

# GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN LATIN AMERICA\*

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## INTRODUCTION

Geopolitics as an approach to politico-military matters was of considerable significance up to the end of World War II, when it declined in respectability and prestige due to its association with Nazi theories of world conquest. As a result, very few strategic or military writings in the United States or Western Europe since World War II have been called "geopolitical," even though they might include many of the concepts subsumed under the pre-1945 term. But, interestingly enough, the concept is alive and well in Latin America, especially in those Southern Cone countries (Brazil, Argentina, and Chile) where the most prolific thinking and writing on geopolitics has taken place in the last thirty years.

At its most simple level, geopolitics can be defined as the science of the relation of politics to geography. However, this definition, which is really nothing more than that of "political geography," fails to capture the full scope and flavor of geopolitics, which includes the relationship between geography and military strategy, national development, expansion, and imperialism. In the 1930s, geopolitics also became associated with power politics,<sup>1</sup> and specifically with the German school of "Geopolitik" led by Karl Haushofer, which provided a useful intellectual foundation for Hitlerian dreams of German global destiny. Geopolitics in the sense used by contemporary Latin American writers, of course, rejects this aspect of the German geopolitical school, but generally accepts the basic concept of the state as a living organism that responds to geographic, political, military, economic, demographic, and psychological pressures in its struggle to survive in competition with other states.

The significance of geopolitical thinking in Latin America as an intellectual framework for international relations and national development becomes more evident when, upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that most of its practitioners are military men. Given the historic political role the military has played in Latin America, especially in the Southern Cone, it is clear that a study of geopolitical thinking in the area can provide valuable insights into the national and international perceptions these military men hold.

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THE BRAZILIAN SCHOOL

The most notable Latin American school of geopolitical thought is the Brazilian, both for its prolific and imaginative output as well as for the fact that Brazilian geopolitical concepts have been incorporated into its national development policies and its international relations. Barring a devastating internal upheaval, Brazil's achievement of world power status in the next generation or two seems a distinct possibility, and would in no small measure be due to the influence of its geopolitical thinkers. The major foci of Brazilian geopolitical thinking are: the linking of the concepts of "security" and "development," which then becomes the military's "third mission" (the first two being classic defense against a conventional invader and counterinsurgency); the integration of all national territories; the "march Westward" into the Amazon heartland; the security of the South Atlantic, and concern with the Atlantic Narrows, West Africa, and Antarctica; access to the energy and natural resources Brazil lacks; the rivalry with Argentina in the River Plate basin; and the search for great power status (*grandeza*).

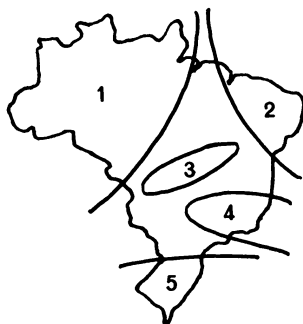
Brazilian geopolitical thinking was given its first impulse with the seminal work done by army Colonel (later Marshall) Mario Travassos in the 1930s,<sup>2</sup> who argued that Brazil must develop (both internally and internationally) on an East-West axis ("longitudinal Brazil") instead of merely along the Atlantic coastline. He concentrated on two such axes: one leading into the Amazonian Basin and one aimed at the "magic triangle" heartland formed by the Bolivian cities of Cochabamba, Sucre, and Santa Cruz. By so doing, Brazil could counter Argentina's domination of the River Plate basin and the buffer states of Paraguay and Bolivia.<sup>3</sup> Only by "projecting" in these two directions could Brazil fulfill her "continental destiny." Travassos later fought with the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in World War II and returned to the Staff College where he influenced the next generation of geopolitical thinkers in Brazil. A contemporary of Travassos was Everardo Backheuser, who argued that Brazil needed to occupy and develop all her frontier regions effectively in order to consolidate the territorial gains achieved by the diplomacy of the Baron Rio Branco, considered by many to have been the principal precursor of modern Brazilian geopolitics.

The major contemporary figure is General Golbery do Couto e Silva, close advisor to all Brazilian presidents since the 1964 revolution, director of the National Intelligence Service, and long-time teacher at the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG). Golbery argues that Brazil must progress in an orderly manner from control of her own national territories to continental projection to international influence by means of the following geopolitical principles:<sup>4</sup> national integration and effective use of space; interior expansion and pacific external projection; containment along the frontier; participation in the defense of Western Civilization; continental collaboration; collaboration with the developing world; and national geostrategy in the face of the two great external power centers.

Golbery views Brazil (see fig. 1) as an archipelago consisting of a series of islands and peninsulas (to include the "aircraft carrier of the Northeast") that must be linked together effectively to permit rational development of the interior

of Brazil. He conceives of the Matto Grosso-Paraguay-Bolivia area as a heartland "welding zone" that must come under Brazilian control to allow Brazil to play her predestined continental role (see fig. 2). In international terms, Golbery sees the need for association (but not subordination) with the United States, to whom she can offer natural resources, the "aircraft carrier of the Northeast," and Brazil's support in securing the South Atlantic.

FIGURE 1. *The Brazilian Archipelago*  
(According to Golbery)



Legend:

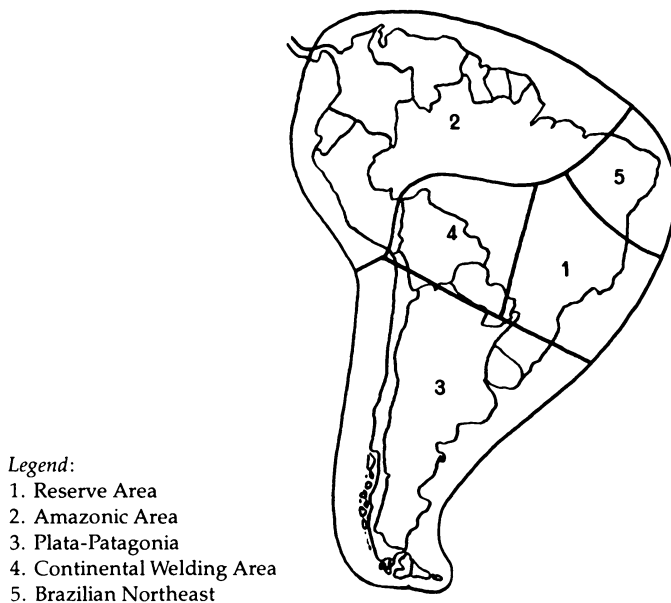
- 1. The Amazonic Island
- 2. The Northeast Peninsula
- 3. The West-central Peninsula
- 4. The Central Nucleus
- 5. The Southern Peninsula

Source: Golbery, *Geopolitica do Brasil*, p. 111.

As a balance to the primarily continental foci of Travassos, Backheuser, and Golbery, other geopoliticians have stressed the need for Brazil to adopt a maritime focus to achieve her rightful place as a South Atlantic power. Delgado de Carvalho has studied Brazil's role in the South Atlantic, and Teresinha do Castro has gone one step further, arguing that Brazil also has a legitimate geopolitical role in the Antarctic.<sup>5</sup> Not surprisingly, Brazilian naval officers strongly support this facet of geopolitical thinking. As Rear Admiral Freitas has put it: "Brazil's destiny since the time of its discovery has been dependent on the sea, and in the future it will have to be a maritime power if it is to become a world power."<sup>6</sup>

Recent writers have stressed a balanced use of these geopolitical currents in the rational search for great power status. General Meira Mattos, whose recent book summarizes and evaluates the main currents of Brazilian geopolitical thinking,<sup>7</sup> argues that if Brazil is to fulfill her destiny as a continental and world

FIGURE 2. Geopolitical Division of South America  
(According to Golbery)



Source: Golbery, *Geopolítica do Brasil*, p. 88.

power, she must integrate her own heartland, play her rightful role in defending the American continent, make the strategic Northeast available to her U.S. ally, and be a factor in the security of the South Atlantic and West Africa.

