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The Grim Reaper: Extrajudicial Violence and Autocratic Rule *

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Abstract

What makes some authoritarian regimes more willing to employ extrajudicial violence, as opposed to relying on more conventional forms of repression? A voluminous literature exists on the causes, dynamics, and consequences of state repression. To date, however, scholars have not systematically explained one variety of repression, extrajudicial violence. I distinguish between generic repression (limits on the civil and political rights of citizens), and state terrorism – when the regime intimidates its political opponents using extrajudicial violence. I examine the relationship between the two in a conditional mixed process modelling framework for 121 countries (1946-2010). My analysis reveals that communist dictatorships repress the freedoms of expression, travel, and association, but military dictatorships engage in extrajudicial violence. The study contributes to the literature by providing an institutional account of why power is used and for what ends differently in these two regime types, and by modelling different types of repression simultaneously.

Keywords: state terrorism; extrajudicial violence; state repression; state violence

Scholars conceive of state repression as “the actual or threatened use of physical sanctions ... for the purpose of ... deterring specific activities and/or beliefs perceived to be challenging to” the government (Goldstein 1978, xxvii; cited in Davenport 2007a, 2). Repression can take various forms including censorship, limits on citizen’s civil and political rights, and coercion. The literature however offers no systematic explanation for one variety of repression, extrajudicial violence, also known as state terrorism (Jackson et al. 2010; Pion-Berlin and Lopez 1991; Claridge 1996). Consider the dirty war, an “extrajudicial, at least partly clandestine, and extremely violent” (Pereira 2005, 209) episode of state terrorism in Argentina (1976-1983) in which 20,000-30,000 were killed and disappeared (Pereira 2005, 212; Pion-Berlin 1988). Actions such as arbitrary detention, kidnapping, torture, forced exile, and disappearance (Lopez 1984, 59; Sloan 1984, 84; Jackson et al. 2010, 1) occur in regimes with few veto players. My goal is thus to understand what the relationship is between autocratic rule and these forms of violence.

I model how extrajudicial violence is shaped by regime goals and institutional configurations. Essentially, I observe in the data a pattern that shows what happens when a regime becomes state-socialist¹, or the military takes greater control over the government.² The tactics and calculus of repression differ. Communist regimes oppress and repress more but do not primarily resort to extrajudicial killings and torture. Conversely, military regimes engage in more torture and extrajudicial killings. Thus, my model shows that the combination of tactics autocracies employ is different because goals and institutions influence the perceived threats and cost horizons of authoritarian leaders.

This article is organized into five sections. I begin with a review of the literature. The purpose of this review is to identify some key conceptual gaps in the scholarly understanding of the intensity and range of violence under authoritarian regimes. I distinguish between extrajudicial violence and other forms of repression while providing some descriptive data about its manifestation. Section three explains why communist dictatorships are generally characterized by repression of the freedoms of expression, association, and foreign travel, while military ones rely on torture and extrajudicial killings. Section four discusses the empirical model and the data I rely on to assess my claims, while section five presents the results I obtain.

¹ I use this term interchangeably with “communist” to refer to a society “controlled by a dominant communist party which seeks, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and through the agency of the state, to mobilize the population to reach a classless society”. (Lane 1996, 1, quoted in Armstrong 2003, 2.)

² In my data, the People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the People’s Republic of the Congo are the only two communist regimes that were simultaneously military.

State repression: the state of the literature

Scholars sometimes refer to violent repression by governments as “state terror” (Carey 2010; Poe and Tate 1994; Poe et al. 1999; Keith et al. 2009). A large literature is also concerned with actions “which target the integrity of the person (i.e. which directly threaten human life)” (Davenport 2007c, 487): torture, killing, political imprisonment, and disappearance. An important question is why governments carry out these actions.

Sometimes states may temporarily arrest opponents at a sensitive time or use violent methods against selected oppositionists without the intention of terrorising others; actions which Stohl and Lopez describe as *repression*. On other occasions states may slaughter entire political, religious or ethnic groups, again without the specific intention of placing other groups in terror; this is genocide (or politicide). (Claridge 1996, 51).

In the literature, repressive measures are typically explained using a “decision-theoretic approach” (Hill and Jones 2014, 664). Scholars, that is, assume that given a particular institutional configuration, state agents deal with their oppositions in ways that minimize their costs and maximize their benefits (Greitens 2016, 55). Democratic institutions, for example, are said to raise the cost of repression, making the latter less frequent, more selective, and less intense in democratic settings.

Dictators want to stay in power. Authoritarian leaders are thus willing to engage in a great deal of repression. Beyond pointing out this commonality, however, scholars have yet to solve a few puzzles, such as why “leftist” governments did not violate physical integrity rights more (Keith 2002, 121); or why some communist regimes – i.e. the Soviet Union before 1954, Maoist China, and the Khmer Rouge – have engaged in extensive killing (Valentino 2013) even though military governments are supposedly “more repressive than other forms of autocracy when violent activities such as torture and mass killing are considered.” (Davenport 2007c, 500).

Part of the problem, I submit, is that scholars have not sufficiently distinguished between different kinds of repression. As Blakeley (2010, 14) notes: “[t]he difference [between state terrorism and repression] lies in the instrumentality of state terrorism. There is a specific logic of not only harming the direct victim, but exploiting the opportunity afforded by the harm to terrorize others.” Take for example the torture and disappearance of individuals, actions deemed by many as constituting crimes against humanity. These are actions that, in creating “violent intimidation for political effect” (Wilson 2019, 331), induce a profound sense of unpredictability and hopelessness.

One additional puzzle is why authorities would employ this kind of repression when in hindsight, their actions seem unwarranted. In the words of Weyland (2019, 6), “a striking feature of

Latin America's autocratic regression" in the 1960s and 70s was "the enormous brutality with which military generals imposed and exercised their rule...They overshot beyond any conceivable political need and engaged in 'unnecessary' overkill". This can seem puzzling even when leaders' goals – to snuff out radicalism – are considered. This "paroxysm of cruelty" is not limited to South America. In Central America in the 1970s and 1980s,

the number of tortured, disappeared, and massacred reached levels never seen before. In Guatemala alone, more than 150,000 disappeared or died in genocidal military counterinsurgency campaigns³; in El Salvador, some 100,000; and in Nicaragua, at least 50,000 more. (McSherry 2005, 208).

In Guatemala, death squads engaged in kidnappings and assassinations of "select victims such as politicians, political activists, labour leaders, and teachers." (Garrard-Burnett 2010, 30). "Opponents and possible opponents of the regime disappeared by the hundreds – politicians, labour leaders, journalists, professors, students, and church workers." (Brockett 1998, 116). Garrard-Burnett (2010, 181), citing numbers from Guatemala's Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH), claims that of those who died in the violence, "23,671 were victims of arbitrary execution and 6,159 ... of forced disappearance" whereas "the UN-sponsored truth commission for Guatemala estimates that up to 45,000 people were disappeared during the country's 36-year-old civil war." (Payne and Abouharb 2016, 166). This is what some have in mind then when they speak about state terrorism.

Pinning down state terrorism analytically matters because, as Krain 1997 (331) observed,

[t]he literatures on state-sponsored mass murder and state terrorism have been plagued by definitional problems. Terms such as state-sponsored mass murder and state terrorism can be (and often are) confused and therefore need elaboration. The main difference between state-sponsored mass murder and state terrorism, for instance, is one of intentionality. The purpose behind policies of state-sponsored murder such as genocide or politicide is to eliminate an entire group (Gurr 1986, 67). The purpose behind policies of state terrorism is to "induce sharp fear and through that agency to effect a desired outcome in a conflict situation" (Gurr 1986, 46). The former requires mass killings to accomplish its goal. The latter's success is dependent on the persuasiveness of the fear tactics used. Mass killings may not be necessary to accomplish the particular goal.

