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**The Articulation of Sandinismo and of
the 1980 National Literacy Campaign in Nicaragua**

Sandra Langley

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Communication Studies**

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

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ABSTRACT

The Articulation of Sandinismo and of the 1980 National Literacy Campaign in Nicaragua

Sandra Langley, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 2001

The thesis maps aspects of the Sandinista nation-building project subsequent to the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979. Part One charts the broad discursive and institutional terms of the articulation of this project, drawing on a large body of literature on Sandinismo, and integrating this analysis from secondary sources with discourse analysis and a consideration of the deployment of power/knowledge. Part Two uses like methods in considering aspects of the national literacy campaign mounted in 1980.

The critical positioning of the thesis is informed by an account of the experience of the most marginalized of campesino ("peasant") sectors in the context of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects. These projects prioritized modernized production, and not the redistribution of lands for small-unit production which was widely desired. For several reasons, campesino aspirations should have been accommodated to a much greater degree. The thesis considers why this failed to happen.

Part One of the thesis finds that, despite the heterogeneity of Sandinismo, it was articulated in significant part within corporativist structures of political representation and by way of modernist, Marxist-inflected knowledges and discourses positing a historical "logic of necessity" and a necessary order of change-- including a certain knowledge of "development/historical unfolding" and a knowledge of subjectivity articulated in dichotomous and Manichean terms.

Part Two of the thesis finds that the tight articulation of the literacy campaign to the Sandinista development and social project proved problematic, that a predominant literacy campaign discourse constructed marginal rural inhabitants in terms of lack, that this articulates to the knowledge systems charted in Part One of the thesis, and that the specificities of a structured "dialogue" process by way of which rural recipients of literacy instruction were to participate in the articulation of Sandinismo constrained and shaped what might be spoken.

The thesis analysis is suggestive of factors contributing to a conjunctural shift in the terms of popular identification and social movement practice in the late twentieth century.

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Translations and Acronyms

Translations

Brigadistas: literacy instructors assigned to the countryside

Campeños: peasants/small farmers

Acronyms

AMNLAE: The Luisa Amanda Espinosa Nicaraguan Women's Association

ASOCODE: Asociación de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas Para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo (Association of Central American Peasant Organizations for Cooperation and Development)

ATC: Asociación de Trabajadores del Campo (Rural Workers' Association)

CST: Sandinista Workers' Federation

DN: National Directorate (of the FSLN)

FSLN: Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front)

JS: The Sandinista Youth

MIDINRA: Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform

MISURASATA: Mistikus, Sumu, and Rama with the Sandinistas

UNAG: National Union of Farmers and Ranchers

Chapter One: Introduction, Conceptual Framework and Methodology

Introduction

In July of 1979, the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua was overthrown by a broad-based coalition of social forces, hegemonized by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (the FSLN). Popular insurrections in and near important urban centres in the years prior to the overthrow--insurrections flying the colours of the FSLN--lent weight to the representation of the FSLN as the vanguard of a cohesive national-popular movement--"Sandinismo"--fully rooted in popular formations. Sandinismo and the FSLN were seen as poised to ensure the realization of popular interests, through the building of a new Nicaraguan nation according to a "logic of the majority."

The victory of the revolution in Nicaragua was widely celebrated. The popular experience of repressive military/political regimes throughout Latin America informed a strong identification with a liberation movement which had realized the goal of taking state power. Further, the discourse of Sandinismo and the FSLN was such as to suggest that they promised to be something new under the sun. The promise was that of a national-popular government, solidly rooted in popular formations and full of integrity in the promotion of the popular interest, which was not setting out to implement a dogmatic vision of social transformation

imported from elsewhere. The FSLN quickly and consistently affirmed its commitment to a three-pronged platform--to a mixed economy, to political pluralism, and to international non-alignment. The Marxist and Marxist-Leninist orientations which top leaders of the FSLN had never renounced did not figure as the whole of a "Sandinista" vision which was grounded in the specificity of Nicaraguan experience, and which promised to avoid the abuses of "democratic centralism" as it had been practised in the past.

The thesis demonstrates the ways in which the Nicaraguan revolution was, and was not, something new under the sun. It charts overdetermined practices subsequent to the victory of the revolution in 1979, in part as they were shaped by the discourses and institutions of modernity.

The conjunctures of the preceding decades, and of the 1980s, informed academic and non-academic accounts of Sandinismo predominantly focused on the victory and survival of the revolution. In both popular discourse and Marxist social theory, the conception of an essential left-right divide figured prominently--even as the latter was inscribed along with references to imperialism and the north/south divide that muddied the waters of simple conceptualization. Military confrontation and discourse alike pitted one side against another. In the 1980s, the virulence of what was to become known as the "contra" war drew international attention to Nicaragua through the media. The "contra"

forces, who stated their intent to overthrow Sandinista government and "liberate" Nicaraguans from Marxist-Leninist authoritarianism, were aided and directed by the United States through the agency of the CIA. "Contra" practices of terrorism against civilians, the tragic destruction of life and infrastructure, and the real possibility of direct American military intervention loomed large as the focus of public attention. Immediately subsequent to the electoral defeat of the FSLN in 1990, many emphasized the diverse American machinations which had contributed to the electoral outcome--machinations including the destruction of the Nicaraguan economy.

In the years following the electoral defeat, a split developed in the FSLN, which had been one of the most cohesive national liberation movements in Latin America. An abundance of critiques of FSLN government--some of them articulated by long-time FSLN leaders, militants, and supporters themselves--accompanied this antagonism. These critiques underlined many of the same problems that had been articulated in the 1980s by critical supporters of the revolution--in the context of the latter's greater preoccupation with the imperialist threat to Sandinismo. A body of critique of the FSLN and Sandinismo, articulated from "popular" and "peasant" standpoints, had accumulated--and its terms were far from the rabid cold-warrior, anti-communist discourse of the most virulent opponents of the

terms of the transformation in Nicaragua. The terms of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects, as they responded to a very limited degree to the aspirations of the most marginalized of campesino ("peasant") sectors for land for family-unit production, constituted one focus of critique.

Particularly in an initial stage of the Sandinista project, priority was given to the reactivation and extension of modernized production on state farms; and Sandinista interventions in the countryside sought to enable the incorporation of rural subjects into a project whose broad outlines had already been determined.

Recent decades have seen the emergence of frameworks of social theory and analysis, designated as "post-structuralist" and "post-modernist," which prove pertinent when considered alongside a body of critiques of the terms of the FSLN project. These frameworks and critiques put into question the postulates and practices of a modernity whose logic has emphasized the overcoming of singularity. Across both "left" and "right" projects for social transformation, there has been an emphasis on an "advancement of the forces of production." The perceived need to prioritize the latter provided a rationale for centralized management and decision-making, and for the re-making of subjectivities, in the context of corporativist nation-building projects. The terms of formation of "modern" subjects and institutions

have, of course, not been uniform; there have been evident differences between "capitalist" and "communist" nation-building projects. Nevertheless, they have had in common a naturalization of the idea of the inevitable disappearance of the peasantry, within the "progressive" and incorporative movement of modernity; and such a naturalization proves to have been at work in the articulation of the Sandinista project.

The thesis analysis is informed by both a critical positioning in relation to this naturalization, and a concern with the specificity of Sandinismo; and it is suggestive of factors contributing to a conjunctural shift in the terms of popular identification and social movement practice in the last decades of the twentieth century. Much of the pertinence of the analysis resides in this aspect of the thesis.

The thesis also makes a contribution to the literature on Sandinismo, while drawing on this literature. Retrospective and muted critiques of Sandinismo--those developed at the popular level, and articulated from "popular," "peasant," and feminist standpoints--are suggestive of the limitations of a substantial body of academic analysis of Sandinismo written contemporaneously with the initial phase of the Sandinista project in the early 1980s. This body of work understood Sandinismo in essentialist terms, as an expression of the people, and

framed developments with reference to fundamental revolutionary/counter-revolutionary divide.

Further, my revisiting of the Sandinista project in this study is pertinent as it figures within an emergent body of work which considers the effectivity of discursive formations and power/knowledge in the overdetermined shaping of past and present social formations.¹ This work demonstrates one important manner of conceptualizing and charting processes which have been designated as "cultural"-processes including articulations of collective identity. These processes have commanded limited attention within the large body of socio-economic literature in English on Latin America. The politics of the praxis of liberation movements has been the object of much analysis, but has generally not been brought into view with reference to the effectivity of the discursive. Analyses of movement "ideology" often fail to consider and to accord much significance to the particularities of the material manifestations of what is referred to as such.

The object of study of Part One of the thesis is "Sandinismo"--as a formation and as a nation-building project in the period subsequent to the 1979 overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship. The objects of study of Part Two of the thesis are aspects of the national literacy campaign mounted in Nicaragua in 1980. The thesis analysis uses a number of theoretical reference points and analytic tools in

mapping these objects of study. I draw on a large body of literature on Sandinismo. I employ discourse analysis. I attend to the specificities of certain micro-level practices in the context of the literacy campaign. Further, I conceptualize Sandinismo in part as a national-popular knowledge system. There is a substantial focus on processes of representation and on constructions of collective identity (in its being and becoming) in public discourse, as these figured within relations of power and worked to articulate a Sandinista hegemony.

While considerable attention is given to the practice of the FSLN (Sandinista Front for National Liberation), as a nationalist/Marxist vanguardist organisation exercising state power, the Sandinista project and the literacy campaign are considered as overdetermined by formations shaping and shaped by the FSLN, or constituting conditions of possibility for the specificity of practice.

The choice to consider aspects of the 1980 national literacy campaign follows from the fact that this campaign constituted one important site for the meeting of "city" (a highly-centralized articulation of a social/development project) and "country" (the most marginalized of rural sectors); further, the campaign constituted one very significant site for representations of collective identity.

Certain critiques of Sandinista interventions in the countryside, and of the Sandinista development and agrarian

reform projects, contribute to a critical basis for a revisiting of campaign practice and Sandinista practice more generally.

These critiques--many articulated from the standpoint of landless and land-poor campesinos ("peasants")--themselves invite consideration with reference to a certain concern in the field of communication studies--a concern with modernist articulations of collective identity in the context of nation-building and national development projects.

The thesis responds to the five following research questions. What were the broad institutional and discursive terms of the articulation of the Sandinista project and of a Sandinista collective identity, and what were some of their conditions of possibility? How were "the people" and rural inhabitants without reading and writing skills represented (represented in the sense of both depiction and delegation) as objects and subjects of knowledge and a nation-building process? How did such terms of articulation/hegemony, and Sandinismo as a national-popular knowledge system, prove to be problematic, particularly in relation to the experience of the most marginalized of campesino sectors? What was at work in the articulation of a "dialogue process" in the context of the literacy campaign--a process by way of which rural recipients of literacy instruction were to be given a voice in the articulation of Sandinismo--and how did this

process prove to be symptomatic of the limitations of a national-popular knowledge system laying claim to an understanding of the rural terrain? What are the implications of the Sandinista case for an understanding of articulations of nation and collective identity, and of conjunctural change in the terms of popular struggle and collective identity formation, as popular sectors have come to take a distance from the naturalization of their subordination under a highly centralized vanguardist/party leadership, and from modernist/teleological articulations of socio-economic development and nation? ²

The contemporary concern with the ascendancy of neo-liberalism and "globalization" marks a departure from the conjunctures of national liberation struggles and the projects they resulted in or aspired to. Nevertheless, the legacy of such struggles has shaped the terms of present political initiatives. The thesis' consideration of the specificity of the Sandinista case contributes to the conceptualization of present and past conjunctures within contemporary social theory. I show the pertinence of attending to the tensions, technologies and discursive constitution of a nation-building project, and to techniques and knowledge deployed in an effort to construct "modern", revolutionary/citizen subjectivities.

One concern informing the thesis is a concern with the naturalization, across both "right" and "left" projects for

social change, of the assumption of the inevitable disappearance of "the peasantry", within a historical teleology referencing the ongoing modernization of production.

A critical account of the global and local conservative forces over against which Sandinismo was articulated, and of their contemporary (re)configurations, is not a key concern of the present thesis, although it has continued to be of much concern to the writer.

In looking critically at the terms of Sandinista hegemony, the thesis departs from a positioning very distant from that of certain accounts of Sandinismo which echoed the cold-war rhetoric of the Reagan administration. I also go beyond the attacks on Sandinista leaders and leadership articulated in the 1990's--often by Sandinista militants and leaders themselves.³ The individual and institutional agents engaged in the articulation of Sandinismo are considered, not as origins of practice, but as they both shaped and were shaped by discursive and institutional formations.

The thesis has in common with the "postmodernist" and post-structuralist turn in social theory a questioning of the deployment of essentialist discourses of identity, and an assumption of their relative effectivity. In the case of Sandinismo specifically, Sandinista discourse affirmed an essential national-popular identity with a collectivist

orientation.

While my thesis problematizes the latter construction of identity, I continue to value a collectivist orientation in the interests of a change in the vast disparities of wealth and power to be found in Central America and elsewhere.

I question the extent and effects of a highly-centralized power to define the general interest/being and the means to its realization. The exercise of this power entailed judgements as to the legitimacy or lack of such of particular efforts to advance "specific interests" (i.e., those of campesinos as articulated from a "pro-peasant" standpoint). In the case of Sandinismo this was a power related to the epistemological privilege accorded to a Marxist-Leninist oriented vanguard understood as the repository of "science"--science as "Truth". (At the same time, the case of Sandinismo is of interest as considered over against orthodox Marxist-Leninist formations, and in terms of its substantial internal tensions and heterogeneity.) The consequence for the most marginalized of campesino sectors, who aspired to what was understood as a "petite-bourgeois" place in productive relations, was that they were understood as "backward," in terms of both production methods and mentalities--within a discursive formation articulating a collectivist subjectivity in binary opposition to an individualist subjectivity. With the

increasing attention to questions of ecology and cultural diversity over the past two decades, and with the formation of an independent campesino/farmer movement in Nicaragua, campesino formations have been re-envisioned in terms of their potentiality and outside such totalizing terms. *

As will be further elaborated later in this chapter, the thesis analysis may be generally positioned with reference to various precepts of post-structuralist thought. These include precepts elaborated in the course of the critique of modernity and in the course of the critique of the precepts of modernist knowledge systems. The thesis is also indebted to Michel Foucault's conceptualizations of power/knowledge and of power as operative on the micro-level, and of (over)determination within a "dispositif"--a conjunctural configuration of a set of materialities in the world which includes discursive and non-discursive components, and which entails strategies of relations of forces.

The thesis approaches Sandinismo/the Sandinista state neither as an instance of a type to be denounced--as a Marxist-Leninist authoritarian state system--nor as an essential expression--to be simply celebrated--of the people in power. The analysis moves against the grain of much of the literature written in the early eighties as the latter assumed the sufficiency of framing considerations of the Nicaraguan social terrain with reference to a revolutionary-

counterrevolutionary divide. A revisiting of the Sandinista project in its early stage proves to be pertinent partly in the light of the limitations of a highly celebratory literature written contemporaneously with this period, and in the light of subsequent critiques of the terms of this project, including critiques articulated from popular and feminist standpoints. ⁵

The Sandinista claim to be bringing a voice to the people, widely taken in the post-overthrow period as a truth not inviting qualification, was underwritten in an academic literature that for the most part was focused on developments understood within narrations of change across the national terrain; the manner in which "the people" were "spoken" and were brought to speak within a Sandinista hegemony was naturalized, and explained in a general manner with reference to the heterogeneity of Sandinismo as a mix of Marxist, democratic nationalist and Christian formations. The identity of Nicaraguans was commonly read off sectoral and geographical positioning and within narrations of nation and popular liberation; in contrast, what is here considered is an effort to represent and shape identity, an effort which is understood in part with reference to the effectivity of the discursive.

The thesis as it presently stands differs greatly from the project elaborated in an earlier thesis proposal--a proposal to consider the articulation, in the 1990s, of a

transnational campesino ("peasant/small farmer") organisation in Central America--ASOCODE. (Considerable research was done towards this project, including research done in the course of a five-month stay in Central America.) Despite such difference, however, the thesis and the earlier project proposal were informed by some of the same concerns; and the thesis as it presently stands took shape initially in the course of an effort to respond to the first of the several research questions listed in that proposal. The latter question asked how the efforts of ASOCODE (Asociación de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo) to articulate a transnational movement across difference contrasted with and were shaped by previous articulations of the national-popular; and in the course of responding to this question, I became progressively more engaged with the case of Nicaragua in the 1980s.

In the face of the global ascendancy of neo-liberalism, and the determination of many campesinos to articulate a political practice not contained within the structures of party politics, ASOCODE was formed in 1991, as a regional platform bringing together organizations from Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. Nicaraguan campesino organizations, along with Costa Rican organizations, provided much of the initial impetus for the formation of ASOCODE; the legacy of Sandinismo was a

significant factor in this initiative, both in terms of the organisational and economic strength of the farmer/campesino movement in Nicaragua, and in terms of the measured critique of Sandinismo which this movement had developed. ⁶

Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua had all been the sites of armed national liberation movements which claimed leadership in the terrain of national-popular struggle. The terms of the cultural and organisational articulation of struggle had emphasised the efforts of the popular mass of nation/peoples, struggling under the leadership of a vanguard organisations, to overthrow existing state regimes and establish radically new social orders from the position of state power. In the context of war, extreme poverty, and horrific state repression and counter-insurgency, the concept of a fundamental left-right divide as a sufficient or essential frame for conceptualising the social terrain was naturalized; and the victory of the Sandinista revolution in July of 1979 was looked to as an inspiration for other national-popular struggles in Central America and around the globe.

On the one hand, the terms of the mobilization of "the people" in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala called for a redistribution of wealth and for action over against right-wing formations enjoying the support of state institutions of the United States; on the other hand, this mobilization

was in the name of a social project for the emergence of nations from conditions of underdevelopment--a project which would need co-ordination and which could be pointed to in the legitimisation of the continuing authority of a vanguard organisation following a revolutionary victory. From 1979 onward, with the FSLN being in a position of state power, the Sandinistas undertook a development and social project that prioritized an "advancement of the forces of production" on the state farms, as opposed to the redistribution of appropriated lands for family-unit campesino production, a redistribution widely desired by many landless and land-poor campesinos; further, this project included certain problematic interventions in the countryside following from the FSLN's conception of the mechanisms by way of which the broad interests of "the people" were to be achieved. The power to decide the broad outlines of policy was highly centralized, at the same time as Sandinismo was highly valorized in public texts and cultural production as an expression and voice of the people and as the path to the realization of their collective historical interest.

As the post-modern and post-structuralist turn in social theory has emphasized, a long-standing structuralist Marxist tradition of concern with change of a totality over time has neglected engagement with the specificities of difference across space; and, as the Sandinista case makes

apparent, this neglect has had a parallel with the terms of articulation of national liberation struggles as they have brought "the people" into view as objects and subjects of knowledge, and as they have projected a movement of national collectivities out of conditions of underdevelopment. 7

In contrast to the Sandinista affirmation of--and effort to construct--a single revolutionary subjectivity, one of the slogans which ASOCODE was to take up was "unity in diversity." In the discourse of the latter organisation and of other social movements, there has been an increased sense of collective identity and of the terms of popular struggle as something to be built and negotiated, rather than assumed, or brought to popular sectors as their truth which they may not yet have become conscious of. Further, campesino/farmer, indigenous, black, environmentalist, and feminist movements have not underwritten the idea of the sufficiency of a struggle that is "popular" over against its right-wing other; rather, certain dynamics and discourses within "the popular," as they perpetuate problematic practices, subordination and a lack of comprehension of significant difference, are themselves taken to be the objects of transformative political practice.

There has been a analytic tendency over the past decade to continue a sighting of the world-spirit, though now in a multiplicity of social movements, rather than in national liberation movements and the parties and states which have

developed out of them; and there has been a tendency to valorize social movements and civil society as understood over against corporatist or party politics and the state. ^a The thesis does not seek to underwrite such tendencies in an unqualified manner. Social movements can and have demonstrated all the limitations, as well as positive aspects, of the popular mobilisations preceding them-- including, notably, essentialist discourses of identity. Nevertheless, what I see as promising is that there has been greater plurality in the voices accorded authority, and that identity has come to be articulated in more complex ways. Identity cannot now be so easily taken to be geographically contained and fully explained within nationalist and Marxist frameworks (which does not then imply that such frameworks have been or should be cast simply as "untruths"). While movements have continued to formulate truths of the located experience of their constituencies, they have been sites of production of discourses with the capacity to speak with greater specificity to the positioning of, and challenges faced by, a multiplicity of social actors. What is significant, then, is not simply the "inclusion of more voices"; it is the promise of articulations of identities, positionings and projects in less abstract terms, and of the understanding of such in an inside/outside relation to nation and to longstanding articulations of development. ^b

The rest of this chapter follows under four sub-titles:

"Conceptual Framework," "Sandinismo and the Sandinista Development and Agrarian Reform Projects," "The Case of the Literacy Campaign," and "Methods and Findings of the Chapters."

Conceptual Framework

My analysis is informed by the post-structuralist and post-modern turns in social theory.

In recent decades, the fields of communication studies and cultural studies have seen critiques of structuralist theorizations of social totality and of methodologies in line with such. These include critiques of Althusserian structuralism--of determination in the last instance by "the economic"--and of the reduction of the practice of social groups to an essential ideology determined by the economic. Such critiques have drawn on various bodies of theory, including: Gramscian-inflected theorizations of hegemony and historical blocs; Raymond Williams' theorization of "cultural materialism"; feminist and post-colonial critiques of the conception of theorizations of capitalism as a single privileged point of analytic departure; "thick description" (Clifford Geertz) within cultural anthropology; work within geography focusing on difference across space as opposed to a tradition within structuralist Marxist analysis of preoccupation with change in the social totality over time; and the writings of Michel Foucault on discursive and

power/knowledge formations, as they function to effect the reproduction/transformation of the social and as they are operative on the micro-level.

As is elaborated in the paragraphs to follow--prior to a consideration focused on the concepts of articulation, hegemony and power/knowledge--the thesis analysis may be generally positioned with reference to various precepts of "post-structuralist" thought. These include precepts elaborated in the course of critiques of modernity and modernist knowledge systems. I am also indebted to Michel Foucault's conceptualizations of power/knowledge, of power as operative on the micro-level, and of (over)determination within a "dispositif".

The paragraphs to follow also reference numerous texts and theorists whose insights provide theoretical points of reference for the thesis analysis. These texts and theorists have considered: technologies and the articulation of collective identities; the modernist investment in the conception of progress by way of science and technology; the prominence in the twentieth century of discourses of development; and the effectivity of Marxist knowledge of development/historical unfolding.

Post-structuralism has contested traditions in philosophy and social theory which have sought the logical elaboration of a paradigm of social totality and historical unfolding, modernist paradigms invested in a teleological

conception of history as progress, and a conception of intellectual work

bound to the classical concept of truth ...it was thought that there was an intrinsic truth in things that revealed itself to certain particular forms of access that were the private hunting ground of the intellectual...today...the intellectual dimension cannot be conceived as recognition but as construction...(Laclau, New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times, 1990, p. 196)

It does not follow from this that analysis must entail a refusal of hermeneutic moments of analysis, as they lay some claim to recognition; rather, what is refused is a depth hermeneutic in which meaning is understood as held still, outside all history and process, within the language which would convey it, or as grounded in some essential being of "Man".

Following from the refusal of a pre-linguistic model of thought and of a humanist conception of the subject--of a Being outside history which grounds understandings of it--objects and categories of analysis are taken to be contingently articulated.

An integral aspect of the project of many post-structuralist (or "deconstructionist") analysts--attending to the historicity and intertextuality of their own production--has unfortunately often become obscured in the

context of common polemics which reduce the post-structuralist/post-modern turn to a "battle of the paradigms," essentially constituted by a frontal attack on the "grand narratives" of "scientific rationality, the unification of knowledge, the emancipation of humanity"(Spivak, 1990, p. 18). So, for example, in "The Post-modern Condition: the End of Politics?" (a transcribed interview published in Gayatri Spivak's The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues, 1990), interviewer G. Hawthorn's opening question to Gayatri Spivak is, "could I ask you first whether the deconstructionist movement is a declaration of war, or the celebration of a victory over the grand récit?"(p. 18). This militaristic discourse is nicely diffused in Spivak's response, which also speaks to my positioning in relation to the Sandinista narration of the origins and ends of the Sandinista project:

I think of it myself as a radical acceptance of vulnerability. The grand récit are great narratives and the narrative has an end in view. It is a programme which tells how social justice is to be achieved. And I think the post-structuralists, if I understand them right, imagine again and again that when a narrative is constructed, something is left out. When an end is defined, other ends are rejected, and one might not know what those ends are. So...they are...asking over and over again, What is it that is left out? Can we

know what is left out? We must know the limits of the narratives, rather than establish the narratives as solutions for the future, for the arrival of social justice, so that to an extent they're working within an understanding of what they cannot do, rather than declaring war. (1990, p. 19)

Spivak emphasizes that the "impulse to narrate, the impulse to think of origins and ends...we all share. But...it is a need rather than the way to truth. So I think it's a very slight difference, but a crucial difference"(1990, pp. 19-20). The stress here is on the process of knowledge construction, as it exists within the profane, rather than on a mere unmasking of historical narratives or conceptual frameworks as "untruth"; and this stress is in the interests of a "reconstructive," as much as a "deconstructive" project.

Agents of Sandinismo understood Sandinismo as a project for the realization of social justice. Poverty, poverty to the point of misery, and brutal repression were indicative of the extent of the social exclusion of the great mass of the population; and the project of revolutionary transformation promised universal inclusion as the outcome of frontal confrontation. At the time of the overthrow of Somoza, the degree of negativity associated with existing social formations which were to be left behind, and the prevalent discourses of the time, were such that there was

little space for the valorization of what might be termed a cultural ecology--for the understanding that the most marginal of campesino formations were irreducible to a past to be left behind.

Sandinista narrations of Sandinismo--narrations inextricably bound up with political practice--referenced a left/right divide, and a nationalist/imperialist divide (which stood in a relation of both support and tension with the former). While clearly the case of Sandinismo cannot be understood without reference to such divides, within a post-structuralist perspective they cannot be taken as sufficient grounds for articulating the truth of a social formation. Social formations in Nicaragua in the time period considered, like other formations of the twentieth century, invite consideration in the context of modernity.

Positioning social developments within such a great span of time has been a common analytic strategy within communication studies. Work in this field has considered how technologies--and communication technologies in particular--have functioned, in conjunction with other factors, to engender the (relative) unification of social formations across space and time. Such technologies have frequently been considered in relation to the historical emergence and underpinnings of the nation-state. Further, as theorists such as Harold Innis, James Carey and Benedict Anderson have argued, these technologies are inextricably bound up with a

meaning/symbolic production or imaginary which itself factors within the overdetermination of the social. An imaginary discursively produces a "reality" of "the people" which becomes operative in efforts to construct "the people" in this image. Such processes have been shaped by the long history of the discursive inscription of the naturalized precepts of modernity.

As the authors of Liberation Theologies, Postmodernity and the Americas state:

The assumptions that determined the co-ordinates of the episteme of modernity were:

1. Unity of self, society, reason, history:

Modernity...prescribed the unity of self, as autonomy, the unity of society, as homogeneity, the unity of reason, as the synthesis of the different faculties under one coordinating reason...and the unity of history in terms of its teleology (history perceived as the seamless progression of industrial development, growth of freedom, growth of consciousness, growth of civility, etc.).

2. The mimesis of representation and perception.....

3. Evaluative and normative teleologies:

Modernity was and is an evaluation of history in terms of normative teleologies. Modernity took over from Western Christendom the belief in a Heilsgeschichte, a

divine plan of history that guarantees the better, purer outcome of the slaughter bench of history. (David Batstone, Eduardo Mendieta, Lois Ann Lorentzen and Dwight Hopkins, eds., 1997, p. 8)

In the context of modernity, the social forces generating inequality found an alibi in representations placing them as the motor-forces of a universal progress which was to see its final outcome in a resplendent future; and there were prescriptions for all the ills to be found on the path to this future, prescriptions delivered with all the confidence of Euro-American societies invested in the Truth of their science.

From the independence struggles in Latin America in the early nineteenth century to the age of the emergence of African and Asian social formations from colonial domination, the ideal of the equality of citizens was held out within representations of the nation as a figure for the achievement of universal brotherhood; and, particularly with the ascendancy of the United States as a superpower in the post-World-War-Two period, there was the conception of a brotherhood of nations destined to expand from its existence within the "free world" and to eventually cover the globe. The path to progress was cast as entailing the incorporation of all--within the nation, and within a global community.

Across capitalist and Marxist narrations of historical unfolding, the progress of science and technology, and the

transformative effects of such on subjectivity and social formations, have been applauded. The pages which immediately follow chart the force and the modern manifestations of the attendant idealization, an idealization with a powerful material force due to its inscription in discursive formations and in knowledge systems which have provided alibis for those exercising power.

William Leiss (in Under Technology's Thumb, 1990) refers to Francis Bacon's "wager"--a wager articulated as Bacon stood "at the threshold of modern times." This wager was that there could and would be an end to politics as a zero-sum game; the triumphs of science and technology--resulting in what is now referred to as "growth," or "economic development"--would be productive of a material abundance which would bring universal benefit.

Recent texts, including Arturo Escobar's seminal study, Encountering Development: The Makings and Unmaking of the Third World (1995), and The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power (ed. Wolfgang Sachs, 1992), have considered how this wager or discourse of modernity has been played out in the post-World-War-Two period. I am both indebted to and critical of Escobar's book, a "study of developmentalism as a discursive field" which the author describes as contextualized within "the overall space of modernity, particularly modern economic practices"(1990, p. 11). His text, which draws on a Foucauldian theoretical

framework, proposes

to speak of development as a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action, by analysing the characteristics and interrelation of the three axes that define it: the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped. The ensemble of forms found along these axes constitutes development as a discursive formation, giving rise to an efficient apparatus that systematically relates forms of knowledge and techniques of power. (1995, p. 10)

As the thesis demonstrates, reference to "national unity" in the interests of "development" figured large in the articulation of Sandinismo; and as Escobar argues in Encountering Development, in the post-World-War-Two period, a "discourse of development" worked to "colonize reality" and legitimate authority by referencing a universal good which was to follow from a general advancement of forces of production and the incorporation of a populace into social institutions promoting changes in production techniques and human behaviour; the whole of the world's population was to

become "modernized".

It requires mention that Escobar proposes a kind of pristine rejection of--and normative positioning over against--all "discourse of development," which I do not share. I affirm the importance of attending to the specificity of particular articulations of "development," including those at the popular level which have taken up this term in the course of challenging certain terms of social exclusion--terms including the lack of provision of services related to health, education and transportation. Escobar's text goes too far in implicitly casting millions of people as the dupes of a discourse. ¹⁰

While Escobar's text clearly has some bearing on the objects of study of the thesis, this is limited. Escobar does not elaborate on the important relationship between certain dispositifs of development and Marxist formations, and on the close connection of such dispositifs with nation-building and national liberation projects. Given the powerful articulation of discourses of development with the affective energies of nationalism, as advanced by national liberation movements, in the historical period Escobar considers, the lack of consideration of such surely constitutes the major limitation of his study. Further, while Escobar states that he theorizes developmentalism within "the overall space of modernity," the ascendancy of the United States in the post-World-War-Two period provides

his primary point of historical reference, and is too-tidily set off from that which precedes it on the Euro-American scale. As is indicated in Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's study of Marxist discourse in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (in Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, 1985), the idea of "backward" nations has had a powerful presence and effectivity in oppositional formations and projects for more than a century. The Marxism which has been represented as the "other" of the U.S. superpower has shared some of the latter's investment in modernist knowledge systems.

What proves pertinent in the case of Sandinismo in particular is the degree of articulation of a discourse of development with other discourses of the being and becoming of the people--including that articulating the movement of Nicaraguans from domination to liberation. Further, to refer again to Escobar's Encountering Development, the "fostering" of certain forms of subjectivity--a process which Escobar acknowledges receives little attention in his text--is considered in both Part One and Part Two of the thesis.

In the insurrectionary and post-overthrow period in Nicaragua, there was a widely-shared common sense of Sandinismo as a liberation and expression of the people; and at the same time, FSLN statements repeatedly affirmed that such liberation was to entail further sacrifice in the interests of the nation--and in the interests of a process

of development which was to engender the universal benefit of all. The call to "national unity" was to repeatedly reference this process.

Sandinismo has been referred to as a formation shaped by the intersection of New Marxist, democratic nationalist and radical Christian formations. However--and to go beyond the reference to the evident effectivity of these three formations in the determination of Sandinismo--what Escobar theorizes as a "discourse of development" with a global effectivity, and what has been long understood within the field of communication and development studies with reference to a global project of "modernization," is clearly relevant. And as Escobar demonstrates, the force of a certain "common sense" understanding global historical process as a movement from "underdevelopment" to "development" has been powerfully buttressed by the massive generation of knowledge of development within authoritative institutions with the power to widely disseminate and operationalize such knowledge.

Across both "right" and "left" projects for social transformation, something which has figured large is an emphasis on an "advancement of the forces of production," and a naturalization of the idea of the consequent and inevitable disappearance of the peasantry, proceeding along with the incorporation of peasants into the institutions of modernity and of the nation.

Marxism has been problematically positioned in relation to "Bacon's Wager" of an end to politics as a zero-sum game as engendered by the advancement of science and technology. On the one hand, the ideas of revolutionary class struggle, and of a transformation including massive redistribution of wealth, thoroughly disrupted the tidy narrative of a gradual movement toward the universal interest. On the other hand, capitalism and the technological innovations it generated were understood as a "progress" from which future socialist governments could reap benefits, and from which point they could continue to advance in the "domination of nature" towards which Man was seen to be steadily moving. And bound up with and enabling these innovations was a change in subjective being destined to integrate all into a the singularity of a world "civilization"; the formation of people under capitalism paved the way for the formation of socialist Man, whose universal presence would bring an end to political antagonism. Marx was to state in the Manifesto of the Communist Party that:

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid movement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls....

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the

rule of the towns. It...has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependant on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependant on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West. (Avineri, ed., 1968, pp. 32-33)

Accompanying Marx's moral outrage at the brutality and hypocrisy of capitalist practice, then, was an ambivalence about such practice as it was seen within a dialectical materialist conceptual framework. It was seen as "progress."

Marx's vision of global transformation as articulated in the above quote does not envision a possibility such as that which Samir Amin sets out in his Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World (1990); the latter affirms the possibility and potentiality of resistance to a global incorporative project, a resistance which is far from being taken as a fight against an inevitable tide of history.

The Marxist conception of an inevitable tide of history--of a universal script of development/historical unfolding--has been analyzed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in their consideration of the discursive inscription and effectivity of a "logic of necessity." Drawing in part on the theoretical terms set out in Laclau and Mouffe's

Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, I would say that the presumption of a historical logic of necessity was the presumption, not just of the emergence and eventual triumph of the proletariat as the universal subject of history; it was the presumption of a teleology--ensured by the advancement of science and technology--drawing mankind into a singularity defined in terms of both production methods and subjectivity, and destined to end the presumed "backwardness" of "the peasantry".

The national liberation struggles of the twentieth century were to complicate this devaluation of "the peasantry" with the affirmation of the distinct and substantially rural-based cultures of "the peoples" of the world; nevertheless, Marxist and developmentalist discourses were to continue to shape both these struggles, and emergent nations in the south.

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, in Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, examine Marxist discursivity from the nineteenth century onward and theorize a process of the articulation of discourses of class struggle to discourses of national-popular struggle; responses to imperialism and colonialism, and mass action in the context of nation-states, was to complicate an orthodox "Marxist" script of necessary historical unfolding pitting the proletariat against the

bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, a "logic of necessity" referencing this narrative continued to be inscribed and to function in the legitimisation of vanguards casting their own practice as a representation of the historical interests of the working class and the popular mass. At the same time, a "logic of contingency" a logic justifying political strategy with reference to particularities of historical conjunctures and to the "popular mass" as much as the "working class"--figured large within national-popular struggles, and owed much both to the terms of these struggles and to a language of the forging of "historical blocs"--as the Italian communist leader and theorist Antonio Gramsci had articulated it. In the context of struggle, oppositional historical blocs--counter-hegemonies--were to be articulated, by way of a political praxis recognizing the effectivity of existing socio-cultural formations. Nevertheless, as Laclau and Mouffe emphasize, the conceptualization of hegemony still referenced a binary divide in which reference to "the working class" continued to ground essentialist conceptions of identity.

Conceptualizations of hegemony prove relevant to the thesis analysis in two ways. On the one hand, a discourse of hegemony and of the articulation of historical blocs was explicitly referenced by the national liberation movement in Nicaragua (and by that in El Salvador); and the thesis demonstrates the effectivity of such. On the other hand, I

conceptualize the terms of articulation of the Sandinista project with reference to a "Sandinista hegemony". This refers to a powerful intersection of institutional and discursive practices, as they shaped a process with a relative cohesion, and as they shaped the production of a certain "common sense" related to collective identity and historical unfolding. Hegemony is here understood outside the binary terms of dominant hegemony/subordinate counter-hegemony, and as a dynamic whose meaning is not grounded in a being of "the proletariat."

The remainder of this chapter section elaborates on the concepts of articulation, hegemony, power/knowledge, and overdetermination, on how they are referenced in the thesis analysis, and on analytic methods, including discourse analysis, formulated with reference to these concepts and employed in the thesis.

The thesis analysis follows from the Foucauldian conception of the (over)determination of the social within a "dispositif" (often translated, somewhat misleadingly, as "apparatus"). This is a heterogeneous set of materialities in the world whose conjunctural intersection shapes outcomes. A dispositif, as Foucault articulates it in Power/Knowledge,

...is...always inscribed in a play of power, but its is also always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge which issue from it but, to an equal degree, condition

it. This is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge...the apparatus in its general form is both discursive and non-discursive, its elements being heterogeneous. (1980, p. 197)

As Martin Allor and Michelle Gagnon further specify this concept, "dispositifs"

are the historically contingent linkages of discursive and non-discursive materials (institutions, representations, laws, formations of intellectuals, popular media, etc.) which articulate the relations of knowing and acting in particular relations of governance. (1994, p. 33)

Among the texts providing theoretical points of reference for the thesis analysis are: Jennifer Daryl Slack's "The theory and method of articulation in cultural studies"(1996); Raymond William's Marxism and Literature (1977)--a seminal text of the field of cultural studies; and Michel Foucault's Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings: 1972-1977 (1980). Slack's text presents a partial genealogy of the conceptualization of articulation within the field of cultural studies and elsewhere. Williams' text references the insights of Gramsci in the course of theorizing "cultural materialism" and hegemony. Power/Knowledge clarifies transitions and key concepts within Foucault's writings while elaborating on the

intellectual debates and specific analytic projects in the context of which they took shape. What these three texts have in common is that they chart efforts to think (over)determination, in significant part over against particular Marxist traditions of social analysis--including, notably, those operating a "base/superstructure" model of determination in which "the ideological" is taken as essentially an expression of "the economic". Over against this understanding, cultural studies analysts, and scholars drawing on the work of Foucault, have underlined the effectivity of discourse in the reproduction of the social, and its irreducibility to some other level. And in the case of Power/Knowledge, the grounds for a rethinking of determination are presented along with a questioning of traditions of historical analysis as they have privileged particular types of objects of study.

Foucault observed in the 1970s that:

Mechanisms of power in general have never been much studied by history. History has studied those who held power--anecdotal histories of kings and generals; contrasted with this we have had histories of institutions, of what has been viewed as a superstructural level in relation to the economy. But power in its strategies, at once general and detailed, and its mechanisms, has never been studied. What has been studied even less is the relation of power and

knowledge, the articulation of each on the other.....
(1980, pp. 51-52)

Without referring to "power in its strategies and its mechanisms," specifically, nor to "the relation between power and knowledge," Williams, in a chapter entitled "Hegemony" and a subsequent chapter entitled "Traditions, Institutions, and Formations," theorizes a framework for bringing the (incomplete) cohesion and reproduction/transformation of a social order into view; this framework has certain points of convergence with Foucault's thought. Williams and Foucault both reference the workings of power on the micro-level (i.e., the quotidian shaping of subjective/bodily response), and the effectivity of a "knowledge" or "common sense" in the determination of the social. Further, while Williams does not theorize the term "articulation," his emphasis on the complexity of a "lived hegemony" as a process--as something which "is not, except analytically, a system or a structure"(p. 112), and as something which encompasses "traditions, institutions and formations"--accords with Slack's formulation of "articulation" as the configuration of a complex of structures and processes within the (limited and contingent) cohesion of a social order.

As Slack indicates, "articulation" may be understood as both a theory of the process of social (over)determination, and as a method for mapping an object of study as it figures

in a particular conjunctural configuration:

...what a cultural study does... [is] map the context-- not in the sense of situating a phenomenon in a context, but in mapping a context, mapping the very identity which brings the context into focus"(1996, p. 125).

In line with this, the thesis maps some of the specificities of Sandinismo in the period considered, including sites of the intersection of particular practices and broader formations.

The thesis refers to "Sandinista hegemony" as the articulation of a national-popular knowledge system (of a system integrating multiple discursive formations) with institutional processes. I map representations indicative of knowledge precepts, discursive formations, and institutional structures and processes, with particular attention to three things. I consider Sandinista representations of a being and becoming of the Nicaraguan nation-people, and of an ideal of revolutionary/citizen subjectivity. Further, I attend to the institutions of representation by way of which "the people" were to be accorded a voice, and by way of which their presumed interests were to be advanced. Sandinista representations are understood as figuring in "discursive formations"--a concept to be further elaborated latter on in this section.

Williams notes that a "traditional definition of

'hegemony' is political rule or domination"(1977, p. 109); and Gramsci's writings were to alter this definition in that he "made a distinction between 'rule' ("dominio") and 'hegemony'"(108). Beyond "direct or effective coercion," hegemony is a "complex interlocking of political, social and cultural forces"(108), and a process in which a dominant system of meanings and values comes to be shared, not universally and completely, but very widely, in that

the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness,...in effect [saturate]...the whole process of living--not only political and economic activity, nor only...manifest social activity, but...the whole substance of living relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense. Hegemony is then not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology'...(1977, p. 110)

I share the understanding articulated here that unequal relations of power--including the unequal distribution of power to represent the social world in public discourse--are operative in the production of a "common sense" which in turn has an effectivity in the overdetermination of the social; however, what poses a problem in the above formulation--and, particularly, in relation to the objects

of study of the thesis--is the reference to "the relations of domination and subordination." When bringing into view the doubleness of Sandinismo, as a "hegemony" which was articulated as a "counter-hegemony" over against American imperialism and Nicaraguan elites, but which at the same time was a power over popular and other sectors, reference to "relations of dominance and subordination" would be suggestive of a simple normative positioning which I do not share.

"Sandinista hegemony" is not understood as in itself the definitive process of the post-overthrow Nicaraguan terrain, where the power of an American imperialist hegemony as it had developed under the Somoza regime continued to operate. The limits of an understanding of Sandinista practice with reference to a "nationalist elite" exercising its power is suggested by, among other things, the presence of more than one "elite" within the country.

Whereas Williams' theorization of hegemony is directed towards an account of the reproduction (and transformation) of a social totality, I do not attempt to bring the Nicaraguan social terrain into view in such a way; particularly in Part Two, wherein a national-popular knowledge system is brought into view in terms of its encounter with a rural social terrain (in the Pacific region of the country) which it presumed to know, the thesis findings are suggestive of the extent to which Sandinista

practice in the countryside entailed an encounter between very different social formations. The Foucauldian concept of "heterotopia"--of diversity of formations across the social terrain--proves productive in theorizing this.

The problematic of Sandinista interventions in the culturally-distinct Atlantic Coast region of the country receives some attention in the thesis, but is not dealt with at any length. This problematic, and armed struggle by Miskitu combatants against the Sandinista government, has been treated at length elsewhere. It is beyond my sphere of competence, and beyond the scope of the thesis analysis, to address the complex ethnic dynamics of the Atlantic Coast region. The broad terms of the extremely marked difference between the two regions are charted in an endnote indicated at the end of this paragraph. Had this difference been less pronounced, different analytic choices would have been more feasible. In Part Two, literacy campaign interventions are brought into view largely in the context of the rural terrain in the Pacific region of the country, although campaign discourse and the Sandinista discourse of collective identity is considered as it represented the Nicaraguan terrain in general. As is detailed in a chapter section below, the second of the two stages of literacy campaign intervention in the Atlantic Coast region was to become a factor in emergent armed conflict, and a consideration of this intervention would both invite

entrance into a problematic deserving of a study in itself, and invite a consideration of separate literacy campaign materials written in the Miskito language. ¹¹

Williams identifies "traditions, institutions and formations" as components of a hegemonic social order. Traditions, as they are drawn on and (re)articulated within social institutions, are selective traditions, entailing a "selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification"(1997, p. 115). At the same time, "this selection is presented and usually successfully passed off as 'the tradition', 'the significant past'"(1997, pp. 115-16). It is a very powerful process, "since it is tied to many practical continuities-- families, places, institutions, a language--which are indeed directly experienced"(1997, p. 116).

While "the effective establishment of a selective tradition can be said to depend on identifiable institutions,"

it is never only a question of formally identifiable institutions. Its is also a question of formations; those effective movements and tendencies, in intellectual and artistic life, which have significant and sometimes decisive influence on the active development of a culture, and which have a variable and often oblique relation to formal institutions. (1977,

p. 117)

Williams argued that formations

are most recognizable as conscious movements and tendencies (literary, artistic, philosophical or scientific) which can usually be readily discerned after their formative production. Often, when we look further, we find that these are articulations of much wider effective formations, which can by no means be wholly identified with formal institutions, or their formal meanings and values.....any social and cultural analysis of formations requires procedures radically different from those developed for institutions. (1997, p. 119)

The methodological issues raised in the latter passage have, since the writing of Williams' seminal text, been addressed in the context of developing frameworks for discourse analysis, working from a corpus or an archive. Such analysis attends to the specificity of statements as they figure within discursive formations--the fields of regularity and tension in which statements are organized. A discursive formation is understood to "exist," or to have relative cohesion, in so far as analysis can demonstrate "regularity in dispersion" across a body of statements. Considerations of bodies of statements within discursive formations and of the intersection of such with institutional practices provides a means of mapping power-

knowledge relations.

As Martin Allor and Michelle Gagnon articulate the conceptualization of statements and discursive formations within discourse analysis (in their L'État de culture: Généalogies discursive des politiques culturelles Québécoises):

Statements are the 'events' of discourse...Following Foucault, we consider that their effectivity is precisely located in their articulation of different orders of "ideas, projects and possibilities"...about the social world. Thus, as objects of inquiry they are already discursive and praxical in character.

Statements are neither semiotic entities nor regular rhetorical figures. They are the traces of practices, the accomplishment of projects.....

Statements are organized in fields of regularity and tension; as the articulation of common and competing linkages of affairs in the social world. They build upon and rearticulate existing discursive materials which are already organized in formations of knowledge.....

The second level of our analysis presents the discursive formations which subtend, organize and influence the production of statements.....formations are systems of regularities which organize the singularity of statements into particular power-

knowledge relations. (1994, p. 35-36)

As distinct from a certain "textualist" tendency of discourse analysis within cultural studies and literary analysis in the 1980s, Foucault's later writings were to become focused on mapping and conceptualizing the links between the discursive and the non-discursive as they function together in the articulation of a social order; issuing from this was the conception of overdetermination within a 'dispositif', a conceptualization which was to prove particularly productive in the consideration of relations of governance. In referencing this conceptualization, the thesis analysis would distance itself from a "textualist" preoccupation with discourse as considered only at a high level of abstraction; the discourse analysis employed in particular chapters and chapter sections of the thesis is articulated along with a mapping of a context which draws on the academic literature on Sandinismo.

The application of the analytic concepts elaborated upon above will be presented in the concluding section of this chapter ("Methods and Findings of the Chapters"). The first of the two sections which follow references literature on the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects, with a view to establishing a critical vantage point on Sandinista practice; the second section to follow presents a brief overview of the literacy campaign as it was conceived,

carried out and received, and elaborates on further theoretical points of reference for analysis in Part Two of the thesis.

Sandinismo and the Sandinista Development and Agrarian Reform Projects

By 1983, the war which was to become known as the "contra" war was well under way. The CIA under the Reagan administration was deeply implicated in support for and direction of the "contra" forces, the largest of which was led by former members of the infamous Somocista National Guard. The "contras" stated their intent to overthrow the Sandinista government and "liberate" Nicaraguans from Marxist-Leninist authoritarianism. By the mid-1980s, over 40 percent of the Nicaraguan budget was directed toward the war effort; and the tragic destruction of life and infrastructure, as well as the "contra" targeting of civilians for its practices of terror, loomed large as the focus of public attention.

This destruction figured large in academic and non-academic accounts of the evident failings of the Sandinista development project; in the second half of the 1980s, in the context of "the revolution in survival mode," Nicaraguans were confronted with severe and rapidly-spiralling inflation, and there was little in the way of liquid resources to continue to support the production and social

initiatives which had been undertaken.

While the destruction due to the war obviously contributed greatly to the disarticulation of Sandinismo, other processes were also at work in the shaping of developments within Nicaragua.

In much of the literature sympathetic to Sandinismo, initial choices related to the Sandinista development project were presented largely as technical matters--as what needed to be done to generate capital and further development, and to pay the huge debt left by Somoza. However, as is detailed in this section and an accompanying appendix--a literature review of critical accounts of such choices and their relationship to agrarian reform--these choices and subsequent practices were to generate a substantial amount of criticism of the planning and implementation of the Sandinista project. And as Saldaña-Portillo argues in "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction--Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy" (1997), it is from the standpoint of the poorest and least powerful sectors of campesinos--the land-poor and the landless--that such critique derives much of its pertinence, particularly in relation to the Sandinista claim to be bringing a voice to the people.

The present section and the accompanying appendix, then, both situate the analysis within a mapping of a historical context, and provide part of the critical vantage

point brought to bear in the thesis analysis--particularly in Part Two, which focuses on aspects of literacy campaign interventions directed towards campesinos, on discourse representing rural inhabitants without reading and writing skills, and on statements made in the context of the literacy campaign as they represented a being and becoming of "the people" more generally. In the context of the campaign, recipients of instruction were to be schooled in the broad terms of the Sandinista project--and in the terms of the development project in which they were to invest their energies--even as they were to be accorded a "voice" therein. They were to be shaped into subjects appropriate for the undertaking of this project, and were "spoken" as such, even as they were invited to speak, and to underwrite a knowledge about themselves with their own voices.

This section also acknowledges indicators of ways in which Sandinismo failed to accord with a simple model of inflexible authoritarian government (indicators charted in some detail in Part One of the thesis).

The second half of the 1980s in Nicaragua saw the FSLN acknowledging and articulating a critique of "verticalism" in political process, and taking initiatives to counter such. These initiatives included a democratization of the process for election of leaders of the "CDS" [Sandinista Defense Committees], the local neighbourhood and rural committees which had functioned to a significant degree as

an administrative arm of the state. This period also saw what has been referred to as a "pro-peasant turn," including a greater redistribution of lands to smallholders for family unit production--a redistribution responding to popular aspirations which had not been prioritized in the FSLN's initial agrarian reform and development initiatives.

