

## Index

accumulation by dispossession, 3, 162-63, APLAR (electronics factory) formation of cooperative at, 116-18 229 AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development), 142, 209, 214, 236 expulsion from El Salvador (1973), 33 196 leftist unions, opposition to, 144-46, 184-88, 190-92 Sindicato Agua, support of, 15-16, 144-46, 151, 233 during the strike of 1987-1991, 207, SIP—Sindicato Agua split, role in, 129, 143, 234 196-98 UCS, support of, 33, 95 UPD, support of, 135 violence against the employees of, 233 Alvarenga, Ana, xi, 133, 236 domestic violence experiences of, 129, 209, 223, 234 at, 216 union activity as means of liberation from, 209, 234 164 exile of, 242 Sindicato Agua leadership, resentment against, 222, 235 as SIP leader, 129, 209-13 at Pezca S.A., 153 Amaya, Adela, xi, 146 ANDA (Water and Sewage National Administration), 195 BAC (Banco Agrícola Comercial), 202 continued repression of unions connected defrauding of, 170-82, 202 to, 189 strike at (1985) and repression of, 188

ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista -Nationalist Republican Alliance), 165-67, 179-80, 220 1988-1989 electoral victories of, 179, agribusiness and financial elites, ties to, 148, 155, 163-71 Duarte reforms, opposition to, 155 founding of, 163-71 in government, 196 labor movement, repression of, Atarraya S.A., 18, 20, 31, 39, 41, 49, 69, 75, 137, 169-73, 202-3, 208 assistance to SIP strikers by workers of, blacklisting of Sindicato Agua members company structure of, 13 death squad support by investors of, la movida, involvement in, 131 mistreatment of female workers at, 24, 43 rightist military's influence at, 167-68 strike at (1971), 22-25 worker intersectoral tensions at, 67



256 Index

BAC (Banco Agrícola Comercial) (cont.) CLAT (Central Latinoamericana de Pezca S.A., intervention into, 199, 203, Trabajadores), 135, 155, 190, 197 206-7, 213-22 Sindicato Agua, support for, 207 worker self-management, support of, 147 Pezca unions and, 216-22 Pezca S.A., opposition to cooperative at, cooperative, 3, 127-28, 131, 222, 240 at APLAR factory, 117-18 218 in Puerto el Triunfo, 16, 146-50, 205, Bará, Yvette, xi Benítez, Mauricio, 155, 170, 202-4, 237 207, 216-21, 225 discussed during Atarraya-Pezca S.A. Atarraya—Pezca S.A. fraud, view of, 200, fraud trial, 178-79 2.02 use of in strike negotiations factors in its failure to materialize, (1987-1991), 206 213-15, 235-37 background as eventual, 138 Mena Lagos, Alfredo, and, 151 criticized as union leader, 222-25 SIP opposition to, 149-50, 154, 202-3, election as Sindicato Agua leader, 138 208, 227 eventuales, popularity among, 154, 201, leftist view of as counterrevolutionary, 150, 158, 228 Pezca S.A. cooperative, support for, as result of Duarte land reform, 135, 158, 146-48, 205, 240 Pezca S.A., denunciation of hiring on seized plantations, 112, 150, 157-58, practices at, 140 163, 227 Pezca S.A., initial conflict with, 139-41 counterinsurgency, 187 Sindicato Agua strike (1985), role in, centrist labor unions, role in, 194 142-46 Duarte administration and, 233 Mena Lagos, Alfredo, conflict with, Duarte administration land reform and, 196 Cristiani, Alfredo, 180, 215 150-54 Sindicato Agua strike (1987–1991), role anti-labor activities and the in, 205-9, 212-18, 220-21 administration of, 196-98, 215 election of, 196 SIP, distancing from, 140, 142, 145 BPR (Bloque Popular Revolucionario -Sindicato Agua strike (1987–1991), position on, 219-20 Popular Revolutionary Bloc), 9, 86, 97, 102-4, 114-16, 126, 227 CTD (Central de Trabajadores JRG, assessment of, 107-11 Democráticos), 185 JRG, struggle against, 91-95 La Constancia strike, solidarity with, D'Aubuisson, Roberto, 157 death squad activity, involvement in, 139, 72-74 Ministry of Labor building, occupation of 161, 164, 166 (1977), 57-59 fishing industry, involvement in, 139, state repression, response to (1979), 79-85 167-69, 173 JRG, tensions with, 161-62, 174 Cabrera, Mario, 189-90 Miami Six, ties to, 164 presidential campaign of (1984), 136, 167 Caifás, 105 Carbonell, Tomás Romero, Oscar Arnulfo, involvement Atarraya-Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, in assassination of, 139, 161, 163, 170-71, 175-77, 179 165, 168 indictment over, 181 Daglio, Roberto, 13, 166, 173 PDC, connections to, 176 D'Aubuisson, Roberto, ties to, 167 Chávez, Leonel, 29-30, 37-38, 42, 51, 63, death squad activity, financing by, 164-65

