

## NOTES

---

### Recent Traditions in Social-Movement Theorizing

1. Other scholars who define social movements in terms of a group's deliberate attempt to remake society include Goldberg (1991), Killian (1964), and Morris (1984). Piven (1976: 300–1), however, contends that the concept of social movement should not stress participants' plans for radical social change. She concedes that her usage departs from scholarly norms and is somewhat idiosyncratic.
2. Social-movement theorists are not of one mind as to whether to view transient mobs, local street gangs, and unorganized riots as social movements. Piven (1976) is convinced that the term *social movement* should refer in part to these phenomena. Jenkins (1981: 82–3) excludes them. I am of mixed opinion but tend to agree with Jenkins.
3. Many of these authors feared both right-wing movements and Soviet communism. They were much more ambivalent (if not sympathetic) toward movements committed to democratic and social democratic goals. See, for example, Lipset (1950) on Saskatchewan's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and Arendt (1965) on local experiments in participatory democracy during the French and American revolutions.

Because this chapter is a brief survey of social-movement theorizing over a half century, I have oversimplified some authors' complex positions in order to highlight commonalities. In reality, scholars seldom work from a single theoretical script and frequently combine diverse viewpoints and approaches—often in highly creative ways. For present purposes (introducing readers unfamiliar with social-movement scholarship to its major themes, concepts, and points of view), the identification of specific authors and publications with archetypal positions seems heuristically justifiable and pedagogically wise.

4. For additional discussions of social-movement theorizing immediately following World War II, see Eyerman and Jamison (1991), Halebsky (1976), Jenkins (1981), McAdam (1982), Morris and Herring (1981), Rogin (1967), Rule (1988), and Scott (1990).
5. Cohn (1961) crafted perhaps the most famous reinterpretation of Christian millenarianism in terms of a crisis of modernity. For critiques of interpretations of the French Revolution and the U.S. Populist movement in terms of “the mob” and “anomie,” see Rogin (1967) and Rudé (1959).
6. This label was inspired by Morris's (1984) description of his own approach to the study of the civil rights movement.
7. The label “political-process approach” became widely used after the publication of McAdam's seminal book (1982). For a study of Latin American politics that foreshadows some of McAdam's reasoning, see Powell (1971). For a creative application of McAdam's political-process approach to a social movement with international dimensions, see Smith (1991).
8. In choosing this label, I am slightly modifying Cohen's (1985) insightful distinction between “identity-oriented” and “resource-mobilization” theories about social movements.
9. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) coined the evocative phrase “cognitive praxis” to convey the role activists' innovative language and thinking play in shaping movement activity.
10. Apter and Sawa's study of protest politics in Japan looks both at popular culture at large and at cultural creativity within the anti-airport movement. Hence, I cite their book as an illustration of both subtypes of identity-formation theorizing.

11. The literature on popular culture and social movements is vast and rapidly growing. Since the composition of the first edition of this book in the mid-1990s, several approaches, ranging from “framing analysis” to “dialogic analysis” to the analysis of “free spaces,” have either come into being or have been developed in novel directions. Limitations of space prevent me from elaborating on these approaches, but interested readers are encouraged to read reviews of the literature on movement culture by Goodwin and Jasper (1999), Polletta (1997, 1999), Swidler (1995), Steinberg (1998), and Payerhin and Zirakzadeh (2006).
12. See, for example, Penn’s (2005) retelling of the history of Solidarity from an explicitly feminist theoretical perspective and Kampwirth’s (2002) similarly insightful study of Latin American guerrilla movements in terms of women’s social experiences. Clearly, the theoretical lenses one puts on affect how one sees a social movement; every theory helps bring some important details into focus, while albeit inescapably obscuring others.

## **A World to Be Remade: Sociopolitical Circumstances of Green Politics**

1. For histories of Germany’s occupation, see Black et al. (1992: 54–95) and Rogers (1995). See Hancock (1989) and Pulzer (1995) for highly readable introductions to the political history of postwar West Germany.
2. For more information on post-war labor policies and politics in West Germany, see Hancock (1989), Katzenstein (1987: 125–67), Markovits (1982), and Markovits and Allen (1989).
3. For discussions of West German parties’ consensus on economic policy, incrementalism in West German economic policy-making, and the SPD’s struggles to develop an alternative economic program, see Dyson (1989), Esser, Fach, and Dyson (1983), Hancock (1993), Katzenstein (1987, 1989), and Padgett (1987).
4. For a comprehensive discussion of West Germany’s parties and party system, see Padgett and Burkett (1986).

## **Clashing Shades of Green**

1. See, for example, Fogt (1989), Frankland and Schoonmaker (1992), Hill (1985), Hülsberg (1988), Markovits and Gorski (1993), and Roth and Murphy (1998).
2. Scholarly research has shown that the public taunting and mutual suspicions are bitter memories for numerous former Greens, who, when interviewed, looked back on their days in the party-movement with ambivalence, disappointment, and in some cases even hatred (Markovits and Gorski 1993: 229–33, 273).
3. For additional analyses of the Greens’ performances in the 1993–1995 elections, see Betz (1995), Braunthal (1995), Green (1995), Markovits and Dalton (1995), and Roberts (1995). For statistics on the Greens’ earlier electoral performances, see Frankland and Schoonmaker (1992: 70–1). For an analysis of Green voting patterns at the very end of the century, see Lees (2000: 89–98) and Mez (1998).
4. For histories and analyses of the SPD–Green coalition, see Hyde-Price (2003: 189–205), Lees (2000: 61–141), Rüdig (2002; 2003: 257–68), and Smith (2003).

## **A World to Be Remade: Sociopolitical Circumstances of Solidarity**

1. For a highly readable introduction to Polish economic and political history, see Ascherson (1987).
2. For further discussions of the revisionists and revisionism, see Ascherson (1987: 156–7, 166–9), Bernhard (1993: 8–9, 38–41, 86–9), Karpiński (1987: 49–50), Michnik (1985: 135–48), Ost (1990: 39–53), and Singer (1982: 161–2).

3. For analyses of Soviet foreign policy vis-à-vis Poland in the late 1970s and early 1980s, see Anderson (1982), Bromke (1978: 38, 50–1), Goldman (1986), and Wozniuk (1986).

### **Political Antecedents**

1. For a useful introduction to Polish labor history, see Laba (1991).
2. For discussions of Polish intellectuals' involvement in oppositional politics from the 1950s until 1980, see Bernhard (1993), Bromke (1978), Ost (1990), and Zuzowski (1991).
3. Nowak (1982) has written a history of the evolving oppositional politics of Poland's Catholic Church after World War II. Additional information about the church and Polish politics can be found in Ascherson (1987), Bernhard (1993), Garton Ash (1991), Kubik (1994), Laba (1991: 83–7, 153), Singer (1982: 189–93, 233), and Starski (1982: 30, 219–24).

### **Discord within Solidarity**

1. Accounts of the Gdańsk strike may be found in Garton Ash (1991: 41–72), Goodwyn (1991), Persky (1981: 3–24, 58–135), Singer (1982: 217–31), and Starski (1982: 57–92).
2. For detailed descriptions of both the diverse social and political viewpoints within the trade union and the recurrent conflicts between proponents of the different viewpoints, see Garton Ash (1991: 73–272), Starski (1982: 199–217, 247–8), and Touraine et al. (1983).
3. For additional descriptions of the Bydgoszcz crisis, see Garton Ash (1991: 154–74), Goodwyn (1991: 293–8), and Persky (1981: 197–214).
4. For additional information about martial law in Poland and its impact on Solidarity, see Łopiński, Moskit, and Wilk (1990), Millard (1994: 18–23), Ost (1990: 149–60), Penn (2005: 88–234), and Weschler (1984: 97–204, 225–32).
5. For more details on the PZPR's reform initiatives in the late 1980s, see Brown (1991: 83–6) and Ost (1990: 160–3, 169–82).
6. For additional information on the roundtable negotiations, see Kowalik (1994: 136–7), Millard (1994: 56–63), Ost (1990: 206–7, 211–12), and Zubek (1991a: 359–65).
7. More information on the 1989 election may be found in Garton Ash (1993: 25–46), Glenn (2001: 102–29), Grabowski (1996: 220–4), Millard (1994: 64–70), and Zubek (1991a: 361–76).
8. For further details and anecdotes about the presidential campaign of 1990, see Millard (1994: 84, 119–32), Weschler (1990: 120–36), and Zubek (1991b; 1992).
9. For more information on the 1991 parliamentary election and parliamentary politics between 1991 and 1993, see Millard (1994: 92–3, 132–40), Weschler (1992: 73–7), and Zubek (1993).
10. Analyses of the 1993 parliamentary election may be found in Marody (1995), Millard (1994: 140–3), Wade et al. (1995), and Zubek (1995).
11. For analyses of the 1995 presidential election, see Garton Ash (1995) and Taras (1996).

### **A World to Be Remade: Sociopolitical Circumstances of Shining Path**

1. For an example of early anti-imperialist literature and rhetoric in Peru, see Mariátegui (1971), originally published in 1928 and considered by many to be a classic in Latin American social theory.
2. For descriptions and analyses of the military coup and subsequent revolutionary regime, see McClintock (1981), Rudolph (1992: 53–76), and Stepan (1978).
3. Convenient chronologies and analyses of Belaúnde's economic policies may be found in Pastor and Wise (1992), Rudolph (1992: 77–99), and Werlich (1984).
4. For discussions of García's economic policies, see Crabtree (1992), Pastor and Wise (1992), Rudolph (1992: 101–50), and Wise (1986).
5. For descriptions and analyses of Fujimori's economic programs and beliefs, see Andreas and Sharpe (1992), Kenney (2004), Gonzales de Olarte (1993), McClintock (1993), and Werlich (1991).

## Political Antecedents

1. This is not to deny that radicals attempted to organize members of *pueblos jóvenes* into more radical movements. But by and large the efforts failed to bear fruit. For observations on the extent of clientelism in the urban squatter communities, see Stokes (1991a, b; 1995) and Petras and Havens (1981b).

## Diverse Directions along the Shining Path

1. For descriptions of Shining Path debates prior to 1983 over strategy and tactics, see Gorriti (1999: 23–32, 64–7, 178–87).
2. Estimates of the number of activists in Shining Path during the mid-1980s usually vary between 2,000 and 20,000, and the number seems to have grown quickly toward the end of the decade (McClintock 1998: 72, 74–5, 342). The Peruvian government in the late 1980s typically contended that Shining Path had around 5,000 members, while the movement reported that it had 15,000 members. Observers concur that a minority of participants in Shining Path are combatants (McClintock 1989: 63). For example, Ron (2001: 569) estimates that in the early 1990s, 10,000 members of Shining Path were “full-time fighters” while an additional 50,000–100,000 members were noncombatants.
3. Analyzing interviews by her research team with 33 former and current rank-and-file Shining Path activists, McClintock (1998: 71) was struck by the activists’ lack of knowledge about the movement’s leadership and its ideas and preferences. The gap between Sendero’s leadership and the rankandfile was especially evident among activists recruited from the peasantry. McClintock (1998: 277) reports of the six interviewed peasants, “none appeared to know Guzmán . . . and none expressed awe for Guzmán.”
4. For reminiscences by a navy veteran on the security forces’ treatment of Andean Indians (whom the soldiers derogatorily called *cholos*, or “brown-skinned people”), see Pancho (1995).
5. For more on splits within Shining Path following the arrest of Guzmán, see Basombrío (1999: 205–6, 220, 222), Burt and Ricci (1994), Izaguirre (1996), McClintock (1999: 223, 243), and Palmer (2000: 61, 63).

## A World to Be Remade: Sociopolitical Circumstances of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

1. See MacLachlan and Beezley (1999: 86–210) for an introduction to the political history of Mexico prior to the Mexican Revolution.
2. There is no scholarly consensus on how to date the beginning or the end of the “Mexican Revolution.” Many students of Mexican politics associate the disputed presidential election of 1910 as its beginning, but anthropologist Eric Wolf (1969: 1–48), among others, cites the social uprisings of the previous decade. The Constitution of 1917 in a sense marks the formal end of the revolution, but fighting, assassinations, and uprisings continued for many years. Historian Michael Gonzales (2002), for one, sees the Revolution as continuing until 1940 and includes in his study of it a 1924–1928 insurrection (known as the Cristero rebellion) and Cárdenas’s vigorous application of the Constitution’s socialist provisions during the 1930s. Historian John Hart (1997), on the other hand, seems to view the Revolution more narrowly, ending in the mid-1920s.
3. For an explication of the Technocrats’ economic reasoning and policy positions, see Centeno (1997: 175–228).
4. For introductions to the economic and political history of Chiapas—especially the eastern half of the state, where the Zapatista movement attracted its largest followings—see Collier (1994), McGee (2002), Rus, Mattiace, and Hernández Castillo (2003) Stephen (2002: 91–102), and Womack (1999).

