

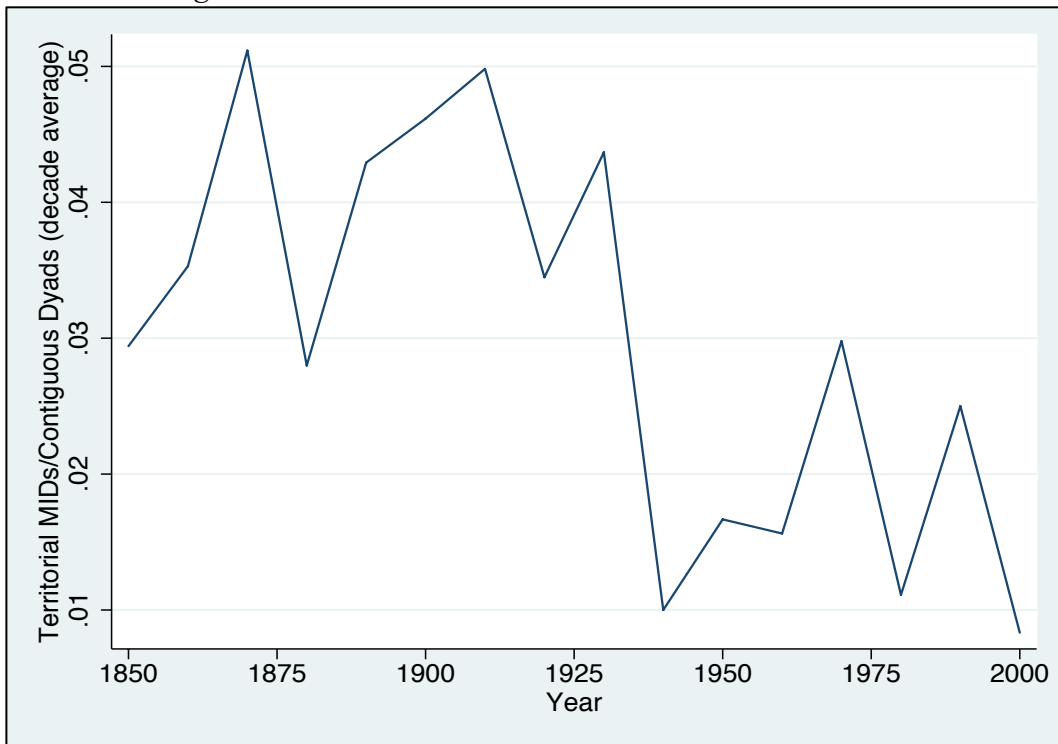
Settling Resistant Disputes: the Territorial Boundary Peace in Latin America

Appendices

Appendix A. Evidence of Territorial Boundary Peace in Latin America.

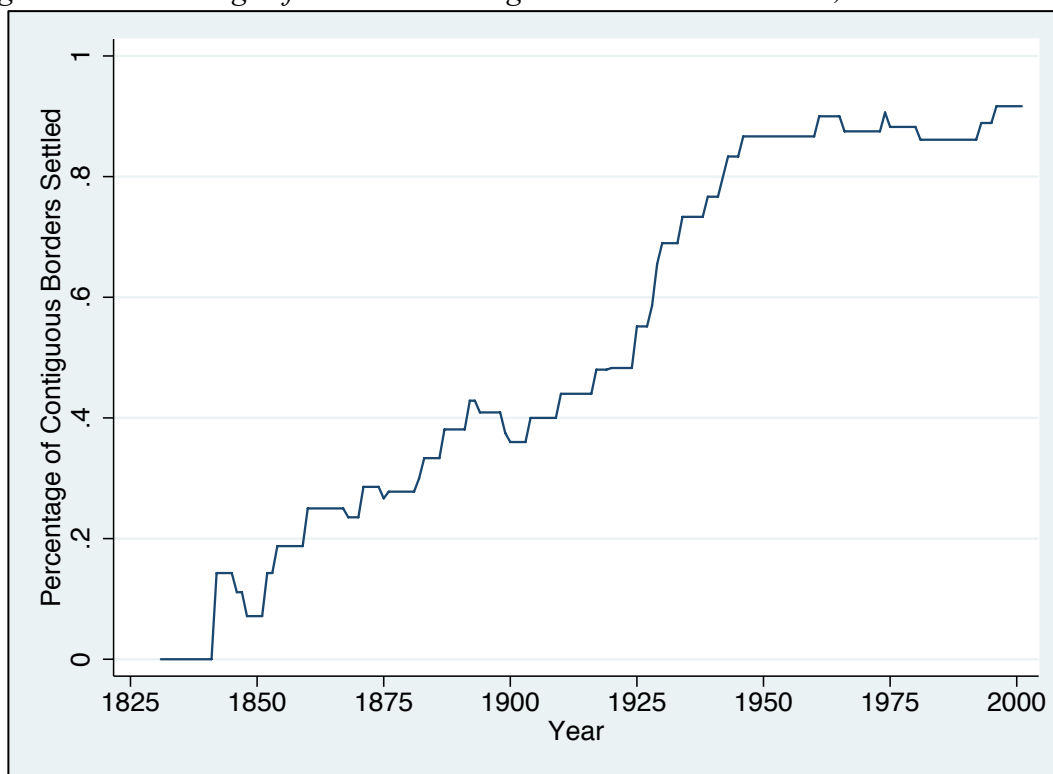
Data presented in this appendix offers additional evidence of a territorial boundary peace in Latin America. Figure A1 shows that the number of territorial militarized disputes in the Americas (standardized by the number of dyads and presented as a five-year moving average) trends downward over time. States are fighting less often over territorial issues as time progresses. Figure A2 tracks the percentage of contiguous dyads that have settled borders in the Americas during the period 1830-2001. As this figure demonstrates, this percentage climbs consistently over time, suggesting that fewer contiguous dyads have territorial disputes to address. Finally, Table A1 lists all American dyads and notes – as of 2001 – whether they have settled borders (Owsiak et al. 2018) and resolved territorial disputes (Hensel et al 2008), therefore being at territorial boundary peace.

Figure A1. Territorial MIDs in the Americas, 1850-2001.



Notes: Data series starts in 1851 because the number of contiguous dyads stabilizes and is less subject to divergent historical interpretations. Data sources: Owsiak et al (2018); Stinnett et al (2002); Hensel et al. (2008).

Figure A2. Percentage of American Contiguous Boundaries Settled, 1830-2001.



Notes: The small backslides are due to increases in the number of American dyads. Although the “de-settlement” of previously settled territorial boundaries is possible (Owsiak and Gibler 2017), it has never taken place according to the definition of settlement we use (Owsiak et al 2018). Still, important claims regarding borders previously considered settled did arise between Bolivia and Chile, Venezuela and Guyana, Nicaragua and Colombia, and Nicaragua and Costa Rica, among others. Data Source: Owsiak et al (2018).

Table A1. Territorial Boundary Peace in the Americas (as of 2001).

<i>Country Dyad</i>		<i>Settled Borders</i>	<i>Ongoing Disputes</i>	<i>Territorial Peace</i>
Argentina	Uruguay	Yes	No	Yes
Argentina	UK	No Border	Yes	No
Belize	Guatemala	No	Yes	No
Bolivia	Paraguay	Yes	No	Yes
Bolivia	Chile	Yes	Yes	No
Bolivia	Argentina	Yes	No	Yes
Brazil	Bolivia	Yes	No	Yes
Brazil	Paraguay	Yes	No	Yes
Brazil	Argentina	Yes	No	Yes
Brazil	Uruguay	Yes	Yes	No
Canada	Denmark	No Border	Yes	No
Chile	Argentina	Yes	No	Yes
Colombia	Venezuela	Yes	Yes	No
Colombia	Ecuador	Yes	No	Yes

Colombia	Peru	Yes	No	Yes
Colombia	Brazil	Yes	No	Yes
Costa Rica	Panama	Yes	No	Yes
Cuba	United States	No Border	Yes	No
Ecuador	Peru	Yes	No	Yes
Guatemala	Honduras	Yes	Yes	No
Guatemala	El Salvador	Yes	No	Yes
Guyana	Suriname	No	Yes	No
Guyana	Brazil	Yes	No	Yes
Haiti	Dom. Rep.	Yes	No	Yes
Haiti	United States	No Border	Yes	No
Honduras	El Salvador	Yes	Yes	No
Honduras	Nicaragua	Yes	Yes	No
Honduras	Belize	No Border	Yes	No
Mexico	Belize	Yes	No	Yes
Mexico	Guatemala	Yes	No	Yes
Nicaragua	Costa Rica	Yes	No	Yes
Nicaragua	Colombia	No Border	Yes	No
Panama	Colombia	Yes	No	Yes
Paraguay	Argentina	Yes	No	Yes
Peru	Brazil	Yes	No	Yes
Peru	Bolivia	Yes	No	Yes
Peru	Chile	Yes	No	Yes
Suriname	Brazil	Yes	No	Yes
Suriname	France	No	Yes	No
US	Canada	Yes	Yes	No
US	Mexico	Yes	No	Yes
Venezuela	Guyana	No	Yes	No
Venezuela	Brazil	Yes	No	Yes

Note: Territorial boundary peace exists when a dyad has settled its borders (if relevant) and possesses no ongoing territorial dispute. Data Source: Frederick et al (2017); Owsiak et al (2018). We alter the latter slightly to consider the France-Suriname contiguity.

