# Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INSURGENTS AND REGIMES SINCE 1956

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

## **Contents**

List of Figures and Tables	ix
Preface	xiii
Acknowledgments	χv
Abbreviations	xvii
PART I: Origins	
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	3
CHAPTER 2 Who Are the Guerrillas?	19
CHAPTER 3 The Social and Political Origins of the Guerrilla Movements	30
PART II: Constructing Theory—The Outcomes of the First Wave, 1956–1970	
CHAPTER 4 Variables and Models	51
CHAPTER 5 The Role of Military Power	60
CHAPTER 6 The Sources of Peasant Support I: Agrarian Structure and Its Transformations	92
CHAPTER 7 The Sources of Peasant Support II: Rebellious Cultures and Social Ties	130
CHAPTER 8 Regime Weaknesses and the Emergence of Dual Power	154
PART III: Guerrillas and Revolution since 1970— Testing Theories on the Second Wave	
CHAPTER 9 The Origins of the Second Wave	209
THE OTIGINS OF THE SECOND MAKE	207

### viii · Contents

CHAPTER 10	
The Structures of Peasant Support in the Second Wave	231
Chapter 11	
Regime Weaknesses and Revolution in the Second Wave	263
Chapter 12	
Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward an Integration of	
Revolutionary Theories	302
Appendix A	
Profiles of Guerrilla Leadership	327
Appendix B	
Social Origins of Guerrilla Leadership: Post-1970 Period	335
Notes	341
Select Bibliography	407
Index	415

# Figures and Tables

### **FIGURES**

8-1	Social Origins of Regime Weaknesses in Cuba: A Comparative View	160
9-1	Social Conditions for the Appearance and Early Stages of	
	Guerrilla Movements in Latin America	229
Tal	BLES	
2-1	Average Age of Guerrilla Leadership at the Peak of the Struggle	20
2-2	<del>00</del>	
2-2 3-1	Socioeconomic Status of Guerrilla Leaders, by Country Changes in Latin American University Enrollments,	25
	1955–1965	47
4-1	Peasant Guerrilla Fighters in Latin America	53
5-1	Military Expenditures in Years of Peak Guerrilla Activity	61
5-2	Trends in Military Solidarity in Response to Guerrilla Conflicts	68
5-3	U.S. Military Assistance as a Percentage of Latin American Military Expenditures, 1953–1970	70
5-4	U.S. Weapons Assistance to Latin America as a Percentage of Estimated Arms Budgets	72
5-5	U.S. Military Assistance Per Capita in Latin America, 1953–1970 Totals	
e (		73
5-6 5-7	Annual U.S. Military Assistance to Latin America Ranks of Six Nations on the Impact of U.S. Military	74
£ 0	Assistance on Anti-Guerrilla Fighting Capacity	74
5-8	Latin American Arms Imports, 1964–1973: Total and from the United States	76
5-9	U.S. Counterinsurgency Training of Latin American Officers	
<b>5</b> 10	Compared to Armed Forces Manpower (1950–1975)	79
5-10	Military Conditions Favoring Government (+) or Insurgents (-) in Outcomes of Guerrilla Warfare	85
6-1	Distribution of Landholdings in Cuba, 1946, by Type	
	of Tenancy	96
6-2	Cuba: Type of Tenancy by Guerrilla Zones	98
6-3	Venezuela: Percentage of Units Held by Nonproprietors, 1960–1961	100

## x · List of Figures and Tables

	6-4	Venezuela: Sharecroppers as a Percentage of All Landholders	
		in High and Low Guerrilla-Support Districts	101
	6-5	Venezuela: Percentage of Units Farmed by Sharecroppers—	
		Intrastate Variations by Guerrilla Influence	102
	6-6	Guatemala: Percentage of Farm Units Held by Tenants,	
		1964	104
	6-7	Guatemala: Intradepartmental Variations in Land Tenancy	
		by Zones of Guerrilla Influence	105
	6-8	Intradepartmental Tenancy Rates in Zacapa, Guatemala,	
		by Guerrilla Zones	106
	6-9	Colombia: Percentage of Units Held by Renters and	
		Squatters, 1960	108
	6-10	Prevalence of Sharecropping in Colombia, by Zones of	
		Guerrilla Influence	109
	6-11	Areas of FARC Guerrillas' Influence in Colombia,	
		1965–1970	110
	6-12	Colombia: Percentage of Lands Held by Sharecroppers,	
		Guerrilla Zones versus Other Areas	111
	6-13	Colombia: Percentage of Lands Held by Squatters, Guerrilla	
		versus Non-Guerrilla Zones	112
	6-14	Fit of Each Colombian Department to Sharecropper-Guerrilla	
	_	or Squatter-Guerrilla Hypothesis	113
	6-15	Land Distributed under the Arbenz Government in	
		Guatemala, 1953–1954	122
	6-16	Land Reform in Colombia, by Department, 1962–1967	124
	6-17	Colombian Coffee Production by Department, 1874–1956,	
		Selected Years	125
	9-1	Guerrilla-Student Linkages and University Enrollments in	
		Latin America During the Second Wave, 1965–1975	220
	9-2	Organizational Precursors of the Second-Wave Guerrilla	
		Movements	227
J	10-1	Nicaragua: Proportion of Squatters in Guerrilla Zones and	
		Other Areas	233
1	10-2	Farmers, Agricultural Workers, and the Guerrilla Movement	044
1	10-3	in El Salvador	244
3	10-3	Peasant Support for Second-Wave Guerrilla Movements:	261
1	. 1 1	Do Regional Characteristics Predict a Radical Peasantry?	261
	11-1	Prerevolutionary Parallels in Nicaragua and Cuba	279
J	11-2	Strengths and Weaknesses of Salvadoran Political Regimes:	292
1	11 2	Changes, Comparisons, and Contrasts	
	l 1-3 l 2-1	Comparing Revolutions in Skocpol's Structural Terms	300
ı	12-1	Predicting Regional Peasant Support for Guerrilla  Movements: A Boolean Truth Table	306
		IVIOVEIRENIS: A DOORENI ITUM 18DIE	・・フリルフ

	List of Figures and Tables	•	хi
12-2	Multiple Conditions Underlying Peasant Support for		
	Guerrilla Movements, 1956–1990	3	07
12-3	Revolution or Not in Latin America: A Boolean Truth Table	3	12
12-4	Conditions for the Success and Failure of Revolutionary		
	Guerrilla Movements in Latin America, 1956-1990	3	23