This conceptual muddiness has affected the kinds of inferences made. As Krain (1997, 332) points out, "many of the instances coded by Harff and Gurr as 'politicide' are considered by much of

³ Garrard-Burnett (2010, 7) puts the number of victims of political violence during Guatemala's 36-year old civil war at 200,000. The majority of these killings occurred between 1978 and 1990 (Feierstein 2010, 493).

the literature to be instances of state terrorism (e.g., Argentina, Chile, El Salvador) (Lopez 1984, 63).” In Argentina, for example, the last military dictatorship (1976-83) engaged in a “policy of total disappearance” designed to create complete uncertainty (Zaretsky 2018, 285-287).

Even in the most authoritarian regimes, constitutions prescribe what powers the government enjoys and what rights citizens possess; there are also statutes spelling out penalties for conduct deemed illegal.⁴ An interesting question then is why, when other tactics are available, states resort to extrajudicial violence. As Moustafa and Ginsburg (2008, 4) observe, autocracies are not immune from the legitimacy that the law and courts confer. The death penalty may be constitutional, for example, but assassinations are extra-legal. In principle, torture could be legal and done in secret. In reality, most torture committed by the state seeks to send a message to the wider public (Blakeley 2010, 19; Servicio Paz y Justicia–Uruguay, 1992; Wilson 2019, 341).⁵ Accordingly, torture “is the only individual human rights violation with a corresponding international treaty ...prohibiting its domestic use.” (Conrad 2014, 37).⁶ It is important to consider then why some regimes rely more on these forms of violence.

State violence and the question of legality

Although international law and norms legitimate states’ monopoly of the use of force, this right is highly circumscribed (Jackson 2010, 3). As Blakeley (2010, 13) notes, states cannot target civilians, or those who are innocent of a crime, whether during peace or war. “It is acknowledged in IHL [International Humanitarian Law], however, that civilian casualties are likely to be a secondary effect of certain actions deemed to be legitimate in armed conflict.” (Blakeley 2010, 16). When counter-insurgency campaigns target civilians, lump the innocent with the guilty, or use

⁴ I consider below situations where the constitution, or parts of it, are not in effect because it has been abrogated by emergency measures such as the state of siege, martial law, or the state of emergency. I also consider situations in which justice is being administered by military tribunals rather than civilian ones.

⁵ In her coding of torture worldwide, for example, Hathaway (2002, 1970) “disregarded punishments carried out pursuant to a country's legal system, even if that system may be considered by some to sanction torture.” Her dataset, however, contains too few observations to base my analysis on it.

⁶ Since the “the UN Convention Against Torture came into force in 1987” ... 156 countries – virtually every country on the planet – has signed it.” See https://uk.news.yahoo.com/what-is-legal-torture-and-how-many-countries-still-use-it-165034887.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xLLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAA_CvvkZRJEK9T7-sd7z6dba8wLTPjX10IqZT1gSJdad5QT74BJ4Zk3zxMxDYB8EL6q6JEA2vAAIbpWP2Mwt0SBMSY4qiVxW_q_FQcZ_RoOLa_m2F8VS6tqtB8paRWGj1YKNA7BKt4CBin9BWLqhySh3n3wCD1Wi98BztBpEpy1eqI. As Conrad notes, however, autocracies routinely flout it. Accessed July 25, 2019.

disproportionate force, these efforts can quickly degenerate into state terrorism (Jackson et al. 2010, 1).

State terrorism can be defined then as “the intentional use or threat of violence by state agents or their proxies against individuals or groups who are victimized for the purpose of intimidating or frightening a broader audience.” (Jackson et al. 2010, 3). One important question is whether this violence is random or selective. For some, the hallmark of terrorism, whether by the state or insurgent groups, is not its targets but “the instrumentalization of the victims...in order to communicate a message to an audience.” (Jackson et al. 2010, 4). In this telling, because states can never neutralize all their opponents, they target some for elimination. Goodwin (2012, 192) on the other hand distinguishes between “categorical” and “individualized” terrorism and claims that although the former appears indiscriminate, it “is *very* discriminate, being directed against specific categories of people and not others.”⁷

Perhaps the reason why these distinctions are made is because state terrorism can be “reactive or pre-emptive” (Sloan 1984, 83). Governments who resort to it, that is, may do so in an attempt to deal with dissent that has already been deemed threatening (i.e., “counterterrorism”), or in the expectation that latent dissent will become overt (Ritter and Conrad 2016). This is why government acts of terrorism sometimes “emerge in a spontaneous and uncoordinated fashion”, and sometimes “out of a conscious and a priori decision to conduct politics in this fashion” (Lopez 1984, 62). An example of the latter is the Argentine military’s decision to plan its dirty war before actually staging the March 24th, 1976 coup. In the directives produced internally as part of this planning, “[t]here is no direct reference to the use of illegal methods”. (Moyano 1995, 85). Not only that, but the dirty war was “plainly illegal under the law of Argentina as it stood during ... military rule.” (Argentine National Commission 1986, xviii).⁸

The use of state terrorism in the conduct of civil war (e.g. Preston 2013) has the effect of blurring the distinction between random and discriminate violence. I thus focus on countries where, although contested, the capacity of the central government to govern is not in question. In so doing, this study is concerned with extrajudicial violence by governments that choose their targets selectively.

⁷ His assertion that categorical terrorism “will generally be employed against non-combatants who support ... rebel movements that themselves perpetrate extensive, indiscriminate violence” is, however, inaccurate. State terrorism has been employed against those who support peaceful causes and even in cases where, objectively speaking, the military threat dissidents posed was minuscule (Dinges 2004)

⁸ The same was true in Uruguay (Servicio Paz y Justicia-Uruguay 1992, 79-80).

The goal of this violence is to allow government acts to be “visible on the one hand, and deniable on the other” (McSherry 2005, 244; McSherry 2007, 14; Kornbluh 2013, 171; Pereira 2005, 26; Policzer 2009, 77).⁹ States that have failed as a result of civil wars, protracted regime transitions, or foreign occupation introduce a different set of “expectations about the nature of violence” into the study (Greitens 2016, 67-68).¹⁰

To ascertain to what extent governments are involved in torture and political killings, I utilize data from the Varieties of Democracy Project (or V-Dem). “Torture refers to the purposeful inflicting of extreme pain, whether mental or physical, with an aim to extract information or intimidate victims, who are in a state of incarceration.” (Coppedge et al. 2019, 161).

Political killings are killings by the state or its agents without due process of law for the purpose of eliminating political opponents. These killings are the result of deliberate use of lethal force by the police, security forces, prison officials, or other agents of the state (including paramilitary groups). (Coppedge et al. 2019, 161).

Of particular relevance for my purposes is that political killings are deliberate but occur *without due process of law*. I can plot both variables for the universe of political regimes, as coded by Geddes et al. (2014b).

Figure 1 here

From Figure 1, it clear that military regimes and their hybrids engage in more torture and extrajudicial killings than democracies, monarchies, and pure single-party regimes. At the same time, some of the most “notorious campaigns of state terrorism” such as Stalin’s Great Terror, Mao’s Cultural Revolution, and “Kampuchea’s return to Year Zero” (Jackson et al. 2010, 1) have been carried out by communist regimes – a type of single-party autocracy.¹¹ In their workings, these regimes were highly personalistic, with the leader and his support coalition exercising complete hegemony over the party and society at large. Consequently, I consider the possibility that institutional monism (Barros 2002, 33), or what Linz (2000) called totalitarianism, increases extrajudicial violence. Monism refers to

⁹ I concur with Wilson (2019, 339) however that “plausible deniability...is never fully convincing. If it were, it would cease to be authentically terroristic.”

¹⁰ As McCormick and Mitchell (1997, 512) write, “[t]here is likely considerable circularity between the measurement of civil war and the measure of government ‘repression of human rights to personal integrity’ that occur as a result of these wars.”

¹¹ At the height of the Great Terror in the Soviet Union (1937-38), extrajudicial tribunals for extraordinary times coexisted with regular courts for regular times. (Gregory 2009, 21-23).

the absence of entities in the polity and society such as an independent judiciary and trade unions, private enterprise, and oppositional political parties, that enjoy some autonomy from the ruling party.