Appendix B. Individual Criteria for the Selection of Resistant Cases

In this appendix we present a detailed account of the characteristics we considered when identifying the list of resistant territorial disputes we analyze in the main text.

Saliency: The Issue Correlates of War Project (Frederick et al 2017; cf. Hensel et al 2008) measures the saliency of a territorial dispute along a scale from 0-12. This variable's coding reflects six characteristics of the territory as they apply to each disputant in the dyad ($6*2=12$). These characteristics include whether the territory contains valuable resources, offers a strategic location, is population dense, is affiliated with one/more disputants' homeland, has ethnic kin of one/more disputant living in the territory, and one/more disputant has exercised sovereign rights over the territory in the past. Saliency is high when values are between 8 and 12. We use the latest version of the Issue Correlates of War Project (Frederick et al 2017) to identify the high saliency claims that appear in Table B1.

Table B1. Resistant Cases by Saliency, 1816-2001

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Saliency</i>
Chile	Argentina	Patagonia	1841-1903	10
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente-Mainas	1854-1945	10
Bolivia	Paraguay	Chaco Boreal	1878-1938	10
Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1884 onwards	10
Peru	Chile	Tacna-Arica	1884-1929	10
United States	Mexico	Baja California/Sonora	1847-1865	9
Chile	Bolivia	Antofagasta	1848-1884	9
Chile	Peru	Tacna-Arica	1879-1929	9
Peru	Brazil	Acre	1839-1909	8
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1839-1922	8
Argentina	UK	Falklands/Malvinas	1841 onwards	8
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Goainía	1841-1922	8
Paraguay	Brazil	Apa	1846-1874	8
Brazil	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1909	8
Peru	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1912	8
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize	1868-onwards	8
Ecuador	Peru	Cordillera del Cóndor	1947-1998	8

Legal Parity: Huth et al (2013) use a three-point scale to determine whether the challenger and the target involved in a territorial dispute each have a (i) strong legal claim, (ii) mixed legal claim, or (iii) weak legal claim. If one party possesses a strong legal claim while the other possesses a weak one, a legal advantage exists in favor of the stronger side. Table B2 lists the post-1945 territorial disputes in the Americas where no party had a legal advantage.

Table B2. Resistant Cases by Legal Parity, 1946-2001

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>
Suriname	UK/Guyana	Corentyn	1840 onwards
Argentina	UK	Falklands/Malvinas	1841 onwards
Argentina	Chile	Beagle/L. del Desierto	1841-1998

Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1884 onwards
Mexico	United States	El Chamizal	1895-1963
El Salvador	Honduras	Gulf of Fonseca	1899-1992
Honduras	United States	Swan Islands	1921-1972
Panama	United States	Canal Zone	1923-1979
Haiti	United States	Navassa Island	1935 onwards
Cuba	United States	Guantánamo Bay	1960 onwards
United States	Canada	Machias Seal Island	1971 onwards
Nicaragua	Colombia	San Andrés /Providencia	1979 onwards

Duration: A claim is resistant by duration if it persists for more than 75 years. We choose this threshold following the process established by Cronqvist and Berg-Scholsser (2009:76-79), which recommends establishing a threshold along the data distribution that divides it into two clusters of roughly equivalent process. Importantly, our analyses remain robust to any duration threshold between 52-92 years. Table B3 lists the territorial disputes in the Americas that qualify as “resistant” according to our standard of duration.

Table B3. Resistant Cases by Duration (more than 75 years), 1816-2001.

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Years</i>
Argentina	Uruguay	Río de la Plata	1882-1973	92
Argentina	Bolivia	Puna de Atacama	1848-1941	94
Argentina	UK	Malvinas/Falklands	1841 onwards	161
Brazil	Colombia	Apaporis	1831-1928	98
Chile	Argentina	Palena/C. Glaciers**	1903-1998	96
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente-Mainas	1854-1945	92
El Salvador	Honduras	Bolsones	1899-1992	94
El Salvador	Honduras	Gulf of Fonseca**	1899-1992	94
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize*	1868 onwards	114
Surinam	France	Maroni	1849 onwards	127
Surinam	Guyana	Corentyn	1816 onwards	151
Uruguay	Brazil	Yaguarón	1882 onwards	120
Mexico	US	Rio Grande	1884-1972	89
Brazil	UK	Pirara	1838-1926	89
Venezuela	Brazil	Amazonas	1841-1928	88
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1839-1922	84
Venezuela	UK	Patos Island	1859-1942	84
Colombia	US	Quitassueño	1890-1972	83
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Goainía	1841-1922	82
Argentina	Chile	Beagle Channel	1904-1985	82

*Disputes that involved a colonial power and were then transferred to a successor state are considered a single case (cf. Frederick et al 2017).

** These disputes appear as settled in our sources (Frederick et al 2017) although it could be argued that they remain active given protests that have arisen at the stage of delimitation. Our analysis is consistent with both interpretations.

Repeated Negotiations: Disputes might also be resistant if repeated settlement attempts fail to settle them. Using ICOW data (Frederick et al 2017), Table B4 identifies all resistant territorial disputes in the Americas that experienced ten or more bilateral negotiations.

Table B4. Resistant Cases by Bilateral Settlement Attempts (>9 only, 1816-2001)

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Bilateral Attempts</i>
Argentina	UK	Falklands	1841 onwards	55
Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1884 onwards	35
Bolivia	Paraguay	Chaco Borea	1878-1938	33
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize*	1868 onwards	28
Argentina	Chile	Beagle	1904-1985	22
UK	US	Alaska	1872-1903	20
Peru	Chile	Tacna-Arica	1884-1929	19
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Goainía	1841-1922	18
El Salvador	Honduras	Bolsones	1899-1992	18
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente-Mainas	1854-1945	17
Colombia	Venezuela	Los Monjes	1951 onwards	16
Venezuela	Guyana	Essequibo	1966 onwards	16
Honduras	Guatemala	Río Motagua	1899-1992	15
Chile	Bolivia	Antofagasta	1848-1884	15
Venezuela	UK	Essequibo	1841-1899	13
Nicaragua	Honduras	Teotecacinte	1912-1961	12
Chile	Argentina	Patagonia	1841-1903	12
Peru	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1912	12
Panama	US	Canal Zone	1923-1979	12
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1839-1922	12
Argentina	Bolivia	P. de Atacama	1848-1941	11
Ecuador	Colombia	Oriente	1854-1919	11
US	Russia	Alaska	1822-1867	11
Chile	Argentina	Palena	1903-1998	10
Ecuador	Peru	Cenepa	1947-1998	10
Argentina	Uruguay	Río de la Plata	1882-1973	10
Peru	Brazil	Acre	1839-1909	10

* Disputes that involved a colonial power and were then transferred to a successor state are considered a single case (cf. Frederick et al 2017)

Historical militarization: Violence can be another indicator of a case's resistance. Table B5 therefore uses the ICOW data (Frederick et al 2017) to identify all territorial disputes with at least one militarized interstate dispute – that is, a threat, display, or use of force (Palmer et al 2016) – at some point during the dispute's history. In addition to the total number of MIDs that occur in the dispute's history, we also list both the maximum hostility level achieved and the maximum number of fatalities that occur in these MIDs (Frederick et al 2017).

*Table B5. Resistant Claims That Were Militarized,*1816-2001*

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>MI D</i>	<i>Hostility (maximum)</i>	<i>Fatalities (maximum)</i>
Argentina	Paraguay	Chaco Central	1846-1878	1	War	1000+
Argentina	UK	Malvinas	1841 onwards	4	War	1000+
Bolivia	Paraguay	Chaco Boreal	1878-1938	19	War	1000+
Chile	Bolivia	Antofagasta	1848-1884	5	War	1000+
Chile	Peru	Tacna-Arica	1879-1884	2	War	1000+
El Salvador	Honduras	Bolsones	1899-1992	2	War	1000+
Paraguay	Brazil	Apa	1846-1874	5	War	1000+
US	Mexico	Texas	1831-1848	2	War	1000+
US	Mexico	California/ NM	1835-1848	2	War	1000+
US	Spain	Cuba	1848-1898	1	War	1000+
Spain	Peru	Islas Chincha	1864-1866	2	War	501-999
US	Spain	Florida	1816-1821	1	Use of force	0
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente- Mainas	1854-1945	16	Use of force	501-999
Ecuador	Peru	Cordillera del Cóndor	1947-1998	13	Use of force	251-500
Peru	Colombia	Leticia	1932-1935	2	Use of force	101-250
Peru	Brazil	Acre	1839-1909	1	Use of force	26-100
Argentina	Chile	Beagle	1904-1985	19	Use of force	1-25
Guatemala	El Salvador	Cordillera Mte Cristo	1935-1938	1	Use of force	1-25
Honduras	Guatemala	Rio Motagua	1899-1992	2	Use of force	1-25
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1839-1922	5	Use of force	1-25
Peru	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1912	3	Use of force	1-25
Argentina	Brazil	Misiones	1941-1895	1	Force display	0