## Political Antecedents

1. For more on the geography of interest-group politics within Chiapas, see Collier (1994: 41, 69–76), Leyva Solano (2003: 163–4, 174), and Womack (1999:33–8, 162–4, 184–5).

## Wanderings of Zapata's Ghost

1. For an overview of armed groups in Mexico after 1968, see Hodges and Gandy (2002: 146–55, 173–86).
2. See Collier (1994) and Harvey (1998) for more extensive discussions of the many reform and revolutionary groups in Chiapas between 1965 and 1994.
3. For descriptions of Mexican Maoists, the history of Maoist organizations within Chiapas, and differences between Maoists and the EZLN, see Collier (1994: 37–87), Harvey (1998: 79–90, 124–5), La Botz (1995: 31–9), Ross (2000: 6, 37), Stephen (2002: 119–20), Weinberg (2000: 35, 179, 282), and Womack (1999: 173–81).
4. Surveys of popular political actions that followed the January 1994 attacks can be found in Weinberg (2000: 110–11, 113–16), Ross (2000: 39–40, 46–7, 58–9, 65), and Womack (1999: 45–6).
5. Indian rights was a controversial topic within Chiapas, where multiple linguistic traditions still thrive. There has been little agreement on the proper scale of indigenous self-government (what should be the relevant unit: a village? a county? a region?) or on how best to deal with multiethnic communities. Further, some indigenous communities understandably fear that autonomy could become a pretext for governmental neglect and abandonment. For more on this complex topic, see Mattiace (2003) and Leyva Solano (2003).
6. For detailed descriptions of the autonomous communities from three perspectives, see Burgete Cal y Mayor (2003), Preston and Dillon (2004: 441–60), and Ross (2000: 217–19, 235–8, 266–70, 275–6).
7. Low turnouts in most of the central and eastern countryside, where the Zapatistas enjoyed significant support and called for boycotts of elections, may have hurt the PRD during the late 1990s. Scholars, however, are not in agreement that the low turnouts were caused primarily by the Zapatistas' call for boycotts (and not by other factors). For two different (but not necessarily incompatible) views on the impact of the EZLN boycotts on the PRD's fortunes, see Mattiace (2003: 126) and Rus and Collier (2003: 55). For a sympathetic explanation of the EZLN's boycott strategy, see Paulson (2001: 284–5).
8. Collier (1994) analyses the geographically uneven support for the EZLN within Chiapas and offers a political and economic explanation for why the EZLN has limited appeal outside the Lacandón jungle. For a description of how the EZLN's security measures over time corroded its support within the Lacandón jungle (as villagers increasingly found the EZLN's military norms a cultural strain), see Stephen (2002: 173).
9. For a systematic comparison of ERP and the EZLN, see Bruhn (1999).
10. Even though the top officers within the EZLN spoke before outsiders about the need to protect the rights of homosexuals, rank-and-file Zapatistas in Chiapas often did not understand the notion of lesbianism and, when pressed by foreign journalists and scholars, insisted that such forms of intimacy were absent from Chiapas. Likewise, the list of women's rights in the Zapatista pamphlet "The Mexican Alarm Clock" was never seriously pressed in negotiations with the state (Kampwirth 2002: 106–7, 112–14). As Kampwirth notes (2002: 107), "Such accounts suggest the need for caution when interpreting official Zapatista communiqués, and for a realization that there are many versions of the Zapatista agenda."

## From History to Theory

1. See Ron (2001) for a thoughtful discussion of the limits of resource-mobilization and political-process theories to explain Sendero Luminoso's tactics and reasoning.
2. Barker and Lavalette's study of Liverpool dockworkers illustrates what I call the discord approach (or what they call "contention about contention" (2002: 143)).

## REFERENCES

---

- Ackelsberg, Martha A. (1991). *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Adam, Barry D. (1987). *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement*. Boston, MA: Twayne.
- Aguilar Camín, Hector, and Lorenzo Meyer (1993). In *the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910–1989*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Alber, Jens (1989). "Modernization, Cleavage Structures, and the Rise of Green Parties and Lists in Europe." In *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists* (ed.) F. Müller-Rommel. Boulder, CO: Westview, 195–219.
- Alejos García, José (2003). "The Ch'ols Reclaim Palenque, or the War of Eternal Return." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion*, (eds.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 85–102.
- Allen, Christopher S. (1992). "Germany." In *European Politics in Transition, 2nd ed.*, (eds.) M. Kesselman and J. Krieger. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 233–326.
- Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Anderson, Richard D. Jr. (1982). "Soviet Decision-Making and Poland." *Problems of Communism* 31, no. 2: 22–36.
- Andreas, Peter R., and Kenneth E. Sharpe (1992). "Cocaine Politics in the Andes." *Current History* 91, no. 562: 74–8.
- Angell, Alan (1981). "Classroom Maoists: The Politics of Peruvian Schoolteachers Under Military Government." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 1, no.1: 1–20.
- Anonymous (1982). "Yes, There is a Women's Movement in Poland." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook* (eds.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 149–51.
- Anonymous (1988). "Gnomes, Revolution, and Toilet Paper: The Orange Alternative in Wroclaw," *Across Frontiers* 4, no.2–3: 1–5.
- Apter, David E. (1987). *Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Postmodern Politics*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Apter, David E., and Nagayo Sawa (1984). *Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Arendt, Hannah (1951). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Arendt, Hannah (1965). *On Revolution*. New York: Viking Press.
- Ascherson, Neal (1987). *The Struggles for Poland*. New York: Random House.
- Banaszak, Lee Ann (1996). *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Barker, Colin, and Michael Lavalette (2002). "Strategizing and the Sense of Context: Reflections on the First Two Weeks of the Liverpool Docks Lockout, September–October 1995." In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, (eds.) D. Meyer, N. Whittier, and B. Robnett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 140–56.
- Basombrío, Carlos (1999). "Peace in Peru: An Unfinished Task." In *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*, (ed.) C. Arnon. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 205–22.
- Bennett, Vivienne (1992). "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico Between 1968 and 1988." In *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, (eds.) A. Escobar and S. Alvarez. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- Berg, Ronald H. (1986–1987). "Sendero Luminoso and the Peasantry of Andahuaylas," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28, no.4: 165–96.
- Berg, Ronald H. (1992). "Peasant Responses to Shining Path in Andahuaylas." In *Shining Path of Peru* (ed.) David Scott Palmer. New York: St. Martin's, 83–104.
- Bernhard, Michael (1990). "Barriers to Further Political and Economic Change in Poland," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 23, no.3–4 (1990): 319–39.
- Bernhard, Michael H. (1993). *The Origins of Democratization in Poland: Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976–1980*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Betz, Hans-George (1995). "Alliance 90/Greens: From Fundamental Opposition to Black-Green." In *Germany's New Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1990s*, (eds.) D. Conradt, G. Kleinfeld, G. Romoser, and C. Soe. Providence, RI: Berghahn, 203–20.
- Biezanski, Robert (1994). "Workers' Self-Management and the Technical Intelligentsia in People's Poland," *Politics and Society* 22, no.1: 59–88.
- Black, Cyril, Jonathan E. Helmreich, Paul C. Helmreich, Charles P. Issawi, and A. James McAdams (1992). *Rebirth: A History of Europe Since World War II*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Błazkiewicz, Anna, Zbigniew W. Rydowski, Piotr Szwajcer, and Jerzy Wertenstein-Żuławski (1994). "The Solidarność Spring?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 27, no.2: 125–34.
- Blondet, Cecilia (1995). "Villa El Salvador." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (eds.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 272–77.
- Boggs, Carl (1986). "The Green Alternative and the Struggle for a Post-Marxist Discourse," *Theory and Society* 15, no.6: 869–99.
- Bourque, Susan C., and Kay B. Warren (1989). "Democracy without Peace: The Cultural Politics of Terror in Peru," *Latin American Research Review* 24, no.1: 7–34.
- Bracher, Karl Dietrich (1969). "The Problems of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe." In *Comparative Political Parties*, (ed.) A. Milnor. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 340–64.
- Braunthal, Gerard (1995). "The Perspective from the Left," *German Politics and Society* 13, no.1: 36–49.
- Brenner, Anita, and George R. Leighton (1943). *The Wind That Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1942*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Breines, Wini (1982). *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962–1968: The Great Refusal*. New York: J. F. Bergin.
- Brinton, Crane (1938). *The Anatomy of Revolution*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Bromke, Adam (1978). "The Opposition in Poland," *Problems of Communism* 27, no.4: 37–51.
- Brown, James F. (1988). *Eastern Europe and Communist Rule*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Brown, James F. (1991). *Surge to Freedom: The End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Brown, Michael F., and Eduardo Fernández (1991). *War of Shadows: The Struggle for Utopia in the Peruvian Amazon*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Bruhn, Kathleen (1997). *Taking on Goliath: The Emergence of a New Left Party and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Bruhn, Kathleen (1999). "Antonio Gramsci and the Palabra Verdadera: The Political Discourse of Mexico's Guerrilla Forces," *Journal of International Studies and World Affairs* 41, no.1: 29–55.
- Burguete Cal y Mayor, Araceli (2003). "The de Facto Autonomous Process: New Jurisdictions and Parallel Governments in Rebellion." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion*, (eds.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 191–218.
- Bürklin, Wilhelm P. (1985). "The German Greens: The Post-Industrial Non-Established and the Party System," *International Political Science Review* 6, no. 4: 463–81.
- Bürklin, Wilhelm P. (1987). "Governing Left Parties Frustrating the Radical Non-Established Left: The Rise and Inevitable Decline of the Greens," *European Sociological Review* 3, no.2: 109–26.
- Bürklin, Wilhelm P. (1988). "A Politico-Economic Model Instead of a Sour Grapes Logic: A Reply to Herbert Kitschelt's Critique," *European Sociological Review* 4, no.2: 161–6.
- Burns, Rob, and Wilfried van der Will (1988). *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Burt, Jo-Marie (1997). "Political Violence and the Grass-Roots in Lima, Peru." In *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, (eds.) D. Chalmers, K. Hite, S. Martin, K. Piester, M. Segarra, and C. Vilas. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 281–309.

- Burt, Jo-Marie, and José L. Ricci (1994). "Shining Path After Guzmán," *NACLA: Report to the Americas* 28, no. 3: 6–9.
- Cadena-Roa, Jorge (2003). "State Pacts, Elites, and Social Movements in Mexico's Transition to Democracy." In *States, Parties, and Social Movements*, (ed.) J. Goldstone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 107–43.
- Caen, Pierre. (1982). "Interview with Zbigniew Iwanow." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (ed.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 151–5.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. (1991). "Political Parties and the Worker-Employer Cleavage: The Impact of the Informal Sector on Voting in Lima, Peru," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 10, no.3: 293–313.
- Camp, Roderic Al (2003). *Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, Leon G. (1973). "The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960–65," *Latin American Research Review* 8, no.1: 45–70.
- Canak, William, and Laura Swanson (1998). *Modern Mexico*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Capra, Fritjof, and Charlene Spretnak. (1984). *Green Politics: The Global Promise*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Carlessi, Carolina (1989). "The Reconquest," *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 23, no.4: 14–21.
- Castells, Manuel (1983). *The City and the Grassroots*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Centeno, Miguel Ángel (1997). *Democracy within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*, 2nd ed. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Chand, Vikram K. (2001). *Mexico's Political Awakening*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Chong, Dennis (1991). *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Clark, Robert P. (1984). *The Basque Insurgents: ETA, 1952–1980*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cohen, Jean L. (1985). "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements," *Social Research* 52, no.4: 663–716.
- Cohn, Norman (1961). *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. New York: Harper.
- Collier, George A., with Elizabeth Lowery Quaratiello (1994). *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*. Oakland, CA: Food First.
- Communist Party of Peru (1982). *Develop Guerrilla Warfare*. Berkeley, CA: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.
- Communist Party of Peru (1985). *Don't Vote! Instead, Expand the Guerrilla War to Seize Power for the People*. Berkeley, CA: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.
- Communist Party of Peru (1986). *Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution*, Berkeley, CA: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.
- Conradt, David P. (1986). *The German Polity*, 3rd ed. New York: Longman.
- Cooper, Alice H. (1988). "The West German Peace Movement and the Christian Churches: An Institutional Approach," *Review of Politics* 50, no.1: 71–98.
- Cooper, Alice, and Klaus Eichner (1991). "The West German Peace Movement," *International Social Movement Research* 3: 149–71.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. (1971). "The Political Sociology of City-Ward Migration in Latin America: Toward Empirical Theory," *Latin American Urban Research* 1: 95–147.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. (1973). "Nation Building, Participation, and Distribution: The Politics of Social Reform Under Cárdenas." In *Crisis, Choice and Change: Historical Studies of Political Development* (ed.) G. Almond, S. Flanagan, and R. Mundt. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 392–498.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. (2003). "Politics in Mexico." In *Comparative Politics Today*, updated 7th ed., (eds.) G. Almond, G. Powell, K. Strom, and R. Dalton, 468–519. New York: Longman, 468–519.
- Costain, Anne N. (1992). *Inviting Women's Rebellion: A Political Process Interpretation of the Women's Movement*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Crabtree, John (1992). *Peru under García: An Opportunity Lost*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Curry, Jane L. (1992). "The Puzzle of Poland," *Current History* 91, no.568: 385–9.
- Dalton, Russell J. (1993). *Politics in Germany*, 2nd ed. New York: HarperCollins.



