Insurgencies, Terrorist Groups and Indigenous Movements: An Annotated Bibliography

by Mr. Gerard Gato
Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

The following annotated bibliography uses an interdisciplinary, multicultural approach to assess the current literature on highly complex issues in Latin America. To that effect the bibliography has been divided into four topics: Social, Economic and Political issues; US-Latin America issues; Drug Trafficking; and Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements.

A complement to the bibliography is "Primer on Latin America Insurgencies and Guerrilla Movements." The sources listed roughly encompass the period 1968 to 1999, providing background information on the most important revolutionary movements in Latin America, such as the Montoneros of Argentina, the Tupamaros of Uruguay and Carlos Marighella's Action for National Liberation of Brazil. Many of these organizations sought to overthrow their respective national governments through violent means and blamed the incursion of foreign capital as a form of economic imperialism. Even after their demise, they continue to inspire terrorists and revolutionary movements throughout the world, particularly in Latin America. Parallels are evident between some of 1960s' and 1970s' movements and those currently active in Latin American countries such as Colombia and Mexico. Understanding the ideas and tactics of the previous Latin American revolutionary movements could help gauge today's movements and uprisings.

The section "Social, Economic and Political issues" provides background for the insurgencies, terrorist groups and revolutionary movements flourishing in Latin America today. The great social and economic disparities that gave rise to revolutionary movements in the 60s and 70s have changed little since then, except for some democracy advances. Pervasive misery and destitution, marginal existence, corruption and injustice and deterioration of state institutions persist. Most Latin American countries are emerging from a period of social, economic and political unrest and slowly progressing toward democratization. Yet, progress is tenuous and fragile. Insurgencies and revolts have not disappeared entirely as witnessed by Colombia's insurgencies, Mexico's indigenous revolt and Brazil's Landless Workers Movement. Although
Peru's MRTA and Sendero Luminoso have been practically stamped out, terrorist cells continue to thrive in Peru and hundreds of terrorists languish in its prisons.

Most countries in the region have not recovered entirely from the financial crises and economic woes that befell them in previous decades. Economic problems have enormous impact not only on the domestic economy but also on economic ties with other countries. In August 1998, the global financial crisis that swept from Asia to Russia to Latin America hit Brazil full force. Brazil is the world's eighth largest economy and a leader in Latin America by every measure—land, population and economy. Its economic ailments directly affect its Mercosur trading partners, other Latin American countries and those US companies which have billions of dollars invested in Brazil. National disasters have also had a bearing on the region's economies. In 1998 El Niño wreaked havoc along the Pacific coastal region of the Western Hemisphere, affecting Peru and Ecuador particularly hard. In early 1999, Central America was devastated by a hurricane of historical proportions. The social, economic and political elements are indispensable for formulating a credible strategic assessment of Latin America's hot spots.

The section "US-Latin America Issues" provides current literature on US-Latin America relations, covering a range of topics from economic, trade and security relations to human rights, military issues and national security. US policy vis-à-vis Latin America has far-reaching repercussions in the region. Likewise, political, social and economic instability in the region undermines US security and economic interests there. Because Latin American issues are seldom considered serious threats to US security interests, important dangers are often understated. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger dismissed its importance, equating Latin America to a dagger pointed at the heart of Antarctica, a place of minimal importance. He failed to mention that approximately 20 percent of US trade is done with Latin America—certainly, negative economic developments there would affect US external trade. Most illicit drugs entering the United States today come from Latin American countries—illicit drug trafficking and consumption exact a heavy toll on US society. This section provides a glimpse of the intricacies of US foreign policy toward Latin America and the difficulties of advancing democratization in the region while standing firm against human rights violations, dictatorships, drug trafficking and violent revolutionary groups seeking to violently overthrow governments.