Argentina	Bolivia	Puna de Atacama	1848-1941	1	Force display	0
Argentina	Uruguay	R. de la Plata	1882-1973	3	Use of force	0
Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1884 onwards	2	Use of force	0
Brazil	UK	Pirara	1838-1926	3	Use of force	0
Brazil	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1909	1	Use of force	0
Brazil	UK	I. Trinidad	1826-1896	1	Use of force	0
Chile	Argentina	Andes	1896-1904	1	Force display	0
Chile	Argentina	Patagonia	1841-1903	8	Use of force	0
Colombia	Venezuela	Los Monjes	1951 onwards	3	Use of force	0
Costa Rica	Panama	Sixaola/Coto	1920-1941	1	Use of force	0
Ecuador	Colombia	Oriente	1854-1919	1	Use of force	0
El Salvador	Honduras	Golfo Fonseca	1899-1992	1	Use of force	0
France	Brazil	Amapa	1826-1900	2	Use of force	0
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize**	1868 onwards	8	Use of force	0
Haiti	Dominican	R. Massacre	1894-1915	1	Force display	0
Nicaragua	Colombia	San Andres/Pro.	1900 onwards	4	Use of force	0
Nicaragua	Honduras	Teotecacinte	1912-1961	2	Use of force	0
Nicaragua	Honduras	Cayo Sur	1998 onwards	1	Use of force	0
Paraguay	Brazil	Rio Paraguay	1874-1929	1	Use of force	0
Peru	Chile	Tacna-Arica	1884-1929	3	Use of force	0
Suriname	Guyana	Corentyn	1816 onwards	2	Use of force	0
UK	US	Alaska	1872-1903	2	Force display	0
US	UK	S.Croix- John	1816-1842	1	Use of force	0
US	Mexico	Mesilla Valley	1850-1854	1	Use of force	0
US	UK	Oregon	1816-1846	1	Force	0

					display	
US	Haiti	St. Nicholas	1889-1915	1	Force display	0
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Goainía	1841-1922	1	Use of force	0
Venezuela	Netherlands	Bird-Aves	1854-1866	2	Use of force	0
Venezuela	UK/Guyana	Essequibo	1841 onwards	9	Use of force	0
Venezuela	UK	Patos	1859-1942	1	Use of force	0

* At least one MID during claim history.

** Disputes that involved a colonial power and were then transferred to a successor state are considered a single case (cf. Frederick et al 2017).

Combining Criteria: The above indicators produce a long list of possible resistant cases. We therefore use case overlap across the indicators to narrow the list. More specifically, the latter columns of Table B6 track whether (1) or not (0) each territorial dispute contained: high salience, legal parity (i.e., no legal advantage for any one party), a long duration, repeated bilateral settlement attempts, and militarization at some point. The final column in the table then sums these dichotomous indicators. A score of 3 is moderate, while scores of 4 and 5 are high and very high respectively. Twenty cases score 3 or higher, and we use these as the resistant cases throughout the analysis presented in the main text.

Table B6. Resistant Cases by All Criteria, 1816-2001

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Dispute</i>	<i>Salience</i>	<i>Legal Parity</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Settle Attempts</i>	<i>M I D</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cuba	US	Guantánamo	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	Brazil	Amapa	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	Brazil	Misiones	0	0	0	0	1	1
Argentina	Paraguay	Chaco Central	0	0	0	0	1	1
Brazil	Colombia	Apaporis	0	0	1	0	0	1
Brazil	UK	Pirara	0	0	1	0	1	2
Brazil	UK	I. Trinidad	0	0	0	0	1	1
Chile	Argentina	Andes	0	0	0	0	1	1
Chile	Peru	Tacna-Arica	0	0	0	0	1	1
Costa Rica	Panama	Sixaola/Coto	0	0	0	0	1	1
Haiti	Dom. Rep.	Río Massacre	0	0	0	0	1	1
Haiti	US	Navassa Island	0	1	0	0	0	1
Honduras	US	Swan Islands	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mexico	US	El Chamizal	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mexico	US	Rio Grande	0	0	1	0	0	1
Colombia	US	Quitassueño	0	0	1	0	0	1

Nicaragua	Honduras	Cayo Sur	0	0	0	0	1	1
Paraguay	Brazil	Rio Paraguay	0	0	0	0	1	1
Peru	Colombia	Leticia	0	0	0	0	1	1
Spain	Peru	Islas Chincha	0	0	0	0	1	1
Surinam	France	Maroni	0	0	1	0	0	1
US	Canada	Machias Island	0	1	0	0	0	1
US	Mexico	Mesilla Valley	0	0	0	0	1	1
US	Spain	Florida	0	0	0	0	1	1
Uruguay	Brazil	Yaguarón	0	0	1	0	0	1
US	Haiti	St. Nicholas	0	0	0	0	1	1
US	Mexico	Texas	0	0	0	0	1	1
US	Mexico	California /NM	0	0	0	0	1	1
US	Russia	Alaska	0	0	0	1	0	1
US	Spain	Cuba	0	0	0	0	1	1
US	UK	Oregon	0	0	0	0	1	1
Venezuela	Netherlands	Bird-Aves	0	0	0	0	1	1
Venezuela	UK	Patos	0	0	1	0	1	2
Venezuela	Brazil	Amazonas	0	0	1	0	0	1
Brazil	Bolivia	Acre	1	0	0	0	1	2
Chile	Argentina	Palena	0	0	1	1	0	2
Colombia	Venezuela	Los Monjes	0	0	0	1	1	2
Ecuador	Colombia	Oriente/A	0	0	0	1	1	2
Honduras	Guatemala	Rio Motagua	0	0	0	1	1	2
Nicaragua	Colombia	San Andrés	0	1	0	0	1	2
Nicaragua	Honduras	Teotecacinte	0	0	0	1	1	2
Panama	US	Canal Zone	0	1	0	1	0	2
Paraguay	Brazil	Apa	1	0	0	0	1	2
UK	US	Alaska	0	0	0	1	1	2
US	Mexico	Baja California	1	0	0	0	1	2
US	UK	S.Croix-John	0	0	0	1	1	2
Argentina	Bolivia	Puna de Atac	0	0	1	1	1	3
Argentina	Chile	Beagle	0	1	1	1	1	4
Argentina	Uruguay	Río de la Plata	0	0	1	1	1	3
Bolivia	Paraguay	Chaco Boreal	1	0	0	1	1	3
Chile	Argentina	Patagonia	1	0	0	1	1	3
Chile	Bolivia	Antofagasta	1	0	0	1	1	3
Ecuador	Peru	Cenepa	1	0	0	1	1	3
El Salvador	Honduras	Gulf of Fonseca	0	1	1	0	1	3
El Salvador	Honduras	Bolsones	0	0	1	1	1	3

Peru	Bolivia	Acre	1	0	0	1	1	3
Peru	Brazil	Acre	1	0	0	1	1	3
Peru	Chile	Tacna-Arica	1	0	0	1	1	3
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1	0	1	1	1	4
Surinam	UK/Guyana	Corentyn	0	1	1	0	1	3
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Goainía	1	0	1	1	1	4
Venezuela	UK/Guyana	Essequibo	1	0	0	1	1	3
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente-Mainas	1	0	1	1	1	4
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize	1	0	1	1	1	4
Argentina	UK	Malvinas	1	1	1	1	1	5
Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1	1	0	1	1	4

Table B7. Active Non-Resistant Cases, post-1945

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Dispute</i>	<i>Salience</i>	<i>Legal Parity</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Settle Attempts</i>	<i>M I D</i>	<i>Settle</i>
Cuba	US	Guantánamo	0	0	0	0	0	-
Haiti	US	Navassa Island	0	1	0	0	0	-
Nicaragua	Honduras	Cayo Sur	0	0	0	0	1	-
US	Canada	Machias Island	0	1	0	0	0	-
Uruguay	Brazil	Yaguarón	0	0	1	0	0	-
Colombia	Venezuela	Los Monjes	0	0	0	1	1	-
Honduras	Guatemala	Ranguana	0	0	0	0	0	-
Honduras	El Salvador	Conejo Island	0	0	0	0	0	-
Nicaragua	Honduras	Teotecacinte	0	0	0	1	1	1961
Mexico	US	El Chamizal	0	1	0	0	0	1963
Mexico	US	Rio Grande	0	0	0	0	0	1972
Honduras	US	Swan Islands	0	1	0	0	0	1972
Surinam	France	Maroni	0	0	1	0	0	1975
Panama	US	Canal Zone	0	1	0	1	0	1979
Colombia	Honduras	Serranilla	0	0	0	0	0	1986
Chile	Argentina	Palena	0	0	1	1	0	1998
Nicaragua	Colombia	San Andrés	0	1	0	0	1	2007

Table B8. Resistant Cases Settled Before 1945.

