



THE POLITICS OF VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

Edited by Pablo Policzer

ISBN 978-1-55238-907-2

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY:**

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT:**

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.



Acknowledgement: We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher, **re.press**, and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy <http://www.re-press.org>

CONTRIBUTORS

MICHELLE D. BONNER is professor of political science at the University of Victoria. Among other books, she is the author of *Policing Protest in Argentina and Chile* (2014), which was awarded the Canadian Political Science Association's 2015–16 Comparative Politics Book Prize, and is now available in Spanish. She is also the coeditor of *Police Abuse in Contemporary Democracies* (2018), as well as the author of many articles. She is currently working on a book manuscript on the role of media in punitive populism. She has been publishing on issues pertaining to democracy and police violence for many years, which she views through the lens of protest policing, punitive populism, media, transitional justice, and discourse.

ANDREAS E. FELDMANN is associate professor in the Latin American and Latino Studies Program and Department of Political Science and principal investigator of the Global Immigration Cluster Initiative at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He investigates topics in the intersection of comparative politics and international relations with a focus on Latin America. His research interests include forced migration, political violence and terrorism, human rights, and South-South cooperation. He is the author of *New Migration Patterns in the Americas: Challenges for the 21st Century* (2018) and has published articles in various journals, including *Politics and Society*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Forced Migration Review*, and *Latin American Politics and Society*, among others. Dr. Feldmann has worked as a consultant of the International Development Research Centre, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and has served as assistant to the Special Rapporteur on Migrant Workers and Members of their Families of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (2000–6). He previously worked at the Instituto de Ciencia Política

of the Universidad Católica de Chile (2005-14) and the Human Rights Program of the University of Chicago (2003-5). He earned a PhD in political science at the University of Notre Dame.

FRANCISCO GUTIÉRREZ SANÍN is one of the leading experts on the intersections between politics and violence in Latin America. He studied anthropology at the Universidad de los Andes in Colombia and earned a PhD in political science from the University of Warsaw. He is a researcher at the prestigious Institute of Political Studies and International Relations at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. He is also currently a columnist for *El Espectador* (Bogotá) and heads the Observatory on Land Restitution, created to monitor the process of returning land to farmers. Some of his recent publications include “What Should We Mean by ‘Pattern of Political Violence’? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique,” *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 1 (2017): 20–41 (coauthored with Elizabeth Wood); “Agrarian Elite Participation in Colombia’s Civil War,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17, no. 4 (2017): 739–48 (coauthored with Jennifer Vargas); and “The FARC’s Militaristic Blueprint,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 29, no. 4 (2018): 629–53.

J. PATRICE MCSHERRY is a professor and researcher currently associated with the Instituto de Estudios Avanzados (Institute for Advanced Studies) of the University of Santiago, Chile, and Long Island University. She holds a PhD in political science from the CUNY Graduate School. A three-time Fulbright Award recipient, she has won various academic honors and grants, including the David Newton Award for Excellence in Teaching, Long Island University (2008) and the Distinguished Alumni Award from the Political Science MA-PhD Program of the Graduate Center, City University of New York (2009). She is the author of *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960s–1973* (2015); *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (2005), named a Choice Outstanding Academic Title in 2006; *Incomplete Transition: Military Power and Democracy in Argentina* (1997; reissued 2008); and the coeditor (with John Ehrenberg, José Ramón Sánchez, and Caroleen Marji Sayer) of *The Iraq Papers* (2010). She has written numerous articles on the New Song movement, military regimes in Latin America, Operation Condor, the Cold War, and US foreign policy in Latin America. Dr. McSherry has taught courses on these themes as well as on human rights, transitions to democracy, and Latin American politics.

ANTHONY W. PEREIRA is a professor and director of the Brazil Institute at King's College London. He has a BA in politics from Sussex University and an MA and PhD in government from Harvard University. He has held positions at the New School for Social Research, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tulane University, and the University of East Anglia. His books include *Ditadura e Repressão* (2010); (with Lauro Mattei) *The Brazilian Economy Today: Towards a New Socio-Economic Model?* (2015); and (with Jeff Garmany) *Understanding Contemporary Brazil* (2019). Dr. Pereira is currently working on a book on the formation of the Brazilian state. He can be reached at anthony.pereira@kcl.ac.uk.

