 (see note 1); Levy, “The Polarity of the System and International Stability,” pp. 41–66; and R. Harrison Wagner, “What Was Bipolarity?” *International Organization*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 77–106.
4. For example, see the works of J. David Singer, Stuart Bremer, and John Stuckey, “Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820–1965,” in Bruce Russett, ed., *Peace, War, and Numbers* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 19–49; Wayman, “Bipolarity and War,” pp. 61–78; Richard J. Stoll, “Bloc Concentration and the Balance of Power,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 28, no. 2 (March 1984), pp. 25–50; and Edward D. Mansfield, *Power, Trade, and War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
 5. James Lee Ray, “The Measurement of System Structure,” in J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, eds., *Measuring the Correlates of War* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990), p. 106.
 6. Melvin Small and J. David Singer, “Formal Alliances, 1816–1965: An Extension of the Basic Data,” in Singer and Diehl, *Measuring the Correlates of War*, pp. 159–190 (see note 5).
 7. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 131.
 8. For a similar criticism, see Wagner, “What Was Bipolarity?” p. 85.
 9. For a full discussion of Schweller’s argument, see Randall L. Schweller, “Tripolarity and the Second World War,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 1993), particularly p. 75.
 10. For a complete discussion of the polarity index, see Wayman, “Bipolarity and War,” pp. 61–78.
 11. For a detailed discussion and presentation of this data set, its indicators, and its variables, see J. David Singer, “Reconstructing the Correlates of War Data Set on Material Capabilities of States, 1816–1985,” in Singer and Diehl, *Measuring the Correlates of War*, pp. 53–71 (see note 5); Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey, “Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820–1965,” pp. 19–48.
 12. For the complete version of this argument, see chapter 2, pp. 33–36.
 13. See Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 171.
 14. To corroborate this conclusion, e.g., see these works analyzing the nature of interstate armed conflict and peace in South America Weston H. Agor, “Latin American Interstate Politics: Patterns of Cooperation and Conflict,” *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, vol. 26 (Autumn 1972), pp. 19–33; Peter Calvert, *Latin America: Internal Conflict and International Peace* (New York: San Martin’s Press, 1969); and Norman V. Walbek and Sidney Weintraub, *Conflict, Order, and Peace in the Americas*, parts I and II (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978).
 15. This aspect is dealt with in detail in chapter 6 in an analysis of free trade and economic interdependence as one of the hypotheses of liberalism.
 16. For a complete discussion of the virtues and failures of the two approaches of deterrence theory, and their respective applicability and relevance to the peace in South America, see chapter 2, pp. 40–45.
 17. For the historical background to the Argentine–Brazilian rivalry in the nineteenth century, see the following works. For the war of 1824 to 1828 between Argentina

- and imperial Brazil, see J. Amadeo Baldrich, *Historia de la Guerra del Brazil* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Imprenta La Harlem, 1905); Isais José García Enciso, *La Gesta de Patagones* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1972), pp. 36–46; David Carneiro, *História da Guerra Cisplatina* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1946); and Felix Best, *Historia de las Guerras Argentinas* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Peuser, 1960), vol. II, pp. 119–161. For background on La Plata War or La Guerra Grande between 1836 and 1852, see Luis Alberto de Herrera, *Orígenes de la Guerra Grande, Vols. I and II* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Editorial “Por la Patria,” 1979); David McLean, *War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836–1853* (London: British Academic Press, 1995), pp. 177–189; and Best, *Historia de las Guerras Argentinas*, vol. I, pp. 393–487. For the Argentine–Brazilian rivalry in the twentieth century, see Alberto Concil Paz and Gustavo Ferrari, *Argentina’s Foreign Policy, 1930–1962* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), particularly pp. 50–136; and Wayne A. Selcher, “Recent Strategic Developments in South America’s Southern Cone,” in Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph S. Tulchin, eds., *Latin American Nations in World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), particularly pp. 108–117.
18. Dealing with these issues in the Argentine–Brazilian rivalry in the twentieth century, see Hélio Jaguaribe, “Brazil–Argentina: Breve Análisis de las Relaciones de Conflicto y Cooperación,” *Estudios Internacionales*, vol. 15, no. 57 (January–March 1982), pp. 9–27. For the issue of Argentine–Brazilian nuclear rivalry, see Stephen M. Gorman, “Security, Influence, and Nuclear Weapons: The Case of Argentina and Brazil,” *Parameters*, vol. 9, no. 1 (March 1979), pp. 52–65; and William H. Courtmet, “Nuclear Choices for Friendly Rivals,” in Joseph A. Yager, ed., *Nonproliferation and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1980), pp. 241–279. For a discussion of Brazil’s position regarding the 1982 South Atlantic conflict between Argentina and Great Britain, see Susan Kaufman Purcell, “War and Debt in South America,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 3 (1982), pp. 664–665; and Wayne A. Selcher, “Brazilian–Argentine Relations in the 1980s: From Wary Rivalry to Friendly Competition,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 29–31.
 19. The inception and historical background of the Argentine–Chilean dyad is documented and discussed in detail in chapter 4, therefore this one will concentrate on the discussion of the structure of general deterrence between these two states.
 20. In chapter 4, see pp. 83–84.
 21. “Tensión y Consultas Entre Bolivia, Argentina, y Chile por los Límites,” *El Universal*, Caracas, Venezuela, Wednesday, July 31, 1991, p. 3; “Cancillería no Tiene Capacidad para Resolver Problemas Limitrofe con Chile,” *Presencia*, La Paz, Bolivia, Wednesday, August 28, 1991, p. 5; and “Cancillería Acusada de Falta de Interés en Tema Limitrofe,” *Presencia*, La Paz, Bolivia, Thursday, August 29, 1991, p. 5.
 22. For more background on the Leticia incident, see chapter 4 of this book, n. 25.
 23. For more background information, see in chapter 4.
 24. EFE (Madrid) in Spanish, Monday, August 17, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS), vol. 87, no. 159, Tuesday, August 18, 1987, p. O 1.
 25. For background on the Ecuadorean–Peruvian crises, see in chapter 4, pp. 87–94.
 26. James Brooke, “On Peru Border, Strife is Yearly Event,” *The New York Times*, Wednesday, February 1, 1995, p. 3.
 27. For more background on this territorial dispute, see in chapter 4, pp. 96–97.

Chapter 4 U.S. Hegemony, Empirical Findings, and Peace

1. Edward D. Mansfield, *Power, Trade, and War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 97 and 108.
2. Jorge I. Domínguez et al., "Boundary Disputes in Latin America," *Peaceworks* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace), p. 20; Jorge I. Domínguez et al., "Los Conflictos Internacionales en América Latina y la Amenaza de Guerra," *Foro Internacional*, vol. 25, no. 97 (July 1984), p. 3; Wolf Grabendorff, "Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America," *Working Papers, Latin American Program* (Washington, DC: Wilson Center, 1982), pp. 4 and 16; Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), pp. 150–155; and Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power Peace*, 6th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 221.
3. R. Harrison Wagner, *United States Policy Toward Latin America: A Study in Domestic and International Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 11–43; and Kenneth M. Coleman, "The Political Mythology of the Monroe Doctrine: Reflections on the Social Psychology of Hegemony," in John D. Martz and Lars Schoultz, eds., *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 95–114.
4. Pope G. Atkins, *Latin America in the International Political System*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), p. 37.
5. Michael J. Kryzaniek, *U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), p. 21.
6. Federico G. Gil, *Latin American-United States Relations* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 22–24; and William Spencer Robertson, *Hispanic American Relations with the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 26–42.
7. Edwin Lieuwen, *U.S. Policy in Latin America: A Short History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1965), pp. 3–20.
8. Thomas L. Karnes, ed., *Readings in the Latin American Policy of the United States* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1972), pp. 37–40.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.
10. Ruhl J. Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy: Documents and Readings in the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), pp. 344–345.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 539.
12. Karnes, *Readings*, p. 208.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
14. William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World: An International History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
15. Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), vol. I, p. 268.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 268–269.
17. Diego Barros Arana, *Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879–1881* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andres Bello, 1979); and Tomás Caivano, *Historia de la Guerra de América Entre Chile, Perú, and Bolivia* (Lima, Perú: Editorial Científica, 1979).
18. Karnes, *Readings*, pp. 129–130. Emphasis added.
19. Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American Conferences, 1826–1954: History and Problems* (Washington, DC: The University Press, 1965), pp. 33–40, and 45–46; and DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, vol. I, pp. 269–271.

20. Conferencia Internacional Americana, *Dictámenes de las Comisiones Permanentes y Debates a que Dieron Lugar*, tomo II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890), pp. 995–1201.
21. Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 54–62.
22. Bryce Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942* (Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 2.
23. Gil, *Latin American-United States Relations*, pp. 131–133.
24. David H. Zook, Jr., *The Conduct of the Chaco War* (New Haven: Bookman Associates, 1960); Rogelio Ayala Moreira, *Por Qué no Ganamos la Guerra del Chaco* (La Paz: Talleres Gráficos Bolivianos, 1959); and Silvio Macias, *La Guerra de Chaco* (Asunción: Ediciones La Tribuna, 1942).
25. Fabio Lozano y Lozano, *El Punto de Vista Colombiano en la Cuestión de Letícia* (Mexico, DF: A. Mijares y Hermanos, 1933); and Robert L. Scheina, *Latin America: A Naval History, 1810–1987* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1987), pp. 121–122.
26. Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942*, p. 14.
27. Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), vol. I, pp. 310–311.
28. The casualty count in the Letícia dispute was 50 and the estimate for the Chaco War is close to 90,000. See Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992), pp. 700 and 703.
29. Atkins, *Latin America*, pp. 202–236.
30. Bartlett, *The Record of American Diplomacy*, p. 730. For a full text of the 1947 Rio Treaty, see pp. 730.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 730–731.
32. John B. Allcock et al., *Border and Territorial Disputes*, 3rd ed. (London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992), pp. 586–591; Gordon Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 219–230; David H. Zook, Jr., *Zarumilla-Marañón: The Ecuador-Peru Dispute* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1964); and Georg Maier, “Ecuadorian-Peruvian Boundary Dispute,” *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 63 (January 1969), pp. 28–46.
33. Julio Donoso Tobar, *La Invasión Peruana y el Protocolo de Río* (Quito: Ediciones Ecuatorianas, 1945), pp. 174–175; and Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars*, p. 278.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 255–344; and Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts*, p. 705.
35. Leland M. Goodrich, ed. *Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1941–1942*, July 1941–June 1942 (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1942), vol. IV, pp. 433–435; and U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin*, vol. VI, February 28, 1942, pp. 195–196.
36. Allcock, et al., *Border and Territorial Disputes*, pp. 586–591; and Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America*, pp. 221–226.
37. Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942*, p. 256.
38. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1936* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), vol. V, p. 110.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
40. Assistant Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, clarified that the United States. “is merely that of a friendly and conciliatory host.” *Ibid.*, p. 119.
41. Bryce Wood, *Aggression and History: The Case of Ecuador and Peru* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1978), pp. 5, 55–59, and 116–117.

42. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1937* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), vol. V (1937), pp. 46–56; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1937*, vol. V (1938), pp. 217–245; and *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1937*, vol. V (1939), pp. 141–147.
43. For a memorandum of the conversation on June 10, 1937, see *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 49–52.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
45. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1938*, vol. V, pp. 217–218.
46. Wood, *Aggression and History*, p. 266.
47. Telegram 74, from Lima, Peru, December 27, 1938. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1938*, p. 244.
48. Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, pp. 601–611.
49. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1941* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), vol. V (1941), p. 226.
50. Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
51. Jack Child, *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America: Quarrels Among Neighbors* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985), pp. 92–98.
52. *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 29, 1981, p. 2; *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 2, 1981, p. 6; *The New York Times*, January 24, 1981, p. 2; *The New York Times*, January 29, 1981, p. 8; *The New York Times*, January 30, p. 6; *The New York Times*, January 31, p. 6; *The New York Times*, February 1, 1981, p. 3; and Edward Schumacher, “Behind Ecuador War, Long-Smoldering Resentment,” *The New York Times*, February 10, 1981, p. 2.
53. Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts*, p. 1190 and *The New York Times*, February 8, 1981, section IV, p. 4.
54. *Latin America Weekly Report*, Friday, February 6, 1981, pp. 1–2.
55. Edward Schumacher, “Behind Ecuador War, Long-Smoldering Resentment,” *The New York Times*, Tuesday, February 10, 1981, p. 2.
56. U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980 and 1981), vols. 80 and 81, nos. 2034 to 2057 (January 1980–December 1981).
57. Graham Hovey, “U.S. Blocks Sale of Israeli Planes to Ecuadorians,” *The New York Times*, Tuesday, February 8, 1977, pp. 1 and 4; Bernard Weinraub, “U.S. Again Blocks Israeli Sale of Jets to Ecuador,” *The New York Times*, Thursday, July 7, 1977, p. 4. For a report of the sale to Ecuador of French Dassault-Breguet Mirage F-1 planes, see *Latin American Political Report*, vol. XI, no. 6, February 11, 1977, p. 47.
58. *The New York Times*, Saturday, January 28, 1995, p. 2; and *El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Saturday, January 28, 1995, pp. 1, 9 and 10.
59. *The New York Times*, Sunday, January 29, 1995, p. 6.
60. *The New York Times*, Sunday, February 12, 1995, p. 16; and Juan Jesús Aznárez, “Perú y Ecuador Ponen Fin a Su Guerra Fronteriza,” *El País Internacional*, Spain, Monday, February 20, 1995, p. 3.
61. *The New York Times*, Thursday, February 9, 1995, p. 6; and Luis Salas, “Espíritu de Combate,” *Cambio 16*, Spain, no. 1213, February 20, 1995, pp. 46–47.
62. James Brooke, “Peru and Ecuador Halt Fighting Along Border, Claiming Victory,” *The New York Times*, Wednesday, February 15, 1995, p. 6; and *El País Internacional*, Spain, Monday, February 20, 1995, p. 3.
63. For a discussion of the implications of this armed conflict for U.S. policy interest in Latin America, see Gabriel Marcella, “War and Peace in the Amazon: Strategic

- Implications for the United States and Latin America of the 1995 Ecuador-Peru War," (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, Department of National Security and Strategy, November 24, 1995). http://131.84.1.34/doctrine/jel/research_pubs/amazon.pdf.
64. U.S. Department of State, *Dispatch* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), vol. 6, no. 7 (February 13, 1995), pp. 24–26. In another official U.S. policy statement towards the Americas in 1995, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Alexander Watson, acknowledges once again the importance of "Brazil's leadership within the Group of Guarantors of the Peru-Ecuador Protocol of Rio," and characterises the roles of the United States., Argentina, and Chile as those of "energetically" contributing partners. See U.S. Department of State, *Dispatch*, vol. 6, no. 21 (May 22, 1995), p. 41. Also, see remarks by Thomas F. McLarty III in U.S. Department of State, *Dispatch*, vol. 6, no. 22 (May 29, 1995), p. 46.
 65. James Brooke, "Peru and Ecuador Wage Guerrilla War as Talks Break Off," *The New York Times*, Monday, February 6, 1995, p. 5.
 66. James Brooke, "Fighting Intensifies Along Peru-Ecuador Border," *The New York Times*, Friday, February 3, 1995, p. 8.
 67. *The New York Times*, Tuesday, February 14, 1995, p. 8.
 68. Beth A. Simmons, "Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution: The Case of Ecuador and Peru," *Peaceworks* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1999).
 69. Allcock et al., *Border and Territorial Disputes*, pp. 548–549; Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America*, pp. 17–27; and *El Universal* Caracas, Venezuela, Wednesday, July 31, 1991, p. 3.
 70. Robert N. Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balance of Power in South America, 1830–1905* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 111–113, 124–126, 132–135, 144–146, 155–156, 184–186, and 206; and Bonifacio del Carril, *La Cuestión con Chile* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Emecé Editores, 1984), pp. 54–64.
 71. Burr, *By Reason or Force*, pp. 247–256.
 72. Alfredo Rizzo Romano, *La Cuestión de Límites con Chile en la Zona del Beagle* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Pleamar, 1968); Rafael Santibáñez Escobar, *Los Derechos de Chile en el Beagle* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1969); and F. V., "The Beagle Channel Affair," *American Journal of International Law*, no. 71 (October 1977), pp. 733–740.
 73. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1938*, pp. 210–217.
 74. César Caviedes, *The Southern Cone: Realities of the Authoritarian State in South America* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984), pp. 155–156; and Child, *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America*, pp. 80–81; *The New York Times*, Sunday, January 15, 1978, p. 9.
 75. *The New York Times*, Thursday, January 19, 1978, p. 2.
 76. *The New York Times*, Friday, January 20, 1978, p. 2.
 77. Juan de Onís, "Argentina Rejects Ruling on 3 Islands," *The New York Times*, Thursday, January 26, 1978, p. 6.
 78. *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, August 29, 1978, p. 118.
 79. *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, September 27, 1978, p. 57; *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, October 17, 1978, p. 39; and *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, October 25, 1978, p. 65.
 80. *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, November 3, 1978, p. 26.
 81. *The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, November 4, 1978, p. 48.