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Violence in Resolution</i>
Argentina	Bolivia	Puna de Atacama	1848-1941	Chaco War (indirect)
Bolivia	Paraguay	Chaco Boreal	1878-1938	Chaco War
Chile	Argentina	Patagonia	1841-1903	War of the Pacific (indirect)
Peru	Brazil	Acre	1839-1909	Rubber War (indirect)
Peru	Bolivia	Acre	1848-1912	Rubber War (indirect)
Peru	Chile	Tacna-Arica	1884-1929	War of the Pacific
Peru	Colombia	Loreto	1839-1922	Leticia War
Venezuela	Colombia	Goajirá-Guainía	1841-1922	Leticia War (indirect)

Notes: (a) “Indirect” means the use of force produced a new territorial status quo, which unlocked negotiations. (b) War combatants and territorial claimants are not necessarily the same.

Table B9. Resistant Cases After 1945.

<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Status</i>
Argentina	UK	Malvinas/Falklands	1841-	Ongoing
Bolivia	Chile	Antofagasta	1884-1904 1962-	Ongoing
Guatemala	UK/Belize	Belize*	1868-	Ongoing
Suriname	UK/Guyana	Corentyn*	1816-	Ongoing
Venezuela	UK/Guyana	Essequibo*	1841-1899 1966-	Ongoing
Argentina	Uruguay	Río de la Plata	1882-1973	Settled post-1945
Argentina	Chile	Beagle	1904-1985	Settled post-1945
Ecuador	Peru	Cordillera del Cóndor	1947-1998	Settled post-1945
Ecuador	Peru	Oriente-Mainas	1854-1945	Settled post-1945
El Salvador	Honduras	Bolsones-Fonseca	1899-1992	Settled post-1945

Notes: * We consider disputes that involve a colonial power and are either transferred to a successor state or de-settled after its independence to be a single case (see Appendix B, online).

Appendix C. Resistant Case Narratives for All Three Necessary Conditions.

1. Attention through Militarization (Hypothesis 1)

The settlement of the Oriente-Mainas dispute between Ecuador and Peru is our first case in chronological order. This settlement was preceded by frictions starting in 1940 as both states expanded their presence in the disputed area and send probes into each other's territory. Eventually hostilities broke out in July 1941 deriving in the Ecuadorian-Peruvian War or War of '41 – which caused c. 600 battled deaths (Wood 1966). After an initial armistice, negotiations ended up in a “Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries” signed in Rio in January 29, 1942 (Lecaro Bustamante 1997: 57), which conformed the commission that would have demarcated the boundaries in the broad Oriente-Mainas region by 1945.

Although the border between Ecuador and Peru was considered fully settled by 1945, a small portion of the border in the Cordillera del Cóndor region, which was wrongly represented in the cartography of the treaty, led to a new Ecuadorian claim starting in 1948. Because the treaty was inapplicable in the eyes of the Ecuadorans, they objected any intervention on the part of the guarantors. Ecuador stopped recognizing any mediation of the guarantors on the substantive issue and further declared the Rio Protocol null and void in 1960.

When a military clash with Peru took place in early 1981 – known as the Paquisha War – the issue was again in the forefront of the Inter-American agenda. Yet, Quito insisted that any good offices of third parties should be conducted through the OAS and be limited to the cessation of hostilities, keeping the substantive territorial issues aside (Palmer 1997: 114). After the Falso-Paquisha War, the issue became dormant again.

Mimicking the 1940s and 1980s episodes, skirmishes starting in 1991 prompted Ecuador to build bases in the disputed zone and increase its military presence which, in turn, led to a much more important confrontation in 1995. In this new confrontation, known as the Cenepa War, some 5,000 troops were deployed, and after 100 to 300 battle deaths, both parties agreed to sit in the negotiating table (Palmer, 1997: 120-121; Hey, 1995: 75-76). This second resistant case between Ecuador and Peru was finally settled in 1998. The 1998 Peace Treaty, just like the 1942 Rio Protocol, was possible at least partly due to the attention attracted through militarization. Some authors argue, for

example, that the commitment of third parties – which in 1995 included the deployment of Military Observers Mission Ecuador-Peru (MOMEPE) – would have been unthinkable if the conflict had not been considered a pressing threat to regional peace and security (Higgins 1997).

Together with the Cenepa War, the Soccer War (also known as War of the 100 Hours) fought between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969 was one of the only two major confrontations between Latin American countries in the post-1945 era and the first since 1941. As one would expect, it also played an important role in solving the resistant case dispute that affected their bilateral relations. The crisis spiraled out of incidents after a soccer match in June 15. These incidents caused anti Salvadoran pogroms near Tegucigalpa by the end of the month, which led to the invasion of Honduras on month later, on July 14 (Rouquié and Vale 1973). The OAS was able to stop the fighting only four days after the initiation of hostilities and deployed a mission of military observers after this belated intervention.

The incident jumpstarted a series of negotiations and accords that advanced steadily amidst the far more complex Central American crisis and would end up in the 1992 settlement. During the 1980s militarization in the border region became endemic. This had partly to do with the Honduran occupation of the *Isla de Conejo* (Rabbit Island) in 1982 in the Golfo de Fonseca. Yet the more pressing issue was the presence of the *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN) in the disputed region of Bolsones (Bello and Cabrera 1997). The guerrilla movement had taken hold of this area and would now benefit from the unclear status of the territories to use them as a safe heaven and a transit route to bases in Honduras. The Salvadoran army would thus intrude in disputed or Honduran territory, leading to a set of small-scale confrontations with Honduran forces (Bleichert 1992).

The negotiations over the Bolsones and Fonseca clearly skyrocketed in the 1980s as a product of this frequent militarization. The fact that the FMLN used the Bolsones as a safe heaven, leading to frequent clashes, contributed to place this particular dispute as a key issue at the center of the Central American storm. Comparison with other, mostly dormant, Central American disputes suggests that settlement would have been unlikely in the absence of these MIDs.

In Southern Cone, the Beagle Channel dispute is yet another case that, just as our theory predicts, usually received little attention unless militarization occurred. In the 1870s, for example, a series of militarized disputes prompted an 1881 agreement, mediated by the United States – although the disputants subsequently disagreed on its interpretation (Day 1987; Ireland 1938). Further militarized disputes between 1881-1910 produced a series of additional agreements, including repeated requests for the British to arbitrate and a *modus vivendi*. The dispute then went dormant, and received little attention until militarization reoccurred and accelerated during 1950-1970.

After a period of prolonged militarization, an arbitration agreement was signed on 22 July 1971. As per this accord, Queen Elizabeth II referred the dispute to an arbitration panel composed of five international judges. However, when the panel issued its award in 1977, Argentina declared it null and void. Both disputing states immediately prepared for confrontation and placed their forces on alert.

Tensions mounted in January 1978, when Argentina declared the British award that granted the territories to Chile to be null. Since then, both countries seriously considered a military confrontation in the central Andes – i.e. the Maule region – and in the territories and waters adjacent to the islands. Armed forces remained in red alert and ready to be deployed in less than 24 hours. The possibility of taking the islands by force was seriously considered by Buenos Aires as negotiations were taking place in December 1978 (Villar 2016: 1). It is believed that Argentina and Chile were literally minutes away from war at some times. First hand testimonies indicate that on December 22, 1978, Argentina launched Operation Sovereignty, which intended to retake the islands by force. The operation most probably would have caused an all out war – the worst post-1945 conflagration in the Americas – had it not been suspended twenty nautical miles off the coast of Chile due to a fierce storm (Mares 2001: 138). A “divine” intervention of the Pope took place only a few days after, and prevented new episodes like this, although the Argentine military continued to consider resolving the dispute by force at least until the Falklands/Malvinas War (see Arquilla and Moyano 2001; Schenoni et al 2020). Therefore, preparation for war and low- level militarization – i.e. border deployments, mobilization, and threats – continued to be common from 1978 to 1982.

The concessions made by Argentina in the 1984 settlement were seen in the country as a great loss, and it is unlikely that President Alfonsín would have been able to overcome opposition to the agreement if the public opinion (who voted for the

agreement in a referendum) did not see the issue as potentially leading to war. Thus, the almost-war of December 1978 and subsequent episodes of militarization played a major role in putting the issue at the top of the agenda and indicating its urgency.

A less intense but nonetheless comparable example was provided by Argentina and Uruguay a few years before. This is a case where MIDs had been conspicuously absent since 1907, and thus a critical case to assess the necessity of even minor levels of militarization. The settlement of the Rio de la Plata border dispute in November 1973 also took place in the midst of a few concentrated and low-level militarized disputes in a dyad that rarely if ever had presented them.

Argentina and Uruguay disputed this river boundary after the latter's independence in 1828. Argentina claimed that the river's deepest channel (i.e., thalweg) served as the boundary, while Uruguay proposed a middle-line solution. In the *Ramirez-Saenz-Peña Protocol* of 1910, the two countries established a *modus vivendi* that froze the status quo in lieu of a permanent settlement; they reaffirmed this position as late as the 1961 *Joint Declaration on the Outer Limits of the Río de la Plata* (Castillo 1996). Neither state challenged the status quo. Again, not a single MID had taken place since 1907, until Argentina forcefully occupied the island Timoteo Domínguez (known to the Argentines as Punta Bauzá) on 13 January 1969.

