

Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations

General Editors

Donna Lee

Senior Lecturer in International Organisations
and International Political Economy
University of Birmingham, USA

Paul Sharp

Professor

Political Science and Director of the
Alworth Institute for International Studies
University of Minnesota, USA

The series was launched as *Studies in Diplomacy* in 1994 under the general editorship of G.R. Berridge. Its purpose is to encourage original scholarship on all aspects of the theory and practice of diplomacy. The new editors assumed their duties in 2003 with a mandate to maintain this focus while also publishing research which demonstrates the importance of diplomacy to contemporary international relations more broadly conceived.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14471>

Andrés Villar Gertner

Autonomy and Negotiation in Foreign Policy

The Beagle Channel Crisis

palgrave
macmillan

Andrés Villar Gertner
University of Cambridge
United Kingdom

Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations
ISBN 978-1-137-57274-5 ISBN 978-1-137-57275-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-57275-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016953496

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and the Author(s) 2016

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover image © Peter Hermes Furian / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

To Denise

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Contributions from a number of institutions helped make this research possible. I give special thanks to the Centre for Rising Powers and its Director Dr. Kun-Chin Lin, the Latin American Studies Centre, and the POLIS Department, all of which supported me with small funds, infrastructure, and a vibrant intellectual environment for pursuing this research. The Centre's Foreign Policy Reading seminars, in particular, provided an invaluable forum for discussion with scholars and peers.

My greatest intellectual debt is to my PhD supervisor, Charles Jones, who was an inspiring and supportive guide. His original thinking, criticism, and good humour were a constant source of encouragement throughout my years in Cambridge. Jones's sharp and careful reading of my work has not only improved the pages that follow but also enhanced my approach to politics and International Relations research in general. I would like to thank my Editor, Sarah Roughley, and Palgrave Macmillan for their support. I really appreciated how receptive everyone was at all stages of this academic project and manuscript preparation.

This book would not have been possible without the contributions of the 35 interviewees who kindly consented to be interviewed. The answers, explanations, and fresh questions of scholars, diplomats, and politicians have greatly contributed to this research. In particular, I would like to thank Rut Diamint and Jorge Bataglino of Torcuato Di Tella University in Buenos Aires, for supporting me during my fieldwork there in a variety of important ways. I also am indebted to the various scholarly communities in which I have had the privilege to participate: the 'Attic,' PhD colloquium, and CLAS seminars at the University of Cambridge. I am very

grateful to a number of colleagues and friends who read earlier versions, both chapters and drafts, of this work. In particular, the contributions of Robert Pastor, David Mares, Roberto Russell, María Teresa Infante, Roberto Durán, Alberto Van Klaveren, Ángel Flisfisch, Augusto Varas, and Claudio Fuentes, and especially Andrés Malamud, were extremely helpful.

Even so, all my gratitude goes to my wife, Denise Laroze Prehn—my methodological guru. She has stood by me during the ups and downs of this project. Her rational perspective has been a constant intellectual challenge, and a source of inspiration in my goal of lucidity throughout the writing of this book. Her accurate judgment, advice, and tender affection have been a perfect combination during our last year in London.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	FPDM: Agents, Structures, and Status	13
3	Argentine–Chilean Relations in a Historical Perspective	31
4	<i>Annus Horribilis</i> : 1977–1978	49
5	Global Actors: Converging Conflicts	91
6	Time for Mediation	113
7	The Final Act	145
8	Conclusions	169
	Bibliography	179
	Index	191

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DINA	Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
FPDM	Foreign Policy Decision Making
HMG	Her Majesty's Government
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IR	International Relations
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSC	National Security Council
OAS	Organization of American States
PLN	Picton, Lenox, and Nueva islands
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UP	Unidad Popular
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Dependent and independent variables	9
Fig. 3.1	Beagle Channel dispute	43
Fig. 4.1	The Chilean foreign decision-making process in the Beagle Crisis	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1	Beagle Channel dispute: the legal procedure	121
Table 7.1	President Alfonsín's policies toward Latin America	161
Table 8.1	Foreign policy trends in Argentina and Chile between 1977 and 1984	176