

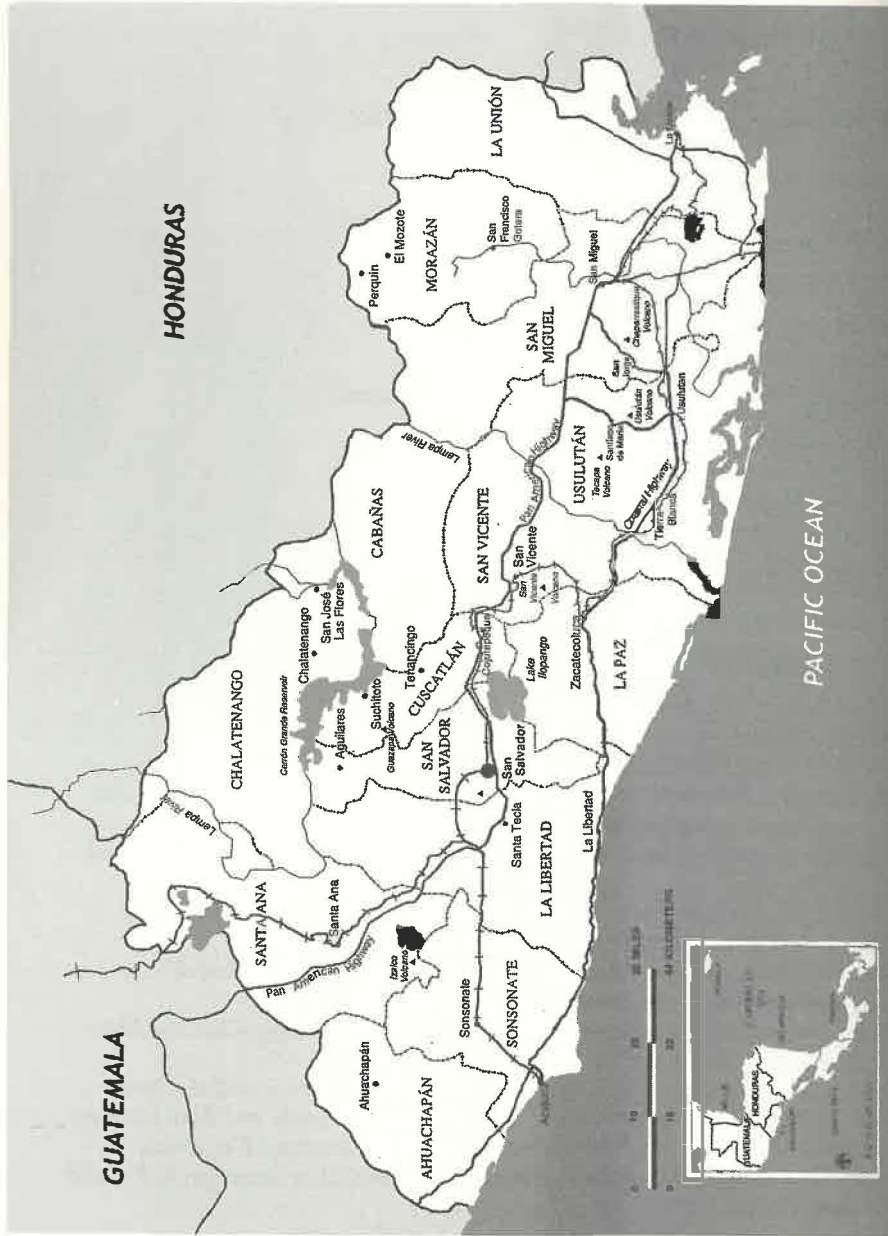
was a dominant strategy. (Olsen's account of "privileged groups" or individuals in whose interest it was to provide the public good unilaterally recognizes this possibility.) Second, for some, the evaluation of the benefits and costs depended on the numbers of others who were expected to participate. As more collaborated so that action was collective and efficacious (and therefore both pleasurable and less risky), *campesinos* faced a coordination (assurance) game because the benefits clearly justified ongoing mobilization as long as sufficiently many others did the same (but not otherwise).