Confrontations escalated thereafter, driven by the concurrence of a leftist turn in Argentina – the return of Perón to the country, which was perceived as a victory by certain guerrilla movements such as *Montoneros* and negatively by the military – and a rightist turn in Uruguay – as president Bordaberry started to implement iron fist policies against the *Tupamaros* guerrilla in alliance with the armed forces. Issues such as the devolution of political refugees and frequent conflicts over unauthorized military activities in the border created a perilous scenario. Absent the possibility of further escalation it is likely that authorities would not have been prompted to settle the territorial dispute as they were (Escudé and Cisneros 2000: 220).

In short, militarized conflict incentivized Argentina and Uruguay to prioritize the Río de la Plata dispute. It remained non-militarized throughout the 1800s and, therefore, not a priority. After a militarized dispute in 1907, the parties agreed in 1910 to a temporary, status quo arrangement. Militarization then dissipated, causing the dispute to fall off their agenda once again. Only when the next militarized disputes arose in 1969 and 1973 did a flurry of diplomatic activity develop. Timoteo Domínguez/Punta Bauzá

became the most important concern in every bilateral negotiation until Argentina and Uruguay signed the *Treaty Concerning the Río de la Plata and the Corresponding Maritime Boundary* in Montevideo on 19 November 1973.

We can reinforce the aforementioned within-case counterfactuals by looking at some cross-case evidence involving $Y=0$ cases. Although resistant cases that were settled can often be linked to some of the most relevant Latin American crises of the post-WWII era – e.g. the Soccer War, the Central American crisis, the War of '41, the Cenepa War, the Itaipú Crisis, and the Beagle Crisis – unresolved resistant cases almost never reached these level of hostilities, the Falklands/Malvinas War being the only exception. Some ongoing resistant cases such as the Guatemala-Belize dispute provoked a notable number of MIDs – one every three years in average – but none of them reached relevant levels of severity.¹ Very minor MIDs took place in the late 1970s and early 2000s between Suriname and Guyana, mostly involving the seizure of river craft (Allock et al 1992, 598-601). Venezuelan and Guyanese forces were never involved in a major confrontation either.²

2. Altered Preferences through Democratization (Hypothesis 2)

The resolution of the dispute between Argentina and Uruguay provides a clear case for our regime fragility hypothesis. Negotiations ending in the Río de la Plata Treaty of November 1973 started, proceeded and ended swiftly, but were possible only after the democratically-elected interim government of Héctor José Cámpora took office in Argentina, in May 1973, after seven years of authoritarianism. Even though Cámpora was a Peronist and was initially thought to represent the Argentine left, the Uruguayan

¹ Most of these episodes involve an alleged incursion of neighboring forces into each other's territory.

² When a relatively serious MID arose, it often led – as expected – to some demonstration of good will in the bilateral negotiations, but this happened only twice. Since Guyana's independence in 1966, two episodes seem to be more relevant in this regard. The first of these episodes is the Venezuelan machine gun and mortar shelling of Eteringbang on February 21st and 22nd, 1970, which was never consented by Venezuelan president Caldera and to which Guyanese forces never responded, and yet ended in the negotiation of the Protocol of Port of Spain in less than four months which imposed a twelve-year moratorium on the resolution of the dispute. The second episode took place between September 3 and 5, 1982, and involved a series of Venezuelan incursions into Guyanese territory that were driven out by the firing of warning bursts. As the 1970 episode, this MID resulted in zero casualties, and yet the parts responded to it by accelerating the designation of the UN Secretary General as mediator – i.e. the single major step forward in the negotiations since 1970 – which took place in a period of less than six months after the episode (Ishmael 2013: 312).

president Juan María Bordaberry was starting to drift towards a rightist position. In late June, Bordaberry closed congress, starting a three-year period as head of an authoritarian regime. Meanwhile, Juan Perón returned to Argentina to take command of his movement. In this fragile situation, Cárpora and then Perón faced great incentives to solve the Rio de la Plata issue and increase bilateral cooperation with Uruguay as a way to signal the military that the new Peronist government could deal with the strategic environment, securing Uruguayan cooperation against guerrilla movements and the Brazil-Paraguay axis.³ Conversely, Bordaberry, also under the pressure of his own military, favored a quick understanding with Argentina (Escudé and Cisneros 2000: 209). This improbable convergence of factors provides strong grounds for our case: What are the odds that two countries in a dyad will both undergo a regime transition *and* settle their last territorial dispute all in the same ten-month period?

The democratization factor appeared once again in the Beagle Channel Dispute. It was not until the Argentine junta had weakened considerably as a consequence of defeat in the Malvinas/Falklands War that democratizers issued a call for the territorial dispute's settlement, thanked the Pope for his involvement, and promised that "on regaining democracy, our peoples will be in a better condition to consolidate peace" (Day 1987: 383). The final necessary condition – altered preferences through democratization – occurred in late 1983, when Argentina elected Raúl Alfonsín. According to the Vatican negotiators "it was Alfonsín's flexibility that laid the groundwork for resolution" (Garrett 1985: 81). He had campaigned on resolving the Beagle Channel dispute, and made this a top priority once in power, not least to introduce cuts in the military budget (Day 1987: 383). He made a "crucial change" putting diplomats – instead of military men – in front of the negotiations (Lindsley 1987: 447), and called for a referendum on whether Argentina should accept the Papal settlement terms, so to twist the arm of the remaining hardliners. The "yes" option won by a landslide, endorsing his signature of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and granting him the necessary leverage to overcome opposition to ratification in Congress. All in all, "the appearance of a conciliatory figure in Argentina, Alfonsín, was crucial

³ Brazil and Paraguay had just signed a treaty for the construction of a dam in Itaipú. The dam granted Brazilian strategic control over the flow of both the Paraná and Uruguay rivers – the two most important tributaries of the Río de la Plata Basin – and at the time was seen by Argentine and Uruguayan military as a serious threat. We further discuss the issue in the following section.

for the conflict's resolution" (Garrett 1985: 102), leading scholars to unanimously agree, "regime change should be considered an explanatory factor" (Villar 2016: 158)

The Argentina-Chile dispute is a clear case in which "a century-old conflict is resolved when domestic political changes, skillful mediation, and willingness to compromise converge" (Lindsley 1987: 453). Settlement of the Beagle Channel required attention, assistance, and altered preferences, *simultaneously*. Democratization in Argentina was necessary to create the necessary bargaining space. The democratic coalition voiced support for settlement, and Alfonsín both became unconstrained by past policies and recognized that the dispute's settlement would be required to reduce the military's influence further. Alfonsín's haste to resolve the dispute owed much to the uncertainties of Argentina's fragile transition, particularly the need to overcome the threat of a new coup by weakening the military (see Garrett 1985, 103). Democratization was thus clearly a necessary factor.

The resolution of the Cordillera del Cóndor dispute between Ecuador and Peru shows, once again, this relation between regime fragility and the success of negotiations. The process that finally led to a settlement formally started on April 15, 1997, in Brasilia, and was substantively hurried up by the political needs of both presidents. On the Ecuadoran side, former president Abdalá Bucaram had just been removed from office on February 14, 1997, under grounds of mental incapacity. The impeachment process took place swiftly between two to four weeks after Bucaram paid the first state visit by an Ecuadoran head of state to Peru in history (St John 1999: 41) a gesture that was taken as a sign of frailty by the military. Although it is unclear whether the nationalist opposition to the treaty was the main cause of the impeachment, his successor, Jamil Mahuad, was certainly aware that the Cordillera del Cóndor dispute could be a main driver of presidential instability and a rapid resolution was necessary to consolidate his government (McClintock and Vallas 2003: 82). Back in Lima, Fujimori also saw an agreement as a possible way to strengthen his authority and, more importantly, regain some reputation in the eyes of the inter-American community. Fujimori himself had closed Congress in a 1992 in an *autogolpe* (self-coup) that represented a regression into authoritarianism. Although George H. W. Bush had recognized Fujimori as the legitimate leader of Peru, and the Peruvian leader reopened Congress and fairly won the 1995 presidential elections – transitioning back to a democratic status – relations between Lima and Washington with regards to democracy

and human rights had become more and more stringent under the Clinton administration. In this context, the resolution of the Cenepa crisis became an opportunity for Fujimori to directly involve the Clinton administration, thus enhancing his reputation as a democratic and peaceful leader. Together with third-party assistance (see next section), democratization is taken to be one of the two main factors playing a central role in the settlement of this particular dispute (Ripsman 2016: 111-112).

Half century before similar dynamics had characterized the resolution of the Oriente-Mainas dispute. The period from the War of '41 to the final demarcation of the border in June 1945 coincides with the administration of Manuel Prado Ugarteche (1939-1945) who “having received a dictatorially governed Peru, had turned it over to his successor as a democratic country” (Chirinos Soto 1962: 62, cited in Pike 1967: 280). Similarly, Ecuador transitioned from a clear-cut dictatorship to a semi-democratic regime under populist leader José María Velazco Ibarra in 1944 (cf. Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013) who had been ousted by the military a decade before and was determined to curtail its power by supporting the final 1945 settlement.