82. Scheina, *Latin America: A Naval History, 1810–1987*, p. 187; Juan de Onís, “Argentina and Chile Break Off Talks Over Rejects Islands,” *The New York Times*, Thursday, December 14, 1978, p. 3; and Juan de Onís, “Argentina, Chile Feud Masks Other Troubles,” *The New York Times*, Sunday, December 31, 1978, section IV, p. 3.
83. Juan de Onís, “Argentina and Chile Accept Papal Effort in Dispute,” *The New York Times*, Sunday, December 24, 1978, p. 6; and “Keeping the Peace Around Cape Horn,” *The New York Times*, Thursday, December 28, 1978, p. 16.
84. *The New York Times*, Tuesday, January 24, 1984, p. 3. A final treaty ending the Beagle Channel dispute between Argentina and Chile was signed in the Vatican on November 29, 1984, see *The New York Times*, Friday, November 30, 1984, p. 5; and Fabio Vio Valdivieso, *La Mediación de S.S. El Papa Juan Pablo II en el Conflicto Chileno-Argentino Sobre Delimitación de Jurisdicciones Marítimas en la Zona Austral* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Aconcagua, 1984).
85. *The New York Times*, Wednesday, December 13, 1978, p. 6; and *The New York Times*, Saturday, December 16, 1978, p. 7.
86. U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 78, no. 2018, pp. 54–57.
87. U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), vol. 79, no. 2024, pp. 64–67.
88. U.S. Secretary of States Cyrus Vance address to the ninth regular session of the General Assembly of the Organisation of American States in La Paz, Bolivia, October 23, 1979. This is reprinted in U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), vol. 79, no. 2033, p. 65.
89. José Curiel, *Venezuela Mutilada* (Caracas, Venezuela: Librería Historia, 1981); Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, *Las relaciones de Colombia y Venezuela: La Historia Atormentada de Dos Naciones* (Bogotá, Colombia: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1983); Alberto Zalamea, *Catálogo de Errores: La Crisis Colombo-Venezolana* (Bogotá, Colombia: Oveja Negra, 1987); Jesus Antonio Aguilera *Las Fronteras de Venezuela* (Caracas, Venezuela: Ediciones del Congreso de la República de Venezuela, 1988); and Alfredo Toro Hardy, *La Maldición de Sisifo: Quince Años de Política Externa Venezolana* (Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Panapo, 1991), pp. 9–30.
90. Child, *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America*, pp. 153–155.
91. *El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Friday, August 14, 1987, pp. 1 and 8.
92. Bogotá Inravisión, Televisión Cadena 1 in Spanish, Sunday, August 16, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-158), Monday, August 17, 1987, p. O 3; *El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Wednesday, August 19, 1987, p. 1; and Alan Riding, “Two Claims of Territory Roil Waters in Gulf of Venezuela,” *The New York Times*, Friday, August 28, 1987, p. 2.
93. AFP in Spanish (Paris), Thursday, August 13, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-157), Friday, August 14, 1987, p. T 1.
94. AFP in Spanish (Paris), Tuesday, August 18, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-159), Monday, August 17, 1987, p. O 7; and *El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Tuesday, August 18, 1987, pp. 1 and 9-C.
95. *El Universal*, Caracas, Venezuela, Wednesday, July 31, 1991, p. 1 and 14.
96. U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1987), vol. 87, nos. 2124–2129. Also, see *The New York Times*, Friday, August 28, 1987, p. 2.

Chapter 5 International Liberalism: Peace through Principles?

1. For general analyses and intellectual histories of liberalism, see Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, trans. R. G. Collingwood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927); Maurice Cranston, *Freedom: A New Analysis* (London: Longman Press, 1954); J. S. Schapiro, *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: Van Nostrand Press, 1958); Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Knowledge and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1984); David John Manning, *Liberalism* (London: Dent Press, 1976); and for a survey of nineteenth and twentieth-century American liberalism, see Harry K. Girvetz, *The Evolution of Liberalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1966).
2. For an introduction explaining various versions of liberalism and their concomitant debates concerning an array of philosophical issues, see Maurice Cranston, "Liberalism," in Paul Edwards, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vols. 3 and 4 (New York: Macmillan, and Free Press, 1967), pp. 458–461; and David G. Smith, "Liberalism," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, and Free Press, 1968), vol. 9, pp. 276–282.
3. For a sample of works focusing on different debated aspects of liberalism, see Charles W. Anderson, *Pragmatic Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); William A. Galston, *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Stephen L. Newman, *Liberalism at Wits' End: The Libertarian Revolt Against the Modern State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).
4. This strategy is borrowed from the works of E. H. Carr and Robert O. Keohane. See E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), pp. 11–62; and Robert O. Keohane, "International Liberalism Reconsidered," in John Dunn, ed., *The Economic Limits to Modern Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 174.
5. For extended discussion of liberalism and international affairs, see Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), pp. 205–314.
6. For an elaboration of this point, which is indeed a partial view of the origin of classical liberalism, see Edward L. Morse, *Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations* (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp. 50–51.
7. Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1987), vol. 2, p. 380. Italics in original.
8. This summary is drawn from Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*, pp. 43–46.
9. Robert Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation: The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 25.
10. Morse, *Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations*, pp. 51–52. Italics are in original.
11. Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, 11th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 394. A parallel classification is offered by *ibid.*, pp. 50–59.
12. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, vol. 2, pp. 376 and 379. Italics are in original.
13. Stanley Hoffmann, "Liberalism and International Affairs," in Stanley Hoffman, *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (Boulder,

- CO: Westview Press, 1987), p. 396 and in pp. 396–405. Also, see Carr’s criticism of the application of some liberal principles to the conduct of international politics in the interwars period. Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919–1939*, pp. 27–40.
14. For example, see Keohane, “International Liberalism Reconsidered”; and Charles W. Kegley, Jr., “The Neoidealist Moment in International Studies? Realist Myths and the New International Realities,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 1993), pp. 131–146.
 15. Other labels like “utopianism,” “pacifism,” and “idealism” have been utilized interchangeably with “liberalism”. To avoid confusion and to be consistent throughout, “liberalism” will be used to refer to those concepts, assumptions, and principles in international relations theory often included in the above-mentioned schools. For a sample of works alluding to liberalism with other names, see Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919–1939*; John H. Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1951); and Charles W. Kegley, Jr., “Neo-Idealism: A Practical Matter,” *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 2 (1988), pp. 173–197.
 16. Woodrow Wilson, “The Fourteen Points Address,” reprinted in Ruhl J. Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy: Documents and Readings in the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), pp. 459–461. For a summary and analysis of the points outlined by Wilson in his speech, see Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1978), vol. II, pp. 60–61.
 17. For an account explaining the intellectual roots of the Wilsonian program, see Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919–1939*, pp. 22–31.
 18. To extrapolate and outline the basic liberal tenets contained in the “Fourteen Points Address” by President Woodrow Wilson, this study draws on Kegley’s analysis of said document, see Kegley, Jr., “The Neoidealist Moment in International Studies?” pp. 135–138.
 19. Michael W. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Summer 1983), pp. 206–207.
 20. Keohane, “International Liberalism Reconsidered,” pp. 176–185.
 21. Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History, and Morals*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indiana: Hackett Publishing), p. 113.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 112. Italics are in original.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 24. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I,” p. 229.
 25. This term has been translated as “pacific union,” and “pacific federation,” or, as it is used here, “league of peace.” For usage of the first two forms, see *ibid.*, p. 228; Michael W. Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 80, no. 4 (December 1986), p. 1158. The second form is utilized in the translation of Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 117.
 26. This summary of this interpretation is borrowed from the work of Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I” p. 225 and Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” p. 1157.
 27. Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, pp. 115–118.
 28. To understand Kant’s argument, in addition to the work of Michael Doyle cited before, this study have benefited greatly from the work of Karl Friedrich, *Inevitable Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948); F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), chapter 4; W. B. Gallie, *Philosophers of Peace and War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

- Press, 1978), chapter 1; Kenneth N. Waltz, "Kant, Liberalism, and War," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 56, no. 2 (June 1962), pp. 331–340; and Pierre Hassner, "Immanuel Kant," in Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, eds., *History of Political Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 554–593.
29. Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 112.
 30. For the kernel of Doyle's argument, see Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I" pp. 232–235; and Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part II," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Fall 1983), pp. 323–326.
 31. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part II," pp. 323–353.
 32. Bruce M. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
 33. Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 88.
 34. Zeev Maoz and Bruce M. Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 3 (September 1993), p. 624.
 35. Bruce M. Russett, *Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 123.
 36. Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Bruce M. Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities: A Cross-Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis," *World Politics*, vol. 44, no. 4 (July 1992), p. 574.
 37. For these criteria, see Melvin Small and J. David Singer, "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965," *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Summer 1976), pp. 54–55; and Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs Part I," p. 212.
 38. Ember, Ember, and Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities," p. 579. For a succinct summary of these criteria, see Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics*, vol. 44, no. 2 (January 1992), p. 240.
 39. The first two exceptions are listed in David A. Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 86, no. 1 (March 1992), p. 28. The third exception is discussed in Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs, Part I," p. 213, n. 7. For more cases, which he totally dismisses as not being bona fide instances of war between democracies, see Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, pp. 16–23.
 40. For works supporting this empirical conclusion, see Dean V. Babst, "A Force for Peace," *Industrial Research*, vol. 14 (April 1972), pp. 55–58; Small and Singer, "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965," pp. 50–69; Rudolph J. Rummel, "The Freedom Factor," *Reason*, vol. 15 (July 1983), pp. 32–38; Rudolph J. Rummel, *Understanding Conflict and War*, 2 vols. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976); Rudolph J. Rummel, "Libertarianism and International Violence," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 27, no. 1 (March 1983), pp. 27–71; and Harvey Starr, "Democracy and War: Choice, Learning and Security Communities," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1992), pp. 207–213.
 41. Quincy Wright, *Study of War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 841. For other, more contemporary studies demonstrating a similar degree of war-proneness for both democratic and autocratic regimes, see Small and Singer,

- "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965," pp. 67–68; Steve Chan, "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall . . . Are The Freer Countries More Pacific?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 28, no. 4 (December 1984), pp. 641–644; Erich Weede, "Democracy and War Involvement," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 28, no. 4 (December 1984), p. 660; and Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdolali, "Regime Types and International Conflict, 1816–1976," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 33, no. 1 (March 1989), pp. 31–32.
42. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, pp. 30–38; and Maoz and Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986," pp. 624–625.
43. See Small and Singer, "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965," p. 67.
44. William J. Dixon, "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 88, no. 1 (March 1994), pp. 14–32. For other works discussing other alternative explanations for the prevalence of a "democratic peace," see Ember, Ember, and Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities," pp. 573–599; and T. Clifton Morgan and Sally Howard Campbell, "Domestic Structure, Decisional Constraints, and War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 35, no. 2 (June 1991), pp. 187–211.
45. See Lake, "Powerful Pacifists," pp. 24–37.
46. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I," pp. 205–235; Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part II," pp. 323–353; Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," pp. 1151–1169.
47. For essentially two versions of the same study analyzing and modeling the opposite causal direction, that is, the effect of international political relations on foreign trade flows, see Brian M. Pollins, "Does Trade Still Follow the Flag," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 83, no. 2 (June 1989), pp. 465–480 and Brian M. Pollins, "Conflict, Cooperation, and Commerce: The Effect of International Political Interactions on Bilateral Trade Flows," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 33, no. 3 (August 1989), pp. 737–761.
48. Baron de Montesquieu, trans. Thomas Nugent *The Spirit of the Laws* (New York: Hafner Press, A Division of Macmillan, 1949), book XX, chapter II, p. 316. The original text in French is more direct in establishing the connection between commerce and interstate peace; hence it is included in here: "L'effet naturel du commerce est de porter à la paix. Deux nations qui négocient ensemble se rendent réciproquement dépendantes: si l'une a intérêt d'acheter, l'autre a intérêt de vendre; et toutes les unions sont fondées sur des besoins mutuels," Baron de Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Lois* (Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, 1956), vol. II, book XX, chapter II, pp. 8–9.
49. To understand, both, the mercantilist and liberal positions on foreign trade and economic interdependence, this work has benefited from the following works. J. B. Condliffe, *The Commerce of Nations* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950); Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Albert O. Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*, expanded ed. (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1980); Jacob Viner, *Studies in the Theory of International Trade* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1937); Jacob Viner, *International Trade and Economic Development* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952); Jacob Viner, *The Long View and The Short One: Studies in Economic Theory and Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1958); Jacob Viner, "Power Versus Plenty As

- Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *World Politics*, vol. I, no. 1 (October 1948), pp. 1–29; and Charles Wilson, *Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1957).
50. Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations*, p. 34.
 51. Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 125.
 52. John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, from the 5th London ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864), vol. II, book III, chapter XVII, p. 136. Emphasis added.
 53. Quoted by Richard N. Garner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy: The Origins and Prospects of Our International Economic Order* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 8–9.
 54. Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), pp. 24–29 for entire argument, and p. 29 for quotation.
 55. See, for an example of a theoretical critique, Barry Buzan, "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case," *International Organization*, vol. 38, no. 4 (Autumn 1984), pp. 597–624.
 56. Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).
 57. Salomon W. Polachek, "Conflict and Trade," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 24, no. 1 (March 1980), pp. 55–78; Salomon W. Polachek, "Conflict and Trade: An Economics Approach to Political International Interactions," in Walter Isard and C. Anderton, eds., *Economics of Arms Reduction and the Peace Process* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1992), pp. 89–120; Mark Gasiorowski and Salomon W. Polachek, "Conflict and Interdependence: East-West Trade and Linkages in the Era of Detente," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 26, no. 4 (December 1982), pp. 709–729.
 58. The concept of international institution is used instead of international organization(s) because in singular the latter refers to the overall organization of the international system and in plural, unless otherwise specified, is customarily used to signify formal international governmental and nongovernmental organizations (i.e., IGO's and INGO's). Having to distinguish constantly is tedious and when one differentiates between the two meanings, the concept becomes too restrictive. Hence, the concept international institutions is used throughout, because it encompasses both formal and informal organizations and it denotes specifically international organizations as either actors or stages (i.e., as either agents or structures), without having to specify their institutional origin and social purpose.
 59. Hugo Grotius, *The Law of War and Peace*, trans. Louise R. Pacis (Roslyn, NY: Walter J. Black, 1949).
 60. This summary of the Grotian tradition has benefited from Hedley Bull's discussion of the three views of international society. See Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 26–27. For a more exhaustive analysis of the Grotian conception of international life, see Hedley Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society," in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 51–73.
 61. It should be specified that among those contemporary international relations scholars who, like Grotius, emphasize the importance of norms, rules, and institutions in interstate relations, there is a further distinction between those who see institutions as a "pervasive characteristic of the international system," and the so-called modified structuralists who accept some basic analytic assumptions of structural realism,

- but maintain that under certain conditions institutions have an impact on the anarchic nature of the international system. For this refinement of the institutionalist approach, see Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes As Intervening Variables," *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 185–186.
62. Robert O. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), p. 1.
 63. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4 and 162–166.
 64. The exclusion of security regimes analysis is based on the lack of evidence substantiating its existence. Robert Jervis demonstrates that the Concert of Europe from 1815 to 1823 is really the only identifiable instance in history when an international arrangement of this nature has kept the peace. See Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 357–378. Challenging this assertion, a more recent study argues that the Iroquois League was a stronger security regime than the Concert of Europe. It endured and kept the peace among six native American nations for a much longer period of time. Neta C. Crawford, "A Security Regime Among Democracies: Cooperation Among Iroquois Nations," *International Organization*, vol. 48, no. 3 (Summer 1994), pp. 345–385. On the other hand, the exclusion of conventions from this work is mainly a methodological decision. As is known, conventions are informal institutions which shape actors' expectations, facilitate understanding among them, and promote international coordination whenever it is to everyone's interest to behave in a particular way. Based on this definition it is difficult to corroborate how informal norms and rules can prevent two or several potential adversaries from going to war when there exist among them a serious conflict of interest. See *ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
 65. See Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 206 and Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords Into Plowshares: The Problem and Process of International Organization*, 4th ed. (New York: Random House, 1984), p. 216.
 66. For a thorough discussion of all mechanisms and approaches utilized by international organizations to prevent international violence and war, see Claude, Jr., *Swords Into Plowshares*, pp. 215–408.
 67. For information and analysis of all interstate disputes, from 1945 to 1970, referred for judicial settlement to the United Nations and other regional international organizations, see Ernst B. Haas, Robert L. Butterworth, and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Conflict Management by International Organizations* (Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press, 1972), pp. 48–61. For data covering the period 1971 to 1987, see Ernst B. Haas, "The Collective Management of International Conflict, 1945–1984," in United Nations Institute for Training and Research, ed., *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987), pp. 3–70.