Beyond the important role of individual thinkers and writers lies the unique contribution of the ESG, the “school that changed Brazil,” with its special participation as both military-academic institution and national think-tank. All the contemporary geopolitical and strategic thinkers in Brazil have taught or lectured there extensively. The ESG has refined and consolidated their theories while at the same time disseminating the essence of Brazilian geopolitics to the military-technocratic elite, which gives direction and purpose to Brazil’s development process and international relations.

In addition to the works cited below, the reader should consult two important Brazilian military journals containing much geopolitical material: *A Defesa Nacional*, organ of the Brazilian Army; and *Segurança e Desenvolvimento*, organ of the ESG.

BACKHEUSER, EVERARDO. *A Geopolítica Geral do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca de Exército, 1952). The basic work on Brazilian geopolitics by a major precursor of contemporary geopolitical thinkers. Focuses on the application of the geopolitical theory of frontiers to Brazil, with emphasis on the need to effectively

develop and occupy all her frontier areas in order to protect her territorial gains.

CARTAXO, OTACILIO. *O Problema Geopolítico Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Ouvridor, 1965). A nationalistic call to action to develop Brazil's full economic and social potential. Main thrust is the development of Brazil's interior and North-east regions. Draws an analogy between the nineteenth-century expansion Westward in the U.S. and Brazil's "geopolitical problem" (i.e., her empty interior).

CASTRO, TERESINHA DO. "Antartica—Assunto do Momento," *Revista do Clube Militar* (1958). Presents the Brazilian case for a geopolitical role in the Antarctic. Argues that Brazil must not permit the International Antarctica Treaty to prevent her from exercising her rightful strategic role in this area.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Estudios de Geo-Historia* (Rio de Janeiro: Distribudora Record, 1972). A current-events approach to the link between history and geopolitics.

FLORES, CAPTAIN (BRAZILIAN NAVY) MARIO CESAR. *Panorama do Poder Marítimo Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1972). An anthology; most of the writers are Brazilian naval officers. Major emphasis is on the economic and strategic significance of the sea to Brazil's development. Contains a strong defense of Brazil's 200-mile sea claim.

FREITAS, REAR ADMIRAL (BRAZILIAN NAVY) PAULO. "Uso del Mar," *Estrategia* (Argentina), nos. 34–35 (May–Aug. 1975). Analyzes Brazil's role as a South Atlantic naval power.

GOLBERY, GENERAL DO COUTO E SILVA. *Aspectos Geopolíticos do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1957). His first major geopolitical work. Presents general geopolitical theory, with some specific analysis of the problems of Brazil's national integration and the need to expand into the Amazon Basin.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geopolítica do Brasil*, 2d ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial José Olympio, 1967). The single most important work on Brazilian geopolitics. In a series of lucid and systematically presented essays, he lays out all the major tenets of his geopolitical thinking.

HILTON BERUTTI, VICE ADMIRAL A. MOREIRA. "Vamos Falar do Mar," *Segurança e Desenvolvimento* 19, no. 135 (1970): 13–15. Geopolitical significance of the sea to Brazil.

LIMA, S. E. DE OLIVEIRA. *O Despertar de Um Continente* (Brasília: Editorial de Brasília, 1975). Employs geopolitical analysis to argue for subregional South American integration under Brazilian leadership. Presents his "principle of binuclear development" consisting of an axis between two nuclei of development (the first is Brazil and the second is a Peruvian-Chilean pole on the Pacific Coast). This axis of development will fill the vacuum of the South American heartland. He denies that Brazil seeks hegemony over South America, and minimizes Argentine-Brazilian rivalry.

MEIRA MATTOS, GENERAL CARLOS DE. "Aspectos Geopolíticos de Nosso Território," *Boletim Geografico* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan.–Feb. 1952, pp. 48–49. Briefly defines Brazil's major geopolitical problems in terms of the centrifugal tendency of the three major regions (the Northeast salient, the Amazon Basin, and Rio Grande do Sul). Presents solutions, to include a better location for Brazil's capital city, and the strengthening of frontiers.

———. "La Revolución y la Geopolítica de Integración Nacional," *Estrategia* (Argentina), no. 21 (Mar.-Apr. 1973). A brief statement of Brazil's geopolitical and geostrategic thrust to the interior.

———. *Brasil—Geopolítica e Destino* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1975). A very useful synthesis and critique of Brazilian geopolitical thinking; the best single-volume introduction to the topic. Examines the main currents, with emphasis on his own analysis of Brazil's emergence as a great power.

———. "A Evolução do Conceito de Poder e sua Avaliação," *Revista del Colegio Inter Americano de Defensa* 4, no. 1 (July 1976). A critique of Cline's formula for the quantification of national power.

MENDONÇA, RENATO DE. *Frente em Marcha: Ensaio de Geopolítica Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1956). A historical approach to the enduring geopolitical rivalry between Portugal/Brazil and Spain/Argentina in the River Plate Basin from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries.

NERY DA FONSECA, COLONEL LEOPOLDO. *Geopolítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Bedeschi, 1940). Argues for an authoritarian government in Brazil, guided by geopolitical principles, in order to achieve great power status "in twenty years."

OLIVEIRA, JOSÉ CLAUDIO DE. "Escola Superior de Guerra—um Laboratório de Ideias," *Segurança e Desenvolvimento*, no. 125 (1967). Typical of the numerous writings explaining the significance of the ESG in Brazilian geopolitical thinking.

RICARDO, CASSIANO. *Marcha para Oeste* (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial José Olympio, 1942). Also published in Spanish as *La Marcha Hacia el Oeste* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956). Historical and geopolitical analysis of the significance of the *bandeirantes* in Brazil. Calls for a continued "march to the West."

SCHILLING, PAULO R. *Irã Brasil a la Guerra?* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1973). Using the ideas and writings of Brazilian geopoliticians, he develops the thesis that Brazil is a "subimperial" ally of the United States. He portrays Brazil as ready to invade Uruguay in search of an expanded empire. The author is a Brazilian journalist and politician writing in exile from Uruguay.

———. "La Lucha por la Amazonia y el Expansionismo Brasileño," *Estrategia* 33 (Mar.-Apr. 1975). Warns of Brazilian expansion as a "subimperial" front for the U.S.

TRAVASSOS, COLONEL MARIO. *Projeção Continental do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editorial Nacional, 1935). A fundamental work by the father of Brazilian geopolitics. Sees South American geopolitics in terms of antagonistic relationships between East and West Coast nations, and between the Amazonian and River Plate Basins. Expresses concern over Argentine expansion into Bolivia via rail networks, and argues for countering it with a Brazilian link to Bolivia's "magic triangle." Presents the basic concept of "longitudinal Brazil" (i.e., development along East-West axes).