CISPES (Committee in Solidarity With the

People of El Salvador), 165, 240

JRG, opposition to, 163

Miami Six, as part of, 164-65



Index 257

de Zelaya, Maura, xi death squads, 9, 57, 74-75, 85, 125, 139, 145, 153, 159-60, 166-68, 192, Ellacuría, Ignacio, assassination by, 198 and FENASTRAS, 121-22, 188 intimidation tactics of, 123-24 under JRG, 89, 230 Miami Six, financing by, 163-66 in Puerto el Triunfo, 15-16, 20, 38, 120, 122, 124, 128, 232 Romero, Oscar Arnulfo, assassination by, 161 desencuentro, 8, 158, 235-36 definition, 6 as failure to ally of groups with shared goals (II), 7 between FAPU and the BPR, 74 between OP and JRG, 125 between SIP and Sindicato Agua, 130, 154, 203 between local and national labor movements, 79 as methodological tool, 7 as political disagreement (I), 7 between labor movement leaders and rank-and-file, 125 between OP and JRG, 109-10 between SIP and Sindicato Agua, 67, 154 between SIP and Sindicato Agua, 158, 223, 225 DIANA (cookie and cracker factory), 80-81, 91-92 Duarte, José Napoleón, 129, 150, 170, 177-79, 206-8, 233-34 election as president, 140, 142 JRG, ascension to, 107 labor unions, marginalization of, 190-91 labor unions, relationship with, 16, 135-36, 185-96 leftist unions, marginalization of, 142-43, 145 as common goal with Reagan administration, 185-87 as PDC leader, 96 repression of, 184, 186-89 Sindicato Agua strike (1985), reaction to, 151-52 Sindicato Agua strike (1987-1991), reaction to, 214

leftist opposition to the reforms of, 158, 190, 193 Pezca S.A. cooperative plan, position on, 147-48 the right, antagonism with, 148, 155, 170, 175, 194, 196 Ellacuría, Ignacio, 91, 194, 233 assassination of, 124, 198 as a co-author of the JRG program, 89-90 on the distinction between guerrillas and OP (Organizaciones Populares), JRG, criticism of, 105-6 on labor power, 73-74, 192 OP (Organizaciones Populares), criticism of, 9, 93, 96 ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army), 74, 88, 91, 109, 189 Escalón, Rafael, 153, 201-2, 209, 214-15 Atarraya-Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, 169-81 D'Aubuisson, Roberto, friendship with, т66 far right, ties to, 166-67, 170 Escobar, Ángel, xi, 215, 242 on Benítez, Mauricio, 223 on la movida, 130 eventuales, 22, 49, 140-41, 143, 216, 222-23 cooperative as labor solution for, 148, 206 in fishing crews, 139, 154, 201 lacking job security, 40 layoffs of, 75 resentment of permanent workers towards, 38-39, 232 Sindicato Agua, support for, 157, 187, 201, 213, 217, 236 unionization of, 40-41, 137, 139, 232, 236 FAN (Frente Amplio Nacional), 162-63, See MNS (Movimiento Nacionalista Salvadoreño) FAPU (Frente de Accion Popular