Chapter 6 Democracy, Trade, Diplomacy, and Peace: Empirical Findings

1. Adam Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World, 1950–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.
6. Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 10.
7. For full discussion of the meaning of these three rules, see Przeworski et al. *Democracy and Development*, pp. 16–18.
8. For the timing rule, see *ibid.*, p. 32.
9. For a discussion of the democratic and dictatorial subcategories, see *ibid.*, pp. 30–32.
10. For that part of Appendix 1.2 pertaining only to South American states, see *ibid.*, pp. 64–65.
11. John E. Mueller, *Retreat From Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major Wars* (New York: Basic Books).
12. This work establishes the “average share” by adding yearly shares, in this case of Venezuela’s trade with Colombia, and dividing the total by the number of data entries. Similarly, the “average share of the one-third classificatory threshold” for several years is computed by finding, first, the percentage establishing one-third of the total of each year’s top trading partner. Then, all these yearly one-third shares are added and their sum divided by the number of yearly entries.
13. United Nations Office of Legal Affairs, *Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1992), p. 66.
14. Josef Goldblat, “The Role of the United Nations in Arms Control: An Assessment,” in United Nations Institute for Training and Research, ed., *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987), p. 385.
15. For background discussions of this concept, see G. F. Hudson, “Collective Security and Military Alliances,” in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 175–176; Kenneth W. Thompson, “Collective Security,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 565–566; and Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 183–184.
16. For an analysis of the general track record of the United Nations regarding its war-preventive function, see Henry Wiseman, “The United Nations and International Peacekeeping: A Comparative Analysis,” in United Nations Institute for Training and Research, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, pp. 263–333 (see note 15).
17. A discussion of the formation and evolution of the Organization of American States appears in Gordon Connell-Smith, *The Inter-American System* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 189–219.
18. For a detailed inventory and description of all interstate disputes and peaceful settlements in South America prior to 1937, see Gordon Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 3–245.
19. For background information on this dispute and others taking place in South America and the Caribbean Basin post 1945, this work relied on Connell-Smith, *The Inter-American System*, pp. 224–264; and Wiseman, “The United Nations and International Peacekeeping,” pp. 309–311.
20. See Connell-Smith, *The Inter-American System*, pp. 254–255.
21. For a detailed inventory and description of all arms control agreements, declarations, and proposals, see Hugo Palma, *América Latina: Limitación de Armamentos y*

Desarme en la Región (Lima, Peru: Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales, 1986), pp. 51–74; and Nicholas Rengger, ed., *Treaties and Alliances of the World*, 5th ed. (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1990), pp. 431–491.

22. For further elaboration of this topic and data supporting his findings, see Augusto Varas, *Militarization and the International Arms Race in Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), particularly pp. 92–97. A similar argument and data appear in Augusto Varas, “Controlling Conflict in South America: National Approaches,” in Michael A. Morris and Victor Millán, eds., *Controlling Latin American Conflicts: Ten Approaches* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), pp. 71–87.

Chapter 7 The Military, External Peace, and Internal Violence

1. Morris Janowitz, *Military Conflict: Essays in Institutional Analysis of War and Peace* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 57.
2. Linda Alexander Rodríguez, ed., *Rank and Privilege: The Military and Society in Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Jaguar Books on Latin America, 1994). In the introduction to her edited book, Alexander Rodríguez traces the major historical factors that have contributed to the politicization and “significant autonomy” of the military in most Latin American countries. While many students of Latin American politics assume and assert the political autonomy of the military or, put differently, the lack of civilian control over the armed forces, Alfred Stepan advances a list of criteria to classify this variable. The definition of political autonomy of the military in this study attempts to be consistent with Stepan’s criteria. See Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 93–97.
3. S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
5. For background literature on state classification, see Joseph Nettl, “The State as a Conceptual Variable,” *World Politics* vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1968), pp. 559–592.
6. For a discussion of this distinction, see Juan J. Linz, “Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes,” in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory*, vol. 3 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 175–411.
7. For this conceptualization, see Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).
8. For a discussion of the presidential systems in South America, see Scott Mainwaring, “Presidentialism in Latin America,” *Latin America Research Review*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1990), pp. 157–179; Arturo Valenzuela, “Presidentialism in Crisis,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 4, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 15–32; and Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America*, vol. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
9. For a discussion of the distinctions between delegative and representative democracies, and the classification of presidential systems in Latin America as delegative democracy, see Guillermo A. O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 5, no. 1 (January 1994), pp. 55–69.
10. For a discussion of the strength of labor unions and business associations in Argentina, see David Rock, *Argentina 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Juan J. López, “Social

- Conflict, Political Institutions and Economic Performance in Argentina," PhD dissertation, University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 6–10; and Paul W. Drake, *Labor Movements and Dictatorships: The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). For a discussion of political parties in Chile, see Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), esp. pp. 3–21.
11. Author's translation. For the original Spanish version, see "Pinochet Desmiente Ambición en Golpe Militar," *Diario de Las Américas* (Miami, FL), Thursday, November 28, 1996, p. 2 A.
 12. Guillermo A. O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), *Politics of Modernization Series*, no. 9, pp. 77–78.
 13. Guillermo A. O'Donnell, "Modernization and Military Coups: Theory, Comparisons, and the Argentine Case," in Abraham E. Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch, eds., *Armies and Politics in Latin America* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), p. 105.
 14. For a similar argument explaining military intervention in modernizing states, see Samuel P. Huntington, "Praetorianism and Political Decay," in *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 192–263. According to Huntington, "[p]olitical systems with low levels of institutionalization and high levels of participation . . . are appropriately called praetorian polities," p. 80. He discusses how the military and other social sectors intervene in the political process of these polities. He explains, "In all societies specialized social groups engage in politics. What makes such groups seem more 'politicized' in a praetorian society is the absence of effective political institutions capable of mediating, refining, and moderating group political action. In a praetorian system social forces confront each other nakedly; no political institutions, no corps of professional political leaders are recognized or accepted as the legitimate intermediaries to moderate group conflict. Equally important, no agreement exists among the groups as to the legitimate and authoritative methods for solving conflicts. . . . In a praetorian society, however, not only are the actors varied, but so also are the methods used to decide upon office and policy. Each group employs means which reflect its peculiar nature and capabilities. The wealthy bribe; students riot; workers strike; mobs demonstrate; and the military coup," p. 196.
 15. Edwin Lieuwen, "Militarism and Politics in Latin America," in John J. Johnson, ed., *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 132.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
 17. Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davis, Jr., eds., *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 3.
 18. Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [repr. 2004]), p. 168.
 19. For background literature on the breakdown of democracies and the emergence of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes in South America, see Linz and Stepan, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*; Guillermo A. O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*; James M. Malloy, ed., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); and David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton

- University Press, 1979). For literature on the transition from authoritarianism to civilian governments in the 1980s in South America, see Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transition From Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987); and Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics*.
20. Edwin Lieuwen, *Arms and Politics in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1961), p. 9.
 21. John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America* (Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1964), p. 3.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
 23. Robert Wesson, ed., *The Latin American Military Institution* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), for this passage and the citation immediately above, see p. ix, and for more details on the political role of the military in Latin America, see pp. 157–211.
 24. Augusto Varas, *Democracy Under Siege: New Military Power in Latin America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), p. vii. He also discusses three factors leading to the growing military autonomy in the late 1980s in Latin America. For that argument, see pp. 158–159 in this volume. Also, Varas had advanced before a similar argument on the autonomy of the military, see Augusto Varas, *La Política de las Armas en América Latina* (Santiago de Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1988), p. 14. For other works that assume and defend the political role and institutional autonomy of the military in Latin America, see Lowenthal and Fitch, *Armies and Politics in Latin America*; and Alain Rouquiè, *The Military and the State in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
 25. For a historical presentation and analysis of all militarized interstate crises in South America from 1935 to 2005, see chapter 3.
 26. For a more elaborate discussion of this causal relationship, see chapter 5, pp. 105–110.
 27. For a formulation explaining why the military may be more averse than civilians to crisis and war, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (1957; repr., Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 68–70.
 28. See Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 236.
 29. Donald P. Warwick, "Transnational Participation and International Peace," in Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 306.
 30. Frederick M. Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History: Essays on Civil-Military Relations, 1810–1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), p. 85.
 31. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), for specific citations, see pp. 28, 29, 32, and 33.
 32. Stanislav Andreski, "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 3, no. 3 (December 1980), pp. 3–10.
 33. P. A. R. Calvert, "Democratization in Latin America," in *South America, Central America and the Caribbean, 1997*, 6th ed. (London, England: Europa Publications, 1997), p. 11.
 34. In addition to the empirical sources listed in appendix D, this observation are based on the following historical surveys of Latin America: Peter Calvert, ed., *Political*

- and Economic Encyclopedia of South America and the Caribbean* (London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1991); Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 6th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Robert Jones Shafer, *A History of Latin America* (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1978).
35. This remark was transcribed by the British Broadcasting Corporation, London, England, April 6, 1995. President Fujimori visited Ecuador for a second time during the IX Rio Group Summit in Ecuador, September 4–7, 1995. On this occasion he talked privately with Ecuador's President, Sixto Durán Ballén. For a report of the second presidential exchange ever between Ecuador and Peru, see "Fujimori in Quito for Regional Summit: Visit Keeps Countries on Fast Track to Peace," *Latin America Weekly Report*, WR-95-35, September 14, 1997, p. 418.
 36. <http://www.cusns.navy.mil/operations.htm>
 37. For reports asserting the existence and functioning of this type cooperation among the military regimes in the Southern Cone of South America in the 1970s and 1980s, see William R. Long, "Missing Chilean Scientist Raises Ghost of Military Rule," *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1993, part A, p. 1; *The New York Times*, July 20, 1993, section A, p. 2; Nathaniel C. Nash, "Spy Network Inflaming Uruguay-Chile Tension," *The New York Times*, July 20, 1993, section A, p. 7; Malcolm Coad, "Missing Chilean Reawakens Fears of DINA Secret Police," *The Guardian*, London, England, June 11, 1993, p. 12; Mary McGrory, "A G-Man the Left Can Love," *The Washington Post*, September 24, 1989, p. 1; Peter R. Kornblush, "Certifying Chile on Rights is Wrong," *The New York Times*, March 23, 1982, p. 27; and Peter R. Kornblush, *The Pinochet file: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2004). Also, it is important to note here that, while bearing the same exact code name, this operation must be distinguished from a multinational initiative, conceived and encouraged by the United States in the mid-1980s, to fight against drug traffic in Latin America.
 38. Jan Rocha, "Archives Yield Clue to Fate of Paraguay's Disappeared," *The Guardian*, London, England, February 19, 1993, p. 11.
 39. For the original report of the Common Security System of Mercosur, see Luis Garasino, "Proyecto de Sistema de Seguridad del Mercosur," *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 28, 1997, p. 1.
 40. For reports on the debate provoked by the disclosure of this military plan in Argentina and Brazil, see Luis Garasino, "El Proyecto de Seguridad: Propuesta de Defensa para el Mercosur," *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 29, 1997, p. 1; Oscar Raul Cardoso, "Coordinación Argentino-Brasileña," *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 31, 1997, p. 1; "Argentina Quer Militar Nas Ruas," *Jornal Do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, July 29, 1997, pp. 1 and 13; María O'Donnell, "La Argentina y Brazil Buscan la Cooperación Militar," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 1, 1997, p. 9; and María O'Donnell, "Las FF. AA. No Actuaran en Conflictos Sociales," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 2, 1997, pp. 1 and 6.
 41. Eleonora Gosman, "Encuentro Argentino Brasileño: Avances en una Alianza Militar," *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 1, 1997, p. 1. Emphasis added.
 42. See the article "Balza, Evasivo, Estuvo a Solas con Pinochet," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, August 8, 1997, p. 6. For a news analysis of President Carlos Menem visit to Chile, see María O'Donnell, "Nuevo Avance en la Relación con Chile," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, August 9, 1997, pp. 1 and 10. From the Chilean side, see *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, August 7, 1997, pp. 1 and 10; and *El Mercurio*,

- Santiago de Chile, August 8, 1997, pp. 1, 13, C 3, and C 5. Also, as an added way to convey and strengthen the argument presented here, it is illustrative to juxtapose and contrast the published images of President Carlos Menem politely greeting Augusto Pinochet, Chief of the Chilean Armed Forces, and Martín Balza, the Argentine Army Chief, effusively and warmly embracing his Chilean counterpart. The photographic depictions appeared two days apart in the major newspapers of Argentina and Chile. See *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, August 8, 1997, p. 1; and *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, August 9, 1997, p. 1.
43. Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 2–3. For more discussions and applications of the epistemic community approach to international political issues, see the rest of the articles in this special issue.
 44. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, p. 7.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
 47. For historical analyses of the ideology, social composition, organization, and socioeconomic and political role of the military in South America prior to 1890, see Genaro Arriagada Herrera, *El Pensamiento Político de los Militares* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Aconcagua, 1986); Rouquiè, *The Military and the State in Latin America*, pp. 39–71; Loveman and Davis, Jr., *The Politics of Antipolitics*, pp. 17–33; Augusto Varas, *Militarization and the International Arms Race in Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 5–15; and John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America*, pp. 13–69.
 48. To support this assertion, see the information provided by Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History*, p. 309, fn. 3. For the inception of the professionalization of other armed forces in South America, see Frederick M. Nunn, *Yesterday's Soldiers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 2–3; J. Mark Ruhl, "Colombia: Armed Forces and Society," *Foreign and Comparative Studies/Latin American Series I* (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1980), p. 19; and Efraín Cobas, *Fuerza Armada, Misiones Militares y Dependencia en el Perú* (Lima, Peru: Editorial Horizonte, 1982), pp. 21–23.
 49. For a biographical background of Emil Körner and an analysis of the Prussian influence on the Chilean army, see Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History*, pp. 72–79.
 50. John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America*, pp. 78–79. Similar points are made by Nunn, *Yesterday's Soldiers*, pp. 41–42; and Victor Alba, "The Stages of Militarism in Latin America," in Johnson, *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 172–174 (see note 15).
 51. For a discussion of these developments, see John J. Johnson, "The Latin-American Military as a Politically Competing Group in Transitional Society," in Johnson, *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 107–114 (see note 15).
 52. For the data on the social origin of the Brazilian military, see Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1971), pp. 30–56.
 53. For a sample of works analyzing socioeconomic origins of the military in Latin America as determinant of political behavior, see Johnson *The Military and Society in Latin America*, pp. 105–107 and 250–251; *ibid.*, pp. 42–48; José Nun, "The Middle-Class Military Coup," in Claudio Véliz, ed., *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 66–118; and in the context of Ecuador, John S. Fitch, "Toward a Model of Coups D'état as a Political

Process in Latin America: Ecuador, 1948–1966,” PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1973, pp. 331–332. He argues that the officers’ “strong corporate self-identification with the military institution, rather than their peripheral identification as members of the middle class,” may account best for their political position. Another analyst simply asserts that the “Latin American armed forces are rather similar in regard to the origins of officers. Most come from the middle or lower-middle classes, few from the affluent sectors, and few from the poorer strata.” For this quote, see Wesson, *The Latin American Military Institution*, p. 19.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
55. Guillermo A. O’Donnell, “Modernization and Military Coups,” p. 120.
56. See Lieuwen, *Arms and Politics in Latin America*, p. 34.
57. Samuel P. Huntington, *Changing Patterns of Military Politics* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 22.
58. Alfred Stepan, “The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion,” in Alfred Stepan, ed., *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies, and Future* (1973; repr., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 47–65.
59. For sources on the military campaigns of the Chaco War and the human and material costs to the military and the general population of both countries, see Bruce W. Farcau, *The Chaco War: Bolivia and Paraguay, 1932–1935* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1996); Roberto Querejazu Calvo, *Historia de la Guerra del Chaco* (La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1990); Félix Paiva Alcorta, *La Paz del Chaco* (Asunción, Paraguay: El Lector, 1983); Jorge Antezana Villagrán, *La Guerra del Chaco: Análisis y Crítica sobre su Conducción*, vols. I and II (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Mundy Color, 1979); and David H. Zook, Jr., *The Conduct of the Chaco War* (New Haven, CT: Bookman Associates, 1960).
60. One argument explains the cause of the Chaco War as the manipulation of both countries by foreign corporations, particularly oil companies, interested in exploiting the natural resources suspected to be in the Chaco Boreal region. For a work supporting this view, see Julio José Chiavenato, *A Guerra do Chaco (leia-se petróleo)* (Sao Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasiliense, 1980). For a study analyzing the role oil played in the bilateral conflict, see Alfredo M. Seiferheld, *Economía y Petróleo Durante la Guerra del Chaco: Apuntes Para una Historia Económica del Conflicto Paraguayo-Boliviano* (Asunción, Paraguay: El Lector, 1983).
61. It is illustrative to note the judicial process in progress in Spain for abuses committed against Spanish nationals by the Argentine military during the “dirty war” in the 1970s. For details on this judicial process, see *The New York Times*, Saturday, October 11, 1997, p. 3.
62. For works dealing with the adverse political consequences from the Malvinas/Falklands War for the individual officers and the military institution in Argentina, see Aldo C. Vacs, “Authoritarian Breakdown and Redemocratization in Argentina,” in Malloy and Seligson, *Authoritarians and Democrats*, pp. 15–42 (see note 19); and Carlos H. Acuña, “Politics and Economics in the Argentina of the Nineties (Or, Why The Future No Longer Is What it Used to Be),” in William C. Smith, Carlos H. Acuña, and Eduardo A. Gamarra, eds., *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America* (Miami, FL: University of Miami, North-South Center, 1994).
63. For two comprehensive analyses of U.S.–Latin American relations and regional socio-economic and political events at the end and immediately after World War II, see Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, “The Postwar Conjuncture in Latin America: Democracy, Labor, and the Left,” in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, eds.,