In the context of the latter, the bulk of the Somocista lands which had been appropriated by the state--constituting some 20% of the country's arable land--was given over to state farms, while relatively large, capital-intensive projects (including the reconstruction and purchase of state farm infrastructure and machinery) received the greatest share of state funds; an "advancement of the forces of production," and an evident intent to maintain and extend the "modernization" of production units, clearly figured large in the formulation of policy. Priority in terms of resource distribution had been accorded to the state farms and the "APP" (Area of People's Property) more generally. Redistribution of lands for cooperative production was a secondary though still significant priority, while redistribution of lands to the landless and the land-poor for family-unit production proceeded at a very modest pace, particularly in the early years of Sandinista government.

The terms of the redistribution of lands stand in contrast to the claim that Sandinismo was bring a voice to the people, in that the initial choices had not responded

very substantially to the widespread aspirations of the landless and the land poor to live a "campesino" identity (Saldaña-Portillo, 1997); and various initiatives in the countryside, including the state mechanisms for trade and for supporting the production of basic grains, were marked by serious shortcomings indicative of a limited knowledge of a social terrain which had, nevertheless, been constructed as known--known in its essence--within Sandinista discourse representing "the people."

However, Sandinista government did see some changes which apparently supported the common analytic reference to its "pragmatism and flexibility"--characteristics often attributed to its being an "eclectic mix" (of Marxism, democratic nationalism and revolutionary Christianity). As Eduardo Baumeister has put it, the Sandinista revolution broke "with a principal tradition of previous revolutionary processes: the association between increments of war against counterrevolutionary forces and 'Jacobinization'...as seen in a majority of revolutions over the past two centuries"(1991, p. 235).

The relative loosening of top-down structures of authority and of the initial party line on agrarian policy has been attributed to an effort to maintain and extend support for the FSLN in the context of war, and to ensure production for subsistence (Marchetti and Maldidier, 1996; Saldaña-Portillo, 1997); as attributed to the desperation of

an effort to survive, it does not, then, reflect particularly favourably on the FSLN and Sandinismo. However, it invites mention that such a movement away from the tightening of top-down structures of authority has not been the outcome in other contexts of war against Marxist-Leninist oriented governments. Further, the changes did not entail a replacement of a singularly-focused development initiative with something entirely new, but rather, a greater focus on types of initiatives which had already had some presence, albeit modest (in contribution to much FSLN rhetoric as to land redistribution to "the people").

Nevertheless, the issue of land redistribution in particular was to come to complicate the many representations of the war as a war of the Nicaraguan people against imperialism and against its ideological manipulations within the country.

Peter Marchetti--a prominent analyst of agrarian policy in Nicaragua, a participant in the study of agrarian policy from the outset of Sandinista government, a long-time advocate of a more peasant-oriented, "alternative" development, and an analyst whose writings provided critical support for the revolutionary process in the 1980s--was to go so far as to argue, in a co-written 1996 article, that:

The true agrarian reform was carried out by peasant-farmer contra guerillas. They were the ones who forced the FSLN to convert over 235,000 acres of state farms

into cooperatives from 1983 to 1986. Here is one of the great historical ironies of the 1980s: the United States financed a guerilla movement that questioned not only Sandinismo, but also, indirectly, the oligarchic institutions of Nicaraguan agrarian capitalism.

(Marchetti and Maldidier, 1996, p. 24)

Somocista properties, Marchetti and Maldidier assert, "should have been distributed to peasants in 1979, instead of becoming state farms"(p. 24).

I have some sympathy for this positioning relative to the question of land redistribution, but would present my own positioning in more qualified terms. Saldaña-Portillo (1997) argues that there ought to have been much greater space for the negotiation of differing visions of social transformation as it related to land and resource distribution; I share these terms of critique. (Saldaña-Portillo's analysis will be considered at greater length shortly.)

As many scholars of (and participants in) the agrarian reform process were to come to note, the "contras" did manage to develop a significant social base in the countryside. (See: Marchetti and Maldidier, 1996; Saldaña-Portillo, 1997; and Nuñez-Soto et. al., 1995.) Recognition of this fact--a significant indicator of the problems with Sandinista interventions in the countryside--was belated in the context of the heated rhetoric of the war, as has been

detailed in, for example, La Guerra y el Campesinado en Nicaragua ("The War and the Peasantry in Nicaragua," 1995). The latter book was an important intervention in the discursive struggle, in the early 1990s, over the meaning of the war of the 1980s, and was collectively authored by several prominent Nicaraguan social science analysts, including Orlando Nuñez-Soto, a member of the FSLN who in the 1980s was the director of CIERA, the research arm of the MIDINRA (the Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform). La Guerra characterized FSLN accounts of the confrontation between "revolution" and "counter-revolution" as follows (in my translation):

For tactical reasons or for a lack of knowledge of the facts, the FSLN never recognized, even partially, the existence of a civil war, in the same way that the counter-revolutionary forces did not recognize the character of a war of North American aggression. (p. 22)

The fact that forces affiliated with American state institutions assumed the political and strategic direction of the counterrevolutionary forces received full emphasis in the FSLN's representations of the war. La Guerra sought to establish its analysis of the war as both a war of (undeclared) imperialist aggression and a limited civil war; "North American aggression, the oligarchic-bourgeoisie block and the campesino-indigenous uprising" were interpreted as

having arisen independently of one another, with their own motivations and objectives, although those who opposed Sandinismo succeeded in articulating their projects into a single force named as "counterrevolution." Nuñez-Soto et. al. sought to address "the most difficult dilemma of the war: the contradictions in the heart of the people"(p. 24). In the course of doing so they produced an economic-reductionist account of the identity of "the middle campesino"; nevertheless, La Guerra figured within an analytic revisiting of policy initiatives in the countryside from a much more critical perspective, with much less emphasis on the essential unity of "the people" and on the counterrevolutionary manipulation of "false consciousness" amongst campesinos.

The degree of distribution of resources to relatively large projects and the prioritization of investment in state farms and modernization of production have figured as focuses of critique in a substantial body of the literature assessing the 1980s; this literature--along with literature detailing specific aspects of the agrarian reform and the political economy of Nicaragua during this period--is reviewed in Appendix 1 of the thesis--"Critical Assessments of the Sandinista Development Project and Agrarian Reform". (The appendix may be read in conjunction with this chapter.) In some cases, critiques of the broad terms of resource distribution are framed with reference to the terms of the

agrarian reform and to the perception of missed opportunities due to the failure to implement a more "radical" (peasant-oriented) agrarian reform; in addition to the issue of what might have constituted a more democratic approach to the redistribution of resources, there is the issue of what might have been more beneficial in economic terms.

As some critics have argued, military aggression against Sandinismo, and the ensuing destruction of infrastructure and channelling of funds to the war effort, ought to have been anticipated and factored into initial decisions as to what type of development initiatives to undertake. Further, although the stated objectives of what was done underlined the intent to bring Nicaragua out of relations of dependency, the choices made entailed a marked dependency on a flow of aid, credit and capital for purchase of inputs from outside Nicaragua. Several analysts have underlined a "production mentality" driving, in problematic ways, various development undertakings including those on the state farms; and there are grounds for arguing that the very terms of the effort to produce "surplus" contributed to the extent of indebtedness and continued dependency.

Escobar's theorization of a discourse of development as it constructed a global "common sense" in the post-World-War-Two period, and his affirmation, over against this discourse, of localized "cultures," finds something of an

echo in a 1996 article cited earlier--Marchetti and Maldidier's "Peasant Farmers Must Be Included." While the latter constitutes a bitter attack on the FSLN and its "statist project," it goes beyond other such attacks by setting out analytic terms seeking to address the structures shaping both the FSLN as an institution, and agrarian policy markers in Nicaragua--past and present--more generally. (The article is a "literary sum-up of the prologue of a book Nitlapán-UCA is publishing about peasant farmers. The book systematically develops the peasant perspective as a viable development option for Nicaraguan agriculture"[p. 29]. Such a perspective, "based on patient research developed in small regions of the country in the 1980s, using primary sources on the ground, seeks to overcome the Leninist stereotypes of social classes and covers the technical and economic aspects of rural reality in more detail. The studies looked at historical differentiation process among peasants..."[p. 28].) The "perspectives of agrarian policy architects and of promoters and implementors of rural development programs, whether public institutions or NGOs, are far too influenced by Pacific urban culture"(p. 22), and are indicative of a long-time misunderstanding and denigration of "rural culture." Projects advocated by both "the right" and "the left" have both emphasized technologically "advanced" production aimed at the market, and the backwardness of "peasant" mentalities and production methods; Leninist-

inspired programs such as that of the FSLN MIDINRA (Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform), under FSLN National Directorate member Jaime Wheelock, have emphasized an incomplete "proletarianization" of the peasantry and "state enterprises as the motor force of economic accumulation"(p. 27). Nicaraguan peasants

must be redefined, looking at their diversity, to overcome the mystifying vision of a peasant reduced to a simple poor rural inhabitant, and see beyond the smoke screen created in past decades with the terms bourgeoisie, poor-medium-rich peasant, proletariat and semi-proletariat."(p. 22)

As the latter terms of analysis stress, and as the thesis analysis demonstrates, the manner in which rural social sectors were thought, named and represented in their being and becoming was integral to the articulation of the Sandinista project and to the rationalization of the decisions made.

Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo's "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction--Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy" (based on years of study [1984-87] of agrarian reform in Nicaragua) differs from Marchetti and Maldidier's "Peasant Farmers Must Be Included" in terms of its positioning relative to the initial decision to continue maintaining appropriated lands as large production units:

Certainly the conditions of development that already

existed on the confiscated lands favoured the state farm structure. Of the 2,000 farms confiscated, half were larger than 500 manzanas in area...They were immense, technologically sophisticated estates representing millions of dollars worth of investment in highly mechanized production practices that "unified" the landholding. Breaking up these coherent units into smaller parcels would not lead to efficient use of the technology on these estates, and this in turn would lead to a sharp decrease in their productivity. Planners in MIDINRA feared, perhaps justifiably, that if they distributed land to the land-poor peasantry, the new recipients of land would stop tending to export production altogether and begin planting basic grains and domestic foodstuffs. (1997, p. 139)

Nevertheless, Saldaña-Portillo concludes that:

The Sandinistas were working with idealized revolutionary subjects in agriculture. There was "the patriotic private producer," "the state farm worker," and "the cooperative member." The Sandinistas believed that the state, in one way or another, could successfully direct all these idealized citizen-subjects into technified, rational production units. The dispossessed and land-poor peasants were outside or prior to this evolutionary chain of rationalized and enlightened consciousness. Nothing illustrates this

better than the Sandinista's failure to create a political organisation to directly represent peasant interests to the party. The Sandinistas believed that land in the hands of the land-poor peasants would lead to irrational production. They believed the peasantry would revert to production for consumption with little or no surplus, and that this would lead to a precipitous drop in the production of export crops. Ultimately, they feared that this type of production would escape the control of the state and their national plan of modernization. I am not suggesting that the Sandinistas should have abandoned all efforts at production for export and modernization in favour of some utopian pastoral vision. However, the Sandinistas could have negotiated between their own progressive, vanguard national vision and the peasants' "conservative," but not necessarily antirevolutionary, mass-based nationalist vision of economic development. If the Sandinistas had not considered the peasant formation as regressive, they might have been able to direct political and economic resources toward incorporating this level of peasant production into a revolutionary vision of national development early on in the process. Perhaps then the startling revolutionary vision of the Sandinistas that emerged in 1979 would have been more viable. (1997, p. 166)

As is emphasized in the above passage, the possibilities for a negotiation of differing visions was highly curtailed. The "knowledge of the people" brought to bear in the articulation of Sandinismo precluded a much more differentiated vision of what Nicaraguan subjectivities and accompanying modes of production were and should come to be.

It is over against this view of what might have been, then, that the thesis critically considers various aspects of Sandinismo, including the discursive construction of a single revolutionary/citizen subjectivity, and the literacy campaign as it figured within an effort to construct this ideal of subjectivity as an "atom" assuring the cohesion of the national collectivity.

The Case of the Literacy Campaign

More than half a million Nicaraguans--approximately a fifth of the population of the country in 1980--participated directly in the five-month national literacy campaign--or "national literacy crusade," as it was officially named. They participated as instructors, as support personnel, and as recipients of instruction. At the conclusion of the campaign, subsequent to standardized testing procedures, some 400,000 Nicaraguans in urban and rural areas were awarded certification for having developed basic reading and writing skills. Follow-up adult education programs were undertaken following the campaign's conclusion in the

Pacific region of the country in August of 1980.

The planning of the campaign--under the direction of Padre Fernando Cardenal, brother of the Minister of Culture, Padre Ernesto Cardenal--began in August of 1979, close upon the heels of the overthrow of the Somoza regime in July; and the full contingent of brigadistas (literacy instructor assigned to the countryside) went into the field for a five-month period in March of 1980. Over the course of the preceding six months, the campaign had mobilized and trained some 100,000 staff members, teachers and logistical/organisational support workers. There were over 50,000 volunteer brigadistas--the majority being high-school and university students from cities and towns. Teachers employed by the Ministry of Education worked as literacy instructors and teacher trainers and as instructor supervisors. Participants from citizen and labour organisations worked in various capacities and as part of the support staff. Successively larger numbers of literacy instructors received training within a trainer "multiplier model." Women made up over half of the group of instructors--the "EPA" [Ejercito popular de Alfabetizacion, the "Popular Literacy Army"]--and some fifty percent of the literacy students.

Originally, there were no plans to conduct the literacy campaign in the Atlantic Coast region in languages other than Spanish. This plan was challenged by MISURASATA, an

organisation from the Atlantic Coast region formed from an earlier indigenous organisation which the FSLN had been hesitant to recognize in the early post-overthrow period. ("MISURASATA" stands for "Miskitu, Sumu, Rama and Sandinistas 'all together'".) Subsequently, a literacy campaign coordinated jointly by MISURASATA and the government, and providing instruction in English, Miskitu and Sumu, began in October of 1980. (Instruction in Spanish on the Atlantic Coast had taken place during the same time period as the campaign in the Pacific region.) A # flurry of activity regarding Indian land rights (August 1980-February 1981) coincided with a massive mobilization of Indian youth brigadistas (volunteer teachers)..."(Hale, 1994, p. 79). The indigenous-language literacy campaign contributed to heightened ethnic militancy and mobilization among the Miskitu people, and before its conclusion an attempt to arrest a Miskito leader resulted in an incident in February of 1981 in which four Sandinista soldiers and four Miskito youths died. This and other developments marked an end to the previous period of uneasy cooperation between Sandinistas and Miskitu leaders and communities, and war subsequently escalated sharply.

As mentioned earlier, my analysis of campaign interventions focuses on the implimentation of the campaign in rural areas in the Pacific region of the country. The later campaign in indigenous languages in the Atlantic

region entailed a very different dynamic, and it is beyond the scope of the thesis analysis to address this dynamic. My references to "the campaign" (or "crusade") should be understood accordingly.¹²

The crusade received wide and highly celebratory publicity both within and outside Nicaragua, during a period when broad social participation in the campaign was invited, during its operation, and following its conclusion. David Kunzle observes in The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua that the campaign figured as "the most often reiterated theme of the murals, both as primary subject...and as a motif culminating the revolutionary narrative..."(Kunzle, 1995, p. 34); and the campaign, and its receipt of a 1980 UNESCO award for literacy initiatives, figure large in accounts of the achievements of the revolution in the literature on Sandinismo.

As the following statement of campaign objectives (from Fernando Cardenal and Valerie Miller's "Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABC's") suggests, the campaign was envisioned as a key means within a nation-building and development process:

In their development plan, conducting a nationwide literacy campaign was one of the first priorities of the young government. In August 1979, just 15 days after the victory, Nicaragua's Literacy Crusade was born. The first goal of the campaign was to eliminate

illiteracy. Specifically, this meant reducing the illiteracy rate to between 10 to 15 per cent, establishing a nation-wide system of adult education, and expanding primary school coverage through the country. Other important goals were to encourage an integration and understanding among Nicaraguans of different classes and backgrounds; to increase political awareness and a critical analysis of underdevelopment; to nurture attitudes and skills related to creativity, production, cooperation, discipline, and analytic thinking; to forge a sense of national consensus and of social responsibility; to strengthen channels of economic and political participation; to acquaint people with national development programs; to record oral histories and recover popular forms of culture; and to conduct research in health and agriculture for future development programming. (1986, p. 98)

The analysis in Part Two of the thesis maps some of the micro-processes of the campaign, the specificity of statements about the campaign, and artifacts of the campaign. The campaign is conceptualized as overdetermined by a *dispositif*. In mapping the *dispositif* articulating the campaign and the production of knowledge about the campaign, I consider rationales for campaign practice, statements by

campaign planners and Sandinista government officials, evaluations internal to campaign practice, statements from the literature on the campaign, instruction materials, and campaign publicity. I articulate an account of the relationship between various aspects of campaign planning and practice, strategies and mechanisms; and I present an analysis of the knowledge and discourses operative in the campaign and in the production of knowledge about it, in part by way of a close look at the specificity of efforts to articulate a "dialogue process" at the outset of each of the twenty-three lessons of literacy instruction.

In campaign evaluations and in the literature on the campaign, this process for the generation of dialogue was widely judged to have been a failure.

The dialogue process was to have been a site in which rural recipients of instruction were to participate in the articulation of a Sandinismo understood as an "expression of the people." However, a consideration of the "dialogue problem"--along with a consideration of campaign discourse and of statements representing the campaign and the rural recipients of instruction--proves indicative of the gap between Sandinismo and the rural terrain it presumed to know, and of the problematic knowledge operative in this encounter between "city" (a centralized articulation of the campaign) and "country," within a nation-building process.

The analysis works, to a large extent, with reference

to campaign documents and materials as translated and as cited in Valerie Miller's Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade (1985), and from passages and statements quoted and articulated therein, and in Miller and Fernando Cardenal's "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABCs" (1986).

Miller has an academic formation in development education, and was invited to participate as a member of the executive staff of the campaign and to write an account of it; Fernando Cardenal was appointed by the FSLN to head the planning and execution of the campaign. Between Struggle and Hope brings together reproductions of campaign materials and, along with "Nicaragua 1980," statements from a multiplicity of sources. It references knowledge of literacy and of literacy and development consulted in the planning of the campaign; it includes statements as to precepts, philosophy and objectives informing the organisation of the campaign and various aspects of it; it details problems met with in the course of the mounting of the campaign; it considers evaluations internal to campaign practice, and presents Miller's own critical evaluations of aspects of this practice; it details the specific discourse operative in the mounting of the campaign; and it includes passages from other texts written about the campaign, and from "testimonio" accounts by campaign participants.

I also make reference to reproductions of campaign

posters--in Communicating in Popular Nicaragua (ed. Armand Mattelart), and in David Kunzle's The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua (1979-1992)--and to Arnove's account of the campaign and citations of statements about the campaign in "The 1980 Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade" (in National Literacy Campaigns, eds. Arnove and Graff, 1987).

Critical vantage points on particular aspects of campaign practice follow: from evaluations internal to campaign practice, as detailed in Miller's book; from Miller's own evaluations, and from certain precepts of Freirian pedagogy, as detailed in Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, and in his and Macedo's Literacy: Reading the Word and the World (even as Freirian techniques are accorded value only as disarticulated from the positivistic conception of totality within which they had been articulated in Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Critical vantage points are also informed: by the preceding thesis analysis; by the Foucauldian conceptions of *dispositif*, *heterotopia*, and *power/knowledge*; by the literature on Sandinista interventions in the countryside; by Homi Bhabha's theorization of the pedagogical and the performative as they operate within articulations of nation; and by Harvey Graff's writings on literacy and on how knowledge of literacy and development has been shaped within enlightenment traditions.

Between Struggle and Hope (Miller, 1985) and "Nicaragua 1980" (Miller and Cardenal, 1986), which provide largely celebratory accounts of the campaign, figure within the thesis analysis, on the one hand, as sources of information as to the specificities of practice. On the other hand, these texts are critically considered as they represent the campaign to an international audience, and as sites of the production of discourse and knowledge about the campaign and about the recipients of literacy instruction.

Miller's richly-detailed book provides the best access to the particularities of campaign practice. At the same time, it assembles an abundance of statements which figured within the articulation and carrying out of the campaign and within the production of knowledge about "the people"; considered in conjunction with statements and visual representations from other sources, the statements within Between Struggle and Hope provide a fertile ground for the charting of a dispositif articulating the national literacy crusade and Sandinismo, and for the charting of representations of marginal campesino subjects.

In theorizing practice in the context of the national literacy campaign, I am indebted to the work of social theorists previously mentioned (Laclau and Mouffe, Escobar, Freire, Foucault), and to Homi Bhabha and Harvey Graff.

Homi Bhabha, in "DissemiNation: time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation" (1990), theorizes the ongoing

instability, within the modern western nation, of the construction of "the people" as the objects of a national pedagogy; this construction both requires that "the people" as subjects speak within a national address, and is undercut by such a process, in that the heterogeneity and liminality of such speaking subjects puts into question the constitution of "the people-as-one." This produces a crisis within the processes of signification and discursive address of the nation. The thesis considers the "dialogue process" in the context of the literacy campaign as something of a "crisis"--though not specifically in the terms that Bhabha theorizes (with reference to the modern western nation in particular). Rather, it was the widespread failure of the rural recipients of literacy instruction to provide the requisite speech performance underwriting the "sociological solidity" of the nation that may be considered as such a "crisis." Accordingly, Part Two in part examines what came together in the production of what could at best be described as a muted dialogism. Further, Part Two examines and how this micro-process, considered in a broader historical context, may be taken, alongside other practices, as indicative of the gap between Sandinismo and the ideal of popular-democratic representativity.

Harvey Graff, in The Labyrinths of Literacy and elsewhere, has contested what he refers to as a "literacy myth," with reference to the findings of empirical studies

of more than a millennium of practices of literacy, and with reference to the fact that:

In the social sciences...tied closely to the 'liberal', post-enlightenment synthesis of modernization theory, literacy was seen as a central variable among that complex of factors that distinguished modern, developing, and advanced societies and individuals from the lesser developed areas and persons of the world. Literacy, moreover, was typically conceptualized more as an independent variable than as a dependant factor.

Support for this set of propositions was drawn, on the one hand, from a set of once commonsensical assumptions and expectations, rooted in a special view of the nature of (historical) development that emphasized the linearity and certainty of progress and, on the other hand, from a number of 'aggregate macrolevel ecological correlations' that saw literacy levels relatively highly associated with many of the other indicators of social development ranging from fertility rates to measures of economic development. (Graff, The Labyrinths of Literacy: Reflections on Literacy Past and Present, 1987, p. 3)

To draw on Graff's terms of analysis, it might be said that the production of a "literacy myth" might at the same time be the production of an "illiteracy myth," casting those without basic reading and writing skills essentially in

terms of lack, or in terms of a deficiency of productivity in the use of the technologies of rationality. They have been, then, understood as outside a modernity understood as progress.

The literacy campaign was seen as a process of incorporation of the population into modernity and the nation. The thesis problematizes the terms of such incorporation, even as I do not thereby seek to champion a post-modern "non-incorporation" understood in binary opposition over against such incorporation. Further, it is not my intent to deny that the campaign was experienced by many as having beneficial effects. These effects, however, are not the main focus of the thesis analysis, and largely fall outside the scope of the analysis.

Methods and Findings of the Chapters

Chapter Two of the thesis--"Sandinista Hegemony and FSLN Representations of the Sandinista Project"--maps the broad institutional and discursive terms of the articulation of the Sandinista project, at the outset of revolutionary government in 1979, and during its first half-decade. It draws broadly on the literature on Sandinismo, as detailed in the bibliography; it maps key components of the FSLN leadership's representation of the Sandinista project; it references the texts in Sandinistas: Key Documents/Documentos Claves (Gilbert and Block, eds., 1990);

and it periodically supports certain points with some consideration of discursive regularities.

The chapter charts both the much-remarked heterogeneity of Sandinismo, and the limits of such.

The mapping in Chapter Two is informed: by Raymond William's conception of (selective) traditions, institutions and formations as operative in the articulation of a hegemony; by Foucault's conception of power/knowledge; by Escobar's theorization of a "discourse of development"; and by Laclau and Mouffe's theorization of Marxist discursivity in the twentieth century.

Sandinista representations of collective identity situated Nicaraguan identity within a tradition of armed national-popular struggle in which the nationalist hero Sandino figured large; and the FSLN was cast as the only legitimate inheritor of this tradition. The institutions of political representation and economic organisation centralized power and planning, though not to the degree evident in orthodox Marxist-Leninist state systems; and Sandinista-affiliated discourses and authorities were a presence across a wide breadth of socio-cultural institutions. This presence owed something to longstanding countercultural formations as well as to the practice of the FSLN as a politico-military organisation; and within such formations, as well as in FSLN representations of the Sandinista project, a knowledge of "the people" (in their

being and becoming) was articulated. This knowledge-- inclusive of a developmentalist and Marxist-inflicted knowledge of historical unfolding--both issued from and sustained the structures of power.

Chapter Two indicates that the power of Sandinismo as a social movement was irreducible to the actions of the FSLN or the state, and that the terms of articulation of the Sandinista project evidenced heterogeneity in many respects--in terms of logics of political representation, in terms of the organisation of economic production and the public sphere, in terms of the discursive construction of collective identity, and in terms of the grounds for the legitimisation of authority. However: a Sandinista formation cannot be collapsed into "the people" more generally; corporativist terms of political representation informed by Marxist-Leninist traditions predominated; reference to the imperatives of development worked to manage tensions in the articulation of the means and ends of the Sandinista project and to legitimate the structure and undertakings of FSLN authority; representations of collective identity incorporated nationalist, Marxist and Christian traditions in a narration of historical unfolding entailing the discursive operation of a single predominant figure of revolutionary identity--Sandino; universal identification with the Sandinista project was invited by way of the operation of this figure and with reference to a universal

interest in the advancement of development; and a Marxist-inflected and developmentalist knowledge of historical process as unfolding according to a "logic of necessity" was operative in the articulation of Sandinismo.

Chapter Three--"The 'New Man' in FSLN Policy Statements, Public Text and Cultural Production, and Within the 'New Marxism'," charts regularities across statements constituting a discursive formation, a formation that figured within the articulation of Sandinismo mapped in Chapter Two. Further, Chapter Three maps some of the conditions of possibility of this formation, by situating the figure of the "New Man" within a "New Marxist" tradition in Latin America, a tradition which developed in conjunction and disjunction with previous Marxist traditions. A New Marxist tradition, and the discursive formation charted in Chapter Three, shaped a knowledge of historical unfolding and subjectivity that figured within the articulation of Sandinismo.

The New Marxism, shaped in part as a response to how orthodox Marxist conceptions limited the possibilities for the exercise of revolutionary agency in Latin America, accorded greater weight to "subjective" as opposed to "objective" conditions, and was productive of a figure of subjectivity understood as the dialectical negation of the individualist subject of capitalist society. Subjects taken to exemplify this subjectivity--to personify the 'New Man'--

were accorded great weight as a motor force of history; and, as the first section of Chapter Three argues, vanguard authority was symbolically reconfigured as both grounded in scientific rationality and as the site of a transhistorical essence of resisting subjects.

The second section of Chapter Three: charts linguistic and visual representations of the "New Man," demonstrating the social breadth and weight of such by mapping their presence across ministry and FSLN policy statements, public texts, and cultural production; indicates that policy statements affirmed the intent to produce subjects in the image of the "new man"; supports the argument that the "new man" was constructed as the origin, means and end of the Sandinista project, and in dichotomous and Manichean terms; and demonstrates that this figure constituted a discursive hinge between Christian, Marxist and nationalist traditions. With reference to the latter point--reference to the much-remarked heterogeneity of Sandinismo is shown to invite qualification in that diverse traditions were integrated into the production of a singular figure of ideal subjectivity.

As is demonstrated in Part Two of the thesis, a Sandinista knowledge of the people in their being and becoming--a knowledge charted in Part One of the thesis--both worked to structure the articulation of the 1980 "Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetizacion" ("National Literacy

Crusade"), and was brought to the countryside in the context of the campaign, wherein the recipients of instruction were invited to underwrite it with their own speech, within a structured process shaping and delimiting what might be said. Further, the "dialogue process" initiating each of the twenty-three lessons of literacy instruction had been taken by campaign planners as an opportunity to produce ideal revolutionary/citizen subjects, subjects fully identified with the interests of the national-popular collectivity, and supportive of all of the mechanisms which the leadership had planned in order to realize such interests.

The preceding section has already elaborated on the methods, corpus and pertinence of Part Two of the thesis; the paragraphs to follow expand upon this with reference to each of the three chapters of Part Two.

Chapter Four--"Standardization, the Claim to Dialogic Pedagogy, and the Articulation of the Campaign to the Development and Social Project"--maps numerous artifacts and aspects of the campaign, indicating their relation to each other, and introducing several arguments, some of which are further supported and developed in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Four proceeds under three section sub-titles: "Standardization, Campaign Materials, and the Science of Emancipatory Pedagogy," "Constructions of the Recipients of Instruction, of Their Knowledge, and of the Means and Ends of the Crusade," and "Conceptions of Development, Literacy

and Community in the Articulation of the Literacy Crusade."

The first section of Chapter Four charts what was involved in and what resulted from the mounting of the campaign on the national level, as a standardized process, a process having as one of its objectives the generation of a "common knowledge base" across the nation; the procedures of a Freirian "science of emancipatory pedagogy" affirming that education "must not be a situation where some men name on behalf of others" were neither disclaimed, nor prioritized--with the result being one of the most contradictory aspects of the campaign. It was in the context of the "dialogue" sessions initiating each of the twenty-three lessons of literacy instruction that there was to be a transmission of a "common knowledge base"--of a specific pedagogical input. The theme sentences and the visuals for the generation of dialogue followed from a Sandinista construction of national history which was assumed to be, in essence, "the people's" history. It was apparently assumed that recipients of instruction would themselves, with some small instigation, quickly produce components of this construction--an assumption which proved to be unfounded, and which shaped a "dialogue process" which was widely judged to have been a failure. The thesis analysis explains the reception of the materials for the generation of dialogue with reference to the Foucauldian conception of heterotopia--of diversity of sites across a social terrain; further, I argue that the

assumption of a "standard" popular being informed the limitations of a process which was intended to consolidate and to further produce a standardization of revolutionary/citizen subjects across the nation. Given this assumption, Freirian procedures for investigating popular life-worlds prior to the production of dialogue/literacy materials stood to be considered as redundant.

The second section of Chapter Four--"Constructions of the Recipients of Instruction, of Their Knowledge, and of the Ends and Means of the Crusade"--further demonstrates that recipients of instruction were, in the context of the dialogue process, enjoined to represent "their lives, their culture, their past and future" primarily and in the first instance with reference to the presumed "concerns of society at large," rather than with reference to "local" concerns cast as narrow. The latter representation of local concerns is shown to articulate to a predominant campaign discourse (considered at greater length in Chapter Five) casting rural recipients of instruction (and literacy students more generally) in terms of lack (within a movement from ignorance to knowledge, and from darkness to light). It also articulates to the paucity of the terms of elaboration of a campesino knowledge valorized in the context of a "secondary" campaign discourse, a discourse casting the campaign as a "two-way learning process".

The second section of Chapter Four further establishes

and argues: that the campaign was closely articulated to the Sandinista social and development project; that campaign materials and publicity articulated the causal sequence literacy--collective awakening/heightened participation--heightened production--further transcendence; that the planning of the campaign evidenced little sense of anything particular rural recipients of instruction might have had to contribute to the "dialogue"; that the literacy campaign discourse of a "war on ignorance" invites consideration alongside the possibility that existing campesino knowledge and aspirations, understood in different terms, might have constituted the basis for a praxis different from that effected in the context of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects.

The third and final section of Chapter Four-- "Conceptions of Development, Literacy and Community in the Articulation of the Literacy Crusade"--builds on the previous sections, and expands beyond them, in formulating and supporting several arguments. The section argues that the terms of the Nicaraguan campaign articulate to those of the functionalist knowledge of literacy referenced in the planning of the campaign. The emptying of the content of located experiences of material life within a linear story of Man in passage to full productivity, to full use of the technologies of rationality, and consequently to greater knowledge of Truth was such as to clear the ground for

reinsertion of content in the form of national development; literacy as liberation was literacy as enabled by and in support of the nation, and the national community was cast as an organic unity, and in functionalist terms, such that the particular (i.e. the particularity of the recipients of instruction) was taken to be significant only as an expression of what was presumed to be the general (i.e., revolutionary/citizen subjects in a process of becoming), as inserted within a developmentalist, corporativist teleology. The assumption of community as an organic singularity foreclosed the recognition of possible paths that were not taken--i.e., the production of dialogue materials and procedures that would have facilitated a process worthy of the term "dialogue," a process beginning from the consideration of localized experience and enabling much more open terms of articulation of popular aspirations.

Chapter Five--"Contrasting Campaign Discourses and Knowledges of 'The People'"--charts numerous instances of the inscription, circulation and reproduction of a "predominant" and a "secondary" campaign discourse (designations for which the chapter provides support). The former cast the campaign as a movement from a positive to a negative state (from ignorance to knowledge, and from darkness to a dawn of the people), while a secondary campaign discourse referenced a "two-way learning process" in which agents of intervention would learn from recipients

of instruction. Further, Chapter Five considers the attendant terms of construction of campesino knowledge and of the knowledge to be transmitted to the recipients of instruction, contextualizing such terms within the broad "rules of the game" of Sandinista government/vanguardist leadership--a leadership whose terms of legitimisation included a claim to be learning "from the people." In addition, the chapter considers the brigadista experience of teaching and learning in the countryside, as it was situated within the Sandinista project.

While the chapter analysis looks critically at campaign discourse, as it figured within an incorporative project entailing an appropriation of a "knowledge of the people," my analysis proceeds along with an acknowledgement of a substantive basis for a discourse of the campaign as a "mutual learning" process; a change in the "gaze" of agents of intervention was envisioned, explicitly called for, and widely realized, as the brigadistas engaged in what might be termed a "bodily border crossing," sharing the daily life of campesinos and living outside the more modernized environments to which most were accustomed.

The chapter findings may be contextualized with reference to theoretical frameworks elaborated earlier in this chapter, and with reference to the critical account of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects presented in the "Appendix." Laclau and Mouffe's study and

theorization of Marxist discursivity in the course of a passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Escobar's Encountering Development, and theorization of the logics, discourses and institutions of modernity more generally contribute to the theoretical framework.

In the context of twentieth-century national liberation struggles, many of which incorporated Gramscian conceptions in their articulation, discourses of class struggle were articulated to discourses of national-popular struggle; and, as is indicated in Chapter Two of the thesis, the articulation of Sandinismo in both discursive and institutional terms evidenced a relative heterogeneity that finds a partial explanation with reference to Laclau and Mouffe's terms of theorization. Nevertheless--and 'pace' the celebration in much literature of the relative lack of "closure" entailed in such heterogeneity--corporativist, Marxist-Leninist terms of representation predominated, and the Marxist-Leninist theoretical orientation which the FSLN leadership had never renounced found a strong echo in the terms of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects. As was indicated earlier in this chapter, with reference to Marx's "Communist Manifesto," capitalist development and the integration of all into a world-system was to "rescue" a "considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life"; and the celebration of "the people" in the context of twentieth-century national

liberation movements both affirmed (culturally-located) "peasantries," and was articulated in tension with discourses of development (with multiple "modernist"-- "Marxist" and "capitalist" roots) with negative valuations of "peasant" consciousness and production methods. The contrasting campaign discourses charted in Chapter Five--and their relative weight--articulate to such terms of theorization. They find a broad context within a "modernity" whose logic has been one of the overcoming of singularity, within a movement of the totality towards a progress understood in particular terms--understood as a full use of the technologies of rationality and productivity.

There was, at one and the same time, a value accorded to campesino knowledge and the "ways of peasant living," within a secondary campaign discourse, and a negation of such value within a predominate campaign discourse--a discourse directed towards the mobilization of the whole of the population in the interests of an imperative of "ending ignorance." The latter discourse entailed a problematic schooling of the rural recipients of instruction, and of the populace more generally, in the understanding that the former essentially existed within a negative state of being.

A predominant campaign discourse articulated a binary conception of ignorance in relation to knowledge, and projected a full incorporation of the population into a site of knowledge taken to reflect an objective truth of

historical unfolding. This bears a relationship to the discursive formation mapped in Chapter Three of the thesis-- a formation articulating a binary and Manichean conception of subjectivity, as either individualist or as fully identified with the interests of the collectivity. Within the binary terms of these two discourses, the being of certain campesino sectors stood to be constructed as a site of lack, and a site to be fully left behind, in the course of the progress of the national collectivity.

Nevertheless, a claim to be learning "from the people" was integral to the legitimisation of vanguard authority; and framings of the campaign with reference to mutual learning find a context within Sandinista discourse more generally. The substantive basis for representations of the relationship between, on the one hand, FSLN leadership and agents of state interventions, and, on the other hand, "the people," as a relationship of reciprocity in the exchange of knowledge, figured within power/knowledge relations that limited in advance the terms of such an exchange, and that shaped how marginal rural inhabitants were brought into view as objects of knowledge, within an incorporative project.

Chapter Six--"The 'Dialogue' Problem and Conceptions of Empowerment"--considers: what was at work in the articulation of the dialogue process--including the specificity of the materials and procedures; how the 'empowerment' which was to follow from the dialogue process

and the campaign more generally was envisioned; what models of power were at work in the articulation and representation of the crusade; and what some of the conditions of possibility of this articulation were. The latter include a configuration of the modern nation such that "the people" are at once the objects of a national pedagogy, and subjects who must be seen to be "speaking" the truths of such. Further, the chapter considers what model of power best accounts for what transpired in relation to the dialogue process, and for the literacy campaign as it figured within the Sandinista project more generally.

The chapter establishes, and further argues: that campaign planners articulated the means and ends of the dialogue process at a marked level of generality; that the dialogue process as implemented in the course of the campaign stood in contrast to the stated aspiration that it should be experienced as empowering, and that it shaped and delimited what might be said; that some crusade planners envisioned the process as an opportunity to produce an ideal type of revolutionary/citizen subject; and that the failure of the dialogue process may be understood in part in terms of the effectivity of a lack--the lack of an operative conception of individuation in terms which did not simply articulate it to individualism. The latter point articulates to something charted in Chapter Three of the thesis--the prevalence, within the discourse articulating the Sandinista

project, of a dichotomous and Manichean conception of subjectivity.

The design of the materials and procedures evidenced little sense of anything particular rural recipients of instruction might have contributed to a "dialogue," and of might have constituted an effective catalyst to such a contribution. Even as the dialogue process had been conceptualized as a site in which rural recipients of instruction would act as subjects of knowledge, this process, along with discourse about the campaign, proves suggestive of how they had already been constructed as objects of knowledge, in limited and rigid terms. In terms of their essential being and becoming, they were either revolutionary/citizen subjects, or destined to become such. They were, or were to become, subjects who imagined their being primarily with reference to a certain imaginaire of the nation, and with reference to the interests of the national collectivity--as they had already been articulated.

The dialogue process and the campaign more generally had been envisioned as means to empower the recipients of instruction. They were to be empowered: through the provision of a public sphere context in which they might speak; by becoming revolutionary/citizen subjects who would advance the national Sandinista project, in part by taking to heart the call for increased productivity; and by becoming literate citizens able to participate in public

life from an informed position. Yet they were invited to speak from an enunciative position already set out for them, and not to participate in the definition of the broad outlines of the national project, and in the definition of their own educational needs. Further, the terms of being "informed" were inclusive of problematic modernist, developmentalist and vanguardist logics which were not taken to invite questioning, but which were presented simply as what had to become part of a "common knowledge base".

The mounting of the literacy campaign, at the outset of Sandinista government, was overdetermined. It was informed by heartfelt desires to end certain terms of social exclusion and disempowerment--exclusion and disempowerment proceeding from a lack of formal education and of literacy and numeracy skills. Yet it also offered a means of extending the reach of state institutions and control, and it carried substantial symbolic potential as a conferral of the rights of citizenship and as a provision of the basis for exercising such. It was to further the exercise of both "rights" and "responsibilities." Irreducible to an exercise of power following from the intent to indoctrinate (as right-wing critics of the campaign would have it), the campaign entailed discursive terms of legitimisation and articulation integral to naturalized logics of modernity.

Such naturalization informed highly celebratory representations of the campaign--including academic

accounts--at and subsequent to the time it was mounted. Juxtaposing such representations and accounts of the campaign with the terms of articulation of the dialogue process, and with the terms of the agrarian reform and development projects, proves suggestive of the extent to which the problematic material specificities of practice are evacuated in the course of the production of narrations of progress. Further, a consideration of the materials and procedures for the generation of dialogue proves suggestive of how such narrations were operative in the articulation of the campaign.

Modernity has held out the promise of universal empowerment--of ending certain conditions of social exclusion, by way of the incorporative projects of nations and by way of heightened productivity and more advanced technology. The provision of public spheres has been cast as integral to this universal empowerment. Yet as the terms of articulation of the dialogue process suggest, the extension of an "invitation to speak" is not, a priori, a movement towards popular sovereignty--towards an ideal which both has a desirable effectivity in the structuring of practice, and which proves unrealizable in any "pure" form, given the mediations of discourse as they necessarily exist within relations of power/knowledge. In the case here considered, people were invited to speak from an enunciative position already constructed for them, and constructed within a

knowledge system entailing a conception of a national-popular community as an organic unity--a unity in which "voices" could speak only from one of two sides of a binary divide.

Sandinismo was cast as overturning a system of domination/repression and establishing a system of popular empowerment/expression--and was cast as such within discursive formations operative in the articulation of the Sandinista project. However, such an articulation of transformation in systems of power clearly proves inadequate, both conceptually, and as a basis for praxis.

As is indicated in endnote 9 of this chapter, there was much that Sandinismo accomplished--including a redistribution of lands such that Nicaragua was left with a land-tenure structure among "the least unequal and most democratic in Latin America"(Marchetti and Maldidier, p. 24). Yet as Saldaña-Portillo has demonstrated, there are strong grounds for arguing, from a leftist perspective, that there should have been a more substantial land redistribution to the landless and the land-poor for family-unit production long before the mid-decade "pro-peasant turn." My literature review in the "Appendix" adds to Saldaña-Portillo's analysis by indicating that such redistribution, along with a different distribution of resources and different mechanisms of intervention in the countryside, might have prove desirable even in terms of

"economic efficiency" as a factor in the cohesion of the Sandinista project. As Saldaña-Portillo states, there ought to have been a greater space for the negotiation of differing visions of revolutionary transformation/development. This was precluded by an organic conception of national-popular collectivity as seen within a modernist and Marxist-Leninist narration of historical unfolding, and by a particular power-knowledge formation. I continue to believe that radical social and economic transformation remains viable, and that a collectivist orientation is desirable. However, the terms of cohesion of a national-popular formation must be seen as contingent, and as something to be negotiated, rather than assumed. They can not simply be brought to popular sectors, as their "truth" which they may not yet have become conscious of, by groups invested in modernist conceptions of knowledge and the social.

Endnotes

- 1 See, for example, Gilbert Joseph's "Close Encounters: Toward a New Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations," and other articles in Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, 1998, and Partha Chatterjee's The Nation and It's Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories, 1993.

2 Midge Quandt notes that, "as the July 1992 Sao Paulo Forum in Managua clearly revealed, the move away from vanguard politics is a distinguishing feature of the Latin American left today"(1995, p. 265).

Critiques articulated in the context of a Central American peasant movement are considered in text to follow.

3 Subsequent to the FSLN's electoral loss in 1990, the party and its mass organisation affiliates continued to be a strong force on the political scene. However, the mounting tensions within the FSLN, related in significant part to the continuity in the exercise of power by the nine-man National Directorate, were to eventually lead to a split in what had been one of the most cohesive and broad-based national liberation movements in Latin America. An abundance of critiques of the terms of the FSLN's exercise of power, many articulated as being from popular standpoints, were forthcoming. The 1990s were to see bitter and often highly-personalized attacks on FSLN leadership and on individual leaders, including attacks by FSLN leaders and militants themselves.

4 See issues of Nicaragua: Farmer's View, a publication of UNAG (National Union of Farmers and Ranchers) in Nicaragua, issues of Envío, published by the Jesuit Central American University in Managua, DESARROLLO AGROECOLOGICO Y ASOCIATIVIDAD CAMPESINA (Orlando Núñez, Glora Cardenal and Juan Morales, 1995), and The New Politics of Survival: Grassroots Movements in Central America (Sinclair, 1995).

5 See Midge Quandt's "Unbinding the Ties that Bind: The FSLN and the Popular Organizations," and Margaret Randall's Sandinino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua.

6 For accounts of ASOCODE, see Peasants Beyond Protest in Central America: Challenges for ASOCODE, Strategies towards Europe (eds. Kees Biekart and Martin Jelsma), "Reconceptualizing and Reconstituting Peasant Struggles: A New Social Movement in Central America"(Marc Edelman), and Voz Campesina, a publication of ASOCODE.

7 On the neglect of considerations of difference across space, see Jody Berland's "Angels Dancing: Cultural Technologies and the Production of Space,"(1992) which considers the pertinence of "what Soya...has termed 'the suppression of space in social theory'"(39).

See, also, "Questions on Geography" in Michel Foucault's Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977, in which Foucault observes that "A critique could be carried out of the devaluation of space that has prevailed for generations.....Space was treated as

the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic"(70).

8 As John Burdick notes (in his "Rethinking the Study of Social Movements: The Case of Christian Base Communities in Urban Brazil"[1992]), in "social scientific writings, movements tend to become, as if by magic, 'the people'..."(p. 183).

In the closing to her "Conclusion" to "The Women's Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy"(1994), Jane Jaquette references a statement to the effect that "the current enthusiasm for social movements has not been critically examined"(p. 235), and underlines the importance of continuing attention to political parties and the state.

Anthologies on social movements published in the 1990s include New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People (ed. Ponna Wignaraja), The New Politics of Survival: Grassroots Movements in Central America (ed. Minor Sinclair), and The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy (eds. Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez). These texts do not present unified theories of social movements, nor uniformly uncritical accounts of such, but all point to general analytic and conjunctural shifts.

9 The Sandinismo of the 1980s was taken, by many analysts, to have left a positive legacy in the form of three outstanding features: a redistribution of lands such that Nicaragua was left with a land-tenure structure among "the least unequal and most democratic in Latin America"(Marchetti and Maldidier, p. 24); a broad experience, amongst popular sectors, of political organisation and mobilization; and a continuity in the "Sandinista" presence in an army and police force whose abuses paled in comparison to those of other "security" forces in the region. This legacy and its enabling aspects are affirmed here, even as the thesis presents a critical account of Sandinismo.

The conceptualization of identities "in an inside/outside relation to nation" responds to a highly problematic tradition of conceptualizing national identity as paramount. As Xavier Albó emphasizes in his "Our Identity Starting from Pluralism in the Base" (in The Postmodern Debate in Latin America, eds. Beverley, Oviedo and Aronna, 1995), "...we should...rethink the supposition that a national identity.....should imply exclusivity, a maximum loyalty above all others. This game of exclusivity looks like those Russian dolls that fit one into the other.....All identities are accepted, but each one at its own level"(p. 29).

10 Clearly, the common and naturalized reference to nations in the south as "developing nations" implies a certain narrative of historical unfolding and works to obscure colonial and imperialist histories of the Euro-American use and abuse of power. I would concur with Escobar (and with the contributors to The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power, ed. Wolfgang Sachs) that the framing of historical unfolding and the justification of practice with reference to the presumed imperatives of "development" invites strong contestation; however, neither Escobar nor Sachs accords significance to the point of enunciation of a term or discourse, and consequently they imply that any positive substantive use of the term "development" is indicative of a species of "false consciousness" on the part of the person or organisation concerned. This does an injustice to the studied complexity and diversity of the use of the term on the part of people and organizations that share much of Escobar's and Sachs' framework of critique. Further, when an organisation such as UNAG in Nicaragua seeks to develop a response to the international division of labour by involving farmer/peasant organizations in all aspects of production (financing, growing, processing, and sales), and the term "development" gets used in such a context, the legitimacy of such a project or discourse can by no means be understood theoretically in advance.

11 The Atlantic Coast region is populated by six different ethnic groups, including the Miskitu indigenous people. Its colonial and neo-colonial history is very different from that of the Pacific region. The two regions have been separated by geography, and at the time when the Sandinistas came to power their socio-cultural and media landscapes were such as to provide little cohesion across the geographical divide. The strong presence of the Moravian church in the Atlantic region constituted one point of differentiation.

For a good account of some of the cultural politics at work in the region, and of the Sandinista/Miskitu encounter, see Charles Hale's Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987.

12 See Hale's study (described in the above endnote) for more detail on the Atlantic Coast conflict.

Given the contribution of the literacy campaign in the Atlantic Coast region to the escalation of armed conflict, the Sandinista conception of the campaign as a project which would further the incorporation of the Atlantic Coast into the revolutionary project invites comment in terms of its irony.

Hale provides an account of the Atlantic campaign as it unfolded in conjunction with other developments:

MISURASATU gathered hundreds of Miskitu high school and university students, including many of its most committed activists, and sent them to work as brigadistas in remote Miskitu communities throughout the Coast. These were ideal conditions for the growth of ethnic militancy, especially since the brigadistas had a mandate for political education as well as literacy. Rural dwellers learned about Miskitu rights, while brigadistas gained an emotionally charged sense of identity and solidarity with their people. (1994, p. 134).

MISURASATA leaders arrested in February of 1981 were accused of having separatist intentions.

Chapter Two: Sandinista Hegemony and FSLN Representations of the Sandinista Project

Part One of the thesis (Chapters Two and Three) charts the heterogeneity of Sandinismo and the limits of such, and provides context and background for analysis in Part Two of the thesis.

This chapter maps the broad terms of Sandinista hegemony at the outset of FSLN government and in its first half-decade, and charts key components of the discourse entailed in the FSLN's efforts to articulate a national-popular project and to maintain and consolidate the anti-Somoza historical bloc of the immediate post-overthrow period.

The chapter analysis draws broadly on literature on Sandinista practice, as detailed in the bibliography, references the texts in Sandinistas: Key Documents/Documentos Claves (Gilbert and Block, eds., 1990), and periodically supports certain points with consideration of discursive regularities. Arguments are supported with statements from multiple sources including Sandinistas: Key Documents and Sandinistas Speak (Marcus, ed., 1990).

This chapter follows under six sub-titles: "Political and State Structure and Its Early History," "Development, Socialism and Representations of Transition," "National Liberation, Nationalization, the Private Sector and the Terms of Representation," "Marxism and Sandinista Identity,"

"Sandinismo and Christianity," and "Power and Socio-cultural and Media Landscapes."

I argue that the power of Sandinismo as a social movement was irreducible to the actions of the FSLN or the state. Further, I argue, on the one hand, that there was a substantive basis for the much-remarked heterogeneity of Sandinismo and the Sandinista nation-building project. There was heterogeneity in terms of logics of political representation, in terms of the organization of economic production and the public sphere, in terms of the discursive constitution of collective identity, and in terms of the grounds of legitimation of authority.