The "Illicit Narcotics Trade" section is closely linked to those above. Some of the more unstable areas in Latin America have endemic drug problems—either with illegal cultivation or trafficking, or both. For several years, the illicit drug trade has destroyed local communities, threatened social cohesion, distorted economies and destabilized governments in both producer and consumer nations. Some estimate drug revenues as high as $400 billion a year, greater than the gross domestic product of many developing and some developed countries. This fact alone gives the organizations who control this trade substantial economic and political power. For researchers and analysts, this power to influence governments and peoples is one of the most important variables to keep in mind when attempting to determine causes and effects of instability in the most troublesome regions of Latin America. For example, relations among some of the Latin American countries have been particularly affected by drug abuse and trafficking, which in turn have led to damaging distortions in foreign and domestic policy agendas that hinder cooperation and integration in the region. This section provides a window to
how illicit drug activities are interwoven with the social, political and economic issues of the Americas.

The last selection of this bibliography—"Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements"—provides a wide range of articles covering movements advocating violent overthrow of governments, to grassroots uprisings that have either taken up arms to resolve their demands—as the Zapatistas—or have used nonviolent forms of rebellion, such as the Landless Workers Party (MST-Movimento do Trabalhadores Sem-Terra). Although the MST does not fit the usual mold of a revolutionary or insurgent movement, many of the issues and tactics associated with it parallel other more violent organizations. Its growing strength in both size and economic power is an additional destabilizer in the already troubled Brazilian economy. As the political and economic power of MST grows so does its militancy. If its grievances are not answered reasonably and soon, the militant elements may resort to more drastic, and possibly violent, means to achieve their goals.

Colombia, because of its political, insurgency and narcotics-related problems, is a major destabilizing force in the region. And worse yet, no viable solution is anywhere in sight. In the middle of it all, the United States finds itself in an untenable position. On the one hand, it funds the war on Colombian drug traffickers, purposely avoiding Colombia's war with the insurgents as an internal political problem. On the other hand, it continues to link insurgents and drug traffickers, arguing that the antidrug campaign cannot gain ground as long as well-equipped left-wing guerrillas protect drug cultivation and trafficking. The United States is skeptical about the Colombian military being able to defeat, or at least contain, the ever-growing insurgent movement. The US skepticism has prompted rumors about a possible US military involvement to suppress the guerrillas, perhaps in a joint effort with neighboring countries increasingly threatened by the insurgents.

Already Peru and Ecuador are increasing their military presence along their Colombian frontiers. In Peru, terrorist movements in the 80s and early 90s that came close to overthrowing the government have been defeated. However, small cells of Sendero Luminoso remain in the hinterlands and hundreds of Senderistas are imprisoned, including Sendero's cunning and sanguinary leader, Abimael Guzman. Peruvian authorities disarticulated, for the most part, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA). Nevertheless, the MRTA's surprise takeover of the Japanese Embassy in 1995 with a handful of members demonstrated willingness to commit sensational and desperate acts. Bolivia is still a major coca grower and has a large underprivileged indigenous population and an impoverished economy, major ingredients for political and social destabilization. In southern Mexico, the indigenous uprising in Chiapas is another insurgency that bears close watching. The elements that originally gave rise to the rebellion still exist. Furthermore, the government response has exacerbated the problem, leaving the conflict dangerously close to exploding again.

The sources listed in this annotated bibliography provide a variety of related literature to help assess current and future instability in the region. Latin America faces numerous challenges: political instability, social ills, drug trafficking and economic weakness. This bibliography provides a window into some of these issues.
Social, Economic and Political Issues


Celis Noguera, Carlos E. *Geopolítica Regional (el área del Caribe, área Andina y área Amazónica).* Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1994. Analyzes the geographical and political order of the Caribbean, Andes and Amazon regions as it relates to regional security, interdependence and social and economic integration.


Common Market countries, including background on military relations, armed forces and defense expenditures of Latin America and the Caribbean region. Prepared jointly with the Centro Latinoamericano de Defensa y Desarme (CLADDE) and the Programa Paz y Seguridad en las America, Wilson Center—FLACSO Chile.


