

*Index*

- Abercrombie, Nicholas, 151–2, 154  
 Acatenango (Guatemala), 133  
 access to political system, 56, 326  
   Central American comparison, 246–52  
   definition, 195–6  
 Accion Revolucionaria Salvadoreña (ARS), 83  
 Achí Maya, 51  
 Ackerman, Peter, 199  
 Adams, Richard N., 47, 153, 183  
 AFL-CIO, 109, 144, 288, 307  
 Aguacatan (Guatemala), 224  
 Aguilares (El Salvador), 50–1, 54, 141, 142, 146, 162, 192, 294  
 Aguilera Peralta, Gabriel, 173, 228  
 Akram Lodhi, A. Haroon, 154  
 Alas, José Inocencio, 141–2, 145  
 Albizures, Miguel Ángel, 110, 112, 128, 129, 214  
 Alianza Nueva Nación (ANN), 220  
 Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), 240, 242–3, 314  
 Allende, Salvador, 76, 83, 232  
 Alliance for Progress, 144  
 allies and support groups, 69, 95, 128–9, 130, 326  
   and Central American peasant mobilization, 130, 163–4  
   and consciousness-raising, 131, 148–50, 152–4, 160, 164–5  
   as “catalysts for change,” 131, 152, 164  
   costs to movements, 128–9  
   peasant mobilization generally, 130–1  
   religious workers, 51  
 Alta Verapaz (Guatemala), 120, 211  
 Alvarado, Humberto, 118  
 Amenta, Edwin, 16, 17, 26, 194, 195  
 American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), 2, 227  
 American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), 82, 144, 307, 308, 310  
 American Sociological Association, 25  
 Americas Watch, 88, 237, 261, 262, 264, 314  
 Aminzade, Ron, 25, 43, 150, 320, 321  
 Anderson, Leslie E., 40, 42  
 Andrews, Kenneth T., 269  
 Aquino, Benigno, 248  
 Arana Osorio, Carlos, 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 207, 209, 212, 273  
 Arbenz, Jacobo, 4, 46, 97, 99, 107, 108, 132, 136, 137, 169, 201, 204, 205  
 Arce, Bayardo, 124, 126  
 Arenas Barrera, José Luis, 120  
 Arévalo, Juan José, 108, 118, 169, 204, 206  
 Argentina, 228

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Arias, Arturo, 137  
 Arias, Oscar, 243  
 armed attacks, definition, 183–4, 281  
 Asociación de Estudiantes  
   Secundaria (AES), 74, 89, 90  
 Asociación de Estudiantes  
   Universitarios (AEU), 1960s,  
   102–4, 204, 206  
   1970s, 105, 106, 115, 209, 210, 214  
   evaluation, 125  
   target of repression, 212, 276–7, 289,  
   321  
 Asociación de los Trabajadores del  
   Campo (ATC), 162  
 Asociación General de Empleados del  
   Ministerio de Hacienda  
   (AGEMHA), 310  
 Asociación General de Estudiantes  
   Universitarios Salvadoreños  
   (AGEUS), 90  
 Asociación Nacional Campesino  
   (ANC), 225  
 Asociación Nacional de Acueductos y  
   Alcantarillado (ANDA), 309  
 Asociación Nacional de Educadores  
   Salvadoreños (ANDES), 79, 88,  
   89, 91, 141, 294  
   1980–81, 10  
   1982–90, 10–11  
   to end of 1970s, 8–10, 79–80  
   violence against, 10, 80, 298  
 Asturias, Miguel Angel, 103  
 Asturias, Rodrigo (“Gaspar Ilom”), 45,  
   103, 122  
  
 Baja Verapaz (Guatemala), 51, 60, 120  
 Baldio Pombaac (Guatemala), 7  
 Baloyra, Enrique, 230, 239  
 Barkey, Karen, 197  
 Batista, Fulgencio, 246, 255  
 Bay of Pigs, 99  
 Beissinger, Mark R., 158, 173, 269  
 Benford, Robert D., 42, 134  
 Benn, Stanley, 62, 317  
 Berger, Peter L., 155  
 Berryman, Phillip, 133, 150, 233  
  
 Betancur, Belisario, 261  
 Billings, Dwight B., 149, 153  
 Blandón, Adolfo, 241  
 Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR),  
   145, 295, 299, 308, 321  
   and peasants, 148, 299  
   and revolutionaries, 129  
   contentious activities, 143, 295, 296,  
   297, 299  
   origen, 9, 77, 88–94, 95, 145–6  
 Bolivia, 45  
 bombings, definition, 184, 282  
 Booth, John A., 316  
 Borgonovo family, 81  
 Borgonovo Pohl, Mauricio Alfredo,  
   81  
 Brol, Enrique, 120  
 Bruner, Jerome, 29  
 Brush, Stephen G., 49  
 Buena Vista (Guatemala), 50  
 Buergenthal, Thomas, 261  
 Burma, 285  
 burnings, definition, 181, 280, 281  
 Burstein, Paul, 13  
 Bush, George H. W., 239, 243, 304  
  
 Cabañas (El Salvador), 146  
 Cabarrús, Carlos R., 131, 145  
 Cahabón (Guatemala), 5  
 Calhoun, Craig, 23, 25, 38, 157  
 Calvert, Randall, 23  
 Campos, Jose E. L., 91  
 Campos, Tomás R., 92  
 Cardenal, Rodolfo, 91  
 Carpio, Salvador Cayetano (“Marcial”),  
   73, 76, 79, 80–1, 82, 83, 84, 89  
 Carter, Jimmy, 233, 248, 249, 250, 260,  
   297, 299  
 Castañeda de León, Oliverio, 106,  
   276–7, 321  
 Castellanos, Miguel, 299  
   *see also* Romero García, Napoleón  
 Castillo, Fabio, 74, 75  
 Castillo Armas, Carlos, 102, 108, 202,  
   203  
 Castillo Flores, Leonardo, 100, 101