PABLO PICCATO (BA, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989; PhD, University of Texas at Austin, 1997) is professor in the Department of History, Columbia University. His research and teaching focus on modern Mexico, particularly on crime, politics, and culture. He has taught as visiting faculty in universities in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and France, and has been director of Columbia's Institute of Latin American Studies, vice chair of the Department of History, and university senator. His books include *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931* (2001), *The Tyranny of Opinion: Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere* (2010), and *A History of Infamy: Crime, Truth, and Justice in Mexico* (2017).

PABLO POLICZER is an associate professor of political science and the director of the Latin American Research Centre at the University of Calgary. A specialist in comparative politics, his research focuses on the evolution of violent conflict—especially among armed actors such as militaries, police forces, and nonstate armed groups—in authoritarian and democratic regimes. He held the Canada Research Chair in Latin American Politics (2005–15), at the University of Calgary, and was also an active fellow at the Latin American Research Centre before being appointed director in 2015. His book *The Rise and Fall of Repression in Chile* (2009) was named a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title by the Association of College and Research Libraries, and won the 2010 award for best book in comparative politics from the Canadian Political Science Association. Dr. Policzer obtained his PhD in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his BA (honours, first class) in political science from the University of British Columbia.

JENNIFER SCHIRMER holds a PhD in political anthropology. She is currently a 2018–21 visiting fellow at the Latin America and Caribbean Centre at the London School of Economics, and an affiliate at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University. Between 2000 and 2013, she directed a dialogue project that served as a precursor to the peace talks under Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos. In addition, between 2013 and 2016, she organized over twenty-five Seminars to help skill the Technical Sub-Commission for the drafting of a bilateral ceasefire and disarmament and demobilization program for the negotiations in Havana with the FARC. In 2017, she served as an independent consultant to the ELN process. She is currently writing a book on the Colombian peace process. Her book *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy* won a PIOOM Human Rights Award. She is the recipient of two John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grants for her research on the insurgency in Guatemala and the relatives of the disappeared in Argentina and Chile.

INDEX

A

Accord among Parties for Democracy. *See* *Concertación*
acuerdo humanitario, 179. *See also* Chávez, Hugo
 Acuña, Jorge, 130. *See also* Carabineros de Chile
 Agee, Philip, 55. *See also* CIA
Alarma!, 97. *See also* *nota roja*
 Allende, Salvador, 59, 65
 Álvarez Vargas, Víctor Julio, 191
 Alvear, Soledad, 125
 Amnesty International, 119
 anemic states, 30
 anticommunism, 54, 58, 79
 Anti-Terrorist Statute. *See* Decree 180
 Arancibia Clavel, Enrique, 70. *See also* DINA
 Árbenz, Jacobo, 59, 62
 Archives of Terror, 69
 Arellano Félix clan, 95. *See also* drug trafficking
 Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 22–25, 33, 38–39, 41. *See also* *Chimères*; Fanmi Lavalas
 Armée du Nord, 25. *See also* Phillippe, Guy
 Attorney's syndrome. *See* *síndrome de la procuraduría*
 AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), 204. *See also* paramilitaries
 Aylwin, Patricio, 133. *See also* Christian Democratic Party (Chile); *Concertación*

B

Bachelet, Michelle, 10, 122, 124, 127, 130, 134
 Barco, Virgilio, 176, 201
 Bernalés Ramírez, José Alejandro, 128, 131. *See also* Carabineros de Chile
 Betancourt, Ingrid, 178–79, 181. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia
 Betancur, Belisario, 176
 Bolaño, Roberto, 89, 103, 105
 Bolivarian Movement, 212. *See also* Chávez, Hugo
 Bordaberry, Juan María, 68
 Brazilian police, 11, 145; and the 1964–85 military dictatorship, 151; during the first presidency of Getúlio Vargas, 150; in the Old Republic, 150; main historical functions, 150

