

# Nicaragua: 40 Years of Revolution?\*

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## Preface

The work that we present to our readers now was done by a comrade on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the so-called Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, which was celebrated last July.

This is not the result of chance or intellectual curiosity, but arises from the need of a proletarian to settle accounts with his past in the ranks of a petty-bourgeois organization that echoed the “Sandinista Revolution” in the 80s and today pursues the path of “political negotiated solution to the conflict” in Colombia, in open betrayal of the revolutionary ideals of its beginnings.

It is an interesting and concise account of a history of colonial and semi-colonial domination, super-exploitation and oppression, but also of rebellion by the masses, whose dreams of liberation, freedom, and equality have been thwarted to the present day.

Moreover, it is an essay that highlights the essential need for the main strategic device to unleash the forces that lie dormant in a society pregnant with revolution: the Revolutionary Communist Party, capable of directing the powerful revolutionary energy of the masses who today once again take to the streets spontaneously to demand their demands and shattered dreams.

For readers who want to know more about the history of Nicaragua, at the end as an annex, we provide a bibliography of different authors who, despite the ideological and political variety of their positions, allows us to

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\*<https://revolucionobrera.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Nicaragua-40-a-nos-de-Revolucion.pdf>

get a multilateral idea of the vicissitudes of the struggle of the workers and peasants of the brotherly Central American country.

*Revolution Obrera*

## 1 A History of Foreign Oppression

Nicaragua, a volcanic and mountainous Central American region, was occupied by the Spanish starting in 1523, under the sword of adventurer and expeditionary Gil Gonzales Davila, who came from the Nicoya Peninsula, which is now part of Costa Rica. However, years later, there was a second conquering wave led by Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba, who decided to settle there indefinitely, leaving his surname marked in Nicaraguan official currency for posterity.

Later, the English appeared and built factories on the Atlantic coast, taking advantage of the geographical advantages that allowed them to move production from there to Europe. The English were so interested in the area that they declared it a Protectorate of Her Gracious Majesty, which led them to claim sovereignty several times. Their purpose ended in 1786 when England recognized Spanish sovereignty in the territory, but maintained control over the territorial portion of Belize.

With the support of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and the United States, and the payment of 15,000 pounds sterling to the English, they also had to recognize Bluefields as Nicaragua's property through the Altamirano-Harrison Treaty of 1905, renouncing any right to intervention. However, this agreement was never put into effect due to the inaction of successive Nicaraguan governments.

The American imperialists took over the Nicaraguan government during the political crisis of 1856, putting in the mercenary William Walker. This character was distinguished by his political and administrative actions that served exclusively to his illegitimate interests, and obviously to his American government. These policies included the establishment of slavery, the declaration of co-officiality of English and Spanish, and the decree of confiscation of the properties of his political enemies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Nicaraguan president, General José Santos Zelaya López (1893-1909), decided to initiate conversations with Europe and Japan to create a canal that connected the Atlantic with the Pacific. Meanwhile, the Americans had maneuvered the separation of the

department of Panama from Colombia, taking advantage of the political and social crisis in the country which had triggered one of the bloodiest confrontations, the thousand-day war, which began on October 17, 1899, and ended on November 21, 1902.

Nicaragua had become just another colony, another star on the American imperialist flag. The Monroe Doctrine, created in 1823 by Mr. James Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, was later implemented in the opposite way by their own rulers, meaning “America will not be for all Americans on the continent.” Through their actions and demonstrations of control, domination, and usurpation, it became clear that it would be for the Americans, as stated in *The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine* or *Big Stick*: “If a nation demonstrates that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political affairs, if it maintains order and pays its international debts, it has nothing to fear from interference by the United States... The adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force us, albeit reluctantly, to exercise the role of international police in flagrant cases.”

In 1926, Augusto Nicolás Calderón Sandino - Augusto César Sandino - “The General of Free Men,” as he was called from the beginning, decides to “take to the mountains” (as those who enter the mountains to initiate guerilla warfare are known), and creates the Nicaraguan National Sovereignty Defense Army (EDSNN) with his fellow miners and many other followers. Despite the very rudimentary weapons they had, they grew to 3,500 men over the years, marking their destiny with the famous phrase “it is preferable to die as rebels than to live as slaves.”