All dictators face “two fundamental problems”: imposing themselves on their subjects, and over other regime insiders (Svolik 2012, 3). Greitens (2016) argues that dictators have two choices when it comes to how they organize repression: they can protect themselves against coups, or popular unrest. Their choice depends on which threat they perceive as dominant when establishing and securing their regimes. An observable implication of this argument is that certain dictatorships, being more coup-prone than others, exhibit a particular repressive “profile”. Geddes et al. (2018, 50) claim, however, that “[t]he likelihood of regime-change coups in military-led dictatorships (initiated by coup) is not statistically different from their likelihood in regimes that came to power by more peaceful means”.

Weyland’s work on authoritarian diffusion demonstrates, moreover, that in situations that exhibit a great deal of uncertainty (when information is limited or unclear in its implications), leaders’ ability to properly assess costs and benefits is limited. Cognitive shortcuts (e.g., groupthink) can cause leaders to overreact to perceived threats, resulting in “unnecessary’ brutality”.¹² Certain institutional matrixes, as Weyland (2019, 89) points out, engage in better information processing than others. “[C]losed, hierarchical, uniformity-seeking institutions such as the military” perceive their environment differently than “[b]road-based, internally pluralistic parties” that establish “mechanisms for open deliberation and collective decision making” although, as we have seen, certain ruling communist parties have not always exhibited internal pluralism. For this reason, I hypothesize that depending on the institutional matrix and goals of the regime, some dictatorships may be more prone to engage in extrajudicial violence. Essentially, I link the cost/benefit calculus on the use, intensity, and frequency of extrajudicial violence to how institutional configurations bind risk and threat

¹² See Weyland’s (2019, 115) discussion of the disproportionate violence used by the Chilean armed forces following the coup of September 11th, 1973. Dinges (2004) makes a similar point about Operation Condor countries. Operation Condor was “a United States-backed campaign of political repression and state terror involving intelligence operations and assassination of opponents, officially and formally implemented in November 1975 by the right-wing dictatorships of the Southern Cone of South America.” Described by the CIA as “a cooperative effort by the intelligence/security services of several South American countries to combat terrorism and subversion”, its operations crossed national borders as dissidents and leftists “who ‘had gone into exile’...were kidnapped, tortured and killed in allied countries or illegally transferred to their home countries to be executed.” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Condor. The founding members consisted of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. “Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru joined later” (Dinges 2004, 122). “50,000 persons were murdered in the frame of Condor, 9,000–30,000 disappeared ... and 400,000 incarcerated”. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirty_War. In Brazil and Uruguay, however, repression was more limited in scope. (Feierstein 2010, 506).

assessments. This allows me to distinguish autocracies that are monist (i.e. communist regimes) from autocracies where the military exercises some control.

Extrajudicial violence: comparing authoritarian regimes

Institutions determine how much intelligence governments generate, how this information is processed, and how threat/risk perceptions interact with other regime goals. Communist regimes seek a fundamental transformation of society and the economy. This predisposes them to engage in mass-mobilization and employ forms of repression that seek to inhibit overt dissent. Also, they create formal linkages to society that allow them to better monitor public opinion, groom regime insiders, and resolve elite conflicts. Leninist parties, which often preside over Communist regimes, develop these linkages through revolutionary struggles.¹³ These linkages manifest themselves in official, singular, and non-competitive civil society organizations that serve as the “eyes and ears” of the government.

While some military dictatorships carry out extensive reforms, many are restorative rather than transformational in their goals – usually, the protection of property rights, capitalist class relations, and the demobilization or disarticulation of progressive movements and organizations.¹⁴ In South America, for example, “the military regimes of the 1960s and 1970s did not claim inherent legitimacy for authoritarianism as a permanent alternative to democracy” (Weyland 2019, 35). The same was true of military dictatorships in South Korea in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s (Han 2011, 51).

Military regimes vary institutionally and in their use of extrajudicial violence (Greitens 2016, 61)¹⁵, but they seem to lack the extensive linkages to society of communist and some one-party

¹³ The Eastern European “people’s democracies” installed by the Red Army in 1945 notwithstanding.

¹⁴ Geddes et al. (2014a, 148) count only four cases in which military-led dictatorships instituted redistributive policies. Pereira (2005), however, has argued that “[a]t least on the rhetorical level, the Chilean military regime does not adhere to Linz’s ideal-type of authoritarian regime, which is described as eschewing the kind of mass mobilization common to so-called totalitarian regimes (see Linz 1975).” Pereira’s path-breaking work on authoritarianism and the rule of law reveals though that as powerful as the South American military regimes seemed, extrajudicial repression was a symptom of institutional incoherence; more specifically, of conflict between the military and the judicial branch. The root of this conflict is the initial decision by the military commanders not to assume judicial powers while setting up parallel courts and legal codes to secure outcomes deemed vital to the regime’s security. (Linz 2000, 109). One common tactic is to establish special security courts (Moustafa and Ginsburg 2008, 4). Another is to use the military penal code. In Chile during the first five years of the military regime, for example, “most prosecutions that did take place occurred in ‘wartime’ military courts, insulated from the civilian judiciary”. (Pereira 2005, 4). In addition, because the regime “felt under threat from subversion throughout its rule, it preserved some form of military tribunals “right up until the transition to democracy.” (Pereira 2005, 52).

¹⁵ Military involvement in politics is compatible with a range of institutional configurations: domination of decision making by a group of officers representing the officer corps, government “controlled by a single officer absent elite constraints” (Geddes et al. 2014a), and military veto over politics or policy from behind the scenes. As a result, the military or its

authoritarian regimes. They typically tolerate more social and political pluralism too. Conrad (2014, 35), for example, echoing Vreeland (2008), notes that “dictators who allow their opposition to form into political parties are also more likely to engage in torture.” In these circumstances, terrorism is an appealing proposition; it “spreads fear and chills opposition to the government” while allowing authorities to evade accountability (Payne and Abouharb 2016, 165), something military regimes are keen to want considering their lack, at least initially, of institutionalization. Successful military coups, moreover, can elicit backlash from societies, increasing pressure on militaries to respond.

I do not wish to imply that military regimes are weak relative to communist ones. Quite the contrary. As some militaries have assumed roles typically reserved for civilians via coups, they have also closed down legislatures, suspended constitutions, imposed press censorship, purged the civilian bureaucracy, dismissed judges, outlawed political parties and trade unions, and clamped down on civil society organizations. My point is rather that goals and instruments of violence – the ends to which they are deployed – vary between these systems. As Geddes et al. (2014a, 148) note, militaries are “more accustomed to hierarchy and obedience than to bargaining.” Because of this combination of advantages and disadvantages, they conclude, military rule is counterintuitively fragile.¹⁶ Control over the military, moreover, is one of the characteristics that set apart many autocracies typically labelled “totalitarian”. As Linz (2000, 68) observes, “the subordination of the military authority is one of the distinctive characteristics of totalitarian systems...To this day, no totalitarian system has been overthrown or changed fundamentally by the intervention of the armed forces”.

Students of South American military dictatorships have noted how in practice, the armed forces simply bypassed the judiciary when they saw fit while the judicial branch failed to prevent or punish human rights abuses (Barros 2008). In Chile, for example, the Supreme Court refused to review any verdicts handed down by military tribunals and “only accepted thirty of almost nine thousand habeas corpus petitions filed during the Pinochet regime.” (Pereira 2005, 113). In the Argentine case, “[o]n the first day of the coup, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General's office, and the provincial high courts were purged. At the same time, “all other members of the judiciary were suspended from duty.” (Pereira 2005, 128).¹⁷ While judicial systems in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay operated under the shadow of the armed forces (Barros 2008; Servicio Paz y Justicia-Uruguay 1992, 61), “constitutions

officials sometimes preside over a government that is personalistic and/or party based in addition to being militarily influenced. The latter was often the case following military coups in Sub-Saharan Africa.

¹⁶ To be clear, “when opposition to a regime is mass-based, organized, and potentially violent, the military is the only force capable of defeating it.” (Svolik 2012, 127).