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Castillo Johnson, Leonardo, 101
- Castro, Fidel, 45, 84, 85, 108, 205, 246
- Catholic Action (Guatemala), 133–4, 137, 138
- causal mechanisms, 19, 247
- attribution of opportunity/threat, 16, 18, 195, 226
  - brokerage, 128, 134
  - category formation, 161, 226
  - certification, 133
  - decertification, 248
  - infringement of elite interests, 247
  - polarization, 112
  - social appropriation, 129, 226
  - suddenly imposed grievances, 248
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 89, 91, 201, 203
- Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica (CIRMA), 172
- Centros de Formación Campesina, 143
- Cerezo, Vancio, 219, 224, 290
- Cerron Grande (El Salvador), 51, 141
- Chalatenango (El Salvador), 44, 90, 142, 143, 146
- Chamorro, Pedro Joaquín, 248
- Chapultepec settlement, 244
- Chávez y González, Luis, 140
- Chile, 76, 201, 228, 232, 239
- Chimaltenango (Guatemala), 120, 123, 133, 137, 138, 140
- China, 104
- Chinandega (Nicaragua), 64
- Chiquimulilla (Guatemala), 50
- Chisec (Guatemala), 4
- Chixoy (Guatemala), 51
- Christian base communities, 141, 142, 143–4, 148, 151, 154
- Chupina, Germán, 254
- Ciani García, Antonio Estuardo, 107, 277
- Cienfuegos, Fermán, *see* Sancho Castañeda, Eduardo
- Civil Patrols (Guatemala), 51, 224, 254
- Cloward, Richard A., 13, 134, 197
- Cobb, Jonathan, 161
- CODEFAM, 315
- collective action, and configuration of
- political opportunities, 15
  - breakdown theory, 39, 63
  - deprivation model, 41, 49, 57
  - expressive dimension, 61–3
  - ideological dimension, 61
  - solidarity theory, 39, 70–1
  - see also* contentious political movements
  - grievances
  - rational actor model
- collective action frames, 38, 42–3
- and consciousness-raising, 160–1
- collective identity, 67
- Collins, Randall, 42, 159
- Colom Argueta, Manuel, 112, 209, 211, 214, 277
- Colombia, 47, 49
- Comisión de la Verdad para El Salvador (CVES), 2, 73, 240, 261, 305
- Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), 2, 52, 100, 124, 173, 201, 229, 290
- Comité Coordinación de Sindicatos (CCS), 89
- Comite de Emergencia de los Trabajadores del Estado/ Consejo de Entidades de Trabajadores del Estado (CETE), 116
- Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC), 51, 54, 58, 135–8, 180
- return in mid-1980s, 225
  - strike of early 1980, 139, 279
  - ties to revolutionaries, 139–40
- Comité Nacional de Unidad Sindical (CNUS), 114–15, 136, 211, 214
- strike of early 1980, 139, 279, 280
- Comité Primero de Mayo, 308, 310
- Confederación de Asociaciones Cooperativas (COACES), 307, 310
- Confederación de Unidad Sindical de Guatemala (CUSG), 288
- Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), 100

## Index

- Confederacion Nacional Campesina (CNC), 5, 132
- Confederación Nacional Campesina de Guatemala (CNCG), 100, 132, 135
- Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), 110–11, 112, 115–16, 129, 136, 288
- Confederación Unificada de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (CUTS), 82
- Configuration of political opportunities, 14–21, 95, 127, 194–9
- and contentious movements, 224, 259, 260, 315–16, 325–6
- and cycles of contention, 170, 171
- and false consciousness, 152–3, 154
- and grievances, 67, 164–5
- and international variables, 197
- Central American comparison, 245–59, 260
- changes in defined, 200–1
- critique of, 19–20, 194, 259–60
- cultural interpretation, 17
- dimensions of, 16–17
- in El Salvador, 297
- in Guatemala, 222–4, 226–7
- in Honduras, 163
- predictive value tested, 200–1, 220–4, 244–5
- threats, 195, 316
- see also* access to political system, allies and support groups, cycles of contention, elite alignments, repression consciousness-raising, 131, 135, 148–62
- and “cognitive liberation,” 134
- and “contradictory consciousness,” 156, 159
- and “critical consciousness,” 155
- and “dominated consciousness,” 155, 159
- and “false consciousness,” 2, 148, 154
- and movement emergence, 69
- and religion, 161–2
- Consejo de Comunidades Etnicas ‘Runujel Junam’ (CERJ), 225, 226
- Consejo Nacional de Desplazados de Guatemala (CONDEG), 225, 226
- contentious events data, and analytic techniques, 191–3
- El Salvador, 184–6
- frequent deficiencies, 267
- Guatemala, 172–3
- multiple sources, 173–4
- contentious political activities, concentration in capital, 174–5, 192–3
- illegal, 181–2, 190, 280–1, 282, 301–2
- nonviolent, 174–9, 180, 189, 282–3
- relationship to repression, 265–6, 282
- violent, 182, 183, 190, 280–3, 301–2, 304, 314
- see also* armed attacks, bombings, burnings, demonstrations, kidnappings, occupation of buildings, repression-protest paradox, street vandalism, strikes (labor), strikes (student)
- contentious political movements, and revolutionary movements, 32, 72–3, 326
- emergence, 16, 20, 21, 69–70, 95, 259, 260, 325
- First World contrasted with Third World, 20–1
- growth, 260
- motivation, 21–30, 316–21, 325, 327–8
- persistence, 21, 224, 260, 296, 318–19, 325
- radicalization, 283, 302, 319, 322, 327
- religious motivation, 320–1
- role of grievances, 37–43, 66–7
- role of group solidarity and loyalty, 70–1, 319–20

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- success/outcomes, 16, 20, 21, 224, 259, 260, 325  
 trajectory, 259, 325  
 types, 21  
*see also* configuration of political opportunities, repression-protest paradox  
 Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala (CONAVIGUA), 225, 226  
 Corr, Edwin G., 85, 94  
 Cortez Mejía, Julio César, 277  
 Costa Rica, 30, 49  
   absence of military, 252  
   access to political system, 196  
   elite-state relations, 251–2  
   indigenous, 258  
   occupation of embassy, 297  
   peasantry, 163  
   role of revolutionary movements, 127, 245  
   rural economic security, 64–5  
   rural socio-economic grievances, 63  
 Cotzal (Guatemala), 58  
 Cristiani, Alfredo, 242–3, 315  
 Cruz Martínez, Rogelia, 101  
 Cuba, 73, 99, 255, 298  
   support for FMLN, 84–5  
 Cuban revolution, 17, 45, 74, 81, 99, 119, 170, 205, 216  
 Cuscatlan (El Salvador), 93, 146, 147  
 cycles of contention, 170–1  
   and illegal activities, 181–2, 189–90  
   and repression, 269–71, 316–17, 327  
   and violent activities, 184  
   definition, 170, 224  
   strength of, 270  
   *see also* El Salvador, Guatemala, repression-protest paradox  
 Czechoslovakia, 267  
  
 Dalton, Roque, 83–4  
 D'Aubuisson, Roberto, 240  
 Davenport, Christian, 265  
 Davies, James C., 49  
  