- Latin America Between the Second World War and The Cold War, 1944–1948* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–32; and David Rock, “War and Postwar Intersections: Latin America and the United States,” in David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 15–40.
64. John Child, *Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System, 1938–1978* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980); John S. Fitch, “The Political Impact of U.S. Military Aid to Latin America: Institutional and Individual Effects,” *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1979), pp. 360–386; and L. Veneroni, *Estados Unidos y las Fuerzas Armadas de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Periferia, 1971).
 65. On the 1948 Costa Rican Civil War and the decision to disband permanently the armed forces, see John P. Bell, “Crisis in Costa Rica: The 1948 Revolution,” *Latin American Monographs, University of Texas at Austin, Institute of Latin American Studies*, no. 24; and Constantino Urcuyo, “Civil–Military Relations in Costa Rica: Militarization or Adaptation to New Circumstances?” in Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S. R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial, eds., *The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil–Military Relations in Latin America* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), particularly pp. 238–242.
 66. For a sample of works that have discussed the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the military mind and the redefinition of the armed forces role in Latin America, see Liisa North, *Civil–Military Relations in Argentina, Chile, and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); W. Barber and N. Ronning, *Internal Security and Military Power* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966); and Guillermo A. O’Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic–Authoritarianism*, pp. 72–73.
 67. These points are summarized these from Guillermo A. O’Donnell, “Modernization and Military Coups,” pp. 104–105.
 68. For a detailed discussion of these forms of cooperation among the military regimes in the Southern Cone in the mid-1970s, see Alejandro Dabat, *Argentina: The Malvinas and the End of Military Rule* (Thetford, Norfolk, Great Britain: Thetford Press, 1983), pp. 82 and 182. Also, see the discussion in this chapter, pp. 167–168.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abente, Diego. "The War of the Triple Alliance: Three Explanatory Models." *Latin American Research Review* (1987) 22(2):47–69.
- Achen, Christopher H. et al. "The Rational Deterrence Debate: A Symposium." *World Politics* (January 1989) 41(2):143–239.
- Acuña Carlos H. "Politics and Economics in the Argentina of the Nineties (Or, Why The Future No Longer Is What it Used to Be)." In William C. Smith, Carlos H. Acuña, and Eduardo A. Gamarra, eds. *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*. Miami, FL: University of Miami, North-South Center, 1994.
- Agor, Weston H. "Latin American Interstate Politics: Patterns of Cooperation and Conflict." *Inter-American Economic Affairs* (Autumn 1972) 26.
- Aguilera, Jesus Antonio. *Las Fronteras de Venezuela*. Caracas, Venezuela: Ediciones del Congreso de la República de Venezuela, 1988.
- Alba, Victor. "The Stages of Militarism in Latin America." In John J. Johnson, ed. *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Alker, Hayward R. *The Presumption of Anarchy in World Politics*. Manuscript, August, 1986.
- Allcock, John B. et al. *Border and Territorial Disputes*. 3rd ed. London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992.
- Allison, Graham T. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- Alvarez, Mike, José A. Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. *Classifying Political Regimes*. Manuscript, April 13, 1995, University of Chicago.
- Andreski, Stanislav. "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships." *Journal of Strategic Studies* (December 1980) 3(3):3–10.
- Antezana Villagrán, Jorge. *La Guerra del Chaco: Análisis y Crítica sobre su Conducción*. Vols. I and II. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Mundy Color, 1979.
- Arcau, Bruce W. *The Chaco War: Bolivia and Paraguay, 1932–1935*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1996.
- Arnold, Guy. *Wars in the Third World Since 1945*. London: Cassell Publishers, 1991.
- Aron, Raymond. *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Press, 1966.
- Arriagada Herrera, Genaro. *El Pensamiento Político de los Militares*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Aconcagua, 1986.
- Art, Robert. "To What Ends Military Power." *International Security* (Spring 1980) 4(4):3–35.
- Atkins, Pope G. *Latin America in the International Political System*, 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.
- Axelrod, Robert. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Ayala Moreira, Rogelio. *Por Qué no Ganamos la Guerra del Chaco*. La Paz: Talleres Gráficos Bolivianos, 1959.

- Babst, Dean V. "A Force for Peace." *Industrial Research* (April 1972) 14.
- Backheuser, Everardo. *A Geopolítica Geral e do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Civilizacao Brasileira, 1952.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton Baratz. "Decisions and Non-decisions: An Analytical Framework." *The American Political Science Review* (September 1963) 57(3):632-642.
- . "Two Faces of Power." *The American Political Science Review* (December 1962) 56(4):947-952.
- Baldrich, Amadeo J. *Historia de la Guerra del Brazil*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Imprenta La Harlem, 1905.
- Baldwin, David. "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends Versus Old Tendencies." *World Politics* (January 1979) 31(2):161-194.
- . "The Power of Positive Sanctions." *World Politics* (October 1971) 24(1):19-38.
- Banks, Michael. "Systems Analysis and the Study of Regions." *International Studies Quarterly* (December 1969) 13(4).
- Barber, W., and N. Ronning. *Internal Security and Military Power*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966.
- Barros Arana, Diego. *Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1881*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andres Bello, 1979.
- Bartlett, Ruhl J., ed. *The Record of American Diplomacy: Documents and Readings in the History of American Foreign Relations*. 3rd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954.
- Beitz, Charles R. "International Relations As a State of Nature." In Charles R. Beitz *Political Theory and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Bell, John P. "Crisis in Costa Rica: The 1948 Revolution." *Latin American Monographs*, no. 24. University of Texas at Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1971.
- Berghan, Volker R. *Militarism: The History of an International Debate 1861-1979*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.
- Best, Felix. *Historia de las Guerras Argentinas, Vol. II*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Peuser, 1960.
- Bethell, Leslie, and Ian Roxborough. "The Postwar Conjuncture in Latin America: Democracy, Labor, and the Left." In Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, eds. *Latin America Between the Second World War and The Cold War, 1944-1948*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Betts, Richard K. *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987.
- . *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- . "Systems for Peace or Causes of War?: Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe." *International Security* (Summer 1992) 17(1):5-43.
- Blachman, Morris J. "U.S. Interests in South America." In G. Pope Atkins, ed. *South America Into the 1990's: Evolving International Relationships in a New Era*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Causes of War*. 3rd ed. New York: Free Press, 1988.
- Bloomfield, Richard J., and Gregory F. Treverton, eds. *Alternative to Intervention: A New U.S.-Latin American Security Relationship*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.
- Bocchio Rejas, Luis Orlando. *Los Tacneños y el Corredor para Bolivia*. Lima, Peru: Librería Editorial Minerva Miraflores, 1978.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. *Stable Peace*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- Braveboy-Wagner, Jacqueline Anne. *The Venezuela-Guyana Border Dispute: Britain's Colonial Legacy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

- Brodie, Bernard. "Some Theories On the Causes of War." In *War and Politics*. New York: Macmillan, 1973.
- . *Strategy in the Missile Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. "Measuring Systemic Polarity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1975) 19(2):187–216.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, and David Lalman. "Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic Explanations of International Conflict." *World Politics* (October 1988) 41(1):1–20.
- Burr, Robert N. "The Balance of Power in Nineteenth-Century South America: An Explanatory Essay." *Hispanic American Historical Review* (February 1955) 35(1):37–60.
- . *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830–1905*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Buzan, Barry. "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case." *International Organization* (Autumn 1984) 38(4):597–624.
- . *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.
- Buzan, Barry, Charles Jones, and Richard Little. *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Caivano, Tomás. *Historia de la Guerra de America Entre Chile, Perú, y Bolivia*. Lima, Perú: Editorial Científica, 1979.
- Calvert, P. A. R. "Democratization in Latin America." In *South America, Central America and the Caribbean, 1997*. 6th ed. London, England: Europa Publications, 1997.
- Calvert, Peter. *Latin America: Internal Conflict and International Peace*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.
- ed. *Political and Economic Encyclopedia of South America and the Caribbean*. London, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1991.
- Cantori, Louis J., and Steven L. Spiegel. "The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach to Five Subordinate Systems." *International Studies Quarterly* (December 1969) 13(4):440–469.
- . *The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Carneiro, David. *História da Guerra Cisplantina*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1946.
- Carr, E. H. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964.
- Cartaxo, Otacilio. *O Problema Geopolítico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Ouvidor, 1965.
- Castro, Terezinha de. *Atlas-Texto de Geopolítica Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Capemi Editores, 1982.
- Caubet, Christian G. "Por Uma (Nova?) Epistemologia da Geopolítica do Brasil." *Política e Estratégia* (1984) 2(4):628–647.
- Caviedes, César. *The Southern Cone: Realities of the Authoritarian State in South America*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984.
- Centeno, Miguel A. *Blood and War: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
- Chan, Steven. "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall . . . Are the Freer Countries More Pacific?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (December 1984) 28(4):617–647.
- Chiavenato, Julio José. *A Guerra do Chaco (leia-se peróleo)*. Sao Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasiliense, 1980.
- Child, Jack. *Antarctica and South American Geopolitics*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988.
- . "Conflicts in Latin America: Present and Potential." Research paper. Stockholm: SIPRI, 1980.

- Child, Jack. *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America: Quarrels Among Neighbors*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985.
- . *Regional Cooperation for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes in Latin America*. New York: International Peace Academy, 1987.
- . *Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System, 1938–1978*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980.
- . “The 1889–1890 Washington Conference through Cuban Eyes: José Martí and the First International American Conference.” *Inter-American Review of Bibliography* (1989) 29(4):443–456.
- Choucri, Nazli, and Robert C. North. *Nations in Conflict: National Growth and International Violence*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975.
- . “In Search of Peace Systems: Scandinavia and the Netherlands, 1870–1970.” In Bruce M. Russett, ed. *Peace, War, and Numbers*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972.
- Claude, Inis L., Jr. *Power and International Relations*. New York: Random House, 1962.
- Claude, Inis L., Jr. *Swords Into Plow Shares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, 4th ed. New York: Random House, 1984.
- Clausewitz, Carl Von. *On War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Clodfelter, Micheal. *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992.
- Cobas, Efraín. *Fuerza Armada, Misiones Militares y Dependencia en el Peru*. Lima, Peru: Editorial Horizonte, 1982.
- Coleman, Kenneth M. “The Political Mythology of the Monroe Doctrine: Reflections on the Social Psychology of Hegemony.” In John D. Martz and Lars Schoultz, eds. *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980.
- Collier, David, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Concil Paz, Alberto, and Gustavo Ferrari. *Argentina's Foreign Policy, 1930–1962*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966.
- Conferencia Internacional Americana. *Dictámenes de las Comisiones Permanentes y Debates a que Dieron Lugar*. Volume II. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890.
- Connell-Smith, Gordon. *The Inter-American System*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Courtney, William H. “Nuclear Choices for Friendly Rivals.” In Joseph A. Yager, ed. *Nonproliferation and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1980.
- Cox, Robert W. “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” In Robert O. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Curiel, José. *Venezuela Mutilada*. Caracas, Venezuela: Librería Historia, 1981.
- Dabat, Alejandro. *Argentina: The Malvinas and the End of Military Rule*. Thetford, Norfolk, Great Britain: Thetford Press Limited, 1983.
- Dahl, Robert A. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.
- . “The Concept of Power.” *Behavioral Science* (June 1957) 2:201–215.
- . *Modern Political Analysis*. 4th ed. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984.
- . “Power.” *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 12. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- David, Steven R. “Explaining Third World Alignment.” *World Politics* (January 1991) 43(2):233–256.

- David, Steven R. "Why the Third World Still Matters." *International Security* (Winter 1992–1993) 17(3):127–159.
- Day, Alan J. *Border and Territorial Disputes*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1982.
- DeConde, Alexander. *A History of American Foreign Policy*. 3rd ed. New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1978.
- Del Carril, Bonifacio. *La Cuestión con Chile*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Emecé Editores, 1984.
- Desch, Michael. "Why Latin America May Miss the Cold War: The United States and the Future of Inter-American Security Relations." In Jorge I. Domínguez, ed. *International Security and Democracy* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998, pp. 245–265.
- Deutsch, Karl W., and J. David Singer. "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." *World Politics* (April 1964) 26(3):390–406.
- Deutsch, Karl W. et al. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969.
- Diehl, Paul F. "What Are They Fighting For? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research." *Journal of Peace Research* (August 1992) 29(3):333–344.
- Diehl, Paul F., and Gary Goertz. "Interstate Conflict Over Exchanges of Homeland Territory, 1816–1980." *Political Geography Quarterly* (October 1991) 10(4):342–355.
- Domínguez, Jorge I. "Los Conflictos Internacionales en América Latina y la Amenaza de Guerra." *Foro Internacional* (July 1984) 25(97):1–13.
- . "Ghosts from the Past: War, Territorial and Boundary Disputes in Mainland Central and South America since 1960." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, 1977.
- Donoso Tobar, Julio. *La Invasión Peruana y el Protocolo de Río*. Quito: Ediciones Ecuatorianas, 1945.
- Dougherty, J. E., and R. L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981.
- Doyle, Michael W. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs." Parts 1 and 2. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Summer and Fall 1983) 12(3 and 4):205–235 and 323–353.
- . "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* (December 1986) 80(4):1151–1169.
- . "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Summer and Fall 1983) 12(3 and 4):205–235 and 323–353.
- . *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.
- Drake, Paul W. *Labor Movements and Dictatorships: The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Dunn, David J. "Peace Research." In Trevor Taylor, ed. *Approaches and Theory in International Relations*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Eckstein, Harry. "Case Study and Theory in Political Science." In Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds. *Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory*. Vol. 7. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975.
- Ember, Carol R., Melvin Ember, and Bruce M. Russett. "Peace Between Participatory Polities: A Cross-Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis." *World Politics* (July 1992) 44(4):573–599.
- English, Adrian J. *Armed Forces of Latin America: Their Histories, Development, Present Strength, and Military Potential*. London: Jane's Publishing, 1984.
- F. V. "The Beagle Channel Affair." *American Journal of International Law* (October 1977) 71(4):733–740.