Finally, the timing of the October 1980 General Treaty of Peace – also known as Lima accord – between El Salvador and Honduras also points to the importance of regime change in the resolution of resistant cases. The accord was signed only four months after Honduran General Policarpo Paz García, under pressure from the Carter administration, accepted to hold free and fair elections. The elections led to a transition in which Paz compromised to leave office by 1982, while a victorious Liberal Party agreed to accompany a process of gradual liberalization. Meanwhile, in El Salvador authoritarian President Carlos Humberto Romero was ousted by a coup on October 15, 1979, which promised democratization and social reform (Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013: 175). The new government, led by prominent civilian reformists, strongly endorsed the agreement with Honduras as a way to weaken military hardliners, but the liberalization attempt ended up failing due to polarization, the rise of a guerrilla movement, and ultimately, civil war. The window of opportunity for cooperation was virtually closed, but regime instability had produced the single most important step towards a long-lasting settlement.

Transition towards at least semi-democracy would finally take place in the mid-1980s, facilitating the accord that accepted an ICJ ruling to settle the dispute. El Salvador remained authoritarian until Napoleón Duarte won the 1984 elections.

Honduran President Roberto Suazo (1982-1986) also proved fairly impotent vis-à-vis the military and only with the victory of his rival José Azcona (1986-1990) would the country return to the path of democratization. It was precisely then that both countries signed the Special Agreement of May 24, 1986, in which they compromised to submit the issue of Bolsones and the Gulf of Fonseca to the ICJ. The *Special Agreement* of 24 May 1986 was signed on the first day of the Esquipulas meeting which gathered all Central American and many other Latin American governments in the common understanding that for democracies to consolidate it was imperative to end international disputes and domestic violence. It is suggestive that the episode only took place after the elections of Napoleón Duarte (1984) and José Azcona (1986), which allowed civilians to regain some control over the process (Ruhl 1996).

Yet, the final settlement would have to wait until full democratization. Only in 1989, after Honduras' elected President Rafael Callejas, could it drastically reduce military influence in the policy process (e.g., creating a civilian intelligence service), prosecuted the armed forces for their crimes (e.g., assigning a commissioner to investigate human rights abuses) and appointed civilians to carry out the negotiations, all moves that started to lay the ground for a definitive settlement.

Democratization in El Salvador was far more necessary. Its sheer necessity had to do with the presence of the *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN) in the disputed Bolsones (Bello and Cabrera 1997: 197). The guerrilla prevented the parties from presenting their territorial surveys to the ICJ and turned an eventual demarcation an impossible task. The FMLN had two conditions for demobilizing and allowing state officials access to the region: the creation of a civilian police force in El Salvador, and its participation as a political party in free and fair elections. Thus, full democratization became necessary for a peace accord, which in turn would unlock the territorial dispute. Both FMLN's conditions were met in the *Chapultepec Peace Accords* of January 16, 1992, which ended the civil war. The ICJ ruling followed suit on September 11, 1992. The parties accepted subsequently, and despite the antagonism of the Salvadoran military, the FMLN played a mayor role in facilitating its implementation (Bleichert 1992: 836).

This El Salvador-Honduras case gives us important inferential leverage regarding the individual necessity of altered preferences. El Salvador transitioned toward full-fledge democracy almost in parallel to the 1992 final settlement, which coincided with the peace accords that ended its civil war. As Mainwaring and Perez-

Liñán (2013: 204) put it: “international actors and influences decisively impacted [...] the peace accords of 1992, and the establishment of democracy in 1994 in El Salvador.” Moreover, the rarity of democracy in the history of these two countries indicates that this might have been a game-changing factor in this particular case. Honduras had experienced only twelve years of democratic rule before the settlement, while El Salvador had experienced none (Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013). Despite the continuous presence of militarization (attention) and third party involvement (assistance), settlement would have been impossible under a military government – for it would have meant the exclusion of the FMLN. In short, significant progress toward territorial settlement occurred *only* after significant democratization opened space for this progress. Settlement did not advance in its absence.

Again, ongoing resistant cases provide a good base for cross-case counterfactual reasoning. Until recently, Venezuela was, together with Colombia and Costa Rica, among the three most stable democracies in post-1945 Latin America. Accordingly, it was especially reluctant to relinquish its territorial claims. Belize provides a similar case, where democratic stability after independence has remained high and the state’s position regarding the territorial dispute has also remained intransigent.⁴ Even when regime change occurs, some cases are more stable and predictable than others. The endurance of the Bolivia-Chile dispute over Antofagasta, for example, illustrates how the strength of the military, in the context of a transition such as the Chilean one, can

⁴ Finally, resistant cases can also illustrate the importance of some regime dynamics. When protagonists such as Guatemala, Guyana, Suriname, and Venezuela experienced political crises, these also opened the possibility of negotiations in some occasions, which could have succeeded in the presence of our other necessary conditions. Let us entertain two very brief examples. As mentioned, Venezuela was a relatively stable democracy for all the period after Guayana’s independence in 1966. Yet, the single major step towards the resolution of its dispute with Guyana – the designation of the UN Secretary General as mediator – was taken on March 23, 1983, only one month after the Venezuelan Black Friday that set off the most serious economic crisis since the 1930s. The combination of high debt, inflation, depreciation of the Bolívar and the drop in oil prices – a configuration that resembles that of the current Maduro dictatorship – was among the major threats to Venezuelan democracy until the 2000s and closely correlated with our expected outcome.

A similar example is provided by the Belize-Guatemala dispute. Since 1986, Guatemala’s fragile democracy was characterized by frequent military coup attempts and the armed forces’ renounce to negotiate a peace accord with guerrilla movements. Trying to break loose of these military constraints, President Jorge Serrano recognized the sovereignty of Belize – until then considered a province of Guatemala – on August 14, 1991. The context of regime instability in which these decisions took place is evidenced by the May 1993 closure of Congress by Serrano (Orellana Portillo 2012), which led to his resignation on June 1st. His successor, Ramiro de León Carpio, reinstated the claim, but Serrano’s recognition led to a substantive limitation of the Guatemalan claim – roughly half of Belize – and allowed for the bilateral negotiations that have been going on since then.

prevent the resolution of disputes that might be otherwise be intended under more instable and uncertain contexts.⁵

3. Assistance through Mediation (Hypothesis 3)

Third party assistance was critical in putting Argentina and Chile on the negotiation track after they had almost gone to war. First and foremost, the involvement of the Vatican as a mediator in December 24, 1978 is universally seen as the main factor that avoided future escalation. In particular, the mediation was the main reason why Argentine plans to attack already underway were cancelled. According to Margarita Lisińska (2019: 118) “There was a general agreement among scholars as well as military officers speaking out years later, that the authority of John Paul II offering mediation was the most important factor which affected the decision...”

The support of the OAS and the UN would have granted Chile in the event of an Argentine attack played a significant role in moderating both Santiago and Buenos Aires too (Villar 2016: 83), and Washington played a prominent, though indirect role in this regard. Both Argentina and Chile had substantial interest in involving the United States as a mediator in the Beagle dispute as a way to divert attention from human rights violations – the central concern of the Carter administration. Amidst rising tensions, Robert Pastor, National Security Advisor to President Carter, claims that both parties sent him a letter on early December 1978, which asked Washington to mediate. The State Department was reluctant to abandon the human rights policy to get involved in a mediation effort and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who had a special relation with his countryman Pope John Paul II, facilitated the timely involvement of the Holy See (Villar 2016: 98-102). Thus, history points to the indirect influence of the United States and the OAS, and a more direct impact of the Vatican mediation.

Over the next two years, the disputants met repeatedly with the Pope and his representatives, who, in late 1980, proposed the terms that would eventually comprise the final formula for settlement. “The Vatican’s patient and persistent mediation effort prevented war and allowed confluence of events to aid the conclusion of this conflict” (Lindsay 1987: 451). Rome’s mediation, however, did not immediately resolve the

⁵ In February 1993, Particio Aylwin, the first president of the Chilean democracy, instructed its diplomatic corps to solve all pending disputes by December of that year, but military acquiescence remained key to the success of this moderate transition and the project had to be abandoned (St John 1994).

dispute. While Chile accepted the papal proposal with minor reservations, the Argentine military dismissed it after it was leaked to the press in 1981, and continued to consider resolving the dispute by force (see Arquilla and Moyano 2001). The nationalistic ideology that imbued the military continued to be a major impediment (Lisińska 2019: 120), and the institutional composition of both military governments allowed hardliners to systematically block any rapprochement (Villar 2016: 56-58, 62).

Thus, although centrally important, the Vatican mediation was not completely effective in leading to a resolution of the dispute (Princen 1992). This further strengthens our case that third parties were necessary, but not sufficient, for the resolution of resistant cases after 1945.