 Debray, Régis, 119  
 de León, Julio Celso, 110, 138  
 de León Schlotter, René, 134  
 della Porta, Donatella, 31, 268  
 demonstrations, 174  
   definition, 175  
   El Salvador, 11, 92–3, 186–7, 188, 300, 309–10, 315  
   Guatemala, 102, 125, 175, 176, 178, 203, 214, 220–6, 277–9, 284  
 Denardo, James, 72, 266  
 De Tocqueville, Alexis, 324  
 Diani, Mario, 16  
 Díaz, Nidia, *see* Valladares, María Concepción  
 discontent, *see* grievances  
 Diskin, Martin, 307  
 Duarte, José Napoleón, 231  
   1972 election, 9, 75, 83, 232  
   as president, 240, 242, 244, 307–8, 309, 310, 312–13  
 Dunkerley, James, 230, 233  
 DuVall, Jack, 199  
 Duvall, Raymond, 38, 173, 257  
  
 Earle, Duncan, 58, 258  
 Eastern Europe, 268  
 East Germany, 216, 267  
 economic security, 69–70  
   and peasant mobilization, 47–54  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 205, 249  
 Eisinger, Peter K., 14  
 Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP), 45, 51, 119–22, 135, 203, 258  
   and popular organizations, 106, 112, 121–2, 123, 128, 135, 139–40  
   strategy, 119–20, 123  
   use of violence, 120, 121  
 Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), 76, 77, 78, 84, 88, 145  
   formation, 83–4, 232  
   strategy, 85  
   use of violence, 86–7, 299, 302  
   work with peasantry, 142, 143  
*El Imparcial*, 172, 173

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- elite alignments, 326  
 and propensity for repression, 256  
 Central American comparison, 246–52  
 conflict, 200–1, 327  
 definition, 196–8  
 elite-state relations, 197  
*see also* Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua
- El Paisnal, 146
- El Salvador  
 agrarian reform, 306–7  
 amnesty of 1987, 314  
 coup of October 1979, 10, 94, 234–5, 238, 299, 302  
 cycles of contention, during 1944, 169  
 early 1970s, 231–2, 293–4  
 late 1970s/1980, 95, 188, 233–7, 294–303  
 latter 1980s, 188, 241, 306–15  
 earthquake of 1986, 59, 60–1  
 elections, of 1972, 9, 16, 56, 75–6, 82, 232–3, 293–4  
 of 1977, 233  
 of 1982, 239  
 of 1984, 240–1  
 of 1989, 242  
 elite, propensity for repression, 256  
 elite-state relations, 246–7, 248–9, 322–3  
 indigenous, 258  
 labor movement, 80–2  
*see also* CUTS, FENASTRAS, FESINCONTANS, FUSS, UNTS  
 map, 68  
 mass organizations, 87–94, 95  
 relation to revolutionary organizations, 87–92  
*see also* BPR, FAPU, LP-28, MUSYGES, UNTS  
 military, 73–4, 169–70  
 1979–80 juntas, 234–7, 302, 326  
 capacity, 252–3, 254  
 in 1960s, 74, 231  
 in 1972, 75–6, 232, 293–4  
 in 1970s, 295  
 in 1980s, 248–9, 305–6, 314  
 under Romero, 233–4  
*see also* repression  
 Miss Universe contest of 1975, 76–7  
 National Guard, 141, 144, 252, 254, 302  
 and ORDEN, 147, 253  
 peace settlement, 243–4  
 peasant mobilization, 140–8  
 Aguilares, 50–1, 146, 162  
 land occupations, 146–7  
 role of church workers, 140–4  
*see also* COACES, FECCAS, FTC, UCS, UTC  
 popular organizations, *see* mass organizations  
 public opinion in 1980s, 311–12, 313  
 revolutionary movements, 72–3, 83–7  
 and October 1979 coup, 235–6  
*see also* ERP, FARN, FMLN, FPL, PCS, PRTC  
 rural economic security, 64  
 rural socio-economic grievances, 64–5  
 state violence, 1970s, 233  
 after 1979 coup, 299, 302–3  
 and Jesuit priests in 1989, 11, 154, 315  
 at Aguilares, 146  
 at El Mozote, 305  
 at La Cayetana, 146  
 data sources, 261–4  
 demonstration of July 1975, 77, 89  
 demonstration of February 1977, 233  
 demonstration of January 1980, 237  
 early 1980s, 236, 237, 238, 239–40, 302–4, 305  
 massacre of 1932, 130, 169, 256, 258, 293

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- mid/late 1980s, 241, 243
- overall, 1–2, 235
- under Romero, 297–9
- University occupation of June 1980, 78
- strikes (labor), 187, 188, 244–5
  - Acero, 81–2, 231
  - June 1980, 78
  - La Cabaña, 146
  - public employees in 1980s, 309, 310
  - teachers, 9, 10–11, 294
  - total number, 245
- students, 73–8
  - in 1972, 232
  - see also* AES, AGEUS, UR-19
- teachers mobilization, 8, 78–80
  - see also* ANDES
- truth commission, *see* Comisión de la Verdad para El Salvador (CVES)
- wages, in 1970s/early 1980s, 53, 54–5
  - in 1980s, 311, 312
  - see also* configuration of political opportunities, demonstrations
- Elster, Jon, 26, 30
- Emirbayer, Mustafa, 70
- emotion, and consciousness-raising, 157–61
  - defined, 29
  - in social science research, 25–6
  - role in contentious politics, 3, 24–30, 316–17, 318–19, 325, 328
  - see also* grievances
- Escuela de Orientación Sindical (EOS), *see* University of San Carlos, labor school
- Escuintla (Guatemala), 114, 116, 121, 132, 136, 138, 174–5, 192, 207, 224, 279
- Esquipulas settlement, 244
- Estrada Cabrera, Manuel, 256
- Estudios Centroamericanos* (ECA), 184–5, 307, 315
- Evans, Sara M., 144
- Eyerman, Ron, 161
- Falla, Ricardo, 134
- false consciousness, *see* consciousness-raising
- Federación Autónoma Sindical (FAS), 108–9
- Federación Autónoma Sindical de Guatemala (FASGUA), 5, 6, 108–10, 112, 115, 136, 204, 206, 209, 288
- Federación Campesina de Guatemala (FCG), 132, 136
- Federación Cristiana de Campesinos Salvadoreños (FECCAS), 88, 89, 90, 145, 146, 164, 306
  - and ORDEN, 147–8
  - contentious activities, 146, 299
  - origens, 144–6
- Federación de Sindicatos de Construcción, Transportes y Similares, (FESINCONTANS), 82
- Federación de Trabajadores del Campo (FTC), 145–6, 148
- Federación Nacional Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (FENASTRAS), 82, 93, 242, 308, 315
- Federación Sindical Revolucionaria (FSR), 91
- Federación Unitaria Sindical de El Salvador (FUSS), 81, 82, 308
- Femia, Joseph, 158
- Fernández, Damián, 25
- Fernández, José M., 135, 140
- Ferree, Myra Marx, 28
- Figueredo Planchart, Reinaldo, 261
- Figueroa Ibarra, Carlos, 177–8
- Fine, Gary A., 26
- Fireman, Bruce, 23, 71
- Flam, Helena, 25
- Foroohar, Manzar, 150
- France, 62, 297
  - peasant rebellions, 197
  - revolution, 72, 324
- Francisco, Ronald A., 267–8
- Frank, Robert H., 26, 27, 29

