
Annotated Sources in English

BOOKS

Americas Watch. *Human Rights in Nicaragua: Reagan, Rhetoric and Reality*. New York: Americas Watch, 1985.

Written by one of the world's major human rights monitoring organizations, this report highlights the gap between fact and rhetoric in the Reagan administration's charges concerning alleged human rights violations in Sandinista Nicaragua. Its conclusions are in conformity with evidence presented in the reports of other major human rights monitoring organizations such as Amnesty International and the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Arnové, Robert F. *Education as Contested Terrain: Nicaragua, 1979–1993*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

Based on extensive research in Nicaragua from 1980 onward, this book provides an authoritative and valuable overview of the nature and role of education during the Sandinista period and of the reversal of Sandinista innovations after 1990.

Babb, Florence E. *After Revolution: Mapping Gender and Cultural Politics in Neoliberal Nicaragua*. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2001.

Based on solid research in post-Sandinista Nicaragua, this volume examines gender relations in a time of transition and great stress.

Bermann, Karl. *Under the Big Stick: Nicaragua and the United States Since 1948*. Boston: South End Press, 1986.

Well written and carefully documented, this is a good early overview of the history of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations from the mid-nineteenth century through the Sandinista Revolution.

Booth, John A. *The End and the Beginning: The Nicaraguan Revolution*, 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.

One of the best overall studies of Nicaragua through the mid-1980s. Particularly useful for its examination of the historical and sociopolitical backdrop to the revolution.

Borge, Tomás. *The Patient Impatience: From Boyhood to Guerrilla: A Personal Narrative of Nicaragua's Struggle for Liberation*. Willimantic, Conn.: Curbstone Press, 1992.

A guerrilla testimonial by one of the three founding fathers of the FSLN and a central figure in both the revolutionary government and the rapidly fragmenting FSLN of the post-Sandinista period.

Borge, Tomás, et al. *Sandinistas Speak*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1982.

Some translated early writings and speeches of leaders of the Sandinista Revolution.

Brody, Reed. *Contra Terror in Nicaragua*. Boston: South End Press, 1985.

A report by the former assistant attorney general of the State of New York. Based on personal investigations and over 150 interviews in Nicaragua.

Burns, E. Bradford. *Patriarchs and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1798–1858*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Written by one of our most insightful Latin Americanist historians, this volume fills an important gap in the English-language literature about Nicaragua.

_____. *At War in Nicaragua: The Reagan Doctrine and the Politics of Nostalgia*. New York: Harper and Row, 1987.

A useful examination and effective critique of the Reagan administration's policy toward revolutionary Nicaragua.

Butler, Judy, David R. Dye, and Jack Spence. *Democracy and Its Discontents: Nicaraguans Face the Election*. Boston: Hemisphere Initiatives, 1996.

A very careful study of the 1996 elections.

Cabestrero, Teófilo. *Blood of the Innocent: Victims of the Contras' War in Nicaragua*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Press, 1985.

A leading specialist on the theology of liberation and a priest working closely with Nicaragua's poor, Cabestrero describes the stark human consequences of the Contra War.

_____. *Ministers of God, Ministers of the People*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Press, 1983.

A glimpse at three Roman Catholic priests (Fernando Cardenal, Miguel D'Escoto, and Ernesto Cardenal) who served as ministers in the Sandinista government. Brief introductory sections are followed by more lengthy direct quotations from the three priests.

Cabezas, Omar. *Fire from the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista*. New York: Crown, 1985.

An earthy, irreverent, humorous, yet tender and intimate first-person account of anti-Somoza and guerrilla activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Cardenal, Ernesto. *Apocalypse and Other Poems*. New York: New Directions, 1977.

A revolutionary priest and well-known poet, Cardenal became minister of culture after the liberation. This volume contains some of his translated poetry.

_____. *The Gospel in Solentiname*. Four vols. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1976.

Translation of conversations concerning the meaning of the Gospel, which Cardenal conducted with his followers in the community of Solentiname.

[Central Intelligence Agency]. *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*. New York: Vintage Books, 1985.