Sandino said: “I don’t sell myself or surrender, they have to defeat me.” To distinguish his own armed forces from other organizations of the time, he defined the colors Red and Black on his flag, which symbolized freedom and mourning, respectively. He also added the image of a skull in the middle, which meant not giving up in the fight until death, “Homeland or Death.” However, over time he would change this phrase to “Homeland and Liberty.”

Sandino, a liberal ideologist, was a nationalist patriot. His political goals were to unite Central American countries and Hispanic America - South America, to defend Nicaragua from any foreign interference, mainly from the United States, to defend the constitution and include the right of popular uprising to overthrow a government contrary to their interests, to promote the construction of the interoceanic canal, and to promote agrarian development through cooperativism.

Sandinino never intended to overthrow the Nicaraguan government or change the political, social, and economic order; as a nationalist, he was therefore a reformist, no matter how noisy and radical it seemed. He always opposed communism and never accepted being associated with the Soviet system, to the point that he distanced himself from his great communist friend Farabundo Martí due to ideological differences, who supported and promoted the change of the social mode of production in the neighboring country of El Salvador. Sandino went so far as to have Arturo Vega, one of his guerrillas, executed, who proposed to change the reformist objective, to replace the problem of national liberation with a true social transformation for the benefit of Nicaraguans.

After six years of determined anti-imperialist struggle and national liberation, on February 2, 1933, Sandino signed a peace agreement with President Juan Bautista Sacasa, which was constantly sabotaged by the professional army trained and armed by the Americans and later called the National Guard, under the command of General Anastasio Somoza García.

In February 1934, Sandino was invited by President Sacasa to talk about the constant military harassment by the National Guard against his guerrilla army; however, Somoza did not waste this opportunity and took Sandino and some of his personal escort as prisoners. The National Guard took him to military facilities known as El Hormiguero. Sandino unsuccessfully asked to speak with Somoza, with whom he had met earlier that same day; he was transferred to a place called La Calavera where he and two of his closest men were executed by firing squad on February 21, 1934.

## **2 The Sandinista National Liberation Front - FSLN**

The image and reputation of Sandino as an anti-imperialist and nationalist revolutionary increased after his assassination, becoming a legend that inspired many revolutionaries in the attempt to liberate Nicaragua and continue with the example of struggle initiated by him.

Starting in 1936, Nicaragua entered a long period of military dictatorship after the Somoza family took control of the state through a military coup in December of that year, overthrowing President Carlos Brenes Jarquín and assuming the presidency on January 1 of the following year, Anastasio

Somoza García.

Somoza was a cruel and ruthless figure, president of Nicaraguans from 1937 to 1947 and from 1951 to 1956, although he also controlled power between 1947 and 1951. On September 21, 1956, he was assassinated with four gunshots in the city of León by the 27-year-old tailor, Rigoberto López, a poet, musician, and member of the Independent Liberal Party, who was shot 54 times on the spot by the National Guard.

His son Luis Somoza Debayle was president from 1956 to 1963. Later, two allies of the family, René Schick and Lorenzo Guerrero, became presidents from 1963 to 1967, the year in which Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Anastasio II, “Tacho II” or “Tachito,” another military murderer, was “elected” president. He was despised and hated by almost all social sectors of the country, especially by the large masses of exploited and oppressed proletarians and poor peasants.

Four long decades of pain and suffering for the people followed, in which violence, cruelties, disappearances, and displacements increased. During this time, the weight of the economic crisis fell on the immense exploited masses, generalizing poverty in most social sectors. Excesses of power were a daily occurrence on the streets and fields of the country. Political freedoms, which hardly existed, were almost completely abolished, and this became the state policy during the entire time that the Somoza family was in power.

This family, which not only had political control but also great economic power, owned part of the best cultivable lands, invested in the financial system, industry, and cultural and sports entities, and completely bowed down to Washington, worshiping successive US presidents. They opened the country to the wishes and abuses of the United States, and extended the subjugation and humiliation of the people far beyond what was experienced during the time of Augusto César Sandino. With the Somozas in the presidential palace, the Yankee imperialists peacefully subdued Nicaragua until 1972.

