
TOPICAL REVIEW

CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LA VIOLENCIA IN COLOMBIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

La violencia in Colombia, from 1946 to 1965, the largest armed conflict in the western hemisphere since the Mexican Revolution, was one of the world's most extensive and complex internal wars of this century. The study of the *violencia* strains at the limits of all the social sciences.

The intensely emotional and politically supercharged atmosphere of the conflict has produced a domestic Colombian literature on the subject about which only one generalization can be accurately made: it is all biased. The research and analysis of scholars from outside Colombia—principally from the United States and Great Britain—who have grappled with the *violencia* suffer from four handicaps. First, Anglo-Saxon scholars, sensitive to accusations of perpetuating the *leyenda negra* of violence and cruelty in Hispanic culture, tend to offer excuses and villains instead of grappling frontally with Colombian social problems. Second, they often accept as an article of faith the concept that two-party democracies are innately desirable; hence they find it difficult to conceive of a two-party system being itself a major cause of social violence. Third, the *violencia*, a solidly rural phenomenon that generated relatively few written records, calls for sweaty field research of a type not practiced by many writers on the subject. Fourth, study of the *violencia* has been undertaken in an era of Marxist and other leftist reinterpretations which have resulted in as much emotionalism as evidence, at the very time when basic fact-gathering is needed.

The *violencia* is analyzed in this article as a four-phase internal war, with a reasonably coherent matrix of variables, through which an etiology may be ap-

EDITOR'S NOTE: The first two articles of this issue, taken together with the articles by Andrés Suárez ("The Cuban Revolution: The Road to Power") and Jaime Suchlicki ("Sources of Student Violence in Latin America") in the preceding issue of LARR (VII:3), comprise a set of essays on varied forms of political violence in Latin America. The Editor is indebted to Neill Macaulay for his collaboration in developing this series of articles.

proached. Phase I was the swelling civil strife touched off by the fluke election of 1946, when a minority Conservative administration imposed its partisans in patronage jobs throughout the land, taking advantage of the centralist provisions in the Constitution of 1886. This phase ended in the largest ignition factor of the violencia, the *bogotazo* (mass rioting accompanying the assassination of a Liberal Party idol) of April 9, 1948. Phase II was the First Guerrilla War, the largest and bloodiest period of the violencia; it ended on June 13, 1953, when General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla overthrew the government. Phase III began gradually in 1954, after the brief euphoria of *la entrega* (the voluntary turning-in of the guerrilla fighter and his weapon in exchange for legal amnesty), and grew slowly into the Second Guerrilla War. It ended on May 10, 1957, when the military junta ejected Rojas Pinilla from office. Phase IV began with the Alternation Plan (the swapping of presidencies by the two parties for four terms) in August 1958, and closed inconclusively in 1965 with the destruction of many bandit and guerrilla organizations.

Some observers consider that the rise of the nationalist-leftist Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN—Army of National Liberation), and the Communist-affiliated Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC—Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia), in the mid-1960's constitutes a continuation, or even a new phase, of the violencia. This research bibliography considers ELN and FARC to be step-children of the violencia rather than primary elements within it, but much partisan literature has accompanied the rise of the two organizations. Consequently, a section is devoted to the post-violencia guerrilla literature.

II. REMOTE ORIGINS OF THE VIOLENCIA

Estimates of the historical proclivity of Colombians for social and political violence range between two poles—those which hold that the backlands have always been violent, and those which consider the modern violencia a new, unprecedented phenomenon. The works listed in this section suggest explanations which, while not complete in themselves, can be related to the whirlwind that began in 1946. This is the only portion of the bibliography which is intended to be suggestive and selective rather than definitive.

General:

1. HERNANDEZ RODRIGUEZ, GUILLERMO
1949 De los Chibchas a la colonia a la república. Bogotá. Attention is given in this anthropological work to the transition from the Chibcha familial agricultural system to the *encomienda* system.
2. LIEVANO AGUIRRE, INDALECIO
1964 Los grandes conflictos sociales y económicos de nuestra historia. Bogotá. The thesis: unresolved social tensions persist in the twentieth century because the clashes of the conquest, the colonial era, and the independence period failed to redress imbalances in power and wealth.

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The Pre-Conquest Era:

3. BROADBENT, SYLVIA M.
1964 Los Chibchas: organización socio-política. Bogotá. A brief synthesis of Chibcha socio-economic structure provides some clues about peasant attitudes in the modern violencia.
4. CAMARGO PEREZ, GABRIEL
1961 Del barro al acero en la Roma de los Chibchas. Ibagué. A skillful reconstruction of social organization sheds some light upon the modern violencia in Cundinamarca and Boyacá.
5. TRIMBORN, HERMANN
1949 Señorío y barbarie en el valle del Cauca. Translation from German to Spanish by José María Gimeno Capella. Madrid. This collection of anthropological manuscripts, with some attention to pre-conquest Indian warfare, shows a few similarities between tribal conflict and the inter-village vendettas of the modern violencia.

The Early Colonial Era:

6. ACOSTA, JOAQUIN
1848 Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo decimosexto. Paris. From the Colombian counterpart to William H. Prescott's histories of conquest comes a saga of Spanish audacity and rapaciousness imposed upon a weak social structure already fraught with patterns of internal violence.
7. FONSECA T., MARCO A.
1960 La conquista, origen remoto de la violencia. Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas. 1:2:367-373. A professor of anthropology and criminal law from the National University finds the earliest origins of the violencia in the permanent state of war of the indigenous peoples and the attitude of permanent bellicosity among the Spanish conquistadores.

The Late Colonial Era:

8. CARDENAS ACOSTA, PABLO E.
1960 El movimiento comunal de 1781 en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. Bogotá. The much debated Revolt of the *Comuneros* is developed here, with at least two possible interpretations sustained by the evidence: a simple political revolt against Spanish authority (which Cárdenas favors), or a class revolt of farmers against their rulers.
9. KEUTHE, ALLAN JAMES
1967 The Military Reform in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, 1773, 1796. Gainesville. While primarily concerned with the impact of the Bourbon military reforms on New Granada, this unpublished dissertation demonstrates the birth of a militia tradition and the growth of a military consciousness among the rural highlands people of Colombia.
10. LEONARD, DAVID
1951 The *Comunero* Rebellion in 1781, a Chapter in the Spanish Quest

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for Social Justice. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor. This is the standard work on the Revolt of the Comuneros. Painstaking detail on the rebel leaders gives some clues about the rural gentry sector which later provided leadership in areas of the modern violencia.

The Independence Era:

11. COCHRANE, CHARLES STUART
1825 Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia during the Years 1823 and 1824. London. A British naval officer's description of Colombia during the Independence Wars shows the birth of military and patriotic tradition among the peasants. There are also valuable descriptions of both conventional and guerrilla tactics.
12. DIAZ DIAZ, OSWALD
1962 Los Almeydas: episodios de la resistencia patriota contra el Ejército Pacificador de Tierra Firme. Bogotá. This historical account of the patriots' struggles against the Spanish Army gives excellent coverage of leadership. It documents the birth of the rebel tradition among certain rural social elements.
13. FREEDMAN, ARNOLD MICHAEL
1964 The Campaign of Boyacá. Gainesville. This unpublished M.A. thesis shows the combat power as well as the capriciousness of the *llanero* fighting men. It also explains the origins of the guerrilla tradition in the eastern plains.
14. OTS CAPDEQUI, JOSE MANUEL
1960 The Impact of the Wars of Independence on the Institutional Life of the New Kingdom of Granada. *The Americas*. 17:2:111-198. The degree to which institutional political life failed to embrace the rural people of New Granada in the years following the Independence Wars emerges in this study.
15. RESTREPO, JOSE MANUEL
1827 Historia de la revolución de Colombia. Paris. The great chronicle of Colombian independence shows clearly the casual mixing of guerrilla and factional combat with more conventional forms of warfare.

The Era of Nineteenth Century Factionalism:

16. HELGUERA, J. LEON
1969 The Problem of Liberalism and Conservatism in Colombia: 1849-85. In: *Latin American History: Select Problems*. Fredrick B. Pike, ed. N.Y. A carefully chosen group of excerpts illustrate strife between Liberal and Conservative partisans, and between militia and factional forces.
17. HENAO, JESUS MARIA et al.
1967 Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria. Bogotá. The standard text on Colombian history has five excellent chapters on late nineteenth century civil strife.
18. JARAMILLO URIBE, JAIME
1964 El pensamiento colombiano en el siglo XX. Bogotá. The best history of nineteenth century Colombian political thought reveals, more by

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default than by direct statement, the general irrelevance of both Liberal and Conservative party doctrines to the needs of the peasants.

19. MAINGOT, ANTHONY P.
1967 Colombia: Civil-Military Relations in a Political Culture of Conflict. Gainesville. The complex role of the various military forces in factional feuding is traced meticulously in this unpublished dissertation. (See item #67).
20. RESTREPO, JOSE MANUEL
1952 Historia de la Nueva Granada. Bogotá. Colombia's leading nineteenth century historian devotes considerable attention to civil wars, uprisings, and factional disputes in this history of the 1832–1854 period, published long after his death.

The War of a Thousand Days and the Reyes Reforms:

21. MARTINEZ LANDINEZ, JORGE
1956 Historia militar de Colombia. La guerra de los mil días. Bogotá. A number of direct antecedents of the modern violencia, such as amateurish military leadership by politicians and battlefield savagery, are visible in this biased account of the War of a Thousand Days.
22. CONIGLIO, JAMES V.
1970 The Nationalization of the Colombian Army: *La Reforma militar*. Gainesville. The process by which a constitutionally obedient army was institutionalized in Colombia is described in this unpublished M.A. thesis. An understanding of this process is essential to an analysis of the role played by the military forces in the modern violencia.

The Direct Antecedents of La Violencia:

23. LOZANO Y LOZANO, CARLOS
1939 Memoria del Ministro de Gobierno al Congreso Nacional en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1939. Bogotá. 3:3–11. Director General Alfredo Azuero Arenas of the National Police sounds a warning about low police wages, training, and manpower. He also points prophetically to three departments—Antioquia, Santander, and Valle—in which the police nationalization law was not yet functional, and in which locally appointed police played an unsavory role in fomenting the violencia from 1946 to 1948.
24. RUEDA VARGAS, TOMAS
1944 El ejército nacional. Bogotá. A Colombian Army general discusses the values and functions of his profession just prior to the onset of the violencia.
25. SALDARRIAGA BETANCUR, JOHN MANUEL
1951 El regimen del terror, o 16 años en el infierno. Antioquia. This highly polemical attack on the Liberal administrations from 1931 to 1946 establishes one important fact: the Liberal assumption of office in 1930 was often vindictive and led to bloody reprisals, thus setting a precedent for a comparable Conservative accession in 1946.

26. VALL-SPINOSA, ALLEN S.

1969 *Colombia: Semana trágica—the Banana Strike of 1928. Gainesville.* Description of the bloody banana workers' strike of 1928 suggests that the Army had been so completely removed from the training and thinking patterns of internal order that it was incompetent as a riot control force, causing needless bloodshed while trying to restore peace. (Unpublished M.A. thesis).

III. GENERAL SURVEYS

Several publications fall into a unique category by presenting continuous information of significance on the violencia. While specific pieces from these publications are cited in the annotations which follow, the publications themselves merit special attention.

Colombia's most prestigious newspaper, *El Tiempo*, has no rival in the continuous presentation and analysis of news about the rural strife, civil-military relations, and the socio-economic problems underlying or caused by the violencia. While there is a pro-Liberal editorial line throughout, the coverage is remarkably accurate. This can largely be attributed to the fact that *El Tiempo* has for several decades employed a staff of correspondents who reside in various parts of the country and yet retain some journalistic detachment from local partisanship. Despite the fact that its archives were once sacked and burned (September 6, 1952), and that it was shut down completely for a time in 1955, *El Tiempo* still fulfills the self-appointed and often unpopular task of reporting on the violencia.

During Phase IV of the violencia (1958–1965), two leading dailies, the Liberal *El Espectador* and the Conservative *La República*, also adopted the policy of reporting the violencia factually, reserving polemics for the editorial page.