¹⁷ The Supreme Court in particular underwent a total purge of its personnel. See Pereira (2005, 121).

and courts are useful for generating credible commitments on the part of the government to observe limits on its authority” (Hill and Jones 2014, 663-664).

“Using courts to try political opponents” can come at a cost then: “loss of control over the outcome of individual trials.” (Pereira 2005, 7). This is why in the last Brazilian, Chilean, and Argentine dictatorships, “there was a realm of extrajudicial terror, on the one hand, and an area of routine, well-established legality on the other. For example, during the Argentine dirty war, citizens could take the federal government to court in civil cases and win”. (Pereira 2005, 18).¹⁸ Not only that, but the more military authorities distrusted the judiciary (Argentina), the more they went their way with repression. As Pereira (2005, 4) writes, “[t]he Argentine institutional matrix, instituted three years after the Chilean coup, was the most drastic of all. In it, courts were largely uninvolved in the repressive system, except to deny writs of habeas corpus and serve as a cover for state terror.”¹⁹ Pereira (2005, 129) concludes that “[t]he disappearances were therefore to some extent the result of the military's weak hold on power.”²⁰

Military regimes that terrorize their populous are likely to be organizationally incoherent since they do not, at least initially, have broad institutional reach; they can also be “militarily weak” (Goodwin 2001, 26). Acts of terrorism, however, will not always or primarily be conducted by uniformed military personnel. “Most dictatorships [in fact] do not rely on their military for repression.” (Svolik 2012, 127). As Policzer’s (2009) study of repression during the Pinochet dictatorship and studies of principal-agent issues between dictators and their security agencies demonstrate (Dragu and Przeworski 2019; Gregory 2009, 8), repression might be placed in the hands of a security service created specifically to carry out these tasks.²¹ But this doesn’t change the argument

¹⁸ Barros (2002, 25) echoes this claim when he speaks of “power holders” directly applying “extrajudicial force upon political adversaries, while they allow the rule of law to operate in less conflictive areas, such as ... repression of moderate opponents.”

¹⁹ Similarly, the Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan military regimes in South Korea “kept an appearance of formal constitutional legality. Courts were relatively autonomous, but the scope of their activity was carefully circumscribed.” (Moustafa and Ginsburg 2008, 6).

²⁰ It is indeed tragic that regimes that gave lip service to the writ of habeas corpus nevertheless disappeared their own. As Keith et al. (2009, 649) point out, “[o]bservance of *habeas corpus* rights would preclude disappearances”.

²¹ Interestingly, whereas the Chilean military organized the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) to handle repression soon after taking power (November 1973) (Policzer 2009, 73), the armed forces themselves carried out torture and disappearances during Argentina's dirty war. As Peter Smith wrote, “[t]o wage its 'dirty war,' the junta decentralized power, creating many separate units within the military and police...these units operated with nearly total autonomy, selecting victims according to their own criteria.”... “The decentralization, secretiveness, and competition among the military services meant that friends and relatives of the victims, no matter how influential they were, could not take advantage of their social contacts.” (Sloan 1984, 87). These precautions notwithstanding, officers who did not share the leadership's ideological beliefs did not carry out the dirty war with the same zeal as those who did (Scharpf 2018).

that as regimes, military dictatorships do not penetrate their societies in ways that would allow them to engage in more preventive repression.

Having modelled certain patterns of repression associated with militarily dominated and communist regimes, I proceed to test these insights.

Data

To build a global model of state repression, I rely on the repression indicators that V-Dem provides. V-Dem uses country experts and state of the art statistical methods to create measures of political characteristics that are comparable across countries and over time. For ease of modelling and interpretation, I employ the continuous versions of the variables V-Dem derives. I see *oppression* as pre-emptive (Lopez 1984) and operationalize it as government press and media censorship, restrictions on the freedom of people “to discuss political matters at home and in the public sphere”, and restrictions on “the freedom of academic and cultural expression” (Coppedge et al. 2019, 42). My measure of oppression thus echoes the emphasis in the literature on civil liberty restrictions – restrictions on the freedoms of expression, assembly, association, religion, and press (Keith et al. 2009, 649) – except that it leaves out the freedoms of assembly and association.

V-Dem also defines a variable called “civil society organization repression” which, in its emphasis on the freedoms of assembly and association, describes (if some allowance is made for these freedoms) a more reactive form of *repression*: at one extreme, autonomous association is proscribed. At the other, civil society groups have freedom of association and enjoy financial and organizational autonomy from the government. At issue with this variable then is whether the government attempts to stamp out or control civil society groups using sanctions such as threats, detentions, beatings, destruction of property, arrests, and trials. I thus map this variable to the second category in Lopez’s (1984) tripartite typology of state repression.

Torture and extrajudicial *killings* constitute my third and fourth dependent variables respectively. Finally, I model the freedom of *foreign movement*, which indicates to what extent a government allows its citizens to emigrate and travel to foreign countries. As Alemán and Woods (2014) show, travel restrictions, which were common in communist countries, increased the stability of these regimes. Because negative values represent the most repressive situation and positive ones the least, my independent variables either increase “freedom from oppression”, “freedom from repression”, etc or decrease it.

My analysis employs a total of thirteen (or sixteen, depending on the specification) covariates that I first define while noting their expected contribution to the outcome. Unless otherwise specified, the V-Dem project is the source of all variables. In what follows, I describe the explanatory variables.

Davenport's (2007b) unified theory of repression emphasizes 'vetos' or constraints on the executive in addition to 'voice'. Vetoes include partisan and constitutional veto players such as legislatures and political parties and 'accountability groups' such as "councils of nobles or powerful advisers, private corporations, the military, and independent judiciaries" (Davenport 2007b, 109). I use V-Dem's index of *legislative constraints*, which asks to what extent the legislature and government agencies (e.g., comptroller general, general prosecutor, or ombudsman) can question, investigate, and exercise oversight over the executive.²² I also use V-Dem's measure of *judicial constraints*, which asks to what extent the judiciary can act independently and the executive respects the constitution and complies with court rulings.²³

My measure of voice is V-Dem's vertical accountability index, which "captures the extent to which citizens have the power to hold the government accountable. The mechanisms of vertical accountability include formal political participation" by "the citizens — such as being able to freely organize in political parties — and participate in free and fair elections, including for the chief executive." (Coppedge et al. 2019, 256). The index collects in a single dimension information on three of Svolik's (2012, 32-38) mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive dimensions of autocracy: restrictions on political parties, legislative selection, and executive selection. Svolik's fourth dimension is military involvement in politics.

It would not be enough to characterize *military involvement* dichotomously because some military regimes begin with civilians granting the armed forces more prerogatives (Svolik 2012, 124). Once formed, some military dictatorships also become civilianized — that is, they transform themselves into civilian dictatorships even if the military remains the de facto source of power in the government (Brooker 2014, 121). *Military* thus refers to the "military dimension index", which "taps into the extent

²² I have changed values for 899 observations from missing to 0 because V-Dem leaves this index empty for cases in which legislatures were closed in the aftermath of successful military coups. The correct interpretation for these cases is not, however, that they lie outside the variable's scope, but that legislative checks on the executive are absent.

²³ Keith et al. (2009) measure the effect of an independent judiciary, but their measure is de jure rather than de facto. Other indexed measures or scales of constraints on executive authority such as Polity's XCONST indicator "lack a direct institutional interpretation." (Svolik 2012, 37).

to which the appointment and dismissal of the chief executive is based on the threat or actual use of military force.”²⁴

Communist is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if state socialism is the constitutional form of government in a given country-year. I rely on Svoblik (2012) for data on communist countries, which I edit with the help of Wikipedia's list of communist states.²⁵ Differences between mine and his coding are detailed in appendix A.