C

CAEM (Curso de Altos Estudios Militares), 208, 214–15, 222, 227, 230
 Cali Cartel, 202, 239n10. *See also* drug trafficking
 Candido Mendes University, 151
 Cannibal Army, 25
 Cano, Alfonso, 211. *See also* FARC
 Carabineros de Chile, 10, 84n48, 113, 117; and land disputes, 119; and repression of social protest, 118–120; and social accountability, 122, 124–129, 130–133; and the Interior Ministry (*see* Interior Ministry [Chile]); during the Pinochet regime, 119

- Cardemil, Alberto, 128. *See also* National Renewal Party (Chile)
- Carter administration, 60
- Castaño, Carlos, 204. *See also* AUC; paramilitaries
- Ceasefire Seminars-Workshops, 200–201, 227, 231
- CEDPH (Conselho Estadual de Defesa de Pessoa Humana), 156
- Cedras, Raoul, 22, 24, 39
- Centre for Studies of Criminality and Public Security. *See* CRISP
- Centre for Studies of Security and Citizenship. *See* CESeC
- Centre for the Study of Coercive Institutions. *See* NIC
- Centre for the Study of Violence. *See* NEV
- Centro Democrático, 237. *See also* Duque, Iván; Uribe, Álvaro
- Cepeda, Fernando, 187
- CESeC (Centro de Estudos de Segurança e Cidadania), 151
- Chamblain, Louis-Jodel, 25. *See also* Phillippe, Guy
- Chávez, Hugo, 76, 179, 212
- chefs de section*, 25, 31
- Chicago Boys, 117. *See also* Pinochet regime
- Chilean coup of 1973, 54, 65, 114, 117, 119, 133, 187. *See also* Allende, Salvador; Pinochet regime
- Chilean Criminal Code, 123
- Chilean National Police. *See* Carabineros de Chile
- Chimères*, 24. *See also* Aristide, Jean-Bertrand; Fanmi Lavalas
- Christian Democratic Party (Chile), 125
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 55, 62–66, 72–73
- Clopatofsky, Jairo, 188
- COET (Comando Estratégico de Transición), 233, 236
- College of Journalists (Chile), 131–32. *See also* Guillier, Alejandro
- Colombian Constitution of 1991, 176, 185, 189
- Colombian Constitutional Court, 186
- Colombian drug cartels, 39. *See also* Cali Cartel; drug trafficking
- Colombian kidnappings. *See* kidnapping in Colombia
- Colombian peace referendum, 236
- Colosio, Luis Donaldo, 102, 110n33. *See also* murder in Mexico
- communiqué 002, 181. *See also* FARC
- Concertación*, 134. *See also* Christian Democratic Party (Chile); Socialist Party of Chile; Party for Democracy (Chile)
- Conference of American Armies, 67
- Conference of Intelligence Commanders, 68
- contempt-for-authority legislation in Chile, 122–23. *See also* Chilean Criminal Code; Law of State Security (Chile)
- contingency, 4–5, 7, 9, 19, 27, 35, 80, 147
- contingent factors for violence: globalization, 7–8, 21–22, 35–38, 41–42; influencing factors, 37
- Contreras, Manuel, 66, 68. *See also* DINA
- Convivir*, 190–192, 197n54. *See also* Superintendencia de Vigilancia y Seguridad Privada
- Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students (Chile), 122. *See also* Sanhueza, María Jesús
- Correa, Rafael, 211
- corregedoria*, 153, 157–60, 168n55, 169n65. *See also* Brazilian police; Police Ombudsmen
- corruption in Haiti, perceptions of, 39
- corvéé*, 30
- counterhegemony, 56, 76, 78
- counterinsurgency regime, 54–55, 58, 73, 75, 80
- Covas, Mario, 157
- criminal violence, 1, 3, 5, 89, 96, 104, 171

CRISP (Centro de Estudios de Criminalidade e Segurança Pública), 151
 Cuban Revolution, 53, 58, 61. *See also* Guevara, Ernesto (Che)
 Curso de Altos Estudios Estratégicos, 200