Voz Proletaria, the Colombian Communist Party's weekly organ, has appeared fairly regularly each Thursday since 1957. While it generally expresses party chieftain Gilberto Vieira's ideology (traditional Marxist-Leninist), it also carries some news on peasant revolutionary activities. It has generally condemned the non-revolutionary murders by the *bandoleros*. In the latter years of the violencia, several other leftist organs have also carried articles dealing with the rural situation in Colombia. The Castro militia magazine *Olivo Verde* has published information on the FARC, MOEC, and ELN (these groups are identified in the introduction to Section IX, this article). The *World Marxist Review* has published several articles which are ideologically oriented but a bit more scholarly. The Mexican leftist review *Sucesos* has printed some highly propagandistic items on ELN, and lately the Chilean leftist organ *Causa Marxista-Leninista* has included some Colombian items.

Several organs of the Armed Forces carry regular news on the violencia. The *Revista de la Policía Nacional de Colombia* (1912–1942; 1951 to the present) is divided about equally between cultural and social science contributions by civilian authors, and professional contributions by members of the National Police. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*, published bi-monthly since 1960, is, by general world standards, a distinguished journal of military and defense affairs. Roughly half of the

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material is written by civilian authors from various sectors of academia and public affairs; the rest of the space is devoted to professional themes, with heavy emphasis on constitutionalism, civil-military relations, and the urgent socio-economic needs of rural people.

More limited in scope, but important for its exposition of military tactics and military civic-action programs, is *Revista del Ejército*, published on a bi-monthly and somewhat irregular basis since June 1961. *Revista de Infantería* has been published irregularly since 1960 by the Infantry School at Usaquen. Written for the professional edification of the combat soldier, it is one of the few journals in the world which discusses small unit tactics of an unconventional nature, based upon continuous experience in the country of origin. It also prints troop-oriented expositions on the conscious political neutrality needed by the soldier in a country flagellated by internal violence.

The following general surveys of the violencia show, more plainly by what they lack than by what they contain, the task yet to be accomplished in assembling enough reliable data for a scholarly history of Colombia's twentieth century nightmare.

27. AYERBE CHAUZ, GERARDO
1966 Nuestra gran problem. *Revista del Ejército*. 6:24: 380–385. A recent Minister of Defense asserts bluntly that for seventeen years the violencia has been Colombia's worst national crisis. He concludes that the ELN is more dangerous than the bandoleros because of its romantic attraction for radical students.
28. CAPLOW, THEODORE
1963 La violencia. *Columbia University Forum*. 6:45–46. Underpopulation is suggested as a major factor in causation in this very brief synopsis of the violencia.
29. CUELLAR VARGAS, ENRIQUE
1960 13 años de violencia. Bogotá. This is an account of the violencia from the bogotazo to 1960 by a leftist-Liberal associate of Alfonso López Michelsen. It contains some valid data, along with some fabricated atrocities charged to the government.
30. DANIEL, JAMES M.
1965 Rural Violence in Colombia since 1946. Special Operations Research Office Publication. Washington, D.C. The first full-length narrative of the violencia, using sampling techniques, with admitted gaps. While the viewpoint is quite objective, the sponsor was the Special Operations Research Office (SORO—now called CRESS, Center for Research in Social Systems), a contract research agency working for the Department of the Army out of American University in Washington, D.C.
31. FINAN, JOHN C.
1968 Colombia, 1948 until 1958. In: *Challenge and Response in Internal Conflict*. Center for Research in Social Systems Publication. Washington, D.C. 3:411–427. The Colombian entry in an encyclopedic

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- compendium of recent insurrections. (See preceding item for identification of the sponsor).
32. GONZALEZ, MIGUEL ANGEL
1962 Comentario sobre "La violencia en Colombia," by Germán Guzmán, Orlando Fals Borda, Eduardo Umaña Luna. Reprint from: *Revista Javeriana*. 288. A team of Catholic sociologists from the Javeriana University in Bogotá mount a substantial attack upon the first volume of the pivotal work on the violencia, which was published by a comparable team of sociologists from the National University. This critical article demonstrates that the Fals Borda team exaggerated their statistics on death and destruction, but fails to recognize that publication of the study legitimized the process of scholarly analysis of the nation's worst problem. (See item #35).
33. GOTT, RICHARD
1971 *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*. N.Y. This compendium by a British journalist is the most complete work available on the subject. It contains a survey of the Colombian violencia (pp. 223–304) and documents of the FARC, the EPL, the ELN, and the Colombian Communist Party (pp. 515–534). The author's unfortunate lack of field verification caused him to use guerrilla assertions uncritically, and he is apparently a stranger to the endemic banditry.
34. GUZMAN CAMPOS, GERMAN
1968 *La violencia en Colombia; parte descriptiva*. Bogotá. The primary data collector from the Fals Borda team presents here an expanded version of his descriptive material. While he argues for a pluralistic analytical approach, he follows leftist concepts and is obviously involved in an emotional and political fashion. This book is the largest single collection of raw data on the violencia, but it contains many inaccuracies. (See item #194).
35. _____
1962 *La violencia en Colombia*. Bogotá. These are the two volumes on
1964 the violencia which laid a serious academic basis for studying the phenomenon. At the time of publication the authors were, respectively: Germán Guzmán Campos, a priest who served on the Investigating Commission on the Present Causes of the Violence (sponsored by the Lleras Camargo administration); Orlando Fals Borda, a sociologist who was Dean of the Sociology Faculty at the National University; and Eduardo Umaña Luna, a lawyer who specializes in social jurisprudence. The first volume created an uproar in 1962 among the literate urban minority, because it put into print much previously unknown information. But it also exaggerated the death toll and the degree to which the Conservative Party was responsible for initiating the conflict. The second volume, in 1964, printed portions of controversial literature aroused by the earlier work, along with some rebel documents and much sociological analysis. (See items #32 and #96).

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36. MERCIER VEGA, LUIS
1969 Guerrillas in Latin America: The Technique of the Counter-State. N.Y. The subtitle gives the thesis of this journalistic collection of sketches and guerrilla documents. There are two documents relating to Camilo Torres Restrepo and the ELN (pp. 11–13, 203–208) and a survey history of the violencia (pp. 118–125).
37. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.
1971 Internal Security in Latin America: The Colombian Experience, 1946–1965. 2nd ed. Norfolk. A brief survey of the violencia is given in this text, written for professional study by military officers at the Armed Forces Staff College.
38. _____
1970 The Modern *Violencia* in Colombia, 1946–1965. Gainesville. This unpublished dissertation is a narrative history of the violencia. Based on ten years' research, its central thesis is that a small, apolitical Armed Force was the margin of difference between savagery and civilization for Colombia in a rural culture of institutionalized killing. Four phases are developed, casualty figures are refined, and a specific etiology is attempted for each period.

IV. SPECIAL TOPICS FROM THE VIOLENCIA

One of the best methods for approaching the study of the violencia has been to isolate a region, an individual, or a topic for intensive analysis by competent specialists. The following writings deal first with specific geographic zones and personalities, and then with specialized topics.

39. AMAYA SIERRA, HERNANDO et al.
1958 La violencia en Tolima. Ibagué. This short statistical appraisal of damage to human beings and their property in the violencia makes Tolima the best documented department to date for the student of the violencia. Some of the data are almost certainly exaggerated. (See item #45).
40. ANGEL, AUGUSTO
1964 La sombra del Sayón: Algo de la violencia en el Huila. Bogotá. The author uses a novelist's technique to sketch realistic scenes of the social banditry in the Department of Huila.
41. CANAL RAMIREZ, GONZALO
1966 Estampas y testimonias de la violencia. Bogotá. A collection of essays based on interviews with participants in the violencia by the author in 1957. They are organized into social typologies and reveal many details and attitudes. (See items #56, #129, #162, and #215).
42. MAULLIN, RICHARD L.
1968 The Fall of Dumar Aljure, A Colombian Guerrilla and Bandit. Rand Corporation Publication. Santa Monica. The eighteen-year career of one of Colombia's famous bandoleros is surveyed here, with commentary upon his impact on political and social processes. The article was published by a contract research agency; it appears in slightly

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- modified form as "The Private War of a Guerrilla," *Transaction* (March 1970), 45-54.
43. MONCADA ABELLO, ALONSO
1963 Un aspecto de la violencia. Bogotá. Meticulous research makes this volume the strongest case to date for linkage between the Communist Party of Colombia and the violencia. Juan de la Cruz Varela, a Communist Party rural folkhero, stands revealed as a pathological murderer. A number of links between the Communist Party and several criminal organizations are also documented.
44. PEREZ SANIN, ENRIQUE (ed.)
1970 Parámetros demográficos colombianos, 1951-1964; proyecciones de población, 1965-1985. Bogotá. Prepared by the Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico (CEDE) at the University of the Andes, this compendium is vital to any study of the relationship between the violencia and subsequent demographic developments.
45. PINEDA GIRALDO, ROBERTO
1960 El impactor de la violencia en el Tolima. Bogotá. This is Research Monograph No. 6 of the Sociology Department, National University series on rural society. It gives statistical detail and analysis in depth on the destruction of the Liberal village of Libano where Germán Guzmán was the village priest. (See item #39).
46. POLLOCK, JOHN
1970 Evaluating Regime Performance in a Crisis: Violence, Political Demands, and Elite Accountability in Colombia. (Mimeographed). Stanford. This study correlates violencia levels against selected demographic, economic, and political performance factors. It suggests a number of useful methods for employing the behavioral sciences to analyze complex social trauma.
47. URRUTIA, MIGUEL and MARIO ARRUBLA
1970 Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia. Bogotá. An invaluable research tool, compiled by the Dirección de Divulgación Cultural at the National University. It enables the student of the violencia to correlate previously little known economic conditions against the onset of political turbulence and *bandolerismo*.

Specific Behavioral Themes:

48. BETANCUR, BELISARIO
1967 La subversión del sub-desarrollo. *Revista de la Fuerzas Armadas*. 10:47:281-291. One of the 1970 Conservative Presidential candidates outlines his theory that political extremists seize upon social chaos to acquire power in the name of humanitarian doctrines which they do not represent.
49. DELGADO MALLARINO, VICTOR ALBERTO
1960 El delito sexual y la violencia. *Revista de la Policía Nacional*. 82: 56-60. A National Police captain with degrees in law and criminology portrays the bandolero social profile from case records, showing that he is typically a sexual criminal. The author strongly advocates better rehabilitation facilities in the prisons.

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50. FLINN, WILLIAM C.
 1966 Rural to Urban Migration: A Colombian Case. Madison. Research Paper #19 from the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center. It seeks the causes of rural-to-urban migration through case studies of the residents in a squatter *barrio* in Bogotá. The violencia is found to be a major factor in migration.
51. FRANCES, ALBERT S.
 1967 Structural and Anticipatory Dimensions of Violent Social Conflict (An Analytical Study of "La violencia" in Colombia). Pittsburgh. This unpublished Ph.D. thesis is the best attempt at an etiological approach to the violencia. Starting with Jiri Nehnevajsa's 1964 sociological theory of internal war, the author applies the system to Colombian history. Orientational groups (with spatial dimensions) and anticipatory groups (with temporal dimensions) are identified and the difference between them explored for proclivity to violence. The minority, nationally oriented "creole noblemen," control the several majorities, who are locally oriented. The orientational and anticipatory differences between these sets of groups are sufficient to produce self-sustaining conflict. The theory does not cover varying institutional loyalties, leadership styles, geographic realities in peasant warfare, nor does it explain why the violencia could not have taken place in several other countries for the same reasons.
52. LIPMAN, AARON and A. EUGENE HAVENS
 1966 The Colombian *Violencia*: An Ex Post Facto Experiment. Madison. A University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center paper, reprinted from *Social Forces*. 44:2. Two behavioralists who studied personality changes among violencia victims residing in Bogotá discovered considerable psychological disruption and an altered relationship in their perception of self and government.
53. SEVILLANO QUIÑONES, LINO ANTONIO
 1965 El hombre frente a la violencia. Bogotá. A novelist of social themes explores some of the impact of the violencia on rural Colombians and offers some ideas for the rehabilitation of bandoleros.

