

## **Security in the Global South: Latin America case study**

Academic Program:

Master of Arts in Public Policy

Master of Arts in Public Policy (Mundus MAPP)

Master of Public Administration (2 years)

Instructor: Julia Buxton

Credits: 2.0

Term: WINTER

Course Description:

### ***Elective course, Security Specialization / Concentration***

This course examines security policies, priorities and concerns in the Global South, through the case study of Central and Latin America – the region with the world’s highest rates of homicide and inequality in addition to problems of displacement and small arms (guns) proliferation. It assesses the shift from ‘hard’ to ‘human’ security led by key regional organizations (ie the Organization of American States, UNASUR), moving from the traditional hemispheric security ‘matrix’ dominated by the US and preoccupation with communist ‘containment’, through to the contemporary period of diverse and multidimensional security challenges including gang and drug related violence, femicide and land grabs. State (security) actors and state violence are a particular focus, with the course locating current issues of impunity, protest and popular insecurity in the inadequacy of police and criminal justice reform and demobilization processes after civil war (ie Guatemala, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia) and military dictatorship (ie Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia) and ongoing structural challenges of inequality, racism, patriarchy and marginalization.

### ***Learning Outcomes:***

At the end of this course, students will have:

- Critical understanding of the actors, dynamics and processes of security problematization and policy in the Western Hemisphere (South America);
- Knowledge of historical shifts in regional security debates and the different approaches through which these changes are understood and analyzed;
- Experience of quantitative and qualitative information sources for policy related research and writing on security in South America, and awareness of cognitive pitfalls (ethics, validation and objectivity) in research and application.

There are no pre-requisites for this course other than a passion for learning. No prior knowledge of South / Central America is expected and students from all parts of the world will be able to contribute from a comparative perspective.

### ***Assessment:***

The assessment for this course is a 2,500 word (excluding bibliography) security / policy brief that focuses on any chosen country / pertinent thematic issue in the region and of which 30% of the final grade will come from posting and commenting on drafts of class colleagues briefings on moodle. The date for assessment submission will be confirmed in class but students must begin posting the assessment outline (and commenting on

those of others) by the third session, building the assessment to a regular fortnightly posting before completion and submission. Grading criteria are set out in the SPP (and CEU) student handbook. Examples of how to conduct a good security assessment include the DCAF, ICRC and IPIECA guide:

[http://www.securityhumanrightshub.org/sites/default/files/publications/Host Country Security Assessment Guide.pdf](http://www.securityhumanrightshub.org/sites/default/files/publications/Host_Country_Security_Assessment_Guide.pdf)

## Course Outline and Schedule

Note that the course runs as double sessions (alternate weeks). This means that you must complete the reading and assessment requirements set out before our fortnightly classes. We will take regular breaks in the later afternoon / early evening teaching sessions.

Session 1	<p><b>Overview session: A profile of Latin / Central America</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Framing the course: contemporary security challenges; political dynamics – protest and populism;</li> <li>• Economic and political regimes and regime change in Lat Am – commodity dependence, rent seeking and ISI;</li> <li>• Life in the US ‘backyard’, the Cold War in historical and current context;</li> <li>• The salience of Cuba;</li> <li>• Understanding security priorities and security actors – the primacy of anti-communism and US security narratives.</li> </ul>
Session 2	<p><b>From state to human security agendas – and back again</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democratisation and neoliberalism in the post-Cold War period;</li> <li>• Reconfiguring the security sector – from military government to peacekeeping and civilian oversight;</li> <li>• Changing political dynamics: the Pink Tide and right wing backlash;</li> <li>• Structural dimensions of contemporary security challenges;</li> <li>• Changing regional architectures and N/S hemispheric relations</li> </ul>
Session 3	<b>Homicide, femicide, gangs, guns and drugs</b>
Session 4	<b>Migration, displacement and land grabs</b>
Session 5	<b>Criminal justice, police (private and public), SSR and prison systems</b>
Session 6	<b>Conflict, peace, protest and back again: the Colombian peace process; Venezuela’s political conflict; reconciliation and inequality.</b>