D

DAS (Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad), 191–92
 DDR (disarmament and demobilization programs), 206, 229, 231–32, 236, 243n66
 De Quincey, Thomas, 90
 DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration), 210, 239n10. *See also* drug trafficking
 Decree 180, 176
 demilitarized zone, 203, 207, 239n13. *See also* San Vicente del Caguán; *zona de despeje*
 democratic security policy, 210, 222, 228
 democratization in Haiti, 38
 democratization of violence, 224
 Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, 30
 DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), 71. *See also* CIA
 DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, Chile), 66, 68, 70, 84n48, 119. *See also* Contreras, Manuel; DNII; SIDE
 DNII (Dirección Nacional de Información e Inteligencia, Uruguay), 63–64. *See also* DINA; SIDE
 Document NSC-141, 61
 drug trafficking, 76, 89, 91, 102–3, 210–11, 224. *See also* Arellano Félix clan; Cali Cartel; Colombian drug cartels; DEA; Gulf Cartel; Los Zetas
 Duque, Iván, 237, 243n71
Duro y directo, 102. *See also* *nota roja*
 Duvalier regime, 21–22, 35, 38–39, 41

E

Echeverri Mejía, Gilberto, 191
 economic explanations of violence in Haiti, 33–35
 Edwards, Agustín, 123. *See also* *El Mercurio* (Chile); Fundación Paz Ciudadana
El Mercurio (Chile): as a media conglomerate, 117; as agenda-setting news source, 116; during the Pinochet dictatorship, 117
El Tiempo (Bogotá), 184, 188
 ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional), 174, 176, 178, 180, 200, 202–4, 207, 216, 218–25, 236–37, 239n19, 240n31, 240n33, 243n66
 emancipation in Haiti, 30–31
 Embassy of the Dominican Republic, takeover of, 174. *See also* M-19
encapuchados, 126. *See also* Carabineros de Chile; *El Mercurio* (Chile)
 EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación), 176, 202, 238n4
 Escalona, Camilo, 125, 132–33. *See also* Socialist Party of Chile
 Escuela Superior de Guerra (Colombia). *See* War College
 ESMA (Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada), 67. *See also* Orletti Motors; SIDE
 Espina, Alberto, 130. *See also* National Renewal Party (Chile)

F

Falklands War, 60
 Fanmi Lavalas, 24. *See also* Aristide, Jean-Bertrand; *Chimères*
 FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia), 13, 174, 176–79, 181, 183, 194n1, 194n15, 200, 202–5, 207–8, 210–13, 217–18, 220–22, 225–27, 229–30, 232–43
 Federal University of Minas Gerais, 151
 Federal University of Pernambuco, 151
 Fifth Summit of the Americas, 146

Ford administration, 71
 Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs)
 list, 210. *See also* FARC; US State
 Department
 Fort Gulick, 63. *See also* Panama Canal
 Zone; School of the Americas; Special
 Forces
 François, Michel, 22. *See also* Cedras, Raoul
 FRAPH (Front Révolutionnaire pour
 l'Avancement et le Progrès Haïtien), 24
 Frente Amplio (Uruguay), 59
 Frente Nacional (Colombia), 174
 Front de Reconstruction Nationale, 25. *See*
 also Metayer, Buteur
 Front de Resistance du Sud, 25. *See also* *chefs*
 de section
 Fuentes Alarcón, Jorge Isaac, 72, 84n48. *See*
 also Rettig Commission (Chile)
 Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 123. *See also*
 Edwards, Agustín

G

Galeano, Eduardo, 146
 García Núñez, Sergio, 101
 Gavazzo, José, 69–70, 72. *See also* Orletti
 Motors
 Gaviria, César, 177, 190, 201–2, 223, 240n33,
 241n49
 George W. Bush administration, 77. *See also*
 War on Terror
 Giardi, Guido, 131–32. *See also* Party for
 Democracy (Chile)
 Gómez, Camilo, 204, 209, 226, 239n16. *See*
 also Office of the High Commissioner
 for Peace
 González Rodríguez, Sergio, 105. *See also*
 Bolaño, Roberto
 Goulart, João, 59
 Green Berets, 63. *See also* Special Forces
 Guevara, Ernesto (Che), 63. *See also* Cuban
 Revolution