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- free rider problem, 21–3
- Frei, Eduardo, 232
- Freire, Paulo, 135, 155, 156, 158, 162
- FRENTE, 105–6
- Frente de Acción Popular Unificada (FAPU), 92, 93, 145, 295  
contentious activities, 297  
origin, 9, 88–9, 95, 145
- Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala (FDNG), 220
- Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), 300, 302, 308, 313
- Frente Estudiantil Robin García (FERG), 106
- Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN) [and precursors generally], 73, 75, 76, 80, 84, 86, 143, 237, 262, 299, 308, 313  
1981 offensive, 239, 305  
1989 offensive, 11, 143, 243, 304, 315  
decision to join, 65  
formation, 84–5, 300  
front groups, 88, 241–2, 243, 308, 313, 314  
growth, 304–5  
origins of leadership, 76  
peace settlement, 244  
peasant support, 142, 146, 305–6  
post-war, 249  
sabotage, 55, 299–300  
source of weapons, 84–5  
use of violence, 73, 86–7, 234, 242, 302
- Frente Nacional de Orientación Cívica (FNOC), 88
- Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN), 31, 126–7, 162, 243, 247–8, 249
- Frente Unido de Acción Revolucionaria (FUAR), 83
- Frente Unido de la Revolución (FUR), 209
- Frente Unido Estudiantil Guatemalteco Organizado (FUEGO), 102–3
- Fuentes Mohr, Alberto, 118, 210, 277
- Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional (FARN), formation, 76, 83–4  
strategy, 85  
use of violence, 87
- Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (earliest) (FAR), origins, 100–1, 119
- Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (after 1968) (FAR), 83, 101, 112, 116, 118–19, 122, 128
- Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL), 73, 74, 76, 84, 85, 95, 145, 313  
and ANDES, 8, 79  
and BPR, 53, 89–91, 95, 308  
formation, 83  
strategy, 85, 88  
use of violence, 81, 86–7, 298, 299, 302  
work with peasantry, 143, 145–6
- Fundación para la Promoción de Cooperativos (FUNPROCOOP), 141
- Gamson, William A., 23, 42, 70, 71, 324
- García, Edgar Fernando, 220
- García Dávila, Robin, 106
- Garson, G. David, 156
- Gaspar Ilom, 103  
*see also* Asturias, Rodrigo
- German Democratic Republic, *see* East Germany
- Germany, 101, 243, 268
- Gilly, Adolfo, 100
- Giron, Andrés, 224
- Gleijeses, Piero, 201
- Godoy, Rosario, 220
- Goldstone, Jack A., 12, 13, 16, 70, 72, 195, 265, 268, 316
- Gómez, Ana María, *see* Montes, Mélida Anaya
- Gómez, Héctor, 220
- González, Carlos, 118

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- González, Leonel, *see* Sánchez Céren, Salvador
- González Trejo, Medardo (“Milton”), 90
- Goodwin, Jeff, 15, 16, 18, 38, 42, 66, 70, 127, 131, 171, 196, 199, 246, 251, 258–9, 260, 316, 319
- Gould, Deborah, 158
- Gould, Jeffrey, 64, 153, 156
- Gramsci, Antonio, 148, 151, 156, 157
- Grande, Rutilio, 51, 147
- Granovetter, Mark, 318
- Great Britain, 247
- Grenier, Yvon, 151
- grievances, 2, 31–2, 95, 164, 192
  - accidents, 59–61
  - and configuration of political opportunities, 196, 260, 316–17, 325
  - and cycles of contention, 170
  - and emotion, 24–5, 29, 42
  - and repression, 269, 276–7
- Central American comparison, 63–5
- defined, 41–2
- expressive dimension, 61–3, 317–18
- ideological dimension, 61, 148–52, 156–60, 319
- importance to collective action, 37–9, 226, 325
- “moral shocks,” 39
- rising expectations, 49, 57–9
- social construction, 18–19, 67
- socio-economic, 43–55, 65–7, 316, 325
- socio-political, 55–9, 325, 326
- suddenly-imposed, 46, 59
- see also* collective action
- Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM), 220, 224, 225, 226
- Guardado, Facundo (“Esteban”), 89, 91, 146, 308
- Guatemala
  - agrarian reform of 1950s, 47, 59, 132
  - communism, in 1950s, 97–9, 201
  - contentious movements, overview, 97
  - coups, of 1963, 103, 206–7, 272
    - of 1982, 218, 288
  - cycles of contention, at 1944, 169, 221
    - early 1960s, 102–3, 109, 175, 178, 180, 204–6
    - 1976–1980, 171, 176, 180, 212–15, 223, 274–85
    - Fall 1978, 116–17, 275–7, 282–3
    - mid-1980s, 219–20, 289–90
  - earthquake of 1976, 59–60, 113, 135, 137, 212–13
  - elections, of 1966, 100, 207
    - of 1970, 209, 210
    - of 1974, 112, 273
    - of 1978, 214
    - of 1982, 217–18
    - of 1985, 219
  - elite propensity for repression, 256
  - elite-state relations, 250, 322–3
  - genocide, 52
  - indigenous population, 257–8
  - labor movement, 107–17, 174–5
    - in 1950s, 107, 176
    - in 1960s, 109–10
    - in 1970s/early 1980s, 110–16, 117
    - in 1980s, 288–90
  - relation to revolutionary organizations, 128–9
  - support for peasant mobilization, 136
  - see also* CNT, CNUS, FAS, FASGUA
- map, 98
- military, 99, 200, 207, 250
  - and racism, 258–9
  - capacity, 252, 253–5
- commissioners, 254
  - mid-1980s, 219
  - see also* repression peasant mobilization, 132–40
  - during 1944–1954, 153
  - in Alta Verapaz, 4–8
  - in Chimaltenango, 59–60
  - in El Progreso, 52
  - in El Quiché, 54, 57

