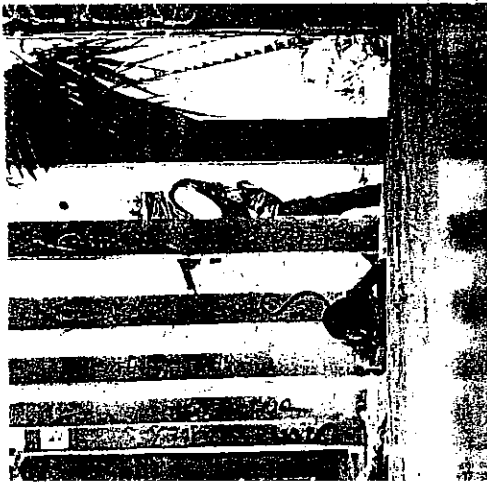


NEW REVISED EDITION

# Revolution and Intervention in CENTRAL AMERICA

Edited by MARLENE DIXON  
and SUSANNE JONAS





# Revolution and Intervention in Central America

Edited by

MARLENE DIXON and SUSANNE JONAS

*The determinant factor has been the reorganization of the insurgent forces in Central America . . . and their ability to operate in the midst of counterinsurgency. In fact, they have turned the exploitative and repressive nature of the regime into a legitimization of their struggle in the eyes of the people and the world.*

Ruy Mauro Marini

“The Nicaraguan Revolution  
and the Central American  
Revolutionary Process”

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# Foreword

This volume of the *Contemporary Marxism* series is a child of anguish: the anguish of the tormented and brutalized peoples of Central America, and most especially, and tragically, the insurgent peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala. It is also a child of the anguish that we, as citizens of this damned imperium, feel as acts of the most savage barbarity are justified by the obscene lie that "freedom" and "democracy" are the holy causes of American corporate capitalism; as the U.S. government seeks to destabilize and destroy the revolution in Nicaragua which has transformed that society and brought new hope to humanity around the world. There are not words to express the rage and outrage that we feel. So we must call upon every person of conscience in this country to unite and to fight against the continuation and escalation of the butchery, torture and aggression which have become the unashamed policy of the Reagan Administration. Above all the American people must demand a policy of nonintervention. Let there never be another Vietnam!

There were those Liberals in the United States who thought that a Republican Administration would be more moderate in foreign policy than the Democrats. The Liberals were wrong, they did not perceive that the forces of reaction in the United States were growing with malignant intelligence, that the collapse and impotence of the Democrats and of New Deal liberalism put no brake, no restraint, upon what is transparently a government of the right wing of the domestic corporate ruling class. Yet, it does not rule alone, that is also clear. In the United States we have at last a government that is direct rule by capital, a United Front of capital no longer hampered by the populism of a failing Democratic Party.

So it has come to pass that the outward face of the United States, the face of the imperialists, the face of CIA, Special Forces, the face of transnational capital, that face has now turned inward to confront the masses of the people of the United States. It is the *implosion* of Empire, it is the very beginning of an era in which the people of the United States will begin to see the democratic veils stripped away from the face of American power, they will begin to experience what has been the fate of the colony. It seems to me that the people of the United States have fulfilled a prophecy: First they came for the communists, but I was not a communist so I did not protest; then they came for the Jews,

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but I was not a Jew so I did not protest; then they came for the Catholics, but I was not a Catholic so I did not protest; and then they came for me, and there was no one left to protest.

Thus, when the Editors of the journal *Contemporary Marxism* sent out a call for an "emergency issue" (the origin of this book), it was not only the emergencies in El Salvador and Nicaragua or the terror in Guatemala that demanded a response. It was also the emergency within the United States, as the present government moves ever more swiftly to policies of domestic as well as international repression; of domestic war against labor as well as international war against workers' movements; of the destruction of domestic civil liberties as well as those in Central America. In this period in our history (as it was in the 1960's and the Vietnam War) every protest, every act of resistance against war and imperialism abroad is simultaneously a protest and an act of resistance against the domestic expression of repression and reaction. The United States since World War II has been Janus-headed: one dark, violent, brutal and murderous face to the world; one smiling, liberal, just, generous and white beaming over the millions at home. It was the spoils of Empire that allowed the white liberal face of paternalism to shine down on us. Now, transnational power is no longer nationally dependent, it no longer needs industrial peace at home, it can no longer indulge the working classes of its old home base. And so it turns against its once favored children its true face, its real nature, and implodes upon us. How long before we are forced to accept in our millions this changed circumstance? If too long, then it will be too late.

It is our hope that this book will contribute to the moving of our own people to understanding that no nation is an island, no nation stands alone; if you ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee. Every blow struck within this country to defend the rights of the peoples of the world, and most especially our brothers and sisters in the forefront of the struggle in Central America, is a blow struck for ourselves. We are one world, and one people, one humanity, as never before.