Discovered by a member of Witness for Peace and disclosed by U.S. media in 1984, this controversial document, prepared in 1983 by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, was designed to instruct the U.S.-backed *contras* fighting the Sandinistas in the techniques of guerrilla war, including assassination, misinformation, and so on. The manual is accompanied by a historical introduction by Joanne Omang (*Washington Post*) and an epilogue by Aryeh Neier (Americas Watch).

Chamorro, Violeta Barrios de. *Dreams of the Heart: The Autobiography of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicaragua*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Widow of martyred newspaper editor, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Violeta Chamorro served as president of the republic from 1990 to 1997.

Christian, Shirley. *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family*. New York: Random House, 1985.

Christian's brief section on the 1984 election is typical both of the book as a whole and of her earlier coverage of Nicaraguan affairs for the *Miami Herald*. Although she ignores the role of Western European electoral commissions in helping design the electoral procedures, makes no mention of the favorable findings of observer teams sent by the British and Irish parliaments and the Dutch government, and overlooks the frenetically active role the United States played in cajoling, pressuring, and reportedly bribing opposition candidates not to participate, she uncritically reiterates the litany of complaints lodged against the election by an embittered privileged minority and the U.S. government.

Clark, Paul Coe. *The United States and Somoza, 1933–1956: A Revisionist Look*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1992.

A not very convincing effort to soft-pedal U.S. responsibility for the nature and longevity of the first Somoza regime.

Close, David. *Nicaragua: The Chamorro Years*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

A solid overview of the first post-Sandinista administration.

_____. *Nicaragua: Politics, Economics, and Society*. New York: Pinter, 1988.

A good general overview of revolutionary Nicaragua through the late 1980s.

Collins, Joseph. *Nicaragua: What Difference Could a Revolution Make? Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua*, 3rd ed., rev. San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1986.

A beautifully written and informative study of the Sandinista Revolution focusing on agrarian reform and food policy.

Conroy, Michael E., ed. *Nicaragua: Profiles of the Revolutionary Public Sector*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

This edited volume provides a useful examination of state-run enterprises during the Sandinista Revolution.

Craven, David. *Art and Revolution in Latin America, 1910–1990*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

This book on art and revolution gives significant coverage to governmental cultural policy and the explosion of artistic expression during the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

Dickey, Christopher. *With the Contras: A Reporter in the Wilds of Nicaragua*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.

A close-up look at the *contras* by a *Washington Post* reporter who interviewed and made a brief foray with them inside Nicaragua.

Diederich, Bernard. *Somoza: And the Legacy of U.S. Involvement in Central America*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1981.

A journalistic but nonetheless quite solid examination of the Somoza era by *Time's* Mexico City bureau chief. Particularly rich in its coverage of events during the final years of the dictatorship.

Dixon, Marlene, ed. *On Trial, Reagan's War Against Nicaragua: Testimony of the Permanent People's Tribunal*. San Francisco: Synthesis Publications, 1985.

In the tradition of the famous Bertrand Russell Tribunals, the Permanent People's Tribunal (founded in 1976) met in Brussels in October 1984 to consider and judge U.S. behavior toward Nicaragua. This volume contains the tribunal's judgment, important selected documents, and testimony from a variety of witnesses and experts.

Dixon, Marlene, and Susanne Jonas, eds. *Nicaragua Under Siege*. San Francisco: Synthesis Publications, 1984.

A useful collection of documents and essays relating to the early stages of the Reagan administration's economic, political, and paramilitary effort to overthrow the Sandinistas.

Dodson, Michael, and Laura Nuzzi O'Shaughnessy. *Nicaragua's Other Revolution: Religious Faith and Political Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

An overview of the history and conflicting roles of religion in the Nicaraguan Revolution, this book makes a valuable contribution by setting the church-state and intra-church debate against the backdrop of conflicting models of democracy.

Donahue, John M. *The Nicaraguan Revolution in Health: From Somoza to the Sandinistas*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergen and Garvey, 1986.

Written by a U.S. scholar with considerable field experience in his subject, this is an important study of health policy in Nicaragua in the mid-1980s.