On the other hand, I argue that the heterogeneity of Sandinismo had pronounced limits, and that some of the institutional structures, discourses and knowledges that gave this formation its cohesion invite critical consideration.

The largely-corporativist terms of political representation entailed a Marxist-Leninist conception of the vanguard as the privileged repository of knowledge as to the interests of "the people" and of the proletariat,

Reference to a universal interest in development functioned as a key discursive strategy in the management of the tensions of the articulation of the Sandinista project.

A Marxist-inflected and developmentalist knowledge of historical process as unfolding according to a "logic of

necessity" was operative in the articulation of Sandinismo.

Representations of collective identity incorporated nationalist, Christian and Marxist traditions in a narration of historical unfolding entailing the discursive construction of a single predominant figure of revolutionary identity--Sandino. (As the thesis as a whole makes apparent, Sandinista constructions of a Nicaraguan collective identity entailed assumptions as to what people were and as to what they were destined to become, and were to prove particularly problematic in light of the experience of the most marginalized of campesino sectors.)

Political and State Structure and Its Early History

This section charts the broad institutional terms of political representation, at the outset of the post-overthrow period and as they shifted over time.

In the years prior to the defeat of Somoza in July 1979, the FSLN succeeded in hegemonizing an antagonism which pitted an alliance of forces with a broad social base over against the Somoza camp.

The political deals the FSLN leadership had worked out with the anti-Somoza, non-Sandinista bourgeoisie prior to the overthrow of the dictatorship led to the participation of two prominent members of this sector on the initial five-person executive government, the JGRN (the Junta of National Reconstruction). As of May 1980, the JGRN worked in

conjunction with a co-legislative body, the Council of State; the latter, the JGRN and the judiciary constituted the three branches of government.

Following the elections of 1984, a 90-member National Assembly governed, and the Council of State ceased to operate. The constituency of the National Assembly was "multimember geographic districts with proportional representation of parties according to their share of the votes"(Booth, 1985, p. 41). The FSLN held sixty-one of the ninety seats in the National Assembly, having received sixty-three percent of the votes cast, with voter turnout being estimated at about 74% of the potential electors. (Large contingents of international observers from Europe, North America and Latin America attested that the voting conditions were fair, while anti-Sandinista discourses focused on the conditions of campaigning, casting them as unfair to the extent that some potential contenders had rightly declined to participate.)

The JGRN was established in exile in Costa Rica in early 1979, as the FSLN negotiated the terms of its alliance with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. It was to include "distinct political sectors" and was "to be designated by the Revolutionary Movement," "which...in effect meant the DN [the nine-person National Directorate of the FSLN], probably in consultation with other anti-Somoza political groups"(Booth, 1985, p. 30). The first JGRN included two

prominent members of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie--Violetta Chamorro, who was to become president in 1990, and Alfonso Robelo--both of whom resigned in early 1980. Robelo resigned over a conflict concerning the constitution of the Council of State. With the appointment of new members to the JGRN, the FSLN further secured its hegemony.

The JGRN's decisions largely derived from those of the nine-man National Directorate of the FSLN (the DN). The DN was composed of three leaders from each of the three FSLN tendencies engaged in military and political struggle in the 1970s; the three tendencies formally achieved unity in 1979, following a mid-decade split.

By 1982 the Council of State had 51 members, representing: political parties including the FSLN and seven others; Sandinista-allied popular and labour organizations; guilds and other social organizations including religious associations; and private sector organizations.

The initial agreement on the constitution of the Council of State stipulated that the council was to have 33 members. The Junta expanded it to 47 in April 1980. Because "the new members were from groups allied with the Sandinistas, non-Sandinista groups attacked the move as a power-grab" (Booth, 1985, p. 36). The FSLN affirmed that the direct representation of the popular organizations and others in the Council of State was a manifestation of popular democracy and of pluralism.

The powers of the Council of State included the power to initiate legislation, to approve or to propose reforms to drafts of legislation submitted to it by the Junta, to write an electoral law and a draft constitution, and to request information from cabinet agencies and agency heads. The Junta "had an absolute veto over council-initiated legislation, while the Council, in contrast, lacked a corresponding veto over Junta-initiated bills"(Booth, 1985, p. 35).

As John Booth puts it, given this structure, "the Sandinista National Liberation Front's nine-member Joint National Directorate (DN) acted as a de facto board of directors of the Nicaraguan revolution from 1979 through 1984"(1985, p. 29). DN members headed key government ministries and the EPS (the Sandinista Popular Army). They described their own decision-making process within the DN as a consensus process, with exceptional recourse to a vote. The DN was advised by an appointed 'Sandinista Assembly' made up of some 100 prominent FSLN members from different sectors and organisations; ordinary meetings were held yearly, while particular problems were dealt with in extraordinary sessions.

FSLN members (FSLN militants, as they were termed) numbered approximately 12,000 by 1984. While debates took place "as to whether the FSLN should become a mass party accepting almost anybody into it who wished to join"(Smith,

1993, p. 162), it was a cadre party,

where potential members had to pass through a probationary period before they could be accepted as party 'militants' or full members. The candidates...tended to be recruited from the activists in the mass organizations, and were expected, in line with the value system promoted by Sandinismo, to have certain moral as well as political qualities. (Smith, 1993, p. 162)

The "fusion between the FSLN and the armed forces and police"(Booth, 1985, p. 42) was the most evident point of collapse between party and state, while the nature of the Council of State left more room for debate as to the extent of the separation between the two. ¹

The mass organization representatives on the Council of State were to advocate for the interests of their constituencies, but were also party members; and the mass organizations, in any case, formally recognized the FSLN as their vanguard, and accepted the principal that particular interests were to be subordinated to the general interest as determined in the last instance by the FSLN. (So, for example, the principle objective of AMNLAE, the women's organization, was "the integration of women into all the tasks, activities, organizations and goals of the revolutionary process, in the belief that this was the best strategy to achieve the emancipation of women"[Criquillon,

1995, p. 212].) The private-sector organizations, two non-Sandinista unions, and some of the parties represented in the Council formed a minority coalition engaged in ongoing contestation of the specifics of the bills introduced.

As of 1984, the six principal mass organizations, all allied with the Sandinistas, were the CDS (Sandinista Defence Committees), the CST (the Sandinista Workers' Federation), AMNLAE (the Luisa Amanda Espinosa Nicaraguan Women's Association), the Sandinista Youth, the ATC (Rural Workers' Association), and UNAG (the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers). The national headquarters of the FSLN provided the mass organizations with "organization, planning, programs, literature, training, and propaganda materials"(Booth, 1985, p. 30).

Analysts consistently refer to UNAG, founded in early 1981, as the "most autonomous" of the popular organizations. Its initial membership drew away a substantial part of that of the ATC, which was founded in 1978. The ATC represented rural workers on both state and private farms--and, before the formation of UNAG, campesinos and small farmers.

As Saldaña-Portillo observes of the structure of representation of popular sectors within the mass organizations:

The land-poor peasantry fell out of the revolutionary government's corporativist loop. Representatives of ...UNAG saw their job as that of defending the rights

of the medium- and small-scale producer, and given how much more powerful these sectors are today than in 1979, they did so quite successfully. The Sandinista ATC, while more sympathetic with the plight of the land-poor peasants, were primarily concerned with labor conditions on state and private farms. In ten years the Sandinistas never established an equivalent organization to represent the rights and interests of the minifundistas and itinerant proletarians within the party. Consequently, the dispossessed and land-poor peasants had no way of lobbying the Sandinistas from the inside. (1997, p. 165)

Citing the example of the leader of the Sandinista Worker's Federation, Midge Quandt observes that it was possible for the top leaders of the mass organizations to have their office mandated by members of their constituencies, and yet be "in effect appointed by the National Directorate"(1993, p. 17). The first president of UNAG, Chico Gonzalez, reports that at the outset "there were very few small producers like myself who were willing to assume leadership positions"(UNAG, Nicaragua Farmer's View, April 1993, p. 3). Chico Gonzalez was elected by an assembly of 340 farmers from across the country, held in Managua in April 1981. When asked, "Was the National Directorate of the FSLN influential in deciding your candidacy and election?" he responded that:

The FSLN had influence, of course, in that it was the governing party and as well the first government in Nicaraguan history to allow campesinos to organize. There were three candidates...I was the only campesino of the three. Although I believe that we were all acceptable to the FSLN leadership, the presentation of the candidates made by the Frente representative presiding the assembly was to a certain degree partial to me. I think this was because they had seen the large campesino support base that I had in the north. But the assembly had the freedom to vote for the candidate of their choice, and the vote was spontaneous and practically unanimous. (UNAG, Nicaragua Farmer's View, April 1993, p. 3)

The largest and most broad-based mass organization was the CDSs, the Sandinista Defense Committees, organized by block, neighbourhood and city zone, and in rural communities. The CDSs took on the role of neighbourhood governments. They organized the night watch, and community development projects (i.e., the first mass vaccination campaign, the construction of schools, latrines, and service infrastructure). They selected local merchants to market the basic foods distributed by the state for sale at fixed prices, and endeavoured to mobilize local participation.

Zonal committees mediated between public authorities

and the barrio committees.

The CDSs were also charged with providing "political education." The FSLN "sent down 'orientations' to the leadership which in turn set the policy for the neighbourhood organizers"(Quandt, 1995, p. 267).

The CDSs "received considerable resources from the state but were saddled with carrying out some of the more unpopular government policies, such as food rationing and military recruitment"(Quandt, 1995, p. 267). Despite the fact that participation was open to anyone, the CDS were highly partisan and came to operate to a substantial degree as an administrative arm of the state. Their vitality in the insurrectionary period and in the years following the overthrow of Somoza declined, and beginning in 1985 the FSLN tried to counter this decline "by instituting new procedures, among them democratic elections at the barrio level" (Quandt, 1993, 44). Reforms included "a more open nominating process, multiple candidacies for barrio offices, and secret balloting"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 68). Previously, candidates at the barrio and zonal level had been presented unopposed, and a show of hands or a round of applause was called for in support of their assuming office.

"National unity" and the "defense of the revolution" were formally asserted as priorities of the popular organizations; it was understood that their interventions in favour of their constituencies (i.e., demands for higher

wages, for changes to legislation including that related to gender issues, and for more organizational resources) were to be considered secondary to the promotion of the national interest through support for FSLN leadership decisions.

While armed conflicts in the north-eastern region of the country (where the indigenous Miskito population was concentrated) began in 1981, and while cross-border incursions led by former National Guardsmen began prior to this, the conflict which was to become known as the "contra" war developed following the first major attacks in 1982, and throughout the decade the FSLN was to continue to refer to itself as a "politico-military organization".²

The culturally-distinct Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua, isolated by geography from the Pacific region, and with a very different colonial history, was inhabited at the outset of the 1980s by some 282,000 people ("Costeños") from six different ethnic groups and peoples: three indigenous peoples with linguistic and cultural systems taken to have derived from a South American regional formation--the Miskitos, the Sumus, and the Ramas; the Creoles, descendants of "an originally African population brought to the region as slaves"(Vilas, 1989, p. 3); the Garifunas, descended from a native Caribbean population and an originally African population; and the mestizos, the most numerous group, many of whom had migrated to the Atlantic region from the Pacific region of Nicaragua in recent

decades. Conflict between the Sandinistas and local authorities and populations developed in the months following the overthrow; as FSLN leaders were soon to acknowledge:

Revolutionary government cadres, with much enthusiasm but with a certain lack of knowledge of these peoples' history wanted to change everything overnight. Without giving much thought to the consequences, we wanted to develop on the Atlantic Coast projects similar to those on the Pacific. (Tomás Borge, DN member, quoted in Smith, 1993, p. 226)

Demands for local and indigenous self-determination clashed with state claims and plans based on the principal of national sovereignty, on economic assumptions about identity, and on assumptions about the primacy of a presumed national (Nicaraguan) culture; and the regional conflict was soon to become bound up in the war between the FDN ("contra") and FSLN forces. ³

In 1984, the FSLN introduced a plan for regional autonomy; after a period of review and consultation with Costeños, an agreement establishing the terms of regional autonomy came into effect in 1987. Subsequently, elections for the autonomous governments of the RAAN (North Atlantic Autonomous Region) and the RAAS (South Atlantic Autonomous Region) were planned, and steps toward the realization of the autonomy project, along with other factors including

negotiations to end the war, contributed to a diminution in the extent of the continuing Pacific/Atlantic antagonism.

The twenty-one government ministries included MIPLAN, the Ministry of Planning, which initially produced "Plan 80" to guide work in the first full year of Sandinista government. Plan 80 "received widespread distribution throughout the county--both in its full form and in more popular versions"(Ruccio, 1987, p. 69). However, as David Ruccio argues, economic planning in Nicaragua "never corresponded to the textbook description of the 'centrally planned economy'"(1987, p. 68).

MIPLAN held its first public seminar in May of 1980; and from its perspective,

the lessons drawn from the 1980 seminar (and basically repeated in its 1981 counterpart) were that ministerial "feudalism" and the lack of state discipline were at the root of the problems in carrying out the economic program for 1980. These conclusions expressed MIPLAN's concern with the fact that, although entirely devoted to economic planning, it was just one among twenty other ministries and that Plan 80 was not binding on the other state entities.

...MIPLAN, although the official centre for the elaboration of economic programs and other planning documents, has never enjoyed anything like complete monopoly over planning activities, short-term or

annual.....economic policy was made throughout the year by the interministerial "economic council".....independent decisions by other ministries, especially one with the weight of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA), would change the parameters according to which the original program was drawn up. (Ruccio, 1987, p. 71)

Ruccio's account in "The State and Planning in Nicaragua" accords with Biondi-Morra's general assessment that policy decisions

were not made on the basis of any ironclad ideological script or political script but instead emerged, almost piecemeal, on the basis of ideological predispositions and political calculations of opportunities and constraints. In other words, the Sandinistas continually reviewed and revised decisions. (1987, p. 201)

While the latter assessment figures within a highly critical account of the FSLN, similar terms of assessment may be taken to inform a common reference, by analysts supportive of the revolutionary process, to FSLN "pragmatism and flexibility." (See, for example: Deere, Reinhart and Marchetti, 1985; Walker, 1985; and Collins, 1985.)

The institutional terms of political representation and their operationalization, then, allowed for and effected significant shifts over time--most notably, the move towards

an electoral process--even as key aspects of the institutional structures of power, as established in large part by the FSLN DN at the outset of the post-overthrow period, persisted. In response to popular disaffection with the structures for participation in the neighbourhood organizations, and to resistance on the part of Costeño groups to the terms of incorporation of the Atlantic coast region and population, there were procedural and constitutional changes, as the FSLN continued to stress the power of "the people" to shape the decisions directly effecting their lives, while insisting on the subordination of particular interests to the national interest. The land-poor peasantry, however, "fell out of the revolutionary government's corporativist loop," and had "no way of lobbying the Sandinistas from the inside"(Saldaña-Portillo, 1997, p. 165).

Development, Socialism and Representations of Transition

At the outset of Sandinista government, following the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in July 1979, the FSLN officially committed itself to a three-pronged platform-- "political pluralism, a mixed economy, and international non-alignment"--and to a "logic of the majority"; this platform and this logic were frequently affirmed in the context of public address and in address to the "international community." The FSLN also asserted its intent

to exercise hegemony over the process of change, in order to ensure "national unity"--its clearly-asserted priority--and development according to a "logic of the majority." The "basic needs" of popular sectors were to be immediately met by way of a "social wage"--including state provision of education and health services, and of basic foodstuffs at subsidized prices--and they were to have a quotidian role in decision-making and implementation processes by way of community involvement and the mass organizations; however, continued sacrifice and the vanguard leadership of the FSLN would be necessary for defense and production.

Pre-revolutionary levels of production were to be regained and extended through the continue maintenance of Somocista lands as large, mechanized production units, through new production initiatives, and through the further modernization and integration of agriculture and agro-industry. Nicaragua was thus to overcome the legacy of underdevelopment, or "backwardness." National liberation--the seizure of state power by "the vanguard of the people," in alliance with a "patriotic bourgeoisie" which was to be accorded some degree of sharing of this power--had established the capacity to struggle, within the legacy of underdevelopment, out of relations of dependency, and to create the economic and social conditions of possibility for further transition.

Within the discursive struggle over the definition of

Sandinista identity, representations of the nature of the "transition" figured large. While many took the term "socialism" or "Marxism" to designate the existing system--although the FSLN leadership did not--others cast "socialism" as the goal of efforts to effect "transition"; socialism was an egalitarian distribution of wealth and power which could only follow upon a period of accumulation of wealth and of the gradual transformation of consciousness. FSLN documents dating from the 1960s did affirm the FSLN's commitment to a socialist project. (So, for example, the FSLN's "Plataforma General" of 1977 states that "Nuestra causa es la de la liberación nacional, la democracia y el socialismo"(p. 31, p. 53 in Gilbert and Block, 1990). However, while leadership representations of the system put in place following the overthrow referenced "transition," present practice was by no means consistently referred to as "transition to socialism." Within the terms of some of these representations, the system in place following the overthrow was neither a socialist system, nor a system in transition to socialism, but rather, a system in transition to "development"--in transition to something which would make further transition possible.

Numerous analysts affirmed, in the early 1980s, both that "Nicaragua is not socialist"(Fagen, 1983, p. 444), and also that it was "in the course of socialist construction"(Fagen, 1983, p. 444). However, such

formulations fail to address the gap often suggested in FSLN discourse between transition per se and transition to socialism. Such a gap is straightforwardly asserted in a statement by Carlos Vilas, an Argentinean academic and prominent Marxist analyst of Sandinismo who worked with the Nicaraguan Ministry of Planning from 1980 to 1984. Vilas affirmed in his book on the revolution, published in mid-decade (The Sandinista Revolution: National Liberation and Socialist Transformation in Central America), that "Rather than a transition to socialism, the Sandinista revolution is engaged in a difficult transition to development" (1986, p. 268). Such an understanding appears to inform statements such as the following, by FSLN DN member Victor Tirado, in a speech delivered to Sandinista unionists:

The Nicaraguan working class--we believe its big majority--sees socialism as the radical long-term solution (and some see it as the short-term solution) to its problems. Ideas about what socialism will be or should be in Nicaragua are still diffuse, not very clear, and it is natural that it be that way. At the right moment we will embark on the road to socialism. (Quoted in Gilbert, 1988, p. 40, from "Improvement in the situation of workers is the task of workers themselves," in Marcus, 1985)

Such ambiguous formulations, however, figured within a broad discursive field and an institutional history of the

FSLN in which commitment to socialism as the ultimate end of the project appeared clear. *

National Directorate member Jaime Wheelock affirmed that:

It is important to understand that the socialist model is a solution for contradictions that only exist in developed capitalist countries. Now, for a series of reasons, many of them political, and others having to do with hunger and desperation, certain peoples have made a revolution in the worst conditions of social development....this is our case. Even though we have socialist principals, we cannot effect the transformation of our society by socializing the means of production. This would not lead to socialism, rather, on the contrary, it could lead to the destruction and disarticulation of our society.

(Wheelock, El Gran Desafio, 1983, p. 101, translation from Harris and Vilas, 1985, p. 85)

It appears implicit here that "socializing the means of production" would be a problem precisely because it would not "lead to socialism." Not implementing "the socialist model" within conditions of underdevelopment would thus be perfectly in keeping with socialist practice--even as the option of pointing to the mixed economy as evidence of the non-implementation of "the socialist model" could, and did, figure large in Sandinista discourse as it sought to

challenge anti-communist representations of Sandinismo as a pure incarnation of Marxist-Leninism.

Vilas affirmed in the closing statement of his book on the revolution that:

National unity, which subordinates the resolution of class contradictions in favour of the struggle against imperialism, thus appears as the current project of the Sandinista revolution. The class struggle does not disappear from the national camp, but the revolutionary process tries to subordinate it to the development of the anti-imperialist contradiction... (1986, p. 269)

By way of such a stagist conceptual framework, Marxist Sandinistas and Marxist, Sandinista-allied analysts were able to square their emphasis on the primarily "anti-imperialist" nature of the struggle in its present phase with an orthodox Marxist conception of society as ultimately determined by a fundamental contradiction between capital and labour. To be anti-imperialist was not, at this moment, to be anti-capitalist, but to be opposed to local capitalists when and if they demonstrated that they were not prepared to subordinate their activity to an anti-imperialist struggle--a struggle which was seen as being waged in the realms of both production and defence.

Given an understanding of socialism as something which could only follow upon a long process of development--a project which was taken to require and inspire "national

unity"--the precise and detailed formulation of ultimate goals could be and often was cast as an exercise in speculation which could not be expected to figure as a major concern of the Sandinista leadership. The concept of development thus proved key to the enabling of discursive strategies in the articulation of the Sandinista project.

Rationales for practice and affirmations as to its ends and means provided an abundance of referents which could taken up to satisfy people with a wide range of political commitments that the underlying intent of the project corresponded to these commitments. Marxists could take the "concessions" to large producers as, alternatively, the product of the need to manoeuvre in the context of the international correlation of forces, or as part of building the material base for social transformation, or as both.

National Liberation, Nationalization, the Private Sector and the Terms of Representation

In contrast to the articulation of "socialism" as a deferred project of Sandinismo, with the "triumph of the revolution" in July 1979 "national liberation" was taken as an achieved state, though as subject to a continuing threat from its enemies and thus as not definitively secured.

The Somoza dictatorship, with its recourse to the exercise of terror on the part of the infamous National Guard and to the fixing of the terms of electoral processes,

had been understood as the local representative of American imperialism, the principal opponent of the revolution; to quote a 1982 May Day speech by FSLN National Directorate member Tomás Borge (reprinted and translated in Leiken and Rubin, 1987):

...our people's struggle became a struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, which, in essence, was a struggle against imperialism.....The form of our victory is the fall of the Somozista tyranny; the content of our victory is the triumph of national liberation. (p. 233)

The dictatorship was a "family regime" (enduring from 1936 to 1979) in which power was passed from the "first Somoza" to his sons. ⁵

In the insurrectionary period and following the establishment of the new government, narratives of Nicaraguan history as a tradition of struggle against external domination came to traverse the cultural geography of the country; in political discourse, literary production, music and the visual arts, and education, Nicaraguans were represented as identifying with the roles of this narrative, and were invited to identify with them. The figure of the nationalist hero Sandino, who was assassinated in 1934 by members of the National Guard on the orders of "the first Somoza," constituted the predominant figure of revolutionary identity; the central icon of FSLN identity, the image of FSLN-founder Carlos Fonseca (who died in 1976, also at the

hands of National Guard forces) constituted the second most predominant figure. Pictures of the two figured side by side in the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua and in murals across Nicaragua. The discursive operation of the figure of Sandino invited a "universal" identification with the Sandinista project in a discourse of patriotism, while the FSLN's Marxism and Marxist discourse was articulated to this; the social terrain was at once mapped in terms of a class divide, and as the site of a national-popular unity extending across this divide; a unity cast both as a pre-existing entity, and as an entity to be constructed and extended.

Images of Sandino (variously, of his hat, head and silhouette), narrations of his struggle, and the designation "Sandinista" all traversed the sites of the cultural geography of Nicaragua in the 1980s. On walls and on Nicaraguan currency, in murals, banners, and speeches, in pedagogical texts, in the media and in music, "Sandino" figured as the omnipresent and predominant figure of revolutionary identity; and this situation was the culmination of initiatives dating from the founding of the FSLN in the early 1960s. Carlos Fonseca had been instrumental in this development, which figured within a "New Marxist" contestation of the line of those socialist and communist organizations emphasizing "objective" as opposed to "subjective" conditions for the making of

revolution. Within a "New Marxist" tradition, contemporary armed struggle in Latin America was articulated as something other than "adventurism." Fonseca cast armed struggle in Nicaragua as the continuation of a long tradition in which the war mounted by Sandino's "crazy little army" figured large. He insisted that Sandino's name be given to the emergent FSLN, and that FSLN cadres should be made familiar with Sandino's struggle as represented in his writings. Fonseca was in turn to become an icon of revolutionary identity; and in the 1980s, his remains were moved to a tomb in the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua.

Visual representations of leadership in public space work to establish, in the public understanding, that there is a "centre" of authority, and to legitimate, if not sanctify, this authority. In this respect, Sandinismo is of interest as it stood in contrast to other Marxist-Leninist states, with their visual glorification of living leadership. Mural paintings and billboards featured images of Fonseca and other fallen combatants who had occupied FSLN leadership positions, while images of the FSLN's living leadership generally did not figure in this way. In the texts accompanying the plates in his The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua: 1979-1992, David Kunzle references, as an exception to this regularity, images of FSLN DN member Tomás Borge:

In Nicaragua there is just one surviving founder-member

of the FSLN, ...Borge, who appeared only on the occasional billboard, in the company of other founder-members, who were all killed in action. (1995, p. 35)

As Kunzle further notes:

The trio of classical international figures--Marx, Lenin and Che--is a rarity. Time and again, we see...Sandino in the murals and in every imaginable medium and location, and, somewhat less often, Carlos Fonseca...(1995, p. 36)

Many of the thousands who died in the war of the 1970s and at the hands of the contras in the 1980s were also commemorated and represented, in small sculptural monuments and in the galleries commemorating heroes and martyrs in cities and towns across the country. The concluding point of the FSLN's 1969 historic program had called for the "veneration of martyrs," and this intent had clearly come to be realized; In the "Galerias a Los Heroes y Martires," thousands of photos of men and women took their place beside photos of Sandino, suggesting continuity in revolutionary identity across space as well as time.

Opponents of "Sandinismo," including a conservative party within Nicaragua and even the contras, were also to lay claim to the figure of Sandino; and in 1981, "the FSLN made it illegal for unauthorized groups to use any representation of Sandino"(Palmer, 1988, p. 109). The FSLN, and a Sandinismo cast as a social movement inseparable from

the FSLN, was represented as the only legitimate inheritor of a nationalist tradition of struggle against imperialist rule.

In Sandinista discourse, both the overthrow of Somoza and the reconstruction of Nicaraguan society came under the rubric of the revolution to be defended; thus, the Sandinistas' most common designation of collective identity with reference to "the revolution" collapsed past and present practice--even as the FSLN contested the discourses of those who would collapse present practice and a projected future taken to be implicit in the Marxist orientation the FSLN had not renounced. Interpellation of Nicaraguans within a discourse of patriotism, development and national unity held out the possibility of an "universal" identification with the Sandinista project, even as discourses mapping the social terrain in terms of a class divide underscored the limited probability of such universal identification.

While the terms of the Sandinista effort to articulate a historical bloc were broadly disseminated, policy in relation to "the right to expression and organization" on the part of forces contesting government policy established that there was to be no imposition of homogeneity and singularity in public text and political institutions--even as contestation of the broad "rules of the game" for the maintenance of "national unity," by way of support for military and economic aggression against Sandinismo or by

way of public contestation of the legitimacy of the draft, crossed a clearly-drawn line that state institutions did not hesitate to impose through legislation, incarceration and the threat of confiscation of property. ⁶

The dictatorship, understood by the FSLN as an expression of the imperialism constituting its essence, had ensured Nicaragua's positioning as a dependant capitalist nation within the international division of labour. However, the desire to profit from resource extraction in Nicaragua specifically was not seen as the primary motive for imperialist machinations in Nicaragua, dating from the nineteenth century; rather, the country's geo-political positioning was key. (Due to the structure of waterways in Nicaragua, it rather than the area which came to be Panama had long been considered as the prime site for the building of an inter-oceanic canal route; and in the twentieth century, Nicaragua occupied a relatively central position in a geographic zone which the United States considered of strategic importance for the maintenance of its interests.) The level of foreign ownership in Nicaragua under the Somoza dynasty (1936-79) never approached the levels found in other countries of the region during the same period; imperialism in Nicaragua "was one of ambassadors and generals, more than industrialists and bankers"(Vilas, 1986, p. 83). (However, in the early decades of the twentieth century and during the time of Sandino's struggle (1926-33), Nicaraguan governments

had been "encouraged" to take out loans from American institutions, under terms which figured large in the antagonisms of that epic.) Under the Somoza regime, state power was highly personalized, and the state was not taken as a site in which the local bourgeoisie as a whole had had any substantial hegemonic role, despite elite complicity with the repression of labour and peasants under Somoza rule. The state's channelling of development funds had enabled it to buy bourgeois acceptance of the terms of political power; although these terms were repeatedly contested to varying degrees by various bourgeois groups and parties, the FSLN's analysis stressed the limits of the terms of such contestation.

The FSLN referenced the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie's lack of any long-standing cohesion as a political-economic force as a condition of possibility for its subordination under Sandinista hegemony, on terms which would continue to allow large-scale production for personal profit. All citizens who had not been allied with Somoza in the years just prior to the overthrow and who did not support counterrevolution were constructed as potential participants in the Sandinista project; private sector producers were offered the role of "patriotic producers." Even as the likelihood of a broad acceptance of this role among large producers was, to say the least, not anticipated, on a theoretical level the possibility of winning over some to some degree of

participation in this role was affirmed. (That there were, in fact, various degrees of relative accommodation to this role, and in some cases claims to embrace the principals involved, has been documented by numerous analysts. See, for example, Rose Spalding's Capitalists and Revolution in Nicaragua: Opposition and Accommodation, 1979-1993.⁷) The participation of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie in the broad-based alliance which brought down Somoza was taken as a condition of possibility for the continued maintenance of some degree of cooperation.

The FSLN affirmed at the outset of revolutionary government that the seizure of power was not to be conjoined with a seizure of private property, beyond that of Somoza and his close associates. (The 1969 Historic Program of the FSLN did not make such a clear distinction, although it did use fairly ambiguous language.⁸) Rather, it was a seizure of the "commanding heights" of the economy; as Biondi-Morra states:

State-owned enterprises rapidly became an all-pervasive component of the national food system, having a significant presence in inputs, production, processing, and distribution. Banks were nationalized, and all credit and insurance operations came under the control of state-owned financial institutions. Almost all import and export channels were assigned to state trading companies, with the Central Bank having

exclusive control over foreign exchange. Fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural machinery, seeds, fuel, and most other agricultural inputs were primarily or exclusively imported and distributed by state companies. In addition to state-owned farms and food processing plants, the state also controlled basic grains procurement, storage, and distribution networks. (Biondi-Morra, 1993, p. 45)

FSLN leaders, responding to the Reagan administration's claims that a massive nationalization process was being undertaken, characterized the extent of nationalization as unremarkable in comparative terms. (As Carlos Vilas observed, "the direct participation of the state in the economy was of a magnitude similar to or even smaller than that of other Latin American and European countries: Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and France, among others" [1986, p. 154]. In terms of physical volume of agricultural production, as of the 1981-82 agricultural cycle the state sector (the APP) was producing, at most, one third of the volume of any given crop (with the exception of tobacco); and its participation in the manufacturing industry accounted for 30% of the gross production value within the industry. The mining industry, however, was fully nationalized. [Vilas, 1986, p. 155-56])

Agrarian reform laws set no limit to the size of private landholdings to be permitted. The private sector of large producers was informed at the outset of Sandinista

government that the Sandinistas harboured no intent to undertake nationalization on a massive scale; their productive means would not be expropriated provided that they were not underutilized and that the owners did not support the armed overthrow of the government. They were enjoined to continue producing, at capacity, for their own profit, while accepting the structures allowing the state to extract some of this profit.

As Jaime Wheelock (Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform) represented it:

The hegemony of the economic development process is in the new relations of production created by the revolution. It is a hegemony achieved with the nationalization of foreign commerce, of natural resources and of strategic industrial sectors, and with the nationalization of the banks. With these measures we have created a system of production and of management which predominates, which is hegemonic, which coexists with forms one could call capitalist to an appreciable degree, and with others that are backward or precapitalist.

Our tendency is that state and cooperative properties will be hegemonic, coexisting with medium and small, and even large, private production, in which the backward relations of capitalism will surely become secondary, subordinated. (El Gran desafío, 1983, p.

102, quoted and translated in Ruchwarger, 1989, p. 11-12)

While there was to be a place for "the bourgeoisie" to retain something of its identity as a distinct force in both the economic development process and the political process, FSLN leaders consistently affirmed that it would be required to accept revolutionary hegemony over both processes, that this hegemony reflected the will of the majority, and that electoral processes would undoubtable demonstrate this. (The response to the demands of some for an election in the early eighties was that the work and expense of national reconstruction came first, and that in any case the insurrectionary activity in the years preceding the overthrow already constituted a vote of confidence in the FSLN. National Directorate member Tomás Borge even went so far as to suggest, in a 1980 speech to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission [see Marcus, ed., 1982], that the lack of early elections in fact favoured the business sector, since if "we held elections right now, those people wouldn't get even half a deputy. Political pluralism would disappear....And since we do favour political pluralism, we want them to have political representation"[p. 97].)

The political system put into place has often been described as an eclectic mix. As has been detailed in a chapter section above, it incorporated: "participatory democracy" (broad participation in quotidian community

decision-making and implementation processes, by way of the local [neighbourhood and rural] CDS ["Sandinista Defense Committees"], and by way of the presence of sectoral representatives in the Council of State, one of the three branches of government prior to the 1984 elections); the mechanisms of liberal representative democracy in a multi-party system; and the highly centralized decision-making structures of Marxist vanguard parties. While the latter have long claimed to be productive of a "participatory democracy" indicative of a seamless unity of interests within a classical party-state-mass organization triumvirate, in Nicaragua there was considerable continuity in the personnel of the pre- and post-overthrow state bureaucracy, and the mass organizations and popular sectors more generally were invited to contest the practice of state officials when this was taken to contradict the terms of the party's program. Further, there was a mid-decade shift in procedures for the mandating of representatives of the neighbourhood/community organizations, allowing for the possibility of removal from office of the party's preferred candidates.

Marxism and Sandinista Identity

In the statements of FSLN National Directorate members and government ministers, read across multiple contexts of address, Marxist, Christian and nationalist discourses

referencing a logic of necessity--a historic unfolding destined to proceed upon a certain path--coexist along with others characterizing political representation as "the terrain of a game whose result is not predetermined from the beginning"(Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 119).⁹ The latter included both a Gramscian discourse of the active articulation of hegemony, and a discourse of "political pluralism" referencing traditional liberal-democratic conceptions of competition through electoral party politics.

Party politics in this latter sense were not seen as operating to any substantial degree in a manner cross-cutting the class divide; that is to say, they were taken to largely express contestation on the part of groups from the bourgeoisie. (There were, however, parties which the FSLN characterized as of the "ultra-left" and which it denounced in strong terms.) The FSLN, on the other hand, was understood as an expression of the popular whose efforts to exercise hegemony were directed across class divisions.

Sandinista government was represented as "popular hegemony under the leadership of a vanguard organization"; the FSLN represented the historical interest of "the people." As Laclau and Mouffe observe:

The Marxist conception of the vanguard party shows this peculiarity: that the party represents not a concrete agent but its historical interests, and that there is no fiction [in this representation] since

representative and represented are constituted by the same discourse and on the same plane. (1985, p. 119)

Sandinista hegemony entailed this conception of the FSLN as a vanguard party--though as a representative of the historical interests of "the people," and not simply "the working class." Reference to the interests of the working class nevertheless operated in the manner in which Laclau and Mouffe have theorised such reference within Marxist discourse; it was a "nodal point," a key point of fixation of meaning enabling the cohesion of the entire system of discursive constructions of identity, historical unfolding, and knowledge.¹⁰

Even as a Marxist-Leninist conception of representation was operative in Sandinista government, representations of the political system referenced multiple conceptual frameworks, and in substantive terms there was no complete collapse between party and state, nor government representation of "the people" solely by way of the vanguard party.

The red and black flag of the FSLN was commonly represented in front of the blue and white flag of Nicaragua, covering the bulk of it but not the whole of it; this provides a visual analogue to the mixed terms of representativity and of articulations of collective identity.

The FSLN's 1984 electoral victory further underscored

the doubleness of the terms by which "the people" were cast as present in government--in terms of both objective becoming (pre-given historical interests represented by the party as the repository of science) and subjective being as manifested in choice. These two contrasting logics evoked in claims to representativeness mark the poles of an abstractly-conceived "Marxist/liberal democracy divide." The FSLN's legitimation of the terms of representation referenced logics on both sides of this divide, providing ample referents for both anti-communist vilification and pro-Sandinista celebration of the structure of political representation.

In countering charges of the imposition of a Marxist-Leninist system, FSLN leaders referenced the mixed framework of political process, along with the official commitment to a mixed economy and the existence of "every conceivable combination of land tenure, productive organization, and collective activity"(Deere, Reinhardt and Marchetti, 1985, p. 91). Such discourse was represented by conservatives hostile to the FSLN (within and outside of Nicaragua) as indicative of Marxist duplicity in the context of an effort to garner support in the field of international diplomacy and public opinion. At the other end of the pole, assessments including those of left, non-Sandinista labour organizations in Nicaragua represented the FSLN's practice (i.e., "concessions" to the private sector of large

producers) as indicative of its duplicity in claiming socialist principals. These two poles of interpretation have continued to be present in retrospective assessments of the Sandinista project; as Rose Spalding observes in a 1994 text:

Competing images of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie--as a beleaguered class on the threshold of extinction at the hands of orthodox Marxist-Leninists, and as a protected class that benefited disproportionately from state development initiatives--continue to complicate the interpretation of the Nicaraguan revolution. (1994, p. 64)

While members of the FSLN DN and many party members did claim Marxist-Leninism as an integral component of their identity, statements and speeches by FSLN leaders frequently suggested the irreducibility of FSLN and Sandinista identity to such a designation. Such representations figured within responses to anti-Sandinista discourse, including that of the Reagan administration, as it constructed chains of equivalence between Sandinismo, Marxism, the Cuban revolution, the Soviet system and Soviet expansionism, the intent to eventually impose atheism, and the legitimacy of efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government by force of arms.

FSLN National Directorate members were frequently asked, in interviews, whether or not they were Marxists or

Marxist-Leninists, or if the Sandinista project could be understood as an application of Marxist-Leninist theory. Several replies to such questions, quoted in the paragraphs to follow, indicate a similar pattern of response, involving both affirmation (explicit or implicit) and qualification.

The following statements figured within a 1984 interview by three European journalists with DN member Bayardo Arce:

[Q.] One of you once said that Sandinismo is the application of Marxist-Leninism to the reality of Nicaragua. Is that a definition? [Arce:] I would say yes, as long as we leave the essential problem of the arbitrary connotations of language....When you say Marxism or Marxist-Leninism, everyone grabs his mental register--meagrely supplied, of course, with facts--and click-click-click out comes the Kremlin. That's nonsense. (Quoted in Gilbert, 1988, p. 23)

DN member Victor Tirado stated in a 1979 interview that:

Some forces classify us as a Marxist tendency, as communist. We have never affirmed that we are Marxists. We are a revolutionary front. Although among us are Marxists, there are also Christians. We take positions that are revolutionary and Sandinista.....

Sandinista...this is equivalent to nationalist. For to be able to give the anti-Somoza process a

popular content we have had to adopt national values.....to adopt international values would be something distinct because the people have no information about them. (Quoted in Hodges, 1986, p. 191)

The following is an account of statements by DN member Daniel Ortega, in a 1984 interview shortly before his election as President:

When asked whether he himself was a Marxist-Leninist, Ortega responded that the issue of Marxism was "secondary." He then proceeded to argue that strict Marxist principals could hardly be applied in a country such as Nicaragua, which, in his words, "is not a country where there are conditions for a class struggle." (Dodson and O'Shaughnessy, 1990, p. 4)

Dennis Gilbert provides an account of statements by DN member Tomas Borge:

Neither the FSLN nor the revolutionary government has ever publicly labelled itself Marxist, Tomas Borge reminded an interviewer in 1984; "however, I believe that we are Marxists." (Gilbert, 1988, p. 22)

Media efforts to fix the identity of prominent FSLN member Sergio Ramirez (member of the initial executive Government of National Reconstruction, and vice-president following the 1984 elections), who had been labelled a "social democrat" in the international press, also undercut

efforts to name Sandinismo as nothing other than Marxist-Leninism. Asked in a 1980 interview how he felt about this label, he responded:

Yes, I have seen that and it is now almost a stock phrase: "Sergio Ramirez, a German-style Social Democrat." I don't really know how the label originated. Even though this may seem a bit strange, we Sandinistas are not very much concerned about being part of any of the main political currents of the world. In talking to European newspeople, I have explained to them that we are Sandinistas, we act like Sandinistas, and we have a Sandinista ideology. They answered that that was very well but asked us to clarify whether we were Social Democrats, Eurocommunists, or followers of the Soviet, Chinese, or Albanian line. We reject that kind of a priori pigeonholing....we...have, of course, a revolutionary ideology, but we want that revolutionary ideology to be identified as Sandinista. This does not mean to say that we think we are discovering the Atlantic Ocean.....Ours is going to be a Nicaraguan revolution to the degree in which it is the outcome of a particular historical process of foreign domination and of a no less unique historical process of internal domination. (Ramírez, 1980, rpt. and translated in Leikin and Rubin, 1987, p. 217-218)

The latter statements on the part of Ramirez may be contrasted with a particular statement by Tomás Borge--a statement from a text first presented as a speech to the Propaganda Department of the FSLN in 1985, a text published in translation by permission of the author in Mattelart, ed., 1986, as "Marginal Notes on the Propaganda of the FSLN." "We are Sandinistas because we are Marxist-Leninists in Nicaragua, and we are Marxist-Leninists in Nicaragua because we are Sandinistas"(p. 46). While this is suggestive of a lack of tension between specific instance and universal form, Ramirez' statements exemplify a contrasting discursive movement, recognizing commonalities in formations across different spaces, while underscoring that universal forms prove incapable of accounting for "the unique."

Laclau and Mouffe's study of Marxist discursivity provides a partial theoretical framework for an understanding: of the ambiguity charted in the statements above; of the mixed logics of representativity of Sandinismo; and of the affirmation in public texts of both a historical "logic of necessity" and a "logic of contingency." Laclau and Mouffe theorize the process of the articulation of discourses of class struggle to discourses of national-popular struggle, as it was informed by the writings of Gramsci and as it developed in the context of twentieth-century national liberation struggles in the south. Responses to colonialism and imperialism brought a

double articulation of revolution as something irreducible to a struggle against capitalism, and as something which did not pre-suppose a certain "advanced" level of economic development.

An orthodox Marxist script of historical unfolding was to prove inadequate as a basis for conceptualising the contingencies of the historical moment and for a praxis responding to them. National liberation movements sought to interpellate the "popular mass" as much as working class, sought the hegemonic incorporation of sectors of the national bourgeoisie into historical blocs, and contributed to the generation of nationalist countercultural formations and narrations of nation. Nevertheless--and as is charted in endnote nine of this chapter--an orthodox Marxist historical "logic of necessity" continued to be inscribed, even as it was so inscribed in a dispersed way within discursive formations irreducible to it.

That Sandinismo was informed by a Marxist knowledge of historical unfolding and the people was never disclaimed by the FSLN leadership. This knowledge is quite straightforwardly articulated in certain of their statements, including a statement by army commander and DN member Humberto Ortega quoted at length in endnote nine of this chapter. Capitalism is therein articulated as a historically progressive force; "Capitalism developed the forces of production in a formidable manner and made

technology and the economy advance, but nevertheless conserved in its structure the exploitation of one class by another"(Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 296, my translation). As this statement suggests, leftist political formations have shared with the formations of modernity more generally a conception of history as structured by a teleology of techno-economic advancement, a conception which, having developed the status of a "common sense," has functioned powerfully in the rationalization of social practice and the legitimation of authority.

Sandinismo and Christianity

While Marxist-Leninist state systems have promoted atheism, and while atheism has been a criteria for membership in Marxist-Leninist parties (as it was in Cuba), in Nicaragua numerous radical Christians and priests were party members, and several headed government ministries. (Padre Miguel D'Escoto held the position of Foreign Minister. Padre Edgard Parrales headed the Social Welfare Ministry. The priest Ernesto Cardenal was Minister of Culture, while his brother Fernando Cardenal, also a priest, was to become Minister of Education, filling a post previously held by another prominent radical Christian, Carlos Tunnerman. Militant atheists in the party put up objections to the appointment of Fernando Cardenal.) Christian commitment was represented as one possible path to

revolutionary identity, and the FSLN affirmed its intent to guarantee the right to profess a religious faith.

"The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua" (Marcus, ed., 1982) is a translation of an official statement by the FSLN DN (published in the October 7, 1980, issue of the newspaper Barricada) presented as a response to a "campaign of ideological confusion [which] seeks to promote anti-Sandinista fears and attitudes among the people"(Marcus, 1982, p. 105). The first point under the heading of the FSLN's position on religion affirms that the revolutionary government fully guarantees the "freedom to profess a religious faith as an inalienable right"(107); the second point is formulated as follows:

Some authors have asserted that religion is a mechanism for spreading false consciousness among the people, which serves to justify the exploitation of one class by another. This assertion undoubtedly has historic validity to the extent that in different historical epochs religion has served as a theoretical basis for political domination. Suffice it to recall the role that the missionaries played in the process of domination and colonization of the Indians of our country.

However, we Sandinistas state that our experience shows that when Christians, basing themselves on their faith, are capable of responding to the needs of the

people and of history, those very beliefs lead them to revolutionary activism..... (Marcus, 1982, p. 107)

The latter quote, and a preceding reference to the "conscious participation among all the revolutionaries in Nicaragua, whatever their philosophical and religious beliefs"(p. 107) suggests the heterogeneity of and multiple paths to revolutionary identity.

The reference in the above quote to "some authors," rather than to Marxist writings, exemplifies a common absence of any reference to "Marx" or "Marxism" in contexts of broad public address, even as key terms associated with Marxist discourse--classes, exploitation--are common. ¹¹

The authority of Christian belief, then, was invoked in support of the revolutionary process--and not simply with reference to a specific articulation of Christian discourse within Liberation Theology. While representations of antagonism in Nicaragua in the 1980s frequently suggest a frontal conflict between the "popular church" and the Catholicism of the establishment, Gilbert's study of the church and the revolution (1988) underscores the fact that many members of CEBs (Christian Base Communities) rejected the term "the popular church," insisting instead that the church as a community of believers was one, and that what they were was a part of this singularity; and Randall's Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution supports the same point. This shaped an antagonism that did not simply oppose

one set of symbols and institutions over against another, but which instead entailed contrasting efforts to claim and articulate symbolic and institutional practice associated with universal affiliation. (The struggle over representations of Sandino figured in the same way.)

As Palmer notes:

The analogical possibilities of Sandino as Christ figure were cultivated by Fonseca and the FSLN with great success. Fonseca employed the language of Christianity to characterize the FSLN's project as a whole, often using words like rendención [redemption] and salvación. (1988, p. 105)

FSLN DN member Tomás Borge's writings and statements were to mythologize Fonseca, just as Fonseca's writings had mythologized Sandino; and like "Borge's Fonseca," "Fonseca's Sandino" had been constructed across two thematic poles--one referencing a "proletarian" consciousness and vision, and the other referencing Christian themes of sacrifice, resurrection and collective redemption.¹² In these sites, as in the writings and pronouncements of Padre Ernesto Cardenal (FSLN Minister of Culture, and a well-known poet), and as in liberation theology more generally, nationalism, Marxism and Christianity were articulated as compatible, if not one and the same thing.¹³

In the Plaza of the Revolution, the front of the old Managua cathedral--its roof and some of its interior

structure destroyed in the great earthquake of 1972--loomed up as the shell of a former identity. Once a central site of the practice of a Catholic church hierarchy with a long history of support for the status-quo under the Somoza regime, from 1979 to 1988 it provided the backdrop for a larger-than-life, full-length portrait of Sandino hung over the entrance, a portrait signifying a revolutionary identity elsewhere constructed as equivalent to a true spirit of Christianity.

Sandinismo, then, laid claim to multiple traditions--Christian, Marxist, and democratic-nationalist--articulated as compatible if not inextricable; and prominent priests had a strong presence within the political landscape. Reference to Christian beliefs functioned substantially in the discursive grounding of Sandinista authority.

Power and Socio-cultural and Media Landscapes

In Nicaragua following the overthrow, representations and cultural practices valorizing Sandino, the revolution, the FSLN, popular sectors, and those working with the popular sectors took shape within a wide range of forms and institutions--in the context of the arts, the media, public space, religious ceremonies, educational institutions and programs, the army and militia, public health and education campaigns, work brigades mobilized for harvest labour, public political meetings and events, government

institutions and popular organizations.

Public space in Managua in particular was to provide a semiotically-charged backdrop for public political meetings, commemorations and events, the largest of which are alleged to have brought together as much as a fifth of the population of the country. ¹⁴

Despite the changes in the cultural landscape, there were continuities. Substantial private ownership and operation of media continued, and the bulk of television broadcast and cinema fare continued in the same vein as that of the pre-overthrow period, although the changed landscape of news and actuality production marked a clear break.

There was no tightly centralized singular structure charged with the "managing" of symbolic and representational practice, or as Mattelart puts it, no "global communications policy" in Nicaragua in the sense that each sector was "highly compartmentalized, each following its own logic":

This compartmentalization can be seen between the various media such as the press, radio, television, and cinema as well as between the various sites which produce "communication" such as the state and the administration, the FSLN, and the social movements.

(Mattelart, 1986, p. 20)

Various media and communications projects came under the purvey of different ministries--i.e., the Ministry of Culture, of the Interior, of Development and Agrarian

Reform, and of Education. Some analysts of economic and social policy have made reference to the term "ministerial feudalism" to explain a lack of coordination of decision-making processes--a term which also appears in some government documents evaluating problems in certain areas. So, for example, Biondi-Morra cites a widespread reference to "feudalismo ministerial" in the course of arguing that "despite the many interministerial committees, government branches behaved more like independent fiefs"(Biondi-Morra, 1993, p. 132). Mattelart, considering the "fief" metaphor in relation to communications, observes that "to speak of the existence of fiefs...would also be an exaggeration for this supposes the development and management of a project specific to each preserve and this is clearly not the case"(1986, p. 20). ¹⁵

The structure and history of the FSLN DN continued to shape the terms of decision-making in the 1980s; "comandantes in the government continued to surround themselves with members of their own pre-party factions"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 47). (Following the signing of a unity accord in March of 1979, the DN was composed of three leaders from each of the three factions of the FSLN; in the mid-1970s, they had been engaged in a bitter dispute over proper strategy and structures of authority.) However, power over the security forces and the economy was divided, and DN members, "keenly sensitive to the dangers of

disunity, ...carefully avoided airing their disagreements in public"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 45).