———. *Introdução a Geografia das Comunicações Brasileiras* (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial José Olympio, 1942). Applies geopolitical analysis of lines of communications to Brazil's need to achieve national integration.

## THE ARGENTINE SCHOOL

Argentina is the other Latin nation which truly has produced a "school" of geopolitical thought in the sense that it embraces coherent doctrine, and has long historical roots, numerous adherents, and significant influence in domestic and international politics. Since 1969, the Argentine Institute of Strategic Studies and International Relations (INSAR), under the direction of retired General Juan E. Guglielmelli, has been producing what is clearly Latin America's (and possibly the world's) most sophisticated and penetrating journal of geopolitics: *Estrategia*.

The fundamental characteristic of the Argentine school of geopolitics is its obsession with Brazil and its perception of Brazilian expansionism, primarily into the River Plate basin; thus it both reflects and stimulates the historic rivalry in the quest for leadership and hegemony in the Southern Cone. The Argentine school is highly prolific in its output but, in a sense, is less creative than the Brazilian. So much of its writings, in effect, react to what are seen as Brazilian geopolitical encroachments into Argentina's natural sphere of influence. Argentine geopolitics has also been more subject to foreign influences, especially Germanic ones; Argentine geopolitical thinkers in the 1930s and 1940s closely followed the ideas of Karl Haushofer and his disciples. The Argentine Atencio,<sup>8</sup> in an excellent analysis of foreign influences on his country's geopolitical thinking, notes that while the world was attacking the "Nazi science," they were not afraid or reluctant to use the word "geopolitics" or even "Geopolitik" in Argentina; in fact, they defended many ideas of the German geopolitical school.

The major foci of Argentine geopolitical thinking are: concern over Brazilian expansion and hegemony; concern over the Brazilian-U.S. alliance; Argentina's natural role as leader of the Southern Cone; a maritime emphasis (as opposed to Brazil's more continental thrust) with focus on the South Atlantic, recuperation of the Malvinas Islands from British control, and protection of Argentina's claims in the Antarctic; nuclear energy, and the possible development of nuclear weapons, especially if Brazil is perceived as developing weapons; and the impact on national development and international relations of Argentina's seeming inability to put her internal house in order.

As indicated above, the problem of Brazil is the central issue in Argentine geopolitical thinking. General Guglielmelli<sup>9</sup> has traced the long historical process of Brazilian expansion beginning with the Portuguese *bandeirantes*, with special emphasis on Rio Branco's diplomatic policies of expanding the "natural frontiers of Brazil"; control over Uruguay and Paraguay; the weakening of Argentina; and the shift of Brazil's principal alliance from Great Britain to the United States. Guglielmelli also shows great concern for the "Travassos doctrine" by which Brazil would develop on an East-West Axis into Bolivia and thus break Bolivia's natural North-South axis of communications via Argentina.

A Brazilian concept causing special alarm among Argentine thinkers is the doctrine of "living frontiers," a direct descendant of the ideas of the German geopolitical school on the need for "living space" or *lebensraum*. Two Argentine views on this subject are illustrative:

[For the Brazilians] a region, zone or area is regarded as a "living frontier" for a variety of reasons [historical, political, economic, security, etc.]. This means that, in one way or another, depending upon its national interest, it must be developed or, if it does not belong to the country itself, it must be included in the Brazilian sphere of influence.<sup>10</sup>

The frontier [so the authors and geopolitical experts in the neighboring country claim] is a force in the service of political contingencies, an "isobar" which establishes the equilibrium between two pressures. This notion clearly indicates the extreme sensitivity and significance which Brazil attaches to its traditional border policy, which has been in evidence since the violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas.<sup>11</sup>

These concerns over Brazil's expansion into border areas deal not only with expansion into the buffer states of Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, but also with Argentina's own national territory, especially the vulnerable salient of Misiones.<sup>12</sup>

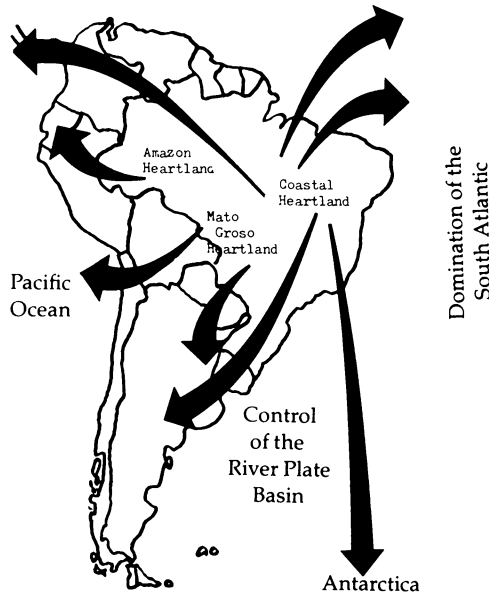
Another significant aspect of the Argentine geopolitical perception of Brazil is the nature of the Brazilian-U.S. relationship. One Argentine writer<sup>13</sup> sees Brazil as a satellite nation tied to the U.S. in a dependency relationship. The reasons for this are seen to be primarily strategic, but also economic: the U.S. needs Brazil to extend its defense lines from Natal to Cape Horn; the U.S. must insure that Brazil never "goes Communist," for such an eventuality "would threaten the Southern flank of the United States and could act as a detonator for a Latin American revolution of the same variety";<sup>14</sup> and Brazil is in the U.S. economic sphere.

This relationship is also seen as an example of the U.S. strategy of selecting certain "key countries" as strong points in its geopolitical alliance structure; in this view, Brazil's status as a key country is also shared by West Germany, Formosa, and others.<sup>15</sup> A specific Brazilian-U.S. initiative enhancing Brazil's subimperialism is the sale of arms. One Argentine writer<sup>16</sup> sees Brazil's arms industry as an extension of that of the U.S.; with Brazil's exports of arms to neighboring countries being yet another factor in her expansion. A more positive aspect of this Argentine concern lies in calls for Argentine-Brazilian cooperation for a dynamic balance in the Southern Cone, with an implicit condition being that Brazil loosen its ties of dependency on the United States. Guglielmelli, for example,<sup>17</sup> has posed the issue as one of either sterile confrontation or a cooperative "alliance for liberation."

Apart from concerns over balance with Brazil, Argentina's geopolitical thinking also contains a strong current focusing on her own perceived rightful place as the leader of the Southern Cone. At times this search for leadership has been expressed in terms of Argentina's special responsibility to preserve peace and security in the Cone; at other times it has taken on a more strident and aggressive tone, such as Perón's goal of creating a "greater Argentina" in the late 1940s.<sup>18</sup> As Colonel Pinochet of Chile indicated in his work on geopolitics, the Argentine school feels that her geographic position puts her out of the orbit of the major world powers and thus gives her the freedom of action to exercise



FIGURE 3. *Geopolitical Projection of Brazil*  
(As seen by Argentina)



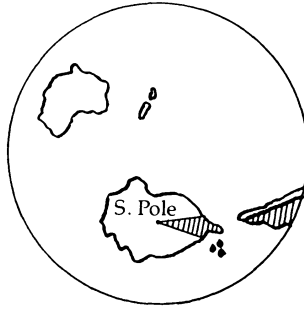
Source: Diaz Loza, *Geopolítica del Brasil*, p. 40.

hegemony in the southern part of South America.<sup>19</sup> Another perspective was provided this author by a senior Argentine general,<sup>20</sup> who explained that Argentina's natural domination of the River Plate basin was due to "El Camino de la Naranja" ("The Path of the Orange"), by which he meant that an orange (or anything else) dropped anywhere in the River Plate basin must sooner or later float past Buenos Aires, and thus be subjected to Argentine control.