Edmisten, Patricia Taylor. *Nicaragua Divided: La Prensa and the Chamorro Legacy*. Pensacola, Fla.: University of West Florida Press, 1990.

An occasionally factually flawed and somewhat naive and romantic portrayal of the role of *La Prensa* and the Chamorro family in Nicaraguan

politics, this short study, nevertheless, is of merit in that it presents some data about its important subject that are not readily available elsewhere.

Eich, Dieter, and Carlos Rincón. *The Contras: Interviews with Anti-Sandinistas*. San Francisco: Synthesis Publications, 1985.

A series of interviews of sixteen Nicaraguan *contras* by a West German and a Colombian.

Enriquez, Laura J. *Agrarian Reform and Class Consciousness in Nicaragua*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997.

Based on her intensive study of two Sandinista agrarian reform projects in the Masay area, the author attempts to shed light on why peasant beneficiaries voted against the Sandinistas in 1990 and which types of peasants were most/least receptive to the revolution.

_____. *Harvesting Change: Labor and Agrarian Reform in Nicaragua, 1979–1990*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

An important examination of the contradictions inherent in carrying out agrarian reform in an agro-export oriented economy.

Everingham, Mark. *Revolution and the Multiclass Coalition in Nicaragua*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

Based on extensive interviews in Nicaragua, this excellent study explains why many Nicaraguan capitalists formed alliances with the FSLN insurgents in the two decades leading up to the overthrow of the Somoza regime.

Garfield, Richard, and Glean Williams. *Health and Revolution: The Nicaraguan Experience*. London: Oxfam, 1989.

A study of revolutionary health policy based on considerable observation and investigation in Nicaragua.

Gilbert, Dennis. *Sandinistas: The Party and the Revolution*. New York: Basil Blackwood, 1988.

A solid study and critique of the FSLN as a party and as the central force in the government in the 1980s.

Giraldi, Giulio. *Faith and Revolution in Nicaragua: Convergence and Contradictions*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989.

An Italian scholar examines the contradictions, tensions, and possibilities flowing out of the convergence of Marxism and Christianity in the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Gould, Jeffrey L. *To Die in This Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998.

An authoritative examination of the pressures applied from the nineteenth century through the 1960s by Hispanic Nicaraguan society to force various indigenous communities to become part of the national society and economy.

_____. *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

A very solid piece of research into the history of the peasant movement up to the time of the Sandinista victory, this book features a skillful use of oral history.

Gutman, Roy. *Banana Diplomacy: The Making of American Policy in Nicaragua: 1981–1987*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Written by a former State Department employee turned *Newsday* national security correspondent, this is a well-documented, meticulously researched critique of the formulation of U.S. foreign policy toward Nicaragua during most of the Reagan period.

Hale, Charles R. *Resistance and Contradiction: Miskito Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894–1987*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

An anthropologist and leading specialist on the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, Hale reconstructs the history of normally rocky coast-state relations from the point at which Nicaragua asserted its dominion over the *Costa* through the Somoza period to the period of conflict, negotiation, and accord under the Sandinistas.

Harris, Richard L., and Carlos Vilas, eds. *Nicaragua: A Revolution Under Siege*. London: Zed Books, 1985.

A good reader on the Nicaraguan revolutionary system as it became increasingly affected by U.S.-orchestrated low-intensity conflict.

Helms, Mary W. *Asang: Adaptations to Culture Contact in a Miskito Community*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971.

A solid ethnographic study of a Miskito community in northeastern Nicaragua.

Hirshon, Sheryl, with Judy Butler. *And Also Teach Them to Read*. Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1983.

A personal account of the activities of twenty-five rural literacy *brigadistas* during the 1980 Literacy Crusade. The author, a teacher from Oregon, served as their group leader.

Hodges, Donald C. *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

An excellent study of the roots of Sandinismo by one of this country's leading authorities on the left in Latin America.

Horton, Lynn. *Peasants in Arms: War and Peace in the Mountains of Nicaragua, 1979–1994*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1998.