Although empirical work does not consider the role of *corruption* in repressive behaviour, I echo Dragu and Przeworski's (2019, 77) intuition that there is a “moral hazard problem inherent in the principal-agent relationship between rulers and their security agents.” Rulers, that is, give their security agencies resources that these agencies can use to pursue activities (other than protecting the ruler) which, if corrupt, can “make the ruler more vulnerable to being overthrown”. Wintrobe's (1998) “dictator's dilemma”, in which autocrats buy off their ruling coalitions with rents while repressing the masses, also implies that there is a relationship between rent-seeking and repression. I expect corruption to undermine dictators' ability to use repression strategically because it decouples the ruling coalition's well-being from that of the leader and minimizes its incentive to increase the loyalty of the masses. I do not have strong priors, however, as to whether corruption increases or decreases terrorism because a rogue intelligence agency may use torture and killings in pursuit of its own goals (McCormick and Mitchell 1997, 514).²⁶ My measure of corruption is thus the *rule of law* index, which measures the extent to which laws are “transparently, independently, predictably, impartially, and equally enforced”, and “the actions of government officials comply with the law” (Coppedge et al. 2019, 269).²⁷

Perhaps a willingness to use extra-constitutional means is related to the “severity” of dissidents' demands, their “willingness to use violence, and [their] ability to mobilize around recurrent demands.” (Klein and Regan 2018, 492). *Anti-system* thus refers to the presence of any movement in

²⁴ “The index is based on whether the “chief executive” was (a) appointed through a coup, rebellion or by the military, and (b) can be dismissed by the military.” According to Coppedge et al. (2019, 260), “[b]oth condition (a) and (b) are coded as present (1) or not (0).” They “then average across the two. In nominally dual systems, where the head of state (HOS) and the head of government (HOG) are not the same individual,” they “determine who is the ‘chief executive’ by comparing HOS and HOG powers over the appointment and dismissal of cabinet ministers.” They then “aggregate across the two executives by taking the average weighted by their relative powers over cabinet formation and dismissal.”

²⁵ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_state.

²⁶ Though V-Dem offers two suitable measures of corruption – the *regime* and *political corruption* indexes, neither displays a normal distribution nor can they be transformed into one to make them suitable for regression analysis.

²⁷ My emphasis on extrajudicial violence prompts me to consider constitutions and whether they enshrine physical integrity rights (Davenport 1996; Keith 2002; Keith et al. 2009). My review of the literature has shown, however, that autocracies have abrogated, suspended, or ignored constitutional provisions when they have seen fit.

civil society that aims to overthrow the regime. Originally coded as an ordinal variable with 0 indicating no or very minimal anti-system activity and 4 a real and present threat to the regime, I rely instead on the continuous version of the variable. I employ a measure of overt dissent I label *protest* from Frantz et al. (2020, 4) that “combines information from eight existing data sets” on “anti-government protest cross-nationally”. These data have different geographic and temporal coverage and the unit of observation also varies. The authors use a measurement model to arrive at a yearly indicator of “latent protest” from 1949 until 2006.

As a check on the robustness of my findings, I also estimate models with conflict variables from the Cross-National Time-Series (CNTS) Data Archive (Banks and Wilson 2019). Events recorded by this project include *guerrilla* attacks, *riots*, *revolutions*, and anti-government *demonstrations*. I expect violent manifestations of conflict (*guerrilla* attacks and *riots*) to increase repression and state terrorism, although peaceful forms such as *demonstrations* should prompt governments to accommodate opponents (Klein and Regan 2018).

Because important work explaining revolutions (i.e. Goodwin 2001) makes the case that exclusionary authoritarian states breed revolutionary movements that they then repress, I also use a continuous measure of *power distribution* among social groups, originally coded so that 0 refers to a situation in which political power is monopolized by one group comprising a minority of the population and 4 a situation in which group characteristics are not politically relevant. Inequality in the distribution of social power can also result in security apparatuses that are not socially diverse (Greitens 2016). Although set up to prevent coups, these coercive systems can make them more likely (Geddes et al. 2018).

Scholars have been interested in the effect of structural variables such as economic development and population size on state repression. “[P]oorer countries tend to repress more. The precise reason for the finding, however, is unclear.” (Davenport 2007a, 14). Also those with larger populations. Following most studies on the subject, I include in my models the (base 10) logarithm of *GDP per capita* and the natural logarithm of a country’s *population*.²⁸ I use version 2017 of Polity IV’s data (Marshall et al. 2018) and Geddes et al.’s (2014b) data to delineate my sample.

Although I have emphasized why some autocracies might find state terrorism useful, this policy can be costly domestically and internationally. To consider this possibility, I introduce into the

²⁸ I consider only structural variables that are consistently used as explanatory factors in extant work (Hill and Jones 2014, 661). Accordingly, I do not entertain claims that governments with less state capacity tend to engage in more violations of personal integrity rights (Young 2009), or that foreign direct and portfolio investments are associated with more respect for physical integrity rights, political rights, and civil liberties. (Richards et al. 2001).

equations for *torture* and *killings* a measure (logged) of how many years the current regime has been in power (*regime duration*) that I derive from Geddes et al. (2014b). This variable also allows us to verify that state terrorism is not simply repression that military regimes undertake in the aftermath of coups that succeed. 29

Model

Scholars generally assume that rulers choose whether to repress and how based on the costs and benefits they anticipate their actions will have (Ritter and Conrad 2016). Empirically, however, analysts proceed as if different types of repression can be modelled discretely, particularly works that seek to explain physical integrity violations. This is almost certainly not the case. For both substantive and methodological reasons then, I study a panel of 121 countries from 1946 to 2010 using conditional mixed process (or CMP) models (Roodman 2011).³⁰

CMP modelling is a framework that allows researchers to estimate “two or more equations with linkages among their error processes”.³¹ The simplest case is a linear seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) featuring correlated errors across equations. SUR modelling is ideal for the kind of question I ask because it allows us to assess to what extent a government’s choice of one repressive tactic is based on its reliance on others.

I model the five repression types previously described using the population of autocracies in the Geddes et al. (2014b) dataset. Trying to explain the behaviour of oligarchies, monarchies, personalistic dictatorships, and non-communist single-party autocracies would require more space than a standalone article provides. Consequently, I limit my inquiry to communist and military dictatorships, the two regime forms usually discussed in connection with state terrorism.³² I estimate my equations using maximum likelihood and cluster standard errors by the regime spell, which I delineate using Geddes et al.’s (2014b) data. The model also includes an intercept for each equation, although I do not report these. I estimate a pooled model, that is, I capture the effect of both levels and changes in covariates on state repression because some country characteristics in my data vary more within than between countries and vice-versa.

²⁹ A little over half “of all coup attempts succeed”. (Geddes et al. 2018, 33).

³⁰ For a list of the countries featured in the analysis, see Appendix B. The years and countries chosen reflect data availability.

³¹ See presentation available at <http://fmwww.bc.edu/EC-C/S2016/8823/ECON8823.S2016.nn14.slides.pdf>, p. 3.

³² Communist regimes constitute 18.97% of the autocratic observations. Out of the autocratic subset of the population, the military exerts some influence in 81.92% of the cases, although only 12.61% are considered military regimes by Geddes et. al (2014b).

In keeping with the literature, I expect structural conditions (the level of *development*, *legislative constraints* on executive power, the degree of *vertical accountability*, and a country's *power distribution*) to primarily affect the government's propensity to *oppress* the public, while *power distribution* and *population* size together with latent and overt dissent can trigger *repression* that *judicial constraints* might be in a position to lessen (Conrad 2014). I also expect overt forms of conflict (*protests*, *riots*, *guerrilla warfare*, *demonstrations*, and *revolutions*) to trigger legal and extra-legal repression, with the judicial system and *corruption* shaping these outcomes. Finally, I expect more developed, less populous, and economically growing countries to restrict travel less.

Five independent variables have a large number of 0s and thus exhibit a positive skew: the military dimension index and the four conflict variables from the CNTS Data Archive. Following standard practice, I add 1 to each observation and take the natural logarithm of the sum, but I do not find this lessens the skew. As a result, I estimate models that enter these covariates in their original form. As an additional check on the robustness of my results, I also substitute V-Dem's measure of judicial constraints for the index of judicial independence (Linzer and Staton 2015), which Staton et al. have recently (2019) updated.

