

Index

- administrative states 13–14
 AES, *see* Association of Secondary Students
 Agency for International Development 51, 63, 70–71
 Agrarian Institute of Nicaragua 71
 Agrarian Promotion and Educational Center 253
 AID, *see* Agency for International Development
 Alliance for Progress 38, 61
 Amador, Carlos Fonseca 257
 Amini, Ali 33
 Amnesty International 89
 AMPRONAC, *see* Association of Women Against the National Problem
 Ansari, Houshang 36
 Anvari, Ayatollah 142
 Aquino, Agapito 229, 265, 270
 Aquino, Benigno 47, 267; mobilizing effects of assassination 28, 123, 262–263
 Aquino, Corazon 158, 271; background 5; coalition building 272; presidential candidate 272
 Arauz, Amada Pineda de 180, 252
 Argüello, Dr Virgilio 107
 Armacost, Senator 92
 armed forces, *see* military
 Arsanjani, Hassan 33
 Asia Research Organization 46
 Association of Businessmen for Aquino 230
 Association of Secondary Students 113
 Association of Women Against the National Problem 252
 ATOM, *see* August Twenty-One Movement
 August Twenty-One Movement 265
 Authentic Conservative Party 253
 Balweg, Father Conrado 155
 BANAMERICA, *see* Bank of America
 BANIC, *see* Nicaraguan Bank
 Bank of America 71, 217
 Battle of Mendiola 119
 Bayan 272; formation of 268, membership 268
 bazaar, importance of in Iranian revolution 202
 bazaaris 30, 168, 170, 201; coalition building 216; depoliticization 207; divisions 207; dominance of Iranian trade 201–202; economic difficulties 204, 205–207; government reforms 211; ideology 202–203; independence of 201; Islamic movement 213–214; rejection of fundamentalism 214–215; mobilization of 203, 207, 209–210, 211; political activism 203, 204, 207–208, 212–213; political demands 212–213; relations with state 215; repression 208–209, 211–212; repression under Islamic government 215; role in revolution 201; strikes 210, 211–12; and students 209; support for Khomeini 208, 209, 211, 214; support for Mosaddegh 31, 203–204; support for National Front 204; support for other protest groups 211
 Bazargan, Mehdi 97–98, 102–103, 245
 Beheshti, Ayatollah 142
 Benedicto, Roberto 228
 Borge, Tomás 113, 259
 Boroujerdi, Ayatollah 31, 203
 Bosworth, Ambassador Stephen 92, 269–270
 Bravo, Archbishop Miguel Obando y 147–148, 149, 151, 152, 261
 Broad Opposition Front 152, 153, 217, 222, 253; mobilizes strike action