Based on extensive field research in the region, this study examines and explains the involvement of peasants in northern Nicaragua in revolutionary and counterrevolutionary struggle.

Hoyt, Katherine. *The Many Faces of Sandinista Democracy*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1997.

An excellent study of Sandinista democracy, which had a rich participatory aspect even before it became formally electoral and representative.

Isbester, Katherine. *Still Fighting: The Nicaraguan Women's Movement, 1977–2000*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001.

By tracing the history of the women's movement in Nicaragua, the author makes a valuable contribution to the literature on social movements in general and the women's struggle in particular.

Jones, Jeff, ed. *Brigadista: Harvest and War in Nicaragua*. New York: Praeger, 1985.

The eyewitness accounts of North American volunteers working in revolutionary Nicaragua.

Kamman, William. *A Search for Stability: U.S. Diplomacy Toward Nicaragua, 1925–1933*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1968.

A thorough and useful study of an extremely important period of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations.

Kampwirth, Karen. *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, and Cuba*. College Station: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Using interviews with more than two hundred female guerrilla participants, Kampwirth looks at how women came to be guerrillas and how their experience changed their lives and impacted their societies.

Kinzer, Stephen. *Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua*. New York: Putnam, 1991.

The Nicaraguan Revolution from the point of view of the *New York Times* reporter in Nicaragua who, throughout the 1980s, was responsible for "making the news fit" for that mainstream U.S. publication.

Kirk, John M. *Politics and the Catholic Church in Nicaragua*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1992.

A solid study of the internal politics of the Nicaraguan Catholic Church during the Sandinista government.

Kornbluh, Peter. *Nicaragua: The Price of Intervention*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1987.

Covers various aspects of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, including the Contra War, direct CIA activity, economic strangulation, and military encirclement.

Lake, Anthony. *Somoza Falling*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989.

Lake, who was a State Department official at the time of Somoza's decline, describes the failure of U.S. policy making in the years immediately preceding the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship.

Lancaster, Roger N. *Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua*. Berkeley: University of California, 1992.

This beautiful ethnography was researched in the late 1980s in a poor neighborhood in Managua as the Nicaraguan Revolution was slowly being suffocated by the U.S.-sponsored low-intensity war.

_____. *Thanks to God and the Revolution: Popular Religion and Class Consciousness in the New Nicaragua*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

This excellent, anthropologically based study of the role of religion in the Nicaraguan Revolution innovates by going beyond the conventional wisdom to demonstrate that the revolutionary role of many poor Nicaraguan Catholics can be traced to centuries-old anti-elitist characteristics in local folk religiosity.

Latin American Studies Association. *Electoral Democracy Under International Pressure: The Report of the Latin American Studies Association Commission to Observe the 1990 Nicaraguan Elections*. Pittsburgh: LASA, 1990.

In the fall of 1989 and the winter of 1990, a team of LASA observers made repeated field trips to Nicaragua to study not only the election itself but also the background conditions and campaign leading up to it.

This report is based on those meticulous observations. This and the three LASA reports listed below are available through the LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, Room 946, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 13260.

_____. *Extraordinary Opportunities and New Risks: Final Report of the LASA Commission on Compliance with the Central American Peace Accord*. Pittsburgh: LASA: 1988.

Another LASA team observer effort, this is a careful examination of the implementation of the 1987 peace accords as of early 1988.

_____. *Peace and Autonomy on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua: A Report of the LASA Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom*. Pittsburgh: LASA, 1986.

A careful team study of the human rights situation and efforts to achieve peace on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua as of 1986.

_____. *The Electoral Process in Nicaragua: Domestic and International Influences: The Report of the Latin American Studies Delegation to Observe the Election of November 4, 1984*. Austin, Tex.: LASA, 1984.

A lengthy and careful study of the 1984 elections and the background conditions leading up to them. LASA's conclusion that this was a relatively fair and meaningful election was corroborated by delegations sent by the British and Irish parliaments as well as the Dutch government. Lengthy excerpts from the LASA report can be found in Rosset and Vandermeer, *Nicaragua, Unfinished Revolution: The New Nicaragua Reader*, pp. 73-107.