- Degenhardt, Henry W. (1988) *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements*, 2nd ed. London: Longman.
- Degregori, Carlos I. (1994). "Shining Path and Counterinsurgency Strategy Since the Arrest of Abimael Guzmán." In *Peru in Crisis: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, (eds.) J. Tulchin and G. Bland. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 81–100.
- Degregori, Carlos I. (1998). "Harvest Storms: Peasant Rondas and the Defeat of Sendero Luminoso in Ayacucho." In *Shining and Other Paths*, (ed.) S. Stern. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 128–57.
- del Pino, Ponciano (1998). "Family, Culture, and 'Revolution'." In *Shining and Other Paths*, (ed.) S. Stern. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 158–92.
- Die Grünen (1983). *Programme of the German Green Party*. London: Heretic Books.
- Dietz, Henry (1986–1987). "Electoral Politics in Peru, 1978–1986," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28, no.4: 139–63.
- Dietz, Henry (1990). "Peru's Sendero Luminoso as a Revolutionary Movement," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 18, no.1: 123–50.
- Dobson, Andrew (1990). *Green Political Thought: An Introduction*. London: HarperCollins.
- Drzycimski, Andrzej (1982). "Growing." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (eds.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 110–12.
- Dyson, Kenneth (1989). "Economic Policy." In *Developments in West German Politics*, (eds.) G. Smith, W. Patterson, and P. Merkl. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 148–67.
- Eckersly, Robyn (1989). "Green Politics and the New Class: Selfishness or Virtue?" *Political Studies* 37, no.2: 205–23.
- Eckert, Roland, and Helmut Willems (1986). "Youth Protest in Western Europe: Four Case Studies," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 9: 127–53.
- Eckstein, Susan (1977). *The Poverty of Revolution: The State and the Urban Poor in Mexico*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Edelman, Murray (1988). *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Eisenstadt, Todd A. (2004). *Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Escobar, Arturo, and Sonia Alvarez (1992). *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Esser, Josef, and Wolfgang Fach with Kenneth Dyson (1983). "'Social Market' and Modernization Policy: West Germany." In *Industrial Crisis: A Comparative Study of the State and Industry*, (eds.) K. Dyson and S. Wilks. New York: St. Martin's, 102–27.
- Evans, Sara (1979). *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*. New York: Knopf.
- Evans, Sara M., and Harry C. Boyte (1986). *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison (1991). *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Fallenbuchl, Zbigniew M. (1982). "Poland's Economic Crisis," *Problems of Communism* 31: 1–21.
- Fantasia, Rick (1988). *Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action, and Contemporary American Workers*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Ferree, Myra M. (1987). "Equality and Autonomy: Feminist Politics in the United States and West Germany." In *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe: Consciousness, Political Opportunity, and Public Policy*, (eds.) M. Katzenstein and C. Mueller. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 172–95.
- Fogt, Helmut (1989). "The Greens and the New Left: Influences of Left-Extremism on Green Party Organisation and Policies." In *The Greens in West Germany: Organization and Policy Making*, (ed.) E. Kolinsky. Oxford: Berg, 89–121.
- Foran, John (2003). "Introduction to the Future of Revolutions." In *The Future of Revolutions: Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Globalization*, (ed.) J. Foran. London: Zed Books, 1–15.
- Foweraker, Joe, and Todd Landman (1997). *Citizenship Rights and Social Movements: A Comparative and Statistical Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frankland, E. Gene (1989). "Federal Republic of Germany: 'Die Grünen'." In *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists*, (ed.) F. Müller-Rommel. Boulder, CO: Westview, 61–79.

- Frankland, E. Gene, and Donald Schoonmaker (1992). *Between Protest and Power: The Green Party in Germany*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Fromm, Erich (1941). *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Gamson, William A. (1968) "Stable Unrepresentation in American Society," *American Behavioral Scientist* 12, no.2: 15–21.
- Gamson, William A. (1975) *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.
- Garner, Roberta Ash, and Mayer N. Zald (1985). "The Political Economy of Social Movement Sectors." In *The Challenge of Social Control: Citizenship and Institution Building in Modern Society—Essays in Honor of Morris Janowitz*, (eds.) G. Suttles and M. Zald. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 119–45.
- Garton Ash, Timothy (1991). *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*, Rev. and updated ed. London: Granta Books.
- Garton Ash, Timothy (1993). *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Garton Ash, Timothy (1995). "'Neo-Pagan' Poland," *New York Review of Books* 43, no.1: 10–14.
- Gaventa, John (1980). *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Gianotten, Vera, Ton de Wit, and Hans de Wit (1985). "The Impact of Sendero Luminoso on Regional and National Politics in Peru." In *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America* edited by D. Slater. Amsterdam: CEDLA, 171–202.
- Gitlin, Todd (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1980.
- Glenn, John K. III (2001). *Framing Democracy: Civil Society and Civic Movements in Eastern Europe* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goldberg, Robert A. (1991). *Grassroots Resistance: Social Movements in Twentieth Century America* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Goldman, Minton F. (1986). "Soviet Policy Toward the Political Turmoil in Poland During the Fall of 1980," *East European Quarterly* 20, no.3: 335–57.
- Gonzales, José E. (1992). "Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley." In *Shining Path of Peru* (ed.) D. Palmer. New York: St. Martin's, 105–25.
- Gonzales, Michael J. (2002). *The Mexican Revolution: 1910–1940*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Gonzales de Olarte, Efraín (1993). "Economic Stabilization and Structural Adjustment Under Fujimori," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 35, no.2: 51–80.
- Gonzales de Olarte, Efraín (1994). "Peru's Difficult Road to Economic Development." In *Peru in Crisis: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, J. Tulchin and G. Bland. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 155–85.
- Goodwyn, Jeff, and James M. Jasper (1999). "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," *Sociological Forum* 14, no.1: 27–54.
- Goodwyn, Lawrence (1978). *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwyn, Lawrence (1991) *Breaking the Barrier: The Rise of Solidarity in Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gorriti, Gustavo (1992). "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky." In *Shining Path of Peru*, (ed.) D. Palmer. New York: St. Martin's, 149–70.
- Gorriti, Gustavo (1999). *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Grabowski, Tomek (1996). "The Party That Never Was: The Rise and Fall of the Solidarity Citizens' Committees in Poland," *East European Politics and Society* 10(2): 214–54.
- Green, Simon (1995). "Postscript: The Land Elections in Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen and Bremen," *German Politics* 4, no.2: 152–8.
- Grindle, Marilee S. (2000) "Mexico." In *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*, 2nd ed., (ed.) M. Kesselman, J. Krieger, and W. Joseph. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 377–423.
- Gutman, Matthew C. (2002). *The Romance of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico* Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Guzmán, Abimael (1988). *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo*. Berkeley, CA: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.

- Halebsky, Sandor (1976). *Mass Society and Political Conflict: Towards a Reconstruction of Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hancock, M. Donald (1989). *West Germany: The Politics of Democratic Corporatism*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Hancock, M. Donald (1993). "The SPD Seeks a New Identity: Party Modernization and Prospects in the 1990s." In *The New Germany Votes: Unification and the Creation of a New German Party System* (ed.) R. Dalton. Providence, RI: Berg, 77–98.
- Handelman, Howard (1975). *Struggle in the Andes*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Handelman, Howard (1997). *Mexican Politics: The Dynamics of Change*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Haq, Mahbub (1995). *Reflections on Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harding, Colin (1987). "The Rise of Sendero Luminoso." In *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History*, (ed.) R. Miller. Liverpool: University of Liverpool Institute of Latin American Studies, 179–207.
- Harding, Colin (1988). "Antonio Díaz Martínez and the Ideology of Sendero Luminoso," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 7, no.1: 65–73.
- Hart, John (1997). *Revolutionary Mexico, The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution*. 10th Anniversary ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Harvey, Neil (1990). "Peasant Strategies and Corporatism in Chiapas." In *Popular Movements and Political Change in Mexico*, (ed.) J. Foweraker and A. Craig. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 183–98.
- Harvey, Neil (1998). *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl (1995). "The APRA." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (ed.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk, 240–4. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 240–4.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (1983). *Mexico in Crisis*, 2nd ed. New York: Holmes and Meier.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (2000). "Real and Virtual Chiapas: Magic Realism and the Left," *Socialist Register* 2000: 161–86.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (2001). "Real and Virtual Chiapas: A Reply to Paulson," *Socialist Register* 2001: 289–92.
- Hermens, Ferdinand A. (1951). *Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Hermens, Ferdinand A. (1984). "Representation and Proportional Representation." In *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives*, (ed.) A. Lijphart and B. Grofman. New York: Praeger, 15–30.
- Hernández Castillo, Rosalva Aída (2003). "Between Civil Disobedience and Silent Rejection: Differing Responses by Mam Peasants to the Zapatista Rebellion." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion*, (ed.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 63–84.
- Hill, Christopher (1972). *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*. New York: Viking.
- Hill, Phil (1985). "Crisis of the Greens: 'Fundis,' 'Realos,' and the Future," *Radical America* 19, no.5: 35–43.
- Hodges, Donald, and Ross Gandy (2002). *Mexico under Siege: Popular Resistance to Presidential Despotism*. London: Zed Books.
- Hoffer, Eric (1951). *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Holc, Janine P. (1995). "Competing Visions of Polish Parliament, 1989–1993," *East European Quarterly* 29, no.1: 69–87.
- Holmes, Kim R. (1983). "The Origins, Development, and Composition of the Green Movement." In *The Greens of West Germany: Origins, Strategies, and Transatlantic Implications*, (ed.) R. Pfaltzgraff, K. Holmes, C. Clemens, and W. Kaltefleiter, 15–46. Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 15–46.
- Hosking, Geoffrey (1991). *The Awakening of the Soviet Union*. Enlarged ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hülsberg, Werner (1985). "The Greens at the Crossroads," *New Left Review* 152: 5–29.
- Hülsberg, Werner (1988). *The German Greens: A Social and Political Profile*. London: Verso.

- Hyde-Price, Adrian (2003). "Foreign and Security Policy." In *Developments in German Politics 3*, (ed.) S. Padgett, W. Paterson, and G. Smith. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 184–205.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1990). *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inter-University Coordinating Commission (1982). "The Lodz Agreement." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 143–9.
- Isbell, Billie Jean (1992). "Shining Path and Peasant Responses in Rural Ayacucho." In *Shining Path of Peru*, (ed.) D. Palmer. New York: St. Martin's, 59–81.
- Izaguirre, Carlos Reyna (1996). "Shining Path in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Actors in Search of a New Script," *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 30, no.1: 37–8.
- James, C.L.R. (1963). *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. Revised. New York: Random House.
- Janiszewski, Jerzy (1982). "Solidarnosc: Design for a Logo." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (ed.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 79–80.
- Jenkins, J. Craig (1981). "Sociopolitical Movements." In *The Handbook of Political Behavior*, vol. 4, (ed.) Samuel L. Long. New York: Plenum, 81–153.
- Jenkins, J. Craig (1983). "The Transformation of a Constituency into a Movement: Farmworker Organizing in California." In *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*, (ed.) J. Freeman. New York: Longman, 52–70.
- Joppke, Christian, and Andrei S. Markovits (1994). "Green Politics in the New Germany," *Dissent* 41, spring: 235–40.
- Judkins, Bennett, M. (1983). "Mobilization of Membership: The Black and Brown Lung Movements." In *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*, (ed.) M. Freeman. New York: Longman, 35–51.
- Kamiński, Bartłomiej (1991). *The Collapse of State Socialism: The Case of Poland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kampwirth, Karen (2002). *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Kampwirth, Karen (2004) *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Karabel, Jerome (1993). "Polish Intellectuals and the Origins of Solidarity: The Making of an Oppositional Alliance," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 26, no.1: 25–46.
- Karpiński, Jakub (1987). "Polish Intellectuals in Opposition," *Problems of Communism* 36, no.4: 44–57.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (1987) *Policy and Politics in West Germany: The Growth of a Semisovereign State*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (1989) "Stability and Change in the Emerging Third Republic." In *Industry and Politics in West Germany: Toward the Third Republic*, edited by P. Katzenstein. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 307–53.
- Kelley, Robin D. (1994). *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press.
- Kenney, Charles D. (2004). *Fujimori's Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Killian, Lewis (1964). "Social movements." In *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, (ed.) R. Faris. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 426–55.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1988). "The Life Expectancy of Left-Libertarian Parties. Does Structural Transformation or Economic Decline Explain Party Innovation? A Response to Wilhelm P. Bürklin," *European Sociological Review* 4, no.2: 155–60.
- Klaiber, Jeffrey (1998). *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Kolinsky, Eva (1984). *Parties, Opposition and Society in West Germany*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Kolinsky, Eva (1989). "Women in the Green Party." In *The Greens in West Germany: Organization and Policy Making*, edited by E. Kolinsky. Oxford: Berg, 189–221.
- Kopkind, Andrew (2002). "Opening Shots." In *The Zapatista Reader*, (ed.) T. Hayden. New York: Nation Books, 19–21.
- Kornhauser, William (1959). *The Politics of Mass Society*. New York: Free Press.