- 254; political demands 253–254;
 presses for Somoza's removal 253
- Burujerdi, Ayatollah 134
- Burundi, extent of state economic
 intervention 15
- Bush, George 52
- Businessmen's Committee 229
- Businessmen's Committee for
 Reconciliation 226
- capitalists: capacity for collective action
 198–199, 234; coalitions 198, 235;
 divisions within class 197–198, 234;
 ideology 198; political opposition
 199; relations with state 197–198;
 relations with state as determinant of
 politics 233–234; revolutionary role
 of 197, 199–200, 235; threats to
 capitalism 198, 234; *see also* bazaaris;
 Iran, capitalists; Nicaragua, capitalists;
 Philippines, capitalists
- Cardenal, Father Ernesto 147, 150
- Carter, Jimmy 51; criticism of Iran 89;
 and Nicaragua 90–92; pressure on
 Somoza 250
- Castillo Quant, José Maria 44
- Catholic Church, *see* Nicaragua, clergy;
 Philippines, clergy
- CAUS, *see* Federation of Trade Union
 Action and Unity
- CEB, *see* Ecclesiastical Base Communities
- Center for Socio-Economic Research 180
- Central American Common Market 59,
 62, 71, 81, 109
- Central Intelligence Agency 68; and
 Iranian coup 31
- centralization, and vulnerability to
 revolution 11–12
- CEPA, *see* Agrarian Promotion and
 Educational Center
- CGT-I, *see* General Confederation of
 Workers-Independent
- CGT-O, *see* General Confederation of
 Workers-Official
- Chamorro, Pedro 39–40, 41, 107;
 assassination of 27, 91, 112, 251,
 253
- CHDF, *see* Civilian Home Defense Force
- Christian Youth Movement 112; support
 for FSLN 108
- Christians for National Liberation 155,
 268
- CIA, *see* Central Intelligence Agency
- Civilian Home Defense Force 50
- class conflict: and class coalition 275–6;
 coalition forming 23; social
 revolution 7, 8, 26; state economic
 intervention 12–13
- clergy: consequences of political
 involvement 132; ideology
 130–131; ideological divisions 159;
 outcome of revolution 161; political
 mobilization 131, 132, 160;
 politicization of 130; state–clergy
 relations 130, 159; *see also* Iran,
 clergy; Nicaragua, clergy; Philippines,
 clergy
- CNL, *see* Christians for National
 Liberation
- Coalition of Organizations for Restoration
 of Democracy 265, 271
- coalitions: and class 275–276; as
 necessary ingredient of revolution
 239; factors affecting formation of
 239–240; in Iran 276; in Nicaragua
 276–277; in the Philippines 277; role
 in revolutionary outcome 275–276;
 social revolution 22–23, 26,
 285–287;
- Cojuangco, Eduardo 77–78
- Commodity Credit Corporation 51, 64
- Communist Party of Iran, *see* Tudeh Party
- Communist Party of the Philippines 4–5,
 272; expansion of 267–268
- Congress of the Filipino People 265
- Conservative Party of Nicaragua 253
- Constitutional Convention Act 48
- Coordinating Commission for the National
 Dialogue 251
- CORD, *see* Coalition of Organizations for
 Restoration of Democracy
- COSIP 217, 219, 220–221, 222
- Council of Trade Union Unification 175
- CPP, *see* Communist Party of the
 Philippines
- crises, and social revolution 23
- CTN, *see* Workers Federation of
 Nicaragua
- Cuenca, Rodolfo 78
- CUS, *see* Council of Trade Union
 Unification
- Dee, Dewey 226, 228
- Democratic Union of Liberation
 (UDEL) 175, 179, 180, 181, 220,
 221, 251, 253
- Democratic Youth Organization 117
- developing countries, and social
 revolutions 7; and extent of state
 economic intervention 15–18

318 Index

- Diliman Commune 120
 Diokno, Jose 48
 Disini, Herminio 79
- Ecclesiastical Base Communities 146–147
- economy, and social revolution 12–21; *see also* state economic intervention
- ECOP, *see* Employers Confederation of the Philippines
- Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace 155
- Eisenhower, President, and support for Iranian Pahlavi state 31, 32
- Eleventh of November, merges with FSLN 260
- Employers Confederation of the Philippines 232
- Endowments Organization 136
- Enrile, Juan Ponce 78, 275
- Espino, General Romeo 78
- exclusive rule: consequences of 280; economic growth 55; state intervention 55; vulnerability to revolution 11; *see also* entries under Iran, Philippines, Nicaragua
- Export/Import Bank 64
- FAO, *see* Broad Opposition Front
- Feda'iyan 97, 98, 243; armed struggle 245; ideological basis of 245; limited support for 245; organizational weakness 246; repression of 245; role in final days of revolution 246–247; student support for 100
- Federation of Trade Union Action and Unity 175, 179
- FER, *see* Revolutionary Student Front
- First of May Movement 184–185, 189, 190, 191
- Floirendo, Antonio 78
- Fonseca, Carlos 107
- FPN, *see* National Patriotic Front 261
- French revolution 8
- FSLN, *see* Sandinista Liberation Front
- Galman, Rolando 263
- General Confederation of Workers 43
- General Confederation of Workers-Independent 175, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182, 222, 253
- General Confederation of Workers-Official 175
- Gerlock, Father Edward 157
- Goldstone, J. 8
- Golpaygani, Ayatollah Mohammad Reza 134
- Golzadeh-Ghafouri, Ayatollah 142
- Grand Convention of Private Enterprise 219
- Haig, Al 52
- Hezb-ollah 250
- hyperactive states 13–21; consequences of inequality 14; effects on social groups 18–19; and political conflict 14; politicization of 14; vulnerability of 19–21
- ideology, and social revolution 8–10, 24–25, 287–289; and students 95–96
- IMF, *see* International Monetary Fund
- INCEI, *see* National Institute of Foreign and Domestic Commerce
- Independent Liberal Party 43, 253
- Industrial Peace Act (1953) 184
- Institute for Human Advancement 42, 146
- Insurrectional, the 257
- intellectuals, and revolution 95
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 114, 115
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *see* World Bank
- International Commission of Jurists 89
- International Development Association 64
- International Labor Office 68, 118, 167, 192
- International League for Human Rights 89
- International Monetary Fund 75, 84; and Pahlavi state 32; and Philippines 46
- International Red Cross 90
- Investment Incentives Bill 46–47
- Iran, armed forces, collapse of 242–243
- Iran, capitalists: relations with state 200; state dependent 200–201; types of 200; *see also* bazaaris
- Iran, clergy: anti-government protests 135, 139–140; bazaaris 202–203, 210–211; criticism of 137; decline in numbers 137–138; ideological divisions 142; Islamic government 139; opposition to Shah's reforms 133–135; post-revolution divisions 145; pre-revolutionary weakness 133; repression 141; revolt by clerical students 140–141; role in popular mobilization 133;