Lethander, Richard Walter Oscar. *The Economy of Nicaragua*. Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1968.

A substantial but quite traditional examination of the Nicaraguan economic system in the mid-1960s. This and the other dissertations mentioned in this section are available for purchase in photostatic copies or microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Lutz, Colleen, ed. *Nicaraguan Biographies: A Resource Book*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Public Communication, Editorial Division, 1988.

Though one should approach the nonbiographical material and comment in this volume with healthy skepticism, the many short biographies contained in it constitute an excellent resource.

Macaulay, Neill. *The Sandino Affair*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967.

A sound and scholarly study of the guerrilla war led by Augusto C. Sandino against occupying U.S. forces in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Marcus, Bruce, ed. *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1985.

An excellent translated collection of over forty speeches by high-level revolutionary leaders in the period 1982–1984.

Martinez Cuenca, Alejandro. *Sandinista Economics in Practice: An Insider's Critical Reflections*. Boston: South End Press, 1992.

Minister of economic planning during the Sandinista government, Martinez Cuenca offers a frank appraisal of that government's economic problems and the role the Sandinistas themselves played in them.

Merrill, Tim L., et al., eds. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 1994.

Like the Army's country study of Nicaragua produced in 1982 (see Rudolph, below), this one contains much useful information but stays carefully within the narrow bounds of Washington, D.C., "conventional wisdom." The chapters on history and politics, for instance, completely ignore the massive U.S. manipulation of the 1990 elections.

Mijeski, Kenneth J., ed. *The Nicaraguan Constitution of 1987: English Translation and Commentary*. Athens, Ohio: Monographs in International Studies, Latin America Series no. 17, 1991.

After a historical introduction by the editor, this important volume presents the complete text of the 1987 Nicaraguan constitution followed by lengthy analysis and commentary by a variety of supporters and detractors.

Miller, Valerie. *Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.

An intimate and moving, yet scholarly examination of Nicaragua's 1980 Literacy Crusade by a North American scholar who served as an international adviser in that ambitious program.

Millett, Richard. *The Guardians of the Dynasty: A History of the U.S.-Created Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua and the Somoza Family*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1977.

A scholarly historical study of the creation of the National Guard, the rise and reign of the Somozas, and the role played in all of this by the United States.

Moore, John Norton. *The Secret War in Central America: Sandinista Assault on World Order*. Fredrick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1987.

An interesting cold war artifact, this book is essentially a legal brief justifying the U.S. low-intensity war against Nicaragua. It is based on the entirely uncritical acceptance of Reagan-era disinformation, distortions, and assumptions.

Morley, Morris H. *Washington, Somoza and the Sandinistas: State and Regime in U.S. Policy Towards Nicaragua, 1969–1981*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

An excellent study of U.S. policy toward Nicaragua under the last Somoza and during the first two years of the Sandinista Revolution. Very insightful in its explanation of the fundamentals of U.S. foreign policy toward Nicaragua and, indeed, Latin America in general.

Mulligan, Joseph E. *The Nicaraguan Church and the Revolution*. Kansas City, Mo.: Sheed & Ward, 1991.

Written by a Jesuit priest who moved to Nicaragua in 1986, this is yet another solid contribution to the surprisingly large body of literature on church and revolution in Nicaragua.

Nietschmann, Bernard. *Between Land and Water: The Subsistence Ecology of the Miskito Indians, Eastern Nicaragua*. New York: Seminar Press, 1973.

Like the Helms monograph, this, too, is a very sound study of a Miskito community, the turtle-fishing village of Tasbapauni.

Nolan, David. *FSLN: The Ideology of the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1984.

A cold war interpretation of the FSLN written without the benefit of any real field research in Nicaragua. Marred by errors in fact as well as interpretation, it was distributed gratis by the Reagan White House to all members of Congress with an accompanying note by Ambassador Faith Ryan Whittlesey stating in part that the book "provides indispensable documentation of the character of the Sandinista regime . . . which rules Nicaragua today."