Legal Themes:

54. OSPINA FERNANDEZ, GUILLERMO
 1969 La violencia generalizada como vicio del consentimiento. *Universitas*. 36:79-93. The Law Faculty of the Javeriana University in Bogotá presents here the Supreme Court of Justice decision "A. Trujillo Escobar vs. Escobar Gómez, April 9, 1969." It upholds Public Law 201 of 1959 which was passed to defend victims of land sales negotiated under threat during the violencia.
55. UMAÑA LUNA, EDUARDO
 1962 El ambiente penal de la violencia. Bogotá. This book is Chapter XII in the landmark work, Germán Guzmán et al., *La violencia en Colombia*. It deals with the breakdown of the legal system before the onslaught of the violencia. (See item #35).

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Civil-Military Relations:

56. CANAL RAMIREZ, GONZALO
1960 Las fuerzas militares y el orden público. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 2:4:163–170. Colombia's leading writer on civil-military relations defines the *violencia* as a problem having total dimensions. In this context, he believes the Armed Forces have been thrust into an improper and unsought role as the primary anti-*violencia* agency, and he lauds their faithful performance of a thankless task. An English translation by this reviewer is in the work cited in item #37. (See items #41, #129, #162, and #215).
57. ESCOBAR S., ELIAS
1964 El ejército y los manzanillos. *El Espectador*. (July 1). An officer in the Army Reserve criticizes Senator Gilberto Moreno for his attack upon Army leaders who declared the *violencia* to be a national socio-economic problem. He traces the Army's apoliticism since the 1907 Reyes Reform and praises its recognition of the *violencia* as more than a military matter.
58. JIMENEZ MENDOZA, CAYO EDUARDO
1965 Autodefensa. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 3:35:177–184. An Army artillery lieutenant colonel describes the self-defense units which have been formed under Army guidance in villages flagellated by the *violencia*. The name "self-defense" is ironical, for it was first used by the Communist Party in developing its armed cadres around Viotá and Marquetalia.
59. MANRIQUE PINTO, DIEGO
1966 Relaciones de las fuerzas armadas con la comunidad civil. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 14:41:187–199. An Army captain outlines here the nature and rationale for the nation's military civic action program, which is seen as a social service and an integral part of the civilian Community Action Program.
60. ORRANTIA HERRERA, ANDRES
1967 El servicio militar crea una conciencia patriótica. *Revista del Ejército*. 8:29:271–272. A university graduate in architecture who did his military service as a reserve Army lieutenant in the experimental "Military Service for Professionals" program describes the results. He believes it teaches the educated urbanite to respect the peasants' problems, and that it creates a healthy attitude of patriotism.
61. SOCARRAS, JOSE FRANCISCO
1964 Posición de civiles y militares ante el flagelo de la violencia. *El Tiempo*. (June 13). A journalist here takes to task certain politicians (e.g. Aurelio Caicedo Ayerbe) who criticized General Alberto Ruiz Novoa and Colonel Alvaro Valencia Tovar for stating publicly that the *violencia* is a national and cultural problem. He quotes the jingle known to Colombian school children: "Colombia es la tierra, de cosas muy singulares; los civiles dan la guerra, y la paz los militares."

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Military Civic-Action Programs:

62. BURBANO CHAVEZ, OSCAR
1967 Las fuerzas militares, elementos de producción en el desarrollo de los países. *Revista del Ejército*. 8:29:251–255. An Army Engineer Corps major outlines a proposal for extending the military civic-action program from a social service and rural support building scheme into an integral mechanism of national economic takeoff. This military-leftist notion, much in vogue among the nations of southern South America, is contrary to Colombian national and military policy.
63. CASCANTE PARRA, CALIXTO
1963 El apoyo de la población civil. *Revista del Ejército*. 3:9:109–134. An Army major describes the process of winning a pro-insurgent town back to the side of the government through military civic-action programs.
64. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ, MIGUEL IVAN
1966 Counterinsurgency in Rural Areas. Bogotá. A Colombian Air Force major surveys the violencia in several regions and describes some civic-action projects in progress.
65. LEBRET, LOUIS J.
1958 Funciones pedagógicas de las fuerzas armadas; Misión “economía y humanismo.” In: *Estudios sobre las condiciones del desarrollo en Colombia*. Bogotá. This chapter from the author’s survey on the current state of Colombian economic development deals with the role of the Armed Forces. It calls upon an old French concept under which the military forces provide social and economic services in public development, and the officer class becomes the nucleus for a trained technocratic force in society.
66. LEGUIZAMO BARRERA, ENRIQUE
1962 Acción cívica y social de las fuerzas militares. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 5:15:621–626. An Army Engineer Corps lieutenant colonel here describes civic-action programs undertaken by specific battalions of the Colombian Army.
67. MAINGOT, ANTHONY P.
1970 Colombia. In: Lyle N. McAlister, Anthony P. Maingot, and Robert A. Potash, *The Military in Latin American Sociopolitical Evolution: Four Case Studies*. Washington, D.C. The Colombia chapter (pp. 127–196) in a Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS—a Department of the Army contract agency) study on civil-military relations. It contains excellent detail on changing Colombian perceptions of its Armed Forces, as the violencia cast them into new roles. One of the outstanding works of its kind in an admittedly controversial field. (See item #19).
68. RUIZ NOVOA, ALBERTO
1964 La acción cívica en los movimientos insurreccionales. Conference of the American Armies. Canal Zone. Speech by the former Colombian Minister of Defense at the annual gathering of western hemi-

phere military leaders. National leaders missed the point that Ruiz Novoa's doctrines offered an inexpensive and proven concept to guard and facilitate the mechanisms of economic modernization. Within months of this speech he voluntarily resigned his post to avoid a political storm in Colombia, and several hemisphere nations entered into an era of extremist politics when serious support for military civic-action might have changed the pattern.

69. U.S. AIR FORCE CARIBBEAN COMMAND
1965 Civic Action Report, Colombia. In: *Civic Action*. Canal Zone. 1:243–279. All civic-action projects then in progress by the Colombian Armed Forces are itemized and described in this chapter, which is part of a U.S. Air Force survey of all military sponsored civic-action projects in Latin America.

Military Tactics and Techniques:

70. BUITRAGO SALAZAR, EVELIO
1967 Zarpazo: otra cara de la violencia. Bogotá. A Colombian Army sergeant recounts his experiences in fighting bandits from about 1957 to 1965. Special significance here is that Buitrago was a trained gang infiltrator who carried a bogus bandit reputation and broke up gangs from the inside, using deception and audacity.
71. CABRERA, CESAR
1962 Colombian Rural Violence. Address to Counterinsurgency Operations Course, School of the Americas. Canal Zone. The Commandant of the Colombian Superior War School describes the Army's tactics and civic-action programs as well as insurgent activities.
72. CHARRY, GUILLERMO
1961 Counter guerrilla Operations. Address to Counterinsurgency Operations Course, School of the Americas. Canal Zone. A Colombian intelligence officer describes techniques used both by the bandoleros and the Army.
73. COMANDO GENERAL DEL EJERCITO
1964 Casos tácticos de guerra de guerrillas en Colombia. Bogotá. This volume contains sixteen case studies of Colombian Army engagements with hostile groups, illustrated with maps, and summarizing the lessons learned from each operation.
74. GONZALEZ GONZALEZ, GUSTAVO
1964 Los puestos fijos amarran las unidades. *Revista del Ejército*. 4:17:75–77. An Army lieutenant states flatly that tying the combat unit to a fixed base is to deny the rural taxpayer the protection from the insurgents that he deserves.
75. LUGO P., FABIO GUILLERMO
1961 Acción contra la violencia. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 3:9:491–500. An infantry captain analyzes the tactics and experiences of the Colombian Army in fighting the insurgents, with recommendations for lighter units with greater mobility.

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76. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.
1964 Colombian Infantry Faces Insurgency. *Infantry Magazine*. 54:6:4-8. A brief political sketch of the violencia followed by a description of novel gang-busting and civic-action techniques then in use by the Colombian Army in bandit infested zones.

V. GENERAL WORKS HAVING A PORTION ON THE VIOLENCIA

This category of works is offered as an aid to the general student of Latin America, and of Colombia in particular, in evaluating the information on the violencia in books not specifically dedicated to that subject. In this section are included the works which are, in the reviewer's opinion, the best surveys on contemporary Colombia.

77. ANDERSON, CHARLES W. et al.
1967 *La violencia* in Colombia. In: *Issues of Political Development*. Englewood Cliffs. This work on the turbulent politics of developing nations presents a survey of the Colombian violencia, which is then used to derive a theory of inverted political processes.
78. ARCINIEGAS, GERMAN
1952 *The State of Latin America*. N.Y. Colombia's most prolific popular historian sketches a gloomy picture of Latin American politics in the early 1950's, giving some details on the repression of Liberals by Conservatives in Colombia. While his views are interesting, they are obviously pro-Liberal and emotional.
79. DIX, ROBERT H.
1967 *Colombia: The Political Dimensions of Change*. New Haven. Chapter 13 of this book surveys most of the existing behavioral theories offered for the violencia, as part of a larger thesis on changes in the Colombian political system brought about by economic modernization.
80. FLUHARTY, VERNON LEE
1957 *Dance of the Millions: Military Rule and Social Revolution in Colombia, 1930-1956*. Pittsburgh. Several sections of this book deal with the violencia from 1946 to 1953 and are quite accurate. Portions on the violencia during the presidency of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla lack perspective and definition.
81. GALBRAITH, WILLIAM O.
1966 *Colombia: A General Survey*. London. The Colombia volume in the Royal Institute of International Affairs Series offers a new chapter on the violencia in this edition. Few sources are cited, but the information is sound.
82. HOLT, PAT M.
1964 *Colombia Today and Tomorrow*. N.Y. Although an excellent portrait of Colombia under the United Front, this work gives only a vague outline of the violencia.
83. LANNOY, JUAN LUIS DE et al.
1961 *Estructuras demográficas y sociales de Colombia*. Bogotá. A special chapter attempts to correlate internal migration with the violencia.

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Research by this reviewer shows that there are too many variables to determine how the violencia affects internal migration.

84. LLERAS RESTREPO, CARLOS
1955 De la república a la dictadura. Bogotá. The 1966–1970 Liberal President describes national politics from 1946 to 1954. As titular chief of the Liberal Party, he remains less polemical than Conservative counterparts but still denies any official responsibility for the violencia.
85. MARTZ, JOHN D.
1962 Colombia: A Contemporary Political Survey. Chapel Hill. Primarily a survey of executive and legislative affairs in Bogotá from the bogotazo to the Lleras Camargo administration. While the violencia is mentioned, it is set in the framework of official policies at the national level.
86. MCGREEVEY, WILLIAM P.
1971 An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930. Cambridge. A meticulously documented study of the relationship between economic developments and social processes. It grapples with several factors, such as transportation, colonization, and the coffee industry, which were important in the violencia.
87. PAYNE, JAMES L.
1968 Patterns of Conflict in Colombia. New Haven. This landmark study of Colombian political leadership establishes the fact that party leaders have often sought political advantage purely for the sake of prestige. The study provides the basis for defining the violencia as a rural political culture of permanent contention.
88. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.
1969 Peasant Revolution, 1950–1954. N.Y. The violencia is analyzed comparatively here with the Vietminh of Indochina and the Hukbalahap of the Philippine Republic. The guerrillas of the Eastern Plains in Phase II of the violencia are found to be Colombia's most serious revolutionary forces in the twentieth century. A Spanish-language ed. of this book, by María Restrepo Castro (Bogotá, 1972) initiated the "Libros de Colombia" series.
89. ROJAS PINILLA, GUSTAVO
1959 Rojas Pinilla ante el senado. Bogotá. The ex-dictator compiles here a powerful case on his behalf as the victim of circumstances amid times of great political irresponsibility. There is a remarkable quantity of information on the violencia, most of which is accurate.
90. SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
1964 U.S. Army Area Handbook for Colombia. Washington, D.C. The Colombia volume in a series of nation handbooks produced under contract research for the Department of the Army. The sections on the violencia (383–412) and the Armed Forces (591–618) bring much widely scattered information under one cover.