- secularization 137; state appropriation of land 136; state-clergy relations in Pahlavi state 34, 135; support for Pahlavi state 31, 134; Tasoua resolution 144; undermining of under Pahlavi state 135–137; weakness of pro-Khomeini faction 140, 141–142, 144
- Iran, corruption in royal family 68–69
- Iran, economy: crises in Pahlavi state 32; dependence on oil revenues 56–57, 79–80; economic development 32, 57–58; private sector 58; stabilization programme in Pahlavi state 32
- Iran, elections, irrelevance of in Pahlavi state 35
- Iran, exclusive rule, development of 30–37
- Iran, external criticism of Pahlavi regime 33, 89–90
- Iran, external support, dependence on 89–90
- Iran, housing shortage 67–68
- Iran, human rights abuses 89–90
- Iran, income distribution 68–69, 166
- Iran, inflation 79–80
- Iran, labor movement: control of 66; illegality of strikes 167; labor organizations 166; repression of 166, 167, 170
- Iran, land reform 33–34, 66–67, 136
- Iran, loss of bases of support for Pahlavi regime 34–35
- Iran, middle-class mobilization 241
- Iran, mosques, decline in number 136
- Iran, oil revenues, dependence on 79–80
- Iran, oil workers, and impact of strikes 170–171, 172
- Iran, opposition groups: in Pahlavi state 30–31; mobilization of 90
- Iran, peasant mobilization 241–242
- Iran, political conflict in Pahlavi state 30–31
- Iran, Provisional Revolutionary Government 245
- Iran, recession, and emergence of social conflict 80
- Iran, reform 32–33, 90, 241; the “White Revolution” 134
- Iran, religious opposition in Pahlavi state 34–35
- Iran, secular organizations, failure of 243–247
- Iran, and secularization 137
- Iran, state intervention 56–58, 65–69, 79–80; agricultural sector 67; dependence on oil revenues 79–80; discriminatory nature of 66; economic growth 57–58; effects of 65–69; extent of 57–58; funding of 56–57; industrial investment 57; inequality 65–69; land reform 66–67; workers’ ability to mobilize 166
- Iran, students: anti-Americanism of 98; and bazaaris 209; capacity for collective action 100–101; divisions among 104; expansion of numbers 100; ideologies of 99; Islamic fundamentalism 99, 106; mobilization among religious students 104; opposition to Pahlavi state 98, 101; politicization of 98; protest actions 90, 101–103, 104–105; repression of 97, 100–101, 103–104, 105; repression by Islamic Republic 106–107; revolutionary role 97, 105; secular nature of movement 99, 100, 107; support from Khomeini 97
- Iran, summary of revolutionary process 26–27
- Iran, taxation policies, and inequality 66
- Iran, and United States 30, 31, 36
- Iran, vulnerability of Pahlavi state 36, 89–90
- Iran, workers: clergy 172; economic grievances 168–169; expansion of labor force 165; growing solidarity of 169; ideology 171–172; income levels 166; labor organizations 166–167; limitations on collective action 172–173; mobilization of 166, 167–168, 241; political demands 169, 171; political motives for supporting Khomeini 171, 172; politicization of 169, 173; radical minority 171; repression 166, 167, 170; repression by Islamic state 172; revolutionary contribution of 164–165, 173; socialism 171–172; state concessions 169; strikes 167, 168–169, 170–171; support for Khomeini 167
- Iranian People’s Fedayee Guerrillas, *see* Feday’ian
- Iranian People’s Mojahedeen Organization, *see* Mojahedeen
- Islam: and bazaaris 205; mobilization of