Grindle, Merilee S. *Challenging the State : Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Based on the notion that economic and political development require capable states, traces the ways in which state capacity is built, destroyed, and at times, rebuilt. It indicates how, for some countries, a decade of deep and sustained crisis also became a decade of innovations in ideas, policy directions, political coalitions and government institutions.

Inter-American Development Bank. *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America (1998-1999).* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Argues that macroeconomic stability and the adoption of free market economic policies over the past decade have not brought greater equity to Latin America. Poverty levels are unabated, salary gaps have widened and social services in many countries remain inadequate. Examines the factors that contribute to inequity, discusses the outlook for income distribution and proposes strategies to better distribute the benefits of development. Helpful guide to the Latin American and Caribbean economies. Features statistical appendix with year-by-year consolidated data for the past decade on population, national accounts, central government finances, balance of payments, external debt, exchange rates and inflation.


"Latin America's Backlash." *The Economist* (30 November 1996), 19-21. Online 18 February 1999 at <http://www.economist.com/tfs/archive_tframeset.html>. Argues that a malaise exists in Latin America and that if the region's macroeconomic reforms are to endure and flourish, they need to be backed by social reform as well.
Le Bot, Yvon. *Violence de la modernité en Amérique latine: Indiante, société et pouvoir.* France: Editions Karthala, 1994. Studies difficulties faced by Indian peasant communities in maintaining their identity and autonomy within modern societies of Latin America, cases of their insurgency and violence inflicted on them; Central America and the Andean region, chiefly. Some focus on Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru.


Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Addresses the current debate regarding the liabilities and merits of presidential government. Examines variations among different presidential systems and skeptically view claims that presidentialism has added significantly to the problems of democratic governance and stability.

Mares, David R., ed. *Civil-Military Relations: Building Democracy and Regional Security in Latin America, Southern Asia, and Central Europe.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998. Examines the claim that civilian domination is the only form compatible with democracy and regional peace. Disputes this claim but clarifies the conditions under which a partnership between civilians and the military can help promote both. Provides in-depth analyses of the normative and institutional aspects of the civil-military relationship to demonstrate that it is the politics of the relationship rather than its form that influences the likelihood of democracy and regional peace.


Millett, Richard L. and Michael Gold-Biss, ed. *Beyond Praetorianism: The Latin American Military in Transition.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996. Examines nature and roles of the region's armed forces following the end of the Cold War case studies. Published by North-South Center Press. Issues include hemispheric and regional security, peacekeeping and confidence building, guerrillas, narcotics and terrorism; case studies include Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, Brazil, Argentina and Peru.


Radu, Michael. "Venezuela: Back to the Third World?" E-Notes, Foreign Policy Research Institute (8 December 1998). Claims that corruption permeates Venezuela and that Chavez' victory bodes ill for Latin America and that his fondness for Castro and his affinity for Colombia's Marxist guerrillas could easily deepen the serious political crisis of Venezuela.


Ryan, Jeffrey J. "The Impact of Democratization on Revolutionary Movements." Comparative Politics 27 (October 1994), 27-44. Includes case studies of Venezuela, Guatemala and El Salvador—some focus on coalition building.
Sautter, Hermann, and Rolf Schinke, ed. *Stabilization and Reforms in Latin America: Where Do We Stand?* Mexico: Editorial Iberoamericana, 1996. Reviews economic change since the 1980s, and analyzes and prioritizes ongoing needs; examines economic stabilization, foreign trade, institutional reform, social development and other topics. Papers presented at a symposium organized by the Ibero-America Institute, Goettingen, Germany, November 1995. Subjects include good governance, monetary policy, bank regulation, exchange rates and regional trade agreements, social reforms and prospects for long-term economic change.

Skocpol, Theda. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Regimes that are susceptible to the growth of revolutionary movements and vulnerable to transfers of state power to revolutionary challengers are identified in this updated sequel to the author's 1979 book, *States and Social Revolutions.*


**US-Latin America Issues**


Latin America and the discrepancy between the United States and Latin America on the civil-military distinction.