- Farer, Tom J. "Limiting Intra-regional Violence: The Costs of Regional Peacekeeping." In Tom J. Farer, ed. *The Future of the Inter-American System*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979.
- Fearon, James D. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science." *World Politics* (January 1991) 43(2):169–195.
- Finer, Samuel E. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. Baltimore, MD.: Penguin Books, 1976.
- Fitch, John S. "Toward a Model of Coups D'état as a Political Process in Latin America: Ecuador, 1948–1966." PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1973.
- . "The Political Impact of U.S. Military Aid to Latin America: Institutional and Individual Effects." *Armed Forces and Society* (1979) 5(3):360–386.
- Fontana, Andrés. "Percepción de Amenazas y Adquisición de Armamentos: Argentina 1960–1989." *Documentos CEDES* (1990) (48). Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Fraga, Jorge Alberto. "Beagle. Hablar Con Claridad al Sumo Pontífice." *Estrategia* (1981) 69.
- Frankena, William K. *Ethics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Gaddis, John L. "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* (Winter 1992–1993) 17(3):5–58.
- . *The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Galtung, Johan. "Editorial." *Journal of Peace Research* (1964) 1(1):1.
- . "Violence, Peace and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* (1969) 6(3).
- Gamba-Stonehouse, Virginia. *El Peón de la Reina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Sudamerica, 1984.
- . *Strategy in the Southern Oceans: A South American View*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.
- García Enciso, Isais José. *La Gesta de Patagones*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1972.
- Garner, William R. *The Chaco Dispute: A Study of Prestige Diplomacy*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1966.
- Garnham, David C. "Dyadic International War, 1816–1965." *Western Political Quarterly* (1976) 29(1).
- . "Power Parity and Lethal International Violence, 1969–1973." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1976) 20(3).
- Garrett, James L. "The Beagle Channel Dispute: Confrontation and Negotiation in the Southern Cone." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Fall 1985) 27(2):81–109.
- Garst, Daniel. "Thucydides and Neorealism." *International Studies Quarterly* (March 1989) 33(1):3–27.
- George, Alexander L., ed. *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.
- . "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison." In Paul Gordon Lauren, ed. *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1979.
- ed. *Managing U.S.-Soviet Rivalry: Problems of Crisis Prevention*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983.
- George, Alexander L., and Richard Smoke. *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.
- George, Alexander L., Philip J. Farley, and Alexander Dallin, eds. *U.S.-Soviet Security Cooperation: Achievements, Failures, Lessons*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Gil, Federico G. "The Kennedy-Johnson Years." In John D. Martz, ed. *United States Policy in Latin America: A Quarter Century of Crisis and Challenge, 1961–1986*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

- . *Latin American-United States Relations*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.
- Gilpin, Robert G. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism." *International Organization* (Spring 1984) 38:2.
- . *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*. New York: Basic Books, 1975.
- . *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Gobbi, Hugo G. "Problemas Australes Argentino-Chilenos." *Estrategia* (September–October 1977) 48:27–36.
- Goldblat, Josef. "The Role of the United Nations in Arms Control: An Assessment." In United Nations Institute for Training and Research, ed. *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987.
- Golgeier, James M., and Michael McFaul. "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era." *International Organization* (Spring 1992) 46(2):467–492.
- Goodman, Louis ed. *The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.
- Goodrich, Leland M., ed. *Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1941–1942*. Vol. IV. July 1941–June 1942. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1942.
- Gorman, Stephen M. "Security, Influence, and Nuclear Weapons: The Case of Argentina and Brazil." *Parameters* (March 1979) 9(1):52–65.
- Grabendorff, Wolf. "Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America." *Working Papers*, no. 116. Latin American Program. Washington, DC: Wilson Center, 1982.
- Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* (Summer 1988) 42(3).
- Gughliamelli, Juan E. "Cuestión del Beagle Negociación Directa o Diálogo de Armas." *Estrategia* (January–February 1978) (49 and 50):5–22.
- Güido, Claudio. "El Beagle, La Iglesia, y América Latina." *Cuadernos de Iglesia y Sociedad* (1984) 8 and 9. Buenos Aires.
- Gulick, Edward Vose. *Europe's Classical Balance of Power*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1955.
- Haas, Michael. "International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity." *The American Political Science Review* (March 1970) 64(1):98–123.
- Haas, Peter M. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* (Winter 1992) 46(1).
- Hanson, Eric O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Hart, Jefferey A. "Power and Polarity in the International System." In Alan Ned Sabrosky, ed. *Polarity and War: The Changing Structure of International Conflict*. Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1985.
- Hayes, Margaret Daly. *Latin America and the U.S. National Interest: A Basis for U.S. Foreign Policy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.
- Hernández, Pablo José, and Horacio Chitarroni. *Malvinas: Clave Geopolítica*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Castañeda, 1977.
- Herrera, Luis Alberto de. *Orígenes de la Guerra Grande, Vols. I and II*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Editorial "Por la Patria," 1979.
- Herz, John H. *International Politics in the Atomic Age*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Hilton, Stanley E. "The Brazilian Military: Changing Strategic Perceptions and the Question of Mission." *Armed Forces and Society* (1987) 13:329–352.

- Hinsley, F. H. *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Michael Oakeshott, ed. New York: Collier Books, a division of Macmillan, 1962.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. "An American Social Science: International Relations." *Daedalus* (Summer 1977) 106(3).
- . "An American Social Science: International Relations." In Stanley Hoffman, *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory of International Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- . *Gulliver's Troubles*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
- . "Hans Morgenthau: The Limits and Influence of 'Realism.'" In *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory of International Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- . *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- . *The State of War*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1965.
- Hollis, Martin, and Steve Smith. *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Holsti, Kalevi J. *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory*. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985.
- . *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648–1989*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- . *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996 (reprinted 2004).
- Hopf, Ted. "Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War." *American Political Science Review* (June 1991) 85(2):475–493.
- Howard, Michael. *The Causes of War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Hudson, G. F. "Collective Security and Military Alliances." In Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds. *Diplomatic Investigations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Hull, Cordell. *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*. New York: Macmillan, 1948.
- Huntington, Samuel P. *Changing Patterns of Military Politics*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- . *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- . *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. 1957; repr., Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press.
- . "Why International Primacy Matters." *International Security* (Spring 1993) 17(4).
- Huth, Paul, and Bruce M. Russett. "General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models." *American Political Science Review* (March 1993) 87(1).
- . "Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference." *World Politics* (July 1990) 42(4):466–501.
- Ikenberry, G. John, and C. A. Kupchan. "Socialization and Hegemonic Power." *International Organization* (Summer 1990) 44(3):283–315.
- Inman, Samuel Guy. *Inter-American Conferences, 1826–1954: History and Problems*. Washington, DC: The University Press, 1965.
- Ireland, Gordon. *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America*. New York: Octagon Books, 1971.
- Isaac, Jeffrey C. *Power and Marxist Theory: A Realist View*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Jackson, William D. "Polarity in International Systems: A Conceptual Note." *International Interactions* (1977) 4(1):87–95.
- Jaguaribe, Hélio. "Brazil-Argentina: Breve Análisis de las Relaciones de Conflicto y Cooperación." *Estudios Internacionales* (January–March 1982) 15(57):9–27.

- James, Scott C., and David A. Lake. "The Second Face of Hegemony: Britain's Repeal of the Corn Laws and the American Walker Tariff of 1846." *International Organization* (Winter 1989) 43(1):1-29.
- Janowitz, Morris. *Military Conflict: Essays in Institutional Analysis of War and Peace*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975.
- Jensen, Kenneth M., and W. S. Thompson, 1991. "The United States Institute of Peace and the Intellectual Map Project." In W. S. Thompson and Kenneth M. Jensen, eds. *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map*. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1991.
- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* (January 1978) 30(2):167-214.
- . "Deterrence Theory Revisited." *World Politics* (January 1979) 31(2):289-324.
- . *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- . "International Primacy: Is the Game Worth the Candle?" *International Security* (Spring 1993) 17(4).
- . *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- . "Models and Cases in the Study of International Conflict." *Journal of International Affairs* (Spring/Summer 1990) 44(1).
- . *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- . "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation." *World Politics* (April 1988) 40(3):317-349.
- . "Security Regimes." *International Organization* (Spring 1982) 36(2):357-378.
- . "Systems Theories and Diplomatic History." In Paul Gordon Lauren, ed. *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1979.
- . "War and Misperception." In Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Jervis, Robert, R. Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein. *Psychology and Deterrence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Johnson, Janet B., and Richard A. Joslyn. *Political Science Research Methods*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991.
- Johnson, John J. *The Military and Society in Latin America*. Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1964.
- Jones, Stephen B. "The Power Inventory and National Strategy." *World Politics* (July 1954) 6(4):421-453.
- Kacowicz, Arie M. *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Kaplan, Morton A. *Systems and Process in International Politics*. Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1975.
- Karnes, Thomas L., ed. *Readings in the Latin American Policy of the United States*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1972.
- Kegley, Charles W., Jr. *The Long Postwar Peace*. Glencoe: Scott, Foresman, 1989.
- ed. *The Long Postwar Peace: Contending Explanations and Projections*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991.
- Kelly, Philip. "Geopolitical Tension Areas in South America: The Question of the Brazilian Territorial Expansion." In Robert E. Biles, ed. *Inter-American Relations: The Latin American Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.
- Kelly, Philip, and Jack Child. *Geopolitics of the Southern Cone and Antarctica*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- . *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.
- . "International Liberalism Reconsidered." In John Dunn, ed. *Economic Limits to Modern Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989.
- ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- . "Reciprocity in International Relations." *International Organization* (Winter 1986) 40(1):1–27.
- . "The Theory of Hegemonic Stability and Changes in International Economic Regimes, 1967–1977." In Ole R. Holsti, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alexander L. George, eds. *Change in the International System*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980.
- . "The Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond." In Ada Finifter, ed. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1983.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1977.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds. *Transnational Relations and World Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Keylor, William R. *The Twentieth-Century World: An International History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides." *International Studies Quarterly* (June 1981) 25(2):242–254.
- . "Systems of International Economic Organization." In David Calleo, ed. *Money and the Coming World Order*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- . *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Knorr, Klaus. *On the Uses of Military Power in the Nuclear Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Kornblush, Peter R. *The Pinochet file: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*. New York: New Press, 2004.
- Krasner, Stephen D. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* (April 1976) 28(3):317–347.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich V. *Rules, Norms, and Decisions, On the Condition of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Kryzaneck, Michael J. *Leaders, Leadership, and U.S. Policy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.
- . *U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd ed. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1990.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Lakatos, Imre. "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programs." In Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds. *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Lake, David A. "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War." *American Political Science Review* (March 1992) 86(1):24–37.
- Langley, Lester D. *The Banana Wars: An Inner History of American Empire, 1900–1934*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1983.
- Larson, Deborah. *Origins of Containment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Lasswell, Harold D., and Abraham Kaplan. *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950.

- Layne, Christopher. "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise." *International Security* (Spring 1993) 17(4).
- Lebow, Richard Ned. *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Janice Gross Stein. "Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable." *World Politics* (April 1990) 42(3):336–369.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long. "Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions Project (ATOP)," Department of Political Science, Rice University, 2005. <<http://atop.rice.edu/search>>.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long. "Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions, 1815–1944." *International Interactions* (2002) 28:237–260.
- Levy, Jack S. "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence." In Philip E. Tetlock et al., eds. *Behavior, Society and Nuclear War*. I:209–333. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . "Domestic Politics and War." In Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . "The Polarity of the System and International Stability: An Empirical Analysis." In Alan Ned Sabrosky, ed. *Polarity and War: The Changing Structure of International Conflict*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.
- Lieuwen, Edwin. *Arms and Politics in Latin America*. 2nd ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1961.
- . "Militarism and Politics in Latin America." In John J. Johnson, ed. *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- . *U.S. Policy in Latin America: A Short History*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1965.
- Linz, Juan J. "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes." In Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds. *Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory*. Vol. 3. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975.
- Linz, Juan J., and A. Valenzuela. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- López Hermán, Bolívar. *El Ecuador y su Problema Territorial con el Perú*. Quito: Biblioteca Militar Ecuatoriana, 1978.
- López, Juan J. "Social Conflict, Political Institutions and Economic Performance in Argentina." PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1994.
- López, Nicolás F. *Estudios Internacionales Sobre el Conflicto Colombo-Peruano*. Quito: Talleres Gráficos Nacionales, 1934.
- Loveman, Brian, and Thomas M. Davis, Jr., eds. *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Lowenthal, Abraham F. *Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Lowenthal, Abraham F., and Samuel J. Fitch, eds. *Armies and Politics in Latin America*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986.
- Lozano y Lozano, Fabio. *El Punto de Vista Colombiano en la Cuestión de Leticia*. Mexico, DF: A. Mijares y Hermanos, 1933.
- Luard, Evan. *Conflict and Peace in Modern International System: A Study of the Principles of International Order*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- . *War in International Society: A Study in International Sociology*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1986.
- Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*. London: Macmillan, 1974.

- Lynn-Jones, Sean M., ed. *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1991.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*. Mark Musa, trans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964.
- Macias, Silvio. *La Guerra de Chaco*. Asunción: Ediciones La Tribuna, 1942.
- Maier, Georg. "Ecuadorian-Peruvian Boundary Dispute." *American Journal of International Law* (January 1969) 63:28–46.
- Mainwaring, Scott. "Presidentialism in Latin America." *Latin America Research Review* (1990) 25(1):157–179.
- Malloy, James M., ed. *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.
- Malloy, James M., and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics Before and After Hiroshima*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Mandel, Robert. "Roots of Modern Interstate Border Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (September 1980) 24(3):427–454.
- Mansbach, R. W., and John A. Vasquez. *In Search of Theory: A New Paradigm for Global Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Mansfield, Edward D. "Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power." *International Studies Quarterly* (March 1993) 37(1):105–128.
- . "The Distribution of Wars Over Time." *World Politics* (October 1988) 41(1):21–51.
- . *Power, Trade, and War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Mansfield, Harvey C. *Machiavelli's Virtue*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Maoz, Zeev, and Nasrin Abdolali. "Regime Types and International Conflict, 1816–1976." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 1989) 33(1):3–35.
- Marcella, Gabriel. "War and Peace in the Amazon: Strategic Implications for the United States and Latin America of the 1995 Ecuador-Peru War." Department of the Army, Department of National Security and Strategy, 1995. http://131.84.1.34/doctrine/jel/research_pubs/amazon.pdf.
- Mares, David R. *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- . "Middle Powers Under Regional Hegemony: To Challenge or Acquiesce in Hegemonic Enforcement." *International Studies Quarterly* (December 1988) 32(4):453–471.
- Masters, Roger D. "World Politics as a Primitive Political System." *World Politics* (July 1964) 16(4):595–619.
- McIntyre, David. "The Longest Peace: Why Are There So Few Interstate Wars in South America?" PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995.
- McLean, David. *War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836–1853*. London: British Academic Press, 1955.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *Conventional Deterrence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Meira Matos, Carlos. *Uma Geopolítica Pan-Amazônica*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Biblioteca do Exército, 1980.
- Merton, Robert K. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- Middlebrook, Kevin J., and Carlos Rico. *The United States and Latin America in the 1980's*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.
- Midlarsky, Manus I., ed. *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- . "Hierarchical Equilibria and the Long-Run Instability of Multipolar Systems." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed. *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- . *The Onset of World War*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988.

- Midlarsky, Manus I., and Ted Hopf. "Polarity and International Stability." *American Political Science Review* (March 1993) 87(1):173–181.
- Miller, Benjamin. "The Global Sources of Regional Transitions from War to Peace." *Journal of Peace Research*. (March 2001) 38(2):199–225.
- Milner, Helen. "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies* (January 1991) 17(1):67–85.
- Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance. *Guyana's Upper-Mazaruni Hydro-electric Project*. Georgetown, Guyana: Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance, 1981.
- Modelski, George. "The Long Cycle of Global Politics and the Nation State." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (April 1978) 20(2):214–235.
- Monteza Tafur, Miguel. *El Conflicto Militar del Perú con el Ecuador*. Lima: Editorial Arica, 1976.
- Morgan, Patrick M. *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis*. 2nd ed. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 6th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- Morris, Michael A., and Victor Millán. *Controlling Latin America Conflicts: Ten Approaches*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983.
- Mueller, John E. *Retreat From Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.
- Nettl, Joseph. "The State as a Conceptual Variable." *World Politics* (July 1968) 20(4):559–592.
- Nicolson, Harold. *Diplomacy*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold. *Christianity and Power Politics*. New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1940.
- Nogee, Joseph L. "Polarity: An Ambiguous Concept." *Orbis* (Winter 1975) 18(4):1193–1225.
- Nolde, Kenneth. "Arms and Security in South America: Towards an Alternate View." PhD dissertation, University of Miami, 1980.
- North, Liisa. *Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, Chile, and Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- Nun, José. "The Middle-Class Military Coup." In Claudio Véliz, ed. *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Nunn, Frederick M. *The Military in Chilean History: Essays on Civil-Military Relations, 1810–1973*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976.
- . *Yesterday's Soldiers: European Military Professionalism in South America, 1890–1940*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- . "Neorealism and Neoliberalism." *World Politics* (January 1988) 40(2).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Politics of Modernization Series, no. 9. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- . "Modernization and Military Coups: Theory, Comparisons, and the Argentine Case." In A. F. Lowenthal and J. S. Fitch, eds. *Armies and Politics in Latin America*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986.
- . "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* (January 1994) 5(1):55–69.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A., P. C. Schmitter, and L. Whitehead, eds. *Transition from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Ojer, Pablo. *El Golfo de Venezuela: Una Síntesis Histórica*. Maracaibo, Venezuela: Corporación de Desarrollo de la Región Zulina, 1983.
- Olivera, Dario A. "Caso Beagle: Antecedentes." *Revista Argentina de Relaciones Internacionales* (May–August 1978) 4(11):62–72.