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Guatemala (*cont.*)
- in Izabal, 50
  - in San Marcos, 16, 56
  - in Santa Rosa, 50
  - role of church workers, 59, 132–5
  - role of revolutionaries, 139–40
  - see also* CNC, CUC, FCG
  - post-1954 counterrevolution, 107–8, 132, 201–2
  - October Revolution of 1944, 101, 125, 133, 169, 204
  - accomplishments, 201
  - commemorations of, 104, 106, 108, 115, 125, 175, 206, 210, 273, 276–7
  - revolutionary organizations, and labor movement, 112
  - origins in 1960s, 99–101
  - 1970s/1980s, 117–24
  - see also* EGP, FAR, JPT, MR-13, ORPA, PGT, URNG
  - rural economic security, 64
  - rural socio-economic grievances, 64–5
  - state violence, after 1954 coup, 201
  - and Achí Maya, 52
  - and death squads, 253–4
  - and Ixil Maya, 60, 258
  - and labor 109, 113, 216, 277, 284, 285
  - and political party activists, 277
  - and students, 276–7
  - at Agua Fría, 52
  - at Chajul, 60
  - at Los Encuentros, 51
  - at Nebaj, 60
  - at Panzós, 3–4, 7–8, 211, 215, 283, 286
  - at Río Negro 51
  - at Spanish Embassy, 137, 139, 155, 180
  - by department, 218
  - counterinsurgency of 1960s, 100, 207–8, 228
  - counterinsurgency of 1980s, 228–9, 287
  - data sources, 227–9
  - disappearances of 1966, 100, 101, 104, 207
  - during 1973–79, 213
  - during 1980–93, 217
  - in Chimaltenango, 60
  - in El Quiché, 60, 138, 219
  - in Guatemala municipality, 60
  - in Rabinal, 60
  - in San Martín Jilotepeque, 60
  - overall, 1–2, 3, 208, 216, 229, 290
  - under Arana, 209, 212
  - under Laugerud, 212
  - under Lucas García, 212, 216–17, 276–88
  - under Ríos Montt, 218–19
  - strikes (labor), 176–8, 275–6
  - agriculture of early 1980, 138–9, 174, 279–80
  - Calzado Cobán, 7
  - Cantel, 209
  - Chixoy, 6
  - CIDASA, 110
  - Coca-Cola bottling, 114, 115, 129, 219–20
  - coffee in 1980, 139
  - Duralita, 276
  - Esmaltes y Aceros, 178
  - Helenoplast, 121
  - INCATECU, 113
  - Industria Papelera Centroamericana, 279
  - Minas de Ixtahucán, 116, 178, 214
  - Oxec, 6–7
  - Pantaleón, 114, 115, 116, 121, 279
  - public employees in 1973–74, 111, 179, 209–10, 273
  - public employees in 1985, 289–90
  - Tehuantepec, 138, 279
  - student mobilization, 101–7, 115, 276–7
  - see also* AEU, FERG, FUEGO, PODER truth commission, *see* Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH) *see also*

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- configuration of political opportunities, demonstrations
- Guevara, Ché, 45, 99, 119, 203
- Gurr, Ted R., 38, 49, 57, 173, 191, 256, 257, 266, 318
- Gutiérrez, Victor Manuel, 100
- Haiti, 239
- Hammond, John L., 75, 151
- Handal, Shafik Jorge, 76, 313
- Handy, Jim, 204, 214
- Hannigan, John A., 149
- Harnecker, Marta, 74, 89, 118, 119, 121, 124, 126, 140, 308, 313
- Hassán, Moisés, 127
- Hatfield, Elaine, 30
- Hechter, Michael, 71
- Helms, Jesse, 240
- Hibbs Jr., Douglas A., 266
- Hill, Stephen, 151
- Hirsch, Eric L., 71
- Honduras, 30
  - elite-state relations, 250–1
  - indigenous, 258
  - military capacity, 255
  - organized labor, 124, 127
  - peasant mobilization, 127, 153, 163, 251
  - role of revolutionary movements, 127
  - role of students, 127
  - rural economic security, 64
  - rural socio-economic grievances, 63–4, 65
  - state violence, 251
  - war against Nicaragua, 251
- Hoyos, Fernando, 135
- Huehuetenango (Guatemala), 116, 119, 132, 134–5, 211, 214, 224
- Huizer, Gerrit, 199
- institutional politics, 13
- Instituto de Derechos Humanos (IDHUCA), 233
- Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria (INTA), 7
- Instituto Universitario de Opinión Pública (IUDOP), 312
- Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), 80
- International Center for Human Rights Investigations (CIIDH), 227–8
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 311
- Iranian revolution, 17, 125, 149, 157, 267, 268, 270, 319
- Israel, 268
- Italy, 268
  - protest cycle, 171
- Ixcán (Guatemala), 58, 119, 135
- Ixil-Maya, 58
  - see also* Guatemala (state terrorism)
- Ixil Triangle (Guatemala), 119, 120, 140
- Izabal (Guatemala), 100
- Jalapa (Guatemala), 138
- Jasper, James M., 15, 16, 18, 25, 27, 30, 38, 39, 41, 42, 62, 171, 196, 199, 259–60, 316
- Javeline, Debra, 41, 160, 197
- Jenkins, J. Craig, 37, 47, 157, 197
- Jesus, 320–1
- Johnston, Hank, 198, 268
- Jonas, Susanne, 119, 126, 250
- Joseph, Gilbert, 196
- Jovel, Francisco (“Roberto Roca”), 76
- Juventud Obrera Católica (JOC), 110
- Juventud Patriótica del Trabajo (JPT), 99, 105, 119
- Kennedy, John F., 205
- Kerbo, Harold R., 20
- kidnappings, definition, 184
- Killian, Lewis M., 22, 24, 28, 30, 39, 43, 71
- Klandermans, Bert, 37, 131
- Knoke, David, 41
- Kobrak, Paul, 101, 105, 132, 133, 224
- Koopmans, Ruud, 16, 71, 172
- Krane, Dale A., 268
- Kselman, Thomas A., 149