Fishel, John T. and Kimbra L. Fishel. "The Impact of the US Army School of the Americas on Host Nation Militaries: An Effective Instrument of Policy or Merely a Scapegoat?" *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement* 7 (Summer 1998), 47-70. Addresses the problems posed by the creation of a military educational institution designed to transfer US doctrine, tactics, techniques and procedures to armed forces of Latin America. It stresses the fact that the school is an instrument of US foreign policy.

Isacson, Adam. *Altered States: Security and Demilitarization in Central America*. Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, 1997. Exhaustive survey of military sizes and roles in Central America, the entire range of threats to the region's security, the extent of current US military assistance and linkages and the building of collective-security guarantees. Argues that because continued peace, democratization and integration, Central America's existing armies are without a mission to justify their large sizes and political roles and thus should be significantly reduced or even abolished.

Machillanda, José. *Nuevo intervencionismo: la desmilitarización en el continente*. Caracas, Venezuela: Italgráfica S.A., 1996. Argues that the United States is intervening in Latin America by seeking to modify the function of the armed forces, changing it from protecting sovereign nations to protecting the region. Some focus on the armed forces of Venezuela, Chile, Peru and Colombia.


University of Miami. Partial contents: Inter-American military relations; Arms modernization and arms control in Latin America.

_________. *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998. Argues that the United States, from the time of John Quincy Adams, has perceived Latin America as an underdeveloped, inferior neighbor—and even today continues to allow this misperception to color relations with its neighbors to the south.


**The Illicit Narcotics Trade**


Douglass, Joseph D. Jr. "Narcotics Trafficking, Organized Crime, and Terrorism (Aspects None of Us Want to Face)." *Conservative Review* (Summer/Fall 1996), 4-10. Examines connections between drug money, organized crime, terrorism and political corruption in Russia and Latin America; and implications for the United States.

multinational web of relationships among law enforcement agencies, the military, banking institutions and government to wage a realistic war on drugs.


Riley, Kevin Jack. *Snow Job? The War Against International Cocaine Trafficking*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996. Looks at policies intended to control the production and export of cocaine from Latin America and their limitations. Disagrees with analysts who believe that source country control policies can lead to permanent victory and suggests a better strategy would be one that recognizes the severe limits facing interdiction, eradication and other source country policies, focusing instead on directing source country resources where they will be most useful.


**Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements**


Bender, Bryan. "Colombia's Internal Security." *Jane's Defence Weekly* (27 January 1999). Points out that Colombia has been battling the insurgent FARC and yet the group has become stronger and presents serious threat to the government. Attributes success in part to a new military leader, Jorge Briceno, partly to the ineffectiveness of the Samper government and mainly to FARC's links with Colombian drug cartels and the money it receives from protecting cartel operations.


Chepesiuk, Ron. "Guerrillas in the Midst." National Review (1 September 1997), 27-30. Analyses of Colombian guerrillas' drug ties. Asserts that revolutionary groups filled the gap when the Colombian government eliminated several of Colombia's largest drug cartels. Presents several viewpoints; the guerrillas' drug ties are described as everything from a convenient source of funding to the real reason for the movements' existence.

de La Grange, Bertrand and Maite Rico. Marcos, La Genial Impostura. Santillana USA Publishing Company, Inc., 1998. Account of the Chiapas conflict in Mexico. Covers all aspects of the conflict—its origin, the bloodshed of the indigenous people, the involvement of the Mexican government and the role of the Catholic church; discusses how Rafael Guillen (Commander Marcos) allegedly deceived the world. Discusses the Chiapas uprising reportedly fueling the birth of other guerrilla groups, such as the Popular Insurgent Revolutionary Army, the Mexican Peasant Worker Front of the Southeast, the Popular Movement of National Liberation and the Revolutionary Insurgent Army of the Southeast.