- Onuf, Nicholas, and Frank F. Klink. "Anarchy, Authority, Rule." *International Studies Quarterly* (June 1989) 33(2):149–173.
- Organski, A. F. K. *World Politics*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1958.
- Organski, A. F. K., and Jacek Kugler. *The War Ledger*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Osgood, Charles E. *Alternative to War or Surrender*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962.
- Oye, Kenneth A. "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies." *World Politics* (October 1985) 38(1):1–24.
- Paiva Alcorta, Félix. *La Paz del Chaco*. Asunción, Paraguay: El Lector, 1983.
- Palacios Saena, Carlos. *La Guerra del 41: El Protocolo de Río no Demarcó Fronteras Definitivas*. Guayaquil: Ediciones Ara, 1979.
- Palma, Hugo. *América Latina: Limitación de Armamentos y Desarme en la Región*. Lima, Peru: Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales, 1986.
- Pérez Concha, Jorge. "Tesis de Nulidad e Inejecutibilidad: El Arbitraje Papal." In Xavier Lasso and Edmundo Guerra, eds. *Ecuador y Perú: Futuro de Paz?* Quito: Editorial La Bunga, 1987.
- Philip, George. *The Military in South American Politics*. Dover, NH: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Pickus, Robert. "New Approaches." In W. S. Thompson and Kenneth M. Jensen, eds. *Approaches to Peace: An International Map*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1991.
- Pion-Berlin, David. *Civil-Military Relations: New Analytical Perspectives*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Pittman, Howard Taylor. "Geopolitics in the ABC Countries: A Comparison." PhD dissertation, The American University, 1981.
- Posen, Barry R. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Potash, Robert A. *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1945–1962*. Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1980.
- Przeworski, Adam. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World, 1950–1990*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000.
- Purcell, Susan Kaufman. "War and Debt in South America." *Foreign Affairs* (1982) 61(3).
- Querejazu Calvo, Roberto. *Historia de la Guerra del Chaco*. La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1990.
- Rapkin, David P. and W. R. Thompson with Jon A. Christopherson. "Bipolarity and Bipolarization in the Cold War Era: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Validation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (June 1979) 23(2):261–295.
- Ray, James Lee. "The Measurement of System Structure." In J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, eds. *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Remmer, Karen L. *Military Rule in Latin America*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Rengger, Nicholas, ed. *Treaties and Alliances of the World*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1990.
- Rizzo Romano, Alfredo. *La Cuestión de Límites con Chile en la Zona del Beagle*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Pleamar, 1968.
- Robbins, Lord. *Money, Trade and International Relations*. London: Macmillan, 1971.
- Robertson, William Spencer. *Hispanic American Relations with the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1923.

- Rock, David. *Argentina 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- . “War and Postwar Intersections: Latin America and the United States.” In David Rock, ed. *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Rock, Stephen R. *Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Rodríguez, Linda Alexander, ed. *Rank and Privilege: The Military and Society in Latin America*. Wilmington, DE: Jaguar Books on Latin America, 1994.
- Rojas Cabot, Román and E. Viña Laborde. *Al Otro Lado del Golfo, Colombia Refuta a Colombia*. Caracas, Venezuela: Impresos Urbina, C.A., 1984.
- Rosecrance, Richard N. “Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Future.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1966) 10(3):314–327.
- . *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- Rosenau, James N., ed. *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Rouquié, Alain. *The Military and the State in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Rout, Leslie B. *Which Way Out? An Analysis of the Venezuelan-Guyana Border Dispute*. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Latin American Studies Center, 1971.
- Ruggeri, Andrés. “Canal de Beagle. Algunas Reflexiones Sobre el Laudo Austral.” *Estrategia* (March–April 1977) 45:48–60.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. “Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis.” *World Politics* (January 1983) 35(2).
- Ruhl, Mark. “Colombia: Armed Forces and Society.” *Foreign and Comparative Studies/Latin American Series*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1980.
- Rummel, Rudolph J. “Libertarianism and International Violence.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 1983) 27(1):27–71.
- Russett, Bruce M. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- ed. *Peace, War, and Numbers*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972.
- . “The Politics of An Alternative Security System: Toward a More Democratic and Therefore More Peaceful World.” In Burns Weston, ed. *Alternatives to Nuclear Deterrence*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.
- Russett, Bruce M., and Harvey Starr. *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*. New York: W. H. Freeman, 1989.
- Santibáñez Escobar, Rafael. *Los Derechos de Chile en el Beagle*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1969.
- Scheina, Robert L. *Latin America: A Naval History, 1810–1987*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1987.
- Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966.
- . *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Schmitt, Carl. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Schultz, Lars. *National Security and the United States Policy Toward Latin*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Schuman, Frederick L. *International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933.
- Schwarzenberger, George. *Power Politics*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1941.
- Schweller, Randall L. “Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?” *World Politics* (January 1992) 44(2):235–269.

- Schweller, Randall L. "Tripolarity and the Second World War." *International Studies Quarterly* (March 1993) 37(1):73–103.
- Seiferheld, Alfredo M. *Economía y Petróleo Durante la Guerra del Chaco: Apuntes Para una Historia Económica del Conflicto Paraguayo-Boliviano*. Asunción, Paraguay: El Lector, 1983.
- Selcher, Wayne A. "Brazilian-Argentine Relations in the 1980s: From Wary Rivalry to Friendly Competition." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Summer 1985) 27(2).
- . "Recent Strategic Developments in South America's Southern Cone." In Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph S. Tulchin, eds. *Latin American Nations in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Shafer, Robert Jones. *A History of Latin America*. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1978.
- Silva, Patricio. *The Soldier and the State in South America: Essays in Civil Military Relations*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Simmons, Beth A. "Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution: The Case of Ecuador and Peru." *Peaceworks*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1999.
- Simon, Julian L. *Basic Research Methods in Social Sciences*. New York: Random House, 1985.
- Singer, J. David, ed. *The Correlates of War II Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press, 1980.
- . ed. *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence*. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- . "Reconstructing the Correlates of War Data Set on Material Capabilities of States, 1816–1985." In Singer, J. David, and Paul F. Diehl, eds. *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. "Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of Wars, 1816–1945." In J. David Singer, ed. *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence*. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- . "Formal Alliances, 1815–1939: A Quantitative Description," *Journal of Peace Research* (1966) 3(1):1–32.
- Singer, J. David, and Paul F. Diehl, eds. *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Singer, J. David, S. Bremer, and J. Stuckey. "Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820–1965." In Bruce Russett, ed. *Peace, War, and Numbers*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972.
- Sivard, Ruth Leger. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987–1988*. Washington, DC: World Priorities, 1987.
- Siverson, Randolph M., and Harvey Starr. "Opportunity, Willingness, and The Diffusion of War." *American Political Science Review* (March 1990) 84(1):47–67.
- Skidmore, Thomas E., and Peter H. Smith. *Modern Latin America*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Slater, Jerome. *The OAS and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Columbia, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1967.
- Small, Melvin, and J. David Singer. "Formal Alliances, 1816–1965: An Extension of the Basic Data." In J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, eds. *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- . *Resort To Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816–1980*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982.
- . "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816–1965." *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* (Summer 1976) 1(4):50–69.
- Snidal, Duncan 1985. "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory." *International Organization* (Autumn) 39(4):579–614.

- Snyder, Glenn H. *Deterrence and Defense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Snyder, Glenn H., and Paul Diesing. *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crisis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Snyder, Jack L. *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and The Disasters of 1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Spykman, Nicholas J. *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1942.
- Starr, Harvey. "Democracy and War: Choice, Learning and Security Communities." *Journal of Peace Research* (1992) 29(2):207-213.
- Stepan, Alfred. *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- . "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion." In Alfred Stepan, ed. *Authoritarian Brazil*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Stepan, Alfred. *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and The Southern Cone*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Stinchcombe Arthur L. *Constructing Social Theories*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968.
- Stoll, Richard J. "Bloc Concentration and the Balance of Power." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 1984) 28(2):25-50.
- Strauss, Leo. *Thoughts On Machiavelli*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Sureda Delgado, Rafael A. *Betancourt and Leoni en la Guayana Esequiba*. Caracas, Venezuela: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, División de Publicaciones, 1984.
- . *La Guyana Esequiba: Dos Etapas en la Aplicación del Acuerdo de Ginebra*. Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1990.
- Taylor, Trevor. "Power Politics." In Trevor Taylor, ed. *Approaches and Theory in International Relations*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Thiago Cintra, José. "Regional Conflicts: Trends in a Period of Transition." *Adelphi Paper* (Spring 1989) 237:94-126. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1989.
- Thompson, Kenneth W. "Collective Security." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- Thompson, Willard S., and K. M. Jensen, eds. *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map*. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1991.
- Thompson, William R., ed. *Contending Approaches to World System Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983.
- . "Cycles, Capabilities, and War: An Ecumenical View." In William R. Thompson, ed. *Contending Approaches to World System Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983.
- . *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.
- . "The Regional Subsystem: A conceptual Explication and a Propositional Inventory." *International Studies Quarterly* (March 1973) 17(1).
- Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Sir Richard Livingstone. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Tillema, Herbert K. *Appeal to Force: American Military Intervention in the Era of Containment*. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1973.
- Toro Hardy, Alfredo. *La Maldición de Sisífo: Quince Años de Política Externa Venezolana*. Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Panapo, 1991.
- Toulmin, Stephen. *Foresight and Understanding: An Enquiry Into the Aims of Science*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963.

- Treverton, Gregory F. "Interstate Conflict in Latin America." In Kevin J. Middlebrook and Carlos Rico, eds. *The United States and Latin America in the 1980's*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986.
- Trías, Vivian. *Uruguay y sus Claves Geopolíticas*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1972.
- Tulchin, Joseph. *Argentina and The United States: A Conflicted Relationship*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990.
- Tulchin, Joseph, and Ralph H. Espach. *Latin America in the New International System*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.
- Ulloa, Alberto. *Posición Internacional del Perú*. Lima: Imprentas Torres Aguirre, 1941.
- United Nations Office of Legal Affairs. *Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes Between States*. New York: United Nations Publication, 1992.
- Urcuyo, Constantino. "Civil-Military Relations in Costa Rica: Militarization or Adaptation to New Circumstances?" In Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S. R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial, eds. *The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil- Military Relations in Latin America*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.
- Vacs, Aldo C. "Authoritarian Breakdown and Redemocratization in Argentina." In James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987.
- Vagts, Alfred. *A History of Militarism*. New York: Free Press, 1967.
- Valdivieso, Fabio Vio. *La Mediación de S.S. El Papa Juan Pablo II en el Conflicto Chileno-Argentino Sobre Delimitación de Jurisdicciones Marítimas en la Zona Austral*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Aconcagua, 1984.
- Valencia Rodríguez, Luís. "Antecedentes Históricos del Problema Limitrofe." In Xavier Lasso and Edmundo Guerra, eds. *Ecuador y Perú: Futuro de Paz?* Quito: Editorial La Bunga, 1993.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. Chile. In Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- . "Presidentialism in Crisis." *Journal of Democracy* (October 1993) 4(4):15–32.
- Van Evera, Stephen W. "Causes of War." PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1984.
- . *Causes of War: Power and the Root of Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Vanden, Harry E., and Gary Prevost. *Politics of Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Varas, Augusto. *La Autonomía Militar en América Latina*. Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1988.
- . "Controlling Conflict in South America: National Approaches." In Michael A. Morris and Victor Millán, eds. *Controlling Latin American Conflicts: Ten Approaches*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983.
- . *Democracy Under Siege: New Military Power in Latin America*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- . *Hemispheric Security and U.S. Policy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.
- . "La Intervención Civil de las Fuerzas Armadas." In Hugo Fruhling, Carlos Portales, and Augusto Varas. *Estado y Fuerzas Armadas en el Proceso Político Chileno*. Santiago, Chile: FLACSO, 1983.
- . *Militarization and the International Arms Race in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985.
- . *Paz, Desarme y Desarrollo en América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, Programa RIAL, 1987.

- . *La Política de las Armas en América Latina*. Santiago de Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1988.
- Vasquez, John A. *The Power of Power Politics: An Empirical Evaluation of the Scientific Study of International Relations*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981.
- Vázquez Carrizosa, Alfredo 1983. *Las relaciones de Colombia y Venezuela: La Historia Atormentada de Dos Naciones*. Bogotá, Colombia: Ediciones Tercer Mundo.
- Veneroni, L. *Estados Unidos y las Fuerzas Armadas de América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Periferia, 1971.
- Villalobos, Sergio. *El Beagle: Historia de una Controversia*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1979.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. "The Theory of Games and the Balance of Power." *World Politics* (July 1986) 38(4):546–576.
- . *United States Policy Toward Latin America: A Study in Domestic and International Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970.
- . "What Was Bipolarity?" *International Organization* (Winter 1993) 47(1):77–106.
- Walbek, Norman V., and Sidney Weintraub. *Conflict, Order, and Peace in the Americas, Part I and II*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origin of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power." In James N. Rosenau, ed. *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- . *Man the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- . "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory." *Journal of International Affairs* (Spring/Summer 1990) 44(1).
- . "Reflections on Theory of International Politics: A Response to My Critics." In Robert O. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- . "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," *Adelphi Paper*, No. 171. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981.
- . "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* (Summer 1964) 93(3):881–909.
- . *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979.
- Warwick, Donald P. "Transnational Participation and International Peace." In Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds. *Transnational Relations and World Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Wayman, Frank Whelon. "Bipolarity and War: The Role of Capability Concentration and Alliance Patterns Among Major Powers, 1816–1965." *Journal of Peace Research* (1984) 21(1):61–78.
- Weede, Erich. "Democracy and War Involvement." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (December 1984) 28(4):649–664.
- . "Dyadic International War, 1816–1965." *Western Political Quarterly* (June 1976) 29(2):231–242.
- . 1976. "Overwhelming Preponderance As a Pacifying Condition Among Asian Dyads, 1950–1969." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 20(3):395–411.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* (Spring 1992) 46(2):391–426.
- Wesson, Robert, ed. *The Latin American Military Institution*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986.
- Whitaker, Arthur P. *The United States and the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.

- Wight, Martin. *Power Politics*. Pamphlet no. 8 London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1946.
- Williamson, Roger. "Why Is Religion Still a Factor in Armed Conflict?" *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* (September 1990) 21(3):243–253.
- Wiseman, Henry. "The United Nations and International Peacekeeping: A Comparative Analysis." In United Nations Institute for Training and Research, ed. *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987.
- Wohlstetter, Albert. "The Delicate Balance of Terror." *Foreign Affairs* (January 1959) 37(2):211–234.
- Wolfers, Arnold. "The Actors in International Politics." In Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962.
- . *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962.
- Wood, Bryce. *Aggression and History: The Case of Ecuador and Peru*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1978.
- . *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.
- Zagare, Frank C. "Rationality and Deterrence." *World Politics* (January 1990) 42(2):238–260.
- Zalamea, Alberto. *Catálogo de Errores: La Crisis Colombo-Venezolana*. Bogotá, Colombia: Oveja Negra, 1987.
- Zook, David H., Jr. *The Conduct of the Chaco War*. New Haven, CT.: Bookman Associates, 1960.
- . *Zarumilla-Marañón: The Ecuador-Peru Dispute*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1964.

U.S. Government Publications

- Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1936*. Vol. V. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1937*. Vol. V. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1938*. Vol. V. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1941*. Vol. V. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.
- U.S. Department of State. 1942. *Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 6.
- U.S. Department of State. 1978. *Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 78(2018).
- U.S. Department of State. 1979. *Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 79(2024 and 2033).
- U.S. Department of State. 1980. *Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 80 and 81 (2034 to 2057).
- U.S. Department of State. 1987. *Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 87(2124 to 2129).
- U.S. Department of State. 1995. *Dispatch*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 6(7).
- U.S. Department of State. 1995. *Dispatch*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 6(21).

- U.S. Department of State. 1995. *Dispatch*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 6(22).
- U.S. Department of State. 1995. *Dispatch*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. 6(24).

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS)

- EFE (Madrid) in Spanish, Monday, August 17, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS). Vol. 87 No. 159. Tuesday, August 18, 1987, p. O 1.
- AFP in Spanish (Paris), Thursday, August 13, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-157), Friday, August 14, 1987, p. T 1.
- AFP in Spanish (Paris), Tuesday, August 18, 1987 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-159), Monday, August 17, 1987, p. O 7.
- Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS-LAT-87-158), Monday, August 17, 1987, p. O 3.
- Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS). Vol. VI No. 240. December 15, 1981, p. L 1.
- Bridgetown CANA in English (Georgetown, Guyana), May 2, 1982 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS). Vol. VI No. 089. May 7, 1982, p. T 1.
- EFE (Madrid) in Spanish, September 9, 1982 in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS). Vol. VI No. 175. September 8, 1982, p. V 1.