Guillier, Alejandro, 132–33. *See also* College
 of Journalists (Chile)
 Gulf Cartel, 95. *See also* drug trafficking; Los
 Zetas

H

Haiti earthquake of 2010, 19, 26
 Havana peace talks, 200, 208, 212–13, 221,
 223, 227, 229, 231, 233–34, 236–37. *See*
 also FARC
 Henríquez, Héctor, 130–131. *See also*
 Carabineros de Chile
Huesos en el desierto, 105. *See also* González
 Rodríguez, Sergio
 Human Rights Commission (Chile), 129, 131
 Human Rights Watch, 119

I

Ibáñez del Campo, Carlos, 118. *See also*
 Interior Ministry (Chile)
 ICC (International Criminal Court), 77
 IMF (International Monetary Fund), 59, 76
 Independent Democrat Union (Chile), 130
 Independent International Commission on
 Decommissioning of the IRA, 232
inquérito policial, 151
 Instituto São Paulo Contra Violência, 151
 Intelligence Advisory Committee (Operation
 Condor), 72. *See also* CIA; DIA
 Inter-American System, 54, 64, 74; Cold War
 Inter-American Security System, 61;
 Inter-American Defense Board, 61
intercambio humanitario, 178. *See also*
 Betancourt, Íngrid
 Interior Ministry (Chile), 132–33
 internal enemies' doctrine, 54, 61, 64

J

Jara, Osvaldo Ezequiel, 130–31. *See also*
 Carabineros de Chile
 Johnson, Lyndon, 63. *See also* Rostow, Walt

K

kidnapping in Colombia: and the death penalty, 186–88, 196n51; as a political tool against the system, 174; as policing mechanism, 181; by common criminals, 177; formal institutional responses to, 183; in the 1960s, 174; in the 1990s, 176; industrialization of, 174, 180, 183
Kissinger, Henry, 65. *See also* Nixon, Richard
Krassnoff, Miguel, 72. *See also* DINA; School of the Americas (SOA)

L

L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 30
La Moneda (palace), 126, 128
La Nación (Buenos Aires), 120
La Prensa (Mexico), 99
La Técnica (Dirección Nacional de Asuntos Técnicos, Paraguay), 63. *See also* DINA, DNII, SIDE
La Tercera (Santiago), 117
La Violencia, 174
Law 733 (Colombia), 186, 189, 196n42
Law of State Security (Chile), 118, 123
Ley Antisecuestro 40 (Colombia), 185
López Obrador, Andrés Manuel, 105
Los Zetas, 95. *See also* drug trafficking

M

M-19 (Movimiento 19 de abril), 174–76, 180, 182, 220, 222, 237
Malvinas War. *See* Falklands War
maras, 223
Margolles, Teresa, 96
Martelly, Michele, 26
Marulanda, Manuel, 222, 239n16. *See also* FARC
MAS (Muerte a Secuestradores), 175. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia; M-19

mechanisms, 6–7, 9, 12–14, 21–22, 28, 30, 36, 41, 43, 57, 80, 94, 115, 121–22, 127, 130, 135–36, 145, 147–48, 151–52, 163, 185, 224
Médici, Emílio Garrastazu, 65
Mendoza, Élder, 103. *See also* murder in Mexico
Mercado, José Raquel, 174
Metayer, Buteur, 25
Metinides, Enrique, 96
Michelsen, Camila, 180, 182. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia
Military Code of Justice (Chile), 123
Ministry of Defense (Chile), 132–33, 141n81
Moïse, Jovenel, 26
Montenegro, Luis Enrique, 191–92. *See also* DAS
murder in Mexico: as public discourse, 89, 91, 96, 100, 102, 104; political meaning of, 100; practices of, 91