258 Index

FARN (Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia	García, Gloria, xi, 63-64, 68-69, 76-77, 234
Nacional), 109, 189	background of, 19–20
Federal Bureau of Investigation, 164-67,	exile of, 123-24
169	gender relations in SIP, view of, 43,
FENASTRAS (Federación Nacional Sindical	45-47
de Trabajadores Salvadoreños),	politicization of union work, objections
15, 22, 55, 67, 69, 75, 78, 82, 120,	to, 37
128, 134, 138, 169, 186-88,	García, Guillermo, 90, 101
212-13, 225, 234, 240, 242	gender
bombing at the office of (1989), 134, 198,	and conflict
217	between SIP and Sindicato Agua, 129,
Christian Democratic unions,	153, 158, 187, 229, 232, 234
cooperation with, 190	domestic, 54
conflicts within, 81	and the division of labor, 38-47, 234
FMLN, ties to, 189	and honor, 65
JRG, opposition to, 92, 102	norms of, 211
SIP strike, support of (1978–1979),	Granadeña, Altagracia, 212
71	Granadeño, Ovidio, xi, 123, 126–29, 159,
SIP, affiliation with, 37, 71, 149, 228	226–29
state repression of, 112-19, 121-23, 192,	Pezca S.A. cooperative plan, opposition
197–98	to, 148–49
strike successes of (1979), 71-74, 79	radical left ties of, 137-38, 234
tomas, support of, 83-85	Grande Preza, José Luis, 142, 145
FMLN (Farabundo Martí National	Grandin, Greg, 55, 110
Liberation Front), 10–11, 128–29,	on violence and neoliberalism, 3, 124
137, 145, 167, 208, 217, 227	Gutiérrez, Jaime Abdul, 98, 106, 195
agrarian reforms, opposition to, 149-50,	as leader of JRG, 90, 95, 110
156-58	
and labor unions, 187-90, 192-98, 228,	Harvey, David, 229
234	on neoliberalism, 3, 160, 162
November 11, 1989 offensive of, 198,	
225	IMES (textile plant), 72, 82-83, 85
the right, speculated common ground	
with, 156-58	Jovel, Ricardo, 136, 139, 142, 192, 204,
and United States foreign policy, 233	217
Franco, Rolando, xi	D'Aubuisson, Roberto, encounter with,
on Pezca S.A. cooperative plan,	168–69
213	as FENASTRAS activist, 134-35
fraud	Pezca S.A. cooperative plan, support for,
as form of economic redistribution under	148-49, 213
neoliberalism, 3, 162	radical left, ties to, 138
at Atarraya and Pezca S.A., 2–3, 16,	removal from FENASTRAS and SIP of,
158-59, 170-82, 221, 235	213
archival evidence of, 18	JRG (Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno),
financial consequences of, 200-2,	15, 113, 125, 161
234	collapse of, 106
as a result of financialization, 229	composition of, 89-91
Sindicato Agua's position on, 200-1,	failure of, 88–89
218	leftist opposition to, 91, 107-12
SIP and, 204	military response to, 91-93
electoral, 30, 33	military, inability to control, 92-93, 105-7