Norsworthy, Kent, with Tom Barry. *Nicaragua: A Country Guide*. Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1990.

This overview of Nicaragua provides a wealth of information about contemporary politics in that country. It is an excellent resource for those interested in the early period of transition from the Sandinista administration to UNO rule.

O'Shaughnessy, Laura, and Luis H. Serra. *The Church and Revolution in Nicaragua*. Athens, Ohio: Papers in International Studies, Ohio University Press, 1985.

Two perspectives on the role of the church in Sandinista Nicaragua. O'Shaughnessy, a U.S. academician, finds the roots of Nicaraguan intra-church and church-state conflict in the ambiguous sociopolitical messages of the Vatican and the Latin American Bishops in the last two decades. Serra, an Argentine scholar working in popular education in revolutionary Nicaragua, relates the hierarchy's revulsion with the revolution to the church's traditional role in the reproduction of prerevolutionary, capitalist ideology.

Pastor, Robert. *Condemned to Repetition: The U.S. and Nicaragua*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

A criticism of Reagan administration policy in Nicaragua by a principal actor in the Carter administration policy toward that country.

Paszyn, Danuta. *The Soviet Attitude to Political and Social Change in Central America, 1979–1990: Case Studies on Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala*. New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 2000.

Using recently released Soviet documents unavailable during the cold war, the author lays to rest the U.S. government's argument in the 1980s that the conflicts in Central America were little more than a manifestation of "Soviet expansionism." To the contrary, Paszyn, whose best coverage is of the Nicaraguan aspect, shows that the Soviet Union was a very reluctant and restrained actor in its policy toward that country.

Pezzullo, Lawrence. *At the Fall of Somoza*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

The personal observations of the career diplomat who served as U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua at the time of the fall of Somoza and the beginning of the revolutionary government.

Prevost, Gary, and Harry E. Vanden, eds. *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

A fine edited volume that examines the forces that contributed to the demise of the Sandinista Revolution. Though principal responsibility is placed on the United States, Sandinista errors and domestic causes are also cited.

Radell, David Richard. *An Historical Geography of Western Nicaragua: The Spheres of Influence of León, Granada, and Managua, 1519–1965*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

A very good historical study of major regions of western Nicaragua.

Randall, Margaret. *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Vancouver and Toronto: New Star Books, 1983.

A series of interviews with Christians supportive of the Sandinista Revolution and with others describing their role.

_____. *Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle*. Vancouver and Toronto: New Star Books, 1981.

A series of interviews with some of the most important women in the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Reding, Andrew, ed. *Christianity and Revolution: Tomas Borge's Theology of Life*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1987.

A collection of letters and speeches of Sandinista Interior Minister Tomás Borge, touching on the theme of religion and revolution. Excellent introduction and annotation by Andrew Reding.

Reyes, Reynaldo, and J. K. Wilson. *Rafaga: The Life Story of a Nicaraguan Miskito Comandante*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

The biography of an important *contra* commander, who at first fought against and later made peace with the Sandinista Revolution.

Robinson, William I. *A Faustian Bargain: U.S. Intervention in the Nicaraguan Elections and American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

A solid exposé of the truly massive covert/overt U.S. involvement in the Nicaraguan elections of 1990.

Rosset, Peter, and John Vandermeer, eds. *Nicaragua, Unfinished Revolution: The New Nicaragua Reader*. New York: Grove Press, 1986.

Similar in concept to the editors' 1983 volume, this much longer reader contains the same sort of valuable documents and essays.

_____. *The Nicaraguan Reader: Documents of a Revolution Under Fire*. New York: Grove Press, 1983.

A well-organized collection of short articles and other documents relating to the Nicaraguan Revolution and the covert war being waged against it to late 1982.

Ruchwarger, Gary. *Struggling for Survival: Workers, Women, and Class on a Nicaraguan State Farm*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

An insightful study of class and gender on a state farm during the Sandinista Revolution.

_____. *People in Power: Forging a Grassroots Democracy in Nicaragua*. Granby, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1987.

The best book to date on the role of grassroots organizations in the creation of what the Sandinistas called "participatory" democracy.