Argentine geopolitical thinking is much more ocean-oriented than the Brazilian, with specific focus on the following issues: Argentina's role as a maritime nation due to her predominant role in what Atencio calls the "oceanic hemisphere" (illustrated in fig. 4); Argentina's special responsibility as the controlling element in several key entry and exit points to and from the South Atlantic;<sup>21</sup> Argentina's domination of access to the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn, which would acquire crucial strategic significance if the Panama Canal were to be closed; the key strategic role played by the Malvinas Islands, a factor which has renewed Argentine determination to recover them from British control (fig. 5 illustrates Argentine geopolitical perceptions of this role); and actual and potential strategic significance of the Antarctic and the need for Argentina to protect her Antarctic claims from encroachment by other interested nations.

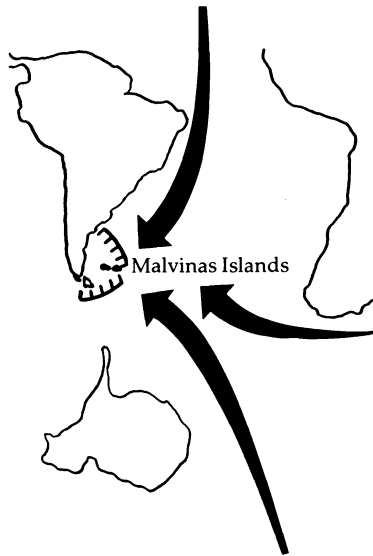
An area of concern closely related to geopolitical thinking is the nuclear field, where Argentina has a favorable situation in relationship with Brazil. The key geopolitical issue is the decision to construct an explosive device. Gugliamelli has expressed his assessment as follows:

FIGURE 4 . Argentina as a Maritime Power



Source: Atencio, *¿Qué es la geopolítica?*, p. 63.

FIGURE 5 . Strategic Role of the Malvinas Islands



Source: Consentino, "El valor estratégico," p. 84.

We concluded above that the Brazilians have decided to build it [a nuclear weapon]. Little is known about the timing, however. In other words, we do not know when the work to produce it will begin, a manufacturing process that should take about eight years or less as a result of the agreement. These two factors—the decision to produce the nuclear explosive and when—are key points for Argentina, since our neighbor's nuclear device, if it is not counter-balanced, will have a noticeable and decided effect on our security.<sup>22</sup>

The following bibliography, although extensive, omits many interesting articles contained in *Estrategia*, and the interested reader should consult all issues from number 1 (May-June 1969) to the present for the full scope of Argentine geopolitical writings.

ATENCIO, COLONEL JORGE E. *¿Qué es la geopolítica?* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1965). A very useful source for tracing the major external influences on Argentine geopolitical thinking. Attacks the U.S. authors of the early 1940s who bitterly denounced German geopolitical writings. Sees Argentina as a potential major naval power in the South Atlantic and the Antarctic.

BASAIL, MIGUEL ANGEL. "Bosquejo de una apreciación geopolítica argentina," *Estrategia* 36 (Sept.-Oct. 1975). A balanced analysis of Argentina's geopolitical situation. Concludes that her first geopolitical priority should be national integration and internal order.

BESSONE, JUAN B. "Ubicación geopolítica de la República Argentina," *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Comerciales y Políticas* (Rosario) 52-53 (May-Dec. 1950). A strong defense of claims of Argentine sovereignty in the South Atlantic, Malvinas, and Antarctic. Stress on the importance of these areas if the Panama Canal were closed.

BIANCHI, A. "Análisis del valor estratégico del Atlántico Sur," *Estrategia* 34-35 (May-Aug. 1975). Argentine concern over Brazilian domination of the South Atlantic.

BOSCOVICH, NICOLÁS. "Un proyecto regional argentino y la natural salida de Bolivia al mar," *Estrategia* 30 (Sept.-Oct. 1974). Focuses on the geopolitical significance of Bolivia. Proposes a Bolivian outlet to the Atlantic (her "natural outlet") via the Bermejo River under Argentine auspices as a way of countering Brazilian expansion into Bolivia.

———. "Análisis comparativo: Argentina y Brasil en el espacio geoeconómico del 'Cono Sur,'" *Estrategia* 31-32 (Nov. 1974-Feb. 1975). Assessment of Brazilian expansion into the River Plate Basin.

BRIANO, J. T. *Geopolítica y Geoestrategia americana* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1966). Argues that Argentina will be the major moral, economic, and political force in the world in the twenty-first century.

CAMILLON, OSCAR. "Relaciones argentino-brasileñas," *Estrategia* 21 (Mar.-Apr. 1973). A geopolitical analysis of Argentine-Brazilian relations in terms of the effect of the Brazilian-U.S. "axis." Notes that many of Argentina's problems are of her own making.

CERESOLE, NORBERTO. *Geopolítica de liberación* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Ceregidor, 1972). Argues that Argentine greatness lies in leading a Latin American integration movement to check Brazilian-U.S. expansion. Since the Atlantic is dominated by the Brazilian-U.S. alliance, Argentina must integrate with the countries of the West Coast.

CIRIGLIANO, GUSTAVO. *La Argentina triangular* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Humanitas, 1975). A vision of Argentine leadership in the Southern Cone independent of U.S. influence. The concept refers to the development of the Southern Cone "triangle" along three axes dominated by Argentina: the Riverene Axis (Rio de la Plata), the Andean Axis (Northwest Argentina, Chile, Peru), and the Southern Axis (Straits of Magellan, Malvinas, Antarctica). He blames the frustration of Argentina's past movement to greatness on exploitation by Great Britain and the United States.

COSENTINO, COMMANDER (NAVY) BENJAMÍN O. "El valor estratégico de las Islas Malvinas," *Estrategia* 6 (Mar.-Apr. 1970). A geopolitical, historical, and strategic analysis of the importance of the Malvinas Islands in the South Atlantic.

DE HOYOS, RUBÉN J. (University of Wisconsin). "South American Geopolitics and the La Plata River Basin (Hydroelectric Developments)." Paper delivered to the International Political Science Association, Edinburgh, 1976. A thoughtful analysis of the geopolitical implications of the current international hydroelectric projects in the La Plata Basin. Sees the end result as greater cooperation, but with increased possibilities of conflict.

DIAZ BESSONE, GENERAL RAMÓN G. *Proyecto Nacional (Documento de Trabajo)* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Oficial, 1973). A major statement of Argentine national goals and development programs by the current Argentine minister of planning. Argues for Argentine national consensus on her development and destiny in terms of South American integration.

DIAZ LOZA, COLONEL FLORENTINO. "Geopolítica del Brasil," *Estrategia* 29 (July-Aug. 1974). A critical analysis of Brazilian geopolitics from a nationalistic Argentine viewpoint. Portrays Brazil as "subimperialist" and subservient to U.S. interests.