Third parties played a key role in the El Salvador-Honduras dispute over Bolsones and Gulf of Fonseca as well. After the 1969 Soccer War the OAS patrolled a demilitarized zone in the area of the *bolsones* (pockets) and acted as a facilitator until the “Convention for the Adoption of a Mediation Procedure between the Republics of El Salvador and Honduras,” was subscribed in October 1976. The agreement named the Peruvian magistrate and member of the ICJ, José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, as head of the mediation efforts that would end in the 1980 General Treaty of Peace (Lauterpacht and Greenwood 1994). Over the mid and late 1970s, Washington had pushed for a final resolution of the dispute over Bolsones between the two countries due to strategic concerns that the region was being used as a stronghold by guerrilla movements (Phil Gunson and Thompson 1991: 44-45). During the early Reagan years, however, the United States was too involved in Central America to be an effective mediator, and effectively blocked other mediation attempts.

During 1985, however, the Contadora (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela) and Contadora Support (Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay) groups began to effectively provide mediation, as this particular territorial issue began to be regarded as an integral part of the Central American conflict (Wehr and Lederach 1991). The involvement of Latin American neighbors would be important to foster the recognition of the ICJ by both parties on May 24, 1986. The agreement took place in Guatemala, in the context of the Esquipulas Declaration, in which several other Central American governments addressed other concerns related to international and domestic peace in the region. One year later the Esquipulas II accord established an International Verification and Follow-up Commission, consisting of the Secretary General of the

OAS and the Secretary General of the UN, who effectively accompanied the El Salvador-Honduras process until the final ICJ ruling was issued in 1992.

In all the aforementioned cases, it is third party pressure and not dispute resolution mechanisms themselves that produced the settlement. Quite on the contrary, when mediation, arbitration, or adjudication is intended without overwhelming political backup, the process can backfire. The rejection of arbitration awards was a main cause of escalation in resistant case disputes.⁶ Conversely, when outside pressure existed and conflict resolution mechanisms were absent, the resolution of resistant cases was also facilitated. The Rio de la Plata dispute illustrated this point. The Argentina-Uruguay dispute fits this narrative in a slightly different way. Pressure from third parties was necessary to instill cooperation between Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In this particular case, however, cooperation was not favored only by third party facilitation, mediation, or arbitration. Third parties, in general, were excluded from the negotiation process in an issue that was considered by the parties as bilateral (Castillo 2008: 47-53). The key external push was the Brazilian threat to control strategically the water flows of the Plata Basin, which became clear when a treaty between Brazil and Paraguay in April 1973 provided for the construction of the Itaipú Dam. The Argentine and Uruguayan military saw the project as evidence of a Brazilian threat and chose to secure their alliance by settling their contentious issues (Biswas 2013: 79).⁷ This, however, did not mean that mediation did not play a central role in the signature of the Treaty of the Rio de la Plata and its Maritime Limits. Quite on the contrary, a Mixed Technical Commission created by both governments in 1971 did almost all the work that led to the final version of the treaty. The technical commission played the role of a mediator, crafting a mutually acceptable solution that was then available to the parties when regime change took place in Argentina and negotiations were sped up. Moreover, the

⁶ In particular arbitration was very problematic in the absence of an international environment that compelled both actors to accept the award. In the Oriente-Mainas dispute the Spanish Arbitration of 1887, for instance, was suspended several times and its final 1910 award almost led to war between the two countries after Ecuador rejected it (Tobar and Tobar 1994). A similar situation took place in January 1978, when Argentina declared the award by Queen Elisabeth II – which granted the islands in the Beagle Channel to Chile – to be insuperably null and void.

⁷ When the Uruguayan president visited his peer in Buenos Aires during February 1974 to deposit the instruments of ratification of the Río de la Plata Treaty, both chief executives signed an agreement to build the Salto Grande Dam over the Uruguay River. Historians agree the decision to co-build this dam was taken by both presidents during a phone call in June 1973 – a few months after the Itaipú treaty – and the resolution of the river dispute was necessary to move forward. All this provides further evidence that the territorial settlement was driven by third party pressure (Escudé and Cisneros 2000: 220).

possibility of reversion to the ICJ – recognized in article 87 of the treaty – was a key to defining Montevideo’s willingness to participate as well.

The settlement of the Oriente-Mainas dispute between Ecuador and Peru in 1945 offers another good illustration of a case where mediators were a necessary condition of settlement (see Simmons 1999, 19). In the midst of World War II, the United States were certainly very interested in reaching a peaceful settlement of this dispute but fearing a direct intervention would divert the Department of State’s attention from the war scenarios and alienate Latin American allies, Roosevelt tried to avoid getting directly involved (Wood 1966: 338; Wood 1978: 147). Instead, the United States supported the good offices of the Brazilian foreign minister Oswaldo Aranha. The 1942 Rio Protocol determined that a Demarcation Commission led by Braz Dias de Aguiar, the chief of the Brazilian boundary service, would award the new borders. Argentina, Chile, and the United States actively participated as guarantors that the demarcation would be in accordance with the terms of the agreement. Together with Brazil, these countries played a central – some would say fundamental (Palmer 1999) – role in assisting the parties.⁸ After the demarcation was completed, the United States Army Air Force surveyed the zone of the settlement in support of the Demarcation Commission, providing maps and revealing new details about the topography and hydrography of the region.⁹

When the Cenepa War broke out in late January 1995, the Ecuadoran President’s first reaction was to call the guarantors of the Rio Protocol to intervene again in order to settle the Cordillera del Cóndor dispute, which was at the heart of the frictions. The four countries and the OAS acted as powerful constraints on both parts as hostilities developed for a month or so (Palmer 1996). In fact, both parties were already sitting in the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations only a few days after the initiation of hostilities, negotiating the terms of the Itamaraty Peace Declaration of February 17, 1995. The guarantors also deployed 112 soldiers under the United Nation’s Military Observer Mission Ecuador-Peru (MOMEPE) – the entire contingent – on March 12. In

⁸ Aranha played a particularly important role in the process, acting as a de-facto arbiter over the practical disputes that appeared as a result of the demarcation (Krieg 1986: 129).

⁹ These maps showed a fundamental flaw in the demarcation of the areas near the Cenepa River, which would be at the core of the subsequent Cordillera del Cóndor dispute. In 1948 Quito ordered not demarcate the zone and in 1960 declared the Rio Protocol null. However, most of the border besides the Cenepa River region had been demarcated already and the Oriente-Mainas dispute remained broadly settled in this second phase.

the Santiago Agreements of October 1996, Ecuador and Peru decided that the guarantors would be the ones to decide the terms of a settlement should the parts prove unable to reach a solution. Therefore, envisioning renewed tensions, Presidents Fujimori and Mahuad decided to meet US President Bill Clinton in the White House on October 9, 1998, and asked the United States to propose a final solution, which the United States did together with the other three guarantors. The Global and Definitive Peace Agreement was signed on 26 October 1998 under the terms proposed by the guarantors (St John 1999: 43).

Could Ecuador and Peru have settled their dispute without third-party mediators? It is highly unlikely. During 1942-1947 and 1995-1998, third parties stalled the dispute's escalation, facilitated bilateral agreements, enabled demarcation, reaffirmed the importance of signed agreements, constrained war-time hostilities, deployed a military observation mission, and proposed the settlement terms eventually adopted. Negating all these activities demands a major rewrite of history (Tetlock and Belkin 1996). Moreover, even though democratization and militarization frequently occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, mediators could not effectively intervene for most of the time, and Ecuador and Peru failed to settle until mediators assisted (see Day 1987). This relative rarity of mediation means this case offers strong proof of its necessity.

Again, looking at ongoing resistant cases provides material for some cross-case inferences. For instance, states in the Southern Cone and the United Kingdom comprise an important part of the sample of countries that have not settled their disputes. This suggests that third party assistance in the form of mediations are key to resolved these disputes, given the consistent reluctance to involve third parties that has characterized London's foreign policy.¹⁰

¹⁰ In some cases, such as the Falklands/Malvinas dispute, authors have explicitly identified the lack of third party assistance as a crucial factor (Tulchin 1987). The main counterfactual involved here could be posed as follows: What if both parties involved in the Belize, Corentyn, Essequibo, and Malvinas/Falklands dispute had been Latin American states? A cursory review of these disputes suggests that the parties would have resorted to their party assistance and these disputes would most probably have been resolved already. Third parties played virtually no role in the Guatemala-Belize dispute during most of Belize's colonial history. The United States and the United Kingdom had an explicit understanding over the status of British Honduras before 1945 and then the issue was seen primarily as a self-determination question, which postponed the resolution of the dispute. During the existence of British Guyana, the Venezuelan claim over Essequibo was virtually free from any external constraints as well. As with the Falklands/Malvinas, Belize, and Corentyn issue, the dispute involved the overlapping issue of decolonization and its resolution, which ultimately depended on a geopolitical understanding between London and Washington, had to be postponed until self-determination was achieved. After being precluded for more than a century, third party involvement has certainly become a possibility after the independence of Belize, Guyana, and Suriname, but a final resolution remains elusive, probably because of the absence of the other two key factors we highlight in our model.

Appendix D. The United States in Latin America post-1945

In considering whether US hegemony might be responsible for the convergence of the three key factors, we first consider whether US influence was present in negative cases (i.e., cases of no-militarization, no-democratization, and no-third party intervention). We then consider the five resistant cases that settled in the post-1945 era and explore to what extent US influence could have been influencing our factors of interest.