## **2.1 Birth of the FSLN**

Since the 1950s and the student and youth struggle, there had been an insistence on the creation of broad movements capable of confronting the dictatorship; however, armed struggle was the most promoted. At that time, different small groups emerged and disappeared in confrontations with the National Guard; in these actions, many fighters gained experience, including university students, unionists, and members of various neighborhood groups

who ventured into the fight almost directly against an enemy much superior to them, financed and trained by the American Marines.

Among these young people, the intellectual Carlos Fonseca appeared, who traveled to several socialist countries; he visited Moscow, Vienna, Leipzig, Kiev, Leningrad, Prague, and East Berlin throughout 1957. These trips gave him a broad vision of the struggle and defined his ideals.

After being imprisoned under the National Guard and deported, in the mid-1950s, he founded the first communist cell in the country affiliated with a larger one, La Universidad, together with Tomás Borge Martínez (who had escaped from prison around the same time) and Silvio Mayorga. They were student leaders who had been part of the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, with Khrushchevist orientation, since the mid-1950s, a party that did not agree with taking power by force but rather through peaceful political struggle.

These three intellectuals, inspired by the Cuban triumph, decided to found the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the early 1960s, specifically on July 23, 1961. It was a political-military organization whose ideology was spontaneously shaped by its more military than political life. It did not arise from a national assembly or a meeting of leaders, but rather spontaneously, without a defined political program or ideology.

This ideology was shaped as an eclectic mix of national-revolutionary ideas influenced by Sandinism, Bolivarianism, Guevarism, and Marxism. These ideological nuances gave a nationalist and revolutionary shape to the organization.

As the ideals of Augusto Cesar Sandino were centered on Central Americanism, social liberalism, Hispano-American Bolivarianism, Indo-Hispanism, anti-imperialism, and nationalism, these were almost literally adopted by the FSLN, although the ideological roots and the political, social, and economic line of the FSLN are more closely linked to the thinking of the Peruvian Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, founder in 1924 of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) of Mexico.

The ideas of Haya de la Torre served as inspiration for various movements and groups in several countries in Central and South America: the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) in Bolivia; the National Liberation Party (PLN) in Costa Rica; the Cuban People's Party (Orthodox) (PPC-O) and the Authentic Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC-A); the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico; the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PFR) in Paraguay; the Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP); the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in Puerto Rico; the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)

and Democratic Action (AD) in Venezuela. These had a great prominence throughout the 20th century.

## 2.2 The Three Political Currents of the FSLN

With this eclectic ideology, the political and military organization FSLN launched itself into guerrilla warfare in the mountains at the beginning of the 1960s, engaging in small skirmishes with the National Guard in remote towns, but also receiving hard military blows that had it on the brink of extinction on several occasions. With their armed activities and various attempts to win the support of the people, the Sandinistas remained almost anonymous in that decade. The little armed force they had, the difficult and slow progress in their political and mass work, and the little support from the masses of exploited people in the countryside and the city, led them to reconsider their strategy and objectives on several occasions, gradually giving rise to divisions within the Sandinista leadership. Three political positions on the strategic direction of the Nicaraguan revolution divided the organization for several years; these were:

**The proletarian line:** its defenders of petty-bourgeois economic origin, Jaime Wheelock Román, Luis Carrión Cruz, and Carlos Núñez Téllez, argued that revolutionaries should abandon the mountains, carry out political and organizational work with workers in cities and in the countryside regardless of the time it took. They rejected international injustice, arguing that few countries enjoy great wealth and well-being, contrary to the situation experienced by the majority of countries sunk in poverty and suffering, and also expressed serious doubts about the revolutionary victory through the guerrilla focus.

**The PPW (Protracted People's War) line** defended by Tomás Borge Martínez, Bayardo Arce Castaño, and Henry Ruiz Hernández, who were part of the so-called Marxist-Leninist line inspired by Castro. The PPW held that the only viable tactic to seize power was the Guevarist foco technique: an armed struggle of attrition against the National Guard and the Somoza dictatorship through guerrilla warfare, surrounding the cities from the countryside. This position was recognized and supported by the government of Fidel Castro.