Index 259

OP (Organizaciones Populares), truce with, 89, 93-95, 97-98 reformist intentions of, 89-91, 98, 236 reforms of, 95-97 rightist opposition to, 91, 100-2 US embassy view of, 98-99 La Constancia (bottling plant) strike at, 72-73 la movida, 129–33, 135, 174, 177–78, 221, 228 as antisocial activity, 132-33 as form of resistance, 6, 133 justifications of, 51-52 as proto-cooperative system, 151 as source of desencuentros, 6, 130, 158, SIP's denunciation of, 79, 204 as source of financial strain for fishing companies, 131 attempts to curtail, 51-52, 70, 141 SIP's collaboration with Pezca S.A. on, 202, 204 through subcontracting, 169 as union-busting tactic, 201-2 captains, role in, 131-32, 138, 202 hidden transcripts of, 235 justifications of, 53, 66 origins of, 51 senior military officers implicated in, 52, 133, 168 Sindicato Agua acceptance of, 67 LP-28 (Ligas Populares 28 de febrero— Popular Leagues, 28th of February), 82, 93 JRG, armed resistance to, 91 machismo, 129, 133, 169, 214, 225, 234-35 machista. See machismo Majano, Adolfo, 90, 109, 112, Mariscos de El Salvador, 13, 20, 26-27, 30, 35, 49, 75, 163 closure of, 130, 135 SIP strike of 1974 at, 31-34 Mariscos Tazumal S.A., 139, 169 Atarraya—Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, far right, connections to, 167-68

Mathies Regalado, Roberto Atarraya—Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, 176-81 Miami Six, ties to, 164 rightist ties of, 163 Mena Lagos, Alfredo, 131, 170, 174-75, 177 attempts of to curtail la movida, 130, 141, 151 background of, 160 Benítez, Mauricio, relationship with, 150-51, 213 Duarte, José Napoleón, antagonism with, 151 JRG, opposition to, 174 Miami Six, ties to, 164 Pezca S.A., resignation from, 153, 172 rightist political activism of, 160-62, 164 Sindicato Agua strike (1985), response to, 144, 150-54 SIP, harmonious relationship with, 136, 151, 157 Miami Six, 163-65 Minero, Carmen, 45, 243 MNS (Movimiento Nacionalista Salvadoreño), 101, 161 Molina Lara, Alejandro, 15, 50, 62-65, 79, 134, 230, 242 as FENASTRAS activist, 112-14, 119-20, 122 as SIP organizer, 26-29, 31-36 contract negotiation strategies of, 32, 34-35, 62 co-optation of ORDEN members by, 38 FENASTRAS, support for, 36-38, 71, notions of gender, evolution of, 42-43 pushing for broader labor solidarity, 67 - 68recruiting female workers, 27-29, 41 background of, 26 exile of, 123, 240 la movida, opposition to, 79 labor activism of after exile, 240-41 production process knowledge of, 36 on solidarity, 77-78 on syndicalism, 77-78 Sindicato Agua, criticism of, 78 SIP secretary general election victory (1975), 34Muñoz, Manuel, 22, 30–31, 77