- Kowalewski, Zbigniew (1982). "Solidarity on the Eve." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (ed.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 230–40.
- Kowalik, Tadeusz (1994). "A Reply to Maurice Glasman," *New Left Review* 206: 133–44.
- Kramer, David (1994). "The Graying of the German Greens," *Dissent* 41, spring: 231–4.
- Kramer, Mark (1995). "Polish Workers and the Post-Communist Transition, 1989–1993," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28, no.1: 71–114.
- Kubik, Jan (1994). *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Kuroń, Jacek, and Karol Modzelewski (1982). "Open Letter to Party Members." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (ed.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 35–56.
- Laba, Roman (1991). *The Roots of Solidarity: A Political Sociology of Poland's Working-class Democratization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- La Botz, Dan (1995). *Democracy in Mexico: Peasant Rebellion and Political Reform*. Boston, MA: South End, 1995.
- Laclau, Ernesto (1985). "New Social Movements and the Plurality of the Social." In *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*, (ed.) D. Slater. Amsterdam: CEDLA, 27–42.
- Lakeman, Enid (1984). "The Case for Proportional Representation." In *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives*, (eds.) A. Lijphart and B. Grofman. New York: Praeger, 41–51.
- Lees, Charles (2000). *The Red-Green Coalition in Germany: Politics, Personalities and Power*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- Leyva Solano, Xóchitl (2003). "Regional, Communal, and Organizational Transformation in Las Cañadas." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion* (eds.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 161–84.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1950). *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan—A Study in Political Sociology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1955). "The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy," *British Journal of Sociology* 6, no.2: 176–209.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1960). *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday.
- Lopiński, Maciej, Marcin Moskit, and Mariusz Wilk (1990). *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Lustig, Nora (1998). *Mexico: The Remaking of an Economy*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- MacLachlan, Colin M., and William H. Beezley (1999). *El Gran Pueblo: A History of Greater Mexico*, 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Mariátegui, José Carlos (1971). *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Mariátegui, José Carlos (1995). "Reflections." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (ed.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 228–33.
- Markovits, Andrei S. (1982). "The Legacy of Liberalism and Collectivism in the Labor Movement: A Tense but Fruitful Compromise for Model Germany." In *The Political Economy of West Germany: Modell Deutschland*, (ed.) A. Markovits. New York: Praeger, 141–87.
- Markovits, Andrei S., and Christopher S. Allen (1989). "The Trade Unions." In *Developments in West German Politics*, (ed.) G. Smith, W. Patterson, and P. Merkl. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 289–307.
- Markovits, Andrei S. and Russell J. Dalton (1995). "Spin Doctors and Soothsayers: The Bundestag Elections of October 16, 1994," *German Politics and Society* 13, no.1: 1–11.
- Markovits, Andrei S., and Philip S. Gorski (1993). *The German Left: Red, Green and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marody, Mira (1995). "Three Stages of Party System Emergence in Poland," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28, no.2: 263–70.
- Mason, David S. (1992). *Revolution in East-Central Europe: The Rise and Fall of Communism and the Cold War*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Matiace, Shannon L. (2003). "Regional Renegotiations of Space: Tojolabal Ethnic Identity in Las Margaritas, Chiapas." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the*

- Zapatista Rebellion*, (ed.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 109–33.
- Mauceri, Philip (1995). "State Reform, Coalitions, and the Neoliberal *Autogolpe* in Peru," *Latin American Research Review* 30, no.1: 7–37.
- McAdam, Doug (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug (1988). *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, John D., and Mark Wolfson (1988) "Exploring Sources of Rapid Social Movement Growth: The Role of Organizational Form, Consensus Support, and Elements of the American State." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association workshop, "Frontiers in Social Movement Theorizing," Ann Arbor, MI, June 9.
- McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald (1977). "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no.6: 1212–41.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1981). *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1984). "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso," *World Politics* 37, no.1: 48–84.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1989). "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, (ed.) S. Eckstein. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 61–101.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1993). "Peru's Fujimori: A Caudillo Derails Democracy," *Current History* 92, no.572: 112–19.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1998). *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- McClintock, Cynthia (1999). "The Decimation of Peru's Sendero Luminoso." In *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*, (ed.) C. Arnsion. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 223–49.
- McGee, R. Jon (2002). *Watching Lacandon Maya Lives*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Melucci, Alberto (1985). "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements," *Social Research* 52, no.4: 789–816.
- Melucci, Alberto (1988). "Social Movements and the Democratization of Everyday Life." In *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, (ed.) J. Keane. London: Verso, 245–59.
- Mewes, Horst (1983). "The West German Green Party," *New German Critique* 28: 51–85.
- Mez, Lutz (1998). "Who Votes Green? Sources and Trends of Green Support." In *The German Greens: Paradox between Movement and Party*, (eds.) M. Mayer and J. Ely. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 72–93.
- Michnik, Adam (1985). *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Migdal, Joel S. (1974). *Peasants, Politics, and Revolution: Pressures Toward Political and Social Change in the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Millard, Frances (1994). *The Anatomy of the New Poland: Post-Communist Politics in its First Phase*. Brookfield, VT.: Edward Elgar.
- Morris, Aldon D. (1984). *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press.
- Morris, Aldon D., and Cedric Herring (1981). "Theory and Research in Social Movements: A Critical Review." In S. L. Long (ed.) *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 137–98.
- Moyano, Maria E. (1995). "There Have Been Threats." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (eds.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 371–6.
- Mushaben, Joyce Marie (1984). "Anti-Politics and Successor Generations: The Role of Youth in the West and East German Peace Movements," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 12, no.1: 171–90.
- Mushaben, Joyce Marie (1985). "Cycles of Peace Protest in West Germany: Experiences from Three Decades," *West European Politics* 8, no.1: 24–40.
- Naples, Nancy A. (2002). "Materialist Feminist Discourse Analysis and Social Movement Research: Mapping the Changing Context of 'Community Control'." In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture,*

- and the State, (ed.) D. Meyer, N. Whittier, and B. Robnett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 226–46.
- Nicario [pseud.] (1995). "Memories of a Cadre." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (eds.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 328–35.
- Nowak, Jan (1982). "The Church in Poland," *Problems of Communism* 31, no.1: 1–16.
- Offe, Claus (1987). "Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements Since the 1960s." In *Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe*, (ed.) C. Maier. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 63–105.
- Ost, David (1988). "Indispensable Ambiguity: Solidarity's Internal Authority Structure," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 21, no.2: 189–201.
- Ost, David (1989). "The Transformation of Solidarity and the Future of Central Europe," *Telos* 79: 69–94.
- Ost, David (1990). *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics: Opposition and Reform in Poland Since 1968*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Owen Smith, Eric (1983). *The West German Economy*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Owen Smith, Eric (1989). "A Survey of Economic Policy." In *West Germany Today*, (ed.) K. Koch. London: Routledge, 52–81.
- Padgett, Stephen (1987). "The West German Social Democrats in Opposition, 1982–86," *West European Politics* 10, no.3: 333–56.
- Padgett, Stephen, and Tony Burkett (1986). *Political Parties and Elections in West Germany: The Search for a New Stability*. London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Palmer, David S. (1986). "Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso," *Comparative Politics* 18, no.2: 127–46.
- Palmer, David Scott (1990). "Peru's Persistent Problems," *Current History* 89, no.543: 5–8, 31–4.
- Palmer, David Scott (2000). "Democracy and Its Discontents in Fujimori's Peru," *Current History* 99, no.634: 60–5.
- Pancho [pseud.] (1995). "Vietnam in the Andes." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (eds.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 342–7.
- Papadakis, Elim (1984). *The Green Movement in West Germany*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Park, Robert E. (1972). *"The Crowd and the Public" and Other Essays*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Pastor, Manuel, and Carol Wise (1992). "Peruvian Economic Policy in the 1980s: From Orthodoxy to Heterodoxy and Back," *Latin American Research Review* 27, no.2: 83–117.
- Pateman, Carole (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paulson, Justin (2001). "Peasant Struggles and International Solidarity: The Case of Chiapas," *Socialist Register* 2001: 275–88.
- Payerhin, Marek, and Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh (2006). "On Movement Frames and Negotiated Identities: The Case of Poland's First Solidarity Congress," *Social Movement Studies* 5, no. 2: 91–115.
- Penn, Shana (2005). *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Perlman, Janice E. (1975). "Rio's Favelas and the Myth of Marginality," *Politics and Society* 5, no.2: 131–60.
- Persky, Stan (1981). *At the Lenin Shipyard*. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books.
- Petras, James (1968). "Revolution and Guerrilla Movements in Latin America: Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, and Peru." In *Latin America: Reform or Revolution? A Reader*, (eds.) J. Petras and M. Zeitlin. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 329–69.
- Petras, James F., and A. Eugene Havens (1981a). "Peasant Movements and Social Change: Cooperatives in Peru." In *Class, State and Power in the Third World with Case Studies on Class Conflict in Latin America*, (eds.) J. Petras, A. Havens, M. Morley, and P. DeWitt. Montclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Publishers, 227–37.
- Petras, James F., and A. Eugene Havens (1981b). "Urban Radicalism in Peru." In *Class, State and Power in the Third World with Case Studies on Class Conflict in Latin America*, (eds.) J. Petras, A. Havens, M. Morley, and P. DeWitt. Montclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Publishers, 238–54.

- Piester, Kerianne (1997). "Targeting the Poor: The Politics of Social Policy Reforms in Mexico." In *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, (eds.) D. Chalmers, C. Vilas, K. Hite, S. Martin, K. Piester, and M. Segarra. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 469–88.
- Pinl, Claudia (1998). "Green Feminism in Parliamentary Politics." In *The German Greens: Paradox Between Movement and Party*, (eds.) M. Mayer and J. Ely. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 128–40.
- Piven, Frances Fox (1976). "The Social Structuring of Political Protest," *Politics and Society* 6, no.3: 297–326.
- Poguntke, Thomas (1992a). "Party Activists versus Voters: Are the German Greens Losing Touch with the Electorate?" In *Green Politics One 1990*, (ed.) W. Rüdiger. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 29–46.
- Poguntke, Thomas (1992b). "Unconventional Participation in Party Politics: The Experiences of the German Greens," *Political Studies*, 40, no.2: 239–54.
- Poguntke, Thomas, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (1994). "Still the Same With a New Name? Bündnis 90/Die Grünen After the Fusion," *German Politics* 3, no.1: 91–113.
- Polletta, Francesca (1997). "Culture and Its Discontents: Recent Theorizing on the Cultural Dimensions of Protest," *Sociological Inquiry* 67, no.4: 432–50.
- Polletta, Francesca (1999). "'Free Spaces' in Collective Action," *Theory and Society* 28: 1–38.
- Poole, Debrah, and Gerjerdo Rénique (1992). *Peru: Time of Fear*. London: Latin America Bureau.
- Powell, John Duncan (1971). *Political Mobilization of the Venezuelan Peasant*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham (1982). *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pravda, Alex. (1982). "Poland 1980: From 'Premature Consumerism' to Labour Solidarity," *Soviet Studies* 34, no.2: 167–99.
- Preston, Julia, and Samuel Dillon (2004). *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Pulzer, Peter (1995). *German Politics, 1945–1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Quijano Obregón, Aníbal (1968). "Tendencies in Peruvian Development and in the Class Structure," in *Latin America: Reform or Revolution? A Reader*, (eds.) J. Petras and M. Zeitlin. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 289–327.
- Ranis, Peter (1971). *Five Latin American Nations: A Comparative Study*. New York: Macmillan.
- Reid, Michael (1986). "Building Bridges? García Confronts Sendero," *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 20, no.3: 43–6.
- Roberts, Geoffrey K. (1995). "Supervahljahr 1994 and Its Effects on the German Party System," *German Politics* 4, no.2: 4–25.
- Rogers, Daniel E. (1995). *Politics after Hitler: The Western Allies and the German Party System*. New York: New York University Press.
- Rogin, Michael Paul (1967) *The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.
- Ron, James (2001). "Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation," *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no.5: 569–92.
- Ronfeldt, David, John Arquilla, Graham E. Fuller, and Melissa Fuller (1998). *The Zapatista Social Netwar in Mexico*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Rosenberg, Tina (1991). *Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America*. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Ross, John (2000). *The War Against Oblivion: The Zapatista Chronicles*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage.
- Roth, Roland (1991). "Local Green Politics in West German Cities," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 15, no.1: 75–89.
- Roth, Roland, and Detlef Murphy (1998). "From Competing Factions to the Rise of the Realos." In *The German Greens: Paradox Between Movement and Party*, (eds.) M. Mayer and J. Ely. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 49–71.