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VI. STUDIES ON COLOMBIAN TOPICS HAVING RELEVANCE TO THE VIOLENCIA

The outstanding fact about these studies on major Colombian topics is that the violencia becomes a kind of pivot around which many other events move. Each of the authors sees the violencia as either a cause, an effect, or a major contributing factor to the subject with which he deals.

91. ADAMS, DALE W.
1964 Land Ownership Patterns in Colombia. *Inter-American Economic Affairs*. 18:3:77-86. A leading specialist on land tenure and rural development summarizes the major land ownership patterns.
92. ALDERFER, E. GORDON
1961 *The People, Sí*. *Americas*. 8:5. The information magazine of the Organization of American States presents this account of Colombian rural rehabilitation measures under the Lleras Camargo administration.
93. BETANCUR, BELISARIO
1961 *Colombia, cara a cara*. Bogotá. A 1970 Conservative presidential candidate sketches here a Colombian social portrait for popular reading, with especially good analysis of rural-urban tensions.
94. CENTRO DE INVESTIGACION Y ACCION SOCIAL (CIAS)
1968-
1970 *Colección CIAS* (3 monographs) and *Colección Monografías y Documentos* (6 monographs). Bogotá. These two monograph series join the earlier series from the National University's Sociology Faculty as prestigious social science studies on Colombia. The CIAS group has Church affiliation, trains and employs scholars from many disciplines and hemispheric countries and has four objectives: 1) to develop a new Christian social doctrine, 2) to design developmental models, 3) to train social change agents, 4) to assess the movements and institutions of social change. From the *Colección Monografías y Documentos*, items #1 (Political Structure), #4 (Population Movement), and #6 (Social Situation) are highly pertinent to the study of the violencia.
95. COSTA PINTO, LUIS A. (ed).
1970 *Transición social en Colombia*. Bogotá. A collection of essays by graduate students in sociology at the National University. It was the first serious assault on violencia-related topics between the departure of Professor Orlando Fals Borda and the revival of sociological study under Professor Roberto Arenas in 1967 through the Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo (CID). Viewpoint ranges from liberal to Marxist. The entry on the Colombian armed forces by Carmen Inéz Cruz Betancourt is regrettably politicized and historically untenable.
96. FALS BORDA, ORLANDO
1961 *Campeños de los Andes*. Bogotá. Fals Borda's doctoral dissertation at the University of Florida, directed by T. Lynn Smith. It established Fals Borda's reputation as Colombia's leading rural soci-

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ologist and led to his chairmanship in sociology at the National University. He then organized the major effort on the study of the violencia beginning in 1958. (See items #35 and #107).

97. _____
1967 La subversión en Colombia: el cambio social en la historia. Bogotá. The title refers not to clandestine politics but to the process of social change in Colombian history, which the author considers to be the result of challenge to society by external forces. The historical thesis underlies Fals Borda's two monographs on Colombian rural society in the National University Sociology Faculty's series (No. 2, 1959; No. 4, 1961). This book was translated into English by Jacqueline Skiles in 1969 for the Colombia University Institute of Latin American Studies Series.
98. _____
1969 Violence and the Break-up of Tradition in Colombia. In: Claudio Véliz, ed. *Obstacles to Change in Latin America*. London. This article appears in a Royal Institute of International Affairs collection of essays on stability and change in Latin America. It represents the maturation of Fals Borda's lengthy studies on the violencia into an explicit sociological theory: the violencia was a result of over-commitment to "the sacred" and "other-worldliness" (two cultural vestiges of the Spanish colonial era), but the violencia has now helped break down these retrograde attitudes.
99. GILHOUES, PIERRE
1970 Agrarian Struggles in Colombia. In: Rodolfo Stavenhagen (ed.) *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America*. N.Y. An excellent summary of major trends in rural Colombian history is followed by a survey of rural rebellion, and the relationship between rebellion and the violencia. Strengths are: the clear recognition of the violencia as a rural phenomenon, the identification of the fact that the violencia has ended and was only partly revolutionary, and the historical survey based on the best studies about rural Colombia. The only weakness is the absence of declared sources, but this reviewer holds the facts to be sound, from much research in the same field.
100. HAVENS, A. EUGENE
1965 Education in Rural Colombia: An Investment in Human Resources. Madison. In terse language this well documented paper shows that rural Colombia has an insufficient program of public education to support economic takeoff and societal modernization. University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center Paper #8.
101. OCHOA DIAZ, CIRO A.
1966 Problema agrario de Colombia y reforma agraria. *Revista del Ejército*. 6:24:452-461. The best of several articles in Colombian military journals about land reform. The author, an Army lieutenant colonel, traces the Spanish colonial heritage of land ownership and portrays the Armed Forces as an integral organ in carrying out land

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reform under the Colombian National Land Reform Institute (INCORA).

102. PEREZ RAMIREZ, GUSTAVO
1959 El campesino colombiano: Un problema de estructura. Bogotá. This sociological analysis of the Colombian peasantry was the first work of its kind on a national scale. It was published as Volume I of the Socio-economic Series in the International Federation of Catholic Institutes for Social and Socio-religious Investigation studies on the Catholic nations of the world. The author was directed in his work by Yves Urbain at Louvain University, Belgium, as was the better known Camilo Torres Restrepo. (See item #243).
103. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, GERARDO et al.
1961 The People of Aritama: The Cultural Personality of a Colombian Mestizo Village. Chicago. A portrait in cultural anthropology makes an interesting comparison with the sociological approach taken by Orlando Fals Borda.
104. REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA. MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO.
1960 Problemas campesinos. Bogotá. This study of peasant problems concentrates upon social assistance and financing.
105. RICHARDSON, MILES
1970 San Pedro, Colombia: Small Town in a Developing Society. N.Y. An analysis of a village, in cultural anthropological terms. Some descriptive material on the violencia is included.
106. SEPULVEDA NIÑO, SATURNINO
1969 Planeando para una revolución. Bogotá. A Colombian sociologist from the University of the Andes views his country as socially and economically static; he offers sweeping plans for rapid change. He finds the violencia to be a result of collective repression. His hostile views about the Colombian Armed Forces reveal more about the influence of his graduate schooling in the United States than they show about civil-military realities in the Colombian backlands.
107. SMITH, T. LYNN
1967 Colombia: Social Structure and the Process of Development. Gainesville. The standard authority on the relationships between agriculture and rural-social structure in Colombia. Smith's knowledge is based on years of research in the Colombian backlands.
108. URRUTIA M., MIGUEL
1969 Historia del sindicalismo en Colombia. Bogotá. The standard history of organized labor in Colombia. It shows that labor upheavals are not part of the rural violencia, except for certain peasant leagues around Viotá. This version is the author's Spanish translation of the original which was published in English (New Haven) in 1969.

Political Subjects:

109. COMITE CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE COLOMBIA
1960 Treinta años de lucha del partido comunista en Colombia. Bogotá. The Communist Party of Colombia shows here its inability to manipulate the leadership of the revolutionary groups in the violencia, and

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its unwillingness to support the bandit gangs in the name of revolution. This report is frank and self-critical, revealing the urban-rural (or Leninist-Maoist) dichotomy within the Communist Party.

110. COSTA PINTO, LUIS A.
1971 Voto y cambio social; el caso Colombiano en el contexto Latinoamericano. Bogotá. The Brazilian sociologist at the National University in Bogotá explores the possibilities of Colombia turning to military populism. His knowledge of the Colombian armed forces is largely based upon a superficial lecture by Francisco Leal B., presented at the National University in 1969, and he never achieves a theory of political action.
111. LINARES USECHE, HELIODORO
1959 Yo acuso. Bogotá. A polemic in the grand manner. It serves to connect some of the events of the bogotazo to the onset of the First Guerrilla War.
112. NIETO ROJAS, JOSE MARIA
1956 La batalla contra el comunismo en Colombia. Bogotá. Written at the zenith of the Rojas Pinilla regime, this work places both the political turbulence and the violencia in the context of an armed assault by Communism upon the nation. While the major premise does not stand up historically, the book contains some interesting and accurate information.
113. PARTIDO CONSERVADOR DE COLOMBIA
1952 Los programas conservadores de 1849 a 1949. Bogotá. This survey of Colombian Conservative platforms bears little relevance to the rural politics of the violencia, but it shows why Conservative theoreticians were psychologically incapable of accepting their share of the blame.
114. PUENTES, MILTON
1966 La historia del partido liberal colombiano. Bogotá. A Liberal journalist makes an interesting but unconvincing case for the Liberal Party as the force which brought continuing reform to Colombia. The irrelevance of many Liberal platform items to the rural society they propose to reform is startling.
115. URDANETA ARBELAEZ, ROBERTO
1960 El materialismo contra la dignidad del hombre. Bogotá. The former Colombian delegate to the United Nations, Minister of War, and President *pro tem* (1951–1953) reveals his philosophy: the violencia was part of an orchestrated drive by Marxist leaders to conquer the world, and the author's anti-violencia programs were a military and moral *reconquista*.

Religious Topics:

116. EVANGELICAL CONFEDERATION OF COLOMBIA (CEDEC)
From Newsletter. Bogotá. Edited by Protestant missionary leader, James E.
1952 Goff, this mimeographed bulletin details alleged anti-Protestant actions by the Colombian government, the Catholic Church, and the

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Conservative Party. The newsletter has appeared at irregular intervals, and only certain issues allude to the violencia. The CEDEC is essentially a lobbying group composed of several evangelical Protestant churches operating in Colombia.

117. GOFF, JAMES ERNEST
1965 The Persecution of Protestant Christians in Colombia, 1948 to 1958, with an Investigation of its Background and Causes. San Francisco. An unpublished Th.D. thesis which attempts to make a case for a distinct program of anti-Protestant persecution. Author overlooks the fact that even though most Protestants were indeed Liberals, there had been a tough program of anti-Conservative persecution from 1930–1946. While his 1,869 documented instances of anti-Protestant violence are accurate, the victims were abused in revenge for the terror visited upon Conservatives and militant pro-Catholics in the preceding two decades. Goff's thesis that the Jesuit order was the "intellectual author" of anti-Protestant violence is untenable.
118. OSPINA, EDUARDO
1954 The Protestant Denominations in Colombia. Bogotá. A Jesuit scholar refutes the accusations by CEDEC (see above) that the Conservative government of President Ospina Pérez was ordering the killing of Colombian Protestants. He shows that the Protestants involved were also militant Liberals engaged in Liberal-Conservative political fighting. Translation into English and publication by the government press of this work show the administration's anxiety to refute the CEDEC accusations. (See item #120).
119. SLOAN, STEPHEN K.
1964 Church-State Relations in Colombia, 1946–1957. Gainesville. This unpublished M.A. thesis traces the critical relationship between the Catholic Church and the administrations which governed during the two guerrilla wars. Laureano Gómez is held less personally responsible for religious repression and violence than Rojas Pinilla.
120. TAYLOR, CLYDE W.
1957 The Fate of Protestants in Colombia. Wheaton, Ill. A reprint of an article from *Christianity Today*, widely distributed among English-speaking Protestant nations. While some repression of Protestants took place under both Laureano Gómez and Rojas Pinilla, Taylor overlooks: 1) those portions of the Colombian Constitution which relate to religious activities; 2) the degree to which Protestantism was bound to become entangled in Liberal-Conservative struggles; 3) the social implications of evangelical doctrines in a traditional society; and 4) the belligerent proselytizing methods used by some foreign evangelists in the already tense Colombian villages. (See item #118).

Law Enforcement Topics:

121. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1958 Historia y antecedentes de la nacionalización de la policía. *Revista de la Policía Nacional*. 70:109–113. An anonymous staff writer for

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the National Police Magazine describes the professional gains from the gradual centralization process of the police institutions, by way of answer to a Congressman who advocated decentralizing the force once again.