FERNANDEZ CENDOYA, ANDRÉS. "Ideas geopolíticas del General Augusto Pinochet," *Estrategia* 24 (Sept.-Oct. 1973). A harsh critique of Chilean President Pinochet's geopolitical writings.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Una nueva Guerra del Pacífico?," *Estrategia* 27 (Mar.-Apr. 1974). Geopolitical analysis of current tensions that might lead to a new War of the Pacific. Sees Bolivia as a Brazilian pawn in an expansionist drive westward to the Pacific. Predicts the emergence of two "geopolitical alliances": Chile-Brazil and Argentina-Peru.

GÓMEZ RUEDA, HÉCTOR. *Realidad geopolítica mundial y argentina* (Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1969). Argues for Argentine geopolitical leadership and greatness by means of integration with neighbors.

GUALCO, JORGE NELSON. *Cono Sur: elección de un destino* (Buenos Aires: Fabril Editor, 1972). Plan for Southern Cone integration (excluding Brazil) under Argentine leadership. The Brazilian development model is rejected as being neocapitalist and subservient to the United States.

GUGLIAMELLI, GENERAL JUAN E. "Argentina frente al 'Operativo Misiones' del Brasil," *Estrategia* 19–20 (Nov. 1972–Feb. 1973). Attacks Travassos' geopolitical ideas. Argues for Argentine activism to counter Brazilian expansionism into the Argentine Northeast (the "Misiones Offensive").

———. "Itaipú-Corpus," *Estrategia* 33 (Mar.–Apr. 1975). Argues that the real significance of the Itaipú-Corpus hydroelectric project is Brazilian expansion into the River Plate Basin.

———. "Análisis del Acuerdo Nuclear Brasileño-Alemán," *Estrategia* 34–35 (May–Aug. 1975). Expression of Argentine concern over the Brazilian-German nuclear agreement.

———. "Argentina-Brasil: enfrentamiento o alianza para liberación," *Estrategia* 36 (Sept.–Oct. 1975). Geopolitical analysis of Argentine-Brazilian rivalry. Suggests an "alliance for liberation" as an alternative if Brazil is willing to abandon its close ties with the United States.

———. "Argentina: política nacional y política de fronteras," *Estrategia* 37–38 (Nov. 1975–Feb. 1976). Application of geopolitical frontier theory to Argentina's border problems.

———. "El 'Destino Manifiesto' brasileño en el Atlántico Sur," *Estrategia* 39 (Mar.–Apr. 1976). Critical analysis of Golbery's geopolitical ideas. Sees the Brazilian-U.S. "alliance" as a threat to Argentina.

KOZŁOWSKI, T. A. *Nuevos potenciales en la política mundial* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1967). His geopolitical perspective is global, with only limited material on Latin America and Argentina.

LUCCHINI, ADALBERTO P. *Geopolítica del Cono Sur: la Cuenca del Plata* (Buenos Aires: Juárez Editora, 1971). A technical analysis of Southern Cone hydroelectric projects. Argues that if the Latin nations involved do not take the lead, the projects will be manipulated by others.

MACHICOTE, EDUARDO. *La expansión brasileña* (Buenos Aires: Ciencia Nueva, 1973). Bitterly anti-Brazilian. Attacks Golbery's ideas as serving the imperialistic objectives of the United States.

MASTRORILLI, CARLOS P. "Una actualización de la Doctrina Golbery," *Estrategia* 39 (Mar.–Apr. 1976). A strong critique of Meira Mattos' geopolitical works. Considers Brazil as a "subimperial" ally of the United States.

MILIA, CAPTAIN (ARGENTINE NAVY) FERNANDO A. *Estrategia y poder militar* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Publicaciones Navales, 1965). A balanced geopolitical analysis, predominantly from a maritime perspective. Argentina is seen as an insular and maritime nation with a key role to play in the South Atlantic, especially if the Panama Canal is closed.

MONETA, CARLOS JUAN. "Antártica Argentina: los problemas de 1975–1990," *Estrategia* 31–32 (Nov. 1974–Feb. 1975). An overview of Argentina's geopolitical interests in the Antarctic; warns that those interests are threatened by outside powers, principally the United States and the Soviet Union.

PIÑEIRO, ARMANDO ALONSO. "El equilibrio geopolítico sudamericano," *Estrategia* 30 (Sept.–Oct. 1974). An expression of alarm over Brazilian expansion in the buffer states (Paraguay, Bolivia). Argues that Argentina must take the lead in the Spanish-American community as a balance to the Brazilian-U.S. alliance.

RATTENBACH, COLONEL AUGUSTO B. "Estados Unidos y la venta de armas a América Latina," *Estrategia* 28 (May–June 1974). Analysis of U.S. arms sales in Latin America as a tool of imperialistic penetration, in partnership with Brazil.

ROJAS, ADMIRAL ISAAC F. *Intereses argentinos en la Cuenca del Plata* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Liberia, 1974). Warns of the dangers of Brazilian hydroelectric projects and expansion into the River Plate Basin. Calls for Argentina to take advantage of its wasted hydroelectric potential in the face of the energy crisis. Argues that the Itaipú project (Brazil-Paraguay) requires prior Argentine consent due to the impact on the downstream Corpus project. Generally a positive, well-reasoned presentation by a retired Argentine admiral who was vice president after the 1955 fall of Perón.

SEGUNDO SILONI, VICE-COMMODORE ROLANDO. *La diplomacia luso-brasileña en la Cuenca del Plata* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Rioplatense, 1975). Historical-geopolitical analysis of Luso-Brazilian expansion in the River Plate Basin.

STORNI, ADMIRAL SEGUNDO. *Intereses argentinos en el mar* (Buenos Aires: Moen, 1916). A very early expression of Argentine interest in the sea.

URIBURU, GENERAL EDUARDO JUAN. "El Plan Europa, el ejército y su contribución a la estrategia del desarrollo," *Estrategia* 2 (July–Aug. 1969). An explanation and analysis of Argentina's "Plan Europa" aimed at reducing excessive dependence on the United States for arms.

VENERONI, HORACIO. *Los Estados Unidos y las fuerzas armadas de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Periferia, 1971). Argues that the United States has locked the Latin American military into a dependency relationship.

VILLEGAS, GENERAL OSIRIS GUILLERMO. *Políticas y estrategias para el desarrollo y la seguridad nacional* (Buenos Aires: Círculo Militar, 1970). A useful geopolitical, strategic, and political analysis of the Argentine situation in the late 1960s. Shows concern over Argentina's failure to develop and reach its full potential.

#### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN CHILE

As Pinochet himself has noted (and lamented), there is no geopolitical "school" in Chile, although there has been considerable interest in geopolitical ideas. The foci of Chilean geopolitics are: protection of the territorial gains obtained in the War of the Pacific (1879–1883); the drive to become a South Pacific maritime power; control over the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn; and interest in the Antarctic.

