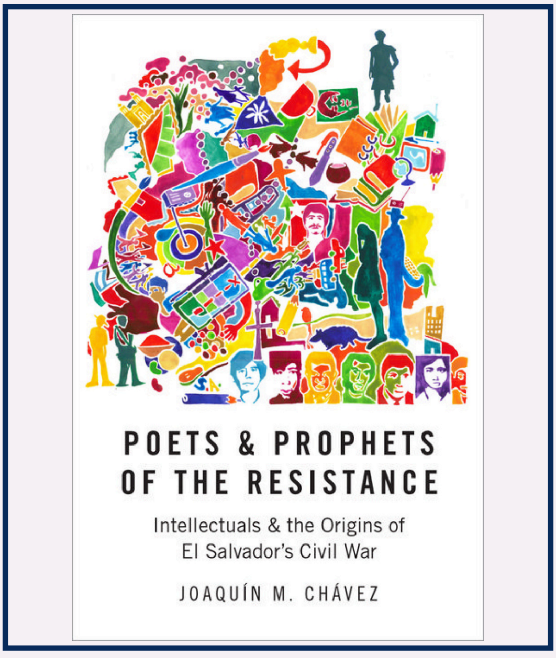
Resistance intellectuals and the origins of El Salvadors civil war



Complete Version Available On

ebookbe.com

or scan the QR code to access the digital study portal.



POETS & PROPHETS OF THE RESISTANCE

Intellectuals & the Origins of El Salvador's Civil War

JOAQUÍN M. CHÁVEZ

Poets and Prophets of the Resistance

Poets and Prophets of the Resistance

Intellectuals and the Origins of El Salvador's Civil War

JOAQUÍN M. CHÁVEZ

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2017

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Chávez, Joaquín Mauricio, author.
Title: Poets and prophets of the Resistance : intellectuals and the origins of El Salvador's civil war / Joaquín M. Chávez.
Description: New York, NY : Oxford University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016035611 (print) | LCCN 2016055644 (ebook) | ISBN 9780199315512 (hardcover : acid-free paper) | ISBN 9780199315529 (Updf) | ISBN 9780190661090 (Epub)
Subjects: LCSH: El Salvador—History—1979–1992. | El Salvador—History—1944–1979. | Civil war—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Government, Resistance to—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Intellectuals—Political activity—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Peasants—Political activity—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Social movements—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Education—Political aspects—El Salvador—History—20th century. | Chalatenango (El Salvador : Department)—Intellectual life—20th century. | Chalatenango (El Salvador : Department)—Politics and government—20th century. | BISAC: HISTORY / Latin America / Central America. | HISTORY / Caribbean & West Indies / General.
Classification: LCC F1488.3 .C45 2017 (print) | LCC F1488.3 (ebook) | DDC 972.8405/2—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016035611

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc., United States of America

Chapter 2 originally published as "Catholic Action, the Second Vatican Council, and the Emergence of the New Left in El Salvador (1950– 1975)," by Joaquín M. Chávez, *The Americas, Special Issue: Latin America in the Global Sixties* 70, no. 3 (January 2014): 459–487. Reproduced with permission of *The Americas*.

To El Salvador

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Intellectuals of the Resistance 1

1. Dreaming of Reform 21

2. University Apostles 49

3. Peasant Intellectuals in Chalatenango 72

4. La Masacuata's War 106

5. The Making of the Internal Enemy 133

6. Insurgent Intellectuals 163

7. Crisis and Rural Insurgency 195

Conclusion: From Resistance to War 229

Acronyms 241
Appendix 245
Notes 255
Bibliography 295
Index 307

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the past decade, many persons and institutions in El Salvador, the United States, Spain, and several other countries have generously contributed to the completion of this book. I am deeply grateful to them all.

This book relies on original interviews with men and women who took part in Salvadoran politics and cultural life in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The following persons offered insights and information that constitute, along with archival sources, the bases of this book: anonymous informants, Sonia Aguiñada Carranza, Ernesto A. Álvarez, Manlio Argueta, Ester Arteaga, Rafael Benavides, Mario Efraín Callejas, Jesús Cartagena, José Roberto Cea, Héctor Dada, Alberto Enríquez, Eduardo Espinoza, Evaristo, Oscar Fernández, Emiliano Androski Flamenco, Gerardo, Facundo Guardado, Ever Hernández, Miguel Huezo Mixco, Francisco Jovel, Juan-Juan, Carlos López, Paolo Luers, José Romeo Maeda, José Santos Martínez, Héctor Martínez, Ana Sonia Medina, Guadalupe Mejía, Hilda Mejía, Ismael Merlos, Luisfelipe Minhero, Oscar Miranda, Atilio Montalvo, Rafael Moreno, Trinidad de Jesús Nieto, Ignacio Paniagua, Lorena Peña Mendoza, Victoria Ramírez, Julio Reyes, Abraham Rodríguez, Rutilio Sánchez, Salvador Sánchez Cerén, Eduardo Sancho, Domingo Santacruz, Irma Serrano, María Serrano, Manuel Sorto, Luisa Tolentino, Ricardo Urioste, Juan Ramón Vega, Rafael Velásquez, Gumercinda "Chinda" Zamora, and Rubén Zamora. I am thankful to these persons for their vital contributions to this project.

I received a great deal of assistance from directors and archivists at public and private archives and documentation centers in El Salvador and the United States. Verónica Guerrero, the Director of the Centro de Documentación e Información of the Central American University; Margarita Silva Prada, the Director of the Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de El Salvador; Rafael Flores and Rubén Ortiz from the Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de San Salvador; Carlos Henríquez Consalvi, the Director of the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen; and archivists and librarians at Archivo del Museo Nacional de