122. HILARION S., ALFONSO
1953 Balas de la ley. Bogotá. A major primary source on the violencia is found in these memoirs of a National Police lieutenant. He describes how the Liberal administrations dominated the National Police by appointing their partisans from 1930 to 1946, and how impartial law enforcement became impossible after the bogotazo.
123. REYES ECHANDIA, ALFONSO
1969 Criminalidad urbana y rural. *Revista de la Policía Nacional*. 125:81–84. A criminologist describes and analyzes the shift in crimes of violence away from the countryside, wherein lies the violencia, toward the cities, between 1961 and 1967.

Military Topics:

124. HELGUERA, J. LEON
1961 The Changing Role of the Military in Colombia. *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. 3:2:351–357. An historical sketch of the depoliticization of the Colombian Army since the 1907 Reyes Reforms offers a logical explanation for the remarkably neutral role of the soldier in the violencia.
125. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.
1967 The Colombian Battalion in Korea and Suez. *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. 9:4:541–560. While the primary emphasis is on Colombia's efforts to establish international peacekeeping forces, the article shows also that special training of the Colombian Battalion helped bring the nation one of the most effective and socially oriented small armies in the world.

VII. THE PERIOD FROM 1946 TO THE BOGOTAZO (PHASE I)

This is the least documented period in the Colombian strife, and many writers have not included it as part of the violencia. The apparent tranquility of the country under the Government of National Union, which took office in August 1946, deceived nearly all observers of Colombia until the bogotazo (April 1948)—an event which could not have occurred had there not been a substantial pattern of previous social conflict.

The literature of the bogotazo itself is among the most polemical in modern Latin America. The rioting and bloodshed may be viewed as the great igniter which converted Hatfield-McCoy type feuding among several dozen rival villages into several guerrilla conflicts and virtual civil war. Because most of the literature has a partisan viewpoint and was written for the purpose of identifying the correct villain from the author's viewpoint, most students of Colombian politics are still unable to explain the rioting except in terms of a political conspiracy.

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126. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1948 Bloody Riots Upset Bogotá Meeting. *Life*. 24:17:26–29. Spectacular photographs and a short but accurate description of the events characterize this story.
127. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1948 Bogotá Berserk. *Newsweek*. 31:16:48–49. Emphasis upon the disruption of the IXth Inter-American Conference took priority over Colombian problems in this account.
128. BEAULAC, WILLARD L.
 1951 Career Ambassador. N.Y. The United States Ambassador to Colombia during the bogotazo era makes lucid observations on social tensions prior to April 1948. He hedges somewhat in trying to harmonize his evidence with the official U.S. viewpoint.
129. CANAL RAMIREZ, GONZALO
 1948 Nueve de abril, 1949. Bogotá. Perhaps the best eye-witness account. The author's familiarity with public affairs and the Armed Forces gives authenticity to his interpretations. (See items #41, #56, #162 and #215).
130. ESTRADA MONSALVE, JOAQUIN
 1950 Así fue la revolución. Bogotá. President Ospina Pérez' Minister of Education (1947) and Minister of Mines and Petroleum (1948) describes the breakdown of the Government of National Union during the bogotazo. His insights on leadership processes and decisions are instructive; his style is less polemical than that of most public figures of the period.
131. FANDIÑO SILVA, FRANCISCO
 1949 La penetración soviética en América y el 9 de abril. Bogotá. This account by a militant anti-Communist puts the blame for the bogotazo on the Soviet Embassy staff in Bogotá. While the interpretation does not stand up under examination, several academic writers have ignored the fact that the Russians and several other foreign conspiratorial groups (a few souls each from Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Venezuela, and the U.S.) did try to take advantage of the existing social tensions in Colombia. This book and several issues of *El Siglo* (the Conservative daily in Bogotá) initiated a flood of rightwing literature.
132. GAITAN, MIGUEL ANGEL
 1949 El porque de un asesinato y sus antecedentes. Bogotá. The brother of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán here summarizes the theories concerning the assassination of the latter on April 9, 1948.
133. GOMEZ DAVILA, I.
 1953 Viernes 9. México, D.F. An eye-witness account of the bogotazo; excellent detail not found in other accounts.
134. JORDAN JIMENEZ, RICARDO
 1968 Dos viernes trágicos. Bogotá. The author draws upon his experience in legal affairs at the national level to develop several convincing theories about Gaitán's murder and the bogotazo. While the author

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finds similarity between the killers of Gaitán and U.S. President John F. Kennedy (hence the title of the book), this reviewer sees more similarity between the murders of Gaitán and Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

135. NIÑO H., ALBERTO

1949 Antecedentes y secretos del 9 de abril. Bogotá. The Director of the Prefecture of Security (now called DAS, for Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad) during the bogotazo era writes about infiltration efforts from the Soviet Union and Venezuela's Democratic Action Party. Most of the facts can be checked and authenticated.

136. OSARIO, ABRAHAM T.

1949 ¿Por qué mataron a Gaitán? Bogotá. In the style of political detective work, this book explores the many fascinating possibilities behind the Gaitán assassination.

137. OSPINA PEREZ, MARIANO

1947 Mensaje presidencial al Congreso nacional, 1947. Bogotá. 12–13, 45–47. The portions cited praise the Army for its ability and its apoliticism. The National Police are branded as lacking the capacity to cope with civil disorder. The message, given by the minority Conservative President a few months prior to the bogotazo, was highly prophetic.

138. _____

1948 Colombia y su ejército. Bogotá. Three speeches by the Conservative President, given on April 11, April 27, and June 1, praise the Army for stopping the rioting and for physically saving the government and the foreign delegates to the IXth Inter-American Conference. The president also resorts to an outside agitator explanation for the orgy of killing and destruction, despite the fact that nearly all of it was done by native citizens.

139. _____

1949 Mensaje presidencial al Congreso, 1949. Bogotá. 23–29. The portion cited praises the Army for its action during the bogotazo and announces a complete reorganization of the National Police, whose units were undependable during the rioting.

140. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.

1969 The Bogotazo, Tentatively as History. (Mimeographed). Gainesville. Inquiry into the many villain theories behind the bogotazo reveals that a chance incident set off a chain reaction. Each allegation of a subversive group or action present during the turbulent fortnight is traced back to the original documentary source.

141. (VARIOUS AUTHORS)

1949 Sangre y fraude. Bogotá. A group of Liberals attack Conservative-sponsored violence in the Department of Boyacá. Many of the allegations are true, and the work forms an important primary source.

VIII. THE ERA OF THE FIRST GUERRILLA WAR (PHASE II: 1948–1953)

The period 1949–1953 produced a substantial literature about the guerrilla

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fighting and inter-village political vendettas, because a number of idealistic young Liberals with sufficient education to record their experiences participated in one or more rebellions. It should be remembered that there was never a single unified rebel headquarters and that some of the groups who are termed guerrillas in the memoirs were, in reality, bandits. Equally important is the fact that the allusions to bandits and "crypto-Communists" by Conservative writers in this period may actually refer to Liberal guerrillas.

142. AZULA BARRERA, RAFAEL
 1956 De la revolución al orden nuevo. Bogotá. In describing the political climate from the bogotazo to the start of the Gómez administration, this former Conservative cabinet minister gives plausible inside information about the national decision-making process.
143. BLANDON BERRIO, FIDEL
 1955 Lo que el cielo no perdona. Bogotá. The first four editions of this polemical eye-witness account of the violencia in southern Antioquia were published under the pseudonym of Ernesto León Herrera, same title, in 1953 and 1954. Author was a Liberal priest who blames the Conservative departmental administration for hiring gangsters in the guise of law enforcement officials to murder Liberals. Some of the incidents are exaggerated, and comparable atrocities by Liberals are ignored. (See item #157).
144. BUSHNELL, DAVID
 1953 What Has Happened to Democracy in Colombia? Current History. (Jan.). 38–42. A leading United States historian of Colombia sketches succinctly the repressions by President Gómez against the Liberal Party.
145. COCK ARANGO, ALFREDO
 1950 Las víctimas del doctor Laureano Gómez. Bogotá. A Liberal polemicist accuses President Gómez of numerous repressions and murders.
146. FORERO BENAVIDES, ABELARDO
 1953 Un testimonio contra la barbarie política. Bogotá. One of the best eye-witness accounts of clan-type feuding between Conservatives and Liberals.
147. FRANCO ISAZA, EDUARDO
 1959 Las guerrillas del llano. Bogotá. One of the classics on the violencia in the eastern plains from 1949 to 1953, this book recounts the efforts of an idealistic Liberal to establish unified command over the intransigent guerrilla chieftains. While Franco Isaza's idealism is obvious, one should read other accounts of the same conflict. (See item #158).
148. GOBIERNO DE COLOMBIA
 1951 Un año de gobierno: informes de los labores desarrollados en los departamentos y territorios nacionales de 7 de agosto de 1950 a 7 de agosto de 1951. 2 vols. Bogotá. The cabinet ministers (Tomo I) and the departmental governors (Tomo II) report on the first year of the Gómez administration. Highly revealing are the lofty official

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- views on the violencia, which is mentioned as either an annoying social problem or as foreign subversion.
149. JEREZ, HIPOLITO
1955 Monjas y bandoleros. Bogotá. A Jesuit priest tells the story of a small colony of Catholic sisters who maintained a mission in Casanare, inside the operational zone of a guerrilla band.
150. LOPEZ, ALFONSO
1952 La carta política de López a Ospina Pérez. *El Diario*. (Medellín, September 1). Former President Alfonso López describes his unsuccessful attempts to negotiate a truce with the Guerrilla Command of Casanare. This is one of the few major political documents of the violencia and one of the few sources which links major national political figures to the field apparatus.
151. MANRIQUE, RAMON
1955 Los días del terror. Bogotá. Using a heavily symbolical style and quasi-fictional technique, the author relates dozens of vignettes about the violencia, which are obviously drawn from reality. (His views on the bogotazo are in *A sangre y fuego*, Barranquilla, 1948, with some repetition in the book cited here).
152. OSPINA PEREZ, MARIANO
1950 El gobierno de Unión Nacional. Bogotá. Conservative President Ospina Pérez offers justifications for his major executive decisions in this rather general report of his administration. He does not appear to have had a realistic grasp of the conditions throughout the rural zones during his presidency.
153. PAREJA, CARLOS H.
1954 El monstruo. Buenos Aires. Author was a leftist labor organizer and attorney who went into exile in Argentina during the Gómez administration. Using a quasi-fictional and polemical method much like Sarmiento's *Facundo*, he accuses President Gómez of ordering numerous killings and repressions of Liberals. (See item #199).
154. PAYNE, PHILIP
1951 Ordeal of a Village. *Time*. (Aug. 6). 30-33. A journalistic coup was scored here in describing a raid by Liberal guerrilla chieftain Tulio Bautista against the Conservative village of San Pedro.
155. RAMSEY, RUSSELL W.
1963 The Violence in Colombia, 1949-1953. Hattiesburg. This unpublished M.A. thesis is an historical narrative of the First Guerrilla War. It concludes that the guerrillas of the eastern plains were a genuine popular movement in search of a more socially oriented democracy, with much abusive violence clouding the issues on all sides.
156. SALDARRIAGA BETANCUR, JUAN MANUEL
1953 El Basilisco en acción, o los crímenes del bandolerismo. Medellín. A bitter Conservative polemic against Liberalism, claiming that Liberals are "crypto-Communists" and "bandits" seeking to destroy a Christian state.