The FSLN retained a marked organizational cohesion, with its decision-making structures organized according to a vanguardist hierarchy, but without a "Jefe Maximo" (Fidel Castro's title); and Sandinismo as a movement broader than the FSLN retained an evident cohesion as well. This owed much to the conditions of war, but also to the degree to which Sandinista-affiliated discourses and authorities were a presence across the socio-cultural terrain--in cultural and news media production, in institutions of service provision, in academic institutions, and in the church. Numerous FSLN leaders, members and supporters were well-known musicians, poets, writers, academics, priests, and journalists, shaped within the same countercultural field as well as (in many cases) through their participation in the FSLN as a politico-military organization. As Beverley and Zimmerman observe:

A key intermediary between university life and revolutionary activity was the increasingly radical student groups that began to appear in the late 1950s and the early 1960s...Whatever the initial class, political, and religious formation of the individuals concerned, these involved...sharing in the production and consumption of a nationalist, left-inflected counterculture constituted very centrally around

novels, poetry, songs, ephemeral literary magazines and student journals, and the like. (1990, p. 47)

The first years of the 1980s, in particular, saw an exuberant celebration, in public texts and pro-Sandinista academic writings, of "Sandinismo" and Sandinista cultural production as an organic expression of the people. Various criticisms advanced retrospectively--with the passage into the "survival mode" period of the revolution in the late 1980s, and into conjunctures subsequent to this period--were to undercut the conception of an organic link across the terms of distinction between, on the one hand, a formation of party leaders and militants, and on the other hand, "popular" formations including campesino formations. The former's class background, cultural formation, and predominantly urban base of support were referenced. These distinctions both have an analytic purchase on the conditions of production of national-popular truths, and invite qualification with reference to the case of agents and practices of Sandinismo as they traversed or were differentially situated across such lines of divide, and with reference to heterogeneity across "rural" and "urban" areas themselves.

Shaped by and shaping what was to a substantial degree an urban "print" counterculture, the Sandinista leadership might be interpreted as a "nationalist elite" whose cultural formation was at a marked distance from that of campesino

sectors in particular; however, another "nationalist elite" at a far greater distance from "popular culture" continued to be present in Nicaragua. The class backgrounds of the nine comandantes of the DN ranged from working class to upper-middle class; and they, like FSLN members and supporters more generally:

were of more varied social backgrounds than those who ruled Nicaragua before them. Just two, Wheelock and Luis Carrión, were from upper-class families. Four came from middle-class homes and three from working-class households. But none was the son of a peasant or farm worker--though the population was still half rural when they were born--and only one, Henry Ruiz, grew up with the poverty that remains the lot of most Nicaraguans.... (Gilbert, 1988, p. 42)

There was no absolute divide between "elite" and "popular" cultural formations, nor between a "print culture" and an "oral culture." In organizations such as the ATC (the Sandinista Rural Worker's Association), and in the context of the Christian movement, much of the grassroots leadership was shaped by the practice of gospel readings in which the text of the bible--identified with and read by members of popular sectors prior to the ascendancy of the revolutionary movement--was articulated to revolutionary significations and narrations; and musical production in particular was a strong presence in the pre- and post-overthrow period.

Sandinista counterculture was far from being limited to print, "rural" areas were diverse in themselves, and Christian institutions and discourses figured across a class divide and across distinct media, while socially-engaged practice, sometimes in the context of religious institutions, had brought many Sandinista militants from upper- and middle-class backgrounds into contact with popular milieus. Prior to and subsequent to the overthrow of Somoza, religious institutions in particular provided a site for interchange between an "above" and a "below"--as well as structures for the shaping of the latter by the former. By way of their involvement in work under the auspices of the church, numerous prominent Sandinistas from wealthy and even Somocista families came to distance themselves from the political positions of previous generations of their families.

In the context of the media landscape, both anti-Sandinista discourses not explicitly linked to support for the contras, and anti-Sandinista, pro-contra discourses were diffused within the country. While the case of the print media received the most attention in the international media, following state censorship of the national daily La Prensa, broadcast media were the more significant presence for the majority of the population, and they presented a full range of political discourses. ¹⁶

Dee Dee Halleck's "Nicaraguan Video: Live From the

Revolution"(1985) situates video production--much of which was produced for the national news service--within the broad media and cultural landscape of Nicaragua in 1983 and 1984, noting the prominence of coverage of public events:

the concerts, the neighbourhood meetings, the election rallies, the funerals of martyrs, the marches of mothers, the openings of hospitals, the bombing of hospitals, the openings of schools and likewise their attacks by Contras, the school graduations, the theatre festivals, the ceremonies for land title distribution to campesinos, the Cara al Pueblo meetings... (1985, p. 113)

"All church activities" were news, and "on most nights the church is at least a third of the news"(Halleck, p. 114).

The changed landscape of news and actuality production, then--including a Sandinista framing of "elite" and "popular" church practice--constituted a clear break with the pre-overthrow period, while at the same time, the populace could continue to engage with television, radio, cinema and print media without necessarily choosing to engage with Sandinista discourse.

Sandinista-affiliated discourses and authorities were a presence across the socio-cultural terrain, and were integral to the articulation of a Sandinista hegemony irreducible to state and party practice, or to the practice of a "nationalist elite" with a formation entirely distinct

from that of popular sectors. At the same time, the socio-cultural articulation of Sandinismo was bound up with the vanguardist structure of authority and the internal tensions within the FSLN DN; and the formation of the leadership was at some distance from that of popular sectors, especially that of the most marginalized of campesino sectors.

Despite the centralization of authority, there was significant diversity in media landscapes, even as a public sphere celebration of Sandinismo worked to articulate a Sandinista hegemony.

Conclusion

Sandinista hegemony was not constituted by an imposition of a singular political discourse in public text, nor by an effort to impose singularity in political and socio-cultural institutions and forms of production; nor can it be simply defined as the practice of a "nationalist elite" with a cultural formation distinct from that of "the people." There is a basis, in both discursive and institutional terms, for affirming the much-remarked "heterogeneity" of Sandinismo, and its resonance with popular cultural formations already in place prior to the ascendancy of the FSLN. The Sandinista nation-building project integrated contrasting logics of political representation; economic policy set out a major place for private production as well as state enterprises;

representations of revolutionary identity referenced multiple paths to such (nationalist, Marxist and Christian commitments); and, in distinction from practice in other Marxist state systems, Christians were accorded a strong presence in government and were recognized as having a major role in the articulation of Sandinismo more generally.

Nevertheless: the Sandinista nation-building project was, in political/institutional terms, articulated largely by way of corporativist structures of political representation entailing a Marxist-Leninist conception of a vanguard as representative of "the people's" historical interests and of the interests of the working class; the FSLN sought and exercised a hegemony over private producers by way of a control over the "commanding heights" of the economy; and Sandinista-affiliated discourses and authorities having a presence across the socio-cultural terrain cannot be collapsed into "the people" more generally. Further--and within the "dispositif" partially charted above--the terms of the discursive construction of collective identity and of a being and becoming of the people incorporated nationalist, Christian and Marxist traditions in a narration of struggle and historical unfolding entailing the discursive operation of a singular predominant figure of revolutionary/citizen identity--Sandino; and a universal identification with the Sandinista project was invited by way of the operation of this figure

and by way of a discourse of national unity in the interests of development. Reference to the imperatives of development operated to manage tensions in the articulation of the means and ends of the Sandinista project and to legitimate the structure and undertakings of FSLN authority; and a Marxist-inflected and developmentalist knowledge of historical unfolding as proceeding according to a "logic of necessity" both issued from and sustained the institutional structures of power, as did the dissemination of FSLN and Sandinista constructions of collective identity.

Endnotes

1 The Sandinista Popular Army and the police force both had "political sections led by Sandinista Assembly members, in addition to internal FSLN and Sandinista Youth structures" to facilitate the "permanent political education program" a 1979 FSLN document had planned for within the security forces (Gilbert, 1988, p. 63). The army's message emphasized "the revolution's commitment to the poor and the identification of the EPS with Sandino's earlier anti-imperialist crusade"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 63).

2 In 1980, a band of former National Guardsmen began conducting raids into Nicaragua. This group, commanded by Colonel Enriquez Bermudez, was to become the FDN (Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense), part of the incipient contra movement, which had received seed money from the CIA as early as May 1981 (Gilbert, 1988, p. 164).

Ronald Reagan replaced Jimmy Carter as President of the U.S. in January of 1981, having been elected on a platform that "in thinly veiled language, urged efforts to depose the FSLN"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 163). The first major contra attacks followed in early 1982. The FDN's CIA handlers

were well aware of contra human rights abuses and bore some responsibility for them. In 1983, the official in charge of the contras operation acknowledged in a closed briefing for staff members of the House

Intelligence Committee that the contras had murdered "civilians and Sandinista officials in the provinces, as well as heads of cooperatives, nurses, doctors and judges." (Gilbert, 1988, p. 166)

By 1984, the FDN (Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense), the major beneficiary of the funds channelled to the contras, "had grown to 12,000 well-equipped fighters engaged in attacks on both military and civilian targets"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 165). The FDN rank and file was primarily made up of campesinos and agrarian wage labourers from the northern regions of the country--its principal zone of operations. While "some were former guardsmen or members of families with National Guard ties (the north was an important recruiting area for the guard), most claimed objections to Sandinista rural policies as their principal reasons for joining the contras"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 165). Early surveillance of the population in areas of contra infiltration was also frequently cited as a reason for joining.

While the FDN was not the only "contra" force active against the Sandinistas, "it eclipsed all others in size and level of activity, including the Costa Rica-based forces led by former Sandinista hero Eden Pastora...and two smaller groups of Miskito Indian fighters on the Atlantic coast"(Gilbert, 1988, p. 165). The north-eastern region of the country, where the Miskito population was concentrated, became one of the major war fronts.

3 Some leaders of Miskito combatant groups had initially participated in MISURASATA ("Miskitos, Sumu, and Rama with the Sandinistas"), represented in the Council of State. The war

introduced deep political differentiations within the Miskito leadership. MISURASATA was broken up into three conflicting factions. One adopted the name of MISURA (Miskitos, Sumus, and Ramas), allied with the counterrevolution based in Honduras, and closely dependant on U.S government agencies and former National Guard members. Another retained the name of MISURASATA and was tied to the counterrevolution based in Costa Rica, with ambivalent relations with the U.S. government. A third group chose to stay in Nicaragua and fight on political and ideological grounds...Later on, the amnesty for Costeño prisoners...(December 1983)...created the conditions for the formation, in 1984, of a new Miskito organization, MISATAN...identified in general terms with the goals of the revolution. (Vilas, 1989, p. 142)

4 Gilbert observes that:

"Socialism" is the goal of the second phase of the revolution, according to the repeated assertions of party documents and spokesmen. "Our great objective," wrote Fonseca in 1969, "is socialism..." Two key internal documents, the 1977 Platform and the 1979 reunification accord among Sandinista factions, also take "socialism" as the final aim of the revolution. ...the FSLN organized May Day observances in 1982 around the theme: "Defend the revolution, for the construction of socialism." In speeches delivered from 1983 to 1986 before sympathetic audiences, National Directorate members Tirado, Wheelock, and Arce--representing all three of the party's factions---reaffirmed this article of Sandinista faith.

The apparent consensus among the leaders of the FSLN may hide more than it reveals. The Sandinistas have never clearly explained what they mean when they talk of socialism. (Gilbert, 1988, p. 38)

5 The history of the occupation of the office of the Presidency of Nicaragua by Anastasio Somoza García and his two sons was closely related to the history of the establishment and maintenance of the National Guard, a police and military force created in the late 1920s and trained by U.S. marines.

The Guard was intended as a replacement for the Marine force that occupied Nicaragua for most of the period 1912-32. When the Americans departed in 1932, they left the Guard under the command of the first Somoza, Anastasio Somoza García, who soon converted the force into a personal army. From the 1930s until its demise at the time of the Sandinista victory in 1979, the National Guard was always led by a member of the Somoza family. (Gilbert, 1988, p. 2).

Both of Somoza García's sons were educated in American military institutions (La Salle Military Academy, and West Point).

Anastasio Somoza García became President in 1936. While constitutional provisions forbade second terms, he designed various ways of circumventing these provisions. His uncle was installed as President in 1947, and in 1951 Somoza was again inaugurated as President, remaining in this office until his assassination in 1956. His eldest son, Luis Somoza Debayle, then had himself installed as acting president, and ran for office in subsequent elections. The office passed to René Schick in the 1960s, while the younger brother of Luis, Anastasio Somoza Debayle ("Tacho II", or "the second Somoza") retained control of the National Guard, and became

President in 1967. From 1972 to 1974 a "three-man coordinating committee" headed the Congress; this structure had been designed "with the obvious intention that Somoza would subsequently be eligible to run again for the presidency"(Smith, 1993, p. 121). Tacho II held onto Presidential office from 1974 until 1979, resisting Carter administration pressure for his resignation in the late 1970s.

6 The major institutional sites of internal opposition to the Sandinistas in the Pacific region of the country were the Catholic church hierarchy (under Archbishop Obando y Bravo), the daily newspaper La Prensa, and private sector organizations; COSEP, the Supreme Council for Private Enterprise, occupied a central role, and UPANIC, the Union of Agricultural Producers, was another important actor. The FSLN was soon to demonstrate its willingness to take strong action against these institutions, or members of them, when they demonstrated support for the contra forces or verged on doing so.

7 While Spalding's analysis of interviews she conducted with members of the Nicaraguan economic elite found a correlation between economic positioning and positioning vis-a-vis Sandinismo, Spalding also demonstrates that this correlation is far from providing a sufficient account of the range of positions taken. The interviews suggested the significance of family relations and religious formation, amongst other factors. Large producers who became (sometimes briefly) supporters of or sympathetic to Sandinista practice prior to the overthrow referenced various factors involved in this:

Several mentioned the powerful pull of liberation theology espoused by radical teachers at prestigious prep schools, like the Colegio Centroamérica, that were favored by this class. The humiliating taunt by classmates at a U.S. university that his nation was a banana republic under Somoza led another into the protest movement. Age-old feuds going back generations between their families and that of Somoza propelled some into the opposition. In several cases, the loss of a beloved child to a rampaging national guard led elite leaders to repudiate the regime. Some subsequently dropped away, but those who took on leadership roles in the insurrection generally developed a long-term commitment to the cause. (Spalding, 1994, p. 128)

8 Under "Point 2. Popular Power and Nationalization of Riches Usurped." the 1969 Historic Program asserts that (in

my translation):

The Popular Sandinista Revolution will establish the power...which will expropriate and nationalize the large landholdings [latifundios], factories, mining companies and other goods usurped by the yankee monopolies and local countrysellers [los vendepatria locales];... (Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 5)

A subsequent description of the properties and goods to be nationalized references those of "políticos, militares" and "all types of accomplices who have taken advantage of the administrative corruption of the regime that is the enemy of the people [régimen enemigo del pueblo]"(Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 7, my translation).

Under "Point 4. Land for the Peasants", it is asserted that the revolution will expropriate and liquidate "el latifundio capitalista y el latifundio feudal"(11). At the same time, it:

will protect patriotic landowners who collaborate with the guerilla struggle; the land of these owners which exceeds the limit established by the revolutionary agrarian laws will be bought from them so that it may be distributed to the campesinos in need of it.
(Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 10, my translation)

9 This footnote cites numerous statements articulating a "logic of necessity."

Ernesto Cardenal, Minister of Culture under FSLN government (a priest--as was his brother, Fernando Cardenal, who became the second Minister of Education), affirmed that "[God's] judgement is what today is called the class struggle, the struggle that must occur between the exploited and exploiters, from which the exploited and oppressed will emerge as victors as we see them presented in the Final Judgement"("Ernesto Cardenal comenta," quoted in Hodges, 1986, p. 283). In an account of a conversation with Ernesto Cardenal, Lawrence Ferlinghetti attributed to him the remark that "the Sandinista model for the Revolution is neither the Cuban nor the Soviet, and that for himself as a priest the model is the kingdom of God"(Ferlinghetti, 1984, p. 21). "The Gospels," he said, "foresee a classless society. They also foresee the withering away of the state"(Ferlinghetti, 1984, 21).

Exemplifying the inscription, in Second International discourse in the nineteenth century, of a Marxist "logic of necessity," Laclau and Mouffe quote Kautsky's statement that "Our task is not to organize the revolution but to organize ourselves for the revolution, not to make the revolution but to take advantage of it"(1985, p. 22). Over against such

conceptions, militants such as Rosa Luxemburg were to assert that "... (social democrats) must now and always hasten the development of things and endeavour to accelerate events" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 22). However, they were to do this "by making clear to the widest layers of the proletariat the inevitable advent of this revolutionary period, the inner social factors making for it and the political consequences of it" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 10)--by way of an ongoing pedagogical address affirming the truth of the logic of necessity and an inevitable passage to a state of transcendence. The documents in Sandinistas: Key Documents/Documentos Claves post-dating the overthrow evidence little in the way of pedagogical assertions articulating straightforwardly and at length the historical necessity of transcendence and the realization of classless society; what is instead predominant is an insistence on the need to exercise agency in specific ways to maintain and extend the revolution in its present phase, in which the defense of national sovereignty is the priority. However, here and elsewhere, fragments of a Marxist and a Marxist-Leninist narration of history are frequently inscribed, although a logic of necessity (nationalist and Marxist) is most often evoked in the context of statements which tend more towards an "expressivist" than a "pedagogical" mode of address. The passages to follow present several examples.

A speech by FSLN leader Daniel Ortega, delivered to the Sixth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries held in Havana in September of 1979 (see Marcus, 1982), closes with the assertion that:

The people of Sandino are not going to step back from the ground already gained. Our integration with the peoples of Africa and Asia raises our morale in this great battle. The future belongs to the peoples.

The march toward victory will not be stopped!
(Marcus, 1982, p. 52)

A speech by National Directorate member Tomás Borge, delivered on the occasion of the second anniversary of the revolution, in 1981 (see Marcus, 1982), affirms that:

...obviously when we talk about the FSLN, we are not talking about something that is just a political party. We're not talking simply about an armed organization. We are talking about a historic response. We are talking about the indivisible reality of the FSLN and the Nicaraguan people.

As long as this people is militant and proud, as long as this people is made up of heroic workers, as long as the workers and peasants and all revolutionaries are ready to defend the national sovereignty arms in hand, as long as there are

Nicaraguans who love the land where they were born, as long as this people exists, the FSLN will continue to exist.

For this reason, all the efforts of those who were born in Nicaragua but now want to go back to the past, of the bootlickers of the Yankees, will fail. They will never be able to separate the people from their vanguard. (Marcus, 1982, p. 129)

In a speech delivered on the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution ("Sandino Ayer, Sandino Hoy, Sandino Siempre"--"Sandino Yesterday, Sandino Today, Sandino Always"--in Gilbert and Block, 1990), Daniel Ortega asserted that:

These [decades following the 1930s] are years of popular victories and struggles. Pérez Jiménez overthrown in Venezuela. Batista overthrown in Cuba. The struggle of blacks for civil rights in the United States intensifies. Colonialism overthrown in Algeria. The National Liberation Front founded in Vietnam. The independence and struggle of the Congo. Creation of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Strengthening of the United Party of National Independence in Zambia... It was the hour of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. (p. 13, p. 275 in Gilbert and Block, 1990, my translation)

In a 1981 closing address to a "meeting of specialists" (see Gilbert and Block, 1990), National Directorate member and army and militia commander Humberto Ortega stated that:

...the revolutionary forces in this century have succeeded in defeating, little by little, the exploitation and oppression of man by man which across thousands of years and social processes has been exercised on the humble, the people. Man had to pass by way of harsh social conditions that drove the system of slavery, that drove the feudal system, succeeding finally in breaking with the brutal forms of feudal exploitation and of exploitation under slavery. The French revolution in 1789 signified a historic revolutionary leap leaving behind the most brutal forms of exploitation and oppression, and capitalism in this sense represented an advance of humanity over the most backward forms of exploitation and of relations of production, while nevertheless capitalism did not achieve the historic leap of eliminating forever the exploitation of man by man.

Capitalism developed the forces of production in a formidable manner and made technology and the economy advance, but nevertheless conserved in its structure

the exploitation of one class by another. At the opening of the twentieth century, for the first time it was given to humanity to make a reality of the theory of Marx and Engels, to create a society without classes, in which it was possible to move towards the elimination forever of the exploitation of man by man; and this is the great October Revolution: the Bolshevik Revolution directed by Lenin.

Humanity has continued to advance and at the moment of the triumph of the Popular Sandinista Revolution, the 19th of July 1979, the historical development of society is to be found polarized, in two great camps, on one side the camp of imperialism, the camp of capitalism led by the United States and the rest of the capitalist countries of Europe and the world, and on the other side the socialist camp, composed of various countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America, vanguardized by the Soviet Union. (p. 9, p. 296 in Gilbert and Block, 1990, my translation)

In an article published in May of 1982 in El Nuevo Diario, one of Nicaragua's three daily papers (reprinted in Gilbert and Block, 1990)--"Te cumplimos Carlos: Aquí está tu clase obrera" ["We have realized your vision Carlos: Here is your working class"]--DN member Tomás Borge stated that:

When we came..towards the Plaza of the Revolution...much of the way we walked between the workers...And we reflected a little on the symbolism...We did not come at the head of the workers, we came amongst the workers, and at the head...came the working class...

But we reflected on something else; the multitude was so tightly compressed, the working mass so compact and combatative, that if Daniel and I had wanted to retreat--something which will never occur--this working mass would never have let us take one step back. (Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 314, my translation)

10 This endnote maps a number of direct and implicit references to the interests of the working class, and to the Marxist-Leninist conceptual grounding of FSLN practice, across four FSLN-authored texts (two from the second half of the 1970s, and two from the early post-overthrow period). These texts are all included in Sandinistas: Key Documents/Documentos Claves (eds. Gilbert and Block), as photocopies of the original Spanish versions. The translations below are my own. I note both the page numbers of the original documents, and the additional page numbers they are given in Gilbert and Block's compilation.

In addition, see a lengthy quote in footnote 4 of Chapter Three, written in the 1970s at the time when the three tendencies of the FSLN were engaged in a bitter dispute. The citation is from a position statement written by the Proletarian Tendency. The practice of the latter tendency, "based on the theory of scientific socialism, is rooted in the proletariat and stresses its dominant role in the revolutionary process."

The Plataforma General, written by the FSLN National Directorate in 1977, affirms that "Our cause...is the sacred historical cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Sandino"(32;54). The "political-military thought of Sandinino," in combination with the "scientific doctrine of the proletariat" ("la doctrina científica del proletariado"), were made known to the masses as the struggle developed(26;51). The Sandinista Front is "guided by the ideology of the proletariat and the historical legacy of Sandino"(29;52). The Sandinista revolution has a "profoundly popular government." "It is a popular government, because it will represent all the sectors of the people and the nation, and not exclusively the proletariat"(35;55). The revolution is revolutionary-democratic, because it will lead us to "al socialismo," to the "total and definitive liberation from the yoke of oppression and exploitation"(35;55). "The working class, synthesized and guided by its vanguard, the FSLN, will direct the revolution"(36;56). Other sectors will be brought together around "the ideology and interests of the most revolutionary class, the Nicaraguan proletariat"(39;57).

In the Unity Accord signed by the three tendencies of the FSLN in 1979, it is asserted that "we consider that, in the march towards a free and socialist society, we must first succeed in accomplishing a step that is revolutionary-democratic and popular"(Gilbert and Block p. 68).

In the FSLN's "Analysis of the Conjuncture and Tasks of the Sandinista Popular Revolution," written in October 1979, shortly after the revolutionary victory, there is a section entitled "The Problem of the Character of Our Revolution." The first line under this subtitle states that "We must avoid unnecessary theoretical discussions and attend directly to the concrete things threatening...our Sandinista Popular Revolution"(14;88). There is no mention of Marx, Marxist-Leninism, or the "ideology of the proletariat," but there is reference to the "march towards definitive emancipation" which is to follow "the step of democratic transition"(18;92). The party will be built with a "certain class position" and a "scientific ideology"(29;103). There is reference to "the revolutionary ideology"(32;106).

In an article that was published in the Sandinista daily Barricada in March of 1980 ("Sandinismo is not 'democratism'"), the FSLN affirmed "the classist and anti-imperialist character of Sandinismo"(Gilbert and Block, 111), Sandinismo is "the expression of the interests of the

workers and campesinos"(Gilbert and Block, 111).

11 See the texts in Sandinistas: Key Documents/ Documentos Claves (Gilbert and Block, 1990).

12 See Palmer (1988), Hodges (1986). and Whisnant (1995).

13 See statements by Ernesto Cardenal quoted at length in Berryman (1984), in Randall (1981), and in Hodges (1986).

14 Public space--the site of graffiti, murals, billboards, posters, performance, and political gatherings--was also replete with striking architectural and geographic signifiers of transformation, eruption and struggle. Nicaragua's volcanos figured large within revolutionary literature; and in Managua the continuing visual evidence of the devastation wrought by the great earthquake of 1972, in which some 10,000 people had died, was particularly resonant with political associations. Somoza had profited from the earthquake by drawing off much of the international relief aid channelled to the country, and by ensuring that construction contracts went to Somocista businesses. This post-earthquake profiteering was a strong factor in the exacerbation of antagonism between Nicaraguan elite sectors and the Somoza regime, and in the gathering rage of popular sectors, who witnessed it against the background of the human and material loss which had been wrought by the earthquake, and which had worsened the already-precarious conditions of survival of the city's poor.

The old commercial centre of Managua, destroyed in 1972, was not restored. The area beside Lake Managua where it had stood, an expanse of ruins and empty fields dotted with some surviving buildings, was to become the site of the "Plaza of the Revolution," where major political gatherings of hundreds of thousands of people were held. The front of the old Managua cathedral--its roof and some of its interior structure destroyed in the quake--loomed up as the shell of a former identity. Once a central site of the practice of a Catholic hierarchy with a long history of support for the status-quo under Somoza, from 1979 to 1988 it provided the backdrop for a larger-than-life, full-length portrait of Sandino hung over the entrance.

15 Referencing the terrain of audio-visual production, and the case of the well-equipped van for the filming of the Cara Al Pueblo public meetings, the "envy of the other video producers of Managua," Halleck notes the limited sharing of

resources, limited communications, and competitiveness amongst the various organizations in audio-visual production. "There are healthy aspects to the independence of the various groups--there is no monolithic look to Nicaraguan video--but all the groups would benefit from more sharing of resources"(Halleck, 1986, p. 119).

16 The illiteracy rate at the time of the overthrow was estimated at more than 50% of the population, and at 85% in some rural areas. Much of the literature asserts that radio was to remain the most important form of communication in terms of accessibility. Armand Mattelart (1986) estimated that in 1984, "there were 200,000 television sets in Nicaragua for a population of 3 million, half of which were in Managua," and that "television is now available in two-thirds of Nicaragua"(p. 11).

There were three national daily newspapers, Barricada, produced by the FSLN, Nuevo Diario, which was produced by a cooperative aligned with the revolution, and La Prensa. The latter was both subject to state censorship and suspended on a number of occasions under state of emergency laws; Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto's explanation of the rationale for the 1986 suspension, as recounted by Salman Rushdie, was that "all countries have the right to censor the press in wartime; La Prensa was being financed by the CIA; it was an important part of the U.S. strategy of opening up an internal front"(Rushdie, 1988, p. 68).

Nicaragua was

bombarded by foreign radio stations, many of which were opposed to the revolution, if not actively pro-contra. In 1985 some 75 foreign AM and FM radio stations could be heard throughout the national territory. There were 41 national radio stations, of which 22 were private, and 21 localised radio stations operated by the Nicaraguan public broadcasting corporation (CORADEP). Twenty private radio news programmes and 21 state programmes were registered with the government's media office. The controversial Radio Catolica, which was shut down on occasion by the government for its support of the counterrevolution, was owned by the Catholic hierarchy in the diocese of Managua, and controlled by Cardinal Obando y Bravo and his media director... (Smith, 1993, p. 158)

The state-owned television system, the Sistema Sandinista (SSTV), programmed two channels; nine stations from neighbouring countries could also be received in the country, although not across the full national territory. Eighty percent of the state channel programming was imported, with local production largely limited to "news,

game shows and some advertisements"(Mattelart, 1986, p. 11).

Chapter Three: The "New Man" in FSLN Policy Statements, Public Text and Cultural Production, and Within the "New Marxism"

In the preceding chapter I charted the broad discursive and institutional terms of the articulation of the Sandinista project. In the present chapter I focus in on a particular discursive formation figuring within this articulation, and on some of its conditions of possibility.

In the first of the two sections I situate the construction of the figure of the "new man" (el hombre nuevo)--a figure of ideal revolutionary/citizen subjectivity--within a "New Marxist" tradition in Latin America. I chart some of the conditions of its development in relation to Marxist narratives of historical unfolding, and I indicate the terms of this knowledge of subjectivity which was operative in the articulation of Sandinismo.

The second section supports the argument that such a knowledge was in fact operative in the articulation of Sandinismo. I chart and analyze linguistic and visual representations of the figure of the "new man," as they demonstrate the "regularity in dispersion" of a discursive formation.

Inscriptions of and references to this figure were broadly situated across Nicaraguan society and across a "state/civil society" divide. Policy statements affirmed the intent to produce subjects in the image of the "new man." In such statements and elsewhere, the "new man" was constructed

as the origin, means and end of the Sandinista project, and in dichotomous and Manichean terms (over against an individualist subject); and this figure was so constructed, both at a high level of abstraction, and as embodied in particular male figures--in Christian, Marxist and nationalist terms alike.

Further, I consider some of the tensions and antagonisms within Sandinismo and across Nicaraguan society more generally as they related to the terms of construction of this figure of an ideal subject.

In concluding this chapter opening, I wish to mention something which I do not address, and to theorise some of the implications of my analysis in this chapter. The theorisation below relates to the arguments of the thesis as a whole, as they reference the position of the most marginalized of campesino sectors. Further, it relates to dynamics which receive limited attention in the thesis. My analysis contributes to feminist critique of Sandinismo, and is also pertinent in the light of critiques advanced from the standpoint of peoples in the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua.

As Denis Gilbert observed in his book on the Sandinistas written in the 1980s, "Sandinista spokesmen seem entirely unself-conscious about applying the phrase *el hombre nuevo* collectively to men and women" (1988, p. 38). Although there was reference to the "new woman," this was

limited, and reference to the "new man" was not taken to be gender exclusive. Reference to "man" was considered as a non-problematic reference all persons, even as it was the case that, in linguistic and visual representations "embodying" the "new man," male figures predominated. While it would be interesting to consider constructions of figures of ideal revolutionary/citizen subjectivity representing a specifically "female" version of such, in the analysis which follows I have merely alluded to them. This is so because my analysis in the thesis is not focused on contestation, from within Sandinismo, of the gendered nature of constructions of subjectivity, and certainly not because I do not consider this dynamic to be of considerable importance and interest. My analysis does, however, contribute to feminist critique of Sandinismo, in two ways. I briefly consider the evacuation of the figure of the mother in representations of Sandinista myths of origin; and I address gender in the course of theorizing, in the paragraphs to follow, the effectivity of a power/knowledge formation posing a subject with a "collectivist" orientation over against an "individualist" subject.

My critique is not informed by a negative valuation of a "collectivist orientation." The issue is not the value of such, but rather, the terms of its social construction. As some work within the post-modern turn in social theory has emphasised, social movement practice is indicative of the

possibility of identification with more than one "imagined community," or "imagined collectivity." Some sites of socialist practice have both affirmed the validity and importance of "multiple identifications," while insisting that these terms of affinity be subordinated to a primary identification with a "revolutionary collectivity," or "revolutionary subjectivity," constructed in a certain manner. Identification with a class and/or a national-popular formation has been deemed paramount, and the definition of what it means to identify in such a way has been represented as something fixed--as pre-given. ¹

Sandinista discourse, at the outset of the post-overthrow period and following this, validated the cultural affirmation of the indigenous Miskitu people of the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua, and validated commitments on the part of some Sandinista women to work specifically focused on the emancipation and concerns of women. However, people were still expected to subordinate such affirmation and such commitments to commitment to a Sandinista revolutionary project in the context of which the means to advance the "collective interest" of all were to be defined by the vanguard leadership. My critical take on this dynamic accords: with certain retrospective critiques of the Sandinismo of the 1980s as advanced by prominent Sandinista women; with the positioning Hale takes up in his study of the Miskitu indigenous people on the Atlantic Coast of

Nicaragua; and with certain "campesinista" positionings. ² My positioning entails a recognition of the possibility of contingently articulating a revolutionary project and subject, by way of a more open process for the definition of collective identity/identities, and a more open process for the determination of the means by way of which shared collective aspirations might be achieved. Various visions of "collectivist orientation(s)," and of the identity and struggles of particular social groups, may be accorded substantial authority in the (ongoing) articulation of a conjunctural unity posed over against a shared danger or difficulty. Those who participate in the construction of this unity can have a "collectivist orientation" defined in complex terms, with reference to more than one collectivity, and their being does not need to be reduced to such an orientation.

The discursive formation mapped in this chapter constructed an ideal revolutionary/citizen subject with a collectivist orientation in binary opposition to an individualist subject. This construction was problematic because it was embedded in a power/knowledge formation, and because of its binary nature and its level of abstraction.

People were considered to be in one of three positions: fully "on side" with a naturalized power/knowledge system which had already constructed the proper commitments and nature of subjects with a "collectivist orientation"; in a

position of being limited, to a greater or lesser degree, by a "false consciousness" that was the legacy of the past; and "against" the revolutionary project due to active identification with a counter-revolutionary positioning.

There was a pre-empting of the discursive space for constructing and validating positionings which, without advancing any wholesale dismissal of the value of "collectivist orientation(s)," questioned the pre-given terms of the definition of the revolutionary subject and project. This limited the extent to which certain feminist, indigenous and campesinista positionings could be, and were, broadly asserted, diffused, valued, heard, and made more influential in the elaboration of policy and the articulation of collective identity.

The New Man Within the New Marxism

What was to become known as the "New Marxism" took, as major points of reference: developments in Cuba during and following the overthrow of the Batista regime in the late 1950s; the pronouncements and practice of Ernesto "Che" Guevara; and, in its "Sandinista" articulation--beginning with the founding of the FSLN in the early 1960s--FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca's construction of the Nicaraguan nationalist hero Augusto César Sandino. ³ The New Marxism sought to affirm the possibility and desirability of revolutionary agency, as exercised in armed struggle, in

"backward" conditions in Latin America; it contested the line of Latin American communist parties, as they prescribed a practice attendant upon the unfolding of the presumed contradiction between the forces and relations of production, and on the production of local instances of the universal subject of history--an industrial proletariat. Armed struggle within Latin American conditions had been cast as adventurist. ⁴ The Sandinista articulation of a "New Marxism"--of a practice to be advanced by the "New Man"--thus invites a partial understanding as a response to particular conceptions of "development" and struggle within a narrative of the necessary unfolding of history as a totality.

In the standard Marxist terms, the New Marxism was to shift the degree of emphasis placed on "objective conditions" by emphasizing, over against this, "subjective conditions," including nationalist/anti-imperialist sentiment. Even as the modernization of production continued to be seen as vital, there was a change in the extent to which it was taken to precede the widespread production of a revolutionary subjectivity focused on ends beyond a "bourgeois-democratic" or a "popular-democratic" revolution. (Such revolution had been taken to be the necessary first step in a "two-step" revolutionary process.) Traditions of armed struggle in Latin America were taken as the carriers

of a significance inadequately understood within more orthodox Marxist traditions.

As is elaborated in endnote two of this chapter, a bitter conflict between three factions of the FSLN, a conflict which began in the mid-seventies and which was formally resolved by the signing of a unity accord in 1979, might be described as in significant part the product of differing positionings in relation to "New Marxist" thought and practice. (In this same time period, the organizations which were to come to make up the FMLN the revolutionary front in El Salvador--were also engaged in dispute.) The FSLN as it came to be in the 1970s and 1980s was hardly representative of a "pure" New Marxist thought and practice, even as it followed very substantially within a New Marxist tradition.

As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the level of agro-industrial and industrial development (or modernization) in Nicaragua at the outset of Sandinista government had been articulated as precluding the possibility of a massive and egalitarian redistribution of wealth by way of the state seizure of the bulk of the means of production. This articulation may be taken in part as a matter of convenience for the FSLN in negotiating the contingencies of the correlation of forces while maintaining its commitment to socialism as the end of the Sandinista project--even as the decision to maintain expropriated

Somocista lands as state farms found a rationale in socialist logic. Yet whatever the extent to which the contingencies of the moment were taken to limit the possibilities of producing a socialist variant of the modern person in the context of changed productive forms and relationships, and despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of landless and land-poor campesinos were cast as in a process of "incomplete proletarianization" and consequently as not yet possessing a fully-developed proletarian consciousness, a socialist variant of the modern person was taken to have had a presence in advance of full-blown socio-economic change. Subjects formed in struggle had already developed dispositions to sacrifice themselves in the advancement of the general interest, and understood their identities predominantly within the framework of the (true, popular) nation and its global position--as they followed in the path of Sandino. (The years of educational work the FSLN had done had widely disseminated a Sandinista narrative of national history, inviting popular sectors to articulate their experience to it--though, as will be seen in Part Two of the thesis, identification with this narration in the countryside proved to be patchy.) Thus, a certain knowledge of subjectivity developed in conjunction and disjunction with more orthodox Marxist traditions--and underwritten with reference to the mass insurgency in various regions of Nicaragua in the years prior to the

overthrow of Somoza--was to become operative in the articulation of the Sandinista nation-building project; it both issued from and sustained and legitimated the institutions of power, and it was to draw considerable strength from its tight articulation with Christian traditions.

The usage of the term "the new man" has a long history in both Christian and Marxist traditions; it dated from the discourse of the earliest Christians, and figured in Soviet state discourse, as a reference to the ideal type of the subject the communist state was to produce. It was also to become a central term in the pronouncements of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, which were influential during and following Guevara's participation in the armed struggle to overthrow the Batista regime in Cuba in the late 1950s. Guevara was killed in Bolivia in 1967, in the course of a failed effort to practice his theory that the Cuban example could and should be repeated elsewhere--that, given certain parameters, a small group of armed revolutionaries based in the mountains and countryside could in relatively short time inspire the emergence of and gain the adherence of a critical mass of "peasant" and popular militants. "Foco" theory was to become subject to ongoing critique in the context of numerous military debacles in Latin America in the 1960s (in Nicaragua, Bolivia, Guatemala, and elsewhere), while at the same time revolutionary discourse constructed

an aura around the figure of Guevara, who was taken to personify the "new man." ⁵ Jean-Paul Sarte was to refer to him as "the most complete human being of our age" (Anderson, 1997).

The "new man," as Guevara articulated this figure, was to make his presence felt both as a guerilla fighting to overthrow existing regimes, and as a subject within newly-established socialist states--a subject making up for unpropitious conditions for modernization due to underdevelopment in the periphery. This subject was central to the overcoming of all obstacles on the path to an envisioned socialist future. "Whether Che is discussing the theory of value, the danger of bureaucratism, the cadres of the revolution, the qualities of the young Communist, the building of the party, this [the new man] is the thread that all his thoughts follow" (R.F. Retamar, "Prologo" to Obra revolucionaria [Ernesto Guevara], p. 18). This figure was understood as the "dialectical negation of the individual of capitalist society" (Lowry, 1973, p. 26), and was integral to the articulation of what, in the course of the 1960s, became known as the New Marxism.

Constructions of the figure of Sandino as a prototype of the revolutionary guerilla also contributed to a New Marxist tradition. Sandino had ultimately been denounced by the Communist International of his day as a petty-bourgeois "caudillo" ("strongman"), who envisioned struggle in

Nicaragua merely as a struggle against foreign occupation (by the American Marines), and not as a struggle against imperialism and for the ultimate massive redistribution of property. In the early sixties, founding members of the FSLN broke off their involvement with a Moscow-line PSN (Nicaraguan Socialist Party) which shared this view of Sandino, and opted definitively for armed struggle, affirming the continuity of their struggle with that of Sandino, and taking inspiration from the Cuban revolution. Carlos Fonseca, recounting this period in the late sixties, asserted in "Nicaragua: Zero Hour" that:

Between 1959 and 1962, some of the components of the FSLN retained the illusion that it was possible to accomplish a change in the pacifistic line of the leadership of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party. In the year 1962 this illusion was dissolved in practice with the establishment of the Sandinista Front as an independent grouping... (rpt. and translated in Marcus, 1982, p. 34)

Notably, Fonseca did not represent armed struggle as a new choice, but as an "interrupted tradition":

The principle characteristic of the period from the assassination of Sandino in 1934 until the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was the interruption of the traditional armed struggle as a systematic tactic to fight the ruling regime. (Marcus, 1982, p. 32)

This constructs a historical continuity of Latin American revolutionary practice, with the Cuban revolution and its Marxism being seamlessly stitched in; and it works to displace an "old" Marxism from any centrality within this tradition.

The figure of Sandino was clearly of interest to Fonseca due to Sandino's nationality and Latin American identity, and in terms of "Sandino's" symbolic potentiality as the carrier of a meaning beyond such geographically-situated identity--within a total world history of a resistance knowing no borders. Fonseca's constructions of this figure may thus be taken as a discursive hinge between nationalism, Christianity and Marxism, evoking as they did an essential resisting subject present across history--and fated to exercise agency within a history understood as unfolding according to a logic of necessity. (See endnote one of this chapter.)

In his 1971 pamphlet, El Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional, Fonseca wrote that "Nicaragua's popular rebellions, and particularly the colossal Sandinista rebellion, could not culminate in a definitive liberation...There was an absence of sufficient penetration of scientific socialist ideas into the country"(quoted and translated in Palmer, 1988, p. 100). This absence, specifically, was not referenced in "Nicaragua: Zero Hour (1969)--but in the latter text there is a reference to the

"lack of a deepgoing revolutionary consciousness" and to an "ideological obscurantism inherited from the colonial epoch" which prevented "the people from marching with full consciousness toward struggle for social change"(Marcus, 1982, p. 29).

The vanguardist organizations of the "New Marxism" were to continue the Leninist representation of Marxist-Leninist vanguards as the repository of science and rationality, introducing rationality into a primal force, a class in itself. Lenin had written in What is to be done? that:

Socialism, in so far as it is the ideology of struggle of the proletarian class, undergoes the general conditions of birth, development and consolidation of any ideology, that is to say it is founded on all the material of human knowledge, it presupposes a high level of science, scientific work, etc....In the class struggle of the proletariat which develops spontaneously, as an elemental force, on the basis of capitalist relations, socialism is introduced by the ideologists. (From What is to be done?, quoted in Williams, 1977, p. 69)

(As William notes, the term "ideology" is not used here in opposition to a "true, scientific knowledge" of Marxism, as it frequently came to be in Marxist writings.) The statement quoted above accords to "ideologists," in their role as the carriers of science, the task of integration of a

separately-developed "head" and "body." In some distinction from this, the armed revolutionary vanguards of the New Marxism--in Fonseca's terms, the "motor force of the revolutionary movement"--themselves occupied the space of (symbolically constituted their being within) the "elemental force"; they were the site of an embodiment of the essence of the resisting subject, and joined "head" and "body" within their own persons and the figure of the guerilla. At the same time, they clearly had to meet up with, to become conjoined with, and to "bring science" to the mass embodiment of the elemental force--while acting as the catalyst to its emergence.

The symbolic construction of armed vanguards as the site of a conjoining of head and body worked as a powerful legitimation of vanguard authority. And the construction of the figure of the "new man"--a construction "supplementing" orthodox Marxist categories as they limited the possibilities for the exercise of socialist revolutionary agency in Latin America--was such that this "suppliment" became quite central.

What was cast as an ongoing and fated presence across history--an essence of the resisting, self-sacrificing subject--was taken to be widely present at the outset of Sandinista government, and as determining the predisposition of the popular mass to the sacrifice explicitly requested of them--a sacrifice not just in military defense of 'la

patria,' but also in the interests of advancing a national development project. Nicaraguans following in the path of Sandino were taken to have an identification with the interests of the collectivity--the national-popular nation--and the FSLN as the repository of science would determine the means to advance the historical interests of this collectivity, building upon and extending the presence of a "New Man" understood as the "dialectical negation of the individual of capitalist society."

As I will argue in the section to follow, the new man was taken as both a pre-existing presence and a subject to be formed.

The "New Man" in FSLN Policy Statements, Public Text and Cultural Production

In Nicaragua following the overthrow of Somosa, educational policy documents elaborated, as a legitimate and as a central objective, the formation of subjects in the image of the "new man"; and official statements of cultural policy and on religion cast the means and ends of cultural transformation and struggle with reference to the increased presence of such a subject. The creation of the "new man"--and "new woman"--was celebrated and/or called for, in posters put out by the Ministry of Social Welfare and AMNLAE (the Sandinista mass organization for women), and in mass organization slogans. The figure of the new man was

referenced and constructed in statements and speeches by FSLN DN members, and in range of forms of cultural production. Claimed by state and party institutions as an integral aspect of the Sandinista project, creation of the new man had also been positively referenced in a statement of the early months of the post-overthrow period signed by Archbishop Obando and the Nicaraguan bishops; and CEB (Christian Base Community) member statements were to continue making like affirmations.

Representations of this ideal subject are positioned across two poles of "embodiment" or personification of the "new man"--in Christ as traditionally represented in nativity scenes and elsewhere, and in "the revolutionary" (Sandino, and the guerilla). The most abstract linguistic constructions of this figure, in binary terms posing a subject fully identified with the interests of a collectivity over against an individualist subject, figure within the constitution of a conceptual ground whose moments of highest level of abstraction both enable and are enabled by the multiple articulations of this figure, in "nationalist," "Marxist," and "Christian" terms alike, in less abstract terms. Represented as both "outside" and "inside" history--as a fated and continuous ontological presence and as a willed choice or "production" in a process of becoming--the presumed presence of the new man precedes and provides a legitimation for efforts to produce such a

subject. An exemplary figure of self-sacrificing subjectivity whose coming was to ensure the fundamental transformation of society, the new man was at once the partisan champion of national-popular and working-class interests, and a transhistorical and cosmological presence irreducible to such--an aspect of being and becoming fated to unfold within history.

Articulations of the Sandinista project as a project for the creation of the new man were particularly prominent in the field of education, and in statements as to the objectives of education. The first Minister of Education, Carlos Tunnerman, stated in a 1979 speech entitled "Hacia una nueva educación" ("Towards a New Education") that:

The new Nicaragua also needs a new man who has stripped himself of selfishness and egotism, who places social interests before individual interests. A new man who knows that the contribution that each individual can make to the community is very important and that the individual is most fulfilled when he works within the collectivity. (Quoted and translated in Gilbert, 1988, p. 39)

In an official statement on the "new education" ("Fines, Objetivos y Principios de la Nueva Educación," published in El Nuevo Diario, 1 March 1983, reprinted in Gilbert and Block, 1990), the Junta de Gobierno affirmed the following, under the first point, "FINES" (in my translation, emphasis

in original text):

The objectives of the New Education in Nicaragua are:

To fully and comprehensively form the personality of the New Man, permanently under construction, suited to promote and to contribute to the process of transformation that is from day to day building the New Society. This Nicaraguan New Man, who has been constructing himself since the beginning of the process of liberation of our people, is formed on the basis of our reality, of the creative work and the historical circumstances which we are living.

Education must develop the intellectual, physical, moral, aesthetic and spiritual capacities of the New Man. According to the results of the National Consultation on the Ends and Objectives of Education, the qualities and values which make up the Nicaraguan New Man are the following:

a) Politically:

Patriotic, revolutionary, supportive of and committed to the interests of the workers and campesinos, in particular, and with the wider working masses which make up our people in general; anti-imperialist,

internationalist, against all forms of exploitation originating from internal and external factors, against racism, discrimination and oppression; promoter of the unity of the nation around our working classes [nuestras classes trabajadores], of campesino workers for national sovereignty, social progress, justice, goodwill/detente [la distensión] and peace in the region and the world.

b) Socially and morally:

Responsible, disciplined, creative, cooperative, hard-working and efficient; of high moral, civic and spiritual principles, gifted with critical and self-critical capacity; with a scientific vision of the world and of society; with a disposition for aesthetic appreciation and artistic expression; who recognizes and values the dignity of manual as well as intellectual work; understanding of the importance of the conservation, defense and improvement of the environment and the quality of life; respectful, humanitarian, free, honourable, truthful, sincere, brotherly, modest, self-sacrificing, objective, knowing that individual interests must coincide with social and national interests, who will develop a strong spirit of sacrifice and abnegation to defend the country and the

revolution. (Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 243)

The "New Man" is here represented as a subject existing prior to the formation of the new state and society and making it possible, and as a subject to be constructed; and reference to "the National Consultation on the Ends and Objectives of Education" is such as to cast the project for the creation of the new man as the product of a broad consensus. The new man has both a "scientific vision of the world and of society" and an exemplary spiritual being.

The passage quoted articulates no necessary tension or space for negotiation between individual and collective interests, nor problems in the definition of such, but rather suggests that the former can and should be fully collapsed into the latter; the new man is constructed in binary opposition to the "individualist" subject.

In the latter official statement of educational policy the new man is not constructed as "Christian man" specifically, but rather has been shaped within the "Nicaraguan people's" historical reality. Revolutionary Christians were, however, a strong presence within the field of education--a situation which displeased militant atheists within the FSLN. In the first half of the 1980s, the FSLN appointed two prominent Christians to the post of Minister of Education--Carlos Tunnerman, the first Minister, and Padre Fernando Cardenal--and educational policy--along with active support for the revolutionary project--was repeatedly

articulated as in keeping with the values of Christian society. Fernando Cardenal--the brother of Ernesto Cardenal, Minister of Culture, who was likewise a priest--had previously been the director of the mass literacy crusade of 1980, working in the context of this project in close conjunction with a Ministry of Education under the directorship of Tunnerman. Several statements by Cardenal in regard to the literacy campaign are considered in Part Two of the thesis.

In contrast to the document quoted above, Ministry of Culture statements of purpose did not feature the creation of an ideal subject as a central objective. ⁶ Nevertheless, it is affirmed in a statement quoted below that state interventions in the field of culture were to figure within an eventual, full arrival at the Nicaragua of the New Man. Citing "formal statements of purpose attached to the ministry's earliest budgets," Whisnant quotes a 1981 statement by the Ministry of Culture asserting that "the cultural task":

is an ideological activity which will carry with it a profound restructuring of the character, functions and ends of the culture...For the period of transition, the Ministry of Culture positions itself between the Nicaragua we inherited--dispossessed and distanced from its own identity--and the Nicaragua of the new man, owner of his own culture, owner of his own values.

(Whisnant, 1995, p. 239, emphasis added, Whisnant's translation)

The end to be reached is here, again, assured by a pre-existing presence, an authentic Nicaraguan culture of which the New Man is expressive. The new state institutions will enable this presence to thrive and to expand across the breadth of the national society.

The FSLN DN's official 1980 statement on religion (translated in Marcus as "The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua") represents the creation of the new man as the project of many peoples in struggle, implying though not directly asserting that such a creation figures among the "rights and duties" of the whole of the Nicaraguan populace:

Building Nicaragua's future is a historic challenge that transcends our borders and inspires other peoples in their struggle for liberation and to create the new man, and it is a right and a duty of all Nicaraguans, regardless of their religious beliefs. (Marcus, 1982, p. 111, emphasis added)

The latter sentences are immediately followed by the closing slogans of the document--"Sandino Yesterday, Sandino Today, Sandino Always! Free Homeland or Death! Free Homeland or Death!" The former slogan, which came to figure regularly in the closure of FSLN documents and political discourse, was a rewriting of a biblical passage--"Christ yesterday, Christ today, Christ always"(Hebrews 13:8). The placement of

the slogan, and the associations it evokes, is such as to invite an immediate, imaginary "concretization" of the abstraction ("the new man") which had just been referenced--an imagined embodiment of this subject in the person of Sandino and of Christ.