N

narcomantas, 103. *See also* drug trafficking; murder in Mexico
narratives, 96–97, 99, 101, 104, 208, 214, 216, 238
National Renewal Party (Chile), 128
National Security Law (Brazil), 154
NEV (Núcleo de Estudos da Violência), 151, 169
NIC (Núcleo de Estudo das Instituições Coercitivas), 151
Nixon, Richard, 65, 71, 83
nota roja, 9–10, 96–97, 99–100, 102, 104. *See also* murder in Mexico
Nueva Fuerza Democrática, 202. *See also* Pastrana, Andrés

O

- OAS Resolution 837 of 2003, 188. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia
- Obama, Barack, 146
- Ochoa, Marta Nieves, 175. *See also* MAS; M-19
- Office of the High Commissioner for Peace (Colombia), 229. *See also* Gómez, Camilo
- Operación Fénix*, 210
- Orletti Motors, 67. *See also* ESMA; Krassnoff, Miguel

P

- País Libre (foundation), 185, 194n7. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia
- Panama Canal Zone, 63, 73. *See also* School of the Americas
- Paramilitaries: and American covert operations, 62–63; and kidnapping in Colombia, 12, 172–73, 175–76, 178, 181, 190–93, 196n49, 197n54; and Operation Condor, 66, 71; and the Colombian peace process, 201–4, 209, 217, 220, 223–24, 237–38, 239n14, 242n57; in Haiti, 22, 25, 27, 35, 39, 42; in Mexico, 105
- Party for Democracy (Chile), 130–31
- Pastrana, Andrés, 177–79, 202–5, 207–10, 219, 226, 230, 234
- Perón, Juan, 55, 66
- pescas milagrosas*, 177, 195n28. *See also* kidnapping in Colombia
- Petro, Gustavo, 237, 243n70
- Phillippe, Guy, 25
- Pinochet regime, 117–19, 141n83
- Pinochet, Augusto, 77
- pistoleros*, 95, 101. *See also* *sicarios*
- Plan Colombia, 203–5
- Police Ombudsmen, 146, 150, 160, 168n59
- Polo Democrático Alternativo, 217, 220, 241n48

- Préval, René, 24, 26
- PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), 102
- Proyecto de Ley No. 46 (Colombia), 185
- Public Security and Information Office (Chile). *See* Public Security Council (Chile)
- Public Security Council (Chile), 133
- PVP (Partido de la Victoria del Pueblo, Uruguay), 72

Q

- Queirolo, Luis, 67. *See also* Conference of American Armies
- Quito peace talks, 236. *See also* ELN

R

- Ravix, Remissanthe, 25
- rentier state, 30, 34
- Rettig Commission (Chile), 72
- Reyes, Raúl, 211. *See also* FARC
- right to self-defense, 191
- Rio Pact of 1947 (Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance), 61. *See also* Inter-American System
- Riveros, Santiago, 73, 84n50
- Rodríguez, Félix, 63. *See also* CIA; paramilitaries
- Rostow, Walt, 63

S

- Samper, Ernesto, 177, 187, 190–91, 202
- San Vicente del Caguán, 205, 220, 226, 230, 240n25. *See also* *zona de despeje*
- Sánchez Reisse, Leandro, 72
- Sanhueza, María Jesús, 122, 125, 128. *See also* Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students
- Santos, Juan Manuel, 200, 205–6, 211–13, 218, 228, 230, 232–37, 241n39
- São Paulo Institute against Violence. *See* Instituto São Paulo Contra Violência