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157. _____
1955 De Caín a Pilato: Lo que el cielo no perdonó. Medellín. A Conservative journalist gathers here a point-by-point refutation of the incidents catalogued in Father Fidel Blandón Berrio's *Lo que el cielo no perdona*. Some of the refutations are sound, but the capping philosophy is that Colombian Liberals are "crypto-Communists," a theme the author expounded earlier in *El Basilisco en acción*. (See item #143).
158. SIERRA OCHOA, GUSTAVO
1954 *Las guerrillas en los llanos orientales*. Manizales. An Army colonel who commanded forces in the eastern plains during the First Guerrilla War tells about his experiences. He is sympathetic with the individual insurgents but is too quick to label some of them bandits or Communists. His recommendations for reconfiguring the Army's units are a significant step in doctrinal transition from the conventional structure of 1946 to the peacekeeping forces of the 1960's. (See item #147).
159. URDANETA ARBELAEZ, ROBERTO
1952 (Mensaje de) Posesión. Bogotá. President Gómez' *designado* assumed office on November 5, 1951, when Gómez became ill. In his inaugural message he called for bi-partisan support and political tranquility to stop the violencia.
160. VASQUEZ SANTOS, JORGE
1954 *Guerrilleros, buenos días*. Bogotá. A major primary source on the First Guerrilla War. In meticulous detail, mostly accurate, it describes the growth of a small town's Liberal Party organization into the nucleus for a guerrilla organization.

IX. THE ERA OF THE SECOND GUERRILLA WAR (PHASE III: 1954-57)

The Second Guerrilla War presents several conceptual problems. First, much urban violence in the form of police repression and mob action took place in ways and among persons not generally associated with the violencia, which was primarily a rural phenomenon. Second, the violencia which did occur was focused in regions southwest of Bogotá which had played only a minor role in the First Guerrilla War, even though several hundred rebels were veterans of the earlier struggle. Third, because an Army general was the head of state, the Army was thrown into the combat in a directly repressive role. Fourth, some, but not all, of the rural resistance was fomented and led by an offshoot of the Colombian Communist Party. This group hoped to bring about the revolution through rural conflict, contrary to the Party's consistently Marxist-Leninist policy.

A tendency exists to assume that the Second Guerrilla War was not of great consequence because it did not attract many literate rebels who could publish colorful memoirs. This problem is compounded by the fact that both the Army and the National Police were professionalized strongly during the Rojas Pinilla regime, resulting in the maintenance of better official records but decreased leakage of information

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to the public about the violencia. The difficulty of access to source materials is caused by the fact that the censorship imposed by Rojas Pinilla was more stringent and much more efficiently enforced than that of the Gómez administration.

161. AGUDELO RAMIREZ, LUIS E. et al.
1957 Los guerrilleros intelectuales. Colección de cartas, informaciones y documentos PROHIBIDOS por la censura dictatorial. Medellín. This edited collection of documents deals with urban violence under the Rojas Pinilla administration, and not with the rural phenomenon called the violencia. However, it gives primary evidence of the rural-urban linkage in the violencia and of the breakdown in self-control by some Army and National Police units.
162. CANAL RAMIREZ, GONZALO
1957 Del 13 de junio al 10 de mayo; confrontación de algunas teorías y episodios. Bogotá. Colombia's leading interpreter of civil-military relations describes the Rojas Pinilla administration, deriving an original and plausible "theory of *desvinculación*." He believes Rojas placed a few of his own Army cronies in high government posts normally reserved for civilians in order to take advantage of the Army's reputation for apoliticism, but that the Army actually maintained an integral chain of command within its own internal ranks, despite great difficulty. Under this theory, only a few officers who were functionally "*desvinculados*" from the Army were responsible for Rojas Pinilla's abusively militaristic actions. (See items #41, #56, #129, and #215).
163. MOLINA, JULIO HERNAN
1954 La patria y el general. Cali. A foolishly adulatory biography of General Rojas Pinilla presents him in quasi-poetic terms. The work has little value but is instructive about the sycophantic coterie which surrounded the general while he was President.
164. PABON NUÑEZ, LUCIO
1955 El fantasma de un nuevo partido. El estado de sitio y la purificación de la democracia. Bogotá. General Rojas Pinilla's ultra-Conservative Minister of Government defends his chief's continued state of siege and depoliticization program. He quotes cleverly from earlier presidents who defended the state of siege in various contexts during their own administrations, and he makes these men appear hypocritical as Liberal opponents of Rojas Pinilla's state of siege. Author states that Rojas has no desire to build a dictatorship, will hold elections in 1958, and is merely using the Armed Forces to restore peace. (His philosophy of government is presented eloquently in *La tridivisión del poder público*. Bogotá, 1943).
165. PAREDES CRUZ, JOAQUIN
1957 Causas y efectos de una dictadura: 4 años de historia nacional. Cali. A Liberal writer assembles strong evidence of abuses against citizens, both urban and rural, by the Rojas Pinilla administration. Much of the information is accurate, despite the biased viewpoint.

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166. VILLAR BORDA, CARLOS J.

- 1953 Rojas Pinilla: El Presidente libertador. Bogotá. One of Colombia's leading journalists, a former Bogotá Associated Press chief, offers a laudatory but factually accurate biography of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. The author was later jailed by the same administration for writing unapproved opinions. (See item #206).

X. THE ERA OF ENDEMIC BANDOLERISMO (PHASE IV: 1958-65)

This is the era which coincides with the start of the Alternation Plan, and which also produced the National Commission on the Present Causes of the Violence. The combination of a press freed from censorship, and teams of scholars and government officials doing research on the great national problem, meant a flood of much improved literature about the violencia. Surprisingly, even several U.S. news magazines and agencies obtained accurate stories about the nature of the institutionalized banditry deep in the rural zones. Students of rebellion, banditry, and social violence should notice that during this era the ratio of political to criminal insurgents reversed. Where guerrillas and revolutionaries once far out-numbered the rural criminal element in the violencia zones, the situation was characterized after 1958 by the existence of many Mafia-like criminal groups and a few revolutionary groups which attempted to fight guerrilla warfare under a political doctrine.

167. AMAYA RAMIREZ, GUILLERMO

- 1959 Memoria del ministerio del gobierno al Congreso de 1959. Bogotá. 59-86. This report represents the first major centralized effort to combine all data on the violencia under one branch, the Ministerio de Gobierno, and reflects the serious national approach of the Junta and the Lleras Camargo administration to the solving of the great national problem.

168. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1962 Battling the Bandits. *Time*. (Nov. 9). 17-18. Two photographs illustrate this excellent description of the Colombian Army's anti-violencia training and programs.

169. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1962 Brutality in the Backlands. *Time*. (Feb. 23). 19. A grisly photograph accompanies this account of the violencia in Caicedonia (Department of Valle, population 34,000), where bandits murdered dozens of farm workers for no known reason.

170. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1964 A Changing Role. *Time*. (Nov. 16). 61. *Time* was the first United States publication to identify the uniquely apolitical nation-building and peace-keeping programs of the Colombian Army, then difficult to distinguish because of mounting involvement of the military in politics in other Latin American nations.

171. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1962 Death by the Levee. *Time*. (Sept. 7). 17. A photograph shows bandolero suspects captured after an Army dragnet to snare the

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- perpetrators of a massacre near Toro (Department of Valle, population 26,000).
172. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1964 Death of Black Blood. *Time*. (May 8). 37–38. A description of the death of Jacinto Cruz Usma (alias “Sangre Negra”) reveals a portion of the Colombian government’s 1964–1965 extermination campaign against the bloodiest of the bandoleros.
173. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1964 Stamping Out la violencia. *Time*. (March 13). 40–42. This survey of the violencia shows the potential marriage of bandolerismo with pro-Castro revolutionary action in Colombia.
174. GROSS, LEONARD
1962 A Strange Tale of Tragic Politics. *Look*. (May 8). 85–94. An accurate portrait, profusely illustrated, gives one of the few glimpses of the violencia to the mass reading audience in the United States. It also describes the early role of the Peace Corps.
175. LLERAS CAMARGO, ALBERTO
1959– El primer gobierno del frente nacional. Bogotá. The first Alternation
1963 Plan President and Colombia’s greatest figure in reducing the violencia presents the story of his administration. While his personal actions in violencia reduction were less dramatic than those of Rojas Pinilla in 1953, the papers and messages speak adequately for themselves.
176. MOYNAHAN, BRIAN
1965 La violencia. *Cromos*. (Oct. 18). This journalistic biography of four bandoleros in a Colombian weekly surmises that revenge was their primary motive for lives of crime and murder.
177. NUSBAUM, KEITH C.
1963 Bandidos! *Military Review*. 43:7:20–35. A U.S. Army lieutenant colonel describes the Colombian Army’s anti-violencia measures during the Lleras Camargo administration. This article is somewhat crippled as a result of a legal restriction placed upon this magazine of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College against the printing of political commentary.
178. VIII BRIGADA
1965 De la violencia a la paz. 1965. An experimental anti-violencia organization, the VIII Brigade, was added to the Colombian Army’s previously existing seven brigade zones in September 1962. Three years of innovative and arduous work restored peace and some prosperity to a region astride the borders between the Department of Caldas (now further subdivided into Quindío and Risaralda) and the Department of Valle. The region was literally ruled by murderous rural Mafia gangs like that of Teófilo Rojas (“Chispas”).
179. RODRIGUEZ LIEVANO, GUILLERMO
1967 La pacificación. *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*. 15:44:213–217. An Army colonel outlines the growing degree to which Colombian rural zones have returned to peace. He calls for a conversion of

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the military civic action program from a scheme to win public support into an integral part of the drive to economic maturity. This idea is not the policy of the Colombian government or any of its Armed Forces.

180. TITO ALBA, J.
1966 Vida, confesión, y muerte de Efraín González. Bogotá. This story of a famous bandolero shows how the Colombian Armed Forces lost seven men killed and several more wounded in a futile attempt to capture him alive. Biographical detail clearly reveals a criminally insane person acting out the role of a peasant folk hero.
181. VALENCIA, GUILLERMO LEON
1966 Mensajes del exmo. Sr. Presidente de la República, Dr. Guillermo León Valencia, al Congreso Nacional, 1962–1966. Bogotá. The second Alternation Plan President's speeches are literary and portend a new socially oriented Conservatism which never materialized. The continuing bandolerismo and *guerrillerismo* are identified as urgent problems.

XI. RADICALISM AND POST-VIOLENCIA "GUERRILLA" REPORTING

Concurrent with the destruction of the rural criminal gangs in the 1964–1965 campaign of extermination came a drive from Havana to open a front in the Colombian highlands. This effort produced the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) in the Department of Santander, and for a brief period it attracted the defrocked priest Camilo Torres Restrepo. The Colombian Communist Party felt constrained to bid for power in the backlands, too, and it accepted Manuel Marulanda Vélez (alias "Tirofijo," or "Sureshot," today the last of the bandit chieftains still untamed) as a member of its Central Committee. "Tirofijo" directed attacks against farms in Tolima as chief of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas (FARC), despite pressure from Moscow to ease the reopening of diplomatic relations with Colombia by ceasing the killing in the backlands. Finally, a pro-Maoist group, Ejército Popular de Liberación (EPL) began limited terrorist operations in the Departments of Córdoba and northern Antioquia. Some members of ELN and EPL came from the young urban intelligentsia. Most FARC members were from the same lower class rural sector which produced the more populous bandit gangs. The total number of insurgents in all three of these groups added together was less than one thousand.

While the literature on the violencia has improved in quality and veracity since 1958, the writings about these fledgling revolutionary groups are usually polemics against the Colombian government and replete with romantic views about ELN, FARC, and EPL. A classic illustration of polemical writing in scholarly clothing appears on p. 335 of the paperback reader edited by James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, *Latin America: Reform or Revolution?* (N.Y., 1968), wherein supposedly narrative material on FARC and ELN, and a paragraph on Camilo Torres Restrepo, contain at least a dozen major errors in fact. (Ironically, the most accurate account of what really happened to Camilo Torres Restrepo appeared in a novel: See item #215).