Findings and Discussion

I estimate four models of repression, two using Frantz et al.'s data on *protest*, two the CNTS Data Archive conflict variables, two using V-Dem's index of *judicial constraints*, and two the index of *judicial independence*. For each repression type, I provide an adjusted coefficient of codetermination (or R^2) indicating how much variation in the dependent variable the independent variables explain. The coefficients indicate the average marginal (or partial) effects, that is, the average of individual observation effects for each variable. Table 1 presents the results of my regressions. To save space, I display only coefficients and the legend indicating whether they achieve statistical significance.

Table 1 here

Conveniently, both regime variables (*communist* and *military*) exhibit the same range (0 to 1). This means we can directly compare their coefficients on their size, although in practice a country can only experience a net change of 1 for the first variable but smaller changes for *military involvement*. As the table indicates, my results are very consistent across specifications. *Communist* regimes significantly and consistently increase *oppression*, *repression*, and *travel regulation* relative to other autocracies, while

military regimes (but not *communist*) engage in significant *torture* and *killings*. Considering that *oppression* ranges from 0 to 1 while the range of the remaining four variables is approximately 6 units, these effects are substantively large. *Military* regimes also significantly increase *repression* and decrease the freedom of *foreign movement*, but not as much as *communist* systems. If the analysis is repeated using indicator variables instead of counts for the CNTS conflict variables, I obtain very similar results.³³ If I take the natural logarithm of the military dimension index, thereby excluding observations with a value of 0 because the logarithm of 0 is undefined, the effect of *military involvement* on *repression* and the *freedom of movement* becomes statistically insignificant.

As expected, *legislative constraints* on the executive, *vertical accountability*, and *power distribution* consistently increase freedom from *oppression*, while *power distribution* and *judicial constraints* increase freedom from *repression*. Also expected is the positive and statistically significant effect of the rule of law on *torture* and *killings*. *Guerrilla* warfare significantly increases *repression*, while *riots* and *revolutions* significantly increase *killings*.

Regime duration does not significantly reduce the incidence of *torture* and *killings*. This is evidence that state terrorism is not just repression by military regimes in the aftermath of coups. The large arctangent of the correlation between the *torture* and *killings* equations, the highest of all such correlations, indicates that these two forms of repression are highly interrelated (Blakeley 2007, 383), a relationship we could not establish absent a CMP specification. Likewise, the arctangent of the correlation between *oppression* and *travel regulation*, the second highest of all such correlations, indicates how important these two forms of repression are in communist regimes.

As a check on the robustness of my findings, I provide in Table 2 results for a model of extrajudicial *killings* with endogenous treatment effects. This allows for the possibility that unobserved factors affect both the outcome and which “treatment” a unit receives (communist or military). This could happen if “governments and dissidents choose their actions in anticipation of the other’s behaviour” (Ritter and Conrad 2016, 85).³⁴ As before, this is done in the CMP framework while using some covariates (institutional features and other forms of repression) to model the “treatment” covariates, in this case military and communist forms of government. For this exercise, moreover, my variables reflect within-country overtime changes from country means, with standard errors clustered by regime spells as before. Because the cross-sectional variation is not relevant for this exercise, the

³³ To create these dummy variables, I simply coded positive count values as “1”.

³⁴ Regimes may become more autocratic with the military exerting more influence if authorities believe they will have to engage in more repression; or citizens who expect to be repressed could decide to stay home and not dissent.

model excludes countries that remained democratic throughout the period of observation (1946-2010). Finally, since V-Dem's indicator of military involvement varies more between than within countries, I use instead Geddes et al.'s (2014b) indicator of military regimes. This has the added benefit that, since both regime variables are now indicator variables, their coefficients can be directly compared.

Table 2 here

Findings from this exercise are very consistent across specifications and with my previous findings: *military regimes* are more significantly associated with increases in extrajudicial *killings* than *communist* regimes. Installing state socialism, meanwhile, is significantly associated with increases in *repression*, reductions in the *freedom of movement*, and more *vertical accountability*³⁵ while *military regimes* come with significant increases in *torture* and the *freedom of movement* and reductions in *vertical accountability*. Somewhat surprisingly, an increase in the rule of law is associated with an increased probability of a communist regime, although this could be due to the reference category being composed of both democracies and other autocracies. An increase in *corruption* is associated with an increased probability of *military* domination.

Finally, increases in anti-government demonstrations reduce the incidence of *killings* while *guerrilla warfare*, *rioting*, and *anti-system* activity are significantly associated with increases in a regime's propensity to kill extrajudicially. Because the latter variable was not significantly associated with repressive activity in Table 1, however, the results taken together do not support the conclusion that dissent is a necessary or sufficient determinant of state repression. Most importantly, of the 3 possible concurrences among equations, the arctangent of the correlation between equation 1 (extrajudicial *killings*) and equation 3 (*military* regimes) is the highest one.

Finally, I performed my analysis using three of the four physical integrity rights indicators from the CIRI (Cingranelli and Richards) Human Rights dataset – killings, disappearances, and torture – but I did not obtain the same results for the following reasons. First, CIRI data is only available since 1981, greatly hampering coverage. Second, Cingranelli and Richards (1999) find that the rights more commonly respected by governments are the rights not to be killed or disappeared, while the

³⁵ This is probably because suffrage is universal in communist regimes. Because these regimes lack open contestation and interparty competition, however, political participation cannot serve as check on the ruling party in such systems.

ones most commonly violated are the rights not to be imprisoned for political reasons or tortured.³⁶ It is not clear, however, why they distinguish between killings and disappearances when they define killings in the same way as V-Dem.³⁷ Third, torture is not limited in their coding to torture that takes place during incarceration (Cope et al. 2019, 3). Finally, Cingranelli and Richards do not differentiate between situations in which imprisonment is legal by the regime's definition and situations in which dissidents are abducted and secretly detained.

Conclusion

Consider Cuba since the 1959 revolution and Chile under the military dictatorship that governed the country from 1973 to 1990. In Chile, the military murdered or disappeared 3197 individuals (Dinges 2004, 262; Hilbink 2007, 107). Beginning in the late 1970s, killings abated, but not torture (Policzer 2009, xvi). "Torture was the major tool of repression for the military government." (Hilbink 2007, 106). In contrast, Cuban revolutionaries fusilladed 600 "war criminals" without due process after taking power in January of 1959 (Brown 2017, 20).³⁸ The regime later imprisoned large numbers of people for various political crimes³⁹, but kidnappings, disappearances, and extrajudicial killings have been unheard of there since (Mahoney-Norris 2000, 79) despite the reality that

[from 1960 to 1966] the revolutionary regime defeated a counter-revolutionary insurgency in the Escambray mountains [...] an invasion force of 1,300 exiles funded and trained by the CIA[...] sabotage campaigns, and assassination attempts on Cuban leaders, most notably Fidel Castro, who was reported to have survived over 600 such attempts. (Lawson 2019, 214)

The Chilean and Cuban cases are illustrative of a more general pattern: that regimes that have extensive reach beyond their ruling coalition are less likely to go beyond "mere" repression. Marxist-Leninist movements have, upon taking power, mobilized their citizens and their wide reach has allowed them to penetrate and monitor real and imagined opposition forces. As they set out to remake society, such governments can rely on social ties. As a result, they do not need to be so blunt in their

³⁶ "Political imprisonment refers to the incarceration of people by government officials because of their ideas including religious beliefs, their nonviolent religious practices including proselytizing, their speech, their nonviolent opposition to government policies or leaders, or their membership in a group including an ethnic or racial group." Cingranelli and Richards (1999, 408).

³⁷ See the CIRI (Cingranelli and Richards) Human Rights Data Project Short Variable Descriptions, Version 5.21.14, p. 3, available at <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BxDpF6GQ-6fbY25CYVRIOTJ2MHM/edit>.

³⁸ Habeas corpus also ceased to exist there in November of 1959 (Thomas 1998, 1253).