- Rothacher, Albrecht (1984). "The Green Party in German Politics," *West European Politics* 7, no.3: 109–16.
- Rudé, George (1959). *The Crowd in the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang (2002). "Germany." In *Green Parties in National Governments*, edited by F. Müller-Rommel and T. Poguntke. London: Frank Cass, 78–111.
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang (2003). "The Environment and Nuclear Power." In *Developments in German Politics 3* (eds.) S. Padgett, W. Paterson, and G. Smith. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 248–68.
- Rudolph, James D. (1992). *Peru: The Evolution of a Crisis*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Rule, James B. (1988). *Theories of Civil Violence*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Rus, Jan, and George A. Collier (2003). "A Generation of Crisis in the Central Highlands of Chiapas: The Cases of Chamula and Zinacantan, 1974–2000." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion*, (eds.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 33–61.
- Rus, Jan, Shannan L. Mattiace, and Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo (2003). "Introduction." In *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion*, (eds.) J. Rus, R. Hernández Castillo, and S. Mattiace. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1–26.
- Sachs, Jeffrey (1993). *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Salcedo, José M. (1986). "The Price of Peace: A Report from the Emergency Zone," *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 20, no.3: 37–42.
- Saldaña-Portillo, María Josefina (2003). *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sanford, George. (1990). *The Solidarity Congress, 1981: The Great Debate*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Scharf, Thomas (1994). *The German Greens: Challenging the Consensus*. Oxford: Berg.
- Scharf, Thomas (1995). "Waving Not Drowning: The Consolidation of the German Greens," *German Politics* 4, no.2: 172–81.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. (1949). *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schoonmaker, Donald (1988). "The Challenge of the Greens to the West German Party System." In *When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations*, (eds.) K. Lawson and P. Merkl. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 41–75.
- Schoonmaker, Don (1995). "Unifying the Greens." In *The Federal Republic of Germany at Forty-Five: Union Without Unity*, (ed.) P. Merkl. New York: New York University Press, 296–311.
- Schorske, Carl E. (1972). *German Social Democracy, 1905–1917: The Development of the Great Schism*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Schwartz, Michael, and Paul Shuva (1992). "Resource Mobilization Versus the Mobilization of People: Why Consensus Movements Cannot Be Instruments of Social Change." In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, (eds.) A. Morris and C. Mueller. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 205–23.
- Scott, Alan (1990). *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Sheahan, John (1994). "Commentary." In *Peru in Crisis: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, (eds.) J. Tulchin and G. Bland. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 187–93.
- Singer, Daniel (1982). *The Road to Gdansk: Poland and the USSR*. New York: Monthly Review.
- Skidmore, Thomas E., and Peter H. Smith (1992). *Modern Latin America*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Christian (1991). *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Gavin (1989). *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Smith, Gordon (1984). *Politics in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, 4th ed. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Smith, Gordon (2003). "The 'New Model' Party System." In *Developments in German Politics 3*, (eds.) S. Padgett, W. Paterson, and G. Smith. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 82–100.
- Smith, Michael L. (1992). "Shining Path's Urban Strategy: Ate Vitarte." In *Shining Path of Peru*, (ed.) D. Palmer. New York: St. Martin's Press, 127–47.

- Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford (1992). "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest." In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, (eds.) A. Morris and C. Mueller. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 133–55.
- Soboul, Albert (1972). *The Sans Culottes: The Popular Movement and Revolutionary Government, 1793–1794*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Solidarity National Congress (1982). "The Solidarity Program." In *The Solidarity Sourcebook*, (eds.) S. Persky and H. Flam. Vancouver, BC: New Star, 205–25.
- Staniszki, Jadwiga (1984). *Poland's Self-Limiting Revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Staniszki, Jadwiga (1989). "The Obsolescence of Solidarity," *Telos* 79: 37–50.
- Starn, Orin (1991). "Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru," *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no.1: 63–91.
- Starn, Orin, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk (1995). *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Starski, Stanislaw (1982). *Class Struggle in Classless Poland*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Stefancic, David R. (1992). *Robotnik: A Short History of the Struggle for Worker Self-Management and Free Trade Unions in Poland, 1944–1981*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stein, Steve (1980). *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Steinberg, Marc W. (1998). "Tilting the Frame: Considerations on Collective Action Framing from a Discursive Turn," *Theory and Society* 27, no.6: 845–72.
- Steinberg, Marc W. (2002). "Toward a More Dialogic Analysis of Social Movement Culture." In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, (eds.) D. Meyer, N. Whittier, and B. Robnett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 208–25.
- Stepan, Alfred (1978). *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Stephen, Lynn (2002). *Zapata Lives! Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Stephens, Evelyne H. (1983). "The Peruvian Military Government, Labor Mobilization, and the Political Strength of the Left," *Latin American Research Review* 18, no.2: 57–93.
- Stokes, Susan C. (1991a). "Hegemony, Consciousness, and Political Change in Peru," *Politics and Society* 19, no.3: 265–90.
- Stokes, Susan C. (1991b). "Politics and Latin America's Urban Poor: Reflections from a Lima Shantytown," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no.2: 75–101.
- Stokes, Susan C. (1995). *Cultures in Conflict: Social Movements and the State in Peru*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Strong, Simon (1992). *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru*. New York: Times Books.
- Swidler, Ann (1995). "Cultural Power and Social Movements." In *Social Movements and Culture*, (eds.) H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 25–41.
- Taras, Ray (1996). "The End of the Walesa Era in Poland," *Current History* 95, no.599: 124–8.
- Tarazona-Sevillano, Gabriela (1990). *Sendero Luminoso and the Threat of Narcoterrorism*. New York: Praeger.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1989a). *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965–1975*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1989b). *Struggle, Politics, and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements, and Cycles of Protest*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Studies in International Affairs Western Societies Paper.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney (2005). *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Charles L., and David A. Jodice (1983). *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, 3rd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Taylor, Lewis (1987). "Agrarian Unrest and Political Conflict in Puno, 1985–1987," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 6, no.2: 135–62.
- Taylor, Lewis (1990). "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Peruvian *Izquierda Unida* 1980–90," *Journal of Communist Studies* 6, no.3: 108–19.
- Thompson, Edward P. (1963). *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Random House.

- Thompson, Edward P. (1971). "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50: 76–135.
- Tilly, Charles (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Tilly, Charles (1986). *The Contentious French*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tilly, Charles, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly (1975). *The Rebellious Century, 1830–1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Touraine, Alain (1981). *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Touraine, Alain (1985). "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements," *Social Research* 52, no.4: 749–87.
- Touraine, Alain, François Dubet, Michel Wieviorka, and Jan Strzelecki (1983). *Solidarity: Poland 1980–81*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Velasco, Juan (1995). "The Master Will No Longer Feed Off Your Poverty." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (eds.) O. Starn, C. Degregori, and R. Kirk. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 264–9.
- Verba, Sidney (1961). *Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wade, Larry L., Peter Lavelle, and Alexander J. Groth (1995). "Searching for Voting Patterns in Post-Communist Poland's Sejm Elections," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28, no.4: 411–25.
- Walzer, Michael (1985). *Exodus and Revolution*. New York: Basic Books.
- Weinberg, Bill (2000). *Homage to Chiapas: The New Indigenous Struggles in Mexico*. London: Verso.
- Werlich, David P. (1984). "Peru: The Shadow of the Shining Path," *Current History* 83, no.490: 78–82, 90.
- Werlich, David P. (1988). "Peru: García Loses His Charm," *Current History* 87, no.525: 13–16, 36–7.
- Werlich, David P. (1991). "Fujimori and the 'Disaster' in Peru," *Current History* 90, no.553: 61–4, 81–3.
- Weschler, Lawrence (1984). *The Passion of Poland: From Solidarity Through the State of War*. New York: Pantheon.
- Weschler, Lawrence (1988). "Skirmish" *New Yorker* 64, no.28: 48–67.
- Weschler, Lawrence (1989). "A Grand Experiment," *New Yorker* 65, no.17: 59–104.
- Weschler, Lawrence (1990). "Shock," *New Yorker* 66, no.43: 86–136.
- Weschler, Lawrence (1992). "Deficit," *New Yorker* 68, no.12: 41–77.
- West, Cornel (1993). *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America*. New York: Routledge.
- Williams, Heather (2002). "Debtors' Revenge." In *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture and Politics*, (eds.) G. Joseph and J. Henderson. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wilson, John (1973). *Introduction to Social Movements*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wise, Carol (1986). "The Perils of Orthodoxy: Peru's Political Economy," *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 20, no.3: 14–26.
- Wolf, Eric R. (1969). *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Womack, John (1999). *Rebellion in Chiapas: An Historical Reader*. New York: New Press.
- World Bank (1991). *Social Indicators of Development, 1990*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Woy-Hazleton, Sandra and William A. Hazleton (1992). "Shining Path and the Marxist Left." In *Shining Path of Peru*, (ed.) D. Palmer. New York: St. Martin's, 207–24.
- Wozniuk, Vladimir (1986). "Determinants in the Development of the Polish Crisis of 1980: The Interplay of Domestic and External Factors," *East European Quarterly* 20, no.3: 317–34.
- Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto (1989). "Traditions of Protest and the High-School Student Movements in Spain and France in 1986–87," *West European Politics* 12, no.3: 220–37.
- Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto (1991). *A Rebellious People: Basques, Protests, and Politics*. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press.
- Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto (2004). "Farm Workers Labor Movement." In *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements, Volume Three*, Immanuel Ness. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 822–34.
- Zolov, Eric (1999). *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Zubek, Voytek (1991a). "The Threshold of Poland's Transition: 1989 Electoral Campaign as the Last Act of a United Solidarity," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 24, no.4: 355–76.

- Zubek, Voytek (1991b). "Wałęsa's Leadership and Poland's Transition," *Problems of Communism* 40, no.1-2: 69-83.
- Zubek, Voytek (1992). "The Rise and Fall of Rule by Poland's Best and Brightest," *Soviet Studies* 44, no.4: 579-608.
- Zubek, Voytek (1993). "The Fragmentation of Poland's Political Party System," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 26, no.1: 47-71.
- Zubek, Voytek (1995). "The Phoenix Out of the Ashes: The Rise to Power of Poland's Post-Communist SdRP," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28, no.3: 275-306.
- Zuzowski, Robert (1991). "The Origins of Open Organized Dissent in Today's Poland: KOR and other Dissident Groups," *East European Quarterly* 25, no.1: 59-90.