*Marlene Dixon*  
*July 1983*

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1982 joined dozens of cultural brigades and traveled across the country with their poetry, their music, their dance, their theater, their painting, aiding in the people's organization for defense. Artists like those who throughout these three years have so often had to put aside their literary, musical, or artistic vocation in order to take on necessary bureaucratic tasks, to comply with ministerial or state functions; in short, to make the Revolution. Artists in the People's Militia who have lived for months at a time in the mountains, in the reserve battalions, participating in activities as important as the moving of the Miskito people to their new homes provided by the Revolution. Intellectuals, like many among the leadership of our Revolution, including novelists, poets, and anthropologists, who have had to assume duties of state before those of their own vocations. Poets like the common men and women among our people who write on their nation's walls—now that our people know how to write—"THEY MAY DIE OF NOSTALGIA, BUT THEY SHALL NOT PASS!"

We said that we came to speak about hope and life. And that's what we're doing. Because in spite of the situation of grave threats and criminal acts that we have denounced today; in spite of, or along with, this situation, you must have gleaned from our examples of heroism, of courage, of struggle, and of the will to work, the love for life on the part of our people, our intellectuals, and artists. You must see that in Nicaragua hope and life are real things, elements of struggle, spearheads in the battle against the possibility of war.

In the midst of concrete threats and aggressions, the Nicaraguan people continue making their Revolution. The Literacy Crusade which brought light to 89% of Nicaraguans, the Popular Education Centers which coordinate the follow-up aspects of that campaign, and the health programs, and particularly the People's Health Campaigns, with the participation of thousands of voluntary brigadists, have made possible a real reduction in the index of endemic diseases and epidemics. The land reform, which has played such a determinant role in the economic, political, and social transformations demanded by a revolution, has increased the peasants' share of our country's arable territory from the 3% they owned in 1979 to 20% today. The incentives of every kind (economic, in infrastructure and services) to the production of foodstuffs in order to guarantee the people's sustenance; the policy of subsidies which greatly benefit the worker through price control in correspondence with real income; housing projects, cultural projects, sports projects, all of which—in the midst of our real and serious difficulties—are proof of our will to go on living, to go on waging the battle to preserve these gains, to continue our effort, our sacrifice, our heroism if necessary, because we have a right to life, to a free present, and to the luminous future we want to build.

Was not  
this "crusade"  
a direct attack  
on the languages  
of the MISKITOS,  
SUMOS, RAMAS,  
and Creoles?

centuries of oppression and exploitation, which left a legacy of underdevelopment and poverty—and overcoming them within years, not decades or centuries; and third, beginning a genuine socialist construction which can ultimately guarantee the Nicaraguan people not just food on the table and schools for their children, but full equality and an opportunity to develop their fullest potential as individual human beings and as a society.

On the other hand, the context in which these tasks are undertaken poses nothing but the most difficult obstacles. The Reagan administration is waging a full-scale war designed to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution. The CIA is funding, training and directing counterrevolutionary forces of former Somoza National Guardsmen to carry out daily armed aggression against the Sandinista government. At the same time, the U.S. has also waged a ceaseless propaganda war, including campaigns about violations of human rights by the Sandinistas. These include supposed human rights violations of the Miskito Indians, when in fact the CIA is using Miskitos as counterrevolutionary shock troops, and at the same time other indigenous people who have visited Nicaragua report no such violations to be taking place. Even if this were not so, we must ask: does the Reagan administration have any grounds for criticizing human rights violations by any other government in the world? The duplicity of the Reagan administration becomes clear from the fact that they are openly directing *Somocista* exiles in an invasion of Nicaragua, and then denouncing the Nicaraguan government for “militarizing” the country (referring to the building of a civilian militia in Nicaragua, to resist such an invasion).

Meanwhile, international capital and specifically the transnational banks are putting their own squeeze on Nicaragua by forcing repayment of the billions of dollars of *Somoza's* international debts—funds which are being diverted from the Nicaraguan people to the coffers of the transnational banks.

In sum, the Reagan administration and other sectors of the U.S. ruling class are determined to overturn the Nicaraguan Revolution—just as previous U.S. governments have tried to do or succeeded in doing so many times historically, from the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union to the Allende government in Chile. And here we come to the point: the only kind of government that has historically been able to survive against such pressures from hostile capitalist powers has been a strong, unified, centralized government. Allende made his concessions to the Chilean version of *La Prensa* and the capitalist class, and we have seen the results. It is for this reason that the current agonies of the so-called “democratic socialists” in the U.S., who are in reality bourgeois liberals, about the unified Sandinista response to Reagan's threats *objectively* serve the interests of the international ruling class and not the interests of the popular forces either in Nicaragua or in Central America generally.



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