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Kuran, Timur, 158, 159  
 Kurzman, Charles, 17, 318, 319
- labor movement, *see* El Salvador, Guatemala  
 labor strikes, *see* strikes  
 Lachmann, Richard, 196  
 La Libertad (El Salvador), 146, 186  
 La Paz (El Salvador), 145, 146–7  
 Laugerud, Kjell, 113, 114, 116, 135, 200, 210–14, 223, 274  
   socio-economic policy, 213–14  
 Law, Kim S., 38, 61  
 Law for Defense and Guarantee of Public Order, 234, 295–6, 297, 301  
 LeBot, Yvon, 58, 120, 124, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140  
 Lee, Chris, 268  
 LeMoyné, James, 242  
 Leninist vanguardism, 155  
 LeoGrande, William M., 47, 85  
 Levenson-Estrada, Deborah, 110, 112, 114, 321  
 Liberation Theology, 135, 154  
 Lichbach, Mark I., 12, 15, 21–2, 23, 41, 192, 265, 267  
 Ligas Populares 28 de Febrero (LP-28), 88, 92, 142, 302  
 Lithuania, 317, 320  
 Lofland, John, 25  
 López Arellano, Oswaldo, 251  
 López Larrave, Mario, 115, 223  
 López Vallecillos, Italo, 233  
 Lucas García, Romeo, 7, 106, 107, 116, 211, 214–15, 223, 250, 254, 275, 284, 288  
 Lungo Uclés, Mario, 86
- McAdam, Doug, 12, 13, 15, 16–17, 18, 19–20, 25, 39, 40, 43, 70, 112, 128, 129, 133, 134, 159, 171, 191, 195, 197, 199, 226, 247, 248, 259  
 McCarthy, John D., 37, 71  
 McClintock, Cynthia, 44, 47, 65–6, 72, 76, 131, 197, 238, 239, 243, 319  
 McClintock, Michael, 214  
 McElhinny, Vincent, 40, 261  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 324  
 Macías, Julio César (“César Montes”), 100  
 Majano, Adolfo, 249  
 Maline, Sandra, 268  
 Mann, Michael, 159  
 Mansbridge, Jane J., 23  
 marches, *see* demonstrations  
 Marcos, Ferdinand, 246, 248  
 Marcus, George E., 24, 25  
 Markoff, John, 72  
 Marroquín, Oscar Clemente, 290  
 Martín, JoAnn, 156  
 Martín-Baró, Ignacio, 154  
 Martínez, Maximiliano Hernández, 80, 169, 199, 293  
 Martínez Menéndez, Ana Guadalupe, 76, 232  
 Marx, Karl, 148, 149  
 Maryknoll missionaries, 134–5  
 Mason, T. David, 268  
 Maya, and CUC, 58, 135  
   as target of repression, 258–9  
   impact of Catholic Action, 133–4  
   mobilization in late 1980s, 225–6  
   peasants, 54, 224  
   support for revolutionaries, 119–20, 122–3, 140  
 Medellín conference, 141  
 Mejía Víctores, Oscar, 219, 288  
 Menchú, Rigoberta, 52  
 Menchú, Vicente, 155  
 Méndez Montenegro, Julio, 207  
 Merton, Robert K., 15  
 Mexico, 70, 119, 195, 231  
 Midlarsky, Manus I., 43, 246, 249  
 Mississippi, 269  
 Moaddel, Mansoor, 157  
 Molina, Arturo, 75, 76–7, 87, 233  
 Momostenango (Guatemala), 46  
 Monroe, Kristen R., 26, 28  
 Monsanto, Pablo, 119, 121  
 Montenegro, Nineth, 220

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Montes, César, 100  
*see also* Macías, Julio César
- Montes, Mélida Anaya ("Ana María Gómez"), 8, 73, 76, 79, 84, 89
- Montes, Segundo, 51
- Montgomery, Tommie Sue, 85, 140, 151, 230, 239
- Moore, Barrington, 148, 152
- Moore, Will H., 22–3, 267, 268, 318
- Morán, Rolando, *see* Ramírez, Ricardo
- Morazán (El Salvador), 44, 142, 305
- Morris, Aldon D., 133
- Movimiento 20 de Octubre, 99, 103
- Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), 4, 211, 212, 214, 254
- Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR), 75, 232
- Movimiento Popular Unido (MPU), 126–7
- Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre (MR-13), 99–100, 101, 121
- Movimiento Revolucionario Popular-Ixim: (MRP-Ixim), 122
- Movimiento Unitario Sindical y Gremial de El Salvador (MUSYGES), 308, 309, 313
- Mueller, Carol M., 198, 268
- Muller, Edward N., 22, 23, 38, 43, 49, 191, 266, 268
- Mujía, Mario, 116
- Munck, Gerardo L., 20
- National University of El Salvador, *see* University of El Salvador
- National University of Guatemala, *see* University of San Carlos
- Nebaj (Guatemala), 120
- Neidhardt, Friedhelm, 173
- New York Times Index*, 267
- Nicaragua, 30–1, 180  
 earthquake of 1972, 59, 242  
 elite-state relations, 246–8, 260, 322–3, 326  
 group of Twelve 126  
 impact on El Salvador, 234, 243, 245, 298–9  
 impact on Guatemala, 215, 245, 276  
 indigenous, 258  
 National Guard capacity, 252, 255–6  
 organized labor, 124  
 peasantry, 150, 153, 156, 162, 163  
 revolution, 248, 255, 270, 322, 327  
 revolutionary movement, 126–7, 245, 260, 318  
*see also* FSLN  
 role of students, 124–5  
 rural economic security, 64  
 rural socio-economic grievances, 63, 64, 65  
 support to FMLN, 84–5
- Nixon, Richard M., 259
- Núñez, Orlando, 124
- Oberschall, Anthony R., 23, 27, 41, 216
- occupations of buildings, 181, 281  
 El Salvador, 9, 77, 89, 93, 188  
 Guatemala, 179–80, 284
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, 250
- Oliver, Pamela, 21, 23, 27, 160
- Olson, Mancur, 21
- Opp, Karl-Dieter, 22, 23, 265
- Organización del Pueblo en Armas (ORPA), 45, 103, 119, 120, 122–3  
 and popular organizations, 123  
 strategy, 122–3
- Organización Democrática Nacionalista (ORDEN), 144, 145, 146, 147, 253, 302
- Organization of American States (OAS), 180
- Ottoman Empire, 197
- Paige, Jeffery M., 43, 45, 48, 131, 247, 307
- Palestine, 267, 268
- Panzós (Guatemala), background, 4–7  
*see also* Guatemala (state violence)
- Parsa, Misagh, 125