Rudolph, James D., ed. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: American University, 1982.

Produced under contract with the U.S. government, this volume is in the tradition and format of the old Area Handbook series (see Ryan et al., 1970). However, it is a solid and useful study, and remarkably, much of what is said in it contradicts the negative picture that the Reagan administration was trying to paint of Nicaragua.

Ryan, John Morris, et al. *Area Handbook on Nicaragua*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

Though written for the U.S. government and concerned in part with "order and internal security" under the Somoza system, this study contains much valuable information about a variety of subjects pertaining to Nicaragua.

Ryan, Phil. *The Fall and Rise of the Market in Sandinista Nicaragua*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995.

Though sympathetic to the Sandinista Revolution, the author shows how FSLN mistakes—often driven by ideological considerations—contributed to economic failure in the 1980s.

Selser, Gregorio. *Sandino*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981.

A translation by Cedric Belfrage of Selser's excellent two-volume Spanish-language work, *Sandino, General de hombres libres* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Triángulo, 1958). Contains many of Sandino's writings.

Snarr, Neil, and Associates. *Sandinista Nicaragua: An Annotated Bibliography with Analytical Introductions* (Part 1: Revolution, Religion and Social Policy, and Part 2: Economy, Politics and Foreign Policy). Ann Arbor, Mich.: Pierian Press, 1989, 1990.

Excellent, comprehensive annotative bibliographies that cover nearly the entire span of the Sandinista Revolution.

Somoza, Anastasio, and Jack Cox. *Nicaragua Betrayed*. Belmont, Mass.: Western Islands, 1980.

Somoza's side of the story, of interest not so much as a reliable source of information but, rather, as a historical curiosity.

Spalding, Rose J., ed. *Capitalists and Revolution in Nicaragua: Opposition and Accommodation, 1979–1993*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Based on extensive in-country research and interviews, this is the best available study of Nicaragua's capitalist class during and just after the Sandinista period.

_____. *The Political Economy of Revolutionary Nicaragua*. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987.

In this fine study, a team of scholars examines the political economy of the Nicaraguan Revolution in the context of the revolution's domestic and international constraints.

Spoor, Max. *The State and Domestic Agricultural Markets in Nicaragua: Opposition and Accommodation, 1979–1993*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Based on considerable research in Nicaragua, this study examines errors in Sandinista agricultural policy and compares them with policy under Mrs. Chamorro, which the author feels was also flawed.

Strachan, Harry Wallace. *The Role of Business Groups in Economic Development: The Case of Nicaragua*. D.B.A. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972.

A traditional but very useful examination of the major business groups in the Nicaraguan economic system in the late 1960s.

Vanden, Harry E. *Democracy and Socialism in Sandinista Nicaragua*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993.

A very useful study based on extensive field research and observation throughout the revolutionary period.

Vanderlaan, Mary B. *Revolution and Foreign Policy in Nicaragua*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.

A solid and detailed analysis of Nicaraguan foreign policy under the Sandinistas, appropriately set against the background of domestic and international constraints.

Vilas, Carlos. *State, Class, and Ethnicity in Nicaragua: Capitalist Modernization and Revolutionary Change on the Atlantic Coast*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

A study of the problems of the Atlantic coast during the Sandinista Revolution by one of the world's leading authorities on the subject.

_____. *The Sandinista Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985.

An Argentine scholar who lived in Nicaragua from 1980 onward, Vilas provides an insightful class analysis of the insurrection and the revolutionary system that emerged after the Triumph.

Walker, Thomas W. *The Christian Democratic Movement in Nicaragua*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970.

This brief study of the Christian Democratic, or Social Christian, movement in Nicaragua examines party and related interest-group organization and activity during the heyday of the Christian Democratic opposition in the 1960s.

_____, ed. *Nicaragua: The First Five Years*. New York: Praeger, 1985.

A product of the field research of more than thirty scholars, this book systematically examines the Nicaraguan Revolution through its first half-decade in power. Its twenty-five chapters focus on a variety of topics under four main headings: Power and Interests, Economic Policy, Social Policy, and the International Dimension. An epilogue contains a condensed version of the LASA report on the 1984 elections.