**The insurrectional or thirdist line** led by Daniel and Humberto Ortega Saavedra and Víctor Tirado López, argued that victory was only possible if the FSLN left the isolation in which it found itself by forming an alliance

with bourgeois forces, non-Marxist political parties, diverse social groups, and representatives of financial and business powers, except for members of the Somoza family, their allies, and the most powerful economically in the country. This political line insisted constantly on a great armed popular uprising whose amplified strength at the national level would overthrow the National Guard and the dictatorship; its main ideologue was Sergio Ramírez Mercado, an important writer in Nicaraguan history, a member of the National Reconstruction Government Junta (JGRN) (1979-1984), Vice President of the Republic (1984-1990), and an opponent of the FSLN in the 1990s.

### **2.3 The Program of the FSLN**

As an eclectic ideological mixture of patriotism and revolutionary nationalism, Marxism, Bolivarianism, and Guevarism, the FSLN could not radically resolve the problems historically suffered by the Nicaraguan people. This program, which included the interests of the exploiting classes to put an end to the Somoza dictatorship, lost its way in establishing a revolutionary system that at least resembled socialism. The main points of this program, which was developed by the FSLN in late 1969 and reissued in 1972 by the Revolutionary Student Front (FER) with an introduction, are as follows:

1. The FSLN is a political-military organization whose strategic objective is the seizure of political power through the destruction of the military and bureaucratic apparatus of the dictatorship and the establishment of a revolutionary government based on the worker-peasant alliance and the participation of all patriotic, anti-imperialist, and anti-oligarchic forces in the country.
2. A Revolutionary Government
3. Agrarian Revolution
4. Revolution in culture and education
5. Labor legislation and social security
6. Administrative honesty
7. Reincorporation of the Atlantic Coast



8. Emancipation of women
9. Respect for religious beliefs
10. Independent foreign policy
11. Central American popular unity
12. Solidarity among peoples
13. Patriotic People's Army
14. Veneration for our martyrs

### **3 The Fall of Somoza**

With the earthquake in December 1972 in Managua, Anastasio Somoza took advantage to enrich himself even more, stealing the thousands of tons of international humanitarian aid that arrived in the country and the millions of dollars that entered the financial system; this caused immense popular and social indignation at the national and obviously international level, increasing hatred and contempt for the dictator and his family, deepening the political and institutional crisis already generated by the great corruption and violence.

This situation increased mobilization and street protest; unions, student organizations, neighborhood associations and many others launched a frontal struggle against the National Guard, an opportunity that the FSLN took advantage of to increase its armed actions throughout the country, seeking the support of countries such as Costa Rica, Mexico, and Guatemala to diplomatically encircle Somoza and achieve recognition as a government alternative.

With the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, a conservative, businessman, and director of the La Prensa newspaper, on January 10, 1978, the small bourgeois and large sectors of the bourgeois (Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), Superior Council of Private Initiative (COSIP), Opposition Broad Front (FAO), Democratic Union for Liberation (UDEL)), the Group of Twelve, decided to give their total support to the FSLN; thus arose the so-called unity of the armed left with the "civil society," that is, businessmen, professionals, and social movements (political parties, unions,

and other groups) who were not directly bought by the Nationalist Liberal Party; in this way, they accelerated the fall of the dictator.

The aforementioned alliance allowed for the creation of the National Reconstruction Government Board (JGRN), which proposed a political reorganization of the state. On July 11, 1979, eight days before taking power, the government program was presented in San Jose, Costa Rica. One of the first paragraphs of the program reads:

“This Government Program that will be carried out during the provisional period of national reconstruction lays the foundations of the New Nicaragua and of a democratic State, of social justice, and initiates a revolutionary and nationalist process of deep transformations that will give full participation to all sectors of the country in the political structures, in national reconstruction, in the integral development of the nation, and in the humanistic transformation of Nicaraguan society.”

On July 16th, Anastasio Somoza resigned and left the vice president, Francisco Urcuyo Maliaño, in charge. Somoza flew to Miami (USA) the next day, and Urcuyo left power 24 hours later on the night of July 18th, leaving on a plane made available to him by the President of Guatemala, General Romeo Lucas García. According to Gioconda Belli, the insurrection “had cost the country 35,000 dead, 100,000 wounded, and one million displaced;” however, there are those who refute these figures, reporting much lower ones.