## Index

- Participación Organizada de Estudiantes Revolucionarios (PODER), 105
- Partido Comunista de El Salvador (PCS), 74–5, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 89–90, 93, 95, 232, 313
- Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN), 144, 145, 231
- Partido Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca (DC), and Maya, 58, 134
- in 1960s, 110
- in 1970s, 112, 210, 218
- origen, 204
- target of repression, 211
- Partido Democrático Christiano (PDC), 83, 145, 231
- 1972 election, 9, 232
- in 1960s, 75, 144, 145, 293
- in 1970s, 83
- in mid-1980s, 1963, 242, 307–8, 309, 310, 313, 315
- Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT), in 1950s, 47, 97, 109, 137, 201
- in 1960s, 99–101, 103, 132
- in 1970/80s, 105, 112, 117–18, 119, 128
- Partido Institucional Democrático (PID), 210
- Partido Revolucionario (PR), 204, 206, 207, 211, 214
- Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos (PRTC), 75, 76
- formation, 84
- strategy, 85
- use of violence, 87
- Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), 231
- Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil (PAC), see civil patrols
- Paulsen, Ronnelle, 159
- Payeras, Mario, 45, 119, 203
- Pearce, Jenny, 131, 321
- peasants, and church workers, 148–50, 153
- and elite allies, 71–2
- and state violence, 65
- class perspective, 131
- dispossession of land, 49–52
- impact of agricultural commercialization, 63–5
- moral economy perspective, 131
- political economy perspective, 130
- socio-economic grievances, 44–5, 46, 47–54, 65
- see also El Salvador, Guatemala
- Pellecer, Luis, 136
- Peralta Azurdía, Enrique, 206, 214
- Perera, Victor, 124
- Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier, 244
- Perrow, Charles, 37
- Perry, Elizabeth J., 150, 320, 321
- Petén, El (Guatemala), 118–19
- Petersen, Roger D., 23, 25, 71, 317, 320
- Peterson, Anna L., 160, 320–1
- Pfaff, Steven, 319
- Philippines, 125, 239, 248
- Pickering, Thomas, 239, 304
- Piven, Frances Fox, 13, 134, 197
- Poland, 25
- political opportunities, 2
- see also configuration of political opportunities
- political process model, 14, 15, 19–20, 26, 32, 38
- see also configuration of political opportunities
- Polletta, Francesca, 26, 194
- Popkin, Samuel L., 23, 43, 130
- Prisk, Courtney E., 73, 84, 85
- Prosterman, Roy L., 43
- protest cycle, see cycles of contention
- protest events data, see contentious events data
- Puerto San José (Guatemala), 109
- quantitative analysis, 66
- Quetzaltenango (Guatemala), 102, 118, 123, 139, 192, 215

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Quetzaltepeque (El Salvador), 146
- Quiché, El (Guatemala), 120, 132, 134, 135–6, 138, 140, 192, 219  
*see also* Guatemala (state violence)
- Ramírez, Ricardo (“Rolando Morán”), 119, 121, 140, 203
- Ramírez, Serigo, 126
- Rasler, Karen, 267, 268
- rational actor model, 21–5, 27–8, 41, 325, 328
- Reagan, Ronald, 84, 217, 239, 243, 249, 250, 304, 307, 308
- relative deprivation, *see* grievances
- repression, 16, 195  
and class polarization, 322–3  
and contentious movements, 322  
and regime type, 266, 268–9  
capacity, 17, 198–9, 327  
Central American capacity  
  compared, 252–6  
Central American propensity  
  compared, 256–9  
definition, 198–9, 269  
propensity, 17, 198–9, 327  
role of ideology, 257  
role of social cleavages, 257–9  
*see also* El Salvador (state violence),  
  Guatemala (state violence)
- repression–protest paradox, 3, 11–12, 14, 265–71, 324  
and cycle of contention, 269–71, 291, 327  
at individual level, 316–21  
empirical tests, 266–8  
in El Salvador, 96, 292–315  
in Guatemala, 271–90
- Retlhuleau (Guatemala), 139
- revolutionary leadership, 72–3  
in El Salvador, 297
- revolutionary movements, 2–3, 13–14, 32, 72–3  
and grievances, 39–40, 44–5, 65–6  
Central American compared, 124–7  
impact of repression, 285–7, 304–5  
revolutionary situations, 32, 72, 181  
  Guatemala, 183
- Richard, Patricia Bayer, 316
- Richards, Michael, 258
- Riding, Alan, 91, 92
- Riedinger, Jeffrey M., 43
- Río Negro (Guatemala), 51–2
- Ríos Montt, Efraín, 210, 211, 218–19, 224, 250, 288
- Rivera y Damas, Arturo, 141
- Roberts, Kenneth, 246, 250
- Roca, Roberto, *see* Jovel, Francisco
- Rochon, Thomas R., 20
- Roehl, Wolfgang, 265
- Romero, Carlos, 86, 87, 233–4, 295–7, 298–9, 326
- Romero, Oscar, 141, 147, 237, 240, 261, 262, 299, 320
- Romero García, Napoleón (“Miguel Castellanos”), 73, 76, 84, 86, 89, 90, 299, 308, 313
- Romero Imery, Jorge, 228
- Rucht, Dieter, 173
- Rus, Jan, 286
- Sacatepequez (Guatemala), 138
- San Andrés Sajcabajá (Guatemala), 57
- Sánchez, Mario, 118
- Sánchez Céren, Salvador (“Leonel González”), 8, 79, 313
- Sánchez Hernández, Fidel, 231
- Sancho Castañeda, Eduardo (“Fermán Cienfuegos”), 76
- Sandoval Alarcon, Mario, 211, 214, 274
- Sandstrom, Kent, 26
- San Juan Sacatepequez (Guatemala), 50
- San Marcos (Guatemala), 118, 123
- San Martín Jilotepeque (Guatemala), 59–60
- San Miguel (El Salvador), 143
- San Pedro Perulapán (El Salvador), 147–8
- Sansare (Guatemala), 52
- Santa Ana (El Salvador), 77, 143, 192
- Santa Cruz Barillas (Guatemala), 52
- Santa Cruz (Guatemala), 135, 140