Newspapers and Magazines

- Cambio 16*, Spain, No. 1213, February 20, 1995, pp. 46-47.
- Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 28, 1997, p. 1.
- Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 29, 1997, p. 1.
- Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 31, 1997, p. 1.
- Clarín*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 1, 1997, p. 1.
- Diario de Las Américas*, Miami, Florida, Thursday, November 28, 1996, p. 2 A.
- El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, August 7, 1997, pp. 1 and 10.
- El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, August 8, 1997, pp. 1, 13, C 3 and C 5.
- El País Internacional*, Spain, Monday, February 20, 1995, p. 3.
- El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Tuesday, August 18, 1987, pp. 1 and 9-C.
- El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Friday, August 14, 1987, pp. 1 and 8.
- El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Wednesday, August 19, 1987, p. 1.
- El Tiempo*, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, Saturday, January 28, 1995, pp. 1, 9 and 10.
- El Universal*, Caracas, Venezuela, Wednesday, July 31, 1991, pp. 1, 3 and 14.
- Jornal Do Brasil*, "Argentina Quer Militar Nas Ruas," Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July 29, 1997, pp. 1 and 13.
- Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (London: keesing Publishers, Ltd., 1984). Vol. XXX. July 1984, p. 31066.
- La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Sunday, January, 29, 1995, pp. 1-3.
- La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 1, 1997, p. 9.
- La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 2, 1997, pp. 1 and 6.
- La Nación*, Buenos Aires, August 8, 1997, p. 6.
- La Nación*, Buenos Aires, August 9, 1997, pp. 1 and 10.
- Latin American Political Report*, Saturday, February 11, 1977, p. 47.
- Latin American Political Report*, Friday, February 6, 1981, pp. 1-2.
- Latin American Political Report*, Monday, September 14, 1997, p. 418.
- Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1993, Part A, p. 1.
- Presencia*, La Paz, Bolivia, Wednesday, August 28, 1991, p. 5.

- Presencia*, La Paz, Bolivia, Thursday, August 29, 1991, p. 5.
- The Christian Science Monitor*, January 29, 1981, p. 2.
- The Christian Science Monitor*, February 2, 1981, p. 6.
- The Guardian*, London, England, June 11, 1993, p. 12.
- The Guardian*, London, England, February 19, 1993, p. 11.
- The New York Times*, Tuesday, February 8, 1977, pp. 1 and 4.
- The New York Times*, Saturday, June 4, 1977, p. 7.
- The New York Times*, Wednesday, July 6, 1977, pp. 1 and 15.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, July 7, 1977, p. 4.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, January 15, 1978, p. 9.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, January 19, 1978, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Friday, January 20, 1978, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, January 26, 1978, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, August 29, 1978, p. 118.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, September 27, 1978, p. 57.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, October 17, 1978, p. 39.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, October 25, 1978, p. 65.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, November 3, 1978, p. 26.
- The New York Times*, Supplementary Material, November 4, 1978, p. 48.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, December 14, 1978, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, December 31, 1978, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, December 24, 1978, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, December 28, 1978, p. 16.
- The New York Times*, Wednesday, December 13, 1978, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, Saturday, December 16, 1978, p. 7.
- The New York Times*, January 24, 1981, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, January 29, 1981, p. 8.
- The New York Times*, January 30, 1981, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, January 31, 1981, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, February 1, 1981, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, February 2, 1981, pp. 1, and 7.
- The New York Times*, February 3, 1981, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, February 8, 1981, section IV, p. 4.
- The New York Times*, February 10, 1981, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, February 8, 1981, Section IV, p. 4.
- The New York Times*, Tuesday, February 10, 1981, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Tuesday, March 23, 1982, p. 27.
- The New York Times*, Thursday, January 5, 1984, p. 16.
- The New York Times*, Tuesday, January 24, 1984, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, Friday, November, 30, 1984, p. 5.
- The New York Times*, Friday, August 28, 1987, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Friday, August 28, 1987, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, February 10, 1991, p. 7.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, February 16, 1992, p. 20.
- The New York Times*, Tuesday, July 20, 1993, section A, pp. 2 and 7.
- The New York Times*, Wednesday, February 1, 1995, p. 3.
- The New York Times*, Saturday, January 28, 1995, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, January 29, 1995, p. 6.
- The New York Times*, Sunday, February 12, 1995, p. 16.
- The New York Times*, Monday, February 6, 1995, p. 5.

- The New York Times*, Friday, February 3, 1995, p. 8.
The New York Times, Tuesday, February 14, 1995, p. 8.
The New York Times, Thursday, February 9, 1995, p. 6.
The New York Times, Wednesday, February 15, 1995, p. 6.
The New York Times, Saturday, October 11, 1997, p. 3.
The Washington Post, September 24, 1989, p. 1.

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX

- adjudicated peaceful settlement, 114
Afghanistan, 93
aggression, 89, 145, 166
aggressor, 5, 33, 39, 114–115, 145, 148
Allende, Salvador, 155
alliance, 33–36
 clusters, 50–51
 flexibility, 33–35
Amazon jungle, 88
anarchy, 4, 27–28, 31, 34, 37, 41
Andreski, Stanislav, 162–163
Anglo-American assistance, 123
anomalously peaceful, 3 12, 178
 warlike, 3
Aranha, Oswaldo, 91
arbitration, 64, 81–84, 88, 94–95,
 97, 146
 by British Crown, 64, 95
Argentina, 3, 8–9, 17, 23, 35–36, 39–40,
 43–44, 55–61, 88, 90
Argentine Confederation, 8
Argentine-Brazilian dyad, 60, 62–64, 165
Argentine-Chilean dyad, 49, 64–66, 76,
 94–96, 174
Armour, Norman, 95
arms
 control agreement, 104, 114–115, 141,
 141, 147
 embargo, 37
 limitation proposals, 148
 procurement policies, 148
 race, 2, 5, 11, 14–15, 20, 30, 33,
 147–148
Aron, Raymond, 27, 37
Arthur, Chester A., 84
authoritarianism, 20, 153, 157
 degree of, 153
authority, 31, 81–82, 93, 102, 104,
 150–151, 154
autocracy, 107–110, 118, 153
autocratic governments, 106, 114, 123–124
balance of forces, 5, 42–44
balance of power, 2, 13–15, 27, 30–37, 40,
 42, 45–46, 49, 66, 76, 107
 balancer, 33
 dyadic, 5, 41
 in South America, 84
 theory, 55, 33, 40
balance of threats, 40
Balza, Martín, 168
belligerents, 83, 85, 94, 98, 179
Betts, Richard K., 4, 37, 160–161
bilateral negotiations, 95, 97, 147
bipolar, 32–33, 45–46, 49–52, 58
 subsystem, 35, 49, 55–57, 59, 178
bipolarity, 4, 32–35, 45–46, 49–50, 55–60,
 178
Blaine, James G., 83–84
Blainey, Geoffrey, 14, 36, 42
Bogotá Pact, 147
Bolivia, 1, 6, 8, 36, 38, 50, 56, 62, 71, 77,
 83, 94, 120, 126, 146, 173
Bolivian-Chilean dyad, 66–67, 76
border disputes (see militarized crises), 59
Boulding, Kenneth E., 10–11, 17
boundary treaty, 94–95
brink of war, 9, 17, 60, 95
British Guyana, 81
Buenos Aires Conference, 89
bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, 155,
 157, 165
Buzan, Barry, 28
Caldas, A.R.C., 97
 incident, 69, 71, 76–77, 97, 122
Canada, 3, 11–12, 17, 19, 122
Caribbean Basin, 38, 80, 85, 98

- Carr, Edward Hallet, 25, 27
 Carter, Jimmy (administration), 92, 96, 166
 catalytic crisis, 22
 Catholic Church, 145–147
 caudillos, 170
 causal relation, 25, 28, 35–36, 38, 45–46, 49, 79, 98, 102, 108, 112–113, 117, 159, 180
 causal variable, 4, 35, 43, 59, 76, 115, 144, 181
 causation, 45, 60
 causes of war and peace, 1–3, 14–16, 25, 31, 147, 177, 180–181
 of international violence, 118
 cease-fire agreement, 93
 Cenepa River, 92–93
 Central America, 38–39, 80, 85, 98, 146
 Chaco Boreal territory, 85
 Chaco War, 1, 8, 57–58, 85, 94, 172
 Chile, 3, 6–9, 17, 36, 38, 40, 43–44, 60, 83–84, 87, 91, 120, 126, 133, 141, 146, 153–159, 167
 Chaco War (lessons learned from the), 169, 173
 challenger, 41–47
 Charter of the Organization of American States, 114, 145
 Chávez Frías, Hugo, 7, 157
 Chilean-Peruvian dyad, 71–73
 Choucri, Nazli, 20
 civilian control of the military (subjective and objective), 170
 civilian institutions (weakness of), 152
 Clausewitz, Carl von, 13, 157
 Clay, Henry, 83
 Cleveland, Grover, 81, 84
 Clinton, Bill, 93
 coercion, 4, 71, 85, 94, 181
 Cold War, 3, 9, 12, 14, 23, 59
 Colombia, 3, 6–9, 17, 23, 36, 38, 40–41, 49
 collective security, 4, 37, 87, 104, 114–115, 144, 148, 179
 collection of national debts, 82
 collective military response, 145, 148
 Colombian-Peruvian dyad, 69–70, 76, 88
 Colombian-Venezuelan dyad, 70–71, 76, 86, 96–97, 122, 126, 146
 Colón, Eloy Alfaro, 89
 Common Security System (Sistema de Seguridad Común), 167–168
 comparative method of analysis, 16
 Concha, Carlos, 90
 conflict management, 146, 179
 conflict or clash or of interests, 4, 6, 13–14, 19, 21
 conflict-prone, 143, 171
 Constant, Benjamin, 102
 constitutionalism, 20
 contested election, 118
 Contreras Sepúlveda, Manuel, 95
 controlled comparison, 43
 conventions, 113–114
 cooperation, 12, 15
 strategies for), 30–33, 35, 103, 109, 113, 125
 hegemonic-induced, 36–37, 84, 166
 economic, 125, 133
 military, 35, 137, 166–168, 175
 cooperative hemispheric security system, 86
 coordination, (as compliance with hegemonic role), 40
 and international organizations, 113
 military, 168
 corporatism, 20
 Correlates of War Project (COW), 52
 correlation, 58–60, 112–113, 117, 122, 125, 179
 cost of war, 23
 Costa Rica, 36, 85, 169, 174–175, 181
 covariation, 45, 59, 118, 144
 Covenant of the League of Nations, 145
 crisis, 2, 9, 13–15, 22, (militarized interstate), 118
 crisis initiation, 118
 criterion to sort out other important trading partners, 125
 Cuba, 43, 85, 169, 175, 181
 Cummings, Homer, 95
 Dahl, Robert A., 153
 De Rosa, Juan Manuel, 62
 Declaration of Ayacucho, 147
 decolonization, 152
 DeConde, Alexander, 83
 defender, 5, 41–42, 44–46, 61, 62, 64, 69, 71, 76–77
 defense pact, 35, 50, 169, 174

- democracy, 20, 23, 104, 105, 107,
 108–109, 115, 122, 155
 definition of, 117–119
 degree of democracy, 153
 delegative democracies, 154
 diffusion of, 118
 liberal, 105, 109, 157
 pacific nature of, 105, 108–109
 polyarchy, 153
 promotion of peace by, 104
 representative, 154
 democratic peace, 108,
 analysis of, 159
 operationalization of, 115, 117, 119, 122
 democratization, 62, 110, 157, 174
 dependent variable (in this book), 3, 19, 45
 operationalization of, 61, 118
 deterrence, 2
 conventional, 12
 definition of, 5, 41–42
 distrust, 20, 30, 175
 dyadic, 31, 41
 expected benefit or utility, 41, 44
 extended, 42
 failure, 44, 45, 61, 66
 general, 43
 immediate, 41, 43, 61–62, 64, 66, 71,
 73, 76
 nuclear, 23, 30
 success, 42
 deterrent capacity, 5, 41, 43, 49, 61, 66, 69
 Deutsch, Karl W., 18–20, 23, 33
 dictatorship, 20, 62, 105, 152, 154, 179
 analysis of, 120–122
 military, 159, 163, 175
 operationalization of, 118–119
 Diehl, Paul, 14
 Diesing, Paul, 13
 diplomacy, 2, 69, 96
 diplomatic negotiations, 80, 83–84, 97:
 leverage, 98; mechanisms, 114, 179;
 techniques, 144, 149, 179
 disarmament of Latin America, 147
 distribution of capabilities, 28–30, 32, 50,
 52, 56, 64
 doctrine of individual liberty, 101–102, 105
 Dominican Republic, 82, 85, 99
 Doyle, Micheal W., 104, 106–107, 109
 Durán Ballén, Sixto, 93
 dyadic relation, 30, 33, 43
 East Asia, 9, 38
 economic nationalism, 37, 111
 Ecuador, 3, 8, 24, 43, 50, 60, 71, 114
 Ecuadorian–Peruvian dyad, 6, 17, 73, 76,
 87–94, 131–133, 164–166
 Ecuadorian–Peruvian militarized dispute,
 40, 49, 69, 109, 122, 145–147, 174
 egoism, 28, 30
 egoist, 29, 44, 104
 El Caracazo, 7
 empire, 36
 ententes, 35
 epistemic community, 168–169
 Essequibo territory, 17, 44, 76, 122, 159
 Europe, 19, 21, 23, 31, 38, 40, 80–82, 86,
 88, 91, 99, 102, 113, 122, 151
 European military missions in South
 America, 170
 evolutionary social process, 6, 161
 external-peace-and-internal-violence
 paradox, 163
 Finer, S. E., 150–151
 Football or Soccer War, 39, 98
 foreign policy, 27, 29, 52, 94,
 107, 109
 Fourteen Points Address, 103
 France, 12, 21, 22, 60
 free riding, 37
 free trade, 2, 5, 36, 84, 102, 104–105,
 111–112
 Frelinghuysen, Frederick, 84
 friend and enemy grouping, 161
 Fujimori, Alberto, 93–94, 157, 166
 Gaddis, John, 1, 3, 14, 23
 Galtung, Johan, 10, 11
 Garfield, James A., 83–84
 Gasiorowski, Mark, 112
 geopolitical competition, 22
 Germany, 21–22, 60, 82, 123
 Gilpin, Robert, 25, 111
 Goldblat, Josef, 144
 Good Neighbor Policy, 84
 governance of international life, 104
 Gran Colombia, 80
 Great Britain, 11, 19, 21–22, 39,
 60, 62, 64, 73, 76, 81–82,
 123, 178
 Great European power interference, 82

- great powers, 4, 20, 22, 30, 32, 37, 51, 80, 85, 98
- Greece, 3, 12, 25, 39, 122
- Grotius, Hugo, 113
- Guajira Peninsula, 96
- guarantors of the peace, 40, 88, 92–93, 146, 157
- Guatemala, 83
- Gulf of Venezuela, 9, 17, 23, 49, 69, 71, 87, 96–97, 122
- Guyana, 6, 119
- Guyanese-Venezuelan dyad, 17, 44, 73–77, 81, 96–97, 119, 122, 131, 146, 159, 164
- Haas, Peter M., 168
- Haiti, 85, 93
- hegemon, 4, 32, 36–38, 40, 46, 51, 82, 180
U.S. as a regional, 32, 36, 82
- hegemonic peace hypothesis, 40, 79–80, 87, 98
management, 79, 96–99
socialization, 36
- hegemonic stability theory, 4, 36–38
benevolent strand, 36–37
coercive strand, 36–37
- hegemonic power, 4, 36, 38, 40, 46, 178, 180
- Herz, John H., 27
- heterogeneity, 22, 151
- heuristic purpose, 35, 57
- historical anomaly, 2, 24
- historical paradox, 24, 179
- Hobbes, Thomas, 3, 26–27, 107
- Hoffman, Stanley, 27, 103
- Holsti, Kalevi J., 9, 15–16, 31, 157
- Honduras, 35, 89, 95, 98, 178
- Hull, Cordell, 85, 90–91, 111
- human nature, 28
- Huntington, Samuel, 160–161, 169–172
- Huth, Paul, 41, 43
- ideology, 13, 15, 17, 19, 23, 40, 101, 122
- idiosyncratic factors, 12, 13
- Ikenberry, John, 36
- imprudent vehemence, 108
- independent variables, 5, 45, 101
- India, 9, 12, 39, 81
- inducement, 4, 22
- inductive argument, 122
- institutional mechanism, 38, 86–87
- institutional weakness, 155
- institutionalism (neoliberal), 5, 113, 115
- institutionalist hypothesis, 115
- integration, 10, 18–20, 169, 175
- interaction opportunities, 4, 33
- Inter-American Affairs, 38, 82–83, 85, 93, 96
cooperation, 84
security system, 86
system, 87, 45
- Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty, 147
- interdependence (Complex), 112
economic, 34, 59–60, 104–105, 110–117, 124–125, 137, 143–144, 179; degree of economic, 125
- interests, 4–6, 9, 12–15, 18–22, 29–30, 46, 80, 89, 102–106, 109, 111–113, 115, 118, 124, 150, 152, 153
harmony of, 5, 111
of the military, 158–162, 164, 168–173, 175–182
of the U.S., 39, 79–80, 82–87, 98
- internal adversaries, 156
- internal balancing, 5, 41
- internal political instability, 156
- internal political violence, 1, 7, 150, 162, 176
- International Conference of American States, 84, 86
- International Court of Justice, 95, 145–146
- international division of labor, 111, 112
- international economic regimes, 4, 37
- international institutions, 105, 113–114, 117, 144–146, 179
- international organizations, 5, 59, 104, 114, 115, 117, 145, 146, 147, 149
- international isolation, 137
- international law, 104, 144
- international political processes, 2, 13
- international predation, 111
- international regimes, 5, 31, 37, 114
- international society, 113
- international trade, 110–111, 124–125
- international violence, *see* war, 13, 109, 114, 118
- interstate violence, 98, 114, 122, 159, 171, 179