320 Index

- religious students 104;
 pre-revolutionary weakness of 4; rise
 of modern interpretations of 137;
 revolutionary role of 290–291;
 students 99
- Jaen, Marcio 113, 181, 259
 JAJA, *see* Justice for Aquino, Justice for All
 Junta of National Reconstruction 262
 Justice for Aquino, Justice for All
 264–265
- Kalaw, Eva Estrada 48
 KBL Party, *see* New Society Movement
 Khani, Hezar 105
 Khomeini, Ahmad 140
 Khomeini, Ayatollah 4, 34, 99; adopts
 tenets of liberal-nationalists
 247–248; arrest 135; bazaaris 208,
 211; calls for overthrow of the Pahlavi
 state 135; coalition building 249;
 conceals theocratic ideology 247,
 291; criticism of Pahlavi state 138;
 dissolves Islamic Republican Party
 144–145; encourages clerical
 opposition 142–143; expelled from
 Iraq 248; leadership of revolution
 247–250; mobilizes other clerics
 143; moves to the left 249–250;
 nature of his regime 4; on role of
 women 248; opposition to Shah’s
 “White revolution” 134–135;
 political advantages of exile 248;
 reasons for success 291; repression
 of opponents 249, 250; students
 97, 104, 106; support for clerical
 student revolt 141; Tasoua
 resolution 144; urges mobilization
 248; widening support for 249;
 workers 167, 171
- Khonsari, Ayatollah 139, 210
 Khosrow-Shahi, Yadollah 172
 Kilusang Mayo Uno, *see* First of May
 Movement
 Kissinger, Henry 36
 KM, *see* Marxist Patriotic Youth
 KMU, *see* First of May Movement
- Laurel, Jose 47
 Laurel, Salvador 47, 48, 272
 Laviana, Father Gaspar Garcia 147
 Laxalt, Senator 92
 League of Filipino Students 123, 124,
 125, 126
 Lebaschi 208–209
- LFS, *see* League of Filipino Students
 Liberal Constitutional Movement 43
 Liberal Party 45
 liberation theology 130–131, 132,
 147–148
 Lopez, Fernando 47, 228
 Los Doce 223, 251; insulation from
 repression 257–258; issue statements
 in support of FSLN 257; join FAO
 253; membership of 257
- Macapagal, President 46, 75, 77
 Makati Business Club 230
 Managua earthquake 27, 38, 177; and
 clergy 148; and corruption 72, 218;
 and extension of Somoza exclusive
 rule 41–42; and student protest
 110
 Manian 208–209, 211
 Manyan, Mahmoud 215
 Marcos, Ferdinand 27–28; 1969
 presidential election 47; 1981
 presidential election 52–53; 1985
 presidential election 92, 271;
 antagonizes Nacionalista Party 47;
 attacks Filipino elite 50, 228;
 corruption 47, 77–79; decline of
 military support 274; establishes
 personal rule 49; foments opposition
 division 266; growth of opposition
 to 47; lifts martial law 52; martial
 law 48–49; overthrow of 3, 275;
 politicizes the military 50–51;
 relationship with USA 51; reliance
 on military 50; repression 49, 52;
 threatened use of foreign troops 270;
 vulnerability of regime 53;
 weakening of support 271
- Marcos, Imelda 47, 49–50, 78, 228
 Martinez, Tomás Borge 107
 Marx, Karl, and theory of revolution 7,
 162
 Marxist Patriotic Youth 117, 119
 Mayorga, Silvio 107
 MDP, *see* Movement for a Democratic
 Philippines
 MES, *see* Secondary Student Movement
 Meyer, Armin 33
 military coercion, and social revolution
 11
 military, and social revolution 23, 240;
 role in revolutionary outcomes 277
- Moaddel, M. 8
 Mojahdeen 97, 98; decline of 99
 Mondale, Walter 51