## NAME INDEX

---

- Adam, Barry D., 131  
Aguilar Camín, Hector, 181  
Alber, Jens, 63, 65  
Allen, Christopher S., 246n2  
Anderson, Richard D. Jr., 247n3  
Andreas, Peter R., 247n5  
Apter, David E., 245n10  
Arendt, Hannah, 6, 7, 254n3  
Ascherson, Neal, 85, 246n1, 246n2, 247n3
- Barker, Colin, 249n2  
Basombrio, Carlos, 248n5  
Benford, Robert D., 243  
Bennett, Vivienne, 205  
Berg, Ronald H., 166  
Bernhard, Michael H., 246n2, 247n2, 247n3  
Betz, Hans-George, 246n3  
Biezanski, Robert, 112  
Black, Cyril, 246n1  
Braunthal, Gerard, 246n3  
Breezley, William H., 248n1  
Brinton, Crane, 5  
Bromke, Adam, 247n2, 247n3  
Brown, James F., 247n5  
Bruhn, Kathleen, 249n9  
Burguete Cal y Mayor, Araceli, 249n6  
Burkett, Tony, 246n4  
Bürklin, Wilhelm, 65  
Burt, Jo-Marie, 171, 248n5
- Cadena-Roa, Jorge, 198  
Castells, Manuel, 153  
Centeno, Miguel Ángel, 182, 248n3  
Chong, Dennis, 4  
Cohen, Jean L., 245n8  
Cohn, Norman, 245n5  
Collier, George A., 248n4, 249n1, 249n2, 249n3, 249n7, 249n8  
Cooper, Alice, 47  
Cornelius, Wayne A., 11  
Costain, Anne N., 12  
Crabtree, John, 168, 247n4
- Dalton, Russell J., 246n3  
Degregori, Carlos Ivan, 165  
del Pino, Ponciano, 172  
Dillon, Samuel, 191, 249n6  
Dyson, Kenneth, 246n3
- Eckersly, Robyn, 66  
Eichner, Klaus, 47  
Esser, Josef, 246n3  
Eyerman, Ron, 245n4, 245n9
- Fogt, Helmut, 246n1  
Foweraker, Joe, 12  
Frankland, E. Gene, 32, 41, 246n1, 246n3  
Fromm, Eric, 6
- Gamson, William, 4  
Gandy, Ross, 249n1  
Garton Ash, Timothy, 125, 247n3 (Chapter 5), 247n1, 247n2, 247n3, 247n7, 247n11  
Glenn, John K. III, 247n7  
Goldberg, Robert A., 245n1  
Goldman, Minton F., 247n3  
Gonzales, Michael J., 248n2  
Gonzales de Olarte, Efraín, 247n5  
Goodwin, Jeff, 246n11  
Goodwyn, Lawrence, 15, 78, 92, 247n1, 247n3  
Gorriti, Gustavo, 248n1  
Gorski, Philip S., 34, 52, 66, 246n1, 246n2  
Grabowski, Tomek, 247n7  
Green, Simon, 246n3  
Guttman, Matthew C., 198
- Halebsky, Sandor, 245n4  
Hancock, M. Donald, 246n1, 246n2, 246n3  
Handelman, Howard, 187  
Hart, John, 248n2  
Harvey, Neil, 191, 249n2, 249n3  
Havens, A. Eugene, 248n1  
Hellman, Judith Adler, 194, 223  
Herring, Cedric, 245n4  
Hernández Castillo, Rosalva Aída, 211, 428n4  
Hill, Phil, 246n1  
Hodges, Donald, 249n1  
Hoffer, Eric, 3, 6, 7  
Holmes, Kim, 34  
Hülsberg, Werner, 34, 246n1  
Hyde-Price, Adrian, 246n4
- Inglehart, Ronald, 65  
Izaguirre, Carlos Reyna, 248n5
- Jamison, Andrew, 245n4, 245n9  
Jasper, James M., 246n11

Jenkins, J. Craig, 4, 245n2, 245n4  
Joppke, Christian, 70

Kampwirth, Karen, 246n12, 249n10  
Karpiński, Jakub, 246n2  
Katzenstein, Peter J., 246n2, 246n3  
Kenney, Charles D., 247n5  
Killian, Lewis, 254n1  
Kitschelt, Herbert, 65  
Kolinsky, Eva, 64  
Kornhauser, William, 6  
Kowalik, Tadeusz, 247n6  
Kubik, Jan, 247n3

La Botz, Dan, 249n3  
Landman, Todd, 12  
Laba, Roman, 92, 247n1, 247n3  
Lavalette, Michael, 249n2  
Lees, Charles, 73, 246n3, 246n4  
Leyva Solano, Xóchitl, 249n1, 249n5  
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 6, 245n3  
Lopiński, Maciej, 247n4

MacLachlan, Colin M., 248n1  
Mariátegui, José Carlos, 247n1  
Markovits, Andrei S., 34, 52, 66, 70, 246n2 (Chapter 2), 246n1, 246n2, 246n3  
Marody, Mira, 247n10  
Mattiace, Shannon L., 211, 248n4, 249n5, 249n7  
McAdam, Doug, 4, 12, 245n4, 245n7  
McClintock, Cynthia, 133, 152, 247n2, 247n5, 248n3, 248n5  
McGee, R. Jon, 248n4  
Mewes, Horst, 43  
Meyer, Lorenzo, 181  
Mez, Lutz, 246n3  
Michnik, Adam, 246n2  
Migdal, Joel S., 12, 174  
Millard, Frances, 247n4, 247n6, 247n7, 247n8, 247n9, 247n10  
Morris, Aldon D., 11, 245n1, 245n4, 245n6  
Moskit, Marcin, 247n4  
Murphy, Detlef, 246n1  
Mushaben, Joyce Marie, 65

Naples, Nancy A., 243  
Nowak, Jan, 247n3

Offe, Claus, 66  
Ost, David, 120, 128, 246n2, 247n2, 247n4, 247n5, 247n6  
Owen Smith, Eric, 27  
Quijano Obregón, Aníbal, 133

Padgett, Stephen, 246n3, 246n4  
Palmer, David Scott, 248n5  
Pancho, 248n4  
Park, Robert E., 5–6, 244  
Pastor, Manuel, 139, 247n3, 247n4  
Paulson, Justin, 223, 249n7  
Payerhin, Marek, 246n11

Penn, Shana, 246n12, 247n4  
Persky, Stan, 247n1, 247n3  
Petras, James, 248n1  
Piven, Frances Fox, 4, 245n1, 245n2  
Polletta, Francesca, 246n11  
Powell, John Duncan, 12, 245n7  
Preston, Julia, 191, 249n6  
Pulzer, Peter, 246n1

Ricci, José L., 248n5  
Roberts, Geoffrey K., 246n3  
Rogers, Daniel E., 246n1  
Rogin, Michael Paul, 245n4, 245n5  
Ron, James, 171, 248n2, 249n1  
Ross, John, 249n3, 249n6  
Roth, Roland, 246n1  
Rudé, George, 245n5  
Rüdiger, Wolfgang, 246n4  
Rudolf, James D., 247n2, 247n3, 247n4  
Rus, Jan, 248n4, 249n7

Sawa, Nagayo, 245n10  
Schlesinger, Arthur M., 6  
Schoonmaker, Donald, 32, 41, 246n1, 246n3  
Scott, Alan, 245n4  
Sharpe, Kenneth E., 247n5  
Sheahan, John, 133  
Singer, Daniel, 246n2, 247n1, 247n3  
Skidmore, Thomas E., 133, 140, 182  
Smith, Christian, 12  
Smith, Gordon, 246n4  
Smith, Peter H., 133, 140, 182  
Snow, David A., 243  
Starski, Stanislaw, 247n1, 247n2, 247n3  
Steinberg, Marc W., 243, 246n11  
Stepan, Alfred, 247n2  
Stephan, Lynn, 249n3, 249n8  
Stokes, Susan C., 248n1  
Swidler, Ann, 246n11

Taras, Ray, 247n11  
Tarrow, Sidney, 131  
Tilly, Charles, 11, 131  
Touraine, Alain, 247n2

Wade, Larry L., 247n10  
Weinberg, Bill, 249n3, 249n4  
Werlich, David P., 137, 247n3, 247n5  
Weschler, Lawrence, 119, 121, 247n4, 247n8, 247n9  
West, Cornel, 4  
Wilk, Mariusz, 247n4  
Wilson, John, 4  
Wise, Carol, 139, 247n3, 247n4  
Wolfgang, Fach, 246n3  
Womack, John, 190, 191, 206, 212, 248n4, 249n1, 249n3, 249n4  
Wozniuk, Vladimir, 247n3

Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto, 246n11  
Zubek, Voytek, 247n6, 247n7, 247n8, 247n9, 247n10  
Zuzowski, Robert, 247n2

## SUBJECT INDEX

---

- Allende, Salvador  
as ideal in Mexican politics, 199
- Amazon basin  
economy of, 134, 135, 143–4  
Shining Path in, 167–8, 174
- American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA)  
armed action by, 147, 148, 234  
populist programs of, 138–140, 145–6, 147–8  
*see also* García Pérez, Alan; Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl
- Andes  
economy of, 134, 135, 140, 142–3, 154, 169  
Shining Path activity in, 164–7, 174
- anti-nuclear movement  
in France, 50  
in Germany, 42–3, 45–6, 47–8, 49–51, 58, 68–9
- APO *see* Extraparliamentary Movement
- APRA *see* American Revolutionary Popular Alliance
- autonomous movement-culture approach *see* second wave of social-movement theorizing
- autonomous popular-culture approach *see* second wave of social-movement theorizing
- Ayacucho  
economic conditions in, 143  
repression in, 164–5  
Shining Path activities in, 156, 160, 162, 164, 174  
*see also* National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga
- Beddermann, Carl, 50, 51
- Baden-Württemberg  
Green ecolibertarian strongholds in, 59  
party-movement experiments in, 54  
social movements in, 45
- Bavaria  
Greens in, 64  
party-movement experiments in, 54
- Berlin  
Greens in, 59, 63  
party-movement experiments in, 51, 53, 54, 55  
social movements in, 37, 38, 39, 40
- Bremen  
Greens in, 63, 71  
party-movement experiments in, 52
- Britain  
foreign policies of, 21–4, 29–30, 78–9
- Mexican economy and, 178
- Peruvian economy and, 134
- Castellanos Domínguez, Absalón *see* Chiapas
- Catholic Church  
German politics and, 35  
Mexican politics and, 183, 202–4, 210, 214  
Peruvian politics and, 152–3, 154, 157, 165, 166–7, 203  
Polish politics and, 80, 81, 82–3, 85, 96–7, 98, 100, 104, 109, 110, 111, 119, 123  
United States politics and, 10  
*see also* liberation theology
- Chávez, César, 10, 199
- Chiapas  
economy of, 4, 185, 188–90, 191–2, 205–6, 234  
Castellanos governorship in, 191, 192–3, 212, 234  
Lacandón settlements of, 190, 192–3, 205–6, 208–9, 212, 217–18, 233, 234  
racism in, 188–90, 191  
social unrest in, 190, 192, 210, 213  
vigilante violence in, 190, 209, 212, 215, 216, 219–20, 221–2
- Chihuahua  
guerrilla organizations in, 195  
PAN in, 201  
support for EZLN in, 213
- Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU)  
civil-liberties controversies and, 31, 37–8  
electoral performances of, 30–1, 40  
foreign policy and, 32, 35, 40  
governing coalitions and, 30, 31  
Green policy positions emulated by, 68, 69
- Church alliances (interdenominational)  
human rights investigations by, 173  
labor movements and, 10
- CIOAC *see* Independent Confederation of Agricultural Workers and Peasants
- citizen-action groups (Germany)  
electoral experiments by, 43–4, 50–1  
evolution of, 41–4  
ecological offshoot of, 45–8  
Leinen, Jo and, 47
- civil liberties and civil-liberty violations  
Amnesty International and, 165, 169, 172, 223  
in Germany, 31, 37–8, 39–40, 50

- civil liberties—*continued*
  - in Mexico, 191, 192, 195, 196–8, 200
  - in Peru, 164–6, 168–9, 172–3
  - in Poland, 80, 83, 98–9, 108–10, 116–17, 118, 119, 129–30
  - political-process approach and, 12, 75, 129–30
- civil rights movement (United States)
  - as exemplar of social movements, 3, 8
  - origins of, 11, 12
  - Mexican politics and, 198
- civil society
  - as alternative to government, 95, 205–6
  - in Mexico, 204–6
  - Polish theories of, 94, 95, 98–9
  - Zapatista vision of, 217, 220, 223
- Cold War
  - German reconstruction and, 21–5
  - German rearmament and, 29–30, 35, 47
  - Vietnam War and, 37, 38, 40
  - social movements after, 175
- Committee for Social Self-Defense-KOR (KSS-KOR), 99, 102, 104, 105–6, 110
- communism and communist parties
  - controversies in West Germany over, 21, 25, 29, 32, 35, 36, 41, 43, 51–2, 53
  - fragmentation in Peru of, 147, 148–9, 150–1, 154, 156, 158, 159, 173 *see also* United Left
  - legalization in Mexico of, 183, 195
  - Mexican student movement and, 197
  - United States and, 14
- Communist Party of Peru—Shining Path *see* Shining Path
- countercultures
  - in Germany, 38–9, 44–5, 51–2
  - Kuroń, Jacek and, 94, 95
  - in Mexico, 196, 199, 209
  - Modzelewski, Karol, 94, 95
  - in Poland, 82, 94–5, 98, 121–2
- Cuban revolution
  - Mexican politics and, 195, 197, 203, 209
  - Peruvian politics and, 136, 148, 150, 151
- cyber and electronic media
  - democracy and, 14–15
  - social movements use of, 15, 175, 223
- Czechoslovakia
  - collectivization of agriculture in, 81
  - social unrest in, 75
- democratic regimes
  - movements as contributors to, 8–9, 11, 12, 14, 235–6
  - movement as threats to, 6–8, 12, 235–6, 245n3
- Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)
  - as alliance of reformers, 201
  - EZLN's refusal to support, 220–1, 224, 249n7
- Democratic Union (UD), 126–8
- discord theory *see* fourth generation of social-movement theorizing
- ejidos
  - concept of, 4, 181, 192
  - constitutional status of, 182, 186–7, 192
  - land transfers and, 182, 183, 189, 190, 195, 199, 200
  - threats to, 186–7, 189, 192–3, 213
- ecology
  - theories about, 46–7, 53–4, 56–7
  - Green alliance and, 54
  - nuclear war linked to, 47–8
- El Barzón
  - tactics of, 202
  - EZLN's alliance with, 221, 232
- ELN *see* National Liberation Army
- Emiliano Zapata Peasant Organization (OCEZ), 205, 209
- Extraparliamentary Movement (APO), 37–8
- Fanon, Franz
  - German student activists and, 36
- Fascism, 6, 8
- FDP *see* Free Democratic Party
- Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)
  - business-labor-government dialogue in, 26–8
  - chancellors of: Brandt, Willy, 40–1, 98; Schmidt, Helmut, 41, 47
  - Cold War origins of, 21–4
  - constitutional parameters of, 22–4, 29, 32–3
  - foreign policies of, 29–30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41, 47
  - mass media in, 25, 33, 35, 37, 39, 45
  - party system of, 30–2
  - energy policies of, 28, 32, 43, 45, 72
- First generation of social-movement theorizing
  - basic argument of, 6–8, 15, 32, 177, 236–7
  - critiques of, 8–9, 11, 12, 16, 32, 89, 237–8, 245n5
- FLN *see* Forces of National Liberation
- Forces of National Liberation (FLN)
  - theories of armed uprising in, 208, 212
  - educational projects of, 208, 209
  - electoral politics opposed by, 209, 220
- fourth generation of social-movement theorizing
  - discord analysis and, 243–4, 249n2
  - factions and, 240, 242–3
- France
  - environmental politics in, 50
  - foreign policies of, 21–4, 29–30, 78
  - Mexican economy and, 178
  - 1968 uprising in, 197
- Frankfurt
  - Greens in, 59, 69
  - party-movement experiments in, 53, 54
  - social movements in, 40, 69
- Free Democratic Party (FDP)
  - civil-liberties controversies and, 30, 39
  - economic programs of, 30–1
  - electoral performances of, 30
  - governing coalitions with, 30, 31–2, 40, 43
  - Green policy positions emulated by, 68, 69
- French Revolution
  - social-movement theorizing and, 5, 8, 245n3, 245n5
- FRG *see* Federal Republic of Germany
- gays and lesbians
  - EZLN and, 223, 224, 249n10
  - German party-movements and, 51–52
  - Greens and, 55, 57, 62