The influence of the German geopolitical school is probably stronger in Chile than in any other Latin American nation, a factor that is not surprising considering the impact of German immigration and the Prussian military mission in the late nineteenth century. Chilean geopolitical writers place special emphasis on Ratzel's organic view of the state as a living organism struggling to survive in a world where might makes right. As Pinochet puts it: "No matter how much one would like to think of law as an equalizing element between various categories of nations, when one faces hard reality it is the strongest country [militarily or economically, diplomatically or demographically] which

has the advantage in litigation of frontiers. Of this we have various examples in South America."<sup>23</sup> Or, as another Chilean author put it, even more bluntly: "An artificial country has no right to survive."<sup>24</sup>

A recurring theme in Chilean geopolitical thought is the analysis of the War of the Pacific (1879–83). The organic concept of the state and its operational implications contained in the above quotes have been consistent with Chile's diplomatic positions on the War of the Pacific and the issue of Bolivia's outlet to the sea. As Pinochet explains the situation: "The lack of clarity in the delimitation of the States after the Independence of America, and later, a great neglect on the part of Chile, permitted Bolivia to reach the coasts of the Pacific to the detriment of the Chilean coastline. In 1879 the War of the Pacific made it possible for Chile to recover the coast which belonged to it. Bolivia, as a mediterranean country, has received ample facilities from Chile."<sup>25</sup>

Chilean geopolitics is strongly maritime in its orientation, especially in terms of projecting power in the South Pacific, control of the Straits of Magellan, and sovereignty in its claimed Antarctic sector. This focus on the Pacific reached a peak with an 1887 Chilean diplomat's call that the Pacific should be a "Chilean lake."<sup>26</sup> General Cañas Montalva, editor of the *Revista Geográfica de Chile*, has consistently stressed the dangers to Chile inherent in her neglect of her destiny as a South Pacific power, a neglect which is an invitation for other powers (mainly Argentina) to fill this vacuum. Cañas Montalva sees Chile's future greatness linked to a privileged position with an outlet to both oceans and a dominant position on the Straits of Magellan, the Drake and Beagle Passages, the Antarctic, and possession of the Easter and Juan Fernandez Islands. Chile's regional greatness will become world greatness, according to Cañas Montalva, as the "world center of gravity" shifts from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic to the Pacific.<sup>27</sup>

There is no Chilean journal devoted to geopolitical thinking, although the *Revista Geográfica de Chile* has served as a major vehicle for the maritime facet of Chilean geopolitics.

BUNSTER, ENRIQUE. "Penetración de Chile en el Pacífico," *Mar* (Valparaíso) 22, no. 139 (Jan. 1951):3–4. Laments the fact that Chile has drifted away from the attention it paid to the Pacific in the nineteenth century.

CAÑAS MONTALVA, GENERAL RAMÓN. "Reflexiones geopolíticas," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1948):27–40. Develops his basic thesis of Chile's future greatness in terms of her geopolitical potential in the South Pacific and what he perceives as a geopolitical-historical shift away from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and now to the Pacific.

———. "Estructuración geográfica de América," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 2, no. 2 (Dec. 1949):15–19. Uses geopolitical ideas to argue for a "Pacific confederation" of West Coast South American nations (Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador) similar to the North Atlantic Community. Because of her favored geopolitical position, Chile would be the natural leader of this confederation.

———. "Chile el mas antártico de los países del orbe y su responsabili-

dad continental en el Sur Pacífico," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 4, no. 1 (Oct. 1950):23–40. Discusses the "continuity" of Chilean territory from the South American mainland to the Antarctic. This region, along with the South Pacific, is destined to be one of the "epicenters of the New Era."

———. "El valor geopolítico de la posición antártica de Chile," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 6, no. 9 (June 1953):11–16. Distrustful of Argentine geopolitical intentions in the South Pacific and the Antarctic.

———. "Chile en el Pacífico, Argentina en el Atlántico—factores de estabilidad continental," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 14 (1956–57). Argues for a "geopolitical spheres of influence" approach giving Argentina predominance in the South Atlantic and Chile in the South Pacific.

CERECEDA, DOMINGO. *Los imperativos geopolíticos de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1962). More an economic than geopolitical approach; argues that in order to develop, Chile must break its dependency relationship with the United States and integrate with Latin America.

CHAVES, LIEUTENANT COLONEL (CHILEAN ARMY) VICTOR. "Chile y el Pacífico Sur," *Estrategia* (Argentina) 31–32 (Nov. 1974–Feb. 1975). Echoes Cañas Montalvas' geopolitical theses on Chile as a power in the South Pacific.

IHL CLERICUS, PABLO. "El Pacífico, mar de nuestro destino," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 6 (Apr. 1952). Traces the historical roots of Chile's geopolitical destiny as a South Pacific power. Stresses the theme that in the nineteenth century the South Pacific was a "Chilean Sea."

———. "Línea geopolítica de Chile," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 6, no. 8 (Feb. 1953):25–44. Divides the world geopolitically into a "continental" Northern Hemisphere, which is disputed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and an "oceanic" Southern Hemisphere, which can be isolated from the U.S.-Soviet struggle and their twin imperialistic drives. Chile, he concludes, has great geopolitical potential in the "oceanic" hemisphere.

LASTARRIA SERVAT, MIGUEL. *El espacio vital* (Santiago: Simiente, 1944). A rather theoretical and legalistic treatise on lebensraum (vital space). Concludes that "an artificial country has no right to live."

MARULL, FEDERICO. *Introducción a la geopolítica* (Santiago: Universidad Nacional de Chile, 1972). A brief monograph devoted mainly to a consideration of classic geopolitical thinking. Does have a brief section lamenting the absence of a well-defined school of Chilean geopolitical thought, and arguing for the teaching of geopolitics in Chilean universities. Warns of Argentina's geopolitical drive to the Pacific via the Antarctic and the Straits of Magellan.

———. *Bases para una geopolítica marítima chilena* (Santiago: Universidad Nacional de Chile, 1974). Argues for a "Chilean Sea" consisting of the South Pacific out to Easter Island. Not a claim to sovereignty but rather an ecological and geopolitical concept.

PINOCHET UGARTE, GENERAL (AND PRESIDENT) AUGUSTO. *Geopolítica* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1974). The bulk of this work is a presentation of classical geopolitical concepts, with emphasis on the organic theory of the state. He presents a geopolitical explanation for the War of the Pacific: Chile was



strong; Peru and Bolivia were weak; Chile merely recovered territories that rightfully belonged to her.

RODRIGUEZ, LIEUTENANT COLONEL GREGORIO. *La geopolítica y sus teorías* (Santiago: Academia de Guerra del Ejército, 1950). Organic geopolitical theory of the state. Chile's geopolitical destiny lies not to the East, where it is blocked by Argentina, but to the West and South. The South Pacific is seen as an emerging world power center.

#### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN BOLIVIA

Bolivian geopolitical thinking, especially that of its major proponent, Alipio Valencia Vega, reflects the unhappy international experience of that country and focuses on: the outlet to the sea; recovery of territories lost to Chile; and the need to occupy effectively all of the Bolivian national territory in order to prevent further disintegration. Geopolitical ideas in Bolivia have made interesting use of Mackinder's "heartland theory," arguing that Bolivia is the heartland of South America, and that her dismemberment in the past was due to her inability to dominate this heartland in the face of aggression by her neighbors.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the three preceding countries, Bolivia has not produced any systematic geopolitical writing or journal devoted to the topic. Works of a geopolitical nature are few and sporadic. In early 1977 there were press items<sup>29</sup> dealing with an Instituto Boliviano de Estudios Geopolíticos, which was quoted as publishing a geopolitical document expressing concern over Brazilian and Paraguayan expansionist aims in Bolivian territory.

PRUDENCIO, ROBERTO. *El problema geopolítico de Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial de la Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1951). Nationalistic Bolivian argument for an outlet to the sea.

VALENCIA VEGA, ALIPIO. *Geopolítica en Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Juventud, 1965). The first half of this book is a standard treatment of basic geopolitical concepts. In the second half the author applies these concepts to the specific problem of Bolivia's dismemberment at the hands of her neighbors. Very effective employment of "heartland" geopolitics.