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182. ALVAREZ GARCIA, JOHN (ed.)
1969 Camilo Torres, His Life and Message. N.Y. A collection of sixteen manifestos by Camilo Torres Restrepo, translated into English by Virginia M. O'Grady with skimpy introductory material by Alvarez García and Christian Restrepo Calle.
183. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1967 El azaroso recorrido del aventurero Menéndez. Cromos. (July 24). 5-10. A reprint with editorial commentary of an original story which appeared in the Mexican leftist magazine *Sucesos* (July 1, 1967). It is an account of personal experiences by Mario Renato Menéndez, based upon his visit to the ELN in the Department of Santander.
184. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1968 La guerra popular de liberación en Colombia. Causa Marxista-Leninista. (Nov.-Dec.) Santiago, Chile. This is an account of the Ejército Popular de Liberación (EPL) which has operated sporadically in the Alto Sinú in recent years. Since EPL is pro-Maoist in its political orientation, a discussion from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint takes on special interest.
185. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1965 Murders Yet to Come. The Economist. (Aug. 28). 772 and 777. This account is overly pessimistic in describing the rise of the anti-government violence, primarily that of the ELN in the Departments of Santander and Norte de Santander.
186. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1962 ¿Por qué aún la violencia? Revista de la Policía Nacional. 91:5-6. A brief but significant editorial recognizes the marriage of Havana-oriented and sponsored revolutionary warfare with the older criminal pattern of the violencia. It calls for an integrated assault on peasant poverty, disaffection, and imported subversion.
187. CENTRO INTERCULTURAL DE DOCUMENTACION (CIDOC)
1969 Camilo Torres por el Padre Camilo Torres Restrepo (1956-1966). (Sondeos No. 5). Colombia: Camilo Torres, un símbolo controvertido, 1962-67. (Dossier No. 12). Cuernavaca. Two seriously edited collections of documents concerning Camilo Torres Restrepo's life are made available by the prestigious Documentation Center at Cuernavaca, Mexico.
188. (COMITE DE) CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION
1968 Camilo. Buenos Aires. A collection of documents on the life of Camilo Torres Restrepo. It shows clearly the progression of his thought, both political and religious. Another collection, slightly expanded, was published under the title of *Cristianismo y revolución* (México, D.F., 1970), with notations by Oscar Maldonado et al.
189. CRUZ C., ANTONIO
1967 Camilo Guerrero. Encuentro Liberal (June 17). 16-29. One of the first biographical sketches of Camilo. While sensitive, it is now eclipsed by several fuller accounts.

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190. CULHANE, EUGENE K.
1960 Red Pocket in America. *America*. (March 12). 701-704. The Managing Editor of the National Catholic Digest in the United States gives here an excellent analysis of the violencia in Colombia. The article was followed by new material which confirmed Culhane's earlier observations. (See the Sept. 17, 1960, issue, same magazine).
191. EDER, RICHARD
1965 Colombia Hunts Guerrilla Band. *New York Times*. (Jan. 17). 28. The activities of a pro-Castro radical group (ELN) attempting to initiate a guerrilla base are described here by a *New York Times* correspondent.
192. GERASSI, JOHN (ed.)
1971 *Revolutionary Priest: the Complete Writings and Messages of Camilo Torres*. (Translation by Juan de Cipriano Alcantara.) N.Y. This is the most complete collection of Torres Restrepo's writing. Gerassi's introduction is the most complete argument for his subject's message. However, Gerassi seems unaware that statements attributed to Torres Restrepo during his weeks in the field with ELN are of questionable authorship.
193. GOODSSELL, JAMES N.
1966 Colombia's "la violencia." *Christian Science Monitor*. (Jan. 14). A survey of the rise of pro-Castro groups in the Colombian violencia, primarily the ELN and FARC.
194. GUZMAN CAMPOS, GERMAN
1967 *Camilo, presencia y destino*. Bogotá. A laudatory biography of Camilo Torres Restrepo, this work is essentially a collection of speeches and papers with a sketchy narrative. Camilo and Guzmán were associated with the National Commission for the Investigation of the Present Causes of the Violence. Guzmán identified with Camilo in a personal, emotional way and, since Torres' death in a clash with the Army, has become a political radical. An English language version of this book, translated by John D. Ring, was published by Sheed and Ward in 1969. (See item #34).
195. HABEGGER, NORBERTO
1967 *Camilo Torres, el cura guerrillero*. Buenos Aires. An advocate of radical Christian activism recounts the life of Camilo Torres Restrepo, whom he sees as a model exponent of the new faith. While he mentions frequently his desire to be objective, he displays hero worship for his subject.
196. LANDAZABAL REYES, FERNANDO
1969 *Estrategia de la subversión y su desarrollo en la América Latina*. Bogotá. A Colombian artillery colonel describes the various strategies for armed political subversion in the Western Hemisphere, and then gives an excellent historical portrayal of the rural revolutionary groups in Colombia which rose in the wake of the violencia. Viewpoint is philosophically anti-Marxist humanist.
1971. MOVIMIENTO OBRERO-ESTUDANTIL-CAMPESINO ((MOEC)
1961 *150 preguntas a un guerrillero*. (Mimeographed). Bogotá. An under-

- ground edition of the guerrilla warfare manual written by Colonel Alberto Bayo, former Spanish Republican Air Force officer and international adviser of leftist revolutionary groups. Bayo himself had much less guerrilla experience than many Colombians, and the MOEC—a leftist radical group which distributed the pamphlet—was spectacularly unsuccessful in forming a base from which to initiate guerrilla warfare.
198. PARDO LLADA, JOSE
1965 Camilo, el cura del paredón. Bohemia. (San Juan, Puerto Rico; Sept.). This sensitive impression of Camilo Torres Restrepo was written by an exiled Cuban journalist residing in Colombia. The piece was reprinted in *El Vespertino* (Bogotá) on Feb. 17, 1966, just after Torres Restrepo's death.
199. PAREJA, CARLOS H.
1968 El padre Camilo: el cura guerrillero. México, D.F. A leftist lawyer and novelist sketches here a romanticized account of Camilo. He traces the history of rural rebellion in Colombia with some insight and places Torres Restrepo in the mainstream of major freedom fighters. (See item #153).
200. PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE COLOMBIA
1967 La política y la táctica del partido comunista. Bogotá. The Colombian Communist Party's manual for political revolt reveals a traditional Marxist-Leninist outlook, with little apparent confidence in achieving revolution through the violencia.
201. _____
1966 Que es y por qué lucha el partido comunista. Bogotá. A doctrinal manual for Communist Party cadres shows sympathy for peasant economic conditions but omits a strategy for rural guerrilla warfare.
202. _____
1961 Unidad contra la reacción y el golpe de estado. Bogotá. The Communist Party here recognizes the successes of the Lleras Camargo administration and outlines its plan for immediate revolution.
203. RAMIREZ, JAVIER
1967 El Ejército de Liberación Nacional de Colombia desarrolla la lucha armada revolucionaria. Verde Olivo. (Feb. 26). The Cuban government's liaison officer to the Colombian ELN begins a highly politicized two-part description of his subject. While there is much propaganda, there are also hard data and maps which can be substantiated by Colombian Army and National Police accounts.
204. _____
1967 La gran fe en la lucha es nuestra arma principal. Verde Olivo. (May 5). The Cuban militia magazine again treats the ELN in Colombia, making optimistic predictions which did not materialize. Photographs and maps of considerable detail make this a primary source.
205. REYES TREJO, A.
1966 Habla un jefe guerrillero colombiano. Verde Olivo. (Jan. 29). In a surprisingly frank account, an officer of the FARC (his alias is

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"Comandante Alberto Gómez," not to be confused with Oscar Reyes, alias "Knifer"), reveals that the organization is the rural armed force of the Colombian Communist Party. Much folk-hero innocence is ascribed to bandolero chieftain Manuel Marulanda ("Tirofijo"), and the internal struggle within the Colombian Communist Party over whether or not to support this group (or ELN, or neither one) is not mentioned.

206. VILLAR BORDA, CARLOS J.

1968 El "Che" y "Camilo." *Encuentro Liberal*. (June 29). 12–15. One of Colombia's prestigious journalists, who wrote a biography of Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara, here presents the Argentine revolutionary with Camilo Torres Restrepo. In this article, the biographer offers penetrating comparisons of the two rebel leaders. (See item #166).

207. WOMACK, JOHN

1969 Priest of Revolution. *New York Review of Books*. 13:7:13–16. Tough-minded analysis is applied here by an authority on Mexican *zapatismo* to Colombia's Camilo. A mature and accurate synthesis of Torres Restrepo's role in Colombian politics in the form of four book reviews.

XII. THE FICTIONAL LITERATURE OF THE VIOLENCIA

An ironical note in presenting a separate section on violencia fiction is that a considerable quantity of the alleged non-fiction is also fictional. But the fact remains that a distinct literary school has emerged, one which pits man against nature and man against repressive forces in a rural environment. The vocabulary is often rugged and picturesque. The movement is a manifestation of a larger pattern, which has brought social consciousness into the homes of literate Colombian urbanites as a result of two decades of the violencia. Most of these novels are not first-class literary work.

208. AIRO, CLEMENTE

1961 9 estampillas de alucinado. Bogotá. This little volume is a collection of nine short stories, several of which describe villagers caught up in the milieu of political feuding. Colorful and sensitively written.

209. ALMORVA, DOMINGO

1953 Sangre. Cartagena. A portrait of political hatred and feuding in the northern violencia zones.

210. BAYER, TULIO

1960 Carretera al mar. Bogotá. A leftist Colombian physician tells of his experiences around Medellín during the Laureano Gómez era, using a not-so-cryptic novela style. If a few places and persons were specifically identified, the work would be a primary information source. Bayer later attempted to found a guerrilla movement under Movimiento Obrero-Estudantil-Campesino (MOEC) in the Eastern Plains but was quickly captured. From Paris he proclaimed himself, in 1969, "unofficial revolutionary ambassador" of Colombia.

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211. CABALLERO CALDERON, EDUARDO
1967 *El cristo de espaldas*. N.Y. A United States edition of the Colombian literary classic on the violencia. The theme is that the people "turned a cold shoulder" to Christ, and He would let them suffer but not die. The greatest piece of literature to emanate from the violencia. First published in Buenos Aires in 1952, it has won literary awards in several nations. This version was edited in Spanish by Roberto and Carmen Esquenazi-Mayo.
212. _____
1966 *Manuel Pacho*. Medellín. The story of a young man's struggle for meaning in his life amid apparently hopeless surroundings.
213. _____
1955 *Siervo sin tierra*. Madrid. Several reprintings attest to the durability of this novel, which points up the incredible degree of partisan hatred and political irresponsibility among the rural Liberal and Conservative party leaders in Colombia.
214. CAICEDO, DANIEL
1954 *Viento seco*. Buenos Aires. A bitter Liberal polemic which, with the inclusion of names and places, could qualify as a primary source. The author was involved in Liberal-Conservative warfare in Antioquia during the First Guerrilla War.
215. CANAL RAMIREZ, GONZALO
1968 *Nicodemus*. Bogotá. Colombia's Ambassador to Russia and leading interpreter of civil-military affairs has written here a powerful novel about a rebel priest. While the author disclaims an overly strict scenario from the life of Camilo Torres Restrepo, the details follow Torres Restrepo's life accurately. The reviewer has interviewed many persons having first hand knowledge of both Torres Restrepo's life and this author's sources. (See items #41, #56, #129, and #162).
216. CHAVES, GUILLERMO EDMUNDO
1962 *Chambú*. Medellín. A story about the dreary life in a small village, obviously based on some autobiographical experiences.
217. ECHEVERRI MEJIA, ARTURO
1960 *Marea de ratas*. Medellín. The people in the western violencia zones are compared here to waves of rats being led to slaughter in the political feuding.
218. FERREIRE, ERNESTO LEON
1956 *Cristianismo sin alma*. Bogotá. A novel about the empty forms of Christian practice in a rural milieu of political killing.
219. GARCIA MARQUEZ, GABRIEL
1970 *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. Translation by Gregory Rabassa. N.Y. This epic novel about six generations of the Buendía family in Aracataca (Department of Magdalena) deals with the rural Colombian themes of mysticism, violence, fatalism, and factional politics. The setting is north of the violencia zones, but the cultural portraits are authentic, and the book is a classic.