"Doctrinal Change Indicates Serious Evolution in Colombian War." Global Intelligence Update, STRATFOR, 3 March 1999. Online 4 March 1999 at <http://www.stratfor.com/services/giu/030399.asp>. Looks at plans by the Colombian armed forces to reorganize and revamp the military. Proposes that operational changes represent a doctrinal shift in the Colombian military's strategy, a shift based on its perception that it is no longer chasing a rag-tag band of rebels through the jungles of Caqueta. Discusses current US involvement and argues the United States is at a loss on the Colombian situation.

"Fronteras Calientes: ¿Qué hay detrás del envío de tropas de Ecuador y Perú a las zonas limítrofes con Colombia?" (Colombia) Revista Semana (15 February 1999). Online 23 February 1999 at <http://www.semana.com.co/users/semana/semana99/feb15/nscion7.htm>. Brings into front-page presence several fronts of FARC and ELN along the Peruvian and Ecuadorian border with Colombia. Reactions by these countries and the United States to increased insurgency, paramilitary and drug traffic activities along the border regions.

González Posso, Camilo. "La guerrilla virtual." QueHacer (Peru) (January/February 1997), 72-76. Compares guerrilla warfare of the MRTA in Peru to that of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Mexico and the conditions that precipitated these armed movements.
Kovaleski, Serge F. "Rebel Movement on the Rise." Washington Post, 5 February 1999, A27. Online 15 March 1999 at <http://search.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/Wplate/1999-02/05/0101-020599-idx.html>. Explains that despite Colombia's military successes against the FARC in first part of the 1990s, FARC has returned stronger than ever and is seriously threatening the government. Suggests that although the insurgents' turnaround seems remarkable in an age when the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union have hastened the demise of leftist insurgencies elsewhere in Latin America and beyond, the movement's current status may have less to do with ideology than with military strength and criminal enterprise—including kidnapping, extortion and a growing involvement in the drug trade.

Hinchberger, Bill. "Land of No Return? Not Brazil." The Nation (2 March 1998). Global Exchange. Online 22 May 1998 at <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/brazil/mst/LandOfNoReturn.html>. Examines recent operations and initiatives of the "Landless Workers Movement." Provides concise background of the movement, its leadership and how the troubled Brazilian economy affects it. Also discusses current recruiting of urban unemployed and homeless keen to try their luck in the fields and how it represents a historic reversal from the traditional recruiting of peasants.

Isacson, Adam. "A Difficult Few Weeks in Colombia." Demilitarization Program, Center for International Policy (22 February 1999). Online 9 March 1999 at <http://www.ciponline.org/demilita.htm>. Overview of the Colombian government peace process with the guerrillas started on 7 January 1999 and ramifications. Topics discussed are the peace process itself; the paramilitaries; deployment of Ecuadorian and Peruvian military troops to Colombian borders to block incursions by Colombian guerrillas; human rights violations and reports; and US response to these topics.

Langevin, Mark S. and Peter Rosset. "Land Reform From Below: The Landless Workers Movement in Brazil." SEJUP (Serviço Brasileiro de Justiça e Paz) (17 September 1997). Online 9 March 1999 at http://www.tao.ca/ainfos/A-Infos97/4/0008.html>. Background, politics, and latest developments of the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil. Discusses police repression, advancements made by the movement and its close link with the urban Workers Party. Highlights analysts' opinions that although struggle unfolds in countryside, it will be resolved in the city where the political power base for structural change exists.

La Rotta M., Jesús E. Las Finanzas de la subversión Colombiana: Una forma de explotar la nación. Bogota: Ediciones Los Ultimos Patriotas, 1996. Excellent documentation on how the insurgencies in Colombia finance their struggle, pointing out in particular their involvement in the drug trade. Although the documents and sources used to establish the financing trail are somewhat dated, the modus operandi remains unchanged.

Montemayor Aceves, Carlos. *Chiapas: La Rebelión Indígena de México*. Mexico: Joaquin Mortiz, 1997. Multidimensional look at grass-roots uprisings and evolution of the one at Chiapas. Focus is on perceptions of movement in national and international community, way in which it was reported in press and contrasting, unexpressed or unperceived realities at its heart.