On July 19th, 1979, in Managua and other cities and towns, the population erupted with joy at the dictator’s flight. There were speeches, readings and proclamations, songs, promises, shouts, and much popular jubilation. All of Nicaragua took to the streets to celebrate the fall of Somoza and the “bright” future of the nation.

## 4 The Sandinistas in Power

However, it didn’t take many months for the honeymoon and national celebration to sour, and for the established unity from the alliance of all political and economic sectors to start cracking. Differences, divergences, and harsh contradictions arose between the “civil society” and the FSLN, who gradually became a national force with majority presence and almost absolute control of all state institutions.

After taking power, the Sandinistas never implemented a true agrarian reform. The land for those who worked it was relegated to a third or last purpose, which over time became a long-awaited dream, dusted off again and demagogically used in the 1990 elections as a point of the Sandinistas' political program. This means that ten years after the "revolution," they had not solved the inherited problem of capitalism, the agrarian problem, the land problem. Obviously, they and many more problems would never be solved by the Sandinistas since their political program did not include eliminating private property over the means of production, and since land is part of these means, the problem would continue until today. The FSLN program was nothing more than a promise of politicians on the campaign trail, except by armed means.

Soon, the political crisis shattered the bourgeois government plans of the new collective leadership of the Nicaraguan State. This crisis was based on the acute and impoverished situation that the people lived daily, which initially generated mistrust towards the JGRN and later towards the Sandinistas. Misery became unbearable, and in the early 1980s, thousands of Nicaraguans took to the streets demanding that the government immediately fulfill and implement what was promised by FSLN leader Daniel Ortega in his speech on July 19, 1979, in Managua's plaza.

The national literacy plan and the meager subsidies provided to the population victimized by the National Guard bombings were not enough. People needed food, access to healthcare, and reorganization of their housing since many workers were homeless after the insurrection. The Nicaraguan proletariat and poor peasantry still lived in conditions of poverty.

The FSLN was unable to fulfill the demands of both the people and the bourgeois, who were in a unity government with them. Both groups generated strong opposition against the Sandinistas: the people in the streets and the wealthy blocking supplies of goods to force the government to comply with what was agreed upon. Meanwhile, from Miami and Honduras, "The Contras" were organized with Somoza military personnel who had taken asylum there and former Sandinista guerrillas like Eden Pastora. The latter, along with many bourgeois members of the government, became disillusioned with the "revolution" and resigned from their public positions to organize the "armed resistance" funded by the United States.

## 5 40 Years of Revolution?

The Sandinistas, with Daniel Ortega leading the government and occupying decisive positions in the state, disarmed the little armed organization of the people and created the Sandinista Police and Sandinista Youth, a kind of militia that, more than defending the population, became a terrible scourge in the countryside and the city, in neighborhoods and universities, in unions, cooperatives, and other places where dissatisfaction was permanent. These institutions were the most hated since the 80s because they always reminded people of the many years of pain generated by Somoza.

The FSLN did not fulfill anyone's expectations and responded by restricting political freedoms, monitoring and censoring any expression of opposition, strengthening the armed forces, arbitrarily repressing and imprisoning and in some cases killing proletarians, unionists, and honest revolutionaries who demanded a true social and political revolution in the country.

They also strengthened state institutions, where bureaucracy, clientelism, and corruption became widespread, so that the national treasury was invested in thousands of legal and political tricks to make everyday life of the Sandinista government's actions seem legitimate. The "revolutionary" petty bourgeois never intended to change the terrible state of affairs left by the Somoza dictatorship, never proposed to eliminate the capitalist mode of production, and never intended to end the exploitation of the rich over the poor. Augusto César Sandino once said directly that he did not want to change the social order in Nicaragua; the Sandinistas used revolutionary populist language to captivate the people, overthrow Somoza and come to power in alliance with the commercial, agrarian, and financial bourgeois. They fulfilled Sandino's wishes, left the social order intact, and simply carried out a few economic, political, and social reforms.