———. *Geopolítica del litoral boliviano* (La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Juventud, 1974). An extensive and closely reasoned historic, economic, and geopolitical argument for Bolivia's outlet to the sea. Concludes that Latin America's progress depends on integration, and that if Bolivia is to integrate she must have an outlet to the sea.

#### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN PERU

It would seem reasonable to expect a strong geopolitical school in Peru in light of the influence of the Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM) and the role that the Peruvian military has played since the 1968 coup. But the Peruvian military has focused their attention on socioeconomic issues rather than strategic or

security ones, and there is little Peruvian writing that can be considered geopolitical or strategic. The major geopolitical concern has been the "marcha para la selva," a push to the East to open up the Peruvian Amazon Basin,<sup>30</sup> but this has not involved the resources nor enjoyed the success of the counterpart Brazilian drive to the same area. Other geopolitical concerns have focused on the War of the Pacific and the border conflict with Ecuador.

BENAVIDES CORREA, ALFONSO. "Antiguo y nuevo Perú: esquema para una interpretación geopolítica," *Revista de América* (Colombia), July–Aug. 1948. Uses geopolitical arguments to build the case for Peru's pacifistic orientation. Appears to be a counter to Ecuadorean accusations of Peruvian aggression.

MENESES, RÓMULO. *Tres ensayos de geopolítica indoamericana* (Lima: Ediciones Continente, 1963). Employs geopolitics, archeology, and history to present the pre-Columbian Tiahuanaco civilization as the ancient "heartland" of South America. Argues for a Peruvian-Bolivian "Indo-American alliance" against Chile to regain Bolivia's outlet to the sea.

MERCADO JARRÍN, GENERAL EDGARDO. "La política nacional y la estrategia militar en el Perú," *Estrategia* 27 (Mar.–Apr. 1974). Some consideration of Peru's geopolitical concerns in the Amazon.

ROMERO, EMILIO. "El Pacífico Sur, mar de Chile y Perú: interpretación geopolítica," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 9 (June 1953). Suggests a cooperative Peruvian-Chilean approach to the geopolitics of the South Pacific.

#### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN ECUADOR

The most interesting aspect identified was the employment of geopolitical ideas to support Ecuador's claim to the Amazonian territories lost to Peru. These writings tend to be polemical and bombastic.

LARREA ALBA, GENERAL LUIS. *La defensa del estado* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura, 1972). Analysis of the elements of national power; includes a chapter on "Geopolitical Strategy."

NAVARRO ANDRADE, ULIPIANO. *El determinismo geográfico* (Quito: Talleres Gráficos de Ecuador, 1957). General treatment of classical geopolitics.

VILLACRÉS MOSCOSO, JORGE. *La gran vía interoceánica ecuatoriana a través del Amazonas: estudio geopolítico* (Guayaquil, Ecuador: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1952). A geopolitical argument for recovery of Ecuador's lost territories and status as an Amazonian power. Claims that "insatiable imperialistic expansionism" has gained for Peru the interoceanic Amazon route that rightfully belongs to Ecuador.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geopolítica del mundo tropical sudamericano* (Guayaquil, Ecuador: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1963). A polemic using geopolitical ideas to argue for the return of the lost Amazonian territories.

## GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN LATIN AMERICA

### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN COLOMBIA

Only one author (Londoño) was identified. His writings tend to be more political geography than geopolitics, are balanced and nonpolemical, and present no material that might have a significant impact on Colombia's current foreign relations.

LONDOÑO, GENERAL JULIO. *Suramérica o la geografía como destino* (Bogotá: Imprenta del Ministerio de Guerra, 1948). Considers geopolitical and cultural characteristics of each South American nation, includes border problems and possible conflicts.

———. *Nueva geopolítica de Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta de las Fuerzas Armadas, n.d. [1964?]). Is more a political geography of Colombia than geopolitics. Has much material on borders, resources, and means of communications.

———. *Geopolítica del Caribe* (Bogotá: Imprenta de las Fuerzas Armadas, 1973). A general political geography of the area.

### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN URUGUAY

Two authors dealing with Uruguayan geopolitics were found; both see Uruguay as playing a key role as a buffer between Argentina and Brazil, and both employ the tools of geopolitics and dependency analysis to attack what they perceive as U.S.-Brazilian imperialism.

METHOL FERRÉ, ALBERTO. *Geopolítica del Cuenca del Plata* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pena Lilla, 1973). Author is Uruguayan; Uruguay is presented as being in crisis under the pressure of expanding Brazilian-U.S. hegemony in the River Plate Basin. Argentina must resist this pressure but cannot face this Brazilian-U.S. alliance without support from the Pacific Coast nations.

TRIAS, VIVIÁN. *Imperialismo y geopolítica en América Latina*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Álvarez, 1969). Author is the secretary-general of the Uruguayan Socialist party. The book is a dependency theory analysis of U.S. imperialism and Brazilian subimperialism. Argues that first Great Britain and now the United States have kept Latin America divided (and thus easier to exploit) by stimulating the Brazilian-Argentine rivalry.

### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Various Central American writers have used geopolitical themes to argue for Central American unity as a logical consequence of geopolitical and strategic realities.<sup>31</sup> This thinking has been especially prevalent in the movement to create and support the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA).<sup>32</sup>

HERNÁNDEZ MÉNDEZ, COLONEL JORGE. *Geopolítica* (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras, 1960). Argument for Central American economic

and political unity for strength in the face of potential U.S. and Mexican domination.

———. *Estudio geoestratégico del Istmo Centro-Americano* (Guatemala: Imprenta del Ministerio de Defensa, 1967). Suggests the need for a Central American Defense Council (CONDECA) to face Castro-inspired subversion.

———. *Geopolítica—areas estratégicas del continente americano* (Guatemala: Imprenta del Ministerio de Defensa, 1969). Basically the same material as in the two previous references.

JEFES DE ESTADO MAYOR DE CENTROAMÉRICA. *Primera Reunión de Jefes de Estado Mayor del Istmo Centroamericano* (Guatemala, 1961). The official record of the first meeting of chiefs of staff of the Central American nations. Contains a brief analysis of the geopolitical situation of the Central American nations.

RUIZ GARCÍA, COLONEL ENRIQUE. *Ensayo geopolítico de centroamérica* (Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1961). A treatise dealing more with international relations than geopolitics. Has some geopolitical and political geography analysis of Central America, but the major chapter is devoted to a defense of Guatemalan claims to Belize.

#### GEOPOLITICAL THINKING IN MEXICO

Considering the massive publishing output of Mexican presses, the material dealing with geopolitics is minimal. If any one theme can be identified, it is a condemnation of geopolitics as a "fascist pseudo-science." A minor theme in Mexican geopolitical thinking relates to her need to exercise geopolitical leadership over the divided states of Central America.

ESCALONA RAMOS, ALBERTO. *Geopolítica mundial y geoconomía* (México: Editorial Ateneo, 1959). General treatment of geopolitics. Has an appendix on "Geopolitics of Mexico" in which he argues that Mexico occupies a key geopolitical situation. Sees the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as of major geopolitical significance and argues that Mexico's capital should be moved there.

LAVIN, JOSÉ D. *Geografía mexicana (geopolítica)* (México: Editorial América Nueva, 1959). Assesses the impact of technology on political geography. Has some consideration of the need for a 200-mile Mexican sea sovereignty.