This particular FSLN slogan met with the outraged response of the Catholic hierarchy and with counter-publicity, including billboards reproducing the biblical passage. However, the Catholic Church hierarchy in Nicaragua--Archbishop Obando y Bravo and the six other Nicaraguan bishops--had in the immediate post-overthrow period themselves signed a document affirming the legitimacy and desirability of a revolutionary project for the creation of the "new man"; a pastoral letter of November 1979, signed by Obando and the bishops, asserted that:

We would like to begin with a word about what the revolutionary process has accomplished, which prompts us to:

...

c) See in the joy of a poor people, who for the first time in long years feel that their own country belongs to them, the expression of revolutionary creativeness that opens broad and fruitful possibilities for the commitment of all those wishing to fight against an unjust and oppressive system and to create the New Man.
(Leiken and Rubin, 1987, pp. 211-12, emphasis added)

In the months following this statement, the Nicaragua Catholic Church hierarchy (with the exception of some bishops) was to settle into its position of ongoing antagonism with the FSLN and its articulation of Sandinismo. However, the Sandinista response to this was far from being an outright attack on religious authority; the legitimacy of the roles of the hierarchy, as established in Catholic doctrine, was never formally contested in official FSLN statements, nor by members of the so-called "popular church" (some of whom published statements affirming their rejection of this term, insisting that the church was one and that what they were was part of this unity). The hierarchy's roles were affirmed as legitimate, while it was itself enjoined to respect a "higher authority" above all, and to desist from actions and statements indicative of its fall into a state of promoting worldly interests upholding the status-quo. It was cast as having betrayed a revolutionary vision, authorized by the gospel and the statements and practice of Christ, whose truths it had once recognized and underwritten itself.

A 1984 declaration signed by five hundred members of CEBs (Christian Base Communities) in Nicaragua was to represent the New Man as a presence to be searched for, as much as a subject to be created:

As part of the process of the new Nicaragua, we recognize that there are errors and faults, and we will

struggle to overcome them. But... there is something new, basically positive and fully in accord with the gospel--a project of the poor, a project of justice and fraternity, a search for a new man and a new society. As Christians we recognize the liberating presence of God in the midst of our process... ("Christians Speak about the Electoral Process: A Message from Grassroots Christian Lay People," Managua, March 7, 1984, Mimeo; quoted and translated in Dodson and O'Shaughnessy, 1990, p. 20)

The "new man" was represented and celebrated in song-- in Grupo Pancasán's "Canción del hombre nuevo"--and visually as well, often in the person of Christ in nativity scenes.

A poster put out by the Ministry of Social Welfare in 1980 features a nativity scene, with six figures (representative of social sectors) gazing down from above the cradle, and text which reads "Christmas in the Revolution/ United in the Birth of the New Man." (See copy on p. 421, from Kunzle, 1995, p. 47.) The baby's halo evokes the sacred birth, while the flower positioned above the baby's upturned hand works to suggest the extension of the hand into the shape of a fist, a common symbol of socialist struggle.) In a mural by the Boanerges Cerrato collective-- "The Birth of the New Man" (see copy on p. 422, from figures 18A and 18B in Kunzle, 1995)--a infant in a nativity scene features as a visual centre, spatially distanced from the

surrounding figures come to adore him. The latter include Guevara, Fonseca and Sandino, positioned in a triangle on the upper left, with Guevara at the top. In contrast to other figures in the mural, these three figures are positioned looking outward, and Fonseca is positioned in manner similar to that in which Lenin was commonly represented. In Daniel Pulido's mural "Birth of the New Man" (see p. 423, a reproduction of figure 35 in Kunzle, 1995), a muscular man wearing a militia cap cradles a baby in his arms, with a loosely-draped cloth falling over the shoulders of the baby in a shape resembling wings.

A 1981 poster put out by AMNLAE (the Sandinista women's organization) features the text "Building the New Fatherland, We Make the New Woman." (See copy on p. 424, from Kunzle, 1995, p. 29.) Ana Criquillon's "The Nicaraguan Women's Movement: Feminist Reflections From Within" notes that this statement figured as an AMNLAE slogan in 1980 and 1981, and takes this slogan to encapsule the vision of AMNLAE--the "idea that as women became part of the revolution, we got out of the house, out of the traditional role assigned to us, and, therefore, liberated ourselves"(1995, p. 212). (And yet, as Criquillon and many other participants in and analysts of the movement have observed, AMNLAE was to become to a large extent a "mother's movement" focused on the mothers of combatants.)

The poster featuring the AMNLAE slogan is suggestive in

terms of its poverty of connotative detail and in terms of what is absent from it--the chain of associations within which the figure of the "New Man" is commonly embedded. Nothing in AMNLAE's poster evokes either the nativity scene or the figure of the guerrilla; and there is no replacement of such common signifiers with other representative detail abundantly evoking alternative chains of connotation.

As has been indicated above, the figure of the new man was inscribed within Christian stories of creation and the coming of a new reign of love on earth, a reign ushered in by the passage of God into the body of a man, and promising the possibility of universal redemption. Creation myths affirm singularity of origin, and in the case of Christian stories of creation a specifically female being does not figure within origin and consequently as fundamental to essence; woman is a vessel for the transmission of the spirit/being of the father, with the father being the ultimate parent. The physicality of women's being provides a support for this transmission of essence. Interestingly, even such limited terms of presence are not present or visually foregrounded in two of the murals considered above--both entitled "Birth of the New Man.". In conjunction with a third mural, by Aurelio Ceccarelli (see p. 425, from page 106 in Kunzle, 1995; the title is not given), they evidence a regularity whereby, in scenes where we might expect to find a figure of the Mother, or a foregrounding of the figure of

the Mother, this does not occur; instead, male figures and male nurturers are featured. (See Kunzle, 1995: p.106, figure 35; figure 18A; and figure 18B.) In Ceccarelli's mural a guerilla is figured holding up a woman, who in turn holds up a man balancing a baby on his hand, with the guerilla figure being the base of or the primary support for the coming of this new being.

Whisnant (1995), in a chapter section on "The Sandinistas and the Gender Order," quotes Tomás Borge's statement that the "new revolution...of women...will complete the process of national liberation"; and Whisnant goes on to assert that "What was required, as a whole succession of Sandinista officials proclaimed, was no less than the creation of 'the new man'--as solid in feminist practice as he was clear in political ideology"(1995, p. 420). Whisnant's use of the term "feminist" in this statement is misleading. It suggests that this term was current in the discourse of Sandinista officials, and that they were positively disposed towards what they took it to signify.

Whisnant's choice of terms here renders obscure a key distinction, given the extent to which many feminists have endeavoured to articulate this term as indicative of a critique of and response to patriarchy--understood as a structure irreducible to another structure--capitalism--cast in left discourse as the fundamental structure. In

Sandinista discourse, both "capitalism" and "imperialism" were taken to be the fundamental determining structures, and the term "feminist" was not current in the pronouncements of FSLN leaders; rather, they referenced "women's emancipation," and called for the equality between men and women, within their conceptualization of the terms of all struggles as reducible to the terms of a single national-popular struggle; "women's emancipation" could only be realized by way of a prioritization of the emancipation of the nation--by subjects focused first and foremost on a presumed national-popular interest, that is to say, on the interests of the "broadest" collectivity, as articulated very generally, and with its nature being always already known in advance by the vanguard; concern with the subordination of women specifically was not to take precedent over the struggle to maintain and build a sovereign state--according to rules of the game established by the vanguard. And, at the same time, it was claimed that such subordination was recognized, and recognized as a problem; the new man was represented as having an all-encompassing political vision, which would operate to end all inequalities.

Beverly and Zimmerman observe in a chapter section on "Sandinista Women's Poetry after the Revolution" that:

Thematically, their work expresses the emergence of a "new woman" (in contrast to what they see as the

gender-specific connotation of Che Guevara's concept of the New Man) out of the common clay of traditional roles and values. They are in Margaret Randall's expression "Sandino's daughters," projecting a feminine/feminist version of Sandinismo...(1990, p. 106)

While little in the way of specific support for this interpretation is provided, it suggests that there was an effort on the part of some to articulate the figure of the "new woman" in distinction from the figure of the new man, whereas elsewhere the "new woman" was simply taken to be another way of naming "the new man," who, as subjective essence, was beyond or beneath any specific biological presence or gendered social experience.

"Canto nacional," a poem by the priest and poet Ernesto Cardenal (appointed Minister of Culture following the overthrow), references the new man in the context of a vision Cardenal was to articulate here and elsewhere--a vision of a cosmological logic of necessity, predetermining the coming of revolution and Marxism from the very beginning of divine/material being:

The revolution started in the stars, millions of light-years away. The egg of life is one. From the first bubble of gas, to the iguana's egg, to the New Man.

(Translated and quoted in Zimmerman and Beverley, 1990, p. 84)

In Cardenal's articulation of liberation theology, atheist revolutionaries were fully a part of the community of believers, as they were practising the love for others in which "God" was constituted; there was no essential difference between the "Marxist" and the "Christian" new man. 7

In a 1980 speech by FSLN DN member Bayardo Arce--"El Dificil Terreno de la Lucha: El Ideologico"--it is asserted under one of the subtitles--"A New Man Forged in the Image of Sandino"--that "we" will get rid of all:

that is obscuring that which we want to discover: The new Nicaraguan. The New Nicaraguan forged in the image of Sandino, the man who thinks first of others before himself.

The man who rejects egotism, individualism; the man who feels part of the collective; the man who goes to great pains whether it be in terms of work, sacrifice, abnegation, conviction, the face he presents.

.....

The man who prefers to die for liberty before living in chains like a slave...(speech by Arce at the Centre for Popular Culture in Bluefields, in the southern Atlantic Coast region, p. 157, p. 269 in Gilbert and Block, 1990, my translation)

In "El Partido Sandinista y las cualidades del

Militante" ("The Sandinista Party and the qualities of the Militant," 1980), FSLN DN member Tomás Borge references "New Men" ("Hombres Nuevos") just once, in a passage affirming that the revolutionary slogan "Sandino Vive" must not become an empty phrase:

For Sandino to live we must live, twenty-four hours of every day, our revolution. For the thought of Sandino to live and for the thought of his exceptional disciple Carlos Fonseca to live, we must divest ourselves of all the blights that the past has left us and truly convert ourselves into New Men; and for this phrase to speak to us, new men, new women, full of generosity, full of courage and valour to make our revolution. (p. 19; p. 200 in Gilbert and Block, 1990, my translation)

The making of the revolution is here articulated as a process in which all individuals struggle to become an exemplary presence, previously embodied in Sandino and Fonseca.

Gilbert, referencing the Bayardo Arce speech cited above, and Tomás Borge's Primeros Pasos, states that for "GPP [Prolonged Popular War Tendency] alumni like Tomás Borge and Bayardo Arce, the archetype of the new man is the guerilla fighter in the mountains, who is making the ultimate collective commitment" (1988, p. 39), and that a vision of the 'new man' "seems to appeal most to Sandinistas whose beliefs are rooted in a radicalized Christianity, and

to those who formed part of the GPP tendency within the party..."(1988, p. 39). DN member Borge was the sole survivor from among those who had founded the FSLN in the early 1960s, and he had long worked closely with Carlos Fonseca, who, following his death in 1976, was to become the second most predominant figure of revolutionary identity, and whose ties to Guevara in Cuba dated from the late 1950s.

Borge's writings and statements were to mythologize Fonseca, just as Fonseca's writings and statements had mythologized Sandino. And like "Borge's Fonseca," "Fonseca's Sandino" had been constructed across two thematic poles--one referencing a "proletarian" consciousness and vision, and the other referencing Christian themes of sacrifice, resurrection and collective redemption.

In one of the two texts authored by Borge reprinted in Sandinistas: Key Documents/Documentos Claves (Gilbert and Block, 1990)--"Te Cumplimos, Carlos: Aquí está tu clase obrera" ("We have realized your dream Carlos: Here is Your Working Class," 1982)--the term "the New Man" is absent, in a lengthy May Day speech setting out: a classic Marxist conception of the unfolding of history as a passage through the stages of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, culminating in socialism; a conception of various stages of "a revolutionary process"; a Leninist legitimation of the vanguard status of the FSLN ["The proletariat is without a doubt the most revolutionary class

in history, but its consciousness is acquired when it enters into intimate contact with revolutionary theory and practice"(Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 315)]; and an analysis of economic relations, current political events, and current state initiatives. There is a brief reference to the bible ["We have read the bible frequently and must confess that it is one of the most beautiful books that we have read"(316)]; and in the closing passages, Borge refers to the proximity of the tomb of Fonseca (Borge's speech having been delivered in the Plaza of the Revolution), addresses Fonseca directly, and states that "we are the harvesters of your resurrection". "Your dreams have been realized! Here is your working class, our working class...."(322). As this text and many other instances of FSLN discourse exemplify, the construction of ideal figures of revolutionary subjectivity--and their insertion within myths of origin--do not consistently entail usage of the term "the new man," and do not necessarily figure proportionally as substantial components of the texts within which they are inscribed, but do figure large in the most rhetorical passages of closure; and Christian themes and textual authority are at once referenced very minimally and yet are integral to the rhetorical structure of the speech.

Borge's speech, then, both articulates a Marxist-Leninist script of historical unfolding, and grounds the emergence of the "normal" universal subject of history --the

working class (as a "class for itself" formed from a "class in itself")--within the practice of an idealized subject.

In the statement quoted below, from a 1981 speech to army officers, Humberto Ortega, FSLN DN member, army commander, and brother of Daniel Ortega--and likewise a member of the "Tercerista" tendency--expresses an evident frustration with the force of articulations of Sandinismo as a "spiritualist" rather than a "materialist" project:

[We want to] escape underdevelopment and create wealth so that the people will be happy and not just further socialize our poverty. We want to see the day when all our people can eat ham and they can have television sets and take vacations. That's what we want. We're not going to promote a mentality that says that we should live like nuns or under socialism with a Christian character. (Quoted and translated in Gilbert, 1988, p. 39)

This quotation is indicative of tensions within Sandinismo, as they related to articulations of the Sandinista project as a project for the creation of an ideal type of subjectivity. While I have charted a discursive formation operative in the articulation of Sandinismo, I have no intent to collapse this formation into an essential FSLN ideology understood as subtending all FSLN statements and practice.

Conclusion

In charting regularities across a body of statements, I have supported my argument that a discursive formation constructing a certain version of an ideal subject was operative in the articulation of Sandinismo. This formation both shaped and was shaped by the FSLN, and by Sandinismo as a social movement broader than the FSLN.

As the various references to and representations of the "New Man" charted above indicate, inscriptions of this figure had substantial social weight and breadth; and "Sandinismo" and the building of the new Nicaragua was articulated in significant part as a project for the recognition, fostering and creation of an ideal subject--a subject equating "his" individual interests with the promotion of the interests of the collectivity, and a subject defined in binary and Manichean terms, over against an individualist subject. The creation, fostering or celebration of the new man was both promoted by state institutions having substantial resources and power at their disposal, and underwritten "outside" such institutions, in the terms of Christian discourse and in cultural production. The new man was cast as the origin, the means and the end of a transformative process, and figured as a discursive hinge in the Sandinista articulation of Christianity, Marxism and nationalism; all of the populace stood to be potentially

united in the spirit of this being.

A "New Marxist" formation articulated in disjunction and conjunction with orthodox Marxist narratives of historical unfolding figured among the conditions of possibility for the discursive formation charted in this chapter; and a "New Marxist" tradition accorded a centrality to the subjectivity of the New Man as the motor force of history.

As will be seen in Part Two of the thesis, a Sandinista knowledge of the people in their being and becoming was brought to the countryside in the context of the literacy campaign, and recipients of literacy instruction were invited and expected to articulate their experience to it, within a structured process shaping and delimiting what might be said.

Endnotes

1 Charles Hale's book on the Miskitu indigenous people and the Nicaraguan state begins a chapter entitled "Miskitu Indians in the Discourse of Revolutionary Nationalism" with a quote from Paul Gilroy's There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack. As this is relevant to my theorisation, I will repeat it here:

The ideological theme of national belonging may be malleable to some extent but...[there are limits on] the extent to which nationalism becomes socialist at the moment when its litany is repeated by socialists. The intention may be radical but the effects are unpredictable, particularly where culture is conceived within discrete, separable, national units coterminous with the boundaries of the nation state. (Gilroy, quoted in Hale, 1994, p. 87)

2 See: many of the interviews in Margaret Randall's

Sandinino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua; Hale's Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987; and positions, cited and referenced throughout this thesis, which validate what has been termed a "campesinista" ("pro-peasant") perspective.

In these texts, people who were, in some capacity, participants in the Sandinista revolutionary project, and who do not regret having shared certain basic Sandinista commitments, advance their critiques without taking up a counter-revolutionary positioning.

3 See Hodges (1986), Whisnant (1995), and Steven Palmer's "Carlos Fonseca and the Construction of Sandinismo in Nicaragua" (1988).

Fonseca's Ideario politico del General Augusto César Sandino first began to circulate with the founding of the parent organization of the FSLN in 1961, and was thereafter to become a principle text used in the instruction of FSLN cadres; and Fonseca's short "biography" of Sandino, "Sandino, Guerillero proletario," was "completed shortly before the FSLN launched its second armed operation in 1966"(Hodges, 1986, p. 166). (Fonseca and other FSLN founders had participated in previous armed actions, with support from Guevara in post-overthrow Cuba, prior to this and to the founding of the FSLN.) Fonseca, whose "life reads like a travelogue across national boundaries, involving Communist Party and guerilla activities interrupted by a series of imprisonments and deportations"(Hodges, 1986, p. 162), had developed his preoccupation with and early conception of Sandino prior to his first stay in Cuba in 1959.

When Fonseca came to Cuba in 1959, where a new military incursion into Nicaragua was subsequently prepared with the help of Guevara, he brought with him a conception of Sandino shaped by his reading of literature on Sandino's struggle (written contemporaneously with this struggle and from the 1930s onward), and by oral traditions transmitted in Nicaragua. Various oral and written constructions of Sandino were drawn on in Fonseca's construction, within a conjuncture of optimism in regard to the possible success of guerilla action.

As Palmer notes, the "analogical possibilities of Sandino as a Christ figure were cultivated by Fonseca and the FSLN with great success"(Palmer, 1988, p. 105). The title of Fonseca's "Sandino, guerillero proletario" is indicative of Fonseca's stress on Sandino's "proletarian" identity. This was marked by way of reference to his work experience as a company mechanic. In contrast, his identity as the son of a young indigenous/mestizo woman who worked as a servant, and the racial coding of many of his statements-- as they positioned the "Indo-Hispanic Race" against "the

Yankees"--were not highlighted, although Sandino was described by Fonseca as a "worker of peasant extraction"(Whisnant, 1995).

4 These terms of debate were present within the FSLN itself as late as the second half of the 1970s, as is apparent in the following quotation from a position statement of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN. The Proletarian Tendency, the "GPP" (Prolonged Popular War) tendency and the "Terceristas" ("Third Way") were engaged in a bitter dispute entailing, in part, responses to an armed action, a hostage taking. Jaime Wheelock of the Proletarian Tendency--and future Minister of the MIDINRA (Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform)--was a central figure in this dispute. In the eyes of some militants, including Wheelock, the action was an adventurist practice, endangering militants due to the greatly heightened repression by state forces which predictably followed it; others cast it as successful in, among other things, creating a sense of the FSLN in the popular imagination. In "La Crisis Interna y Las Tendencias" (published in 1978, rpt. and translated in Leiken and Rubin, 1987), the "FSLN-Proletarian Tendency" articulated its position in response to the split. This position statement argued that, in fact, the development of a "normal" subject of history, a proletariat, was well-advanced in Nicaragua--a position based to a large degree on the terms of classification of part-time agricultural workers--that other tendencies had failed to recognize this truth of the terrain, and that this failure rendered their conception of correct strategy grossly misguided:

...There are two divergent ideological currents in the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement today: the proletarian and the petit bourgeois. The former, based on the theory of scientific socialism, is rooted in the proletariat and stresses its dominant role in the revolutionary process.

The latter is made up of two main factions. The first [Prolonged Popular Struggle] ...seeks support in the peasantry and urban petit-bourgeoisie rather than in...mass struggle.

The second [Tercerista] faction represents the most retrograde positions of the petit-bourgeoisie...They consistently resort to tactics of terror and putschist adventurism.....they armed a group of patriotic citizens [in October 1977] and are throwing themselves into a senseless offensive.....

Like Lenin, we consider...that the only things that can have true and responsible agitational value...are events in which the masses themselves are

the protagonists and which stem from their will and class interest...

.....
 The assertion that Nicaragua is a primarily agricultural, semi-feudal country is inaccurate...failing to take into account changes in economic and social conditions caused by capitalist development...Arguing that Nicaragua is populated mainly by peasants will lead to assigning guerilla struggle waged in the countryside...a central social and political importance...To consider Nicaragua a peasant country also means assigning to that class the fundamental role as the basis of the revolution...

.....
 The GPP is a continuation of the "foci" approach...which conceived of the revolutionary process as the preparation of social and technical conditions for carrying on guerilla warfare thought the entire country--mountains, countryside, and city....as far as this line is concerned, the FSLN link to the masses seeks not so much to strengthen the popular organizations as to reinforce its own internal infrastructure....

The foolhardy rightist populist line of the Terceristas...goes back to the early years of FSLN activity when armed struggle was conceived of as the initiator and catalyst of the entire people. Basically, it was inspired by an idealist and somewhat romantic interpretation of the Cuban revolution.....The class lines of society do not even exist for the Terceristas: the vanguard of society is not a particular class but the FSLN which directs "our entire people from the poorest and most suffering to the well-off patriotic sectors..." (translated in Leiken and Rubin, 1987, pp. 161-62)

The FSLN's ultimate arrival at a policy of broad alliance in the last years before the overthrow was to owe much to the work of the Terceristas (including the Ortega bothers).

5 See, for example, the sanctification of Guevara in the concluding chapter of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

Such constructions were to receive reinforcement in the context of the widespread distribution of images of Guevara.

Considerable controversy was to surround a photo by a United Press International photographer which was purportedly a photo of Guevara's corpse taken just after his death, and which later circulated along with reports that Bolivians present had remarked upon the likeness between Christ and the corpse. This photo, which led Castro to briefly suggest that a wax figure had been used, was

described by the British art critic John Berger in terms of its very close likeness to a Mantegna painting, "Dead Christ":

The body is seen from the same height. The hands are in identical positions, the fingers curving in the same gesture. The drapery above the lower part of the body is creased and formed in the same manner as the blood-sodden, unbuttoned, olive green trousers on Guevara. The head is raised at the same angle. The mouth is slack of expression, in the same way. Christ's eyes have been shut, for there are two mourners beside him. Guevara's eyes are open, for there are no mourners: only the colonel, a U.S. intelligence agent, a number of Bolivian soldiers, and thirty journalists... (Berger quoted in Sauvage, 1973, p. 4)

It was reported that the body photographed was cremated soon after, while Argentinean experts in fingerprint identification reported having received the amputated hands for identification.

6 The Ministry of Culture distributed a statement in its early months setting out five lines of strategy:

- (a) recovery and affirmation of national cultural identity;
- (b) opening of Nicaraguan culture to Latin American and universal culture;
- (c) promote the highest degree of artistic excellence;
- (d) promote the cultural development of the people in its two dimensions: access and participation of the masses in culture;
- (e) fomenting creativity and supporting artistic creation. (translated in Whisnant, 1995, p. 200)

7 See statements by Cardenal, as quoted at length in Randall (1981), Berryman (1984), and Hodges (1986).

Chapter 4: Standardization, the Claim to Dialogic Pedagogy,
and the Articulation of the Campaign to the Development and
Social Project

Introduction to Part Two of the Thesis

Planning for the mass literacy campaign--or the national literacy crusade, as it was officially named--began shortly after the overthrow of the Somoza regime in July of 1979, and was infused with the great hopes of a conjuncture in which the dream of building a new society could at last become a reality.

The campaign involved the direct participation of over 500,000 Nicaraguans--about a fifth of the population of the country in 1980. At the end of the campaign, after literacy instructors had been in the field for a five-month period beginning in March of 1980, some 400,000 Nicaraguans in rural and urban areas were awarded certification for having developed basic reading and writing skills. This outcome was to figure large in accounts of the achievements of the Sandinista revolution; and the campaign, which involved much more than literacy instruction, was cast as a major step in the greater inclusion of the mass of the population in a Sandinista project undertaken in the name of the people.

Following the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in 1990, and the taking of office by a Chamorro government which received American support, funds were soon forthcoming for the purchase of new schoolbooks for use in Nicaraguan grade schools. Opponents of Sandinismo had cast Sandinista

initiatives in the field of education as indoctrination, and the literacy campaign was taken to have been a first great chapter in an indoctrination project.

While in Part Two of the thesis I look critically at literacy campaign interventions, I focus on the knowledge systems, discourses and techniques operative in the articulation of the campaign, on the tensions within this articulation, on its overdetermination, and on constructions of recipients of literacy instruction as objects and subjects of knowledge. I do not reduce the campaign to the product of a singular intent or ideology located in a neatly-discernable centre of power--the FSLN. It is considered, in part, within the time and space of modernity--of a modernity which has both held out the promise of a democratic inclusivity of voices, and coded the subjectivity and forms of production of marginal "peasants" as signs of a past to be left behind.

I consider the campaign primarily as it was articulated in the rural Pacific region of the country, and as an important site for the meeting of "city" (a centralized articulation of a development and social project) and "country" (rural recipients of literacy instruction). My analysis is informed by a critical understanding of what transpired in the course of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects, and of Sandinista constructions of subjectivity as charted in Part One of the thesis and as

further considered in Part Two.

The analysis In Part Two works, to a large extent, with reference to campaign documents and materials as translated and as quoted in Valerie Miller's Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade, and from passages and statements quoted and articulated therein and in Miller and Cardenal's "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABCs". (The reasons for this choice are set out below.) Reference is also made to reproductions of campaign posters in Communicating in Popular Nicaragua (ed. Armand Mattelart) and in David Kunzle's The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua (1979-1992), and to Arnove's account of the campaign and citations of statements about the campaign in "The 1980 Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade." Critical vantage points on particular aspects of campaign practice follow from evaluations internal to campaign practice, as detailed in Miller's book, from Miller's own evaluations, and from certain precepts of Freirian pedagogy, as detailed in Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, and in his and Macedo's Literacy: Reading the Word and the World. (Freirian techniques, however, are accorded value only as disarticulated from the positivistic conception of totality within which they had been articulated in Pedagogy of the Oppressed - a text which does not in fact sit well with the common characterization of Freire as a champion of peasant/popular culture. ¹) Critical vantage points are also

informed by the preceding thesis analysis, by the Foucauldian conceptions of dispositif, heterotopia, and power/knowledge, by the literature on Sandinista interventions in the countryside, and by Harvey Graff's writings on literacy and on knowledges of "literacy and development," as the latter have been shaped within enlightenment traditions.

As Graff stresses, a large body of statements on literacy articulated from positions of authority (intellectual and governmental) have failed to suggest the overdetermination of outcomes and the problematic implication of literacy instruction in projects fueled in some part by efforts to bring the populace into incorporative and developmentalist nation-building projects. Consequently, these statements articulate to a narration of history as a universal progress from underdevelopment to development--to a state of advanced use of technologies of rationality and productivity, and of full incorporation of populations into social orders represented as engaged in such a transition. ²

There are three reasons for the degree to which my analysis references Valerie Miller's Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade and Valerie Miller and Fernando Cardinal's "Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABCs." This facilitates a mapping of the specificities of campaign practice, and an integration of existing critical

reflections on the campaign (as advanced by campaign participants) with my own theorization. Further, these texts bring together statements on the part of a multiplicity of social actors, including Miller and Cardenal, statements which enable the charting of a dispositif--a dispositif including knowledge systems and discursive formations--as it worked to articulate campaign practice. Miller's framing of the campaign with reference to existing knowledges of literacy and development--as represented by statements on the order of those which Graff critically examines--is one source of interest.

Given the impossibility of charting the universe of statements which figure within the constitution of a dispositif, and the extent to which Between Struggle and Hope and "Nicaragua 1980" bring together statements on the part of a broad field of social agents, the use of these texts, in conjunction with citations and visual images from other sources, provides adequate access to the body of statements operative in the articulation of campaign outcomes and in the articulation of authoritative representations of the campaign directed towards an international audience.

My analysis sometimes juxtaposes such representations with an account of specificities of campaign practice, with an eye to indicating how the production of knowledge about the campaign had an impetus as much in pre-existing

knowledge formations as in an attention to the materialities of practice.

Miller, who has an academic formation in development education, was invited to participate as a member of the executive staff of the campaign and to write an account of it. In the course of building upon existing analyses of what transpired in the context of the literacy campaign, and charting specificities of practice as they figured within overdetermined outcomes, I draw on Miller's book, which provides the best source for details as to the specificity of campaign practice, campaign materials and documents, and campaign rationales. At the same time, I revisit the terrain of Miller's analysis with an eye to what might have been that differs from Miller's own eye to what might have been. Her normative identification with assumptions grounding campaign practice is such that her critical accounts of discrete techniques and of aspects of campaign materials are never articulated at the level of a critical theorization of the literacy campaign and Sandinista practice in general.

Introduction to Chapter Four

In Chapter Four, I map and consider various aspects and artifacts of the campaign--the materials, the dialogue procedures, the development of the materials and procedures, stated rationales for choices made, effects following from these choices, campaign publicity, numerous representations

of the crusade and of the recipients of instruction, and the knowledges and discourses articulating the crusade. I introduce several arguments--some of which are further developed and supported in chapters to follow--indicating their pertinence in relation to each other and to the thesis findings in general.

My analysis in the present chapter follows under three section sub-titles: "Standardization, Campaign Materials, and the Science of Emancipatory Pedagogy," "Constructions of the Recipients of Instruction, of Their Knowledge, and of the Ends and Means of the Crusade," and "Conceptions of Development, Literacy and Community in the Articulation of the Literacy Crusade."

In the initial conception of the campaign and the production of the materials, the realization of a project whose broad outlines were presumed to be the means of advancing a general (national) interest--through a standardized, national-level campaign, and through the creation of a common knowledge base in regard to the Sandinista development and social project--was accorded priority over procedures elaborated in a Freirian science of emancipatory education; yet at the same time, lessons were to begin with "dialogue," and principles informing Freirian pedagogy were claimed, and figured within representations of the campaign as a process of popular empowerment. These representations fail to remark upon one of the most

contradictory aspects of the campaign. To a substantial degree, it was in the "dialogue" sessions specifically that the "creation of a common knowledge base" was to be furthered, through the transmission of a specific pedagogical input. Evidently, a certain assumption informed campaign planners' failure to remark upon this as contradictory; it was assumed that the recipients of instruction would themselves, with some small stimulus, produce and articulate components of this knowledge, which was taken to be "their" knowledge.

The claim to value a dialogic approach in the context of the formal instruction--an approach valuing recipients of literacy instruction as subjects of knowledge and culture--sits oddly alongside the terms of the design of the materials and dialogue procedures, and the specificity of the materials and procedures. The production of the materials and procedures, however, followed from a deductive system of national-popular knowledge which was assumed to be in itself a knowledge "of the people," and to be already expressive of "their knowledge and culture"; there appears to have been little sense of anything particular rural recipients of instruction might have had to contribute to the "dialogue." Campaign practice may be understood in part in terms of the deployment of an organic conception of national-popular community, following from a deductive system of knowledge; and this science of historical process

was accorded priority over the procedures of a Freirian science of emancipatory pedagogy.

The claim to value a dialogic approach figures within what may be termed a "secondary" discourse of the campaign, a discourse representing the recipients of instruction in positive terms, as participants in a "two-way learning process." A predominant campaign discourse, however, represented them negatively, and as engaged in a movement from a negative to a positive state--from ignorance to knowledge, and from darkness to dawn. This movement, as represented in campaign publicity and campaign materials, was to engender further liberation through greater economic productivity, and the consolidation of national unity; the provision of literacy was to enable the full populace to exercise the "right and responsibility" of participation in the building of a new nation, within the broad rules of the game as determined by the FSLN.

Each of the twenty-three lessons were to begin with a generation of "dialogue," first through reference to a visual aid (a photograph or drawing), and then to a theme sentence linked to this. (Syllables from a word or words in the theme sentence were then to be taken up in the introduction of a syllable family or families.) The choice of themes judged to be "national in scope," and of the visuals which were to evoke them, was such as to constrain and shape what might be spoken; and it entailed assumptions

as to what the recipients of instruction did know, and set up expectations as to the discourse they would and should produce, as well as pressures to produce it.

The "dialogue" sessions were widely judged to have been a failure (as Miller [1985], Arnove [1987], and Hirshon [1983] report, with reference to internal evaluations of campaign practice); however, these important texts within the literature on the campaign provide only very general and inadequate explanations for this; further, they are devoid of any consideration of the possibility that the pedagogical input to be transmitted in the course of the "dialogue" sessions, input in regard to the terms of the economic reconstruction/development project and social project, represented anything other than the truth of the means to advancement of a general interest, by way of which the advancement of campesino and popular interests was to be furthered. Certain terms of critique of Sandinista development and social policy, then, advanced over the course of the 1980s and in the 1990s, provide an important critical vantage point on the "dialogue process" and on the relative valuation of knowledges evident in this process and in the campaign more generally; and they lend themselves to the construction of one critical vantage point on the "dialogue process" as a missed opportunity. This is so given the extent to which idealized and abstract conceptions of national-popular community structured discursive practice to

the exclusion of an engagement with the particularities of life in rural communities, and given the extent to which the literature on Sandinista interventions in the countryside underlines how interventions were indicative of limited knowledge of these particularities, and of a devaluing of campesino identity and practice.

In the planning of the materials and procedures for the generation of "dialogue," the possibility of moving out from the particular, to discussion of what collective practice might, could and should be, through reference to local "cognizable objects" (here taken to be one of the potential strengths of Freirian procedures--disarticulated from a positivist conception of totality), appears not to have been seriously considered and recognized as an option.

The campaign was represented as the movement of an organic national collectivity through history, conceived of teleologically and as a totality, and presenting clearly demarcated victories, in terms articulating the causal sequence literacy--collective awakening/participation--heightened production--further transcendence. These terms have an evident correspondence to those within the knowledges of literacy and development referenced in the planning of the Nicaraguan campaign. ³

Standardization, Campaign Materials, and the Science of Emancipatory Pedagogy

The campaign as it was initially planned warrants comparison with a model that was not chosen, a model provided by a previously existing literacy program in the department of Esteli; in the latter:

The curriculum and teaching methods were based on Paulo Freire's approach. Through dialogue with learners, literacy teachers chose study themes and words that were of individual interest to the students.....The national team members concluded that the Esteli approach, while effective on the community level, could not be applied on a national level because of its specialized local characteristics, its individualized approach, and its demand for highly trained teachers. They reasoned that a national program...carried out by nonprofessional volunteers and based on issues common to the entire country needed greater standardization. (Miller, 1985, p. 74)

This perspective informed the choice of the 23 lesson themes for the primer ("The Dawn of the People"); it was felt that "the themes should be national in scope, both because of the massive nature of the campaign and because of its importance in establishing a common knowledge base about the government's reconstruction and development plan"(Miller, 1985, p. 75).

The broad theme areas and the 23 lesson themes of the primer were determined by the curriculum team and the

research team in October and November of 1979. The final thematic structure of the primer

included three major areas: (1) the history and development of the revolution, (2) aspects involving the defense and consolidation of the revolution, and (3) the socioeconomic programs of the Government of National Reconstruction. (Miller, 1985, p. 76)

The theme sentences were as follows (in Miller's translation):

Lesson	Theme Sentence
1	Sandino, leader of the revolution.
2	Carlos Fonseca said, "Sandino lives."
3	The FSLN led the People to Liberation.
4	The guerillas overcame the genocidal National Guard.
5	The masses rose up in an insurrection made by the people.
6	The Sandinista defense committees defend the revolution.
7	To spend little, save much, and produce a lot--that is making the revolution.
8	The revolutionary workers' associations propel production forward and keep vigil over the process.
9	People, army, unity: They are the guarantee of victory.

- 10 The agrarian reform guarantees that the
 harvest goes to the people.
- 11 With organization, work, and discipline, we
 will be able to rebuild the land of Sandino.
- 12 1980, the year of the war against illiteracy.
- 13 The pillage of imperialism is over:
 Nicaragua's natural resources are ours.
- 14 The nationalization of Somoza's businesses
 helps us recover our wealth and strengthen
 our economy.
- 15 Work is a right and a responsibility of every
 person in the land.
- 16 The revolutionary government expands and
 creates health centres for the people.
- 17 With the participation of everyone, we will
 have healthy recreation for our children.
- 18 We are forming work brigades to construct and
 improve our housing.
- 19 Women have always been exploited. The
 revolution makes possible their liberation.
- 20 The revolution opens up a road system to the
 Atlantic coast. The Kuriwás is a navigable
 river.
- 21 Our democracy is the power of people
 belonging to organizations and participating.
- 22 There is freedom of religion for all those

churches that support and defend the interests of the people.

23 The Sandinista revolution extends the bond of friendship to all peoples.

(Miller, 1985, p. 77)

These sentences, then, along with visuals, were to be aids for the generation of dialogue.

While Miller's account in Between Struggle and Hope does not advance a critique of Freirian methods, she notes that the initial planning staff, in the course of their preparatory research and reading, were particularly impressed by a book (Lucharemos--"We Will Struggle") by a private Columbian educational institute, a text which "was an attempt to demystify and provide a careful critique of the much-lauded efforts of both Freire and Cuba"(Miller, 1985, p. 73), and that four of the authors accepted an invitation to become part of the campaign staff. Freire was invited to contribute as well, and spent nine days in Nicaragua in the planning stage in October; the ten-step method which had been developed for instruction was expanded in the light of his principal criticism, "the fact that at that time, no step allowed the learners to create their own words or sentences"(Miller, 1985, p. 91):

He...emphasized the vital importance of personal word creation to any literacy program but especially to a liberating one. The satisfaction and excitement of

creating words increased a learner's sense of individual worth. (Miller, 1985, p. 91)

Evidently, neither the development of the theme sentences and visuals, nor the initial conception of the ten-step method (to be used subsequent to an initial dialogue, in the course of the lessons) followed from the Freirian principal that education "must not be a situation where some men name on behalf of others" (Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970. p. 77). Yet in the lesson sessions as a whole, recipients of instruction were presumed to have room to insert their "own words" in the context of the dialogue.

The procedures of a science of emancipatory education, then, were neither disclaimed, nor prioritized; but the specific "first step" of the Freirian method--a procedure for the "investigation" of the life-world of the recipients of instruction, in terms of their naming of it and attribution of value within it, and a generation of content from this--was set aside with reference to the rationale of limited resources, and to the priority of national reconstruction and development, which was taken to require a "common knowledge base"--a specific pedagogical input, to be transmitted in significant part in the context of the "dialogue" sessions initiating each of the twenty-three lessons. At the same time, the theme sentences and visuals followed from a Sandinista construction of national history which was taken to essentially be people's history; with

some small instigation, it was apparently assumed, they themselves would quickly produce components of this construction, and assemble them into a full-blown nationalist narrative, articulating their own experience to it.

A "laboratory" phase--a testing of the materials and procedures in the course of an early phase in the teacher-training process--made it clear that there was little ground for this assumption. Further, Miller's account of this and of subsequent practice is indicative of how efforts to reflect upon and improve practice, following extended encounters with the recipients of instruction, met up with the impetus of a standardized, national-level campaign whose organizational processes were already well underway.

Forty of the eighty participants in Workshop One of the teacher-training process took part in the one-month fieldwork "laboratory," working in pairs in rural regions across the country, to test the materials and procedures. They met with numerous problems, and came up with suggestions in response to the lessons they had learned:

Unfortunately...these lessons--many of which applied directly to improving the program's materials--were not acted upon until later during the campaign when the problems became massively evident.....the suggestions could not be incorporated directly into the primer or the teacher's guide because those materials had already

gone to the printers in Costa Rica.

Despite this situation, though, corrective measures such as supplementary, updated teachers' instructions could have been developed as the problems with the original material became evident... (Miller, 1985, p. 126)

The most widespread concern:

centred around the generation of an effective, participatory critical dialogue. The pictures of Sandino and Fonseca that had been chosen for the second and third dialogues were not conducive to an analytical discussion....most people could not recognize either figure, and even if they did, such recognition did not usually lead to a discussion that was intimately related to the learner's immediate world. There was one exception--a village near the Honduran border where Sandino had worked and fought. The peasants there told the story that [Sandino]...had hidden some documents with them...warning the peasants not to reveal the whereabouts of the papers until all the village knew how to read....there was a lively critical discussion of the photograph as the people believed that Sandino knew that it would be safe to reveal the documents only when they had learned how to read because that would mean that a popular movement had gained power...(Miller, 1985, p. 128)

The generation of a "lively critical discussion" was facilitated by oral traditions of identification with a struggle whose signifiers could thus inspire speech. For the most part, however, instructors participating in the "laboratory" found that

the photographs led to a formal exposition on the part of the literacy promoter and an inability to move beyond discourse to analysis and participation. Every squadron pointed out this difficulty...they saw it created resistance on the part of the learners toward taking part in further dialogue within the context of the specific lessons. (Miller, 1985, p. 128)

The failure of the dialogue sessions to generate anticipated outcomes was observed by campaign participants in the pilot project, in the laboratory session, in the teacher-training sessions, and in the initial weeks of the campaign in full operation.

The commonalities remarked across instances of learners' encounters with the campaign materials might seem to invite a simple explanation. Analysts commonly underscore the predominantly urban, as opposed to rural, base of support of the FSLN. This may be considered a factor in the non-recognition of the images of Sandino and Fonseca (in the rural areas where the "laboratory" was undertaken), and/or in the limited knowledge of the narrations of nation which had been constructed around them. However, the Foucauldian

concept of "heterotopia"--of the heterogeneous sites of the social terrain--accounts for differentiation across these sites better than a simple binary conception of the rural and the urban. Such a concept also proves to have not had a significant presence in the planning of the campaign and the development of the instruction and dialogue materials in the Pacific region of the country.

The concept of social terrains as "heterotopias" figures within efforts to think the significance of specificity and overdetermination. As I have affirmed in Chapter One of the thesis, such efforts may be understood over against a prominent body of twentieth-century social theory and of political discourse more generally. This theory and discourse has been more focused on differentiation across time rather than differentiation across space. Marxist traditions of social theory and analysis, and the discourse of revolutionary and national liberation movements, have had a tendency to think specificity within social formations in terms of very broad categories marking class distinction and the lines of colonial and imperialist oppression; and change has been thought with reference to a dialectic of class struggle and to the anticipated liberating outcomes of the victory of national liberation struggles. The widespread conditions of misery and of violent colonial and imperialist persecution represented in works such as Marx's Capital and Franz

Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth understandably contributed to such a situation. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, the evident complexity of social transformation and of the workings of power, and the efforts of autonomous social movements critical of how their constituencies have fared under the leadership of national liberation movements, have been such as to invite more differentiated conceptions of the social terrain. The affirmation of the significance of localized (not simply national) cultures, as they are operative in the overdetermination of outcomes, and as they are deserving of respectful treatment, has been more pronounced; and the theorization of social terrains as "heterotopias" is promising and productive in the light of past theory and political praxis.

Responses to Sandinista interventions in the countryside in the Pacific coast region, including literacy campaign interventions, invite understanding with reference to at least three groups of the most marginal of campesino sectors . There is the case of the north central communities which had been involved in the struggles of the late 1920s and early 1930s, struggles led by Sandino, and which had a related oral tradition. There is the case of the communities which had been active in the insurrectionary actions in the years preceding the overthrow of Somoza, and which had consequently had substantial and affectively-

charged contact with Sandinista narrations of Nicaraguan history. Finally, there is the case of rural communities who do not figure within either one of these two groups.

Many "rural" areas were close to major towns and cities, and in the north-west cotton-growing region around León and Chinandega, the level of organization of agrarian wage labourers was substantial enough to have generated much greater familiarity with Sandinista discourse than was the case, for example, in the north-central region of the country. In statements articulated across an "urban/rural" divide, apparent warrants for the Sandinista representation of campesino and popular involvement in FSLN organizations in the course of the struggle to overthrow Somoza were many, as were testimonio accounts by campesinos from various regions articulating their own visceral experience to the broad terms of the Sandinista narrative.

Such warrants were taken up within knowledge systems and representational practices with little capacity to think a heterotopia. The intensity of these accounts, as they articulated experiences in particular terrains, including lifelong experiences of chronic hunger, and experience of extreme brutality at the hands of the national guard, worked to underwrite the manner in which they were taken up as the essential truth of the terrain, while variation in experience under the Somoza regime, and in terms of involvement or non-involvement in the struggle to overthrow

Somoza, was, to say the least, hardly a preoccupation or a featured point in Sandinista discourse, pro-Sandinista solidarity and academic discourse, and in public text more generally. (At the same time, the FSLN leadership was well aware that there had been little or no involvement in revolutionary activity in many sizeable pockets of the countryside, and they anticipated that campesinos in such areas would present a challenge in terms of Sandinismo's incorporative aspirations.)

The reception of the campaign materials, in the course of the "laboratory" phase, is suggestive of a limited knowledge, on the part of the curriculum and research team, of a terrain which, however, had been assumed to be fully known and contained within the national-popular, Sandinista narration of it. Given this assumption, Freirian procedures for the "investigation" of popular life-worlds, and the generation of content from this, stood to be considered as redundant. Yet the techniques for generating "dialogue," beginning from the campaign materials, were such as to generate problems identified throughout all stages of the campaign. The assumption of a "standard" popular being informed the limitations of processes which were intended to consolidate and further produce a standardization of citizens and revolutionary subjects across the nation.

Notably, in the transmission of knowledge about the campaign to an international readership, in "Nicaragua 1980:

The Battle of the ABCs," there is no account of the specifics of the "dialogue problem"; the reality of the campaign as a mutual learning process is affirmed, while the reference for this is interaction between brigadistas and the recipients of instruction outside the formal lessons, in the course of daily life.

Constructions of the Recipients of Instruction, of Their Knowledge, and of the Ends and Means of the Crusade

The specific precepts informing an initial step in the Freirian method for achieving a "dialogic" educational practice are not detailed in Cardenal and Miller's account of the campaign in "Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABC's." Nevertheless, the latter, on the one hand, asserts that "We believed, as did Freire, that dialogue is critical to a liberating education"(1986, p. 104), and that the crusade, as inspired by the lessons of the liberation struggle, entailed a recognition of "the tremendous creativity and capacity for learning that existed within people regardless of their educational background"(1986, p. 104). Yet in certain specific representations of the "local" concerns of the recipients of instruction, these are not accorded enough value to be taken to be potentially of interest beyond the immediate community--to figure within or to be integral to the concerns of the "society at large":

Since we were engaged in carrying out a national

literacy campaign in the context of profound social transformation, we focused on themes that were concerns of the society at large rather than on narrow issues of interest only to individual communities. Because it offered participants the power of the word and of history, the dialogue was highly political. By expressing their own opinions about their lives, their culture, their past and future, people would begin to develop and strengthen their creativity and analytical abilities as well as to see themselves as makers of culture and history. (Miller and Cardenal, 1986, p. 104)

There is no recognition here, and in "Nicaragua 1980" more generally, that the choices made--enjoining the recipients of instruction to represent "their lives, their culture, their past and future" primarily and in the first instance with reference to the presumed "concerns of society at large," rather than with reference to "narrow" local concerns--stood to structure discourse in a manner delimiting and shaping what might be said; to use a Freirian term, reference to those "cognizable objects" in relation to which people were well-placed, if not best placed, to exercise their "analytical abilities" was precluded as a starting point. The insights of a Freirian "science of emancipatory pedagogy" had been set aside within a project which was nevertheless articulated as the transmission of

"scientific knowledge."

Just subsequent to the passage quoted above, Miller and Cardenal quote a statement by FSLN National Directorate member Luis Carrión, the FSLN representative to the Crusade, a statement which implicitly constructs the recipients of instruction as devoid of the skills and knowledge to be "provided" to them, and which articulates a lack of the capacity to read and write to a lack of capacity to think:

The literacy methodology is intrinsically political. How? It's not just that we speak of Sandino or of Carlos Fonseca, or of the Frente Sandinista. The most political, the most revolutionary aspect of this literacy approach is that we are providing scientific knowledge and analytical skills to our brothers and sisters in the fields and factories who do not know how to read or write--the skills to reason, to think, compare, discern and the ability to form their own human and political criteria, their own critical framework. (Speech before the First Congress of the National Literacy Crusade, 17 June 1980, quoted in Miller and Cardenal, 1986, p. 104)

This statement is presented in "Nicaragua 1980" without critical comment, and as such is implicitly presented as a truth of the campaign's reality. The latter representation of the recipients of instruction--as it represents them negatively, in terms of the knowledge and skills they were

not taken to possess--inscribes what I term the "predominant" campaign discourse, representing a linear passage from a positive to a negative state--in this case, from ignorance to knowledge (and elsewhere, from darkness to a dawn of the people).

The latter citation supports the argument that the crusade was articulated largely in terms of discourse projecting a passage on the part of the recipients of instruction from a negative to positive state. At the same time, there was what I term a "secondary" discourse of the campaign as a "two-way learning process" in which campesinos and popular sectors more generally are cast as subjects of knowledge and culture. In Between Struggle and Hope, and in "Nicaragua 1980," the paucity of the terms for articulating the latter conception of campesinos and popular sectors is notable, as is the fact that these two discourses are repeatedly articulated but are articulated separately, without there being any apparent recognition of any contradictions entailed in this.

The term "formal education" figures just once in Between Struggle and Hope, in the context of a citation describing the continuation of adult education programs after the campaign. (One of the volunteer area coordinators is described as a "campesino with very little formal education"[198].) This term, underscoring as it does the difference between "education" per se and formal education,

might have been taken up within the literacy instruction and materials, along with other concepts articulating a conception of campesinos and other members of popular sectors as "subjects of knowledge" regardless of whether or not they were able to read and write. (So, for example, materials developed, with the assistance of Freire, for an adult literacy programme in the republic of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, incorporated the statement "We all know something. We are all ignorant of something"[Freire and Macedo, 72].) Freire asserts, in Literacy: Reading the Word and the World, that "disdained knowledge, 'knowledge made from experience,' has to be the point of departure in any popular educational effort..."(78), and the re-valorization of this knowledge is taken to be integral to "empowering" literacy instruction (even as, as is detailed in Endnote 1 of this chapter, popular/peasant knowledge is repeatedly represented in sweeping negative terms in Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Ironically, the nationalist knowledge providing the point of departure for the Nicaraguan campaign had also been articulated as "disdained knowledge, knowledge made from experience," and yet was to become inscribed in practices in which "knowledge made from campesino experience" stood to be accorded very limited recognition and value.