- Montazeri, Ayatollah 143, 145
 Montealegre, Eduardo 217 n10
 Mosaddegh, Dr. 134; and Iranian liberal-nationalists 30, 31; support from bazaaris 203; support from students 98
 mosques, decline in Iranian 136
 Motahari, Ayatollah 141
 Movement for a Democratic Philippines 119, 120, 186
 Movement for National Salvation 43
 Mowla'i, Ayatollah 142
 MPU, *see* United People's Movement
- Nacionalista Party 45
 National Ayra shipping 57
 National Citizens' Movement for a Free Election 266
 National Conservative Action 43, 253
 National Democratic Front 5, 144, 268, 272; reasons for failure 292–293
 National Development Company 76
 National Emergency Committee 59
 National Front Party 30–31, 33, 90, 99, 141, 243; bazaari support for 204; calls for overthrow of monarchy 245; lack of mobilizing networks 244; loss of student support 244; membership of Provisional Revolutionary Government 245; reasons for failure 243–244; repressed by SAVAK 244; weakened leadership 244
 National General Strike Committee 222
 National Guard 150; as prop of Somoza regime 38–40; privileges of 39; and repression 260; and US support 38
 National Institute of Foreign and Domestic Commerce 218
 National Iranian Oil 56
 National Mobilization 43
 National Organization of University Professors 104, 241
 National Patriotic Front 261
 National Union of Students of the Philippines 117, 118, 123, 125
 NDF, *see* National Democratic Front
 New Nationalist Alliance: formation of 268; membership 268
 New People's Army 5, 116, 155, 232, 267, 272; expansion of 269; growth in rural support 269; limitations of 270; reasons for failure 292–293
 New Society Movement 266
 Nicaragua, capitalists: and assassination of Chamorro 221; capital flight 223; conservatism of 216–217; criticism of government 221; dependence on state 216; divisions 217; and FSLN 217 n10, 224; grievances 219–201; limited role in revolution 224; mobilization 221–223; mobilizing effect of economic difficulties 220–221; political demands 222; politicization 221; reformist aims 224; revolution 217; small business and Managua earthquake 218; small business and state economic policy 218–219; small business opposition to Somoza regime 218; strike action 221–222, 223, 224; tax revolt 223; weakness of 216
 Nicaragua, class conflict, intensification of 111
 Nicaragua, clergy: anti-employer stance 149; assassination of Chamorro 152; call for Somoza's resignation 153; center of mobilization 152; consequences of Managua earthquake 148; criticisms of government 148–153; divisions within 146; duty of moral resistance 150; opposition to government 145–146, 147–148, 150–152; political activism 151; politicization of 146–7; repression of 150, 151, 152; and Sandinistas 147, 153; social justice issues 149; support for government 146
 Nicaragua, corruption 71, 218; and Managua earthquake 72
 Nicaragua, economy: dependence on exports 81; development schemes, consequences of 69–70; economic difficulties 81–82; fragility of 81–82; role of Somoza family 72–74
 Nicaragua, education, expansion of and student activism 109
 Nicaragua, exclusive rule, development of 37–45; and Managua earthquake 41–42
 Nicaragua, foreign debt, increase in 81–82
 Nicaragua, income distribution 70, 176
 Nicaragua, inequality in 70
 Nicaragua, labor movement 174, 175; repression of 69–70
 Nicaragua, land distribution 70
 Nicaragua, martial law: ending of 250; imposition of 41–42

Cambridge University Press

0521773377 - States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines

Misagh Parsa

Index

[More information](#)

322 Index

- Nicaragua, opposition to Somoza regime 39–40, 42, 43; and Chamorro's assassination 251–252; demands of moderate 251; emergence of broad coalition 251; mobilization of 91–92, 253; popular demonstrations 252; role of women 252; strike action 254; weakness of 40–41
- Nicaragua, peasants, mobilization of 252–253
- Nicaragua, repression 39–40, 44, 111, 260; economic effects 61; of clergy 150, 151, 152; of labor 176; of peasants 252; of students 115
- Nicaragua, society, polarization of 251
- Nicaragua, state intervention, 58–62, 69–74, 80–82; agricultural sector 60–61, 70; consequences of 69; dominant position of state in economy 59–60; economic development 59; economic growth 61–62; industrial development 61; inequality 69–70; principal beneficiaries of 71
- Nicaragua, strikes, political 177, 178
- Nicaragua, students: activism of 107, 109–110, 113; anti-Americanism of 107–108; and assassination of Chamorro 112; growth in numbers 109; ideology 107–108, 112–113; mobilization against government 113–115; politicization of 110; protests 108, 110–11, 111–115; repression of 111; strikes 113–114; support for FSLN 108, 109–110, 112, 115; *see also* Revolutionary Student Front
- Nicaragua, summary of revolutionary process 27
- Nicaragua, taxation policy 69
- Nicaragua: United States, aid from 38, 59, 61; dependence on 37–38; support for 38
- Nicaragua, universities, autonomy of 109
- Nicaragua, workers: anti-Americanism 177; assassination of Chamorro 180; coalition building 181; capacity for collective action 175; collective actions 174–175, 179, 180–182; economic demands 176; economic situation 180; expansion of labor force 175; FSLN 174, 180, 182; ideology 175; Managua earthquake 177; mobilization of 180–181; political demands 176, 181; political leadership 174; political strikes 177, 178, 179, 180–182; politicization 174, 176, 177, 178; repression 176, 177, 178–179, 181; revolutionary contribution 174, 182–183
- Nicaraguan Bank 71, 217
- Nicaraguan Communist Party 175
- Nicaraguan Democratic Movement 253
- Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference 152
- Nicaraguan Social Christian Party 43, 253
- Nicaraguan Socialist Party 43
- NPA, *see* New People's Army
- Nuñez, Donald Chavez 146
- NUSP, *see* National Union of Students of the Philippines 117
- OAS, *see* Organization of American States
- Office of Security Affairs 167
- Olalia, Felix 189
- Olalia, Rolando 191, 192, 270
- Ongpin, Jaime 270
- Ordonez, Sedfrey 52
- Organization of American States 43
organization, and social revolution 22
- Osmeña, Sergio 47
- Pahlavi dynasty 4
- Pahlavi Foundation 68
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza, Shah of Iran:
and development of personal rule 30–36; establishment of secret police 31; failed coup against 31; imposition of repression 31; and land reform 33–34; liberalization measures 32–33; loss of clerical support 34–35; loss of social support 34–35; rigging of elections 33; and use of secret police 36
- Pasos, Carlos Cuadra 40
- Payman, Dr. 103
- PDP-Laban 271
- Perez, Rigoberto Lopez 107
- Philippine Business Conference 231
- Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry 230
- Philippine Conference for Human Rights 267
- Philippine National Bank, and debt crisis 46
- Philippine Priests, Inc. 155
- Philippines, agriculture, inequality in 76–77