260 Index

neoliberal rationality, 4, 228-29, 236 PDC (Christian Democratic Party), 91, 176, neoliberalism, 2, 160, 186 and labor, 3, 75 electoral defeat of (1988), 196 aspects of negotiations with JRG, 96-97 financialization, 3, 159, 162, 229 Perez, Migdonio, xi, 216, 220 wealth redistribution on Benítez, Mauricio, 224 Perez, Salvador, 179 dispossession, 3, 162 Pezca S.A., 2, 16, 19-23, 30-31, 50, 53, in Latin American context, 3-4, 232 in El Salvador, 4, 125 68-74, 128, 131, 157, 162-71, in Puerto el Triunfo, 129, 163, 181, 215, 229, 236, 241 anti-union measures at, 133-34, 144, 187 in policy, 16, 198, 228 151, 200-1 in social relations, 159 company structure of, 13, 160 violence and transition to, 3, 124-25 disaffection with union leadership at, 29, 31,63 OP (Organizaciones Populares), 5, 15, female workers' activism at, 34-36, 41, 92-93, 101, See also BPR (Bloque 209-11 Popular Revolucionario fraud at, 159, 170-82 Popular Revolutionary Bloc); liquidity crisis as a result of, 199-200, FAPU (Frente de Accion Popular 214 Unificada — Unified Popular la movida at, 51-52, 130, 141, 151, Action Front); LP-28 (Ligas Populares 28 de febrero—Popular labor process organization at, 39-41 Leagues, 28th of February) mistreatment of female workers at, Duarte junta, resistance to, 110-12 JRG, truce with, 89, 93-95, 107-8, proposal to form a cooperative in place 110-12 of, 146-50, 214, 217 labor unions, relationship with, 81-82 Sindicato Agua strike (1987–1991) leftist guerrillas, divergence in practices settlement of, 222 with, 108-10 Sindicato Agua strike at (1985), 142-46, revolutionary triumphalism of, 96 152-53 rhetorical limitations of, 110-12 Sindicato Agua strike at (1987-1991), SIP, role in the strike of (1979), 74 205-9, 211-13, 221 solidarity, notions of, 9 eviction of fishermen from the docks US embassy's negative attitude to, (1989), 215-16 98-99 Sindicato Agua, contract negotiations ORDEN (paramilitary group), 91, 102, with, 139-41 108, 160 SIP, contract negotiations with, 35, co-optation by SIP, 37-38, 122, 231 62-65, 76, 122, 136-37 dissolution of by JRG, 88, 94, 100 stake in fishing companies of, 49 Ortiz Palma, Evelio, 23 subcontracting plan of, 16, 175, 200-3, 212, 216 Parada, Carmen successful strike at (1977), 35 Wright family takeover of, 12 on tomas, 57, 85 PCN (Partido de Conciliación Nacional), Productos Pesqueros, 176, 207–9, 211–12, 30, 37, 232 214 PCS (Partido Comunista de El Salvador-Atarraya-Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, Communist Party of El Salvador), 173 36-38, 99-100 PRONACSA (vegetable oil factory), FENASTRAS, role in, 81 JRG, support for, 92 strike at, 68-69



Index 261

shrimp industry, 1-3, 23, 34, 86, 136, Quinteros, Noé, xi, 23, 35, 40, 57, 63, 79 collaboration with far left, view of, 74-75 175-76, 215 *la movida*, view of, 51-52 decline of, 1, 200, 239 politicization of union work, objections origins of, 12-13 in Puerto el Triunfo, 13, 231 to, 37, 230 rising through SIP ranks, 29-31 decline of, 159 on SIP and death squads, 122 and Salvadoran oligarchy, 13, 168 death squad financing, connections to, Reagan administration, 16, 155, 160, as source of profit for military elites, 15 164-65 and the Duarte administration, 148, 184, Sindicato Agua (Sindicato General de la 186-87, 233-34 Industria Pesquera y Anexos), 2, 4, Reyes, Virginia, xi 15-17, 50-51, 67, 73, 78, 119, Romero, Carlos Humberto, 100, 161 128-30, 155, 157-58, 169-70, regime of 174, 178-80, 191, 227 human rights violations, 80, 98 machista worker culture at, 50-51 SIP, membership rivalry with, 49-51, 213 IRG investigation of, 95–96 Romero, Oscar Arnulfo, 121 SIP, split from, 21-22 SIP, strike of solidarity with (1979), 70-71 as conflict mediator, 72, 113 strike of (1985), 138-54 assassination of, 120, 139, 161, 163, 165, strike of (1987–1991), 200–25 Sindicato Tierra. See SIP (Sindicato de la JRG, support for, 89-90 Industria Pesquera) Sagrera, Fernando ("El Negro"), 167-69, SIP (Sindicato de la Industria Pesquera), 1, 4, 10, 15-16, 21-22, 25-31, 35-38, 173 Samayoa, Salvador, 84 49-51, 86, 102, 139-40, 142-43, Saravia, Alvaro 150-51, 157, 168-69, 209-14, as Atarraya head of security, 168 222-23, 225, 229, 231-32, 234-37, Romero, Oscar Arnulfo, involvement in 243 the assassination of, 162 corruption at, 138 Sector Agua. See Sindicato Agua (Sindicato gendered division of labor at, 38-47 General de la Industria Pesquera y inclusion of death squad members in, 122 la movida, opposition to, 202-4 Sector Tierra. See SIP (Sindicato de la Sindicato Agua fishing cooperative plan, Industria Pesquera) opposition to, 148-50, 153-54, Segovia, Eloisa, 44 203, 235 shrimp, 1, 6, 33-34, 64, 79, 131, 133, Sindicato Agua strike, opposition to 140-41, 176 (1987-1991), 204-9 catching of, 48-49, 51-53 Sindicato Agua, attempt at solidarity in El Salvador waters, 12–13 strike with (1985), 143-45 state repression of (1980-1981), 119-24 as leverage in labor negotiations, 66, recovery from, 133-38 70-71, 73, 143-44, 207, 209, 214 overfishing of, 136, 177, 239 strike of (1974), 31-34 strike of (1978–1979), 62–79 as payment or bribe, 50, 53, 140, 213 worker mobilization at (1970-1977), processing of, 23, 31-32, 38-40, 49, 139, 53-56 167, 173, 211-12 gendered labor division in, 39-40 SIU (Special Investigative Unit), 180 as significant Salvadoran export, 36, 147, solidarity, 1, 3, 33, 35-36, 55, 82, 201 118, 236 stealing of, 68, 130, See la movida AIFLD and, 184-85, 187 as worker benefit, 44-45, 49, 199 American activists and, 165