³⁹ See <http://cubaarchive.org/files/REPORT-How-many-Cuban-political-prisoners.pdf>. Accessed October 2, 2019.

repression. Military dictatorships have a lot of coercive power at their disposal but because they impose themselves on their societies, they ultimately lack the ties that state-socialist governments can typically count on. Their goals also tend to be conservative, making them tolerate more political and social pluralism. My claim is that this translates into more terrorism. To assess this claim, I adopted a conditional mixed process framework. My use of CMP modelling addresses an important weakness in the literature: the assumption that different types of repression can be modelled discretely.

Consistent with my institutional approach, I did not find a one-to-one correspondence between the nature of dissent and how autocracies react to it. Operation Condor, for example, amounted to “a total war justified as a ‘war on terrorism,’ and yet “the military capability of the leftist groups [in South America] never presented a serious threat to the dictatorships, and in hindsight the military’s portrayal of the threat seems exaggerated.” (Dinges 2004, xii).

My focus has been on extrajudicial violence carried out outside a military theatre. Further research should investigate how other autocracies navigate the trade-off between judicial and extrajudicial repression. Scholars should also explore why some but not all parties to a civil war employ state terrorism.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Conditional mixed process models of state repression, 1946-2010

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| oppression | military involvement | -0.029 | -0.028 | -0.028 | -0.028 |
| | communist | -0.191*** | -0.192*** | -0.192*** | -0.192*** |
| | GDP per capita | -0.013 | -0.014 | -0.010 | -0.012 |
| | legislative constraints | 0.199*** | 0.199*** | 0.193*** | 0.192*** |
| | vertical accountability | 0.047*** | 0.047*** | 0.048*** | 0.048*** |
| | power distribution | 0.029*** | 0.028*** | 0.029*** | 0.029*** |
| Adjusted R ² | | 0.545 | 0.545 | 0.545 | 0.545 |
| repression | military involvement | -0.558*** | -0.570*** | -0.554*** | -0.568*** |
| | communist | -1.288*** | -1.322*** | -1.312*** | -1.340*** |
| | power distribution | 0.253*** | 0.248*** | 0.260*** | 0.253*** |
| | population | -0.054 | -0.033 | -0.053 | -0.038 |
| | protest | 0.035 | | 0.024 | |
| | anti-system movement(s) | 0.012 | 0.026 | 0.015 | 0.027 |
| Adjusted R ² | | 0.453 | 0.453 | 0.440 | 0.440 |
| torture | judicial constraints ⁴⁰ | 0.627** | 0.605** | 0.678* | 0.664* |
| | military involvement | -0.457** | -0.395** | -0.444** | -0.385* |
| | communist | 0.016 | 0.002 | 0.026 | 0.005 |
| | protest | -0.030 | | -0.036 | |
| | judicial constraints | 0.442 | 0.454* | 0.679** | 0.558* |
| | corruption | 0.430*** | 0.431*** | 0.431*** | 0.440*** |
| Adjusted R ² | | 0.458 | 0.450 | 0.449 | 0.449 |
| killings | regime duration | 0.052 | 0.048 | 0.047 | 0.044 |
| | military involvement | -0.626** | -0.502** | -0.611** | -0.491** |
| | communist | -0.140 | -0.167 | -0.107 | -0.143 |
| | protest | -0.009 | | -0.004 | |
| | judicial constraints | -0.291 | -0.260 | 0.404 | 0.281 |
| | corruption | 0.591*** | 0.598*** | 0.536*** | 0.551*** |
| Adjusted R ² | | 0.077 | 0.067 | 0.085* | 0.077* |
| foreign travel | regime duration | 0.455 | 0.461 | 0.466 | 0.466 |
| | military involvement | -0.558** | -0.542** | -0.542** | -0.528** |
| | communist | -2.143*** | -2.150*** | -2.136*** | -2.141*** |
| | GDP per capita | 0.018 | 0.016 | 0.041 | 0.036 |
| | population | 0.007 | 0.006 | 0.005 | 0.005 |
| | economic growth | -0.031 | -0.022 | -0.033 | -0.026 |
| Adjusted R ² | | 0.335 | 0.335 | 0.335 | 0.335 |
| repression | demonstrations | | 0.012 | | 0.007 |
| | riots | | -0.001 | | -0.003 |
| | guerrilla warfare | | -0.061** | | -0.054* |
| | revolutions | | 0.019 | | 0.021 |
| torture | demonstrations | | -0.020 | | -0.025 |
| | riots | | -0.017 | | -0.019 |

⁴⁰ In models 3 and 4, this variable refers to the index of judicial independence for all the equations in which it is included.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| | guerrilla warfare | | -0.021 | | -0.019 |
| | revolutions | | 0.010 | | 0.012 |
| killings | demonstrations | | 0.002 | | 0.005 |
| | riots | | -0.059** | | -0.065*** |
| | guerrilla warfare | | -0.026 | | -0.031 |
| | revolutions | | -0.097** | | -0.090** |
| | 1 and 2 | 0.782*** | 0.780*** | 0.792*** | 0.791*** |
| | 1 and 3 | 0.431*** | 0.438*** | 0.426*** | 0.436*** |
| | 1 and 4 | 0.439*** | 0.450*** | 0.414*** | 0.431*** |
| arctangent of the | 1 and 5 | 0.812*** | 0.815*** | 0.812*** | 0.815*** |
| correlation | 2 and 3 | 0.400*** | 0.413*** | 0.402*** | 0.416*** |
| between | 2 and 4 | 0.406*** | 0.420*** | 0.389*** | 0.405*** |
| equations | 2 and 5 | 0.597*** | 0.598*** | 0.617*** | 0.617*** |
| | 3 and 4 | 0.849*** | 0.862*** | 0.829*** | 0.846*** |
| | 3 and 5 | 0.413*** | 0.419*** | 0.409*** | 0.421*** |
| | 4 and 5 | 0.463*** | 0.461*** | 0.424*** | 0.432*** |
| regime clusters | | 270 | 272 | 268 | 270 |
| N | | 4,299 | 4,365 | 4,286 | 4,355 |

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01.

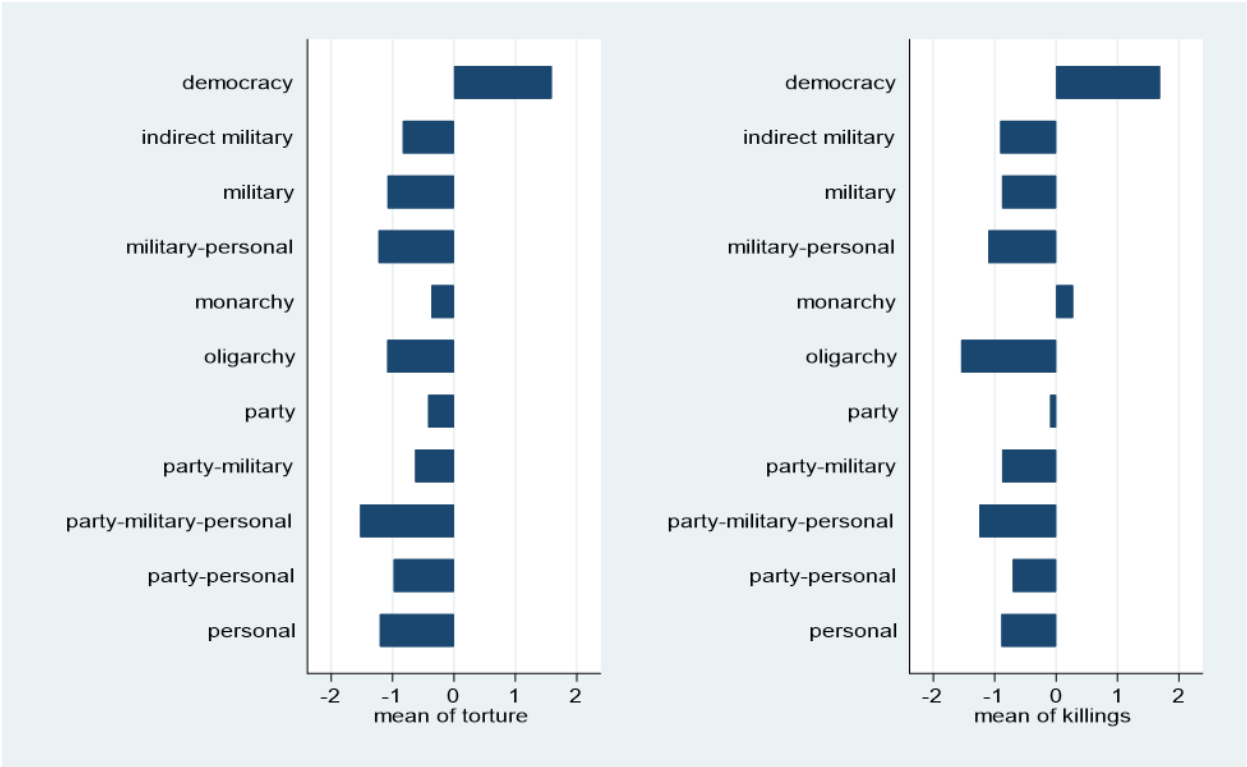
Table 2: Endogenous treatment effects models of extrajudicial killings, 1946-2010