- Philippines, background to revolution 4–5
- Philippines, capitalists: antagonized by state intervention 227–228; capital flight 225; changing attitude of government to 232; concerns of 230, 231; conservatism of 226–227; divisions 225, 226, 229; economic crisis 228–229; ethnic Chinese business community 226; failure to mobilize 229, 231; fear of the left 232; low level of collective action 225, 233; mobilization 230; political demands 230, 231; political positions 229–230; small business 225–226; state dependency 225, 227
- Philippines, class divisions 265–226
- Philippines, clergy: anti-Americanism 155; Aquino's assassination 157–158; armed struggle 155; breaks with government 158; communist infiltration 154; conservatism of 154, 156; "critical collaboration" 157; criticism of government 154, 155; criticism of student protests 156; deterioration of Church–state relations 157; divisions within 154; liberation theology 154; mobilizers of opinion 158–159; opposition to government 157–158; political activism of radical clerics 154–155; protests by 154–155; repression 156; status of Church 153–154
- Philippines, corruption in 77–78
- Philippines, debt crisis 46, 83–84
- Philippines, economy: crisis 46, 85, 228–229; decline in foreign investment 84; economic policies 46, 187; fragility of 83; major role of private sector 62–63
- Philippines, elite opposition 46–47
- Philippines, exclusive rule, development of 45–53
- Philippines, export products, collapse of 83
- Philippines, farmers, mobilization of 264
- Philippines, housing 76–77
- Philippines, human rights violations 51
- Philippines, income distribution 74–75, 75–76
- Philippines, ineffective mobilization of opposition to Marcos 48
- Philippines, inequality 74–79; regional 75
- Philippines, labor unions 184–185; depoliticization of 184; general strikes 191; ideology 191–192; martial law 187; radicalization of 187, 188–189; repression 75, 189, 192
- Philippines, land reform 76
- Philippines, martial law: declared 48–49; lifted 52
- Philippines, military: decline in support for Marcos 274; joins rebels 275; low morale 274; planned coup 274; politicization of 50–51; reform movements within 274; resentments within 273–274
- Philippines, Muslims, revolt of 77
- Philippines, opposition: anti-Americanism 264; attempts at coalition building 270; broad base of support 263; conservative nature of 263; demands of 263; demonstrations by 263; disruptive actions 273; divisions 264–265, 271–272; general strikes 270–271, 273; mobilization following Aquino's assassination 262–263; obstacles to class coalition 265–266; potential strength of radical left 267; radicalization of 264; radicals, and coalition-building 268; radicals, limitations of 270; repression of radicals 266–267
- Philippines, peasants, mobilization of 264
- Philippines, presidential elections 265–266; (1969) violence at 47; (1981) 52–53; (1985) 92, 271, 272–273; vote-buying 45
- Philippines, radicals, and coalition building 268; potential strength of 267
- Philippines, regional inequality 75
- Philippines, repression 49, 187, 189, 192; of opposition 52; of radical clergy 156; of radical organizations 266–267; of students 121–122, 126
- Philippines, state intervention 62–65, 74–79, 83–85; agriculture 76–77; economic growth 65; expansion of 63–64; failure of development policies 83; land reform 65; policies 75; regulatory nature of 63; results of 65; state borrowing 64; state ownership 64
- Philippines, students: activism of 116; anti-Americanism of 116, 119, 120,