As Miller notes in her account of the campaign:

The metaphors and terminology of the campaign were purposefully military (although the term "crusade" also

had a religious connotation)--"the war on ignorance," "the cultural insurrection," "the second war of liberation," and "the National Literacy Crusade: Heroes and Martyrs of the Liberation of Nicaragua." The "literacy warriors" of the "Popular Literacy Army" were divided into "brigades, columns, and squadrons" and were located along six "battlefronts," which were identical to the battlefronts of the war. The "brigadier teachers"...joined forces with the "peasant and workers' militia" and the "Urban Literacy Guerillas." Each battle unit chose the name of a fallen combatant as a means of honouring his or her memory. (Miller, 1985, p. 24)

Miller quotes campaign director Padre Fernando Cardenal's explanation of the choice of this terminology, which seeks to stress that it was in no way "designed to glorify war or violence":

On the contrary, the choice of military metaphors was designed to help young volunteers integrate the memories of the past, transforming terms related to the war into positive associations with teaching and sharing. Military terminology also helped the brigadistas see the crusade as a vital part of the nation's continuing liberation struggle and to understand that, as such, it demanded the seriousness,

dedication, and discipline of a military offensive. In essence, we wanted to make clear that peacetime battles demanded the same selfless, disciplined commitment as did the war effort; in fact, they demanded more.

The use of the military terms and the names of the fallen heroes had a deeply spiritual significance. The crusade owed its very existence to the revolution and to the sacrifice of thousands of men and women who fought and died for liberation. By calling forth their names and memories, the young volunteers kept alive the courage and example of their fallen compatriots. A spiritual bond joined the living and the dead. (F. Cardenal, September 1980 interview, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 25)

This passage, along with the military metaphors and terminology of the campaign, is suggestive of "structures of feeling" very powerfully at work in the articulation of the campaign. It is beyond the scope of the thesis analysis to pursue this aspect of the overdetermination of campaign practice; however, whatever the stated motivations for the choice of campaign metaphors and terminology, it requires mention that the transposition onto the campaign of a discourse of war worked to effect an equivalence between "dictatorship" and "ignorance," as two obstacles to be fought, and that the negativity attached to the former is

thereby situated within the bodies of "the people," wherein "the enemy" is subsequently to be confronted. Further, the assault on ignorance was articulated as a holy war, sacralized by way of the naming of the campaign as a crusade.

The metaphors of the campaign, then, constructed it as a moment in the movement of a national collectivity through history, conceived of teleologically and as a totality, and presenting clearly demarcated victories; and the titles and content of the materials developed for use by the brigadistas and the recipients of literacy instruction, as well as campaign publicity, did likewise, while articulating the causal sequence literacy-collective awakening--heightened production--further transcendence.

The materials developed for use by the brigadistas consisted of a primer--El Amanecer del pueblo ("Dawn of the people")--a math text ("Calculation and Reactivation: One Single Operation"), and a teacher's guide ("The Handbook on Sandinista Education: Orientations for the Literacy Promoter"). The extent to which the campaign was closely articulated to the Sandinista development and social project is evident from: the contents of the primer (see the theme sentences, as previously cited, figuring in the primer, and the three broad theme areas they were grouped within); the contents of the math text and teacher's guide; and the title of the math text. The nature of the math text as a

pedagogical instrument for transmitting knowledge about the development project, and the way in which it had been determined that people were to participate in it, is highly apparent in the content description Miller provides:

The book was organized around economic themes...and...divided into six chapters. It contained 102 pages of math exercises. Each chapter began with a dialogue discussion that was generated by a drawing and the reading of a topic sentence summarizing the essence of the chapter's theme...Chapter 1 focused on ENABAS, the national Grains Distribution Program, and the problem of food speculation. Counting, weights and measures, and simple one-digit addition and subtraction were also presented...General economic concepts such as wages, unemployment, income distribution, the consequences of low production, inflation, and consumption patterns were the focus of discussion in Chapter 2. This study also included a further study of weights and measures and work problems involving the addition and subtraction of two-digit numbers.

Chapter 3 presented...a discussion of the Agrarian Reform Institute and the Farmworker's Association. Chapter 4 concentrated on the need for cooperation between rural and urban labour associations in order to increase production. The fourth chapter also included the multiplication and division of two-digit

numbers....[Chapter 5] focused on the public sector of the economy administered by the government...Chapter 6 began with a discussion of the purpose and procedures of the National Development Bank and included the study of fractions, time, and the calendar. (Miller, 1985, p. 100-101)

The consequences of low production and the "need for cooperation...to increase production" were affirmed through the use of this text, as they were in theme sentence number seven of the primer--"To spend little, save much, and produce a lot--that is making the revolution."

Of the 101 pages of the teacher's guide:

Sixteen pages were devoted to a step-by-step explanation of the primer's teaching method; 6 pages to community-action research; 5 to the field diary; 1 page dealt with filling out student progress reports.

Several pages were devoted to introductory information as well as a biography of Sandino, a glossary, the literacy crusade anthem, and student attendance sheets.

The bulk of the book, some 60 pages, was dedicated to detailed background readings and study questions on each of the twenty-three lesson themes. (Miller, 1985, pp. 101-02)

The background readings were prepared by government officials.

The great majority of the teacher's guide, then, was

taken up with the elaboration of a pedagogical input to be transmitted in the course of the literacy instruction--specifically, within the "dialogue" sessions. However, the specificity of the content in the guide, and the extent to which literacy teachers endeavoured to transmit this content to students in the course of the "dialogue" sessions, did not follow simply from a singular origin--the intent to generate a "common knowledge base" across the nation--but owed something to a certain "lack." A hasty expansion of the contents of the guide constituted an effort to respond to this lack. In the course of the pilot project, given the perceived excessive generality of the procedures for generating "dialogue," a list of suggested questions, based on the background readings in the teacher's guide, was rapidly developed and included in the guide. The incorporation of the question sheets into the teacher's guide, in particular, solidified the problem; although they were "only intended as a guide...because they were included as a suggested part of the dialogue process in the final teacher's manual, they were taken and used by many volunteers faithfully, word for word"(Miller, 1985, p. 85). The subsequent "dialogue problems," then, owed something to the terms of an effort to counter the generality identified within the initial formulation of the dialogue procedures; and this generality, I argue, owed something to the lack of imaginaires of the recipients of instruction in terms more

concrete than those of overarching, revolutionary nationalist narratives; in short, there seems to have been little sense of anything specific they may have had to contribute to the "dialogue."

Several posters publicizing the campaign are further suggestive of its articulation to the planned development project. One poster put out by the National Literacy Crusade/Ministry of Education (see p. 426) features an image of a robust man armed with tools and a literacy primer ("CARTILLA"), and text which translates as "LITERACY AND PRODUCTION: Two goals in our revolutionary process which will forge the new man in the liberated homeland." Another (see p. 427) features a chain just broken from the pressure of a book's spine, and text which translates as "To become literate is to follow the path set out by Carlos Fonseca and Sandino. LITERACY IS LIBERATION. Free Nicaragua! LITERACY AND PRODUCTION ARE REVOLUTIONARY TASKS." A third poster (see p. 428, from Kunzle p. 34) features three men, one milking a cow and two others carrying away the fruits of production, and text translating as "LITERACY to increase production."

Along with this increase in production, the campaign was to further the incorporation of the Atlantic Coast region into the reconstructed nation. One poster (see p. 429, from Mattelart p. 125) representing the Atlantic Coast region features, above a landscape scene, the head of a woman and a man, with physical features marking them as

members of an Atlantic Coast population grouping, and text translating as "INTEGRATION WILL BE REALIZED WITH LITERACY--Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua--1980 Year of Literacy--National Literacy Crusade--Minister of Education." Another poster (see p. 430, from Mattelart p. 129) features text in Miskito, English, and Sumo (and smaller text in Spanish) reading "THE SUNRISE OF THE PEOPLE," and features three women, a man and a child with a literacy instructor, in the course of a lesson. This trope of a "dawn" (incorporated into the title of the literacy primer and inscribed elsewhere), with its connotations of a passage from one of two diametrically opposed and valued states to another, failed to appeal to many Costeños. As a CIDCA (Centre for Atlantic Coast Research and Documentation) article notes:

Many ministry officials we interviewed recall the pervasive revolutionary enthusiasm for seeing "the giant awaken," as billboards across Nicaragua proclaimed. But even the slogan backfired. What had been intended as a show of respect for the coast and its future was sneered at. "We've been awake all along, and you Spanish just never noticed," was Misurata's retort. (CIDCA, 1986, p. 128)

("Giant" refers to the fact that the Atlantic Coast territory constitutes some 56% of the national territory.) Such a "Costeño" response, then, remarked upon the way in which the discourse of the campaign, and of the Sandinista

project more generally, constructed "the people" negatively, in terms of lack.

Many Nicaraguans experienced lives of chronic hunger, the constant threat of death due to malnutrition and malnutrition-related diseases, the childhood deaths of many siblings, and encounters with the brutality of Guardia National forces. (Leslie Anderson's research on three Nicaraguan campesino communities in The Political Ecology of the Modern Peasant provides one powerful account, supported by testimonios, of the extent of the suffering and injustice experienced.) In the light of such conditions, the overthrow of the dictatorship, the FSLN commitment to ensure the universal provision of "basic needs," and the installation of a government with such commitments, might well have seemed to many to have received appropriate expression in the metaphor of a dawn of the people, with its connotation of the passage from a negative to a positive state. Nevertheless, the condensation of meanings at work in this metaphor, and the production and circulation of a discourse of a "war on ignorance," was problematic in its suggestion of an essential truth of the terrain.

On the one hand, a mass of warrants for the conception of large numbers of Nicaraguans as existing "within a negative state of being"--as having lived much of their lives on the frontiers of starvation--were all too painfully apparent; and the felt urgency of putting an end to this was

operative in the overdetermination of FSLN practice. On the other hand, it proves to be profoundly problematic that such a large body of statements cast the social terrain in the countryside in terms of emptiness and lack--as the site of ignorance and underdevelopment--a space which urban agents were to come to and to fill with a new positivity.

Other statements worked quite differently. An example is provided with the quote to follow--a passage from Beverly Trueman's "Cultural Insurrection in Nicaragua." This is quoted in Miller's text, subsequent to the statement that the "peasants became the teachers of the brigadistas; city youngsters learned the skills of country living":

Since the brigadistas proved to be almost foolish about how to survive in the country, the mastery of new skills became the work of everyone together. The brigadistas mastered the cow's teats, the making of tortillas, and the chopping of wood. They learned to swing the machete, pick coffee beans and carry water buckets on their heads or hips. They learned to follow routes that were so untravelled that they had never become paths. They learned to look for new kinds of landmarks, or mark the paths with machete cuttings in the trees. But the campesinos knew what they knew because of their lifetime in the country. Few brigadistas could learn, in five months, to hike without muddying themselves unnecessarily or to pass

under and over barbwire fences with enough grace to keep one's place and to protect one's clothing. Few learned to recognize all the bits of food that the mountain woods offer, or to hear far away sounds through the mountain's silence. Few could tell in the morning whether it would rain in the afternoon and the most unfortunate were those few who didn't learn how to bathe in a river without drowning. And so the campesinos cared for and protected us brigadistas as if we were long lost relatives who'd come home, but who hadn't truly left behind that other world beyond the nearest village. (Trueman, 1981, p. 9-10, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 170)

In Miller's Between Struggle and Hope, in Miller and Cardenal's "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABCs," and in the lengthy statement of campaign objectives reproduced in both of these texts, the paucity of the terms of articulation and valuation of "the ways and skills of peasant living" is notable. This articulates to one of the conclusions of Saldaña-Portillo's research on the agrarian reform and how the subjectivity of the landless and land-poor was understood by the FSLN leadership (conclusions presented in "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction: Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy," 1997); landless and land-poor campesinos with aspirations to acquire parcels of land for family-unit production were not

considered as part of the "present tense" of the nation, but rather as members of a regressive formation.

The concluding portion of this chapter section indicates the pertinence of constructions of the countryside and marginal rural subjects with reference to a critique of development and agrarian reform policy. It also indicates significant interventions and transitions in constructions of campesino "being" subsequent to the early 1980s, as they contrast with constructions of the countryside in terms of lack.

At the outset of the post-overthrow period and in the years following, development and agrarian reform policy entailed a marked emphasis on relatively large, capital-intensive projects and on advancing the forces of production; at the same time, it also included initiatives such as the provision of land titles to smallholders who had already squatted on the lands of the "agricultural frontier." Initiatives were heterogeneous and did include some immediate land redistribution and titling in favour of the most marginal among the "campesino" sector. However, as was often the case, warrants for aspects of practice contrasting to a more classic Marxist-Leninist model of social change were lifted up to an undue degree in representations of Sandinismo; and the decision to maintain the great bulk of appropriated "Somocista" lands as state farms did not, in any case, require legitimation with

reference to Marxist doctrine specifically. It could be and was presented as a simple matter of productive efficiency. Perhaps surprisingly, even Saldaña-Portillo's "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction" (1997) repeats the common explanation that the initial decision to continue to maintain the appropriated lands as large production units followed from the legitimate desire to make the best possible use of the already-existing infrastructure. Yet what was articulated as the means to move beyond relations of dependency entailed the use of liquid resources--aid money, credit, and capital generated from sales of state enterprise production--to finance purchase of technological inputs on which state-farm production was dependant. As is indicated in my literature review in the "Appendix," there are grounds for arguing that the degree of emphasis on productive efficiency--through the maintenance and extension of modernized production--further contributed to Nicaraguan dependency.

The tragic destruction of life and infrastructure in the course of the "contra" war, which was well in process by 1983, and which was substantially financed and directed by CIA operatives, not surprisingly became the outstanding factor in blame for loss. However, as analysts such as Peter Marchetti have suggested, such aggression might have been anticipated and factored into decisions as to what type of "development initiatives" to undertake; and rural

aspirations for access to lands for "traditional" small-unit, low-input production, production of a type to which the most marginal sectors of campesinos were accustomed, might have functioned as complementary to "alternative" paths beyond dependency.

The literacy campaign discourse of a "war on ignorance" invites consideration alongside the possibility that existing campesino knowledge and aspirations, understood in different terms, might have constituted the basis for a different praxis.

Marchetti and Maldier's angry critique of FSLN development and agrarian reform policy in "Peasant Farmers Must Be Included" (1996) seeks to revalorize rural knowledge systems. The benefits of peasant production are articulated with reference to low-input processes less dependant on external resources for financing, to the generation of employment, and to the potential to do less damage to the environment.

Such an articulation contrasts with the vision of sweeping social transformation of the early 1980s articulated by Sandinistas such as Nuñez Soto, head of CIERA, the research arm of the MIDINRA (Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform); as Nuñez Soto articulated the process of change, the political revolution:

initiates changes in the most backward social relations; and finally prepares itself to establish the

economic-technical conditions of development and proletarianization of the society. Only then does the social revolution become possible, the order of which is: development of the productive forces, change in the capitalist relations of production, elimination of classes through the construction of popular power and the creation of a de-alienated consciousness and behaviour. (Nuñez-Soto, La transición difícil: La autodeterminación de los pequeños países periféricos, 1987, translated and quoted in Wright, 1995, p. 220.)

The latter statement articulates a set order of change in which an advancement of the forces of production is primary.

Nuñez Soto was to co-author a 1995 publication entitled Desarrollo Agroecológico y Asociatividad Campesina: El Caso de Nicaragua (Agro-ecological Development and Campesino Associativity: The Case of Nicaragua). The discourse taken up in this text is exemplary of general shifts taken up in the analytic frameworks of many researchers of the agrarian situation in the context of the passage from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, and in the course of close engagement with the Sandinista revolution; and it contrasts with the earlier terms of Sandinista representations of the rural terrain. The book presents a proposal for "agro-ecological development by way of the associative relations of campesinos and the producer-workers of the rural sector"(xi), based on the "experiences and tendencies"

accumulated and in process; the proposal is presented in four initial chapters followed by 60 case studies/descriptions of local, regional and national-level initiatives. Campesinos are referred to as "new economic subjects," and substantial emphasis is placed on agroecology, alternative agriculture, diverse relations of associativity and their vertical integration, local agroecosystems, sustainability, gender relations, food security, production units geared toward both production for consumption and the market, and biodiversity. There is mention: of past technocratic interventions concentrating on the macroeconomic level and neglecting the latter's articulation with the microeconomic level; of "recuperation of the knowledge accumulated by campesinos and rural communities themselves"(28), of "autogestión," and of the importance of autonomous organization and of the absence of subordination of sectoral groupings to organizations or political parties. Such terms may be contrasted with the terms of a "discursive ordering of things" as articulated by Núñez and other FSLN members in the first half-decade following the overthrow, and with constructions of the being and becoming of campesinos in the context of the literacy campaign, as they projected a culmination in full incorporation of a revolutionary citizenry and ever-greater advancement of national productivity.

Conceptions of Development, Literacy and Community in the Articulation of the Literacy Crusade

The terms of the Nicaraguan campaign articulate to those of functionalist knowledges of literacy referenced in the planning of the Nicaraguan campaign. (See Endnote Three of this chapter.) The emptying of the content of located experiences of material life within a linear story of Man in passage to full productivity, to full use of the technologies of rationality, and consequently to greater knowledge of Truth was such as to clear the ground for reinsertion of content in the form of national development; literacy as liberation was literacy as enabled by and in support of the nation, and the national community was cast as an organic unity, and in functionalist terms, such that the particular was significant only as an expression of what was presumed to be the general, as inserted within a teleology.

The anti-Somoza alliance, articulated across class lines in the period just prior to and subsequent to the overthrow of Somoza, was often cast, in this period, as a negotiated, relative and conjunctural unity articulated over against a common foe--a dictatorial state regime; while this conjunctural conception of non-essential unity was available, and was discursively inscribed, within a large body of statements a national-popular force was cast as a pre-existing state of being, articulated as without tensions

or internal differentiations--and, as both a pre-existing organic unity and an organic unity to be constructed. This conception of collectivity and an attendant conception of "politics" proves to have been operative in the literacy campaign.

Campaign director Padre Fernando Cardenal, writing to legitimate the "political" nature of the campaign, stated that:

For...Aristotle, the term "political" was derived from the word "polis," which meant city. Political or politics related to a concern or interest in the city, the science that studied the social relations, the way of living, of those who dwell in the city, which nowadays we would call the nation.

Therefore politics is the science that is concerned about all those people who live in our nation. In biblical language, it is the love I have toward all those who live with me in the same society, the love for my neighbor, for my fellow citizens. Politics in its true sense is a science completely opposed and antagonistic to the selfish, egocentric attitudes which give rise to exploitation. People who take advantage of or exploit others only see them as objects to be manipulated, as cheap labour to be used, while the true politician starts from a basic position of love and concern and sees people as fellow human

beings living in the same nation, sharing and working together.

We believe that politics is the art of assuring that all people in this nation progress, that all of us conquer and win our freedom, our liberty, our independence, the peace and justice necessary so that love can be nourished, grow, and reign over all. This really is politics--the constant loving search and struggle to improve our lives and the lives of others.

We believe that our education is not only political but it is based on the political sense that emerges from love and the political sense that attempts to build a world of justice and community....This love, of course, is not a purely sentimental emotion, but it is the kind of love that is concerned with transforming the degrading conditions to which fellow human beings are subjected. Politics is the love by which people work together to transform inhuman and unjust conditions; it is part of the noble quest and struggle of humanity for dignity and justice. (Cardenal, November 1980, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 26)

While political practice informed by love and concern for others is desirable, the diverse and often-conflicting operationalized knowledges by way of which people may work together to transform inhuman and unjust conditions or, by way of which they (at best) negotiate differing visions

of social transformation are irreducible to positionings grounded in "love." Cardinal's vision of absolute communion, proceeding without qualification from a reference to the level of the city, to that of the nation, to that of the world, constructs an abstract ideal subject, whose essence is love; and it articulates the occupation of this subject position as the origin of all knowledge and of a total knowledge--as the base of a deductive knowing. Following from this, the terms of engagement with particularities is such that they are always already known in advance.

Closely related to this is a dichotomous and Manichean conception of subjectivity and collectivities, which proves highly pertinent in relation to the limitations of certain Sandinista interventions in the countryside--i.e., those related to domestic trade. A dualistic conception of the populace in terms of "the exploiters" and "the exploited," as operative in interventions in the countryside, was to substitute for a knowledge of the particularities of rural life, in a manner productive of problems widely noted in the literature on such interventions. *

Proceeding deductively, from the assumption of community as an organic singularity, rather than as something contingent and as something to be constructed through negotiation, foreclosed the recognition of possible paths that were not taken, as an analysis beginning from the

following passage serves to demonstrate. To again quote Fernando Cardenal:

I remember one day an educator, a technical specialist from Asia, arrived at the office to discuss our work. He wanted to know why we had chosen the word "revolution" to begin our primer. Why was the content so political? He suggested that we start with something more universal or neutral like water. Emphasizing its uses, its chemical composition. He said he preferred an apolitical approach, but indeed, what he was proposing, in actuality, was profoundly political.

Water is not a national problem; it is not a burning issue that brings all people together. The word does not touch them deeply nor emerge from their shared history or reality. The revolution, however, the struggle against the dictator, the building of a new society, is an intimate part of their past and their present. It is a beautiful word, it is part of the nation's history and heritage--a source of pride, of pain, of hope. It touches the soul and finds resonance with reality.

To use words like water in the way this man proposed denies people their history, their power, their pride. It contributes to keeping them passive and alienated. It inhibits their ability to understand and act upon their world. What could be more political?

He was supporting one kind of politics, and we were proposing another. (Cardenal, November 1980, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 29)

Cardenal's articulation of water as a non-issue--which goes well beyond the critique the technical specialist's perspective does indeed warrant--invites comparison with the following description of an aspect of experience in the peasant community of Quebrada Honda, in the years prior to the overthrow of Somoza:

No water was piped into the village nor did families have wells. Water was available only from the wells of two large farms just outside the village. Both were owned by members of the National Guard, who sold the peasants water by the barrel for an exorbitant price. Peasants had to supply their own barrels and travelled daily by oxcart to purchase water. The exhausting trip took between two and four hours, depending on the condition of the road and the length of the line at the well, and each oxcart carried only two barrels.

(Anderson, 1994, p. 121)

Without such daily experiences--experiences whose particularities were not everywhere shared across the national territory--there could not have been something articulated as "la revolución."

The case of Quebrada Honda--one of the three Nicaraguan peasant communities studied in Leslie Anderson's

The Political Ecology of the Modern Peasant: Calculation and Community--might serve well as a warrant for the Sandinista narration of popular and campesino involvement in the revolution, and for representations of the social terrain emphasizing negativity and lack. (The case of the community of Pedregal, however, stands in dramatic contrast.) In Quebrada Honda, the revolution, "the struggle against the dictator," would have been taken to be an "intimate part of [people's] past and their present." ⁵ At the same time, given the experience of the residents of Quebrada Honda in accessing water, it appears questionable whether it could be said that "water" as well would not have been a word emerging from "their shared history or reality" and a word that could have "touched them deeply." It might well have provided one provisional way into dialogue as to what was and what might be, and as to how it could and should be realized.

Whereas "la revolución" and Sandinista discourse had come to be an intimate part of this community's reality, this was far from being universally so in rural regions across the national territory. Nevertheless, the beginning of dialogue out of the particularity of the experience in communities across the national territory--as something with no neat homogeneity but with certain widely-present regularities--offered a means of inductive entry into the question of the need for collective action in the past and

present, and of what it might and should consist of. However, "the people" were approached as an organic unity, potentially without social and political tension, with those tensions which continued to exist being cast as the product of a backward consciousness inherited from the past, and its legacy of underdevelopment and ignorance as manipulated in the present. Such a conception of organic community, as inscribed in the overarching story of a nationalist pedagogy, was articulated within what was presumed to be a conceptual containment of reality, following from an essence of popular being and the truly and fully human subject. As such, it negated or limited an understanding of heterogeneity and difference across the social terrain-- heterogeneity and differences without which no "dialogue" would find its conditions of existence in the first place.

Conclusion

A consideration of various artifacts and aspects of the campaign indicates the degree to which the campaign was articulated to the Sandinista development and social project, and was articulated by way of a knowledge system and discourses which evidence a limited valuation of the particularity of the knowledge of the rural recipients of literacy instruction. The campaign entailed problematic assumptions about what the latter subjects were and should become--i.e., citizens/revolutionary subjects focused on

assuming a pre-determined role in development, agrarian reform and social projects whose broad outlines and whose mechanisms were largely the result of leadership decisions. (The articulation of these projects might have followed instead from much more in the way of dialogue and negotiation between leadership and citizens.) This proves particularly pertinent in that the broad outlines of the initial development and agrarian reform project were not congruent with widespread aspirations of the landless and land-poor for redistribution of lands for traditional, family-unit production, and in that, even in terms of national "economic/productive efficiency," the initial choices made were to prove questionable.

Even as the rural recipients of literacy instruction were cast as subjects as well as objects of knowledge, the objectives of broad social incorporation, and of the generation of a "common knowledge base" across the nation, were accorded priority over the procedures of an available "science of emancipatory pedagogy" affirming that education "must not be a situation where some men name on behalf of others" (Freire, 1970, p. 77). This prioritization found some of its rationalization in the understanding that the nationalist knowledge people were invited to speak, in the context of the dialogue process, already represented the knowledge they had and were destined to come to.

The failure of a dialogue process that was nevertheless

represented as having "offered participants the power of the word and of history" proves symptomatic of the limitations of a national-popular knowledge system which laid claim to an understanding of the rural terrain, in its essential being and becoming. This becoming, as represented in campaign publicity and campaign discourse more generally, articulated the causal sequence literacy--collective awakening/participation--heightened production--further transcendence. These terms have an evident correspondence to those within the knowledge of literacy and development referenced in the planning of the Nicaraguan campaign, and figure within an overdetermined process shaped by modernist knowledge systems more generally.

Endnotes

1) The name of the Brazilian educator and pedagogical theorist Paulo Freire figures large within knowledges of literacy; Freire's writings on pedagogy and his pedagogical practice are often assumed to have marked a radical break with previous understandings of pedagogy, knowledge and "the illiterate"--including, quite centrally, "the peasantry."

Preparatory work prior to literacy instruction was to entail investigation into the ways in which localized groups had already named the world and attributed value within it, and with the generation of lesson materials from this. Lessons were to begin: with reference to "generative words" and to "codifications"--sketches or photographs--depicting contents already familiar to the students; and with the invitation to a dialogue beginning from reference to these words and images. Such methods and materials were to immediately encourage the recipients of instruction to understand themselves as subjects already engaged in making sense of the world.

However, in Pedagogy of the Oppressed, it is not the specificity of localized knowledge systems or of what located subjects might think which is accorded value.

"Subjects" are understood as instances of a human Subject, defined by way of various oppositions: the object is opposed to the Subject, the Nature of animals is opposed to the Culture of Man (who possesses the Logos), and a state of dehumanization is opposed to a state of full humanity. The particularities of specific subjects are only significant with the meaning and movement of universal Being, whose reality is to be unveiled by the speaking of the Logos. Given that Freirian pedagogy as elaborated in this seminal text is articulated within what aspires to be a totalizing philosophy of History, its frequent consideration apart from a critical account of the articulation of an idealist master narrative of history proves questionable--as does the understanding that it constitutes an affirmation of popular culture.

What Pedagogy of the Oppressed objects to is the projection of "an absolute ignorance" onto illiterate and peasant others (Freire, 1970, p. 58, emphasis added); this text itself, with its aggregate-level explanations for behaviour and its understanding of culture as a superstructure, itself includes numerous statements which go a long way towards constructing an ignorant essence of a group inclusive of hundreds of millions, rendering insignificant the heterogeneity of indigenous and peasant cultures in the process: "under the sway of magic and myth, the oppressed (especially the peasants, who are almost submerged in nature) see their suffering, the fruit of exploitation, as the will of God..."[48]; Latin American peasants, whose world usually ends at the boundaries of the latifundium, whose gestures to some extent simulate those of the animals and the trees, and who often consider themselves equal to the latter..."[175]; "...because of their identification with the oppressor they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or members of an oppressed class. It is not to become free men that they want agrarian reform, but in order to acquire land and become landowners--or, more precisely, bosses over other workers"(30). "Almost never do they realize that they, too, 'know things'...(50). This Freirian reading of the world, clearly, "requires the understanding of...culture as a superstructure(157)"--of "ideas" and behaviours as the product of positioning within a social topography and relations of production. And an encounter with a "pedagogy of the oppressed" is taken to be a vital step in a movement beyond false consciousness and a "state of submersion."

2 Graff's analysis in The Labyrinths of Literacy is productive of numerous passages which lend themselves to an account of the discursive inscription of an enlightenment conception of "literacy," with attendant power/knowledge effects. Within linear narrations of the history of Man,

"literacy" has figured as a symbol of the global social terrain in what is presumed to be its being and becoming, and was powerfully rearticulated as such within the knowledges of development of the 1960s and 1970s.

Literacy instruction came to be articulated as directed toward the production of the ideal modern citizen, who would have ■ Knowledge■ (knowledge as Truth following from the full use of the technologies of rationality).

Even as the ongoing production of knowledges of literacy within international forums such as UNESCO conferences included acknowledgements of literacy instruction as a factor within hegemonic social control, statements such as those at the 1975 International Symposium for Literacy (in Persepolis, Iran) continued to make "tremendous leaps from campaigns to provide instruction in the technical skills of reading and writing to literacy as the source of independent, critical, and constructive thought processes"(Graff, 1987, p. 56); and further leaps were made from the latter to the economic progress of collectivities. UNESCO was "committed to what amounts to a modernization theory to the effect that economic progress follows upon a change in man from illiterate to literate, preferably in one generation..."(Graff, 1987, p. 33). In the context of the Persepolis Symposium:

The legacy of social theories about education was most pervasive: literacy was related to liberty, initiation of social and economic change, national destiny, social justice, the transformation of mentalities, and the 'awakening of autonomous, critical, constructive minds, capable of changing man's relationship with man and nature.'(Graff, 1987, p. 55)

As Graff underlines, numerous statements on literacy have been marked by the tendency to obscure the overdetermination of outcomes, and consequently they articulate to a narration of history as a universal progress from underdevelopment to development--to a state of advanced use of technologies of rationality and productivity, and of full incorporation of populations into a broad social order defined by such.

Consideration of the provision of education within such a narration of progress is obviously complicated by the relationship of the terms of social exclusion (exclusion owing something to a lack of reading and writing skills) to injustice. The point, then, is not the denial of such complications, but rather, the problematic of an a priori equation of the "difference" of certain social formations--formations figuring to some extent outside such terms of incorporation--with "backwardness," as their primary point of definition.

3. Miller's statements in Between Struggle and Hope, in the course of mapping knowledges of literacy as generated in the 1960s and 1970s as productive of established truths from which the Nicaraguan campaign followed, reproduce its functionalist terms; the "Nicaraguan experience is part of a broader challenge confronting people far beyond one Central American nation's borders"(3); the campaign staff in Nicaragua reasoned that a literacy program "would provide an opportunity for people to acquire the skills and attitudes necessary to meet the development challenge"(23); "...some figures suggest that from 25 to 60 million people in the United States do not have the fundamental literacy skills to function effectively in society"(3); "Considered a serious obstacle to national development, illiteracy contributes to the exclusion of significant sectors of a population from economic and political participation and from sharing in the full benefits of society [UNESCO/UNDP 1976]"(3); the Nicaraguan campaign staff "defined the situation this way: 'Without literacy, it will not be possible to prepare our people to assume the responsibilities that the great challenge of national reconstruction demands'"(23).

At the same time, Miller asserts that:

On the international scene, the seventies marked a change in how literacy programs were defined. The particular focus on economic productivity was abandoned for a view that supported literacy as a strategy for liberation and social change. (Miller, 1985, p. 10)

The effort here to mark a clear distinction between two apparently opposed positions is contradicted by several of Miller's citations and synthesizes of position statements.

A "new view" is posed over against the conception of "functional literacy" operative in the UNESCO-sponsored Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP) of the 1960s, and articulated at the 1965 World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy. The thrust of the idea of "functional literacy" was that people needed the skills and knowledge to increase economic productivity-- individual and collective. (Literacy instruction was integrated with "industrial, agricultural, and craft training for men, and homemaking and family planning for women"[Arnove and Graff, 1987, p. 8].) A 1976 UNESCO/UNDP report evaluating the EWLP (The Experimental World Literacy Program: A Critical Assessment)

concluded that the definition of functional needed to be broadened and related to an expanded concept of development. "Indeed, it would seem that literacy programmes can only be truly functional--and development contexts can only be fully conducive to

literacy--if they accord importance to social, cultural, and political change and economic growth...enhancing popular participation"(UNESCO/UNDP 1976, 122). In their final deliberations, the team of experts coordinating the EWLP research emphasized that without the mobilization of the hearts and minds of people, there can be no sustained development or literacy work. Change and participation are key components of the process. (Miller. 1985, p. 8)

Clearly, a focus on "economic growth and productivity" has not been abandoned here (and nor was this so in the Nicaraguan campaign); rather, there is an extension of the relevant categories for conceptualizing "the process" of change.

4 The case of state intervention in rural trade provides one important example; it has been underlined by numerous analysts, including analysts highly sympathetic to the Sandinista project and analysts who were participants in the implementation and the study of agrarian policy ((Wright, Enríquez, Marchetti, Nuñez-Soto et. al., Saldaña-Portillo), as a major source of disaffection with Sandinismo in many rural regions.

At the outset of FSLN government it was decided that small- and medium-scale agricultural producers were to be paid a guaranteed price for their sales to the state. The price was higher than that previously offered them by the traditional intermediaries. The latter had resold to urban marketers at much higher prices. The purchasing and distributing of basic food products became the responsibility of ENABAS, the Empresa Nicaraguense de Alimentos Basicos. Its initial goal "was to purchase approximately 40 percent of the basic grain crop"(Enriquez, 1991, p. 98). Other purchasers, it was assumed, would have to respond by matching the government price. The products were to be resold at subsidized prices in designated retail outlets. The expected activities of speculators were to be countered by an increase of provision of the subsidized goods. These policies had as one of their objectives the building of solidarity between small rural producers and the urban poor.

As Enriquez notes, "The problems encountered by ENABAS in replacing traditional intermediaries were symptomatic of the more general problems that confronted the new government in its efforts to transform the agrarian sector"(1991, p. 99). Thus, it is worth quoting her description of these problems at length:

It was not uncommon for an intermediary to arrive at a farm offering agricultural credit and inputs and return

to the farm at harvest time to purchase what was produced, thus cancelling the campesino's debt. In contrast, although the credit offered by the government was now available at much lower rates, several trips to the nearest branch office of the bank were usually required to complete the transaction. For those living in isolated areas, this could mean more than a day's walk into town. Once the campesino had obtained this necessary resource, the local government-run agricultural inputs outlet (PROAGRO) was the next stop. Inputs at PROAGRO were frequently in short supply so items that could not be obtained there had to be purchased on the open market, usually at very elevated prices, or done without. After the harvests, the campesinos had to bring their crop to the nearest ENABAS purchasing centre, frequently incurring a significant expense in the process. Finally, ENABAS provided them with a certificate to be cashed at the local bank in payment for the crop. The bank branch office would not necessarily have enough cash on hand to pay all the producers for their crops at the same time. Thus several trips to the bank might be required to complete the last stage of this process.

In sum, although the traditional intermediaries usually exploited the dependency of the campesino population on the functions they performed, the system worked. In contrast, the course leading through the new state system, composed of multiple bureaucracies, was laden with potential for bottlenecks. Several efforts were made to streamline this process... Yet the problems remained... (Enriquez, 1991, p. 99-100)

Beyond the "efficiency" of the traditional system (underlined also by Marchetti and Maldidier, of the NITLAPAN research institute in Managua), its rootedness in socio-cultural relations also accounted for the fact that there was no universal resentment, amongst the whole of the rural populace, of its exploitative aspects. Wright notes in his Theory in the Practice of the Nicaraguan Revolution that the Sandinista conceptual mapping of the countryside, in terms of large-scale divisions between exploiters and exploited, failed to account for the personalized nature of the trading networks, bound up as they often were with community and family ties that crossed this division. Further:

Often those responsible for the actual policies were seen by individual campesinos as strangers from the city who responded not only to the local situation but to policymakers and administrators from outside the local community. Thus, even in so far as the work was done efficiently and fairly it was often perceived as impersonal and arbitrary..... Thus it often happened

that the "outsiders" from the city actually created divisions between the rural and urban populations through their very efforts to reconstruct rural relationships on a basis that was seen as promoting social justice. (Wright, 1995, p. 186)

The initial difficulties ENABAS encountered in purchasing the amounts it had planned to acquire appear to indicate some resistance to participation in the state system; and in the years to follow, consumers became "squeezed between food shortages in the official markets and high food prices in the black market" (Biondi-Morra, 1993, p. 136).

5 Quebrada Honda is a village of some 180 peasant families eight kilometres from the town of Masaya and thirty-three kilometres from Managua. Anderson's study, based on ethnography, and on interviews and surveys with community members, found that by the end of the insurrectionary period, in the years just prior to the overthrow of Somoza, almost all the villagers were involved in activities in support of the armed struggle. At least one early collaborator and highly active militant, Ramón, had been told stories about the struggle of Sandino's day by a grandfather who had fought with Sandino's forces against the U.S. Marines.

Anderson's citations of testimonios of life in pre-revolutionary Quebrada Honda include:

..I had clothes for the first time when I was twelve years old. We ate once a day, and there was a lot of hunger. There was malnutrition.

...My parents were so poor they raised us naked... there was never even one single month in which we had enough to eat.

We were poor. There was nothing to eat. It never got any better. We lived completely dominated by poverty. We were always hungry. I was thirteen when I got my first pair of shoes. (Anderson, 1994, p. 125)

Broad, if not universal, experience of terror and extortion at the hands of the National Guard was also a reality in this community; as Anderson describes this:

In Quebrada Honda, the National Guard had been corrupt thieves as well as repressers. They commonly ransacked peasant homes on the pretext of looking for weapons and carried off any valuable items no matter

how small. They imprisoned peasants and charged their families exorbitant sums for the prisoner's release. Peasant families were hard-pressed to raise these amounts but tried to do so even if it meant going into debt for years or losing land, because most of those arrested were tortured or killed. (Anderson, 1994, p. 134-35)

Chapter Five: Contrasting Campaign Discourses and Knowledges of "The People"

In this chapter I chart numerous instances of the inscription, circulation and reproduction of what I have referred to as a "predominant" and a "secondary" discourse of the national literacy campaign--with the former evoking a passage from a negative to a positive state, and the latter referencing a "two-way learning process." I also analyse the attendant terms of construction of campesino knowledge and of the knowledge to be transmitted to the recipients of instruction, situating such terms within the broad "rules of the game" of Sandinista government/vanguardist leadership--a leadership whose discursive terms of legitimisation included a claim to be learning from "the people." Further, I consider the brigadista experience of teaching and learning in the countryside, as it was situated within the Sandinista project.

This chapter follows under three section subtitles--"Contrasting Campaign Discourses and the Campaign as an Incorporative Project," "Mutual Learning, Sandinismo and the Brigadista Experience," and "Inscription, Circulation and Reproduction of a Predominant Campaign Discourse."

My findings may be contextualized with reference to theoretical frameworks elaborated in Part One of the thesis. Of particular relevance is an analysis building on Laclau and Mouffe's theorization of the articulation of discourses

of class struggle to discourses of national-popular struggle in the context of twentieth-century national liberation struggles. Such struggles saw a valorization of culturally-located "peoples" which destabilized but which did not simply replace the categories of orthodox Marxist knowledge. The doubleness and the specificity of literacy campaign discourses--and the prevalence of a discourse referencing the "ignorance" of the recipients of instruction--finds a context within this dynamic, and within modernity more generally.

A discourse of the campaign as "mutual learning" suggested a reciprocal process and a positive valuation of the pre-existing knowledge of the rural recipients of literacy instruction. In contrast, a predominant campaign discourse constructed the campaign as a movement from ignorance to knowledge, and from domination/darkness to liberation/light. Within the terms of a predominant campaign discourse, then, the countryside was constructed as an empty space to be filled with a new positivity, brought from away. The circulation of this discourse entailed the problematic "schooling" of the population, and of rural recipients of instruction, in the understanding that the latter had existed in an essentially negative state of being. At the same time, a claim to be learning "from the people" was integral to the terms of legitimisation of vanguard authority.

My critical analysis of campaign discourse and of the work of brigadistas acting as agents of state intervention does not entail a denial of a substantive basis for a discourse of mutual learning.

Escobar's Encountering Development (1995) draws on the work of Foucault in theorizing and considering processes in which outside agents of change set out to remake sites of intervention according to the vision of centralizing institutions, and in which the being of the people inhabiting such sites was constructed in terms of a "discourse of development," as these people were brought under the gaze of modernizing institutions which constituted them as objects of knowledge. While this framework clearly has some purchase in relation to the case of the Nicaraguan literacy campaign, a consideration of the latter case is also suggestive of the limitations of Escobar's text, which advances little in the way of analytic tools able to engage with diversity across the terms of "development interventions." (The latter are implicitly cast in wholesale negative terms, over against pre-existing "culture.") In the Nicaraguan case, a change in the gaze of agents of intervention was both called for, and, as a mass of testimonios suggest, widely realized; and such a change in "the gaze" was informed by what might be termed a "bodily border crossing," as agents of intervention lived outside the more modernized environments to which most were

accustomed, sharing the daily lives of their host families. The emphasis of the thesis on problematic aspects of the campaign proceeds along with an acknowledgement of the latter dynamics.

Contrasting Campaign Discourses and the Campaign as an Incorporative Project

The FSLN Minister of Education, Carlos Tunnermann, was to state following the conclusion of the campaign that:

The CNA was a great school for the brigade members; one often asks oneself: who learned more, the literacy-teachers from the peasants or the peasants from the literacy teachers? Many literacy teachers have said they though it was actually they who learned more during their stay in the countryside. ¹

As is demonstrated by way of numerous citations to follow, this statement constructing the campaign as a process of mutual learning was to find an echo in many others.

As Miller states, the "metaphors and terminology of the campaign were purposefully military (although the term "crusade" also had a religious connotation)--'the war on ignorance,' 'the cultural insurrection,' 'the second war of liberation,'..."(Between Struggle and Hope, 1985, p. 24). However, reference to a "war on ignorance," specifically, does not figure in the framing and terminology of Miller's and Miller and Cardenal's accounts of campaign objectives,

philosophy and procedures (in Between Struggle and Hope [1985], and "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABCs"[1986]), while representations of the campaign as a two-way learning process do provide frequent frames.

It is stated in one of the opening paragraphs of "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABCs" that:

In five months, more than 400,000 Nicaraguans learned to master basic reading and writing skills, and tens of thousands of young people and their families learned about rural poverty and peasant culture. (Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 95)

The opening paragraph of the second section of the text reiterates the conception of the agents of literacy instruction (and of the populace more generally) as learning from the recipients of instruction:

On 24 March 1980, the entire country became engaged in a nationwide learning campaign. Student volunteers went to the countryside to teach literacy and learn the ways of peasant living, while urban workers and housewives taught and learned from people in the cities. (Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 96)

The closing portion of the text includes 'testimonios' articulating the brigadista experience of mutual learning:

I'm learning a lot. I now know how to milk a cow and plant vegetables. The other day I was with Don Demesio roping a steer, but I'm so stupid that I frightened the

thing, and we had to work twice as hard to catch it again...(quoted in Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 107)

The concluding paragraph of the text again inscribes a discourse of the campaign as a mutual learning process:

Its promise can best be described by the words of a peasant speaking to the mother of his young literacy teacher: "Do you know I am not ignorant any more. I know how to read now. Not perfectly, you understand, but I know how. And do you know, your son isn't ignorant anymore either. Now he knows how we live, what we eat, how we work and he knows the life of the mountains. Your son, ma'am, has learned to read from our book." (Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 108)

This at once articulates an exchange of different knowledges--an exchange in which already knowledgable subjects gain further knowledge of specific skills and specific sites which they were "ignorant of"--and uses ignorance as a designation of a general state of Being. Campaign discourse entailed an articulation of both these significations, and a slippage between the former and the latter sense. The circulation of a discourse of "war on ignorance" was such as to suggest to the brigadistas, to the populace and to those without literacy skills that the latter were to be understood negatively, in terms of the knowledge and skills they did not possess, while at the same time, and in contrast to this, the "ways of peasant living"

were represented as a valuable knowledge to be taught to the brigadistas and to the populace more generally.

A discourse of the campaign as the means of a passage, on the part of the recipients of instruction, from a negative to a positive state (here referred to as a "predominate" campaign discourse--a designation for which this chapter provides support), entailed a condensation of meanings in that it encompassed two sets of terms of inscription. One articulated a passage from ignorance to knowledge, while the other, as operative in the metaphor of a dawn of the people, entailed a more general construction of a positive and a negative state, with the national collectivity moving from domination to liberation, and with the incorporation of the whole of the populace into the role of citizen/revolutionary subject. (As has been indicated in the preceding chapter, this was cast as a fuller use of the technologies of rationality in the interests of a fuller use of technologies of productivity--i.e., "literacy to increase production.") A secondary discourse of the campaign as a "two-way learning process" entailed a construction of campesinos (and members of popular sectors more generally) as subjects of knowledge and culture--as having developed or maintained something of value within and despite the Somoza dictatorship. Notably, these two discourses are repeatedly articulated (in Between Struggle and Hope [1985], and in "Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABCs" [1986]) but are

articulated separately, without there being any apparent recognition amongst the planners of the campaign of any contradiction entailed in this. Also notable is the paucity of terms for conceptualizing campesino knowledge and campesinos as subjects of knowledge; so, for example, there is no reference to such terms as "informal education" or "verbal literacy," or to knowledge of low-input production processes.

Considering the campaign within the Sandinista project more generally, the terms of valuation of what was to be learned from the recipients of instruction prove limited; the "ways of peasant living" were not taken to constitute a knowledge to be engaged with in detail by the leadership prior to the articulation of the broad outlines of development, agrarian reform and social policy. The crusade was, however, an information-gathering activity seen to be setting the stage for future interventions, as is suggested in the following statement from "Nicaragua 1980":

Since the Crusade was considered a reciprocal learning process, the handbook [for brigadistas] also outlined a systematic set of study activities for the volunteers. The basis of their learning was their own living and teaching experience. As such they were responsible for conducting a careful study of their communities and keeping a field diary of their activities. (Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 105)

Framings of the campaign with reference to the value accorded to reciprocity in learning may be considered alongside the detailed statement of campaign objectives presented in both "Nicaragua 1980" and Between Struggle and Hope:

In their development plan, conducting a nation-wide literacy campaign was one of the first priorities of the young government. In August 1979, just 15 days after victory, Nicaragua's Literacy Crusade was born. The first goal of the campaign was to eliminate illiteracy. Specifically, this meant reducing the illiteracy rate to between 10 to 15 per cent, establishing a nation-wide system of adult education, and expanding primary school coverage through the country. Other important goals were to encourage an integration and understanding among Nicaraguans of different classes and backgrounds; to increase political awareness and a critical analysis of underdevelopment; to nurture attitudes and skills related to creativity, production, cooperation, discipline, and analytical thinking; to forge a sense of national consensus and of social responsibility; to strengthen channels of economic and political participation; to acquaint people with national development programs; to record oral histories and recover popular forms of culture; and to conduct

research in health and agriculture for future development programming. (Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 98)

The emphasis here is on the incorporation of the whole of the population into a project whose broad outlines had already been determined; a "learning from the people" is not articulated as a major priority.

Mutual Learning, Sandinismo, and the Brigadista Experience

The careful efforts in the texts of Miller and of Miller and Cardenal to assert and foreground "mutual learning" as a value operative in the conception and carrying out of the campaign figure within articulations of such a value in Sandinista discourse more generally. In the early post-overthrow period in particular, there was frequent reference to the statement that "Nicaragua is a giant school"; with the exception of counterrevolutionaries, the whole of the populace, including the Sandinista leadership, was cast as engaged in an ongoing learning process; and numerous statements on the part of the leadership stand in contrast to claims to have a complete knowledge which had then only to be transmitted in a top-down fashion. As is noted in Part One of the thesis, FSLN leaders frequently made statements suggesting that their approach to change was one of "pragmatism and flexibility," and such a characterization of them figures frequently in

the literature of the 1980s on Sandinismo. At the same time, the vanguardist leadership laid claim to an epistemological privilege based in a knowledge of an ontology of historical process; this claim was taken to legitimate their establishment of the broad rules of the game for social transformation. While there was to be room for Nicaraguans to question the terms of particular policies and to influence their reformulation, what was to be learned from the people could not--a priori--throw into question the broad rules of the game, including the nine-man National Directorate's power to determine how the lands appropriated from Somoza and Somocistas would be redistributed.

FSLN DN member Tomás Borge's "El Partido Sandinista y las cualidades del Militante" ("The Sandinista Party and the qualities of the militant", 1980) has as one of its subtitles "APRENDER DE LAS MASAS PARA EDUCAR A LAS MASAS" ("Learn from the masses in order to educate the masses"), and asserts (in my translation) that:

We must...uproot all manifestations of paternalism, of elitism, to understand that it is necessary to guide the masses but also to learn from the masses;

Have sufficient humility to understand that the people are full of wisdom and that they can teach us, although this does not mean that we have to put ourselves on the level of the most primitive and backward sectors of our population, but rather to draw

on this wisdom and learn from it in order to educate later.

Learn from the masses in order to educate the masses, this must be the guide of our organization and of our combatants...(Borge, 1980, p. 18, in Gilbert and Block, 1990, p. 200)

A wisdom of the people is herein accorded value, but as something which requires a selective reprocessing on the part of party militants and leadership before its retransmission from top to bottom; and the claim to an openness to learning from the masses is integral to the terms of legitimisation of vanguard authority.

A learning from the masses had not, however, been thought as a merely cognitive process; it had included a bodily experience of environments comparable to popular life-worlds. The guerilla experience in the decades preceding the overthrow, in the course of which young revolutionary cadres from cities and towns experienced the hardships of life in the mountains, was cast as a process vital to the formation of many movement leaders, as they learned to survive collectively in harsh material conditions, as campesinos had done all their lives. As FSLN DN member Henry Ruiz put this:

The mountain was like a crucible. There the cadre were really discovered. Carlos Fonseca was obsessed with tempering the cadre in very difficult circumstances and

I can say, without downgrading anyone or trying to offend those compañeros who weren't in the mountains, that really the cadre that were forged there are the true examples of the revolution. (Ruiz, "La Montaña era como un Crisol donde se forjaban los mejores Cuadros," Nicaráuac 1 [May and June, 1980], p. 18, quoted and translated in Wright, 1995, p. 75)

Knowledge gained from experience of harsh living conditions was taken to be valuable--even as it could apparently be gained in a relatively short period of time, and thus contribute to the fullness of the knowledge of the revolutionary leadership and cadres, while, in contrast to this, campesinos could not attain the knowledge of the leadership--a knowledge which was substantially formed within "print culture"--in a like manner.