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| killings | GDP per capita | 0.047 | 0.032 | 0.049 | 0.034 |
| | military | -7.278*** | -7.250*** | -7.254*** | -7.223*** |
| | communist | -5.197*** | -5.230*** | -5.174*** | -5.209*** |
| | population | -0.045 | -0.032 | -0.049 | -0.039 |
| | protest | 0.012 | | 0.012 | |
| | anti-system | -0.073*** | -0.068*** | -0.073*** | -0.068*** |
| | duration | 0.031 | 0.031 | 0.030 | 0.030 |
| communist | vertical accountability | 0.039*** | 0.039*** | 0.039*** | 0.039*** |
| | legislative constraints | -0.034 | -0.033 | -0.033 | -0.032 |
| | judicial constraints ⁴¹ | 0.039 | 0.038 | 0.053 | 0.054 |
| | oppression | -0.080 | -0.080 | -0.078 | -0.079 |
| | repression | -0.039*** | -0.039*** | -0.039*** | -0.039*** |
| | torture | 0.031 | 0.030 | 0.031 | 0.030 |
| | freedom of movement | -0.119*** | -0.119*** | -0.120*** | -0.120*** |
| military | corruption | 0.062*** | 0.062*** | 0.063*** | 0.063*** |
| | vertical accountability | -0.032* | -0.033* | -0.033* | -0.033* |
| | legislative constraints | 0.053 | 0.053 | 0.051 | 0.050 |
| | judicial constraints | -0.034 | -0.035 | -0.036 | -0.035 |
| | power distribution | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.009 |
| | oppression | 0.055 | 0.053 | 0.053 | 0.051 |
| | repression | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.007 |
| | torture | -0.089*** | -0.089*** | -0.090*** | -0.090*** |
| | freedom of movement | 0.056*** | 0.057*** | 0.057*** | 0.057*** |
| | corruption | -0.069*** | -0.069*** | -0.070*** | -0.070*** |
| | demonstrations | | 0.018** | | 0.018** |
| | riots | | -0.022** | | -0.022** |
| | guerrilla warfare | | -0.011 | | -0.011 |
| revolutions | | -0.038** | | -0.037** | |
| Arctangent of the correlation between equations | 1 and 2 | 0.438** | 0.443** | 0.439** | 0.444** |
| | 1 and 3 | 1.387*** | 1.380*** | 1.381*** | 1.373*** |
| regime clusters | 2 and 3 | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.005 | -0.005 |
| | | 400 | 400 | 398 | 398 |
| N | | 5,980 | 5,980 | 5,961 | 5,961 |

Note: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

⁴¹ In models 3 and 4, this variable refers to the index of judicial independence for all the equations in which it is included.

Figure 1: Extrajudicial violence and autocratic rule, 1946-2010



Note: The bars represent averages by regime type, as coded by Geddes et al. (2014b). Lower values represent more physical violence.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Differences between my coding of communist regimes and Svolik's

1. Svolik codes Angola as communist from 1979 to 2008. According to Wikipedia, "Angola changed from a one-party Marxist-Leninist system ruled by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), in place since independence in 1975, to a multiparty democracy based on a new constitution adopted in 1992." Consequently, I code Angola as having a communist regime from 1975 to 1992.

2. Svolik codes Benin as having a Marxist regime from 1972 to 1991. "The People's Republic [of Benin] was established on 30 November 1975, after the 1972 coup d'état in the Republic of Dahomey. It effectively lasted until 1 March 1990, with the adoption of a new constitution, and the abolition of Marxism-Leninism in the nation in 1989." Consequently, I code Benin as having a communist regime from 1975 to 1990.

3. Svolik codes Cambodia as experiencing communism from 1975-1979 and again from 1985 to 1991. The "Kampuchean (or Khmer) People's Revolutionary Party" (KPRP)", however, "the sole ruling party in Cambodia from the foundation of the pro-Vietnam republic in 1979, as well as during the transitional times under the State of Cambodia in 1991, only put aside Marxism-Leninism as the party's ideology in 1991. "This move effectively marked the end of the socialist revolutionary state in Cambodia, a form of government which had begun in 1975". Consequently, I code Cambodia as having a communist regime from 1975 to 1991.

4. Svolik codes Cuba as having a communist regime since 1959. Because Cuban leader Fidel Castro did not declare the Cuban revolution to be Marxist-Leninist until 1961, I do not code Cuba as a communist state until 1962.

5. Svolik codes Mongolia as being communist from 1939-1990. However, the Mongolian People's Republic lasted from 1924 to 1992.

6. Svolik codes Mozambique as being communist from 1975 until 2005. However, the People's Republic of Mozambique ended in 1990.

7. Svolik includes the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen from 1969 to 1990. However, the Republic was founded in 1967.

8. Svolik codes Yugoslavia as being communist until the year 2000. Although Slobodan Milošević continued as the first President of the Republic of Serbia (a constituent of the newly formed

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disintegrated in 1991), the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was not a Marxist state.

Appendix 2. Countries featured in the analysis

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| Afghanistan | Greece | Peru | Zimbabwe |
| Albania | Guatemala | Philippines | |
| Algeria | Guinea | Poland | |
| Angola | Guinea-Bissau | Portugal | |
| Argentina | Haiti | Romania | |
| Armenia | Honduras | Russia | |
| Azerbaijan | Hungary | Rwanda | |
| Bangladesh | Indonesia | Saudi Arabia | |
| Belarus | Iran | Senegal | |
| Benin | Iraq | Sierra Leone | |
| Bolivia | Ivory Coast | Singapore | |
| Botswana | Jordan | Somalia | |
| Brazil | Kazakhstan | South Africa | |
| Bulgaria | Kenya | South Yemen | |
| Burkina Faso | Korea (North) | Spain | |
| Burma | Korea (South) | Sri Lanka | |
| Burundi | Kuwait | Sudan | |
| Cambodia | Kyrgyzstan | Swaziland | |
| Cameroon | Laos | Syria | |
| Central African Republic | Lesotho | Taiwan | |
| Chad | Liberia | Tajikistan | |
| Chile | Libya | Tanzania | |
| China | Madagascar | Thailand | |
| Colombia | Malawi | Togo | |
| Congo, Democratic Republic | Malaysia | Tunisia | |
| Congo, Republic | Mali | Turkey | |
| Costa Rica | Mauritania | Turkmenistan | |
| Cuba | Mexico | UAE | |
| Czechoslovakia | Mongolia | USSR | |
| Dominican Republic | Morocco | Uganda | |
| Ecuador | Mozambique | Uruguay | |
| Egypt | Namibia | Uzbekistan | |
| El Salvador | Nepal | Venezuela | |
| Eritrea | Nicaragua | Vietnam | |
| Ethiopia | Niger | Vietnam (North) | |
| Gabon | Nigeria | Vietnam (South) | |
| Gambia | Oman | Yemen | |

Georgia
Germany (East)
Ghana

Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay

Yemen (North)
Yugoslavia
Zambia