This explains the electoral circus set up for the 1990 elections, where power was shared with the pro-American bourgeois of Violeta Chamorro and her party, the National Opposition Union (UNO), making the proletariat and peasantry believe that through participation in the false bourgeois democracy, through electoral farce, they would passively achieve elusive changes and improvements for the country. *Jimmy Carter played a crucial role in convincing the Sandinistas to abandon power after their electoral defeat in February 1990. They accepted.*

Today, it is seen how the Sandinista deception of alliance with the bourgeois and landowners only serves to maintain poverty and wealth, as always

at the two opposite poles; that is, to maintain the main and current contradiction between bourgeois and proletarians, as Marx and Engels aptly expressed in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

## 6 Conclusion

It was not to be expected that more could be expected from the revolutionary intellectualism of the oppressed petty bourgeois under the dictatorship of Somoza at that time; this class cannot see the bright socialist future beyond their small-scale proprietorship, beyond their petty, individualistic, and egocentric world. They cannot see beyond their short idealistic vision of *the great homeland of the working people*, and they will not be able to see it because, like the bourgeois, they are united by selfish economic interests of enslavers and usurpers. So much suffering, so much pain of the people, so much spilled humble blood of proletarian children and women... It is too high a price to leave the capitalist relations intact and unscathed, to forgive the life of the hateful system of exploitation and oppression, even to leave the debts contracted with the imperialists intact, to whom they continued to pay interest on the loans that the country had signed before the “revolution” of July 1979.

Today, the FSLN with Daniel Ortega still in charge and in the state, deceives the people and the whole world with the farce of “21st-century socialism,” a disgusting alteration and mockery of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist scientific socialism. They believe they can maintain the facade of revolutionaries for a long time; however, sooner or later, it will fall at their feet because the peoples of Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and many more will not tolerate misery and repression while the bourgeois “socialist” populists continue to ride on their backs, handing over the natural riches of these nations to imperialists of any stripe, making juicy deals with diplomatic warfare, and obtaining high profitability with the sparks that their pseudo-anti-imperialist speeches leave in passing international political situations.

Today, Nicaragua remains one of the poorest countries in America, with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the region, which is vying for the dishonorable first place with other poor countries like Haiti. The current wave of repression against the people, as it was 40 years ago, is the iron fist of the bourgeois and imperialism unleashed fiercely from the state against all of Nicaragua.

There was never a political and social revolution in Nicaragua. In the political program of the anti-Somoza intellectuals and “anti-imperialists,” it was not defined to radically change the social and political order of the country. They did not establish that, nor did they tell the world that they would do so at the moment of taking power, much less did they say it to the Nicaraguan proletariat.

The capitalist mode of production, bourgeois production relations, and obviously, the exploitation of man by man would remain intact there because they would not be disrupted, they would not be changed by relations of cooperation and mutual aid because they did not intend to socialize the means of production. Revolutionary Marxist socialism was not in the plans of the Nicaraguan revolutionary intellectuals; their interest was reduced to maintaining the same economic and social relations but changing the holders of power for the political-military organization they founded in 1961, the FSLN, allied with the bourgeois and not with the proletariat.

Revolution means to revolutionize, to fundamentally change something old and bad for something new and truly good that serves the interests of the people, according to Mao Zedong.

The “revolutionary” petty bourgeois respected imperialist capital, all out of fear of unleashing the powerful fury of the exploited and oppressed Nicaraguan masses, proletarians and poor peasants thirsty for national and social liberation, who, if politically and militarily organized, would have swept away the burdensome and filthy capitalist mode of production altogether and a new garden would have truly flourished in socialist Central America’s spring. A new sun would have risen that would have illuminated the beautiful and mountainous Nicaraguan land, bathed by charming lakes and endless seas.

Only the proletariat in solid alliance with the poor peasantry, and organized in an authentic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary communist party, can direct and carry out an authentic, radical, and true political and social revolution, which can only be the establishment of socialism based on destroying the old machine of domination of the exploiters, starting with the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat sustained by the general arming of the people, thereby creating the conditions to definitively eliminate the historical agrarian problem, the contradiction between the city and the countryside, between manual and intellectual labor, the contradiction between men and women, and many more contradictions of the capitalist world, mainly the current contradiction in the world between the bourgeois

and the proletariat.

Only then will the magnificent Socialist Republic of Nicaragua flourish.

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