## Reading and session overview

The reading listed below should be complemented by your own country specific research for your security / policy brief. A number of key journals are listed as acronyms below: BLAR (Bulletin Latin American Research), JLAS (Journal of Latin American Studies) etc. The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) is an excellent resource so familiarise yourself with the site and its resources: <https://www.wola.org/programs/> also the Latin America Bureau <https://lab.org.uk/> and Economic Commission for Latin America and the

Caribbean (ECLAC / CEPAL) <http://www.cepal.org/?idioma=IN>; Latinobarometro <http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp> and Human Rights Watch: Americas <http://www.hrw.org/americas> and Council of the Americas ie <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/visual-breakdown-military-spending-latin-america>

As we will be doing double sessions you must read at least 5 or 6 pieces but please exercise judgement as some pieces are long / short. We will allocate reading for some of the sessions.

### **Session 1: Overview: Latin America in Historical Perspective**

Two key arguments of this course are that the politics, economics and security priorities of Latin American countries have been configured (disfigured) by proximity to the US and the region's position within the US 'sphere of interest'; and secondly, that contemporary problems of exclusion, structural violence and insecurity have deep historical and institutional roots. This session will develop these arguments by providing a (generic) historical overview of political and economic regime types and regime change processes in the region, highlighting the important role of the military both within and outside government, authoritarian legacies, repression of democracy and the structural challenge of inequality. We will look at the impacts (short and long term) of US efforts to contain communism in the hemisphere during the Cold War and the salience of Cuba.

#### ***Reading list:***

Two excellent books framing the study of US/ Latin America and wider hemispheric history and relations are:

Greg Grandin, *Empires Workshop: Latin America, the US and the Rise of New Imperialism* and Eduardo Galeano *Open Veins of Latin America: Five centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*

- A.Portes (2010) 'Institutions and National Development in Latin America: a Comparative Study.' *Socio-economic Review* 8(4):585-621
- A. Lowenthal (1991) *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*
- G. Grandin (2005) The Instruction of Great Catastrophe: Truth Commissions, National History, and State Formation in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala, *The American Historical Review*, 110:1 <https://academic.oup.com/ahr/article/110/1/46/12680>
- Brenner, P. (1990) 'Cuba and the Missile Crisis', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22:1, March.

Interesting library books on this topics include: S. Brewer, *Borders and Bridges: A History of US Latin American Relations*; V. Bulmer Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*; S. Mainwaring, *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America*; S. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: the US wages Cold War in Latin America*; B. Loveman, *Addicted to Failure : U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region*

## Session 2: From State to Human Security Agendas

To bring us up to date and ahead of our detailed look at factors of insecurity in the region, we will discuss democratization processes in the 1980s and how the legacies of this period shape contemporary security actors, interests and priorities. We will assess the momentous political shift to the left of the 2000s (the Pink Tide) and the agendas of human security, resource nationalism, regional integration, political inclusion and anti-poverty that Pink Tide governments promoted in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil. We will discuss the limitations of these reformist projects and the ongoing challenge of corruption and exclusion. More recent years have seen the return of the political right to power in a number of countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) – a shift that forces us to consider the challenges of building just and inclusive societies on the continent. An interesting development has been the growing role and influence of China and (less so) Russia in Latin America, particularly in relation to trade and investment, which we will also explore. Key reading: [International Peacekeeping, Volume 17, 2010 - Issue 5: South American Perspectives on Peace Operations](#)

Two readings from each section:

### *Democratisation / military de-politicisation*

- Bonner, M. (2009) 'State Discourses, Police Violence and Democratisation in Argentina', *BLAR*, 28:2, April.
- B. Loveman, (1994). "Protected democracies" and military guardianship: Political transitions in Latin America, 1978-1993. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 36(2), 105-189.
- D. Pion Berlin (1992) 'Military Autonomy and Emerging Democracies in Latin America' *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 1  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/422098?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/422098?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- R. Diamint, (2004) 'Security Challenges in Latin America', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23:1, Jan.  
<http://www20.iadb.org/intal/catalogo/PE/2012/10382.pdf>

### *The rise of the left / anti-neoliberalism*

- J. Grugel, P. Riggirozzi and B. Thirkell-White (2008). 'Beyond the Washington Consensus? Asia and Latin America in search of more autonomous development. *International Affairs*. 84(3). 499–517.
- N. Arenas-García (2012) '21st Century Regionalism in South America: UNASUR and the Search for Development Alternatives' eSharp, Issue 18: *Challenges of Development*  
[http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media\\_228378\\_en.pdf](http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_228378_en.pdf)
- J. Beasley Murray et al (2010) 'Latin America's Left Turns: An Introduction', *Third World Quarterly*  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436590902770322?scroll=top&needAccess=true>

- Juan Pablo Luna et al (2010) 'The Left Turn as Multiple Paradigmatic Crisis', *Third World Quarterly*  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436590802681108?src=recsys>
- J. Castaneda (2006) Latin America's Left Turn. *Foreign Affairs*. May  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/61702/jorge-g-castaneda/latin-americas-left-turn>
- Liriam Sponholz, Rogério Christofoletti. (2018) From preachers to comedians: Ideal types of hate speakers in Brazil. *Global Media and Communication* 7

#### *China in Latin America*

- CRS Report for Congress (2005) *China's Growing Interest in Latin America*  
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/45464.pdf>
- K. Gallagher, (2011). China Discovers Latin America. *Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies*, 8-13.

E. Silva (2009) *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press; J. Calleros, *The Unfinished Transition to Democracy in Latin America*; B. Cannon, *The Right in Latin America*

### **Session 3: Homicide, femicide and crime: gangs, guns and drugs**

Latin America is the most violent region on earth owing to homicide, femicide and other forms of violence (kidnap, disappearance) that are pervasive in countries such as Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras, as well as cities and communities – for example in Rio (Brazil). As the Cold War 'ended' – the war on drugs replaced the war on communism in Latin America. In the 1990s and 2000s, and with US support, key producer (Colombia, Peru and Bolivia) and trafficking countries (Mexico) pursued militarized responses to a thriving drug trade. However the economic, development and justice impacts have been severe while actual progress in reducing the flow of drugs from the region has been modest. Drug wars have led to the deaths of over a quarter of a million people in Mexico and proliferated new forms of violence and crime. At the same time, the gendered dimensions of violence and structural violence are represented by the rising problem of femicide (the murder of women and girls on account of their gender).

We will look at types of violence endured, the victims and perpetrators and the role of weapons flows, drugs (and counter narcotics policies) gangs, paramilitary groups and other forms of informal economic and political organizations in generating the region's insecurity problem. The aim of this session is to understand why countries in the region are (in theory) more dangerous than war zones and what type of responses have been formulated by states.

#### **Reading**

Please start with a data overview of the challenges facing Latin America ie Igarape Institute Homicide Database  
<https://homicide.igarape.org.br/>

Unicef (2014) 'Hidden in Plain Sight', report summary,  
[https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Hidden\\_in\\_plain\\_sight\\_statistical\\_analysis\\_Summary\\_EN\\_2\\_Sept\\_2014.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Hidden_in_plain_sight_statistical_analysis_Summary_EN_2_Sept_2014.pdf)

WOLA resources on violence and insecurity in Central America  
<https://www.wola.org/program/central-america/>