1. Failure

If Washington was driving resistant case settlement we should see some convergence between US policy change and our three factors of interest. This implies US influences should have been absent when the three factors – and thus the outcome – are absent. Nevertheless, US influences seem to be rather constant throughout long periods of time and sometimes working strongly against our conditions of interest.

1.1. US Preferences for Democratization

A literature on the role of the US in Latin American episodes of democratization considers regime related influences coming from Washington to be relatively uniform across the region instead of country-specific. Thus, it is unlikely that these would have affected only our cases of settlement and not others. Regime policies were unclear – and sometimes pro-authoritarian – from 1945 to 1977 with exception of the Truman (Bethell and Roxborough 1992; Schwartzberg 2003) and Kennedy (Smith 1991; Tulchin 1988) years – and largely pro-democratic from the Carter Administration onwards – with the possible exception of the early Reagan years (Acevedo and Grossman 1996; Carothers 1991; Handelman and Griffin Sanders 1981; Legler et al 2007; Lowenthal 1991; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013; Robinson 2000; Sikkink 2004; Smith 1994; Whitehead 1986, 1996; Wiarda 1986). A recent study shows that even in periods when the US was insistently pushing for democratization, its causal impact is mixed. Only 9 out of 18 episodes of democratization happen post-1977 – i.e. during the most proactive era of democratic promotion during which the US be considered as having an important causal impact in the transition (Schenoni and Mainwaring 2019). Most transitions towards semi-democracy or democracy – i.e., those relevant to our analysis in figures 3

and 4 (see Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013) – tend to occur when the US does not offer clear support for democracy (1945-1977) precisely because intermittent breakdowns happen in that period as well. More consistent support for democracy from Washington post-1977 meant countries democratized once and for all in that period. Relevant for our analysis is that dyads with resistant disputes democratized the most when the US was not pushing for democratization, and only three out of ten resistant disputes settled – thus, only three out of our twenty countries democratized – in periods when the US was uniformly pushing for democracy in the whole region. For these reasons the impact the US is exercising through democratization proves very small.

1.2. US Preference for Settlement and Disposition to Facilitate

One might think that the US could change its policy toward particular dyad of countries in a particular moment, simply causing the settlement of a dispute by intervening. Our review of US-Latin American relations literature that deals more or less directly with territorial disputes and militarization, however, suggests that the US was invariably in favor of settlement in most of these cases and yet was wary to intervene, doing so only in specific instances where both parties looked for its support and such intervention would not harm the US strategically. In particular, anti-Americanism was always a concern in a region that was very sensitive to Washington's intrusions (Atkins 1999; Bertucci 2013; Cottam 1994; Francis 1977; Kenworthy 1995; Kryzanek 1990; Lieuwen 1965; Long 2015; Lowenthal 1991; Middlebrook and Rico 1986; Palmer 2006; Pastor 2001; Schoultz 1998; Smith 2000; Teixeira 2012; Tulchin 2016). During the Cold War and its aftermath the degree of US influence varies considerably (Brands 2010) with it increasing after the Helsinki Accords and, most notably, after the fall of the USSR. Yet these ebbs and flows do not correlate with the presence of third party intervention (see figures 3 and 4). Interventions also tended to produce negative outcomes. At different points in time, Washington tried to push for the settlement of the Malvinas/Falklands (Norden and Russell 2002: 27; Escudé and Cisneros 2000: 135), Antofagasta (Sater 1990: 73), Belize (Handy 1984: 154), and Essequibo (Erwel 1996: 254; Romero and Kelly 2002: 109-111) disputes, but this involvement failed to lead to settlement. Moreover, when US tried to intervene more forcibly, resistant disputes tended to harden because one of the parties became suspicious US involvement would harm its position. In general Washington seems aware of this and prefers not to intervene as a third party, not even when asked to do so.

1.3. US Preferences against Militarization

The main reason why the US is implausibly driving the convergence of our three factors of interest is Washington's invariable opposition to militarization in the hemisphere. The aim to prevent militarization and escalation was the most consistent feature of Washington's policy towards the hemisphere post-1945. Embassy cables often record every incident of this type with dramatic detail. Even if the US might have supported democratization effectively in many cases and did provide assistance as a third party in particular contexts, we fail to identify instances of militarization in the hemisphere that were supported by Washington. The only exceptions regard cases in which the US was directly involved – e.g. interventions such as in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Haiti – or indirectly involved – e.g., in the Central American crises. In most of these cases the MID was not caused by nor related to a territorial dispute. Thus, the US could explain settlement failure through deterring militarization – all the white boxes in our crossword diagram – but not success – black boxes, i.e. the phenomenon we are interested in. This leads to one alternative question: Did the US *prevent* the settlement of resistant cases by preventing militarization? Those who have entertained this particular puzzle find that MID occurrence in Latin America is far more common than this hypothesis suggests (Mares 2001) and American influence fails to predict the phenomenon (see also Kacowicz 2005; Martin 2006).

2. Success

Now we turn to our cases of successful resistant case settlement: Río de la Plata, Beagle, Oriente, Cordillera del Cóndor, and Bolsones-Fonseca. If the hypothesis that the US is driving the process is to perform reasonably, we should evidence an important deal of American involvement causing democratization, third party intervention, and militarization in these cases, or directly causing settlement independent of our proposed causal mechanism.

2.1. US and Democratization Preceding Settlement

The settlement of the Río de la Plata dispute was possible thanks to the change in preferences brought about by Argentine democratization in 1973, yet the US was supporting authoritarianisms at the time. This is evident in CIA's involvement in the

1973 coup against the government of Salvador Allende in Chile (Jensen 1989; Valenzuela 1978) as well as support for the coup of Bordaberry in Uruguay during the same year (Kauffman 1979: 11; Leighton and Lopez 2015: xv; Gillespie 1984), which reached to high level officials such as Kissinger and Nixon himself. Thus, US influence worked in the inverse direction as expected. During the Beagle settlement (another episode of Argentine democratization) the US had changed to a more consistently pro-democratic policy. Washington did support Argentine elections in 1983. Unlike in other Latin American cases, however, the process seems to have been domestically driven with the US playing a very secondary role (Russell 1987: 43-44; Escudé and Cisneros 2000). Similar inconsistencies with this argument arise if one inspects the juncture of the Oriente-Mainas settlement. In the same five year period, Washington failed to condemn Colonel Odría's coup in Peru (1948) and thus cannot be seen as a pro-democratic actor (McClintock and Vallas 2003: 10; Clayton 1999: 175; see also Carey 1964).

Only in the junctures of the Bolsones-Fonseca and Cordillera del Cóndor settlements can US influence be seen as decisive in the way to democratization. In Honduras (Binns 2000: 53; Carothers 1991: 51) as in El Salvador (Arnson 1993: 158; Bosch 1999: 69-72; Karl 1986; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013: 186; McClintock 1985; Sikink 2004: 170-173) moderates in Washington played a central role in generating some convergence toward centrist forces in those countries, which eventually succeeded in the elections of 1982 and 1984, respectively. Support was far from straightforward, however, with the US also supporting the training of military and paramilitary forces in both countries, and providing enormous amounts of military aid to dictators. The Cordillera del Cóndor, might be the only of our five cases of success in which settlement coincides with the success of US pro-democratic pressures that brought Peru back to the democratic track (Kenney 2004; Palmer 1996: 223). Still, other authors might argue that the OAS and not the US played the key role in that process (Pevehouse 2005: 133).

2.2. US as a Third Party in Successful Settlements

The case for influential US third party intervention in successful cases is similarly difficult to make. In fact, the contrary seems to be true, with Washington trying not to play a relevant role as a facilitator in the resolution of these disputes. The US played no role whatsoever in the settlement of the Río de la Plata dispute. In the

case of the Beagle, Bolsones-Fonseca, Oriente-Mainas, and Cordillera del Cóndor, the US was clearly interested in deterring escalation and bringing about a resolution, yet it always played a secondary role and tried to have a different actor assume protagonism. As noted above in Appendix C, Zbigniew Brzezinski, who had a close relation with Pope John Paul II, facilitated the timely involvement of the Holy See that led Argentina and Chile to the negotiating table (Villar 2016: 98-102). In the Central American crises, the US progressively lost a role as a possible facilitator to the members of the Contadora Group – then the Rio Group – formed by Latin American states (Wehr and Lederach 1991). In both Peru-Ecuador disputes, Roosevelt and then Clinton tried to avoid getting directly involved (St John 1999: 43; Wood 1966: 338; Wood 1978: 147) relying on the good offices of Brazil and the other guarantors of the Rio Protocol. In all these cases Washington seems to be trying to avoid being seen as interfering in other countries' sovereign affairs.

2.3. US and Militarization in Successful Settlements

In the MIDs that preceded our five resistant case settlements Washington seems to be in complete opposition to militarization. In fact, in all the cases the US seems clearly alarmed by the events and mobilizes its diplomacy in one way or another to prevent escalation. Thus, although the MIDs clearly capture the attention of Washington, it seems unlikely that they are caused by the US in even the most indirect fashion.

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