Chronology of El Salvador's Civil War

- 1932 La Matanza: Tens of thousands of mostly indigenous people killed in aftermath of uprising.
- 1960s ORDEN set up in countryside.
- 1970 FPL is founded.
- 1970s Liberation theology practiced in some areas of the countryside.
- 1972 Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte wins presidential election, military intervenes, claims victory, and exiles Duarte. ERP is founded.
- 1975 A student march protesting the Miss Universe pageant is machine-gunned by security forces; at least 15 killed. Founding of the BPR.
- 1976 President Molina announces agrarian reform; subsequently defeated.
- 1979 May: Security forces kill 23 on steps of San Salvador cathedral. October: Coup by junior officers.
- 1980 January: Civilian members leave government as state violence against civilians continues; Christian Democratic Party and military join forces to form new government.
January 22: 20 killed and 200 wounded in largest demonstration in Salvadoran history.
March: Agrarian reform (Phase I) carried out.
March 24: Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero assassinated.
March 30: Government forces fire on Romero's funeral march, 35 killed.
May: At least 300 *campesino* refugees fleeing the Salvadoran army are killed by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies at the Sumpul River.

- November: Founding of FMLN. Six civilian opposition leaders killed by rightist forces.
- December: Four U.S. churchwomen killed by members of the National Guard.
- 1981 January 3: Two Americans and one Salvadoran associated with agrarian reform assassinated, military officers implicated.
January: FMLN launch "final offensive," quickly defeated.
December: Atlacatl Battalion kills 1,000 people at El Mozote, Morazán.
- 1982 March: Constituent Assembly elections, Roberto d'Aubuisson, founding member of the National Republican Alliance (ARENA), becomes President of the Assembly, and right-wing parties gain control of agrarian reform institutions.
- 1984 March: Presidential elections are held; José Napoleón Duarte takes office; U.S. Congress approves an escalation of military aid to El Salvador.
- 1985 March: Christian Democrats victorious in legislature and municipal elections.
July: Archdiocese of San Salvador announces Tenancingo initiative.
late 1985: Salvadoran military and U.S. administration launch United to Reconstruct, the most comprehensive counterinsurgency program since the outset of the civil war.
- 1986 January 28: Fifty families return to Tenancingo.
- 1987 August: Central American governments sign Arias peace plan. Political opening in El Salvador results in the return of some opposition leaders from exile.
- 1988 March: ARENA wins Legislative Assembly elections.
- 1989 January: FMLN peace initiative.
March: ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani wins the presidency.
October 31: Offices of two opposition organizations are bombed in San Salvador.
November 11: FMLN launches offensive in San Salvador and elsewhere.
November 16: Atlacatl Battalion executes six Jesuit priests in San Salvador.
November 21: FMLN offensive spreads to wealthy neighborhoods of San Benito and Escalón.

- December: FMLN and government (separately) ask United Nations to mediate negotiations.
- 1990 San Jose Accords (July 26): Agreement that a U.N. mission will observe human rights violations.
- 1991 The Mexico Accords (April 27): Constitutional amendments, including military, electoral, and judicial reforms; establishes Truth Commission for the investigation of human rights abuses.
July: U.N. Observer Mission begins work in El Salvador.
September 25: The New York Accords whereby an Ad Hoc Commission will review officer corps human rights records, a new civilian police force will be founded; ex-combatants from both sides and *campesinos* occupying land will gain title to land.
- 1992 January 16: Final peace agreement is signed at Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.
End of January: Arrests of *campesinos* occupying land in Jiquilisco and elsewhere.
February 1: Formal cease-fire begins.
June 28: National Guard and Treasury Police are abolished.
July 1: First 20 percent of FMLN forces demobilized.
September: Ad Hoc Commission presents list of names of military officers to be purged.
September 24: Second 20 percent of the FMLN forces demobilized.
Mid-October: After U.N. intervention in negotiations over terms of land transfer, agreement reached concerning its scope and terms.
October 31: Third 20 percent of FMLN forces demobilized.
December 1: Fourth 20 percent of FMLN forces demobilized.
December 15: Final 20 percent of FMLN forces demobilized; Day of National Reconciliation marks end of armed conflict in El Salvador.
- 1993 March 15: Truth Commission releases its report; ARENA legislators push through general amnesty.
July 1: Minister of Defense and military High Command resign.
- 1994 March 20: First inclusive elections in El Salvador; FMLN competes as part of leftist coalition.



Map of El Salvador. By Carolyn Resnicke

Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador

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