Read at least one article from each section

### *Homicide*

- M. Bergman, (2006). Crime and citizen security in Latin America: The challenges for new scholarship. *Latin American Research Review*, 41(2), 213-227.
- Muggah R. and Szabo de Carvalho, I (2017) 'Latin America's Murder Epidemic: How to Stop the Killing' *Foreign Affairs*, March  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-america-caribbean/2017-03-22/latin-americas-murder-epidemic>
- Piccato, P. (2013) 'Homicide as Politics in Modern Mexico', *BLAR*, 32:1, March.
- Cavalcanti, R. (2017) 'Armed Violence and the Politics of Gun Control in Brazil, An Analysis of the 2005 Referendum', *BLAR*, 36:1, Jan.
- Denyer Willis, G. (2017) 'Before the Body Count: Homicide Statistics and Everyday Security in Latin America', *JLAS*, 49:1, Feb.
- M. Sanchez, (2016). Insecurity and violence as a new power relation in Latin America. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

### *Femicide*

- Dominguez Ruvulcaba, H. (2014) 'Gender Violence at the US-Mexico Border', *BLAR*, 33:4, Oct.
- Gasman, N and G. Alvarez 'Violence against Women', *Americas Quarterly*  
<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1930>
- Hume, M. (2008) The myths of violence: gender, conflict, and community in El Salvador. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35 (5). pp. 59-76 and / or Hume, Mo (2009) [Researching the gendered silences of violence in El Salvador](#). *IDS Bulletin*, 40 (3). pp. 78-85.
- Wilding, P. (2010) 'New Violence: Silencing Women's Experiences in the favelas of Brazil', *JLAS*, 42: 4 Nov.

### *Gangs*

- Gutierrez Rivera, L. (2010) 'Discipline and Punish? Youth Gangs' response to 'Zero-tolerance' Policies in Honduras', *BLAR*, 29:4, Oct.
- Jutersonke, O. Muggah, R. and Rodgers, D. 'Gangs and Violence Reduction in Central America' (2009) *Security Dialogue*  
[https://www.oas.org/dsp/documentos/pandillas/2sesion\\_especial/SMALL%20AR...](https://www.oas.org/dsp/documentos/pandillas/2sesion_especial/SMALL%20AR...)
- Lannes Fernandes, F (2013) 'Youth Gang Members in Rio de Janeiro: The Face of a 'Lost Generation' in an Age of Fear and Mistrust', *BLAR*, 32:2, April.
- Perez, O. (2013) 'Gang Violence and Insecurity in Contemporary Central America', *BLAR*, 32:1, March.
- Rodgers, D. (2006) 'Living in the Shadow of Death; Gangs, Violence and Social Order in Urban Nicaragua, 1996-2002', *JLAS*, 38:2, May.
- Wolf, S. (2012) 'El Salvador's Pandilleros Calmados: The Challenges of Contesting Mano Duro through Peer Rehabilitation and Empowerment', *BLAR*, 31:2, April.

### *Drugs*

- WOLA website on drug policy in Latin America <https://www.wola.org/program/drug-policy/> and also the Andean Information Network <http://ain-bolivia.org/>
- Fondevila, G. and M. Quintana Navarrete (2015), 'War Hypothesis: Drug Trafficking, Sovereignty and the Armed Forces in Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 34:4, Oct.
- Carlos Garzon, J (2014) 'Fixing a Broken System: Modernizing Drug Law enforcement in Latin America' *TNI* <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/fixing-a-broken-system>
- Buxton, J. (2015). *Drugs and Development: The Great Disconnect*. Global Drug Policy Observatory. Swansea University. <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/The%20Great%20Disconnect.pdf>
- Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Eds), *Innocent Bystanders: Developing Countries and the War on Drugs*, The World Bank, 2010, pp. 61-93. <http://www.druglibrary.stir.ac.uk/documents/536410PUB0Inno101Official0Use00nly1.pdf>
- GDPO Swansea, Ros Eventon (2015) *Justifying Militarisation: Counter Narcotics and counter narco-terrorism* <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/gdpo/projectpages/cannabispolicyintheusimplicationsandpossibilities/>