School of the Americas (SOA), 61, 78. *See also* Panama Canal Zone

Second World War, 53, 61–62

Secretariat of Social Defense (Brazil), 157, 168

security dilemma, 29

security doctrine, 8, 55, 58, 60, 68, 78, 81, 215

self-censorship, 116, 122–25, 135

SEMEFO (art project), 96. *See also nota roja*

SENASP (Secretaria Nacional de Segurança Pública), 154

Serviço Nacional de Informações, 63. *See also* DINA; DNII; La Técnica; SIDE

sicarios, 95. *See also pistoleros*

SIDE (Secretaría de Inteligencia del Estado, Argentina), 67. *See also* DINA; DNII; ESMA; La Técnica; Orletti Motors; SIDE

síndrome de la procuraduría, 188–89

Skilling for Peace Project, 199, 201, 205, 227, 235

sleeper institutions, 162

Socialist Party of Chile, 125, 132. *See also* Escalona, Camilo

Special Forces, 62–63, 71, 84, 109, 126, 130, 215, 230. *See also* Green Berets

State Council for the Defense of the Human Person. *See* CEDPH

state terror, 53, 55

Statute for the Defense of Democracy. *See* Decree 180

structural explanations of violence: and kidnapping in Colombia, 173, 182, 193; and Operation Condor, 53, 56–60, 74–79; and student protests in Chile, 114, 116, 133–34, 136; and violence in Brazil, 143, 145–46; applied to Haiti, 20–22, 26–28, 31–32, 35–36, 40–42; theoretical framework, 2–14

Superintendencia de Vigilancia y Seguridad Privada, 190. *See also Convivir*

T

Teachers' College of Puente Alto, 131

Timochenko, 212, 234, 241. *See also* FARC

Transparency International, 40, 52

Trujillo, Carlos Holmes, 191

U

Unión Patriótica, 202

United Nations: MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti), 25–26; UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 50, 218, 228; UNHRC (UN Human Rights Council), 70; United Nations Mission in El Salvador, 223

United States: Cold War foreign and economic policy towards Latin America, 58–59; hegemony, 8, 53, 59, 74, 77; involvement in Operation Condor, 71–74; military base in Manta, 78; Mobile Training Teams, 55, 62; occupation of Haiti, 31; US Army Caribbean School (*see* School of the Americas); US Southern Command, 73; US State Department, 45, 83, 119, 203, 210

University of São Paulo, 151, 167–68

Uribe, Álvaro, 178–79, 189, 191–92, 194, 197, 207–8, 210–12, 217, 221–22, 224, 228, 234, 242

USSR, collapse of the, 77

V

Vadora, Julio, 68. *See also* Conference of American Armies

Vargas, Getúlio, 151

Violence and Social Orders, 148–49, 166

violence in Haiti, patterns of, 22, 35

violent pluralism, 2

Viva Rio (foundation), 151

W

War College, 200, 209, 214–15, 224, 229–31

war on terror, 77–78, 82

Washington consensus, 76

weak states, 2, 28, 38, 49

White, Robert, 73

World Bank, 59, 76

Z

Zaldívar, Andrés, 125–26, 139–40. *See also*
Interior Ministry (Chile)

Zedillo, Ernesto, 102

zona de despeje, 203–4. *See also* San Vicente
del Caguán

A theoretically and empirically important volume of interest to both researchers and policymakers.

—PHILIP OXHORN, Political Science, McGill University

Masterfully edited.

—ROBERT MUGGAH, Co-Founder and Research Director, Igarapé Institute

Latin America is one of the most violent regions

in the world. It has suffered waves of repressive authoritarian rule, organized armed insurgency and civil war, violent protest, and ballooning rates of criminal violence. But is violence hard-wired into Latin America?

This is a critical reassessment of the ways in which violence in Latin America is addressed and understood. Previous approaches have relied on structural perspectives, attributing the problem of violence to Latin America's colonial past or its conflictual contemporary politics. Bringing together scholars and practitioners, this volume argues that violence is often rooted more in contingent outcomes than in deeply embedded structures.

Addressing topics ranging from the root sources of violence in Haiti to kidnapping in Colombia, from the role of property rights in patterns of violence to the challenges of peacebuilding, *The Politics of Violence in Latin America* is an essential step towards understanding the causes and contexts of violence—and changing the mechanisms that produce it.

PABLO POLICZER is an associate professor of Political Science and Director of the Latin American Research Centre at the University of Calgary. He is the author of *The Rise and Fall of Repression in Chile*, a CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title and winner of the CPSA Award for Best Book in Canadian Comparative Politics.



UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press

press.ucalgary.ca