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220. GONZALEZ OCHOA, GUSTAVO
1960 Frente a la violencia. Medellín. A novel with some excellent social detail about the western violencia zones.
221. JARAMILLO ARANGO, EUCLIDES
1959 Un campesino sin regreso. Medellín. A social protest against the hopelessness of peasant life, one of the few written from a rural Conservative viewpoint after 1954.
222. JUNCAL, SORAYA
1967 Jacinta y la violencia. Medellín. An unusually sensitive portrait of a youth growing up in dejection and hopelessness in the violent countryside.
223. LAGUADO, ARTURO
1954 Danza para ratas. Bogotá. An acid account of the violencia during the Gómez era.
224. MUÑOZ JIMENEZ, FERNAN
1954 Horizontes cerradas. Manizales. A social protest against the repression of the peasants.
225. ROBBINS, HAROLD
1966 The Adventurers, N.Y. While this novel details a variety of jet-set antics and international business manipulations, several chapters are valid portraits of the Colombian violencia. The author did field research among bandit gangs. (The motion picture made from this novel employed units of the Colombian Army and scenery around Bogotá, although the actions of the troops on the screen are in no way representative of Colombian military behavior).
226. SANTA, EDUARDO
1954 Sin tierra para morir. Bogotá. A tale of death and despair from the Gómez era.
227. SANIN ECHEVERRI, JAIME
1960 ¿Quién dijo miedo? Medellín. One of the better novels about the recovery of rural society in the western violencia zones. Excellent detail on guerrillas, bandits, policemen, soldiers, and politicians.
228. SOTO APARICIO, FERNANDO
1961 Solamente la vida. Bogotá. A plea for a more humane social order, based in the central violencia zones.
229. SUAREZ RONDON, GERARDO
1966 La novela sobre la violencia en Colombia. Bogotá. An attempt to identify the violencia novel as a discrete movement in Colombian literature.
230. VALENCIA TOVAR, ALVARO
1969 Uisheda. Bogotá. Using a realistic, repertorial style, General Valencia Tovar achieves the most accurate social portrait of the Colombian violencia yet written. He is the most articulate writer of a new humanist-apolitical type of Colombian military officer. Uisheda was drawn from his own experiences in pacification efforts. The title is a rural dialectical invention of the author meaning "violence utterly without purpose."

XIII. ETIOLOGY AND UNIFYING THEORIES

Both the public official and the scholar have been understandably concerned with attempting to identify the causes of the *violencia*. Some have persisted in the quest for a unifying theory of events, generally based upon the rationalistic supposition that people do not, under normal circumstances, murder and torture each other. There appears to be a considerable reluctance among academic analysts to admit that a large subculture could enter upon a pathological ethos of violence for its own sake for over two decades, and much academic writing is circumscribed in applicability by searching for villains, or for an etiological approach which embraces all the factors in the process.

The reviewer is prepared to admit, after some soul searching, that no single theory can explain so vast a process. Nevertheless, one of man's best uses of knowledge has been the quest for an understanding of violence and inhumanity, and so the search for a unifying theory continues.

231. BAILEY, NORMAN A.

- 1967 *La violencia in Colombia*. *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 9:4: 561-575. An excellent narrative survey of the *violencia* is followed by a review of the behavioral and historical theories offered by the better scholars. The best short survey of the *violencia* for the general student of recent Latin American affairs.

232. DUQUE GOMEZ, LUIS

- 1954 *Los problemas antropogeográficos de Colombia y la escuela rural*. *Ciencias Sociales*. (Oct.). A Colombian student of rural society finds a heavy correlation between the *violencia* and regions where recent waves of colonization have changed local demographic conditions.

233. GOMEZ ARISTIZABAL, HORACIO

- 1962 *Teoría gorgona, causación de la violencia y estructuración de un sistema para erradicarla*. Bogotá. A criminal lawyer theorizes that the *violencia* stems from a lack of educational facilities among the rural folk and rehabilitative institutions for convicted criminals. He offers many schemes for its eradication, some of which have been proved effective by the Armed Forces and the Ministries of Justice and Education. The book was reviewed favorably by leaders from every major public institution in Colombia.

234. GUILLEN MARTINEZ, FERNANDO

- 1963 *Raíz y el futuro de la revolución*. Bogotá. This volume in the "Colección Problemas de América" series is an analysis of social conditions. This author argues convincingly that social mobility does exist in Colombia, that the *violencia* is a cultural problem, and that the kind of revolution needed is not a doctrinal one but a mobilization of talent and resources.

235. GUTIERREZ, JOSE

- 1962 *La rebeldía colombiana*. Bogotá. The author, a psychiatrist, isolates specific causes of rebellion in Colombia: poverty, inequality, and lack of opportunity. He then describes a "generation of April 9th"

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(of 1948, or the bogotazo) which has lived with the permanent psychological shock of a violencia culture. Gutiérrez worked in his youth as a Communist organizer, and the book is partially an autobiography.

236. GUTIERREZ ANZOLA, JORGE ENRIQUE
1962 *Violencia y justicia*. Bogotá. The author was a member of the National Police Reform Commission appointed in 1948, and served as Minister of Justice under the Lleras Camargo administration. He argues that the violencia is both caused and abetted by the absence of a functional system of legal justice. He offers substantial commentary upon the national criminal code and recommended reforms.
237. HOBBSBAWM, ERIC J.
1963 *The Revolutionary Situation in Colombia*. *World Today*. (June 1963). 248–258. A British specialist in the history of social conflict explores the Colombian violencia from a Marxist viewpoint: the disintegration of rural Colombian society. Hobsbawm has done fundamental field and archival research in developing world-wide bandit typologies. (See his *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels*, 1960). He is mainly responsible for identifying correctly that most of the bandoleros of the Phase IV violencia were more akin to the early Sicilian Mafia than to the leftist guerrilla fighters which so many writers have claimed them to be. (See various parts in his *Bandits*, 1960).
238. LASERNA, MARIO
1961 *Estado fuerte o caudillo: el dilema colombiano*. Bogotá. In a critical theoretical appraisal of the liberty vs. order dichotomy, the author posits two theories of public management in Colombia. Implied is the idea that social pathology ensues when citizens are caught between the manipulations of a strong constitutional state, on the one hand, and a personalistic political system on the other.
239. MONTAÑA CUELLAR, DIEGO
1963 *Colombia: país formal y país real*. Buenos Aires. This is a variation on the theory of Colombian government which holds that a cosmopolitan civilian gentry in Bogotá have usually directed national politics. The author describes two social matrices, the constitutional state and the semi-feudal society, and claims that the citizens are caught in the middle.
240. PEARSE, ANDREW
1962 *Factors Conditioning Latent and Open Conflict in Colombian Rural Society*. Fifth World Congress of Sociology (Sept. 2–8), Washington, D.C. A case is made here for self-impelling violence in the rural Colombian village, although source materials are sketchy. Author was an associate of the Fals Borda research team. (See item #35).
241. POSADA, FRANCISCO
1969 *Colombia: violencia y subdesarrollo*. Bogotá. The Dean of Social Sciences at the National University of Colombia offers an ambitious theory: the violencia is a result of progressive pauperization of the

peasants. The theory is too oversimplified; why for example, was the violencia worse among the small landowners of Caldas and Huila than among the underpaid wage laborers of Cundinamarca or Santander?

242. SILVA CABRERA, FABIO
1967 Estampas de violencia. *Revista de la Policía Nacional*, 125: 87–88. A National Police lieutenant editorializes that the violencia has been a national tragedy composed of senseless hatred, for which all are collectively responsible.
243. TORRES RESTREPO, CAMILO
1963 La violencia y los cambios socio-culturales en los areas rurales colombianos. *Memoria del Primer Congreso Nacional de Sociología*. Bogotá, 95–152. This is the now famous interpretive monograph by Camilo Torres Restrepo on the violencia. His thesis (developed under Belgian sociologist Yves Urbain at Louvain) is that peasants whose routes of social mobility are blocked through normal channels can attain status and mobility by joining rebel armies having popularly chosen hierarchies, and that the rural social structure in Colombia has been largely demolished. While the second part is true, for a broader spectrum of reasons than the violencia itself, the first part is a gross statistical exaggeration designed to prove a pre-conceived Marxist sociological theory which applies only in specific instances. The article was translated as “Social Change and Rural Violence in Colombia” in the *Studies in Comparative International Development* series, Washington University Social Science Institute, under the editorship of Irving L. Horowitz.
244. VIVAS GARCIA, EFRAIN
1964 La violencia en Colombia. *Revista del Ejército*, 4:17:61–63. An Army lieutenant colonel traces with painful honesty the growth of cultural feuding and political factionalism of the early twentieth century which grew into the violencia.
245. WEINERT, RICHARD S.
1966 Violence in Pre-Modern Societies: Rural Colombia. *American Political Science Review*, 60:2:340–348. The best behavioral analysis of political causation behind the violencia. It contains a critique of the Williamson article (see item #246 below) and of the Hobsbawm thesis (see item #237). Weinert isolates two governing variables: the rural nature of the violencia and the fact that it began as localized political brawling.
246. WILLIAMSON, ROBERT C.
1965 Toward a Theory of Political Violence: The Case of Rural Colombia. *Western Political Quarterly*, 18:1:35–44. A mature appraisal of the violencia which explores some of the better behavioral theories and suggests a combination of vertically and horizontally structured etiological factors summarized into the two main causes: deprivation and atomization.

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XIV. MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

247. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1960 La publicidad de la violencia. *Revista Javeriana*. 53:9–10. Sensationalism and partisanship are isolated here as the major villains in the role of the Colombian press toward the violencia. The accusation tends to be true in the case of some regional newspapers, and especially true of the primary party organs during the bogotazo era, but distinctly unfair in describing the role of most major newspapers since 1958.

248. GONZALEZ-RODAS, PUBLIO

1968 *Léxico de la violencia en Colombia*. *Hispania*. 51:2:302–309. This article drew two substantive responses: Acosta A., José María; "A Response to 'Léxico de la violencia en Colombia,'" *Hispania*, 51:4: 848–849, with quoted reprint from "Una horrible página," *La República* (Bogotá), Aug. 15, 1968; and González-Rodas, Publio; "Mas sobre el léxico de la violencia en Colombia," *Hispania*: 52:2: 243–244. A Spanish professor at McGill University explored, in the principal citation, the cultural syndrome of a specialized violencia vocabulary, listing 107 general words, 84 bandit pseudonyms, and current slang definitions for some of the words. He was attacked in a Bogotá Conservative daily (*La República*) on grounds more diplomatic than etymological, but some of his definitions lack factual precision (e.g. "DAS," for Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad, or the Colombian FBI, is defined as "the present military intelligence agency," which is actually the F-2 Section of the Armed Forces).

249. HERRERA, J. NOE

1969 *Bibliografía sobre la violencia en Colombia*. (Mimeographed). Bogotá. One of Colombia's best bibliographers compiles a near definitive list of materials having possible relevance to the violencia. Only a few government documents and privately printed sources are omitted.

250. INFANTE DIAZ, INOCENCIO

1959 *Sangre rebelde; antología; poemas de guerrillas y libertad*. Bogotá. This is an edited collection of guerrilla poems and songs, some quite rare, presented to show a progression of freedom fighters from Simón Bolívar throughout Colombian national history and into the present via the Colombian advocates of Fidel Castro.

XV. CONCLUDING NOTE

This bibliography of violencia materials may raise as many issues by inference and omission as by inclusion, a situation that reflects the available literature. The student who wishes to know the violencia will have to add a pair of muddy boots to his documentary materials.

Peasant revolutionary warfare lies in the gulf between the academic and military institutions of the occidental nations. The scholar suffers from dwelling too long

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among romantic illusions about peasant society, and from an over-reliance on written materials. The soldier does not grasp the fact that peasant warfare can seldom be opposed or ended through the use of conventional military systems, and he has only limited cultural knowledge to analyze correctly the power dynamics of peasant conflict. Consequently, no predictably valid group of analysts exist who can untangle a social matrix such as the *violencia*.

Regional and topical studies appear to offer the best promise for building a solid history of the *violencia*. The scholar who will walk the terrain of Tolima, or Santander, or Boyacá, interview eye-witnesses, and exhaust local collections of letters and newspapers will have the basis for a new level of sophistication in *violencia* scholarship. A dozen such studies, drawing also on documents and memoirs at the national level, could furnish the basis for a soundly rooted history.