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Santa Cruz Balanyá (Guatemala), 138
- Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa (Guatemala), 138
- Santa Tecla (El Salvador), 187
- Santo Domingo Suchitepéquez (Guatemala), 50
- San Vicente (El Salvador), 90, 146–7
- Scheff, Thomas J., 24, 25, 30, 157
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, 161
- Schock, Kurt, 16, 38, 197, 285
- Schulz, 85, 131
- Scott, James C., 42, 43, 47, 131, 151–2, 154, 158, 161, 164
- Selbin, Eric, 12, 44, 156
- Seligson, Mitchell A., 40, 43, 261, 266, 268, 307
- Sennett, Richard, 161
- Serra, Luis H., 150
- Serrano, Apolinario, 146
- Sewell Jr., William H., 39, 171, 191
- Sider, Gerald M., 156
- Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Universidad de San Carlos (STUSC), 105
- sit-ins, *see* occupations of buildings
- Skocpol, Theda, 50, 72, 131, 197
- Smelser, Neil J., 24, 159
- Smith, Christian, 41, 133, 134, 150, 154, 157
- Snow, David A., 27, 38–9, 42, 44, 47, 59, 70, 134, 160
- Soccer War, 232, 250, 255
- social movements, and revolutionary movements, 66, 95–6, 126
- compared to institutional politics, 13
- “new,” 37
- resource mobilization approach, 70
- see also* contentious political movements
- social networks: 22–3
- and emotion, 30
- Socorro Jurídico, 262–4
- Sololá (Guatemala), 123
- Somoza Debayle, Anastasio, 30–1, 64, 93, 150, 162, 215, 234, 247–8, 255, 260, 276, 322
- Somoza dynasty, 246–7, 255
- South Africa, 298, 302
- Soviet Union, 73, 173, 199, 243, 268, 269
- Spilka, Bernard, 158
- state violence, 57
- see also* El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, repression
- Stohl, Michael, 257
- Stokes, Susan C., 154
- Stoll, David, 14, 52, 58–9, 106, 137, 155, 202, 286
- Stonewall bar riot, 259
- Streeter, Stephen M., 286
- street vandalism, definition, 181, 280, 281
- strikes (labor), 174
- definition, 177, 178
- see also* El Salvador, Guatemala
- strikes (students), El Salvador, 186
- Guatemala, 178–9, 275, 289
- Stroessner, Alfredo, 246
- structure of political opportunities, *see* configuration of political opportunities
- Stryker, Sheldon, 159
- students, Central American
- comparison, 124–5
- China 104, 244
- see also* El Salvador, Guatemala, strikes (students)
- subsistence, threat to, 47–8
- Suchitepequez (Guatemala), 138
- Suchitoto (El Salvador), 50, 88, 141, 142, 145, 192, 294
- Tamanique (El Salvador), 148, 161
- Tarrow, Sidney, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19–20, 37, 129, 160, 171, 195, 197, 226, 247, 248, 269
- Tenancingo (El Salvador), 142, 192
- Thiesenhusen, William C., 307

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Thompson, E. P., 47, 151, 156  
 Three Mile Island, 59  
 Tilly, Charles, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 27, 38, 71, 129, 131, 175, 195, 198, 226, 247, 248, 265, 266, 316  
 Torres, Camilo, 136  
 Tosteson, Heather, 160  
 Trujillo, Rafael, 246  
 Tukurú (Guatemala), 5–6  
 Tullock, Gordon, 27  
 Turner, Bryan S., 151  
 Turner, Ralph H., 22, 24, 28, 30, 39, 43, 71  
 Tutela Legal (TL), 243, 262, 264
- Ubico, Jorge, 97, 101, 169, 178, 203  
 Ungo, Guillermo, 75, 232  
 Unidad Nacional Obrera y Campesina (UNOC), 310, 315  
 Unidad Popular Democratica (UPD), 307–8, 309, 310, 312  
 Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), 123–4, 227  
   armed encounters 286  
   armed occupations, 286  
 Unión Comunal Salvadoraña (UCS), 144, 145, 306–7  
 Unión Democrática Nacionalista (UDN), 75, 83, 232  
 Unión de Pueblo de Tugurios (UPT), 89  
 Unión de Trabajadores del Campo (UTC), 89, 90, 145–6, 306  
   and FPL, 143  
   and ORDEN, 147–8  
   contentious activities, 146, 299  
 Unión Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos (UNAG), 162  
 Unión Nacional de Damnificados (UNADES), 61  
 Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (UNTS), 242, 310–11, 312–13, 315
- Unión Nacional Opositora (UNO), 75, 83  
 Unión Sindical de Trabajadores de Guatemala (UNSTRAGUA), 289  
 United Brands, 251  
   *see also* United Fruit  
 United Fruit, 65, 108, 174, 251  
 United Mine Workers of American (UMWA), 153  
 United Nations, 244  
 United States, 88, 101  
   and Salvadoran human rights reporting, 261, 262, 263, 305  
   and Salvadoran peasantry, 144  
   and Somoza, 247–8, 256, 260  
   Guatemala in 1980s, 217–18  
   Guatemalan counterinsurgency of 1960s, 100, 207  
   Guatemalan coup of 1963, 206  
   impact in El Salvador, 234, 237–40, 243–4, 248–9, 256, 297, 304, 305, 306, 307, 326  
   intervention in Nicaragua, 247  
   overthrow of Arbenz, 46–7, 97, 169, 203  
   post-Arbenz efforts, 99, 109, 128, 201, 202, 204  
   war against Nicaragua, 31, 85, 163, 255  
 Universidad Centroamericana (UCA), 151, 154, 185, 233, 261, 263, 312, 315  
 Universitarios Revolucionarios 19 de Julio (UR-19), 89, 90  
 University of El Salvador, 74–5, 76, 78, 80, 87, 90, 302  
 University of San Carlos, 99, 101, 135, 155, 178  
   Bufete Popular/Labor School, 107, 115, 128, 220  
   ecological dimension, 104–5  
   radicalization of 1970s, 105–7, 117  
   repression at, 277, 284, 289  
 UPANacional, 163

Cambridge University Press

0521600553 - Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Charles D. Brockett

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Uruguay, 228
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 132, 135, 144
- U.S. civil rights movement, 17, 129, 133, 144, 149
- Useem, Bert, 38, 39
- U.S. gay rights movement, 259
- Usulután (El Salvador), 90, 93, 143
- U.S. women's liberation movement, 154
- Valladares, María Concepción ("Nidia Díaz"), 76, 143
- Valle, Victor, 231
- Velaquez, Febe Elizabeth, 315
- Venezuela, occupation of embassy, 297–8
- Ventura, Miguel, 142
- Vides Casanova, Carlos, 241
- Vietnam, 73
- Villagrán Kramer, Francisco, 214
- Villalobos, Joaquín, 44, 76, 86, 233, 252
- Villeda Morales, Ramón, 251
- Voordeckers, Walter: 136
- Waddington, David, 62
- Walsh, Edward J., 38, 59, 61
- Walters, Knut, 231, 246, 249
- War of the Caste, 196
- Warren, Mark, 155
- Webber, John, 101
- Webre, Stephen, 231
- Weede, Erich, 266
- Wheelock, Jaime, 124
- White, Robert A., 63, 153, 154
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P., 17, 44, 45, 47, 48, 72, 100, 131, 155, 156, 237, 246, 249, 250, 255
- Williams, Philip J., 231, 246, 249
- Williams, Robert G., 131
- Wolf, Eric R., 43, 47, 48, 131
- Wood, Elisabeth J., 25–6, 44–5, 46, 62, 66, 142, 143, 144, 152, 154, 192, 313, 318, 319
- World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, 227–8
- Ydígoras, Miguel, 99, 102, 103, 109, 200, 203–6, 216
- Zacapa (Guatemala), 100, 211
- Zacatecoluca (El Salvador), 81, 145, 302
- Zald, Mayer N., 37, 71
- Zapatista movement, 17, 85, 131
- Zhao, Dingxin, 104
- Zimmerman, Ekhart, 89, 265
- Zolberg, Aristide R., 62, 159