Montoya, David. "Ruidos en la Jungla." *Revista Caretas* (Peru) (16 July 1998), 33-34. Discusses fallout between the Sendero Luminoso and the "Sendero Rojo" faction over relations between drug traffickers operating in the Huallaga valley, farther north from Ayacucho and out of direct control of Sendero's leader, "Feliciano." The Sendero Rojo has been linked to well-known drug traffickers and allegedly has received from the traffickers massive donations of weapons and equipment for use in antigovernment operations.


________. "Political Cleansing in Chiapas." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54, (May/June 1998). Online 2 March 1999 at http://www.bullatomsci.org/ussies/1998/ma98/ma98nadal.html>. An update to "Terror in Chiapas." Contends that the situation has worsened and in contravention to a Zapatista-government agreement reached in 1996, the Mexican army has continued to encircle and harass Zapatista communities, establishing new bases and consolidating old ones. Claims that carelessness with which Mexico's most serious political conflict since the 1910 revolution has been treated will negatively affect Mexico's future.

Padgett, Tim. "The Backyard Balkans." *Time* (18 January 1999). Maintains that the United States regards Colombia as something less than a national security threat despite the presence of violent drug cartels in the country. Asserts that because of the boiling 34-year-old civil war, there is a real danger that Colombia could become divided into three volatile, Balkan-like states, and thus become a "Yugo-lombia." To support this assertion it points out that much of north is already ruled by right-wing paramilitary groups linked to drug traffickers; that the federal government is dysfunctional and the military demoralized; and that more than 20,000 Marxist guerrillas control the vast south and Colombia's borders and are making a fortune on kidnappings and cocaine growing and trafficking.

________. "Brazil's Landless Rebels." *Time International Edition* (19 January 1998). Online 9 March 1999 at <http:\cgi.pathfinder.com/time/magazine/1998/int/980119/latin_america.brazils_1a5.html>. Contends that the radical Landless Workers Movement (MST) has adopted "guerrilla capitalism" in its bid to transform the face of the nation. Claims movement to be stridently socialist in its public pronouncements but yet has also become a force for corporate entrepreneurship. Cites arrays of sources and avenues for tax revenue, which netted the movement $50 million in 1998, comparable to those of many midsize corporations. Argues MST strategy is to become an economic force that the Brazilian government will not be able to ignore any longer.
Palmer, David Scott, ed. *The Shining Path of Peru 2nd ed.*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Compilation of articles by leading Sendero scholars, including Degregori, McClintock, Tarazona-Sevillano and Gorriti. At times criticized for not providing any new scholarship on the movement, it remains a convenient source for a broad overview of many aspects of Sendero Luminoso—origins, thought, rural and urban strategies and expansion into the coca market. The editor and McInnott argue that the insurrection had more of a popular base than commonly believed. (See Poole and Renique, authors of "Peru: Time of Fear," for a different point of view).

Petrarolha, Fabio L. S. "Brazil: The Meek Want the Earth Now." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (November/December 1996). Online 2 February 1999 at http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1996/nd96/nd96petrarolha.html>. Historical account of the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil. Discusses social, economic and political conditions that gave rise to it as well as military intervention and death toll. Ominous warning that civil war may not be far-fetched given the current social disparities and dire economic conditions in Brazil.


Poole, Deborah and Gerardo Renique. *Peru: Time of Fear*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1992. Reputed to be one of the most authoritative texts in English on Sendero Luminoso, these two well-known Senderologists provide an informative and well-documented background of the "dirty war" in Peru. It brings together history, governmental policies, the birth and support of Sendero, the Peruvian military and US interest. Unsympathetic to both the Peruvian military and the guerrillas.


Tellis, A.J., T.S. Szayna, and J.A. Winnefeld. *Anticipating Ethnic Conflict*. Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation. Abstract: MR-853-A, 1997. A practical tool—guidebook and methodology—to help intelligence analysts determine the long-term potential for social and ethnic conflict. Based on a conceptual model of group conflict, the three-stage model traces the development of ethnic and communitarian strife, beginning with the conditions that may lead to the formation of an ethnic group, then the group's mobilization for political action and ultimately its competition with the state.