324 Index

- 124, 125; Aquino assassination 123; battle of Mendiola 119; as coalition formers 118; decline in activism 122; divisions within 121; dominance of radicals 123; expansion of higher education 117; ideological divisions 118; ideology 116–117, 124–125; impact of martial law 123; lack of wider social support 122; political demands 118, 119; protests 118, 119, 119–120, 123, 124, 125–126; radicalization of 116–117, 119–121; repression of 121–122, 126
- Philippines, summary of revolutionary process 27–28
- Philippines: United States, relationship with 51–52; financial support from 63
- Philippines, workers: anti-Americanism 190; Aquino assassination 188; class conflict 188; divisions 189; economic conditions 185, 187–188; economic demands 185, 186, 189, 190; First of May Movement 189; general strikes 191; ideology 187, 191–192; lack of coalition building 188; martial law 187; mobilization of 188–189; political demands 185–186; politicization 185–186, 190–191; radicalization 186–187, 189, 189–190; reformist nature of 184; repression 187, 189, 192; strikes 185–186, 189, 190; students 186; unionization of 184–185; wage levels 185, 187–188
- political conflict, and hyperactive states 14
- PPI, *see* Philippine Priests, Inc.
- Presbyterian Council for the Catholic Archdioceses of Nicaragua 153
- Proletarian Tendency 257
- Prolonged People's War 257
- Puyat, Gil 47–48
- RAM, *see* Reform of the Armed Forces Movement
- Ramos, Fidel 269, 274
- Reagan, Ronald 273; support for Marcos' regime 52
- Reform of the Armed Forces Movement 274
- regulative states, and vulnerability to revolution 13–14
- repression, as counter-productive measure 89; consequences of 281; and social revolution 21–22
- revolution, outcomes in Iran 276; Nicaragua 276–277; Philippines 277
- revolution, social: analysis of 25; causes 94; centralization of power 280; challengers 289–293; class 7, 26; clergy 130–131; coalition forming 22–23, 26, 239–241, 285–287; collective action and mobilization 21–25; complexity of 7; definition 6; economic difficulties 284; exclusive rule 280; factors making states vulnerable 280; ideology 8, 24–25, 287–289; inadequacy of structural explanations 21; Marxist theory 7, 162; military support for regime 23, 280; nature of state 11–12; opportunity 21–22, 89–93, 284–285; organization 22; political process theory 279; political processes 289–293; repression 281–282, 285; revolutionaries 26; role of capitalists 197; role of students 127–129; state intervention 12–21, 280, 282–283; structural theory 6–7, 279, 283–284; theory of 5–6, 279
- Revolutionary Christian Movement, and support for FSLN 108
- Revolutionary Guard 250
- Revolutionary Student Front 108, 109–110
- Rivas, Dr. Rafael Córdova 107
- Robledo, Gonzales y 146
- Rocha, Agüero 40, 41
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 37–38
- Rural Workers Association 252–253
- Saavedra, Daniel Ortega 44, 256
- Sadegh, Imam 135
- SAKA, *see* Sazman-e Enghelabi-e Kargaran-e Iran
- Salgado, Domingo Sanchez 149, 174–175, 176, 179
- Sandinista Liberation Front 4, 27, 91, 181, 251; attack on National Palace 260; calls general strike 262; coalition building 255, 261; coalition with Los Doce 257–258; divisions 257; formation of United People's Movement 259; forms Junta of National Reconstruction 262;