The guerilla experience, and the knowledge of the people FSLN leaders and cadres were understood to have taken from it, functioned as a warrant for the legitimacy of the authority of the Sandinista leadership. Such terms of legitimisation mark a substantive difference from a system entailing a simple deification of leadership, as self-sufficient in its knowledge and as pure of an "outside" due to being grounded simply in doctrine. Embodied experience of life without urban comforts and of hard physical labour, and as targets of violent attack--experience of a reality lived by many campesinos--figured as an integral component of the

knowledge of the ideal revolutionary subject. In the course of the literacy campaign, the brigadistas in turn were to experience something comparable, with those working close to the Honduran border being particularly open to the possibility of attack (while in most areas, there was little likelihood of attack). The brigadistas, mobilized in substantial part by the Sandinista Youth organization (Juventud Sandinista 19 de Julio), included cadres of this organization, and the campaign experience was taken as a process of formation of actual and potential cadres, although this did not figure within statements of primary campaign objectives, and although it was not assumed that all young brigadistas were simply future Sandinista Youth members. The campaign may thus be seen as effecting a continuation of Sandinismo's appropriation of a knowledge "of" the people--even as it is irreducible to such.

There was a substantive basis for a discourse of "mutual learning" and exchange. Brigadistas experienced the labour of campesinos, exposure to guardia violence, and the illnesses endemic in the countryside.

The brigadistas spent their mornings participating in the daily work tasks of the campesino families they were billeted with. ("Fourteen-year-old Santos and I got up every morning at three A.M. or four, if we were feeling self-indulgent, to build the fire, put on the coffee, mill the day's corn and make the tortillas...." [Trueman, 1981, p. 6,

quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 169].) Brigadistas were instructed in the holding and use of work implements, while they themselves guided campesino hands in the use of pencils.

All were aware that ex-National Guardsmen had mounted an offensive against the campaign, threatening to attack and kill brigadistas and participants, and carrying out these threats; "Houses were stoned in the middle of the night, women brigadistas were raped, and seven volunteers and staff members were assassinated"(Miller, 1985, p. 174). One campaign volunteer's account of the experience of threats directed toward campesino participants and brigadistas alike reads:

Genaro and Jacinta told me they had heard that counterrevolutionaries would kill any family who accepted a volunteer. The neighbors had not participated in the program at first because of that rumour. The Torrez family had signed up anyway. "When else would we have such an opportunity?" Jacinta told me. "Death threats or not we want to learn and we want our children to learn." But even with that sort of resolve, we worried. Voices of strangers in the night, men stumbling along a nearby midnight path, froze my family into rigid silence; the lights were snuffed out and everyone sat still...(Trueman, 1981, p. 8, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 174)

This experience of fear was not the same across the whole of the national terrain; in most areas, there was little likelihood of attack. However, there was a generalized experience of ill health:

...the majority of the volunteers [got] intestinal infection. Others [got] bad colds and high fevers...Some kids ended up as veritable human sieves thanks to the efficient daily labour of the fleas and ticks..." (Miller, 1985, p. 166)

The brigadistas' first-aid supplies, which had been carefully calculated to last five months, usually ran out within two weeks because when confronted with the extent of illness and disease in the countryside, many placed their first aid kits at the service of the communities. Medicine was immediately shared with their adoptive peasant families. As a result new supplies had to be ordered and special medical brigades formed to attend the pressing health needs. (Miller, 1985, p. 167)

Within Sandinismo there was clearly an appropriation of a "knowledge of the people" operative in the legitimisation of authority; and in the context of the literacy campaign there was an effort to bring the whole of the national terrain under the centralized gaze and authority of the state--to render the population further susceptible to state intervention. Nevertheless, campaign process remains

irreducible to a process of standardization and incorporation, in that it entailed a bodily border crossing and a disruption of social boundaries of interaction, and in that a change in the gaze of the brigadistas as agents of intervention had been envisioned, explicitly called for, and realized.

The brigadistas proved to be very much in need of the "knowledge of peasant living" host families and community members were able to provide to them. The point, then, is not a denial of the reality and significance of "mutual learning," but the limited value accorded in advance to what might be learned. Certainly, this was not conceptualized as something to be calculated into the determination of the broad rules of the game of the development and agrarian reform projects. The determination of such was claimed as the right of the Sandinista vanguard--a vanguard which in part legitimated its authority with reference to its incorporation of knowledge stemming from the experience of "the people."

Inscription, Circulation and Reproduction of a Predominant Campaign Discourse

The term "ignorance" had substantial circulation in the course of the campaign and following the campaign, as did representations of the campaign and of the revolutionary transformation more generally as effecting a movement from a

negative to a positive state--from ignorance to knowledge, and from darkness to light. Components of campaign discourse were reinscribed in the poetry of the newly literate, and are a notable presence in several of the poems chosen for recitation (by their authors) at ceremonies concluding the campaign. It is not my assumption that the reproduction of campaign discourse is simply reducible to campaign interventions--to the mechanical reproduction of a discursive ordering of things entirely alien to the recipients of instruction prior to intervention. Nevertheless, the circulation and the promotion of this discourse can be seen to have had a certain effectivity.

The pertinence of this lies in the problematic "schooling"--albeit not explicitly planned--of recipients of instruction, including campesinos, and the Nicaraguan populace more generally, in the understanding that those without literacy skills had existed in a negative state of being.

During one of the workshops for training literacy instructors, one group developed a "radio program" (tapes played during mealtimes and recreation periods); a passage transcribed from one of the tapes reads: "Let us give the best of ourselves. Let us participate and work on behalf of our brothers and sisters, the peasants and workers of Nicaragua, who today are still imprisoned in the jails of ignorance"(Miller, 1985, p. 138).

In municipalities declared "victorious over illiteracy," as the campaign drew to a conclusion, local celebrations included "gleeful marches to town cemeteries, marked by mock solemnity," in which "wooden caskets carrying the corpses of ignorance were mourned and buried once and for all"(Miller, 1985, p. 189).

At the massive ceremony in Managua concluding the campaign, the poem of a woman chosen to represent the graduates--María Ulloa de Alaniz--was read by Ulloa de Alaniz to the assembled crowd, and included the lines:

Good-bye to Ignorance, good-bye.

Ignorance, good-bye forever,

because I will never see you again.

.....

...now in Nicaragua,

ignorance has been overcome.

Forever we have won. (Translated and quoted in Miller, 1985, pp. 193-94)

"Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABCs" concludes with numerous citations from letters and other texts; a poem "To my literacy teacher and companero" by Anselmo Hurtado Lopez includes the lines "Anastasio and son ran far away./ And now with the shouting of ABCs,/ Ignorance flees and joins them in Paraguay"(Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 107).

The following transcription of an exchange between an instructor and students in the course of one of the literacy

teaching sessions entails the articulation of both of the two senses of "ignorance" detailed earlier, in the opening section of this chapter--ignorance as a state of being, and "ignorance of" specific skills; it is suggestive both of an aspect of the campaign as a process in which people were "schooled" in the understanding that they were ignorant, and of the agency of a recipient of instruction in representing himself:

"Doña Auxilladora, what does ignorance mean to you?"

"Ignorance means that I don't know anything about who I really am or very much about this world that I live in."

"Why do you want to learn to read and write?"

"Well...to wake up my mind."

"And you, Ascunción?"

"Learning to read and write...we're going to participate more in the benefits of agriculture. Now we're going to have the tactics, that's what I call them anyway, the tactics to work the land better. Somoza never taught us to read--it really was ungrateful of him, wasn't it? He knew that if he taught the peasants to read we would claim our rights. Ay! But back then, people couldn't even breathe. You see, I believe that a government is like a parent of a family. The parent demands the best of his children, and the children demand the best of the parent, but a governor,

like a parent, that does not give culture and upbringing to the child, well that means he doesn't love his child, or his people. Don't you agree?" (from A. Rivas and A. Suazo, "Conversation in Literacy Class," tape, Managua, National Literacy Crusade Archives, May 1980, quoted and translated in Miller, 1985, pp. 171-72)

Miller's framing of the latter quotation--"Dialogue in class, when it was effective, allowed people to express themselves and to think about the world in new and thoughtful ways"(1985, p. 171)--fails to remark on the fact that the quotation might be taken as a indicator of something problematic. Campaign discourse functioned to promote the idea that campesinos without literacy skills existed in a negative state of being. Instead, Miller's apparent appreciation of the statement by Asunción--approving as it is of a paternalist conception of government--informs her framing of the quotation.

Consideration of this quotation also invites the question of the extent to which the discourse produced by the recipients of instruction during and subsequent to the campaign--some of which echoes and/or integrates key components of campaign discourse--followed from or broke with the terms of their own pre-existing articulations of their experience. It is beyond the scope of the analysis here to pursue this question; rather, the concentration is

on charting the re-inscription of specific components of campaign discourse in the discourse subsequently produced. However, this is not intended to suggest that such inscriptions then follow purely from the singular origin of campaign interventions, even as it is suggestive of the effectivity of campaign interventions specifically.

A poem to be quoted shortly, read at the concluding ceremony of the campaign in the town of Wiwili, incorporates the trope of a "dawn of the people" (which figured as the title of the literacy primer, and which was inscribed elsewhere as well), and inscribes the conception of "Sandino" as origin of a re-born, national-popular nation which figured in the Sandinista narrative of Nicaraguan history. This poem, however, also invites consideration in terms of the location of its production.

Between Struggle and Hope notes that, in the course of a one-month testing of the campaign materials and procedures by forty instructors in regions and rural areas across the country (the field-work "laboratory"), instructors met with a certain problem from the outset--a failure on the part of most of the recipients of instruction to recognize the photo of Sandino introducing the theme of the first lesson, and to have much to contribute to the "dialogue" to be generated from the photo and the theme sentence (also referencing Sandino). The situation in Wiwili, however, stood out as an exception. Sandino's army and agricultural cooperatives had

been based there, and hundreds of his peasant supporters in the area were the victims of a massacre by government troops (under the authority of "the first Somoza") following the assassination of Sandino in 1934. Oral tradition in Wiwili had an evident resonance with the Sandinista narrative of Nicaraguan history which proved to be lacking in many rural areas. The poem cited below, then, read by Juan Velasquez, a farmworker from the region--as it reproduces the trope of the "dawn of the people"--cannot be assumed to be reducible to the outcome of campaign interventions and the circulation of campaign discourse, even as it is suggestive of the effects of this:

One day, over there, yonder by the mountain top
where only the songs of the Jilguero bird are
heard

I came upon a garden of Sandino's carnations--
flowers long asleep that have blossomed once
again,
a garden filled with the fragrance of harmony,
flowers whose seeds Sandino planted
once a long time away

Over there, yonder by the mountaintop
near the peak of Kilambé.

As I looked at their colors, reborn once again,
the flowers spoke.

They told me that they had been waiting for the sunrise
to come,

nothing more--

the new dawn of a people,

a sun that now shines like never before. (Quoted
and translated in Miller, 1985, p. 191)

While before the ceremony, Velasquez's literacy instructor had "copied his poem neatly in her own hand on a clean sheet of paper so that the letters would be clear"(Miller, 1985, p. 191), he insisted on reading from the words he had written himself.

The trope of a dawn of the people (incorporated into the title of the literacy primer and inscribed elsewhere), with its connotations of a passage from one of two diametrically opposed and valued states to another, failed to appeal to many in the Atlantic Coast region. Billboards represented the region as a giant in the process of awakening. ("Giant" refers to the fact that the Atlantic Coast territory constitutes some 56% of the national territory.) As a CIDCA (Centre for Atlantic Coast Research and Documentation) article notes:

Many ministry officials we interviewed recall the pervasive revolutionary enthusiasm for seeing "the giant awaken," as billboards across Nicaragua proclaimed. But even the slogan backfired. What had been intended as a show of respect for the coast and

its future was sneered at. "We've been awake all along, and you Spanish just never noticed," was Misurata's retort. (CIDCA, 1986, p. 128)

This "Costeño" response, considered together with the response to campaign materials in many rural areas, with the poem of Juan Velasquez, and with the exuberant participation, in the years subsequent to the overthrow, of hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans in mass rallies in Managua and other major cities and towns, is indicative of both a condensation of meanings in the trope of a dawn, and the intensity and the differentiability of the affective responses to it.

The nature of a trope is such that the chain of connotations it evokes may be multiple, and unstable, varying across different points and moments of reception. Further, a trope can serve to articulate different levels of discourse.

Sandinista discourse articulated a call to all citizens to act as agents in the rebuilding of the nation. Further, Sandinista practice, particularly in the years following the overthrow, included the provision of a "social wage" ensuring nutritional and other needs of the population. Given the limited possibilities for popular agency under the Somoza regime, brutal repression on the part of the Guardia, and conditions such that the poorest sectors of the population had lived lifetimes on the borders of starvation,

the phrase "dawn of the people" resonated for many with the joyful anticipation of new possibilities. At the same time, the attendant casting of the social terrain of the past in terms of "darkness" and "sleep" constructed an empty space to be filled with a new positivity that was the product of revolutionary agency; and modernist constructions of literacy proved to be congruent with the evacuation, from the rural social terrain, of things to be positively valued. The initial FSLN "reading"/construction of Atlantic coast populations, as they informed problematic interventions, was soon to meet with an affirmation of cultural positivity that has received considerable attention in both media and academic writings. The case of Sandinista interventions in the rural terrain in the Pacific region of the country has received less attention, but nevertheless invites comparison with the FSLN/Atlantic Coast encounter.

A statement in a speech by Carlos Carrión, the FSLN representative to the crusade, represents the recipients of instruction negatively, in terms of the knowledge and skills they were not taken to possess--knowledge and skills with which the campaign was to provide them:

The literacy methodology is intrinsically political. How? It's not just that we speak of Sandino or of Carlos Fonseca, or of the Frente Sandinista. The most political, the most revolutionary aspect of this literacy approach is that we are providing scientific

knowledge and analytical skills to our brothers and sisters in the fields and factories who do not know how to read or write--the skills to reason, to think, compare, discern and the ability to form their own human and political criteria, their own critical framework. (Speech before the First Congress of the National Literacy Crusade, 17 June 1980, quoted and translated in Cardenal and Miller, 1986, p. 104)

This statement is reproduced in "Nicaragua 1980" without critical comment, and as such is implicitly presented as a truth of the campaign's reality. In contrast to campaign statements articulating the campaign as a process of mutual learning, it implicitly equates a lack of reading and writing skills with a lack of the capacity to think.

Similarly, a Ministry of Education statement on the campaign, referencing the paucity of the resources devoted to mass education under the Somoza regime, equates the provision of formal education and literacy instruction with the provision of the "first instruments of awareness," implicitly suggesting that awareness was brought to and was to be brought to those without formal education, and was thus the product of revolutionary agency:

To carry out a literacy project and consolidate it with a level of education equivalent to the first grades of primary school, is to democratize a society. It gives the popular masses the first instruments needed to

develop awareness of their exploitation and to fight for liberation. Therefore, literacy training was something that the dictatorship could not accept without contradicting itself. ²

Awareness is here articulated as the product of schooling and reading; those without literacy skills are thus constituted as existing within a negative state of being. In contrast, the exuberant celebration of "el pueblo" ("the people"), within Sandinista cultural production and FSLN leadership statements alike, again and again affirmed a "positivity" of "the people" integral to their necessary "entrance into history"; and the vanguard could only "bring them into history" because they were always already marked by such positivity.

A discourse of war was transposed onto the "crusade." To repeat a citation from Between Struggle and Hope:

The metaphors and terminology of the campaign were purposefully military (although the term "crusade" also had a religious significance)--"the war on ignorance," "the cultural insurrection," "the second war of liberation," and "the National Literacy Crusade: Heroes and Martyrs of the Liberation of Nicaragua." The "literacy warriors" of the "Popular Literacy Army" were divided into "brigades, columns, and squadrons" and were located along six "battlefronts," which were identical to the battlefronts of the war. The

"brigadier teachers"...joined forces with the "peasant and workers' militia" and the "Urban Literacy Guerillas." Each battle unit chose the name of a fallen combatant as a means of honouring his or her memory.

(Miller, 1985, p. 24)

Miller quotes campaign director Fernando Cardenal's explanation of the choice of this terminology, which seeks to stress that it was in no way "designed to glorify war or violence". Rather,

the choice of military metaphors was designed to help young volunteers integrate the memories of the past, transforming terms related to the war into positive associations with teaching and sharing. Military terminology also helped the brigadistas see the crusade as a vital part of the nation's continuing liberation struggle and to understand that, as such, it demanded the seriousness, dedication, and discipline of a military offensive. (Cardenal, September 1980 interview, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 25)

Whatever the stated motivations for the choice of campaign metaphors and terminology, I would argue that the transposition onto the campaign of a discourse of war worked to effect an equivalence between "dictatorship" and "ignorance," as two obstacles to be fought, and that the negativity attached to the former is thereby situated within the bodies of "the people," wherein "the enemy" is

subsequently to be confronted. Rural recipients of literacy instruction--and literacy students more generally--were to be "liberated" from the ignorance within themselves; they were to move into a position of knowledge--knowledge cast in binary opposition to ignorance, and thus as Truth--as they gained both reading and writing skills, and familiarity with Sandinismo as a national-popular knowledge system. Further, the "war on ignorance" was articulated as a holy way--as a "crusade"--and was thus sacralized.

The metaphors of the campaign, then, constructed it as a moment in the movement of a national collectivity through history, conceived of teleologically, and presenting clearly-demarkated victories.

The citations above, along with the statements from campaign publicity cited in the previous chapter, figure within campaign discourse constructing the causal sequence literacy--collective awakening/heightened participation in the institutions of the nation--heightened productivity--further transcendence. This finds a broad context within the institutions and discourses of modernity, as they have projected a progressive movement towards incorporation and towards heightened use of the technologies of rationality and productivity.

Conclusion

Chapter One of the thesis referenced Laclau and

Mouffe's theorization of the articulation of discourses of class struggle to discourses of national-popular struggle in the context of twentieth-century national liberation movements; and, as is indicated in Chapter Two of the thesis, the articulation of Sandinismo in both discursive and institutional terms evidenced a relative heterogeneity that finds a partial explanation with reference to Laclau and Mouffe's theorization. Nevertheless--and 'pace' the celebration in much literature of the relative lack of "closure" entailed in such heterogeneity--corporativist, Marxist-Leninist terms of representation predominated, and the Marxist-Leninist theoretical orientation which the FSLN leadership had never renounced found a strong echo in the terms of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects. (See Part One and the accompanying "Appendix".) As was indicated in Chapter One, with reference to Marx's "Communist Manifesto," capitalist development and the integration of all into a world-system was to "rescue" a "considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life"; and the celebration of "the people" in the context of twentieth-century national liberation movements both affirmed (culturally-located) "peasantries," and was articulated in tension with discourses of development (with multiple "modernist"--"Marxist" and "capitalist"--roots) with negative valuations of "peasant" consciousness and production methods. The contrasting campaign discourses

charted in this chapter--and their relative weight-- articulate to such terms of theorization. They find a broad context within a "modernity" whose logic has been one of the overcoming of singularity, within a movement of the totality towards a progress understood in particular terms-- understood as a full use of the technologies of rationality and productivity.

There was, at one and the same time, a value accorded to campesino knowledge and the "ways of peasant living," within a secondary campaign discourse, and a negation of such value within a predominate campaign discourse--a discourse directed towards the mobilization of the whole of the population in the interests of an imperative of "ending ignorance." The latter discourse entailed a problematic schooling of the rural recipients of instruction, and of the populace more generally, in the understanding that the former essentially existed within a negative state of being.

A predominant campaign discourse articulated a binary conception of ignorance in relation to knowledge, and projected a full incorporation of the population into a site of knowledge taken to reflect an objective truth of historical unfolding. This bears a relationship to the discursive formation mapped in Chapter Three of the thesis-- a formation articulating a binary and Manichean conception of subjectivity, as either individualist or as fully identified with the interests of the collectivity. Within

the binary terms of these two discourses, the being of certain campesino sectors stood to be constructed as a site of lack, and a site to be fully left behind, in the course of the progress of the national collectivity.

Nevertheless, a claim to be learning "from the people" was integral to the legitimisation of vanguard authority; and framings of the campaign with reference to mutual learning find a context within Sandinista discourse more generally. The substantive basis for representations of the relationship between, on the one hand, FSLN leadership and agents of state interventions, and, on the other hand, "the people," as a relationship of reciprocity in the exchange of knowledge, figured within power/knowledge relations that limited in advance the terms of such an exchange, and that shaped how marginal rural inhabitants were brought into view as objects of knowledge, within an incorporative project.

Endnotes

1 This statement, quoted in Arnove, 1987, p. 270, is from "The Great National Literacy Campaign: Heroes and Martyrs for the Creation of Nicaragua," a mimeographed report, translated and edited by the National Network in solidarity with the Nicaraguan People (Managua: Nicaraguan Ministry of Education, January 1980).

2 From Carlos Tunnermen Berheim, "One Year Later," in Jan Kaspar, ed., Nicaragua for the Eradication of Illiteracy (Paris: International Union of Students and UNESCO, nd).

Part Two Chapter Six: The "dialogue" problem and conceptions of empowerment

This chapter responds to the following questions. What was at work in the articulation of the dialogue process? How was the "empowerment" which was to follow from the dialogue sessions and the campaign more generally envisioned, and what models of power were at work in the articulation and representation of the campaign? What was the specificity of the materials and procedures by way of which "dialogue" was to be produced, and what effects did this specificity contribute to? What did it prove unable to produce? What were some of the historical conditions of possibility of this articulation and this specificity? What model of power best accounts for what transpired in relation to the dialogue process, and for the literacy campaign as it figured within the Sandinista project more generally?

The chapter follows under two section subtitles--"The 'Dialogue Problem'," and "Explanations of the 'Dialogue Problem', Conceptions of Power and Empowerment, and Representations of the Campaign and Sandinismo."

In the latter chapter section: I further develop responses to the above questions; I consider the limitations and suppositions of certain efforts to explain the "dialogue problem," as they figure within a dispositif constructing knowledge about "the people"; I argue that the dialogue problem might be understood as a crisis in the process of

discursive address of the nation--within a system of power requiring warrants for its representation as the expression of a voice of the people; and I theorize the limits of a binary conception of change in power relations as a movement from domination/repression to popular empowerment/expression.

In response to some of my research questions, I establish, and argue: that campaign planners articulated the means and ends of the dialogue process at a marked level of generality; that the dialogue process as implemented in the course of the campaign stood in contrast to the stated aspiration that it should be experienced as empowering, and that it shaped and delimited what might be said; that some crusade planners envisioned the process as an opportunity to produce an ideal type of revolutionary/citizen subject; and that the failure of the dialogue process may be understood in part in terms of the effectivity of a lack--the lack of an operative conception of individuation in terms which did not simply articulate it to individualism. This latter point articulates to something charted in Chapter Three of the thesis--the prevalence, within the discourse articulating the Sandinista project, of a dichotomous and Manichean conception of subjectivity.

On one level, the pertinence of my analysis relates to the specificity of the experience of a particular sector of campesinos in the context of the Sandinista project, as has

already been detailed. As was the case with structures of political representation, charted in Chapter Two of the thesis, the dialogue process structured and delimited what might be said; and it figured within a broad social and development project that, particularly in the first half of the 1980s, responded to a quite limited degree to the aspirations of the most marginalized of rural sectors. At the same time, the Sandinista project endeavoured to shape landless and land-poor campesinos according to an ideal of the revolutionary/citizen subject. The dialogue process constituted one important site for such endeavours.

On another level, this chapter's pertinence relates: to its questioning, with reference to a particular case of an articulation of social transformation, to antithetical models of power and communication which have had a certain predominance within academic frameworks and public sphere discourse alike; and to its consideration of how such models, as discursively inscribed within grand narratives of modernity, have had an effectivity in the structuring of social and analytic practice. ¹ Inclusion within an extended public sphere has been taken to signify both the virtues of democracy, and the evils of indoctrination.

The significance of the literacy campaign remains overdetermined; while the "dialogue process" as charted and contextualized in the thesis quite dramatically throws into question a conception of the campaign as essentially a

process of empowerment, the intent of the analysis here is far from an effort to unmask as "falsity" the many 'testimonios' on the part of recipients of instruction articulating their acquisition of reading and writing skills and entrance into new social spaces as "empowering"; and one of the stated objectives of the campaign--breaking down rigid social boundaries--deserves serious consideration as it was substantively realized. ² Rather, the determination of "empowerment" by way of the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills, by way of the campaign as a means of entrance into new social spaces, and by way of an invitation to speak within a public sphere context, is taken to figure as a matter of considerable complexity. It is not so simple as statements figuring within a national-popular knowledge-system and pedagogy would suggest. "Empowerment" is something which might be measured across the short, medium, and long term, within conjunctural contexts, and differentially across the experience of particular individuals.

The provision of spaces in which people are invited to speak has too often been held up as an indicator of democracy and popular sovereignty, to the exclusion of a consideration of how the mediation of discourse structures and delimits what might be said, and of how such mediation figures within structures of power/knowledge which constrain the effectivity of a voicing of aspirations and which shape

the terms of measurement of the legitimacy of such.

Colin Gordon has underlined the significance of Foucault's writings in terms of the novelty of a reflection on power...located...outside the fields of force of two antithetical conceptions of power whose conjunction and disjunction determine the ground rules of most modern political thought: on the one hand, the benign sociological model of power as the agency of social cohesion and normality, serving to assure the conditions of existence and survival of the community, and on the other the more polemical representation of power as an instance of repression, violence and coercion, eminently represented in the State with its 'bodies of armed men'.....Foucault's initiative marks a break with [a] premise that power, whether localised or invested in a monarch, a community of citizens or a class dictatorship, consists in some substantive instance or agency of sovereignty. (Gordon, 1980, p. 235)

The imperialist Somoza dictatorship over against which Sandinismo was articulated can hardly be understood without reference to what Foucault has written of as the "great negative forms of power"(1980, p. 122)--without reference to power as working through "the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression." The problem is: not that such has

no purchase, but rather, its insufficiency as a point of definition of the whole of the social terrain; and, further, a binary articulation of power in terms of liberation posed over against domination--terms in which communication figures as the expression of that which has been repressed, and in which extension of access to media of communication and institutions of political representation figures as the basis for asserting a movement towards popular sovereignty. Such extension occurs within overdetermined processes, and, while its value may be contingently articulated with reference to the specificity of a conjunctural configuration, questions of power and of the terms of mediation of discourse remain.

While in terms of particular, contemporary academic frameworks, the latter assertion may be taken as commonplace, it is less common to encounter accounts of how the absence or scarcity of discursive articulations congruent with such an assertion figure within power/knowledge configurations of modernity which have had a powerful effectivity. As I demonstrate in this chapter, in the course of contrasting my analysis of a micro-process with assumptions informing the articulation of the campaign and with representations of the campaign and of Sandinismo more generally, the problematic material specificity of particular practices is too often evacuated within articulations--academic and otherwise--of the broad path to

progress.

Foucault states, in an interview in Power/Knowledge, that it is not his intent to suggest that progress has never occurred; rather, what he contests is a point of analytic departure from the question of "How is it that we have progressed?" Such questioning is highly pertinent in an analysis which takes as one of its points of reference a critical account of how "peasant" subjectivity has been cast within the discursive formations of modernity. It has been cast as a site of lack, a site to be left behind in an inevitable movement towards a modernization taken to represent progress, and taken to be empowering newly-enlightened/literate citizens. Local knowledge systems transmitted through oral traditions are thereby devalued. The dialogue process was both articulated along with a campaign discourse affirming "the ways of peasant living," and articulated as it was taken to figure within a certain teleology of progress, wherein such ways were to be left behind. People were invited to "speak" a knowledge system that had already been "spoken"--and spoken with a very substantial degree of closure; and it was assumed that such a speech performance would provide an indicator of their empowerment, and thus, an indicator of the progress of the collectivity.

The Nicaraguan literacy crusade received wide and highly celebratory publicity both within and outside

Nicaragua, during a period when broad social participation in the campaign was invited, during its operation, and following its conclusion. David Kunzle observes in The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua that the campaign figured as "the most often reiterated theme of the murals, both as primary subject...and as a motif culminating the revolutionary narrative..."(1995, p. 34); and the campaign, and its receipt of a 1980 UNESCO award for literacy initiatives, figure large in accounts of the achievements of the revolution in the literature on Sandinismo. As Arnove's account of the campaign asserts, it was taken up as a "symbol of justice," representing a concerted effort to end particular conditions of social exclusion. Yet as the thesis analysis suggests, the terms of social inclusion prove problematic as they were articulated, and articulated as positive, at a high level of abstraction, with reference to a national-popular community as an organic unity. Sandinismo was articulated as giving a "voice" to the people, and as-- by way of the literacy campaign--enabling people to speak from a position of knowledge/authority gained through access to written text. However, Sandinismo shared an incorporative logic of a modernity articulating progress as an overcoming of singularity, and deployed a logic such that the particularity of "voices" could only be located on one of two sides of a Manichean binary opposition.

The latter argument as to the location of "voices"

requires clarification. On the one hand, I have considered Sandinismo as a contingent articulation of a historical bloc formed over against a dictatorial regime which had long been sustained to a very substantial degree by state institutions of the United States, and which was productive of gross inequalities of wealth and power. I do indeed see this antagonism as having entailed an opposition between something relatively good, and something bad. I have critically considered Sandinismo, but not with a view towards a wholesale denunciation of "revolutionary projects," nor in order to deny the relative purchase of the conception of a moment of a particular social antagonism in terms of an opposition posing one side against another, with the former being positively valued over against the negativity of the other. Rather, what I would stress is the contingency of such an articulation, rather than its emergence due to a presumed national-popular community understood as an organic singularity, or due to a history unfolding according to a universal logic of necessity. Part of the pertinence of this affirmation resides in the fact that the vanguard laid claim to a Marxist-Leninist knowledge of historical process as unfolding according to a logic of necessity--even as Sandinista practice cannot be reduced to any singular "ideology." What was attendant upon the operationalization of this knowledge system, in the context of the literacy

campaign "dialogue process," was not that marginalized rural inhabitants who did not speak in a way underwriting the truths of Sandinsimo were then seen as "evil," and persecuted as such. They were not taken to be, in essence, "counterrevolutionary," but rather, as subjects who, due to no fault of their own, but rather to the legacy of the past, had not yet been fully brought into "the revolution." If their manner of envisioning desirable social change, in its broad outlines, did not accord with that of the leadership, this was taken to be a legacy of the past which counterrevolutionary forces sought to capitalize upon. It is in this sense that "voices could only be located on one of two sides of a binary divide." There was no presumption of value in, nor facilitation of, pronouncements questioning the extent of the truth value of the theme sentences, and there was no invitation to speak in a way which would contribute to the articulation of the shape of the strategies and mechanisms figuring in the revolutionary project.

The "Dialogue Problem"

A consideration of campaign artifacts and techniques for the generation of "dialogue" indicates the limited, highly abstract and fixed terms in which campaign planners developing such constructed the recipients of instruction as

objects of knowledge--even as the "dialogue" was represented as a site in which people were to exercise their agency as subjects of knowledge; further, this process proves to have been conceptualized as a technique for the production of an ideal revolutionary/citizen subjectivity.

Between Struggle and Hope quotes an initial draft of the teacher's guide in asserting that "The essential purpose of the dialogue was seen as a means to transform reality. 'We should describe and analyze reality so we can know it, but more important, so we can transform it'"(Miller, 1985, p. 83). Cardenal and Miller's "Nicaragua 1980: Battle of the ABC's" asserts that "We believed, as did Freire, that dialogue is critical to a liberating education"(1986, p. 104). Judging from the account in Between Struggle and Hope, these general statements as to the objectives and values informing the development of the procedures and materials for generating dialogue were not elsewhere accompanied by any more concrete and detailed conceptualization articulated with a view to its actualization. And the first statement quoted above, addressed from the enunciative position of a universal "we", makes no reference to the specificity of the situations of the recipients of instruction, nor to how they in particular were to be empowered through the experience of dialogue within a liberating education.

As is detailed shortly, Miller's account of a debate amongst planners at the campaign's conclusion suggests that

many saw the "dialogue process" as an opportunity to produce an ideal type of revolutionary/citizen subjectivity; the empowerment of the recipients of instruction was to follow from the advancement of the revolutionary project as enabled by such subjects.

The process for generating dialogue at the outset of each new lesson, as elaborated in general terms in the documents for the pilot project, consisted of four steps:

- (1) description and analysis of the photograph, (2) relation of the photograph to the learners' personal lives, (3) relation of key sentence to the photograph, and (4) examination and planning of future tasks that were implied in the photograph's theme. (Miller, 1985, p. 83)

In the course of the pilot project, this elaboration of procedures was found to be too general, and lists of questions were very hastily developed and included in the teachers' guide, where it was suggested that they could prove useful in facilitating the dialogue.

The dialogue was to provide a transition into the literacy instruction, as a word or words within the "key sentence" (one of the theme sentences) was taking up in the course of the introduction of one or more of the syllable families.

As Miller observes, one of the key problems obstructing the "generating [of] an effective dialogue" was

the fact that although great emphasis was given to relating the situation portrayed in the photograph to the life of the learner, a certain fundamental element was missing--an intimate, direct, personal relationship of the individual with the problem situation presented by the photograph. (1985, p. 89)

Miller further states that "Questions were oriented toward the person as a member of a social group, not an individual"(1985, p. 89).

Miller's critique of the process might have made reference to Freirian principals; as Freire states in Literacy: Reading the Word and the World (1987):

I have always insisted that words used in organizing a literacy program come from what I call the "word universe" of people who are learning, expressing their actual language, their anxieties, fears, demands, and dreams. Words should be laden with the meaning of the people's existential experience...words from the people's reading of the world. We then give the words back to the people inserted in what I call "codifications," pictures representing real situations. (pp. 35-36)

While this still entails an orientation towards the recipients of instruction as "members of a social group" (in Miller's terms), the "group" may be localized as a community which is then more concretely evoked. (So, for example, in

one small fishing community in Sao Tomé the name of a fish, "bonito" ("beautiful"), was used as a generative word, and "as a codification they had an expressive design of the little town with its vegetation, typical houses, fishing boats in the sea, and a fisherman holding a bonito"[Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 67].) Following from this, the process is potentially much more conducive to the articulation of a community member's "personal relationship" with the context evoked; and the significance of the process for a "liberating pedagogy" is in large part that the recipients of literacy instruction are to be immediately addressed as subjects of knowledge, who already "read" (the world). "Empowerment" within this conceptual framework is taken to be as in substantial part immediate, as subjects are to be accorded a style of address long denied to them in public contexts, a style of address recognizing that they are always already subjects with power and knowledge.

However, Miller's account of a debate amongst campaign planners at the campaign's conclusion suggests that, in the context of this debate, the "dialogue problem" was not considered in terms of such an immediate objective. Rather, the focus appears to have been primarily on the perceived need to produce a specific type of subjectivity, with disagreement being limited to a consideration of the most effective means to such a production; the debate around whether or not the process should have invited accounts of

"personal experience" evoked the following responses:

Some planners were worried that such wide-ranging discussion could have led participants to express opinions that were not in accord with the common good, thus disrupting the possibilities for developing a revolutionary commitment. Others believed that only through open discussion and confrontation could attitudes be challenged and eventually changed.

Stressing the psychological elements of such a process, these people believed that the personal aspects of the dialogue provided one of the most effective structured ways of overcoming selfishness and developing a community-oriented consciousness. More significantly, proponents of this approach argued that without reflection over personal issues, revolutionary consciousness would be superficial and tend not to endure over time. (Miller, 1985, pp. 89-90)

Apparently, for the latter group, the significance of a practice recognizing "personal experience"--which might be termed "individuation," if this is understood, not in terms of an opposition between "the individual" and "society," but rather, as the differential shaping of persons within the social--was simply that this allowed for the more effective production of an ideal revolutionary/citizen subjectivity (following from a more objective assessment of the mediation which would make this possible). This would then contribute

to the realization of the revolutionary project--to empowerment of the people by way of participation in the institutions of the nation and heightened production in the interests of the collectivity. One of Miller's own statements is also suggestive of such terms of attribution of value to the recognition of "personal experience"; in "political and development terms, this omission [of an address to persons as individuals] was potentially costly"(1985, p. 89). (The dialogue process, widely judged to have been a failure, was to have been a site in which a "common knowledge base" was transmitted.) Miller further states of this omission that it "was probably due in part to the concern that values and attitudes of cooperation and community responsibility should be stressed instead of those of selfish, self-seeking individualism"(1985, p. 89).

In Chapter Three of the thesis I have demonstrated the pervasive presence, in the discourse articulating the Sandinista project, of a dichotomous conception of subjectivity, as either individualist, or as oriented toward the collectivity. Such a dichotomous conception of subjectivity is again articulated in the preceding passages, and was evidently operative in the practice of campaign planners--as was the conception of the dialogue process as a technique for the production of ideal subjects.

Such a dichotomous conception does not allow for a conception of individuation; and the "lack" of an operative

conception of individuation appears to have been at work in both the initial development of the materials and procedures, and in ongoing efforts to respond to the evident limitations of the process for generating "dialogue." Thus, even as the implementation of the dialogue process at the outset of the campaign in full operation ultimately invited literacy students to produce a quite detailed account of Sandinista doctrine, anti-Sandinista accounts of the campaign as essentially following from an intent to indoctrinate fail to provide much insight into a dialogue process which was shaped by a power/knowledge formation.

The initial articulation of the process (in documents for the pilot project, as quoted at the outset of this chapter) met with criticisms, in the course of the pilot project, that it was too general. The curriculum group, "in a last-minute overnight rush to correct the problem, developed a series of concrete questions for each lesson theme"(Miller, 1985, p. 85). These were directly based on the background information sheets in the teacher's guide, which had been developed by government personnel. The incorporation of the question sheets into the teacher's guide, in particular, solidified the problem; although they were "only intended as a guide...because they were included as a suggested part of the dialogue process in the final teacher's manual, they were taken and used by many volunteers faithfully, word for word"(Miller, 1985, p. 85).

As is evident from the nature of the questions (some of which are quoted below), the curriculum team was hardly considering the "dialogue process" in terms of any detailed imaginary of the subjects addressed; and the questions increased the specificity and level of abstraction of the discourse the recipients of instruction were expected to produce, rendering the designation of this component of campaign practice as "dialogue" questionable to say the least.

The sets of questions for four of the lessons were (in Miller's translation):

1. I. What are the reasons why more than half of the Nicaraguan population over ten years of age does not know how to read and write?

2. What effects will be felt by the literacy promoters as a result of their participation in the crusade?

3. Why is it essential to the revolution that peasants and workers learn to read and write?

4. Why will the crusade increase national unity?

II. 1. Against whom did Sandino fight and whom did he defend?

2. At what time and why did the figure of Sandino emerge in Nicaragua's history?

3. Why and until what point did Sandino propose a

political-military tactic of flexibility and alliance?

4. What kind of interests cannot be given up in this tactic and why?

5. What were the achievements of Sandino's struggle for Nicaragua and for the peoples of Latin America?

6. What was the experience and political-military lessons learned by the FSLN from Sandino?

7. Why is it said that Sandino was the guide of our revolution?...

VI. 1. What support did the civil defense committees (CDS) provide to the insurrection?

2. On behalf of whose interests do the...(CDS) function?

3. What is the principal task of the CDS?

4. Why should all neighbourhoods organize into CDS?

5. What work has the CDS carried out in your neighbourhood?

What are the principal difficulties of your CDS and how can they be resolved?...

X. 1. What natural resources does the country have?

2. Who benefited from the exploitation before?

3. Why did the Somoza system permit the sacking of our natural resources?

4. Who is going to benefit now from our natural

resources? Why?

5. Why is it important to care for the forests even though we need land to cultivate?

6. What is necessary in your region to protect the area's natural resources? (Miller, 1985, p. 86)

These questions invited people to speak with reference to a specific imaginaire of the nation and the continent, and to understand their being primarily with reference to such an imaginaire. People were not invited to speak about all aspects of their own localities, about their past experience as members of local communities, and about their own ventures (as workers, and in other capacities) into other sites -although such a starting point could have served well to encourage the gradual building of an imaginaire of the nation from detailed representations easy for the recipients of instruction to envision.

Along with the specific nature of the visuals, the efforts of the brigadistas to generate discourse responding to such questions contributed to a situation in which brigadistas and students alike were to experience a widely-evident discomfort with the "dialogue process"--evident in the "laboratory phase" of the teacher-training process, in a later phase of the teacher-training process, in the first weeks of the campaign, and in the months to follow.

The group of forty teacher-trainers who participated in the "laboratory" (a testing of the materials and procedures

in rural areas across the country) reported that their efforts to generate dialogue with reference to the visuals to be used in the first two lessons--photographs of Sandino and Fonseca--

led to a formal exposition on the part of the literacy promoter and an inability to move beyond discourse to analysis and participation. Every squadron pointed out this difficulty...they saw it created resistance on the part of the learners toward taking part in further dialogue within the context of the specific lessons.

(Miller, 1985, p. 128)

Problems were again evident in workshops in Phase Four of the teacher-training process:

On the whole, the dialogue process was difficult for people to master. Many workshop participants demonstrated a condescending, patronizing attitude toward their peasant students in teaching simulations. Not able to get beyond the basic description questions regarding a photograph, they would launch into a short speech or skip the rest of the dialogue process entirely. (Miller, 1985, pp. 149-50)

The first weeks of the campaign made it "clear to everyone that the difficulties people were having in generating a critical analytical discussion were widespread and serious"(Miller, 1985, p. 86); many volunteers "got discouraged with trying to generate discussion, and some

quit trying altogether, rejecting the questions because of what they considered their biased political overtones"(Miller, 1985, p. 86).

Widespread difficulties with the "dialogue process" are also reported in Arnove's account of the campaign (1987), and in And Also Teach Them to Read (1983), a book by Sheryl Hirhson, a teacher from the United States who worked as a supervisor of a group of twenty-five brigadistas. Arnove reports that, particularly in the final stages of the campaign, as brigadistas concentrated increasingly on preparing the students to pass the final exam, the pedagogy "resembled a traditional teacher-directed pedagogy...What was supposed to be dialogue often consisted of the literacy worker merely reading notes jotted down from the teacher's guide"(1987, p. 278). Literacy workers "increasingly concentrated on rote drill of phonic sequences"(Arnove, 1987, p. 278).

In the first weeks of the campaign in full operation, the national curriculum team endeavoured to come up with a response to the "dialogue problem." However, the generality of the statement of the dialogue's purpose, and its lack of reference to the specificity of the situation of the recipients of instruction, was not the subject of their re-evaluation; rather, heightened emphasis was to be placed on the second component of the statement which had in any case already received the most stress within the previous

formulation. "The dialogue is not only intended to examine reality but should contribute to transforming it"(Saenz et al. 1980, p. 35, quoted in Miller, 1985, p. 86). The curriculum team developed a new set of guidelines, based on the photographs rather than the information sheets; in Miller's description:

The five-step process consisted of a series of suggested questions that were designed to help participants develop analytical skills, a sense of social responsibility, and a critical understanding of the commitment to the revolution. The questions proceeded from simple to difficult and encouraged the students to describe the contents of a photograph; analyze the situation portrayed; relate the particular situation to their lives, to their community, and to the problems facing them; solve problems identified by the group; and engage participants in transforming reality by committing themselves to solving the problem and becoming active in the national programs of social change. (1987, p. 87)

A sample question guide was also produced; it was based on lesson six, which dealt with the civil defense committees (and which was thus particularly suited for use along with the new process, although Miller does not comment on this nor on the compatibility of the other photos and themes with

the new process). This sample question guide was as follows:

Activities

Example

1. Description of photograph

Who appears in the photo?

What are they doing?

Where are they meeting?

2. Analysis of photograph

Why are they meeting?

3. Relationship of situation

portrayed in photo to real life of the literacy student

At this moment is there a CDS in your community? Since when has it existed?

Before, why did it not function?

....

What are the problems that our CDS has?

What are the causes of these problems?

and the relationships between people were sterile and uninteresting. The important community work that the committees were conducting was not depicted...nor was the sense of participation. The people looked stilted, like they were posing for their first photograph, which they very well may have been. Instead, the photographs should have showed objects or scenes that could have provided the means for learners to personally project their comparisons, and they should have showed relationships between people in order to provoke thought and analysis. (Miller, 1985, p. 89)

Evidently, the photos were not conducive to the capacity of the students to reference the particularities of their own life-worlds--a capacity which, in conjunction with other factors, might have facilitated "dialogue."

The participants in the "laboratory" phase of the teacher-training process had returned with both criticisms of the procedures and materials for generating dialogue, and enthusiasm for "community-action research" and for the promotion of cultural production (activities which were undertaken to widely varying degrees, or not at all, by different brigadistas in the course of the campaign). Many of the groups found that "the aspects of artistic and cultural expression and community-action research were especially effective in stimulating participation and helping people overcome their shyness and sense of

inferiority"(129). "Community-action research" into local history and culture, and the promotion of cultural production, then, evidently met with a much warmer reception than the dialogue process initiating the two-hour teaching sessions; and, while Miller does not advance this analysis, it would appear that this related to the manner of addressing the recipients of literacy instruction--in terms of their own expertise, as based on their local knowledge systems, not known in advance by the literacy worker, and on their pre-existing creative skills--a manner of address contrasting with that of the "dialogue" process.

In Miller's and Miller and Cardenal's accounts of the campaign, the success of the campaign in facilitating animated discussion and dialogue is asserted, while the reference for this success is not the literacy instruction sessions per se, but the interaction of the brigadistas with local community members outside the formal sessions, in the contexts of daily living.

As has been observed in Part One of the thesis, Sandinista militants and a Sandinista social movement were shaped within a rich left-nationalist counter-culture--substantively but not entirely based in "print culture"--a culture such that the figures (Sandino and Fonseca) and narratives deployed in literacy campaign materials stood for them to be rich in connotations. These figures and narratives stood to be taken up in signifying processes that

for them were already semantically "full," and expressive of a truth of the broad social terrain in its being and becoming. The "dialogue problem," however, proves suggestive of the extent to which the campaign entailed an encounter between different social formations, and of the extent to which campaign planners assumed that the recipients of literacy instruction would quickly come to recognize and underwrite nationalist truths of their being and becoming, articulating their own experience to such.

Such a speech performance would situate them as subjects of knowledge and as contributors to the articulation of a national-popular knowledge system wherein they had already been constructed, in quite limited terms, as objects of knowledge.

It appears that campaign planning entailed little sense that the campaign would be a site in which there would be tension or incompatibility between the double terms by way of which Sandinismo claimed "representativity."

(Sandinismo was a hegemony based on a conception of an epistemologically-privileged vanguard which knew and which represented the historical interests of the people and of the working class; and it was also conceptualized as a system responsive to institutions and processes by way of which "the people" would directly voice their aspirations and their conceptions of their condition.)

The degree to which the dialogue process was seen as a

technique for the production of an ideal revolutionary/citizen subjectivity, and the manner in which Sandinismo as a knowledge system had already constructed the rural terrain, was such that anything particular to this terrain that proved to be incompatible within the production of the outcomes anticipated stood to be cast as the negative legacy of peripheral capitalism/underdevelopment under imperialism and dictatorship. 'Pace' the campaign objective of recording and promoting rural culture, the terms of an attempt to shape rural inhabitants were not informed by the concept of a "cultural ecology"--by the recognition that change need not be seen as a linear path in which all of the terrain departed from is taken as something to be left behind.

The curriculum team's revision of the dialogue process followed from the understanding that it was intended to develop "analytical skills, a sense of social responsibility, and a critical understanding of the commitment to the revolution"(Miller, 1985, p. 87). Yet, notably, the terms of this educational technology did not widely resonate with existing commitments and senses of social responsibility, as they figured within localized imaginaires.

Saldaña-Portillo articulates an analysis of what was at work in the offering of memberships in farming cooperatives to 'minifundistas' and 'itinerant proletariats'; this

analysis provides a pertinent point of departure for some concluding statements as to what rural recipients of instruction were expected and invited to do in the context of the "dialogue process." In the Pacific regions of Nicaragua, these sectors, "unlike the indigenous peasants in Guatemala,"

had no history of communal farming. Thus, the transformation of consciousness required by cooperativization would necessarily be a violent and troubled one at the level of subjectivity. It requires that these dispossessed and land-poor peasants reconstruct their concept of community. It asks that they, from an extremely precarious economic position, suspend immediate individual and familial needs not only for the sake of this larger collective community but for the national community that has an investment in the cooperative as a revolutionary experiment and an economic unit of production. It requires the abandonment of a traditional mode of production in favor of a theoretical one. (Saldaña-Portillo, 1997, p. 151)

Saldaña-Portillo does not take the position that Sandinista policy should not have made a place for state farms or producer cooperatives; rather, she argues that there could and should have been a negotiation of visions of development such that a campesino vision which was "not necessarily

antirevolutionary" could have been more substantially and thoughtfully incorporated "early on in the process." I share this position.

The literacy campaign might have contributed to a "national dialogue" in which such negotiation was possible-- a dialogue directed towards concrete action such that the most marginalized of rural sectors would have seen their aspirations realized to a much greater degree. Such a dialogue would indeed have been empowering. Instead, however, in the context of the campaign's "dialogue process," as well as in the context of agrarian reform initiatives, marginal rural inhabitants experienced pressure to simply reconstruct their existing concepts of community--albeit without the violent coercion that has been seen in other instances of Marxist state transformation of agrarian structures. They were asked to speak--and to speak in the first instance--with reference to a certain imaginaire of the nation, and to understand their being with reference to such an imaginaire.

Three of the theme sentences from which dialogue was to begin were: "The agrarian reform guarantees that the harvest goes to the people"; "The nationalization of Somoza's businesses helps us recover our wealth and strengthen our economy"; and "Our democracy is the power of people belonging to organizations and participating." The first three themes sentences--"Sandino, leader of the revolution,"

"Carlos Fonseca said, 'Sandino lives,'" and "The FSLN led the People to Liberation"--construct centres of authority, positioning and legitimizing them within a historical tradition. This authority is constructed as the author of a planned social and development project whose broad outlines were already a 'fait accompli'--outlines which were subsequently presented, with reference to the theme sentences cited above, among others. People were invited to "speak" a knowledge system that had already been "spoken"--and spoken with a very substantial degree of closure; and it was assumed that such a speech performance would provide an indicator of their empowerment.

Explanations of the "Dialogue Problem," Conceptions of Power and Empowerment, and Representations of the Campaign and Sandinismo

Notably, while numerous analytic passages in Miller's book--and particularly, those related to the "dialogue process"--lend themselves to the articulation of a critical account of some of the overarching assumptions at work in the organization of the campaign, Miller does not take them up in this way. Critique is advanced in relation to discrete techniques, while assumptions informing the articulation of the campaign are repeated as givens:

The question format [for generating dialogue] was, of course, not the same kind of approach advocated by Freire for a literacy program under a political system

in which the poor are unrepresented and oppressed. The Nicaraguan approach took as a given the viability and legitimacy of the government's programs for reordering the society to benefit the poor...through the creation of organized channels of civil participation, power was shifting from the wealthy elite toward the poor in the challenge of the country's reconstruction on all levels--political, cultural, social and economic.