"Venezuela Challenges Verdict in Murder of Americans in Colombia." *Global Intelligence Update*, STRATFOR. Online 10 March 1999 at <http://www.stratfor.com/SERVICES/GIU/daily.asp>. Makes a case for possible motives for each major player in the internal strife in Colombia for committing the murders. Repercussions and consequences for the peace progress and, most important, how the United States may become more involved in the Colombian quagmire.


**Primer On Latin America Insurgencies and Guerrillas Movements**

Guevara, Ernesto (Che). *Guerrilla Warfare (Latin American Silhouettes)*. With an introduction by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies Jr., 3rd ed. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1997. More than Che's handbook on how to be a guerrilla fighter. The Guerrilla Warfare, and two of Che's later pieces, Guerrilla Warfare: A Method and Message to the Tri-continental, are nestled between an introduction and essays describing the struggles in seven South American countries whose guerrilla movements were inspired by Che Guevara's writings and beliefs. Loveman and Davies also provide in-depth case studies that apply Che's theories on revolution to political situations in seven Latin American countries from the 1960s to the present. Work is quite useful to understand the terrorism and insurgency in Latin America.

Hamil, Hugh M., ed. *Caudillos: Dictators in Spanish America*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Presents conflicting interpretations of caudillismo in 27 essays written by an international group of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, journalists and caudillos themselves. Twenty-two chronologically arranged essays follow the theoretical arguments in Hamil's introduction and the first five chapters on individual caudillos. The selections represent revisionists, apologists, enemies and even a victim of caudillos. The personalities discussed include the Mexican priest Miguel Hidalgo, the Argentinian gaucho Facundo Quiroga, the Guatemalan Rafael Carrera, the Colombian Rafael Nuñez, Mexico's Porfirio Diaz, the Somoza family of Nicaragua, the Dominican "Benefactor" Rafael Trujillo, the Argentinians Juan Peron
and his wife Evita, Paraguay's Alfredo Stroessner, Chile's Augusto Pinochet and Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Marighella, Carlos. *The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. June 1969, Sao Paulo, Brazil. Introduction by Lenny Flank Jr. *Eyes on the World* online posting, 11 March 1999 at <http://eotw.orac.net.au/articles/urban.html>. Carlos Marighella was a prolific writer of essays and articles on revolutionary method. His most famous works are "The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" and "For the liberation of Brazil." The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla has been translated into several different languages and has been a classical handbook for terrorist movements all over the world. It was the official training manual of the Italian Red Brigades, the German Red Army Faction and the Provisional Irish Republican Army.


Spencer, David E. *From Vietnam to El Salvador: The Saga of the FMLN Sappers and Other Guerrilla Special Forces in Latin America*. Wesport, CT: Praeger Publishers Inc, 1996. Examines special select forces by the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front to attack strategic objectives in its insurgency against the government; links to Vietnamese, Cuban and other revolutionary movements. Training and operations of special select forces by FMLN groups, including the Popular Liberation Front (FPL), Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP) and Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL).

Tomuschat, Christian, Edgar Balsells and Otilia Lux Coti. *Guatemala, Memory of Silence*. New York: Historical Clarification Commission of Guatemala, United Nations, 25 February 1999. Independent investigation commission of Guatemala's 30-odd years of civil war, which ended in December 1996, with a death toll of 200,000, mostly Mayan Indians. Finds military governments and armed forces responsible for 93 percent of Guatemala's violence and 3 percent for the guerrillas. States Cuba provided the guerrillas political, logistic and training support—though never enough to give them a military advantage. Outlines social, economic and political conditions that gave rise to the war and fueled it.


1990s. Explains why guerrillas emerged strongly in certain countries but not others. Considers circumstances under which guerrillas acquire military strength and why they do—or do not—secure substantial support from the peasantry in rural areas.