- intraregional bilateral commerce or trade, 117, 125–126
 involvement opportunities, 80, 98, 123
 Iraq, 93, 98
 Israel, 41, 92
 Italy, 82
- Janowitz, Morris, 149
 Jervis, Robert, 2, 16, 31, 37, 41, 44
 Johnson, John J., 158, 170
 judicial settlement, 97, 114–115, 144–149, 179
- Kant, Immanuel, 103, 106–111
 Kennan, George F., 27
 Keohane, Robert O., 5, 105, 112–113
 Kfir combat aircrafts, 92
 King Alfonso XIII, 88
 Kissinger, Henry A., 27
 Körner, Emil, 170
 Kupchan, Charles A., 36
- La Plata War or La Guerra Grande, 8, 57, 62, 83
 La Violencia, 7
 Lakatos, Imre, 25
 Lake, David, 109
 lateral pressure theory, 20
 Lauca River waters dispute, 146
 law of comparative advantage, 111
 League of Nations, 86, 104, 145
 Advisory Committee, 86
 Levy, Jack, 15
 liberal paradigm, 5, 101–105, 112–113, 144, 178
 economic theory, 124
 economic hypothesis, 115
 liberalism, 2, 6, 24, 177
 classical liberalism, 102
 evolution of, 102; as a doctrine of
 individual liberty, 101; economic, 5, 102–103, 105, 110, 112–113;
 regulatory, 105; republican, 102–103, 105, 179; social
 democratic, 101; sophisticated, 105
 liberty, 101–102, 105
 Lieuwen, Edwin, 156, 158, 171
 limitation of arms in Latin America, 147
 Locke, John, 102
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 82
- long peace, 1–2, 23, 112
 long period of negative peace, 76, 101, 105
 in South America, 57, 59, 110, 113, 123, 149, 177–178
 Los Monjes archipelago, 69, 96
 Lusinchi, Jaime, 97
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, 26–27
 Mahuad, Jamil, 94
 major crisis, 22–23
 Malvinas\Falkland Islands, 39, 64, 148, 173
 Mansfield, Edward D., 79
 Maoz, Zeev, 108
 Marañón conflict, 88, 91, 93
 material power resources, 52
 McCurry, Micheal D., 93
 mediation (successful), 96
 mediation and/or arbitration of third
 parties, 145
 Menem, Carlos, 168
 mercantilism, 110–111
 MERCOSUR, 137
 methodology, 6, 26, 101
 Mexican–American War, 80
 Mexico, 83, 85, 110, 148
 Middle East, 9, 38, 98
 militarism, 2, 13, 15, 23, 172
 militarist peace hypothesis, 5–6, 149, 162–163
 military, 160–180
 as gatekeepers, 150
 aversion to external conflict, crisis, and
 war, 6, 12, 119, 122–124, 160, 162, 169, 171, 179
 balance, 5, 41
 competition, 20
 cooperation agreement, 33, 35
 coups, 155–156, 174
 doctrine, 38, 40
 elites, 149–150
 governments, 137, 151
 intervention, 1, 37–39, 80, 85, 98, 178
 institution, 151–152, 155–157, 159–160, 163–160, 170–175, 177, 180–182
 mind, 169, 173
 motivations, 6, 150, 159–161, 169, 176–177
 organization, 5
 parity, 5, 47
 political autonomy, 5, 150–157

- politicization of the, 160, 169–173
 preparedness, 59
 professionalism (new and old), 169–172:
 professionalization, 156, 171, 173, 181
 ratio, 47
 retaliation, 42
 superiority, 5, 42, 44–46, 49
 transnational confraternity among, 14, 181
 transnational identity, 163–164, 167, 181
 vulnerability, 45
 militarized interstate disputes or crises, 2, 7,
 79, 87, 98, 159
 Mill, John Stuart, 103, 111
 minimalist criteria of democracy and
 dictatorship, 118
 miscalculation, 5, 34, 42, 60
 misperception, 15–16
 monist model of the state, 153–155
 Monroe Doctrine, 39, 80–82
 Monroe, James, 80, 83
 Montesquieu, Charles Louis de, 102, 111
 moral consideration, 26
 restraint, 106, 109, 124
 Morgenthau, Hans J., 27–29, 33–34,
 37, 39
 Morse, Edward L., 102
 Mueller, John, 23
 multipolar, 4–5, 32–35, 45–52–57, 80
 mutual assured destruction, 12

 national interest, 30, 36–37, 40, 79–80, 98,
 124, 175, 180
 National Material Capability Data Set, 52
 National Security Doctrine, 175
 nation–state creation, 15
 nationalism, 5, 13, 20, 37, 111, 158
 naval maneuvers, 96
 Nazi Germany, 123
 necessary and sufficient condition, 3, 6,
 11–12
 negotiation, 15, 23, 64, 76, 80, 82–84,
 89–91, 94, 146–147, 168
 neorealism, 25, 28, 31–32
 neutrality pact, 25
 Nicaragua, 85
 Nicolson, Harold, 27
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 27
 nonaggression pact, 33, 35
 normative argument, 26, 107, 109
 North America, 19, 113, 122–123

 North, Robert C., 20–21
 nuclear proliferation, 23
 nonproliferation policy, 40
 Nunn, Fedrick M., 161
 Nye, Joseph, 112

 O'Donnell, Guillermo, 154–155, 171
 Olney's Corollary, 81–82
 Operation Condor, 167–175
 Organization of American States (OAS),
 91–92, 96, 114, 117, 145–146
 organizations (formal and informal),
 5, 59, 104, 113–115, 117, 144,
 174–179
 Oriente-Mainas, 17
 Oye, Kenneth A., 31

 pacific union, 107–108
 Pactos de Mayo, 95
 Páez, Federico, 89
 Pakistan, 12, 39, 41
 Pan American Society of the U.S. in New
 York, 96
 Panama, 38, 85, 147
 Pan-American movement, 84
 Pan-American Union, 145
 Paraguay, 1, 8, 17, 55, 62, 85, 94, 126,
 137, 139, 167, 173, 175
 Paraguayan or Triple Alliance War, 8, 55
 Paraguayan–Bolivian dispute, 85
 peace (definition of), 1, 3, 9–17
 complex cases of, 10, 14: continuum of
 peaceful relations, 12
 positive and negative, 10–13, 17, 45, 59,
 76, 98, 101, 105
 prevalence of, 1, 17, 25, 42, 57, 60, 105,
 117, 126
 regional, 22, 57
 stable and unstable, 11, 17–18, 21, 107, 178
 studies, 14, 17
 system, 10, 20–21
 peaceful coexistence, 3, 12–13, 83
 peace-keeping, 115, 144
 peace-making, 115, 151
 peace-war cycle, 15
 Peloponnesian War, 25–26
 Pérez, Carlos Andres, 7
Perpetual Peace, 106, 108
 Peru, 3, 6, 8, 16–17, 24, 40–44, 49, 50, 52,
 55, 60, 69

- Pinochet, Augusto, 95, 155, 167–168
 pluralism, 18–19, 155
 pluralist model of the state, 153–154
 pluralistic security community, 19
 Polachek, Salomon, 112
 polar configuration, 4, 30, 32–34, 45–46, 51–52, 57
 polarity (definition), 30, 32, 50
 index, 51
 polarization, 50
 political (concept of the), 161
 political freedom, 102
 political violence, 7, 123, 150, 161–162, 176, 178–182
 Polk, James K., 81–82
 Pope John Paul II, 92, 96
 power (concept of), 27–29
 competition for, 4, 30, 169
 concentration of, 36, 46, 51
 diffusion of, 36
 fungible characteristic, 30
 imbalances, 34
 inequality, 50–51
 preponderance theory, 36, 38
 relative concentration of, 51
 relative, 5, 25–26, 42, 46, 180
 source, 79
 supremacy, 36
 target, 79–80
 protectionism, 2, 5, 37
 praetorianism, 156
 predation, 15, 17, 111
 presidentialism, 153
 primacy (see hegemony), 36
 prisoners' dilemma game, 31, 37
 professionalization of the armed forces, 169, 171, 173
 Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, 88, 91
 Przeworski, Adam, 118–121
 public goods, 36–37

 Quito, 88

 rapprochement, 22, 166
 rational deterrence theory, 44
 rational unitary actor, 29
 rationality, 27, 29
 Ray, James Lee, 50
 realism or political realism, 2, 6, 24–31
 redemocratization, 157
 regime classification, 117–121, 154
 regime type, 105, 118
 relations bilateral, 3, 11, 19, 60, 66, 71, 89
 religion, 13, 21
 rent-seeking state, 109
 republicanism, 106–107, 152
 revolution, 174–176
 Ricardo, David, 103 and 111
 Rio de Janeiro Special Conference, 86
 Rio Pact Treaty, 35, 39, 145
 Rio Protocol, 40, 90–93, 146–147
 Rock, Stephen R., 22
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 85, 89–91
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 81–82, 85–86
 Roosevelt's Corollary, 82
 Rosecrance, Richard, 112
 Russett, Bruce, 15, 18, 41, 43, 108–109
 Russia, 21

 Sartori, Giovanni, 102–102
 Scandinavia, 12, 20–21
 Schelling, Thomas C., 30
 Schmitt, Carl, 161–162
 School of the Americas, 166
 Schuman, Frederick L., 27
 Schumpeter, Joseph A., 102
 Schwarzenberger, George, 27
 Schweller, Randall L., 51–52, 56–58
 security community, 17–19
 Security Council of the United Nations, 86
 security dilemma, 15, 30–31
 security independence, 34
 security regime, 4, 37, 114
 self-determination, 104
 self-help system, 30
 Singer, J. David, 8
 Small, Melvin, 8
 Smith, Adam, 103, 111
 Snyder, Glenn, 13
 social justice, 10
 societal attitudes, 22–23
 South American compliance, 80, 98–99
 South American long peace, 1
 Southern Cone, 6, 62, 66, 165, 167, 175,–176
 sovereignty, 19, 28, 31, 71, 90, 94–95, 97, 104, 146, 156, 164, 175
 Soviet Union, 3, 12, 17, 32, 35, 39, 123, 169

- Soviet-American rivalry, 2, 12, 17
 Spain, 12, 81, 88, 95, 122, 150–152
 Spanish American War, 80, 109
 Spanish colonization, 152
 Spanish heritage, 151
 Spykman, Nicholas J., 27
 stability, 4
 stakes, 15, 19, 21
 Starr, Harvey, 15, 18
 state of nature, 27, 107
 state of war, 2, 11, 17, 21
 state structure, 153
 state-building process, 151, 153
 state-centric assumption, 29
 Stepan, Alfred, 171–172
 Strait of Magellan, 94
 structural differences, 32
 structural factors, 12, 31
 structural polarity, 52
 structural realism or neorealism, 28
 structural violence, 10
 structure and neorealism, 4, 12, 28–29
 structured, focused comparison, 45
 struggle for independence, 152
 struggle for power, 27, 29, 31
 Stuart, Mill, J., 103, 111
 subsystem, 5, 8, 32, 34–35, 49, 50–52
 supranational intraregional social group,
 6, 161
 Sweden, 3, 17, 19, 20
 Switzerland, 17
 system level, 28, 110
- Tacna-Arica region, 17
 Taft, William H., 82, 85
 Talara Truce, 88
 tangible capabilities, 52
 tangible commitments, 79
 territorial disputes, 6, 17, 21, 40, 71, 85,
 87, 94, 97, 164, 178–179
 territorial waters, 9, 79, 91, 97
 theory-building, 16
 Thucydides, 25–27
 Tierra del Fuego, 64, 94
 tight bipolar system, 33
 Tlateloco Treaty, 114
 transnational militarism, 13
 transparency, 4, 6, 34, 59–60, 161
 Trescot, William H., 84
 tripolarity, 4, 34, 51
 troop movements, 95–96
 typology, 6, 8, 13, 15
- U.S. authoritative action to settle the
 dispute, 90
 U.S. authoritative policies, 83
 U.S. behavior in South America, 79, 180
 U.S. capabilities and interests, 79
 U.S. Congress, 81–82, 103
 U.S. foreign policy, 38, 40, 82, 98, 160
 benign neglect of Latin America, 80
 corollaries, 82
 national security, 82, 85
 policy choice, 98
 U.S. hegemony, 37, 39–40, 76, 79, 81, 87,
 94, 98, 180
 enforcer of peace, 85, 98, 178
 hegemonic directives, 80
 management, 96–99
 U.S. interventionist policy in Latin
 America, 80, 85
 U.S. involvement, 38, 93, 97
 U.S. leadership, 40
 U.S. military interventions, 38, 80, 85, 99
 U.S. national interest, 79
 U.S. policy, 38, 80, 82, 84–85, 96, 98, 166
 policy objectives (compliance with), 40,
 46, 80, 98
 U.S. role (as mediator), 88, 90–91, 94, 180
 U.S. strategic interests, 98, 178
 Ugarteche, Manuel Prado, 90
 unilateral capitulation, 15
 unilateral military intervention, 98, 178
 unintended consequence, 13, 169
 unipolar, 32–35
 UNITAS (Naval Exercises), 166
 United Kingdom, 98
 United Nations, 86, 117, 125, 145–148
 General Assembly, 86
 Security Council, 86, 145
 Uruguay, 8, 62, 137, 155, 160, 167, 175
- Vaky, Viron P., 96
 Vance, Cyrus, 96
 Varas, Augusto, 147, 158
 Vargas, Virgilio Barco, 97
 Vatican Mediation, 40, 96, 147
 Venezuela, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17, 23, 40–41, 44, 49,
 69–71, 73–77, 81–82, 87, 96–97, 122,
 126, 131, 146–148, 157, 159, 164

- Venezuelan Supreme Court, 97
Videla, Jorge Rafeal, 95
- Walt, Stephen, 40
Waltz, Kenneth N., 23, 35, 51, 59
war (definition of), 1–3, 7, 9–17
 absence of, or negative peace, 3, 9–11, 177
 diffusion, 17
 major, 8–9
 making decision process, 5, 150, 153, 155, 159
 onset of, 14, 24
 preventing, 144, 145
 proneness (of democracies and autocracies), 109, 118
War of the Pacific, 8, 40, 42, 44, 52, 55, 57, 66, 71, 83–84, 96, 171
War Scare of 1910, 88–89
war-prone system, 21, 31–32
Warwick, Donald P., 161
Washington (First Inter-American Conference held in), 84, 86
Washington conference of 1936, 89
Washington protocol, 71
- Watson, Alexander, 93
Wayman, Frank W., 51, 56–58
Welles, Sumner, 89–91
Western Europe, 19, 122–123, 153–154
Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, 166
Western Hemisphere, 38–40, 80–82, 85–84, 94, 96, 166
Wight, Martin, 27
Wilson, Woodrow, 85, 103
windows of vulnerability, 44
Wolfers, Arnold, 27, 29
 Wolfers' analogies, 29
Wood, Bryce, 85
world government (see also hegemony, primacy, and empire), 36
World War I, 1, 20, 112, 171
World War II, 4, 23, 32–33, 37, 40, 62, 86, 108, 111, 122, 144, 145, 152, 160, 166, 169, 174, 175, 181
Wright, Quincy, 109
- Zamora and Santiago rivers, 93
Zarumilla River, 88