- Images in German mass media of, 45
- Nazis and, 23
- Gdańsk
  - labor conflicts in, 91, 93, 99–100, 102–5
  - Lenin Shipyard strike of, 102–6, 107
  - Solidarity in, 106, 107, 114, 116
  - student politics in, 91, 104
  - Young Poland Movement, in, 99, 104
- Gdańsk agreement (twenty-one demands), 104, 105, 106, 108–9, 110, 111, 113
- Gdynia, 91
- German cultural conservatives
  - Carl Bedderman and, 50, 51
  - citizen-action groups and, 42
  - early years of the Greens and, 54–5
  - party-movements and, 50–4
    - see also* Gruhl, Herbert
- German economy
  - downturns in, 27, 31, 32, 37
  - growth of, 25, 27, 30–1, 231
  - industrial pollution and, 28–9, 32
  - inequality in, 27, 231–2
  - immigrant workers and, 26, 27, 32, 37
  - international trade and, 25, 27
  - regional difference in, 54
  - white-collar workers and, 26, 28
- German Greens
  - Alliance '90 and, 70–72
  - electoral performances of, 63–6, 68, 69–70, 71, 72–73, 231, 232
  - federal programs of, 59–62, 70–1, 229–30, 231
  - formation of, 50, 52, 54–5, 235
  - fragmentation of, 67, 69, 70, 246n2
  - fundi-realo rivalry in, 57–8, 67, 68–9, 70–1, 72–3, 235
  - geographic variation among, 58–9, 62, 71
  - ideological diversity of, 34, 48, 49, 55–8, 59, 63
  - parliamentary behavior of, 67–8
  - SPD coalition with, 72–3
- Green leaders and activists
  - Bahro, Rudolf, 67
  - Ditfurth, Jutta, 67, 70
  - Dutschke, Rudi, 36, 37–8, 52, 235
  - Fischer, Joschka, 67, 71, 72
  - Kelly, Petra, 47, 50, 62
  - Schily, Otto, 51, 67, 69
  - Vollmer, Antje, 69
- Gruhl, Herbert
  - authoritarian ecological theory of, 53
  - formation of Greens and, 55, 235
- Guerrero
  - student activism in, 194, 196
  - government repression in, 195
  - support for EZLN, in, 213
- guerrilla organizations in Mexico
  - after the Tlatelolco massacre, 199, 208
  - after EZLN's uprising, 221–2
    - see also* Forces of National Liberation; Zapatista Army of National Liberation
- Guevara, Ernesto "Che"
  - Mexican counterculture and, 199
  - German student activists and, 36
- Hamburg
  - Greens in, 59, 62, 63, 70, 71
  - party-movement experiments in, 51–2, 55
  - social movements in, 36
- Havel, Václav
  - leadership style of, 126
- Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl
  - Marxists' distrust of, 147
  - middle-class radicalism of, 146–8
- Hesse
  - Greens in, 59, 63, 71
  - party-movement experiments in, 54
- Hungary
  - collectivization of agriculture in, 81
  - social unrest in, 75
- hunger strikes
  - by Mexican business leaders, 200
  - by Mexican labor organizers, 197
- identity-formation theory *see* third-wave of social-movement theorizing
- Independent Confederation of Agricultural Workers and Peasants (CIOAC), 205
- indigenous-community approach *see* second wave of social-movement theorizing
- indigenous peoples
  - in Mexico, 180, 188–90, 191–2, 208–9, 210, 213, 214–15, 217, 221, 222, 224, 249n5
  - in Peru, 134, 135, 143–4, 146, 248n4
  - in the United States, 188
- Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
  - origins of, 182–3, 184
  - patronage and, 184, 185, 186, 187–8, 189–90, 211, 216
  - responses to EZLN, 207–8, 214–15, 219–20, 221
  - Technocrat faction in, 186–7, 191–2, 200, 201–2, 211, 221
  - violence used by, 191, 195, 196–9, 200
- IU *see* United Left
- JUSO *see* Working Group of Young Socialists
- Khrushchev, Nikita
  - Stalin and Stalinism criticized by, 81, 158
  - Poland and, 82
  - Peruvian Left and, 158, 159
- KO *see* Solidarity, Citizens' Committees
- KOR *see* Workers' Defense Committee
- KSS-KOR *see* Committee for Social Self-Defense-KOR
- KPN *see* Polish nationalist movements, Confederation for an Independent Poland
- labor conflict
  - in Germany, 27, 28, 37
  - in Mexico, 180, 181–2, 183–4, 195, 197, 213
  - in Peru, 136, 146, 148, 149, 152, 167
  - in Poland, 82, 84, 85–6, 88–93, 97, 100–1, 102–5, 112, 116, 120, 121, 127
  - in the United States, 3, 10

- land invasions
  - in Mexico, 180, 208, 213
  - in Peru, 136, 148, 149–50, 152, 159
- liberation theology
  - EZLN's opposition to, 209–10, 212, 224
  - in Mexico, 194, 203–4, 210–11
  - in Peru, 152–3, 203
  - see also* Ruíz, Samuel (Bishop of San Cristóbal)
- Lima
  - economic conditions in, 141, 152, 154
  - shantytowns of, 152, 153, 170–2, 174
  - Shining Path in, 154, 160, 164, 170–2, 174
- Łódź
  - free-market reforms and, 125
  - labor struggles in, 84, 90
- Lower Saxony
  - Greens in, 59, 71
  - party-movement experiments in, 50–1, 54
- Lower Silesia
  - active strikes in, 112
- LP *see* Proletarian Line
  
- Maoism and Maoist groups
  - in Germany, 36, 43
  - in Mexico, 197, 210–12
  - in Peru, 148, 158, 162, 173, 174, 234
  - in Poland, 95
  - see also* Proletarian Line
- Marcuse, Herbert
  - German activists and, 36, 57
  - Polish activists and, 94
- Mariátegui, José Carlos
  - anti-imperialist thinking of, 147, 157, 247n1
  - Shining Path and, 157, 159
- McCarthyism, 6, 8
- Mexican business owners
  - against PRI and for electoral reform, 200
  - National Action Party (PAN) and, 201
  - see also* El Barzón
- Mexican economy
  - agricultural sector of, 178, 179, 183–4, 185 *see also* ejidos
  - downturns in, 185–6, 191–2, 199, 200, 211, 216
  - foreign investment in, 178–179, 182, 187
  - government's role in, 182, 183–5, 186–8, 199–200, 234
  - growth of, 135, 178, 180, 185, 187, 200
- Mexican politics
  - constitutional parameters of, 182–3, 202–3, 207, 210, 221
  - decentralized nature of, 177, 179, 182
  - election reform in, 181, 182, 190–1, 200–1, 233–4
  - fixed elections and, 179–80, 182–3, 186, 195, 200–1, 203, 209, 216
  - one-party rule in, 182–3, 184, 195, 200–1, 215–16
  - see also* Institutional Revolutionary Party
  - United States interventions in, 177–8, 181, 183, 195
- Mexican presidents
  - Cárdenas, Lázaro, 183–4, 189, 195
  - Díaz, Porfirio, 178–81, 188–9, 195
  - Madrid, Miguel de la, 200
  - Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 186–8, 192, 202, 207, 214, 215–16
  - Zedillo, Ernesto, 216–17
- Mexican Revolution
  - evocative symbolism of, 197, 199, 209
  - events of, 180–82, 248n2
  - Madero, Francisco, 180–1
  - socialist constitutions and, 182
  - Villa, Pancho, 181–2
  - Zapata, Emiliano, 181
- Mexico City
  - youth culture of, 196
  - civil society and, 204–5
  - Tlatelolco massacre in, 197–8
- Middle Ages
  - social movements during, 8, 245n5
- MIR *see* Movement of the Revolutionary Left
- movement forerunners
  - citizen-action groups and, 42, 43
  - EZLM and, 194, 206, 234
  - Greens and, 34, 44, 48, 234
  - Shining Path and, 145, 154–5, 234
  - Solidarity and, 89, 92, 97, 101, 234
  - theories about, 11, 13–14, 34, 35, 89, 145, 194
- Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)
  - failure of, 151, 154
  - Guzmán's critique of, 159
  - vanguard aspirations of, 150
  
- NAFTA *see* North American Free Trade Agreement
- NATO *see* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- National Liberation Army (ELN)
  - failure of, 151
  - Guzmán's critique of, 159
  - vanguard aspirations of, 151
- National Liberation Movement (MLN)
  - PRI suppression of, 195, 198
  - programs and strategies of, 195
- National Federation of Trade Unions (OPZZ)
  - Solidarity's competition with, 117, 121
  - Poland's democratic transition and, 119
- National Socialism (Nazism)
  - Allies' responses to, 22–4, 78, 79
  - Polish politics and, 98
  - social-movement theory and, 3, 6, 8
- National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga
  - economic mission of, 143, 158
  - Peace Corps at, 158
  - protests at, 158–9
  - Shining Path faculty at, 159–60
- Nazism *see* National Socialism
- Network
  - self-management program of, 112
  - Solidarity's ambivalence toward, 112–13
- New Left
  - in Germany, 36, 57
  - in Poland, 95, 105
- new social movements
  - Greens' relationship to, 44, 64, 234
  - types of, 44, 45, 47
  - see also* citizens-action groups