### **Session 4 Migration, displacement and land grabs**

Continuing our analysis of the region's security challenges (and building to recommendations for policy change) this session will explore three hemispheric problems around which there is intense security 'debate' (the fundamental question of whose security). Linking to the previous session, we will look at the causes of migration from Central America to the US (the current US migrant 'crisis'), the impacts on third countries such as Mexico and the role of violence, insecurity and US policy in driving migration trends. Venezuela also serves as an important case study with an estimated 4 million people having left the country over the last 3 years. We will discuss problems of displacement of individuals, communities and indigenous peoples – including through (resource) land grabs by private, criminal and paramilitary groups, and related impacts of marginalisation, insecurity and informality.

### **Reading**

- WOLA Migration and Border security resource hub: <https://www.wola.org/program/migration-border-security/>
- <https://www.wola.org/analysis/fix-us-mexico-border-humanitarian-crisis/>
- Primer on environmental conflicts in Latin America <https://publish.illinois.edu/iaslibrary/2018/08/28/environmental-conflicts-in-latin-america-the-caribbean/> and from a very different perspective from Dialogue <https://www.thedialogue.org/analysis/local-conflicts-natural-resources-in-latin-america/>

- Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Jennifer C. Franco, Sergio Gómez, Cristóbal Kay & Max Spoor (2012) Land grabbing in Latin America and the Caribbean, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:3-4
- Hans-Jürgen Burchardt & Kristina Dietz (2014) (Neo-)extractivism – a new challenge for development theory from Latin America, *Third World Quarterly*, 35:3
- P. Vasquez (2014) Oil sparks in the Amazon: local conflicts, indigenous populations, and natural resources (Athens: Georgia Uni Press)
- Internal displacement monitoring centre: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/colombia>
- Oxfam (2016) *Unearthed: Land, Poverty and Inequality in Latin America* [https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file\\_attachments/bp-land-power-inequality-latin-america-301116-en.pdf](https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file_attachments/bp-land-power-inequality-latin-america-301116-en.pdf)

## **Session 5 Police, prisons and the criminal justice systems**

In this sessions we turn back to the historical and structural roots of insecurity, exploring the security sector (police, military, prisons) and criminal justice systems in the region. We will discuss the reforms that were undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s to de-politicise the police and the military after periods of authoritarian military rule, the limits of these efforts and the rise of informal security providers. Prisons are notoriously dangerous in Latin America (overcrowding, lengthy pre-trial detention, lack of access to justice), while the wider criminal justice system has serious problems of corruption, delay and inefficiency. Those that can afford private security in the face of inadequate state protection have contributed to a problematic boom in private security provision in the region. In this session we will discuss the legacies of inadequate civilianization of the security sector, ongoing problems of neglect of criminal justice reform and a more recent surge in the number of women being imprisoned. Strategies for improving security governance and policing will be explored.

WOLA Defence and Security hub: <https://www.wola.org/program/defense-oversight/>

### **Reading: 2 articles from each section**

#### *Prisons*

- IDPC Briefing Paper - *Women, drug offences and penitentiary systems in Latin America* <http://idpc.net/publications/2013/11/idpc-briefing-paper-women-drug-offenses-and-penitentiary-systems-in-latin-america>
- WOLA *Women, Drug Policies and Incarceration; A Guide for Policy Reform* <http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/WOLA%20WOMEN%20FINAL%20ver%2025%2002%201016.pdf>
- Macaulay, F. (2013) 'Modes of prison administration, control and governmentality in Latin America: adoption, adaptation and hybridity' *Conflict, Security and Development* 13 (4): 361-92 and Macaulay, F. (2007). Knowledge production, framing and criminal justice reform in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 39(3), 627-651.
- M. Müller, (2012). The rise of the penal state in Latin America. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 15 (1), 57-76.
- Pyper, N. 'Corrupt, violent and overcrowded: inside Latin America's prisons', *The Conversation*