MIRAVITLES, JAIME. *Geografía contra geopolítica* (México: Editorial Prometeo, 1945). Author is a Catalan refugee from the Spanish Civil War. The book is a bitter attack against the German geopolitical school. His stated purpose is to fight geopolitics ("man's creation") with geography ("God's creation").

OJEDA, MARIO. "La realidad geopolítica de México," *Foro Internacional* 17 (July–Sept. 1976). More a work of international relations than geopolitics. Considers that the basic Mexican geopolitical fact of life is her proximity to the United States. Concludes that Mexico's strategic value to the United States (and her ability to extract benefits therefrom) increases in time of crisis.

URIBE VILLEGAS, OSCAR. *Causación social y vida internacional* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1958). A sociological approach to geopolitics and international relations. Has a chapter on "Geopolitics and Interna-

tional Relations," in which he sharply criticizes the pseudoscience of geopolitics. Has some consideration of Mexico and Central America as a geopolitical "bridge" between Anglo-Saxon and Latin America.

VIVO, JORGE A. *La geopolítica* (México: El Colegio de México, 1943). Argues for a geopolitical unity of Central America under Mexican leadership.

#### CONCLUSION

Perhaps because of the stigma attached to the World War II German school, geopolitical thinking and writing in Latin America is poorly understood and inadequately analyzed by contemporary scholars. Adding to the confusion is the fact that many works dealing with geopolitics are not easily identified as such, while many others carrying the word "geopolitical" in their titles are little more than analyses of current strategic or politico-military affairs.

Nevertheless, a careful study of contemporary geopolitical thinking in Latin America is important for a number of reasons suggested in this bibliographic survey: (1) geopolitics provides a "window" into the thinking and mindset of a politically significant nucleus of Latin American military men and strategists. Geopolitics is taken seriously by many of these individuals and provides the outside observer with valuable insights into how they view their own roles and how they perceive their nation, the outside world, and international relations in general; (2) when operationalized by a government whose key leaders think in these terms, geopolitics can provide a consistent explanation for their schemes of national development, territorial integration, and relations with neighbors; and (3) in the Southern Cone in particular, the prevalence of geopolitical thinking suggests a frame of reference for explaining some of the enduring international rivalries that have persisted in this area.

Among the major geopolitical concepts that must be considered is the fundamental organic vision of the state as a living thing that must expand and project outward in order to be viable. This organic vision finds an internal expression in the drive to occupy fully and effectively a nation's full geographic extension. For the larger nations there is also an external expression involving the projection of power and influence over weaker states in rivalry with other larger nations. Thus, there is a division between what can be called "internal geopolitics" (schemes for internal development, the linking of "internal security" with "internal development," the full integration of distant national territories, etc.), and "external geopolitics" (international projection of power, forced settlement of border problems, pressures on buffer states, etc.). Almost by definition, it is the latter category of geopolitical thinking that carries the greatest potential for disruption and conflict. A further useful distinction is that between active and reactive geopolitical thinking. Active geopolitical thinking is readily operationalized into positive programs of colonization, national development, and forward movement in the international arena, while reactive geopolitical approaches concern themselves more with finding conspiratorial or threatening explanations for the aggressive actions of bolder neighbors.

This survey indicates that there are two well-developed "schools" of

geopolitics in Latin America (the Brazilian and the Argentine) with strong currents also present in a third country (Chile). Geopolitical ideas with a variety of themes are also present in the published literature of several other Latin American countries. It can thus be concluded that an awareness of the implications and scope of geopolitical thinking in Latin America, and especially in the Southern Cone, can provide a valuable tool for understanding and explaining the self-perceptions held by national leaders, and their concern with internal development and external projection of influence and power.

NOTES

1. Robert Strausz-Hupé, *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), pp. viii–ix.
2. Mario Travassos, *Projeção Continental do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Brasileira, 1938).
3. General (Argentine Army) Juan E. Guglielmelli, "Argentina frente al 'Operativo Misiones' del Brasil," *Estrategia* 19–20 (Nov. 1972–Feb. 1973):7–8.
4. General Golbery do Couto e Silva, *Geopolítica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora José Olympio, 1967), pp. 137–38.
5. Teresinha do Castro, "Antártica—Assunto do Momento," *Revista do Clube Militar* (1958).
6. Rear Admiral (Brazil) Paulo Freitas, "Uso del mar," *Estrategia* 34–35 (May–Aug. 1975).
7. General Carlos de Meira Mattos, *Brasil—geopolítica e destino* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1975), pp. 74–76.
8. Colonel Jorge E. Atencio, *¿Qué es la geopolítica?* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1965), p. 125.
9. General Juan E. Guglielmelli, "Argentina-Brasil: enfrentamiento o alianza para liberación," *Estrategia* 36 (Sept.–Oct. 1975).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
11. Lieutenant Colonel Florentino Diaz Loza, "Geopolítica del Brasil," *Estrategia* 29 (July–Aug. 1974):35.
12. Guglielmelli, "Argentina frente," p. 7.
13. Julio E. Sanguinetti, "Geopolítica del Cuenca del Plata," *Estrategia* 19–20 (Nov. 1972–Feb. 1973):72–76.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
15. T. A. Kozlowski, *Nuevos potenciales en la política mundial* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1967), p. 60.
16. Coronel Augusto B. Rattenbach, "Estados Unidos y la venta de Armas a América Latina," *Estrategia* 28 (May–June 1974):85.
17. General Juan E. Guglielmelli, "Argentina-Brasil: enfrentamiento."
18. Walter M. Daniels, ed., *Latin America in the Cold War* (The Reference Shelf, vol. 24, no. 6 [New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1952]), pp. 126–27.
19. General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, *Geopolítica* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1974), pp. 63–64.
20. Interview with senior Argentine general, Washington, D.C., 1 Sept. 1976.
21. A Bianchi, "Análisis del valor estratégico del Atlántico Sur," *Estrategia* 34–35 (May–Aug. 1975).
22. General Juan E. Guglielmelli, "Análisis del Acuerdo Nuclear Brasileño-Alemán" *Estrategia* 34–35 (May–Aug. 1975):40–41.
23. Pinochet, *Geopolítica*, p. 165.
24. Miguel Lastarria Servat, *El espacio vital* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Simiento, 1944), p. 135.

25. Pinochet, *Geopolítica*, p. 97.
26. Robert N. Burr, *By Reason or Force* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1974), p. 184.
27. General Ramón Cañas Montalva, "Reflexiones geopolíticas," *Revista Geográfica de Chile* 13 (May 1955).
28. Alipio Valencia Vega, *Geopolítica en Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Juventud, 1965).
29. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Latin America* (31 March 1977), page H-1; (4 April 1977), page C-1.
30. General Edgardo Mercado Jarrín, "La política nacional y estrategia militar en el Perú," *Estrategia* 27 (Mar.-Apr. 1974):26.
31. See, for example, Colonel Jorge Hernández Méndez, *Estudio geoestratégico del Istmo Centro-Americano* (Guatemala, Guatemala: Ministry of National Defense, 1967).
32. Jefes de Estado Mayor Centro-Americanos, *Primera Reunión de Jefes de Estado Mayor del Istmo Centroamericano* (Guatemala: Jefes de Estado Mayor, 1961), pp. 32-33.



*Portrait head of a dignitary. Mochica IV (Peru). From a private collection.*