- growth of 260, 261–262;
 hostage-taking raid 44, 256–257;
 hunger strike by FSLN prisoners
 256; in control of opposition 262;
 levels of social support 255–256,
 258–259; membership 255; merges
 with Eleventh of November group
 260; organizes National Patriotic
 Front 261; reasons for success 255;
 rejects accommodation with Somoza
 258; seizes power 262; student
 background of leaders 107; student
 support for 108, 112, 115; tactics
 of 258, 291–292; unification of
 factions 260
 Sandino, General Augusto César 37, 113
 Sanjabi 244
 SAVAK 31, 36, 66, 133, 136, 141, 167,
 209
 Sazman-e Enghelabi-e Kargaran-e Iran
 166
 SCAAS 222
 SDK, *see* Democratic Youth Organization
 Second Vatican Council 130, 146
 Secondary Student Movement 113
 Sewell, W., 8
 Shariati, Ali 99, 137
 Shariat-Madari, Ayatollah 134, 135, 139,
 144
 Sharif-Emami 143, 167–168, 211, 241
 Shelton, Turner 38
 Shiite clergy, *see* Iran, clergy
 Sin, Archbishop Jaime 157, 158, 272
 Skocpol, T. 7–8, 12
 SMGA, *see* Society of Merchants, Guilds
 and Artisans
 SMGATB, *see* Society of Merchants,
 Guilds and Artisans of the Tehran
 Bazaar
 social revolution, *see* revolution, social
 Society of Merchants, Guilds and
 Artisans 203
 Society of Merchants, Guilds and Artisans
 of the Tehran Bazaar 207–208,
 208–209, 210, 211
 Somoza Debayle 38; 1974 presidential
 election 41–43; accedes to
 Sandinista ransom demand 44;
 announces intention of resigning 91;
 corruption 72–74; expansion of
 National Guard 39; extension of
 exclusive rule after Managua
 earthquake 41–42; as landowner
 71; rule by decree 41–42;
 suppression of revolts 39
 Somoza family: corruption 71;
 nepotism 42
 Somoza Garcia: assassination of 39;
 personal enrichment of 40, 42;
 seizure of power 37
 state: factors affecting vulnerability of
 11–12, 21–22; nature of, and social
 revolution 7–8, 10; economic
 intervention and social revolution
 12–21; *see also* economy, and social
 revolution
 state intervention: consequences of
 85–86, 282–283; effects on social
 groups 18–19; exclusive rule 55;
 foundation for conflict 55–56;
 hyperactive states 14–21; in
 developing countries 15–18; in
 Europe 15; Iran 56–58, 65–69,
 79–80; Nicaragua 58–62, 69–74,
 80–82; Philippines 62–65, 74–79,
 83–5 post-war expansion of 15;
 regulative states 13–14; social
 revolution 12–21; typology of 13;
 vulnerability of intervening states
 19–21; workers' activism 162;
 Stinchcombe, A., 10 n 3
 students: anti-Americanism of 95, 128;
 ideology 128; political impact of
 129; as revolutionaries 94–97; and
 revolutionary role 127–129; and
 socialism 95; as targets of
 repression 128–129; *see also* entries
 for students in Iran, Nicaragua,
 Philippines
 Taheri, Ayatollah 214
 Taleghani, Ayatollah 134, 143, 144, 208
 Tan, Sister Christine 154
 Tarrow, S., 21
 Tasoua resolution 144
 Tehran University 97–98
 Tehrani, Sadeghi 137
 Tifer, Dr. Leonte Pallias 107
 Tilly, C. 6, 12
 Torre, Father Edicio de la 154–155, 156
 Trade Union Congress of the Philippines
 184, 188
 Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied
 Services 184
 TUCP, *see* Trade Union Congress of the
 Philippines
 Tudeh Party 30, 99, 243
 UDEL, *see* Democratic Union of
 Liberation

326 Index

- UNIDO 271
 United People's Movement 110;
 objectives 259; organizes urban
 power network 259
 United States, as supporter of overthrown
 regimes 3, 29, 31; role in
 revolutionary outcomes 277–278;
 United States, and Iran: support for 30,
 31, 36; criticism of 89–90 *see also*
 Central Intelligence Agency;
 United States, and Nicaragua: support
 for 37–38, 51–52, 59, 61; change of
 policy toward 90–92; recalls
 ambassador to 255;
 United States, and the Philippines: support
 for 51–52, 63; change of policy
 toward 92–93; concern over growth
 of NPA 269–270; pressure for an
 election 271; withdraws support
 from Marcos 275;
 universities, and revolutionary role, *see also*
 students
- Vatican Council, Second 130
 Velasco, Geronimo 78
 Ver, Fabian 51, 126, 274, 275
 Vilas, C. M. 174
 Villafuerte, Luis 78
- Workers Federation of Nicaragua 43,
 175, 178, 180, 181, 182, 222, 253
 workers: collective action, determinants
 of 194–195; conflicts of 162–163,
 193; ideology 163, 194–195; impact
 on outcome of social conflicts
 163–164; mobilization 163, 194;
 repression 193; revolutionary
 coalitions 195–196; revolutionary
 role 162, 193–194; state
 intervention 162; *see also* entries
 under Iran, Nicaragua and
 Philippines
 World Bank 64; report on Nicaragua
 (1953–59); report on Philippines 63
 World Federation of Trade Unions 184