_____, ed. *Nicaragua in Revolution*. New York: Praeger, 1982.

Similar in concept to *Nicaragua: The First Five Years*, this earlier volume concentrates on the first year and a half of revolutionary rule. In addition, it features a three-chapter section dealing with the insurrection.

_____, ed. *Nicaragua Without Illusions: Regime Transition and Structural Adjustment in the 1990s*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1997.

Representing the work of nineteen specialists, this volume provides a comprehensive overview of Nicaragua during the administration of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. Its chapters are divided under three headings: The International Setting, The New Order, and Groups and Institutions.

_____, ed. *Reagan versus the Sandinistas: The Undeclared War on Nicaragua*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

Also utilizing a team approach, this book provides a comprehensive examination of the most massive action, short of direct U.S. invasion, ever mounted by the United States against a foreign government. In addition to dealing with obvious topics such as the *contra* invasion,

military encirclement, and economic destabilization, it examines disinformation, the "patriotic agenda" in the U.S. media, radio-TV penetration of Nicaragua, and the implications of Reagan's Nicaragua policy for international law and world order.

_____, ed. *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.

An international team of eighteen specialists systematically examines all important aspects of both the Sandinista Revolution and the U.S.-orchestrated counterrevolution that brought it to an end. Each chapter covers its subject from its historical beginning to the inauguration of the U.S.-sponsored candidate, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, in 1990.

Walker, (General) William. *The War in Nicaragua*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985.

A personal account of "the first American invasion of Central America," by William Walker, the U.S. adventurer who briefly imposed himself as president of Nicaragua in the 1850s.

Walter, Knut. *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza, 1936–1956*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Meticulously researched in Nicaragua for well over a decade, this is the best study yet of the first member of the Somoza dynasty.

Webb, Gary. *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998.

This book, which alleges a connection among the CIA, the *contras*, and an upsurge in cocaine use in Los Angeles, comes out of a series of articles by Webb in the *San Jose Mercury News*. Though the articles were roundly criticized by the mainstream U.S. media, the book is well documented. In addition, it has considerable surface plausibility since this would not be the first time that the CIA had used drug money to finance a secret operation (e.g., CIA operations in Laos during the Vietnam War).

Wheelock Román, Jaime. *Nicaragua: The Great Challenge*. Managua: Alternative Views, 1984.

An extensive interview by Marta Harnecker, with Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform and member of the Sandinista Directorate.

Whisnant, David E. *Rascally Signs in Sacred Places: The Politics of Culture in Nicaragua*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

A massive and well-researched examination of Nicaraguan culture and its interplay with politics.

Williams, Philip J. *The Catholic Church and Politics in Nicaragua and Costa Rica*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Though looking at the role of the church in the rather dissimilar political settings of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, Williams shows, nevertheless, that the church hierarchy in both countries has acted to obstruct the movements for social change out of apparent fear that such movements threaten the teaching authority and influence of its ancient institution.

Women's International Resource Exchange. *Nicaraguan Women: Unlearning the Alphabet of Submission*. New York: WIRE, 1985.

A short collection of essays and articles dealing with women in Nicaragua.

Wright, Bruce E. *Theory in the Practice of the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1995.

Appearing on *Choice Magazine's* list of "Outstanding Academic Books" for 1995, this volume masterfully demonstrates how the Sandinista concept of socialist revolution evolved over time to accommodate changing reality in Nicaragua.

Zimmerman, Mark, ed. *Nicaragua in Reconstruction and at War: The People Speak*. Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1985.

A collage of chronology, analysis, and poetry portraying the insurrection, reconstruction, and U.S. intervention.

Zimmerman, Matilde. *Sandinista: Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000.

This well-researched book focuses on the most important, yet often misunderstood, figures in the FSLN insurgency of the 1960s and 1970s.

Zwerling, Philip, and Connie Martin. *Nicaragua: A New Kind of Revolution*. Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1985.

A series of conversations with dozens of people from all levels of leadership in the Nicaraguan Revolution.

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