262

Index

solidarity (cont.) Christian notions of, 8-9, 227 impact on labor movement, 9 Duarte administration's counteracting of, т86 between FENASTRAS and Christiad democratic labor unions, 190 neoliberal rationality and, 228, 236-37 rupture of, 158-59, 228-29, 232-33 Salvadoran national labor movements and, 61, 187, 192 in response to ARENA's policies, 196 at SIP, 32, 67-71, 212, 227-28 expanding notions of, 38, 54, 67-68, 77-79, 231-32 female union activists and, 41-42 limits of, 74, 78 with Sindicato Agua (1979), 71 with Sindicato Agua (1985), 144-45 and subaltern consciousness, 8-10 solidarity strike, 15, 81, 84 by SIP for PRONACSA workers, 68-69 for ANDA workers, 188 for BPR against repression of, 80-81 for IMES workers, 82-83 for La Constancia workers, 72-74 for SETA leader, 192 STECEL (electrical power worker's union), 113 repression and shutdown of, 121 attempts at reconstitution, 195 role in the strike of 1979, 73-74 syndicalism, 37, 54, 78, 85 and solidarity, 79, 118 as Salvadoran labor movement ideology, 60, 230 tomas, 5, 81-82, 84-85 disadvantages of, 85 effects of, 84 as leftist resistance tactic, 81

Torres, Ruperto, xi, 52, 215, 217, 221 Benítez, Mauricio, recollections of, 224-25 tropical deindustrialization, 226, 233, 236 elements of, 158 UCS (Unión Comunal Salvadoreña), 33, UDN (Unión Democrática Nacional), 99 UNOC (Union Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos), 157, 215-16 founding of, 190 reconciliation with leftist unions, 197, 225 UNTS (Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños), 157, 189 ARENA government, opposition to, conflicts within, 191 founding of, 190 issues in common with UNOC, 191 radicalization of, 193-95 UPD (Popular Democratic Unity), 184-85, Duarte, Jose Napoleon, support of, 135-36, 184 White, Robert, 160, 164-65 Wright family. See also Wright, Juan Wright, Juan, 73, 150, 156, 158, 163 Atarraya-Pezca S.A. fraud, role in, 170-73, 176-81 background of, 12 business interests of, 12-13, 68, 163 Duarte reforms, opposition to, 171 Escalón, Rafael, marriage of daughter to, far right connections of, 69, 164, 170 Miami Six, ties to, 165 Zacapa, Carlos ("Sandi"), 167, 169-70, 173-74 Zacapa, Joaquin, 167, 174

origins of, 84

promotion of by FENASTRAS, 83