- Nordrhein-Westfalen  
 party-movement experiments in, 54
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)  
 EZLN and, 213, 215  
 Technocrats' promotion of, 200  
 Mexican businesses divided over, 201–2  
 U.S. and ambivalence toward, 200, 208
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
 German foreign policy and, 29, 30, 41, 46, 47, 69, 72  
 Greens' opposition to, 55, 61, 67, 70, 71, 72
- OCEZ *see* Emiliano Zapata Peasant Organization  
 OPZZ *see* National Federation of Trade Unions
- PAN *see* National Action Party
- participatory democracy  
 Polish labor conflicts and, 91–2  
 Chiapas jungle settlements' traditions of, 208–9, 236  
 German women's movements and, 45, 234  
 party-movement experiments with, 53  
 Shining Path experiments with, 165–6  
 sponti counterculture and, 38–9, 234  
 Union of Unions and, 205–6  
 Zapatista autonomous communities and, 218–19, 236
- party-movement strategy  
 electoral opportunities and, 19–20, 233–4  
 Greens pursuit of, 20, 43–4, 49, 52, 234  
 Shining Path's rejection of, 158, 233, 234  
 Solidarity's late adoption of, 123–8  
 Zapatistas' rejection of, 220, 233–4
- peace movements in Germany  
 against NATO missile sites, 46, 47–8  
 against rearmament, 29, 35–6  
 against Vietnam war, 37–8  
 Vogt, Roland and, 47
- Peruvian economy  
 agricultural sector of, 134, 135, 137, 138–9, 142–4,  
 149, 151–2  
 downturns in, 133, 137, 138, 140, 141, 144, 174, 231  
 foreign investment in, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141  
 Fujishock and, 141  
 growth of, 134, 135, 137, 138  
 inequality in, 136, 141–2, 149, 231  
 regional differences and, 134, 135, 138, 140, 141–44
- Peruvian politics  
 constitutional parameters of, 136, 149, 156, 164, 172  
 military-supported coups and, 136, 147, 172, 233  
 populist reformers of, 134, 135–6, 138–40, 145–7  
 racism and, 143–4, 147, 164, 233, 248n4  
 Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces,  
 136–8, 148, 151–2, 153–4, 159  
 state repression and, 147, 164–6, 169–70, 172
- Peruvian presidents  
 Belaúnde Terry, Fernando, 138, 164–6, 168  
 Fujimori, Alberto, 140–1, 172–3  
 García Pérez, Alan, 138–140, 168–169, 170
- Polish economy  
 agricultural sector of, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 120  
 downturns in, 84, 85–7, 88, 89, 92, 108, 112, 116,  
 117–18, 121, 125  
 factory councils and, 82, 83–4, 90 *see also* Network  
 growth of, 79, 83, 85, 89, 92, 127, 231  
 inequality in, 86, 136, 231–2  
 shock-therapy and, 120, 123–5, 127  
 Soviet Union and, 80–1, 87, 90, 92, 114
- Polish nationalist movements  
 Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN),  
 99, 100, 103  
 Dmowski, Roman, and, 100  
 Fighting Poland, 95  
 Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil  
 Rights (ROPCiO), 99, 100, 103  
 Polish League for Independence, 95  
 Young Poland Movement (RMP), 99–100, 103, 104
- Polish politics  
 democratic transition and, 119–20, 122–4, 126–8  
 marital law and, 75, 116–19  
 nationalist sentiments and, 90, 92, 105, 108, 114  
 Soviet Union and, 78–81, 85, 87–8,  
 92, 94–5, 99–100, 109, 110, 111, 119, 233  
 vanguard-party rule and, 77, 79–80, 83, 104, 113,  
 119, 233  
*see also* Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)
- Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)  
 anti-Semitic tactics of, 95, 96, 113  
 Gierek, Edward as leader of, 77, 84–6, 92, 97, 117  
 Gomulka, Władysław as leader of, 77, 80–1, 82,  
 83–4, 90, 91, 93–5  
 horizontal movement in, 109, 113  
 Jaruzelski, Wojciech as leader of, 105, 117, 119  
 Kania, Stanisław as leader of, 108  
 pro-Soviet factions in, 80, 113  
 revisionism and, 81, 82, 83, 93–94, 98
- Populist movement (United States), 8, 20, 245n5
- political-process approach *see* second wave of  
 social-movement theorizing
- Poznań  
 labor conflict in, 82, 90, 105
- PRI *see* Institutional Revolutionary Party
- PRD *see* Democratic Revolutionary  
 Party
- Proletarian Line (LP)  
 confrontational-cooperative strategy of, 211–12, 214  
 influence within Chiapas of, 210–11  
 EZLN's opposition to, 212, 224, 234
- Protestant churches  
 Mexico and, 203, 210  
 German peace movement and, 35, 36
- PZPR *see* Polish United Workers' Party
- Radom, 92
- resource-mobilization approach *see* second wave of  
 social-movement theorizing
- Rhineland-Palatinate  
 Greens in, 63  
 party-movement experiments in, 54
- rioting  
 social-movement theory and, 3, 245n2
- Robotnik*  
 content of, 100, 104  
 formation of Solidarity and, 104
- ROPCiO *see* Polish nationalist movements, Movement  
 for the Defense of Human and  
 Civil Rights

- Ruiz, Samuel (Bishop of San Cristóbal)  
 calls for peace by, 212, 214  
 landowners' hostility to, 214–15, 216  
 community organizing and, 210–11
- RMP *see* Polish nationalist movements, Young Poland Movement
- Rural Solidarity  
 Bydgoszcz crisis and, 109, 111  
 formation of, 108  
 regime democratization and, 123
- Saarland  
 party-movement experiments in, 54
- Saskatchewan Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 20, 245n3
- Schleswig-Holstein  
 party-movement experiments in, 50, 54
- SDP *see* Social Democratic Party
- SDS *see* Socialist German Students' League
- SdRP *see* Social Democracy of the Polish Republic
- second wave of social-movement theorizing  
 basic argument of, 8–9, 15, 238–9  
 critiques of, 16, 239–40, 249n1  
 indigenism-community approach, 9, 10–11, 34, 239, 245n6  
 political-process approach, 9, 11–12, 19, 75, 177, 233–4, 239, 245n7, 249n1; *see also* party-movement strategy  
 resource-mobilization approach, 9–10, 239, 249n1
- Sendero Luminoso *see* Shining Path
- Shining Path  
 armed actions by, 156, 163–4, 165, 166, 167, 170–2, 173  
 origins of, 148, 156–60  
 non-violent activities of, 160, 165–8, 170, 173, 174, 248n2  
 public services and, 154, 163–4, 166–8, 170–1, 174  
 strategic thinking within, 161–3, 170, 230, 248n1  
 universities organized by, 160, 170
- Shining Path factions  
 broad divisions, 156, 162–3, 165, 171, 172, 235, 248n3  
 Chanka faction, 173  
 labor activists, 160, 167, 170, 173  
 Sendero Rojo faction, 173
- Shining Path leaders and activists  
 Díaz Martínez, Antonio, 159–60  
 Calderon, Félix, 160  
 Guzmán Reynoso, Abinael, 157–9, 160, 163, 171, 173  
 Kawata Makabe, Luis, 168  
 Mezzich, Julio César, 160
- Silesia  
 nationalist sentiments in, 114  
 labor struggles, in, 90, 109  
 Solidarity and, 109, 114
- Social Democratic Party (SDP)  
 civil-liberties controversies and, 37–8, 39–40, 50  
 electoral performances of, 30, 31, 40, 72–3  
 electoral strategy of, 20, 31  
 governing coalitions with, 31–32, 37–8, 39–40, 43, 72–3  
 Green policy positions emulated by, 68, 69  
 intergenerational tensions within, 35–6, 39–40, 43, 50  
 programs of, 31, 32, 35, 40, 41  
*see also* Working Group of Young Socialists (JUSO)
- Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP)  
 as successor to PZPR, 124  
 electoral performances of, 126, 127–8
- social movement  
 concept of, 3–5, 19, 77, 229, 245n1  
 diversity within, 14, 102, 234–5  
 metamorphoses, of, 129, 225
- Socialist German Students' League (SDS)  
 New Left ideas of, 36  
 Extraparliamentary Movement and, 37  
*see also* Rudi Dutschke
- Solidarity  
 Bydgoszcz crisis and, 109–11, 112  
 Citizens' Committees (KO) and, 123–4, 125–6  
 electoral performances of, 122, 123, 126–8  
 First National Congress of, 114–16  
 formation of, 92–93, 101, 102–7  
 fragmentation of, 102, 110, 112–13, 116, 121, 125–6, 128  
 free-market debate in, 115, 120–1, 123–5, 128, 129, 230  
 in government, 123–6  
 martial law and, 116–19, 129  
 organization of, 106–7, 110–12, 118, 120  
 size of, 75, 110, 116, 117  
 as symbol, 105–6, 109  
 as trade union, 106–7, 108, 110, 112–13, 114, 116, 117–19, 120, 121, 124, 127  
*see also* Democratic Union; Rural Solidarity
- Solidarity leaders and activists  
 Bujak, Zbigniew, 93  
 Janiszewski, Jerzy, 106  
 Jurczyk, Marian, 93  
 Kuroń, Jacek, 118, 128  
 Modzelewski, Karol, 111  
 Sobieszek, Lech, 93  
 Walentyłowicz, Anna, 102, 103  
 Wądołowski, Stanisław, 92–3  
*see also* Wałęsa, Lech
- Soviet Union (USSR)  
 foreign policies of, 21, 29, 47, 78–81, 82, 84, 87–8, 116, 119, 198  
 social movements in, 75  
*see also* Stalin and Stalinism
- spontis, 38–9, 47, 51, 234
- Springer newspaper chain  
 political orientation of, 25, 35, 37, 38, 52  
 protests against, 38
- squatter and shantytown movements  
 in Germany, 39, 47, 51, 234  
 in Mexico, 203, 204, 208  
 in Peru, 148, 152–4, 170, 171–2, 248n1
- Stalin, Stalinism, and Stalinist groups  
 Guzmán's admiration of, 157, 158  
 Social-movement theory and, 8, 245n3
- Steffen, Jochen, 50
- student movements  
 in France, 197

- in Germany, 37, 39, 64
- in Mexico, 194–5, 196, 197–9
- in Peru, 148, 158–9
- in Poland, 91, 94–5, 98, 108, 116, 122
- in the United States, 8
- Szczecin
  - Second World War and, 78
  - labor conflict in, 91–3, 105
- Technocrats *see* Institutional Revolutionary Party, Technocrats in terrorism and terrorist groups
  - in FRG, 39
  - FRG policies against, 31, 39–40, 50
- third wave of social-movement
  - theorizing
    - autonomous movement-culture approach, 14, 240–1
    - autonomous popular-culture approach, 13–14, 34, 240
    - basic argument of, 12–13, 15, 240, 245n8, 245n9, 245n11
    - critiques of, 16, 241–2
- Tlatelolco massacre
  - government cover-up of, 198
  - origins of, 197
  - regime damaged by, 199–200, 208
- Trotskyism and Trotskyist Groups
  - in Germany, 36
  - in Mexico, 183
  - in Peru, 148, 150
  - in Poland, 94
- twenty-one demands *see* Gdańsk agreement
- UD *see* Democratic Union
- UFW *see* United Farm Workers
- United Farm Workers (UFW), 10
- United Left (IU), 149, 154, 167, 170
- United Nations (UN)
  - Green pacifists and, 72
  - social programs of, 152
  - Zapatistas' dismissal of, 223, 231
- United States (US)
  - foreign policies toward Germany, 21–5, 29–30, 37, 47
  - foreign policies toward Mexico, 177–8, 180, 181, 183, 195, 198, 200, 208
  - foreign policies toward Peru, 140, 158
  - foreign policies toward Soviet Bloc, 78–9, 87
  - global investors from, 134, 136, 178–9, 180, 183, 202
  - social movements in, 3, 6, 8, 10, 14, 44, 198, 245n3, 245n5
- Union of Unions (UU), 205–6
- UU *see* Union of Unions
- urbanization
  - in Germany, 25–6
  - in Peru, 140, 152, 154
  - in the United States, 11
  - social-movement theorists and, 6–8, 11, 15, 131
- Ursus
  - labor conflicts in, 92, 93
- US *see* United States
- USSR *see* Soviet Union
- Warsaw
  - destruction of, 78
  - emergence of Solidarity in, 106
  - labor conflict in, 90, 92
  - student protests in, 95
- Wałęsa, Lech
  - free-market conversion of, 120, 121, 122, 126
  - as labor activist, 93, 103
  - leadership style of, 103, 111–12, 120, 123, 126
  - as president of Poland, 126–27
  - as Solidarity official, 107, 110–12, 113, 116, 119
- women's movements
  - EZLN and, 222, 249n10
  - in Germany, 44–5, 51, 53, 58, 62, 68
  - in Mexico, 204
  - in Peru, 148
  - in Poland, 108, 126
  - in the United States, 44
- Workers' Defense Committee (KOR)
  - Kuroń, Jacek and, 98
  - legal strategy of, 97–9, 100
  - Lipiński, Edward and, 98, 99
  - martial law and, 117
  - Michnik, Adam and, 99
  - off-shoots of, 98–9
- Working Group of Young Socialists (JUSO)
  - democracy and, 40–1, 53, 234
  - program and strategy of, 40–1, 43, 53
  - SPD leaders challenged by, 32, 41, 50
  - Stamokap faction in, 41
- World economy
  - downturns, in, 21
  - Germany's incorporation into, 24–6, 27
  - Mexico's incorporation into, 178, 179, 182, 185, 187–8, 191, 200, 201–2
  - oil crises and, 27, 85, 92, 185–6, 200, 211
  - Peru's incorporation into, 133–4, 135, 137, 138, 141, 178–9, 180
  - Poland's incorporation into, 83, 85, 86, 92, 119
- Yugoslavia, 81, 126
- Zapatista Army of National Liberation
  - autonomous communities and, 217–20, 221, 224, 232, 236
  - constitutional convention plan of, 216, 224
  - party politics opposed by, 202, 220–1, 223, 224, 234, 236, 249n7
  - as example of new global movements, 175, 224
  - global strategy of, 222–4
  - military actions by, 207–8, 213–14, 217, 224
  - shifting popularity of, 209, 212, 213, 224, 249n8
  - shifting programs of, 207, 213–14, 215, 217, 220–1, 223–5, 230–1, 232, 249n10
  - Subcomandante Marcos, 212, 220, 221, 223–4, 225