<http://theconversation.com/corrupt-violent-and-overcrowded-inside-latin-america-prisons-46230>

- *The Economist* (2012) 'Prisons in Latin America: A Journey into Hell' <http://www.economist.com/node/21563288> and also the NYT piece <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/14/world/americas/in-latin-america-prisons-condemned-to-crisis.html>

#### *Privatization of security*

- M. Ungar, (2007). The privatization of citizen security in Latin America: From elite guards to neighborhood vigilantes. *Social Justice*, 34, 3/4 (109-110), 20-37.
- O. Argueta, 'Private Security in Guatemala: Pathways to its Proliferation', *BLAR*, 31:3, July 2012.

#### *Policing*

- J. Miguel Cruz, 'Police Misconduct and Political legitimacy in Central America', *JLAS* 47: 2, May 2015
- Prado, M et al (2012) Police Reform in Violent Democracies (Yale working paper) [https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/sela/SELA12\\_Prado\\_Eng\\_CV\\_20120402.pdf](https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/sela/SELA12_Prado_Eng_CV_20120402.pdf)
- Yalinda Gonzalez on failures of police reform in *The Conversation*: <http://theconversation.com/why-police-reforms-rarely-succeed-lessons-from-latin-america-79965>
- M. Glebbek, 'Police reform and the Peace Process in Guatemala', *BLAR*, 20:4, Oct 2001.

### **Session 6 Conflict and Peace**

Latin America has experienced few inter-state wars and the risks of terrorism are low. Nevertheless the region has a long history of insurgency, civil conflict and revolutionary movements. In this session we will look at conflict and peace processes in the region, using the case studies of Colombia and Venezuela, which will be used to assess wider aspects of Latin America's distributional conflicts, including in relation to land, power and access to justice. The costs and implications of pursuing a 'negative peace' (including in post war Central America), under which rights abuses, injustice and insecurity persist will be analysed. We will finish by coming full circle and exploring the range of security challenges the region faces – and how new world powers may influence the direction taken.

#### **Reading – 2 from each section**

##### *Colombia*

- WOLA series on Colombia peace process  
<https://www.wola.org/analysis/colombias-peace-process-ensuring-the-success-of-a-potential-bilateral-ceasefire-agreement/>
- USIP Colombia peace research page  
<https://www.usip.org/regions/americas/colombia>
- Hagen, J. (2016). Did sexual orientation and gender identity play a role in the rejection of the Colombian peace deal?. *Women, Peace and Public Sphere Blog*.
- C. Moser (2000) Urban poor perceptions of violence and exclusion in Colombia (DC: World Bank)
- J. Arvelo, (2005). International Law and Conflict Resolution in Colombia: Balancing Peace and Justice in the Paramilitary Demobilization Process. *Geo. J. Int'l L.*, 37, 411.

### Venezuela

- J. Buxton (2018) 'Defusing Venezuela', *Journal of Diplomacy*  
<http://blogs.shu.edu/diplomacy/2018/06/defusing-venezuela/> or 'Continuity and Change in Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution, *Third World Quarterly* (2019)  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2019.1653179>
- Grillet et al (2019) 'Venezuela's humanitarian crisis, resurgence of vector-borne diseases, and implications for spillover in the region', *Lancet*  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1473309918307576>
- Special edition of Latin American Perspectives  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/lap/44/1>

### Central America / General

- J. Pearce, (1998). From civil war to 'civil society': Has the end of the Cold War brought peace to Central America?. *International Affairs*, 74(3), 587-615.
- T. Karl, (1995). The hybrid regimes of Central America. *Journal of democracy*, 6(3), 72-86.
- Great website for resources on Central America conflicts  
<https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/central-america/>
- L. Taylor, 'Counter Insurgency Strategy, the PCP-Sendero Luminoso and the Civil war in Peru, 1980-1996', *BLAR*, 17:1, Jan 1998