(1985, p. 87)

This--along with a mass of statements in Sandinista discourse more generally--is suggestive of the predominant terms of articulation of the revolutionary transformation as a movement from domination to popular empowerment/liberation, and of the limitations of the conceptual framework for understanding "power" which figure within such. Power is something locatable on one of two sides of a binary divide. A positive power, creating "organized channels of civil participation," facilitates "communication as expression"--as the voicing of what was already assumed to be there, an organic national-popular collectivity previously silenced by repression.

In contrast, the dialogue materials and procedures structured and delimited what might be said, while the conjunctural context of their use created pressures to produce a specific discourse.

The failure of the latter to widely materialize led to

a re-consideration of the techniques for producing it. It did not meet with a top-down command that the details of the desired "common knowledge base" be drilled into students at whatever cost, and that they should be forced to reproduce such; anti-Sandinista accounts of the campaign as essentially a process of "indoctrination," with its origin in a centre of political power, and following from a singular and essential intent, also fail to provide a framework capable of addressing the complexity and particularity of actual practice.

The choices made on the part of campaign planners, and of the curriculum team, as they shaped the specificity of the materials and procedures to be taken up within the dialogue process, can be taken as an exercise of a power which is not simply locatable within immediate agents, nor reducible to any singular, negative and central intent, but which was shaped by power/knowledge formations of longue durée, and by the cultural/discursive construction of a Sandinista "common sense."

In terms of its logics of representativity, Sandinismo was not a closed system, proceeding simply from something represented as a singular comprehensive doctrine; and the symbolic significance of the dialogue process and the campaign more generally finds a broad context in relation to modernist affirmations of what Homi Bhabha has referred to as the "sociological solidity" of the nation. Such

affirmations have become articulated to representational practices of democracy naturalizing a certain "space" of "community." "The people" must be seen to be speaking, and seen to be speaking from a certain enunciative position--as members of a people/nation. By way of discursive practices, the people/nation must be produced, and repeatedly (re)produced--as discursive practices are themselves taken up in media representations constructing narrations of nation in which "the people" are figured as sovereign. Such modern systems of social organization hardly preclude a centralization of power, but the latter remains unstable, dependant upon practices whose outcomes are never fully in its power.

Homi Bhabha's "DissemiNation: time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation" considers the peculiarity of a modern system of social organization in which:

The people are not simply historical events or parts of a patriotic body politic. They are also a complex rhetorical strategy of social reference where the claim to be representative provokes a crisis within the process of signification and discursive address...the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin or event; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification... (1990, p. 297)

Bhabha's theorization of such a "crisis" makes general reference to "the modern nation," and to how the heterogeneity and liminality of the subjects who are to "speak" the nation and affirm its signs, threatens, in the very act of this performance, the coherence of the truths they are to produce. At the same time, such performances may work very powerfully to legitimate authority.

In the Nicaraguan case, the "dialogue problem" may be taken as something of a "crisis within the process of signification and discursive address" of the nation. Yet this is not strictly in terms of the process which Bhabha theorizes--in terms of the contrast between what is spoken and the presumption of the "sociological solidity" of the nation. Rather, "the people" as they spoke and did not speak within this context failed to provide the requisite speech performance underwriting the socio-cultural solidity of the nation and its terms of legitimation. In this context, they did not contribute their part to the production of an understanding of the campaign as a "symbol of justice" by "being empowered" to independently speak the presumed truths of the nation, from their own volition. There had been, nevertheless, an assumption that this production would materialize from the order of things--that the Sandinista mapping of the national territory was equatable with the truths of the terrain--and that it was through the voicing of such truths that people would express their empowerment.

Despite the extent to which aspects of the campaign invite critical questions, certain academic accounts of the campaign--one of which is considered in detail below--evidence a will to produce its meaning as a symbol of justice. And these may be considered within a broad discursive terrain in which the campaign was represented as one of the great achievements of the revolution--notably, within sociological and historical accounts of social transition in Nicaragua, and in murals across the country. Kunzle observes that the campaign figured as "the most often reiterated theme of the murals, both as primary subject...and as a motif culminating the revolutionary narrative..."(34). Images of people reading were presented as indicative of "the people" as able, subsequent to the campaign, to speak from a position of knowledge or authority--accessed substantially through written texts--which had been denied to them within the previous, unjust social system. This constructs a narrative of the campaign as a movement towards empowerment, a narrative which proves to be operative in accounts of the campaign as well.

In accounts of the campaign figuring within a dispositif constructing knowledge about "the people" (Between Struggle and Hope [1985], "Nicaragua 1980" [1986], Arnove's "The 1980 Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade"[1987] and Hirhson's And Also Teach them to Read [1983]), the "dialogue problem" is either not represented

("Nicaragua 1980"), or is represented in terms which prove limited; efforts to explain this problem proceed in the context of efforts to affirm the campaign and the Sandinista project more generally.

Arrove's account of the campaign is invested in the most common, either/or terms of judgement of the campaign-- as essentially good, or essentially bad. He asserts that:

To repeat the fundamental question posed by Freire, is the object of a literacy campaign domestication or liberation? Are the educational programs designed to provide limited information so that people can better fit into the existing hierarchical structures and do the bidding of dominant groups, or is the literacy process designed to provide an indispensable base of knowledge that opens up options for formerly dispossessed people, providing them with the understandings, skills, and attitudinal dispositions that equip them to play a decisive role in forging a new society? (1987, p. 277)

The binary terms of the question posed here inform the evident anxiety of Arrove's effort to respond to the "most common criticisms of the literacy materials," which pertain to "the pro-FSLN content of the literacy crusade." He stops short of denying the quality of the campaign as an exercise of power, inviting critical questions, but invokes the universality of indoctrination through educational systems

to suggest the limitations of critique in such terms:

Those who object to political propagandizing as part of the literacy process are oblivious to the indoctrination that occurs in all educational systems. What differs from one system to another is the subtlety of the indoctrination, the content of the messages, and the socio-political purposes of instruction"(Arnove, 1987, p. 277).

In Arnove's account, there is a lack of consideration that a questioning of representations of the campaign as essentially a process of "liberation" and "empowerment" might entail something other than an affirmation that it is thereby reducible to "indoctrination" and "domestication"; and Arnove's articulation of a "grand narrative" of social transformation proceeds along with a notable absence of consideration of the specificities of the discourse and techniques by way of which dialogue was to be generated.

Arnove's effort to explain the "dialogue problem" centres on two aggregate-level explanations of behaviour-- the "inexperience of the teachers and the reluctance of students to discuss issues publicly or question authority"(1987, p. 276); the nature of the materials and procedures are characterized only in very general terms. The efforts of the "poorly prepared and often impatient brigadistas" failed "to stimulate the adult learners to reach the stage of independent thought"(Arnove, 1987, p.

278). Arnove references an account of the campaign in And Also Teach Them to Read (a book by Sheryl Hirshon, a teacher from the United States who worked as a supervisor of a group of twenty-five brigadistas); in his effort to explain the dialogue problem he has Hirshon describing "the difficulties of implementing this innovative pedagogy"(Arnove, 1987, p. 276). Hirshon states of the dialogue process that

...the brigadistas found it a frustrating and confusing assignment. What was it for? Certainly they'd never been taught that way. In all too many of the classes it was done badly, or ignored altogether. (Hirshon, 1983, quoted in Arnove, 1987, p. 276)

This particular statement, in itself and as reproduced in Arnove's text without further commentary, suggests that the brigadistas themselves were in large part responsible for the difficulties in generating dialogue, while Arnove's psychological portrait of the recipients of instruction as instances of an apparently homogenous type provides the second component of his explanation.

While noting that, according to Freire's ideal, "literacy workers should not arrive in a community with a prepared text," Arnove asserts that:

Such an approach was not really possible in Nicaragua, where an all-out assault on illiteracy using the volunteer labor of minimally trained and mostly young people could not have been accomplished by strict

adherence to the ideal...A primer was developed by a national team of educators in consultation with top political leaders. (1987, p. 276)

Arnove further states that:

To the credit of the Nicaraguan campaign, the literacy materials reflect careful pedagogical planning in the selection and sequencing of content. The materials appear to have been based on solid scholarship, as well as on respect for the experience and social world of the adult learners. (1987, p. 276)

Here, in an apparent reference to the appropriateness of the sequencing of the introduction of syllable families, as a reflection of careful pedagogical planning, Arnove articulates his statement at a level of generality which is such as to imply that careful planning was also involved in the development of materials respecting "the experience and social world of the adult learners." In support of the statements in the latter citation, Arnove provides a footnote, which in its entirety reads:

Paulo Freire visited Nicaragua for a nine-day period prior to the commencement of the CNA. After consulting with the team of educators designing the campaign, he announced his enthusiastic support for both its content and its pedagogy. (1987, p. 276)

Given that "an all-out assault on illiteracy," as Arnove has it, precluded "developing materials in dialogue

with the learning community and on the basis of a sociocultural analysis of that community," the question may be asked of why such an "assault" was deemed necessary. The overdetermination of such a decision may be taken to include both heartfelt desires to end certain terms of social exclusion, and a desire for what the campaign promised to effect in the way of advancing an incorporative Sandinista project while at the same time engendering a "symbol of justice." It was seen as both a mechanism for getting the broad populace to take up "responsibilities" whose terms had already been defined, and as an extension of the "rights" of citizenship. The sources of the dynamics of the campaign prove irreducible to any self-serving intent of agents of this process. At the same time, the discursive terms of its articulation entailed a doubling such that the terms of the campaign as an exercise of (centralized) power stood to be rendered oblique in the context of its powerful symbolic potential as a warrant for the understanding of Sandinismo as a process of mass empowerment.

Arrove asserts that:

Extending education to the vast masses of people represented, symbolically and substantively, a conferral of the rights of citizenship. The literacy campaign constituted a fundamental mechanism for integrating the country--rural and urban populations, the middle and lower classes--for mobilizing the

population around a new set of national goals. (1987, p. 270)

The literacy crusade, Arnove states, was a symbol of justice, of the concern of the new political regime for the most neglected areas and populations of the country. It involved the extension of national authority and services into previously unreached corners of the country. (1987, p. 279)

Certainly, the literacy campaign as it was represented internationally was presented very much as a "symbol of justice."

Arnove, in the face of the impossibility of referencing the dialogue process as an instance of immediate empowerment and of participation of the citizenry as subjects of the nation, turns instead to an underlining of the creation of the conditions of possibility for future empowerment. And the failure of the dialogue process can be accounted for largely as the legacy of the society of the past: "Asking these learners to be active participants in their own education directly opposed ingrained traditions of subordination and self-deprecation"(Arnove, 1987, p. 278).

What proves to be more revealing, in Arnove's text, is a particular citation from Hirschson's book--an account of a workshop in which a group of brigadistas discussed their encounters with the "dialogue problem":

I try to do it [the dialogue] right, but students say

"we don't want to talk politics; just get on to syllables."

May I speak, profe? Listen, compa. If your students say that, it's because you've made them feel that it isn't important. If we just come and teach reading, we aren't doing anything. This crusade was planned so that the workers and peasants could really understand the national reality, and if you just teach letters and syllables, you're not even fulfilling your duty as a brigadista.

That's right, Miguel, but you have to be careful about the opposite danger, too, which is that the exercise becomes more important than letting the students know you are really interested in what they have to say. When I saw your class, you started really well, but when people remained shy, you ended up giving a speech. That's when people get the idea it's really some kind of political indoctrination. (Hirhson, 1983, p. 105, quoted in Arnove, 1987, p. 278)

A question to be posed in relation to Arnove's explanation of the "dialogue problem" is if and how people were "asked to be active participants in their own education," or whether, instead, they were asked to both assimilate a pre-given interpretation of "the national reality" and perform

the process of building this interpretation as following from the logic of their own truths.

Arnove's aggregate-level explanation precludes the consideration that the limited response or the silence on the part of the recipients of instruction, in the context of the efforts to produce "dialogue," might be considered precisely as an "active" response and a "participation" in "the shaping of their own education." Quite possibly, in some cases it may well have been based on the judgment that certain brigadistas were not, in this procedural context, "really interested in what they had to say," but rather in their performance of a pre-given script whose particular components had not even been made available to them. Further, the latter citation of a workshop conversation would suggest that not all participants were so constrained by "ingrained traditions of subordination and self-deprecation" as to be unable to assert a desire to "just get on with the syllables."

Whereas Arnove represents the recipients of instruction as instances of a homogenous type, various testimonios and statements in Between Struggle and Hope give ample indication of a variation of response, rather than a singular truth of the brigadistas, or of the recipients of instruction, or of campaign practice in the course of the "dialogue" sessions. The following account by one brigadista provides an example:

I learned from the dialogues because my pupils lived certain experiences which I had not. According to the lesson plans, the dialogues were to last ten minutes, fifteen minutes but I usually carried them on for an hour because they had so much to tell me which I didn't know. Mostly I learned things from their personal experience; the little which I knew I transmitted to them. (Miller, 1985, p. 171)

It had been anticipated that participation in the "dialogue process" would produce a symbol of citizen participation in the making of the nation, and of "empowerment" understood as such. On the broadest level, a more evident indicator of pronounced "citizen participation" would have entailed a national dialogue around, and negotiation of: the terms of redistribution of land resources appropriated by the state; and the more general distribution of resources, in the context of development and agrarian reform initiatives, for particular kinds of production.

In terms of the literacy campaign more specifically, the limits of possible terms of participation are evident in many respects; so, for example, as Miller notes in her final chapter's appraisal of the campaign, "...community people...did not have a direct voice in the actual design process of the learning materials"(1985, p. 211). (She asserts that "In part, this was the result of problems of

time, limited staff, and the chaos of the moment..."[1987, p. 211], and that "in the follow-up adult education program, materials were increasingly designed with the direct participation of the learners--personal stories, poems, songs, and interview with participants providing the basis for study and reflection"[1987, p. 212].)

Further, when students, in the course of their encounter with the educational program which had been designed for them, demonstrated a certain preference for a particular component of this program--the math lessons--this expression of preference appears not to have been taken into account; this provides a further indicator of the structured limitations of the extent to which the recipients of instruction were able to be "active participants" in the shaping of "their own education."

A consideration of the reception of the math lessons is also suggestive of the complexities of a measuring of the extent to which the campaign proved to be empowering.

The contents of the math text, as detailed in a preceding chapter, were tightly articulated to the projected development project, and incorporated a legitimation of the rationale for the various interventions being undertaken in the countryside (i.e., those of ENABAS, the state organization for the procurement and distribution of basic grains). Nevertheless, there was considerable and widespread enthusiasm for the math lessons, introduced after Lesson

Seven of the literacy primer. The initial plan was that the math text would then be used for thirty minutes daily. Miller makes no mention of the irony entailed in the fact that, in response to the widespread enthusiasm the math lessons generated--the allotted time to be devoted to the math lessons was decreased, or, in some cases, they were "postponed until the follow-up stage of the campaign in September"(Miller, 1985, p. 101). Subsequent to a lack of an initial encounter with a universal enthusiasm for participation in the campaign (as Miller reports in detailing the extent to which brigadistas had to very actively encourage the participation of community people), and subsequent to the limited participation in the "dialogue," there was an arrival at a point where great numbers of people appeared "intensely interested in learning" (to "use fundamental math skills")--but this response was greeted as problematic because:

Sometimes the interest was such that once begun, students did not want to stop...when the study of mathematics began to seriously interfere with mastering literacy skills, it was either limited to three half-hour sessions weekly or postponed...(Miller, 1985, p.101)

Freire had previously raised questions about the use of the math primer, because "its printing would increase costs and its study would divert attention from the literacy

effort"(Miller, 1985, p. 100).

A statement by a literacy campaign student and peasant leader, included in Between Struggle and Hope as it was reported to a teaching supervisor, is suggestive of some of the reasons for the popularity of the math lessons, which may well have been experienced by a great many as "empowering"; this statement is also suggestive of one important way of considering "power" and empowerment:

This woman, my patrona, by boss Doña Cloris, she wants to get rid of me for having a brigadista in the house. First she comes in the middle of class and dumps everything off the table--the books and everything. Then she begins yelling at everyone: "Let the counterrevolution come," she screams, "so all these damned brigadistas will be hung!" Can you imagine that? ... She doesn't like it that I'm with the farmworkers' union, that I complain when things aren't right.....And she says she won't rent me the land to work this year. And, anyway, she's not paying me right. The last time, she gives me the money and I says, "Wait a minute, let's look at this sum." "Oh, no, it's fine," she says. But sure enough, I figure it up and of course she owes me fifty córdobas more. She gets all upset and everything, but of course I'm right, and she has to pay up. That's cause I learned math. With someone else she would have got away with it. (Miller, 1985, p. 179)

This statement, and the killings of campaign participants in the course of the campaign, is suggestive of what Foucault has written of as the "great negative forms of power"(122), as it works through "the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression." The Somocista regime over against which Sandinismo defined itself and its "empowerment of the people" can hardly be understood without reference to a repressive model of power. The point, then, is not the denial of the purchase and pertinence of such in an exclusive recognition of the way in which a Sandinista nation-building project also constituted a problematic exercise of power, but the limits of an understanding of such a project in terms of "liberation" posed over against domination.

Nicaraguans were empowered to speak over against private employers and state functionaries, and by way of union structures and other organizational structures; and many did gain "empowering" skills in the context of the literacy campaign. At the same time, the structured processes by way of which they were to be brought to speak constrained and shaped what might be spoken, as the consideration of one such process on the micro-level has served to demonstrate, and as has been demonstrated in Part One of the thesis with reference to the institutions of political representation.

"Now we can speak." This statement, constituting the

title of a book by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, was taken from the words of a peasant woman, quoted on the jacket cover of Now We Can Speak: A Journey through the New Nicaragua. The quote figures at the outset of a description of the book's contents:

"We used to be like mute people," recalls Jesus Lopez Garcia, a peasant woman from a Nicaraguan village. "But now we can speak."

Now We Can Speak focuses on the lives of ordinary men and women in Nicaragua--how they are changing and why there is hope. Sra. Lopez and dozens of other Nicaraguans, from market-place vendors and peasants living along the dangerous Honduras border to union officials and church activists, tell how the revolution has made a difference in their lives.

As they discuss their experiences with community organizations, their newly won political power, and the advances made against disease, hunger and illiteracy, a vivid canvas of contemporary Nicaragua emerges. They describe Nicaragua's approaches to the tough questions of democracy, participation, and power, revealing why Nicaragua's revolution defies stereotypes. (Lappe, 1982)

The jacket of the book also features a photo and accompanying text reading "Woman speaking at a 'Cara al Pueblo,' a town meeting with Nicaraguan government officials

in Monimbó."

Now We Can Speak's "vivid canvas" figures within a huge body of discourse articulated in the 1980s--FSLN state discourse, academic literature on Sandinismo, and discourse circulating in the context of media and the work of international solidarity organizations--in which "voices" speaking from a certain territory and enunciative position--that of Nicaraguans liberated from domination--are taken up as expressive of an essence of the totality of the territory. These statements would articulate the replacement of a repressive power with an "expressive" power. However, in the context of the literacy campaign and the Sandinista project more generally, such a model of power proves insufficient in accounting for the specificity of the ways in which Nicaraguans did--and did not--speak.

Conclusion

Sandinismo was productive of the entrance of masses of Nicaraguans into sites of political representation according them agency, and of spectacular and moving warrants for its truths; and the intent here is not to deny the significance of such warrants. (See endnote 2 of this chapter.) Rather, my analysis has sought to consider and to underline the significance of specificities of practice which were not and could not be lifted up in such a way. Such were the specificities of the dialogue process. My consideration of

this process has put into question conceptions of the literacy campaign as essentially a process of empowerment-- and as such in that it both provided a public sphere in which people were invited to speak, and gave them access to a certain (written) base of knowledge.

At the same time, anti-Sandinista accounts of the campaign as essentially a process of indoctrination, following from the singular intent of securing centralized power, also fail to account for the complexity of actual practice.

Notably, while the "dialogue process" as it came to be articulated invited recipients of instruction to produce a relatively detailed account of Sandinista doctrine, the extent to which this was so followed from a hasty inclusion of a list of questions in the teacher's guide; and this act constituted a response to the degree of abstraction perceived in the initial formulation of the objectives and procedures for the generation of dialogue. Thus, the extent to which the "dialogue process" proved to be a failure--due to both the use of the question list and the nature of the dialogue materials and procedures--may be understood in part in terms of the effectivity of a lack--a lack of an operative conception of individuation in terms which did not simply articulate it to individualism. This lack articulates to a discursive formation charted in Chapter Three of the thesis--a formation indicative of a dichotomous and

Manichean conception of subjectivity operative in the articulation of Sandinismo.

The design of the procedures and materials, during and subsequent to the articulation of the pilot project, evidenced little sense of anything particular rural recipients of instruction might have had to contribute to a "dialogue," and of what might have provided an effective catalyst to such a contribution. Even as the dialogue process had been conceptualized as a site in which recipients of instruction would act as subjects of knowledge, it proves suggestive of how they had already been constituted as objects of knowledge, in limited and rigid terms. In terms of their essential being and becoming, they were either revolutionary/citizen subjects, or destined to become such. Indeed, campaign planners envisioned the dialogue process as a technique for the production of such subjects, who were to imagine their being primarily with reference to a certain imaginaire of the nation, and with reference to the interests of the national collectivity--as they had already been articulated.

The dialogue process and the campaign more generally had been envisioned as means to empower the recipients of instruction. They were to be empowered: through the provision of a public sphere context in which they might speak; by becoming revolutionary/citizen subjects who would advance the national Sandinista project, in part by taking

to heart the call for increased productivity; and by becoming literate citizens able to participate in public life from an informed position. Yet they were invited to speak from an enunciative position already set out for them, and not to participate in the definition of the broad outlines of the national project, and in the definition of their own educational needs. Further, the terms of being "informed" were inclusive of problematic modernist, developmentalist and vanguardist logics which were not taken to invite questioning, but which were presented simply as what had to become part of a "common knowledge base."

The mounting of the literacy campaign, at the outset of Sandinista government, was overdetermined. It was informed by heartfelt desires to end certain terms of social exclusion and disempowerment--exclusion and disempowerment proceeding from a lack of formal education and of literacy and numeracy skills. Yet it also offered a means of extending the reach of state institutions and control, and it carried substantial symbolic potential as a conferral of the rights of citizenship and as a provision of the basis for exercising such. It was to further the exercise of both "rights" and "responsibilities." Irreducible to a self-interested exercise of power, the campaign entailed discursive terms of legitimation and articulation integral to naturalized logics of modernity.

The naturalization of such logics of modernity informed

highly celebratory representations of the campaign-- including academic accounts--at and subsequent to the time it was mounted. Juxtaposing such representations and accounts of the campaign with the terms of articulation of the dialogue process, and with the terms of the agrarian reform and development projects, proves suggestive of the extent to which the problematic material specificities of practice are evacuated in the course of the production of narrations of progress. Further, a consideration of the materials and procedures for the generation of dialogue proves suggestive of how such narrations were operative in the articulation of the campaign.

Modernity has held out the promise of universal empowerment--of ending certain conditions of social exclusion, by way of the incorporative projects of nations and by way of heightened productivity and more advanced technology. The provision of public spheres has been cast as integral to this universal empowerment. Yet as the terms of articulation of the dialogue process suggest, the extension of an "invitation to speak" is not, a priori, a movement towards popular sovereignty--towards an ideal which both has had a desirable effectivity in the structuring of practice, and which proves unrealizable in any "pure" form, given the mediations of discourse as they necessarily exist within relations of power/knowledge. In the case here considered, people were invited to speak from an enunciative position

already constructed for them, and constructed within a knowledge system entailing a conception of a national-popular community as an organic unity--a unity in which "voices" could speak only from one of two sides of a binary divide.

There were, nevertheless, two conceptions of the positioning of those who spoke (or whose silence or non-participation "spoke") from the negative side of a binary divide--those who did not underwrite, in a wholesale manner, the truths of the revolution. Those who did not publicly position themselves as "enemies" of the revolution--that is to say, all those who participated in the campaign as recipients of instruction--were taken to be subjects unfolding across time, and marked by the negative legacy of the past. This was the conceptual context for the understanding of statements which did not neatly correspond to the affirmations of a certain national-popular knowledge system. There was little conceptual space for an understanding of the possibility that such statements might be irreducible to a negative legacy of the past--and that they might even reflect different and more viable possibilities for the successful articulation of a revolutionary process.

Endnotes

1 Common representations of extension of media of communication articulate to antithetical conceptions of structures of social power as either serving to secure the common good, or as determined in all aspects of their totality by a negative essence; as James Carey observes, in the course of an effort to "deconstruct the satanic and angelic images that have surrounded, justified and denigrated the media of communications," the

habits of mind and structures of power that seem characteristic of our age, particularly the talk of a communications revolution and exalted hopes and equally exaggerated fears of the media, are repetitions so predictable as to suggest undeviating corridors of thought. (1992, p. 2)

2 See various testimonios and accounts in Between Struggle and Hope, including the following:

...a second National Congress was held to assess the achievements of the crusade and to analyze the lessons that it provided....On September 5 and 6, more than 800 delegates participated in the proceedings, which were to be held in the imposing red-carpeted, marble Rubén Darío theater, which had been built by Somoza.

Among the participants were students of the literacy campaign, peasants who had recently learned to read and write. The spontaneous speech given by one of them at the conclusion of the congress probably best describes the spirit, pride, and interest that had been generated by the campaign. The master of ceremonies asked the audience if anyone had anything else to add to the presentations that had already been made. He paused briefly, then continued with his closing comments as he did not expect anyone to come forward from the large assembly. Surprise marked his face when he saw a young peasant rise and walk to the stage. Juan José Mercado, complete with clean white T-shirt and red cap perched precariously on the side of his head, gave a speech the won the day.

Good afternoon, fellow compañeros of the city and country. I feel very moved to be here with you today. My name is Juan José Mercado, and I am a new literate from Nandaime, Montegrande Occidental, province of Granada. I stand here before you no ashamed to admit that I didn't know how to read. I am not ashamed, compañeros. It is true.

When the brigadistas arrived at our village, they were strangers to us. They came to our house and told us, "We are here to serve you and to teach you how to read." "What do you mean?" we answered them. "Take this book and this pencil and see, we are going to teach you how to use them." I'll never forget him. Ramón Romero Ruiz is his name. I took the book and held it upside down, and I am not ashamed to tell you, friends, I did. "No compañero, not that way, this way." And I began to read my very first letter of the alphabet.

I work on the San Albino farm. I have worked there seven months in the dust and in the rain. There I worked and there I learned under the guidance of Ramón who was daily at my side, teaching and encouraging me. I am not ashamed to say it because they told us we Nicaraguans should never be shamed, and tomorrow when they ask me, "who was your teacher?" I will be proud to tell them. He is the reason I am here. He has helped me to earn the respect of my compañeros.

Ramón invited me to come. He said "Let's go. I invite you to the congress." And so I came. I had never heard of this theater before with its beauty and its magnificence. I have come and contemplated lovely things. I had never been to this place before, and I am not ashamed to admit it. Coming here has given me very great joy, and I will tell my compañeros at home to continue studying so that tomorrow, sometime in the future, we can reach greater distance with this revolution, we can go farther. That is what we ask of this government.

And I am not ashamed to say that when I first arrived in Managua, I got lost; my people are from the countryside, so frankly we don't know our way around here.....And when I finally got here, I was amazed to see such a thing as this Rubén Darío Theatre. This is the first time any of my family has stepped on these grounds, walked on this grass, or entered this beautiful place. Not my parents, who are very old now, not my brothers and sisters. Nobody. They would be proud. The fact that I am here today is due to the strength of the revolution, the revolution that is everywhere with us, teaching all that it can. May it continue to do so. That is what I ask.

They are few, the number of words that I have to say today, because I have never been in front of so many people before, and I'll tell you quite frankly, I am nervous. My body is trembling. It doesn't bother me to tell you though because you are my compañeros...thank you. I wish you happiness as does the revolution. May you never tire of teaching us. Don't get tired and don't stop because now I am responsible for teaching fourteen compañeros in the

follow-up program. With the little bit that I have learned, I'm teaching the others who still don't know how to read and write very well. We want to learn many things. [Transcribed from a tape of the speech, in Miller, 1985, pp. 194-96]

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

In his contribution to the collection The Postmodern Debate in Latin America, Chilean scholar Norbert Lechner states of "the postmodern turn" that:

Social difference is positively reappraised. It is not solely identified with social divisions and inequalities.....This is the postmodern contribution, with the proviso that, in Latin America, it is not limited to the celebration of heterogeneity as an aspect of civil society. Here, the reappraisal of heterogeneity continues to refer to the issue of political order. How does one distinguish legitimate diversity from illegitimate inequalities? (Lechner, 1995, p. 155)

The latter continues to be an open question in a contemporary period in which social movements pursue transnational linkages in a manner no longer adequately designated as "international solidarity." The call for "globalization" of resistance in response to the elite project of "globalization" does not assume pre-given national-popular formations under a singular authority as the primordial site of identification on the basis of which other connections are then made--even as linkages constituting a basis for national-popular formations continue to remain important. A shift in the terms of

identification and in the terms of response to "independent" movements and initiatives has materialized; movement "voices" are accorded an authority that is not dependant upon their articulation of the national-popular as an organic unity--terms of articulation which have figured in vanguardist politics. The case of Sandinismo, as it has been critically examined in the thesis--with particular reference to the experience of the most marginalized of campesino sectors--is suggestive of some of the dynamics which have made for such conjunctural change in the terms of popular and social movement struggle. While the practice of elites on a global level has clearly had great impact on this change, it has also been the product of the experience of masses of people, in Nicaragua, Central America and elsewhere, of structures of representation under vanguardist national liberation movements, and within the nation-building projects which some such movements undertook after having moved into a position of state governance. In revisiting an early stage of the Sandinista project, from the perspective of peasant/popular and other critical vantage points, the thesis has brought into focus the terms of articulation of a nation-building project and of a Sandinista collective identity--terms which were subsequently to lead to considerable disaffection with structures of representation once naturalized and celebrated. Responses to this disaffection have included

efforts to resemanticize campesino/indigenous life, so that it is "not solely identified with...inequalities," but is seen also in terms of its potentialities--potentialities understood over against a modernized production which has contributed to unemployment, to ecological destruction, to the difficulty of efforts to practice cultural ecology, and to dependence upon the capacity to participate fully in a monetarized economy. ¹

I have demonstrated that in the context of the Sandinista project, people were "spoken" in highly abstract terms, within a national-popular knowledge system, and were enjoined to speak from an enunciative position/national collective identity already set out for them. Despite the fact that the Sandinista project did not entail an effort to impose homogeneity in public text, in institutions of political representation, and in modalities of production, the terms of this project constrained and shaped what might be said, and what might be heard. Such shaping was the product of a hegemonic formation irreducible to the FSLN as a vanguardist organization in a position of governance.

I have further demonstrated that a revolutionary project which was articulated as in opposition to a conservative counterrevolutionary project nevertheless shared with the latter a certain assumption--that great value was to be attributed to the modernization of production. This assumption, which has been apparent in both

capitalist and Marxist projects for social transformation, has informed the naturalization of the idea of the inevitable and desirable disappearance of "the peasantry," within the incorporative and developmentalist movement of modernity--a naturalization articulated within a discourse of development with a global effectivity, as well as in Marxist and Marxist-inflected discourses.

The choices made in relation to the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects--as they prioritized investment in relatively large, capital-intensive projects, and in the reactivation and extension of modernized production on the state farms--found part of their rationalization in the understanding that the generation of surplus, as facilitated by modernized production, constituted a necessary condition for survival, let alone redistributive justice. Clearly, left redistributive projects in the south have consistently met with armed opposition fuelled by the most powerful and wealthy forces on the planet; and, tragically, as was the case in Nicaragua, resources generated by mass production for export have had to be poured into war efforts without which the conditions of redistributive justice could not be sustained. The responsibility of the United States and other regional forces in the sapping of the life-blood of such projects has been all too painfully apparent. Nevertheless, in the Nicaraguan case, a substantial body of academic

literature suggests that the very terms of the effort to produce surplus contributed to the extent of continued indebtedness and dependency. In addition to the issue of what might have constituted a more democratic distribution of resources--including a redistribution of lands responding to widespread aspirations of the land poor and the landless for allotments enabling them to maintain or to recover a "campesino" identity--there is the issue of what might have constituted a more solid economic basis for the sustenance of a project of redistributive justice.

Campesino aspirations, knowledges and mentalities might have been taken, to a far greater degree, as a resource to be worked with, rather than a problem to be surmounted. The manner in which "the people" and rural recipients of literacy instruction were "spoken" and were brought to speak has been shown to invite consideration alongside the possibility that less abstract and more open dynamics of representation--representation as both depiction and delegation--would have facilitated a better praxis. In demonstrating this, the thesis analysis has shared something of the critical positioning articulated by Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo in her "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction: Rural Subjectivity Under Sandinista Agrarian Policy"; 'pace' the framework of Escobar's Encountering Development, which does not entail a consideration of the significance of the diverse sites of enunciation of

"discourses of development," the thesis has articulated the understanding that there ought to have been much greater space for negotiation of different visions of sustenance and development. The "dialogue process" in the context of the literacy campaign has been considered as it might have constituted a site for such, and as it failed to allow for such.

The thesis analysis has been informed by encounters with the measured critiques of Sandinismo formulated by individuals and organizations who were active participants in the revolutionary process of the 1980s. These critiques have been formulated in sites including: the collection of interviews in Margaret Randall's Sandinismo's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua; Nicaragua: Farmer's View (the English-language publication of the 1990s of UNAG, the Nicaraguan National Union of Farmers and Ranchers); and analyses of the NITLAPAN Institute in Managua. Structures of authority and the manner in which social transformation and collective identity were "spoken" in the 1980s precluded or limited the attribution of authority to visions of transformation whose articulation stood in tension with that of the FSLN as a Marxist-Leninist oriented vanguardist organization. Individuals and organizations that took positions of support for the revolution while advancing their critical perspectives were, nevertheless, part of what Sandinismo was; and the thesis analysis has sought to

acknowledge Sandinismo's heterogeneity along with the structured limitations of such.

Sandinista government and policies did see some changes which apparently supported the common analytic reference to Sandinismo's "pragmatism and flexibility"--characteristics often attributed to its being an "eclectic mix" (of Marxism, democratic nationalism and revolutionary Christianity). As Eduardo Baumeister has put it, the Sandinista revolution broke "with a principal tradition of previous revolutionary processes: the association between increments of war against counterrevolutionary forces and 'Jacobinization'...as seen in a majority of revolutions over the past two centuries"(1991, p. 235).

Sandinista hegemony did not entail an effort to impose a singular political discourse in public text, and singularity in political and socio-cultural institutions and forms of production; nor can it be simply defined as the practice of a "nationalist elite" with a cultural formation distinct from that of "the people." The Sandinista nation-building project entailed contrasting logics of political representation (those of Marxist-Leninism and of liberal representative democracy); economic policy set out a major place for private enterprise as well as state enterprise; representations of revolutionary/citizen identity referenced multiple paths to such (democratic nationalist, Marxist and Christian commitments); and, in distinction to practice in

other Marxist states, those with a strong religious faith were accorded a marked presence in government and were recognized as having a major role in the articulation of Sandinismo more generally.

Nevertheless: the Sandinista nation-building project was articulated largely by way of corporativist structures of political representation entailing a Marxist-Leninist conception of a vanguard as representative of the historical interests of the working class and of the "people"; the FSLN sought and exercised a hegemony over private producers; and Sandinista-affiliated discourses and authorities having a presence across the socio-cultural terrain cannot be collapsed into "the people" more generally. Further, the terms of the discursive construction of collective identity and of a being and becoming of the people incorporated nationalist, Christian and Marxist traditions in a narration of struggle and historical unfolding entailing the discursive operation of a singular predominant figure of revolutionary/citizen identity--Sandino; and a universal identification with the Sandinista project was invited by way of the operation of this figure and by way of a discourse of national unity in the interests of development. Reference to the imperatives of development operated to manage tensions in the articulation of the means and end of the Sandinista project and to legitimate the structure and undertakings of FSLN authority; and a Marxist-inflected and

developmentalist knowledge of historical unfolding as proceeding according to a "logic of necessity" both issued from and sustained the institutional structures of power, as did the dissemination of FSLN and Sandinista constructions of collective identity.

Within the Sandinista articulation of historical unfolding and collective identity, a certain discursive formation figured prominently. This formation, which the thesis has shown to have had considerable social breadth and weight--as it traversed FSLN policy statements, public text, and cultural production--constructed a figure of ideal, revolutionary/citizen subjectivity--the "New Man". This figure was constructed, in nationalist, Marxist and Christian terms, as the origin, means and end of the Sandinista project, and in dichotomous and Manichean terms (over against an individualist subject). A "New Marxist" formation articulated in disjunction and conjunction with orthodox Marxist narratives of historical unfolding figured among the conditions of possibility for the construction of this figure; and this formation accorded a centrality to the subjectivity of the New Man as the motor force of history.

In Chapter Three of the thesis, I have mapped and contextualized the discursive formation productive of the figure of the New Man. In this chapter, I have made a contribution to literature on Sandinismo, and to social theory more generally, in demonstrating the purchase of

discourse analysis for insight into the terms of cohesion of a formation traversing the boundaries between state and civil society, and inclusive of cultural production; the analysis demonstrates the effectivity of something beyond FSLN "ideology" and state power in the shaping of Sandinista practice; and it demonstrates the limitations of analyses casting individual and institutional agents as the origin of practice.

A Sandinista knowledge of the people in their being and becoming was brought to the countryside in the context of the literacy campaign--and was operative in the articulation of the campaign--and rural recipients of literacy instruction were invited and expected to articulate their own experience to it, within a structured process shaping and delimiting what might be said, and within the context of the campaign as an incorporative project.

A consideration of various artifacts and aspects of the campaign indicates the degree to which the campaign was articulated to the Sandinista development and social project, and was articulated by way of a knowledge system and discourses which evidence: a limited valuation of the particularity of the knowledge of the rural recipients of literacy instruction; and an organic conception of national-popular community. The campaign entailed problematic assumptions about what rural recipients of instruction were and should become--i.e., revolutionary/citizen subjects

focused on assuming a pre-determined role in the interests of advancing a development and social project presumed to be in their interests. This proves particularly pertinent in that the broad outlines of the initial development and agrarian reform projects were not congruent with widespread aspirations of the landless and land-poor for redistribution of lands for traditional, family-unit production, and in that, even in terms of national "economic/productive efficiency," and of the ensural of sustenance through food security, the initial choices made were to prove questionable.

Even as the rural recipients of literacy instruction were cast as subjects as well as objects of knowledge, the objectives of broad social incorporation, and of the generation of a "common knowledge base" across the nation, were accorded priority over the procedures of an available "science of emancipatory pedagogy" affirming that education "must not be a situation where some men name on behalf of others"(Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 77). This prioritization found some of its rationalization in the understanding that the nationalist knowledge people were invited to speak, in the context of the dialogue process, already represented the knowledge they had and were destined to come to.

The failure of a dialogue process that was nevertheless represented as having "offered participants the power of the

word and of history" proves symptomatic of the limitations of a national-popular knowledge system which laid claim to an understanding of the rural terrain, in its essential being and becoming. This becoming, as represented in campaign publicity and campaign discourse more generally, articulated the causal sequence literacy--collective awakening/participation--heightened production--further transcendence. These terms have an evident correspondence to those of the knowledges of literacy and development referenced in the planning of the Nicaraguan campaign, and figure within an overdetermined process shaped by modernist knowledge systems more generally.

The thesis has charted inscriptions of two contrasting campaign discourses, with one casting the campaign as a movement from a negative to a positive state (from ignorance to knowledge, and from darkness to dawn), and the other casting the campaign as a two-way learning process. There was, at one and the same time, a value accorded to campesino knowledge and the "ways of peasant living," within a secondary campaign discourse, and a negation of such value within a predominant campaign discourse--a discourse directed towards the mobilization of the whole of the population in the interests of an imperative of "ending ignorance." The latter discourse entailed a problematic schooling of the rural recipients of literacy instruction, and of the populace more generally, in the understanding

that the former essentially existed in a negative state of being; they were cast in terms of lack.

The presence of these two discourses, and their relative weight, has been theorized with reference to the study of Marxist discursivity in Laclau and Mouffe's Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, and with reference to precepts of Marxist thought and modernist knowledge systems more generally. As Laclau and Mouffe argue, in the context of twentieth-century national liberation struggles, discourses of class struggle were articulated to discourses of national-popular struggle; and class essentialism and Marxist narratives of historical unfolding were thereby disarticulated--though to a limited degree. In the terms of such narration--as was elaborated in Chapter One, with reference to Marx's "Communist Manifesto"--capitalist development and the integration of all into a world-system was to "rescue" a "considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life"; and the celebration of "the people" in the context of twentieth-century national liberation movements both affirmed (culturally-located) "peasantries," and was articulated in tension with discourses of development (with multiple "modernist"--"Marxist" and "capitalist"--roots) with negative valuations of "peasant" consciousness and production methods. The discourses of the Nicaraguan literacy campaign articulate to

such terms of theorization, and find a broad context within a modernity whose logic has been one of the overcoming of singularity, within a movement of the totality towards a progress understood in particular terms--understood as a full use of the technologies of rationality and productivity.

A predominant campaign discourse articulated a binary conception of ignorance in relation to knowledge, and projected a full incorporation of the population into a site of knowledge taken to reflect an objective truth of historical unfolding. This bears a relationship to the discursive formation mapped in Chapter Three of the thesis-- a formation articulating a binary and Manichean conception of subjectivity, as either individualist or as fully identified with the interests of the collectivity. Within the binary terms of these two discourses, the being of certain campesino sectors stood to be constructed as a site of lack, and a site to be fully left behind, in the course of the progress of the national collectivity. Such terms of representation were not congruent with the practice of a cultural ecology.

Nevertheless, a claim to be learning "from the people" was integral to the legitimation of vanguard authority; and framings of the campaign with reference to mutual learning find a context within Sandinista discourse more generally. The substantive basis for representations of the

relationship between, on the one hand, FSLN leadership and agents of state interventions, and, on the other hand, "the people," as a relationship of reciprocity in the exchange of knowledge, figured within power/knowledge relations that limited in advance the terms of such an exchange, and that shaped how marginal rural inhabitants were brought into view as objects of knowledge, within an incorporative project.

As Homi Bhabha has argued, within the modern nation "the people" are both the objects of a national pedagogy--a pedagogy operative in the articulation of the presumed "sociological solidity" of the nation--and subjects who must be seen to be "speaking" the nation, despite the fact that such speech performances, as they are informed by the heterogeneity and liminality of agents, threaten the very cohesion envisioned as their outcome. The thesis has considered a certain component of the literacy campaign--the "dialogue process" undertaken at the outset of each of the lessons of literacy instruction--over against representations of the campaign, and of Sandinismo more generally, as these articulate the "sociological solidity" of the Nicaraguan nation in the course of a movement from domination to liberation.

The Nicaraguan literacy crusade received wide and highly celebratory publicity both within and outside Nicaragua, and, as David Kunzle observes in The Murals of Revolutionary Nicaragua, the campaign figured as "the most

often reiterated theme of the murals, both as primary subject...and as a motif culminating the revolutionary narrative..."(1995, p. 34). As Arnove's account of the campaign asserts, it was taken up as a "symbol of justice." However, a close look at the materials and procedures of the "dialogue" process puts into question a conception of the campaign as essentially an empowerment of the people (even as it does not entail the suggestion that individuals did not experience the campaign and its outcomes as empowering).

The dialogue process and the campaign more generally had been envisioned as means to empower the recipients of instruction. They were to be empowered: through the provision of a public sphere context in which they might speak; by becoming revolutionary/citizen subjects who would advance the national Sandinista project, in part by taking to heart the call for increased productivity; and by becoming literate citizens able to participate in public life from an informed position. Yet they were invited to speak from an enunciative position already set out for them, and not to participate in the definition of the broad outlines of the national project, and in the definition of their own educational needs. Further, the terms of being "informed" were inclusive of problematic modernist, developmentalist and vanguardist logics which were not taken to invite questioning, but which were presented simply as what had to become part of a "common knowledge base."

The design of the materials and procedures for the generation of dialogue evidenced little conception of anything particular rural recipients of instruction might have had to contribute to a "dialogue," and of what might have provided an effective catalyst to such a contribution. Instead, it proves suggestive of how the recipients of instruction had already been constructed as objects of knowledge; they were, fundamentally, either revolutionary/citizen subjects, or destined to become such. Indeed, the particularities of the design of the dialogue procedures and materials prove to be congruent with evidence that campaign planners envisioned the dialogue process as a technique for the production of such subjects, who were to imagine their being primarily with reference to a certain imaginaire of the nation, and with reference to the interests of the national collectivity--as they had already been articulated.

Juxtaposing celebratory representations and accounts of the campaign with the terms of articulation of the dialogue process, and with the terms of the agrarian reform and development projects, proves suggestive of the extent to which the problematic material specificities of practice are evacuated in the course of the production of narrations of progress. Further, a consideration of the specificities of the dialogue process proves suggestive of how such narrations were operative in the articulation of the

campaign.

The campaign was articulated as a process extending the rights of citizenship, and thus stood to be taken up as a symbol of justice. The force of this conception in the articulation and representation of the campaign was apparent. However, the campaign was also taken to be a means of producing a "common knowledge base" across the nation, a knowledge inclusive of a certain understanding of the responsibilities the recipients of instruction were to take up. The double articulation of the campaign, as a conferral of rights and as an education as to responsibilities, was such that it proves irreducible to representations of it as essentially a process of indoctrination, or, in contrast, representations entailing "the benign sociological model of power as the agency of social cohesion and normality, serving to assure the conditions of existence and survival of the community"(Gordon, 1980, p. 235). (The latter understanding, operative in considerations of the state as the prime agent of a process of development, has had a powerful effectivity.) The campaign as an overdetermined process was informed by heartfelt desires to end certain terms of social exclusion and disempowerment--exclusion and disempowerment related to both a lack of literacy and numeracy skills, and to the absence of public sphere contexts in which people might speak. Nevertheless, the terms of inclusion and of a process cast as empowering

people to speak were to prove problematic. They fail to accord with a model of revolutionary change in Nicaragua as a movement from domination/repression to liberation/expression.

As the thesis' consideration of the dialogue process suggests, the extension of an "invitation to speak" is not, a priori, a movement towards popular sovereignty--towards an ideal which has both had a desirable effectivity in the structuring of practice, and which proves unrealizable in any "pure" form, given the mediations of discourse as they necessarily exist within relations of power/knowledge. People were invited to speak from an enunciative position which was already set out for them, and which had been constructed within a knowledge system entailing a conception of national-popular community as an organic unity, potentially without internal tensions and significant differentiations. Given this conception, "voices" could speak only from one of two sides of a binary divide--from a revolutionary, or a counterrevolutionary positioning. At the same time, those who, in the context of the campaign, did not fully underwrite the truths of Sandinismo--while at the same time not publicly positioning themselves as "counterrevolutionaries"--were understood to be acting in such a way due simply to a negative legacy of the past.

In her "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction--Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy,"

Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo notes the "questionable sympathy" demonstrated by a president of UPANIC, the association of large private producers, for the "plight of the agricultural proletariat"(1997, p. 142) under Sandinista government, and further notes the success of a right-wing critique of Sandinismo in making "political headway among the dissatisfied 'minifundistas' and itinerant proletariats"(143). This critique had such success because:

it asserted, above all else, the autonomy of the peasantry, albeit within the bourgeoisie's framework of private property....these elites capitalized on the itinerant proletariats' and minifundistas' continued identification as campesinos; in effect, this right-wing rhetoric positioned the landed elites and the land-poor peasants in a relationship of equivalence vis-à-vis a state that denied an abstracted concept of freedom. These appeals by the elites and counterrevolutionaries spoke to the itinerant proletariats' and minifundistas' interest in autonomy over their interests as workers, especially since the FSLN was unable to dramatically improve their status as proletariats. (Saldaña-Portillo, 1997, p. 143)

This dynamic played no small role in subsequent outcomes. "By 1985 peasants were filling the ranks of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, and in 1990 the FSLN lost the presidential and parliamentary elections"(Saldaña-Portillo,

1997, p. 143). The lack of facilitation of the taking up of certain enunciative positions in the context of the literacy campaign--and the lack of structures of representation enabling such articulations to shape praxis--finds a good part of its pertinence in relation to such outcomes.

In revisiting a literacy campaign that figured at the outset of the articulation of the Sandinista nation-building project, and in considering the campaign alongside a critical account of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform projects, the thesis has brought into focus the limits of the terms of the social inclusion promised by this project, and the problematic power/knowledge system and hegemonic formation that shaped such terms. The thesis analysis proves to be complementary to the analysis of Saldaña-Portillo--analysis based on her years of research on agrarian reform in Nicaragua; in considering the articulation of Sandinismo with reference to discursive formations, to representations of collective identity and historical unfolding, to the structure of institutions of governance, to technologies for the shaping of subjectivity, and to historical conditions of possibility including Marxist formations, knowledges of literacy and development, and precepts of modernist knowledge systems, the thesis has provided a detailed account of some of the materialities--including the materialities of discourse and of structures of power/knowledge--entailed in the articulation of

Sandinista practice. In so doing, the thesis makes a contribution to literature and social theory related to articulations of nation. It has demonstrated methods for, and the pertinence of, the mapping of the overdetermined processes of governance; and it has integrated into a conjunctural study a consideration of how an articulation of a people-nation invites a partial understanding as considered within a time span of *longue durée*--the time span of modernity.

A mural commemorating the National Literacy Crusade features, in its central panel, a woman holding up a pencil, while directly behind her hand a hammer and a gun also extend upwards. The last panel features the black and red flag of the FSLN, covering over much of the blue and white Nicaraguan flag flying behind it. This mural constructs a narrative--the realization of transcendence by way of knowledge, production and struggle, and through the agency of a national-popular movement-become-government--occupying virtually the whole of the terrain of the nation without the latter being reducible to it. It proves interesting to contrast this mural with the pictorial representation of ASOCODE, the Asociación de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo--an organization whose practice provided much of the inspiration for this thesis. ASOCODE's logo features a man behind a plough pulled by oxen, and centred against the background of

a map of Central America; a cityscape, complete with fumes pouring into the sky, appears in the right-hand corner. Small-scale, low-input production is here affirmed as a feature of time-present, and as a feature to be positively contrasted with an environmental destruction that has figured so prominently as part of the legacy of modernity; and the geographical space outlined does not mark off internal national boundaries. Identification on the basis of a campesino identity that is not, first and foremost, nationally-situated, is affirmed as the basis for the existence of ASOCODE, an organization directed towards the articulation of "unity in diversity." Whatever the gap between the discourse of an organization and that of the constituency it seeks to mobilize, the articulation of new discourses of struggle and of social and production initiatives proves significant, as the example of ASOCODE demonstrates. This campesino organization's efforts to articulate a complex unity has not entailed a conception of the necessity of sacrifice in the interests of a national or national-popular collectivity. Rather, to quote Jorge Hernández, a Costa-Rican small farmer and sociologist, and from 1991 to 1993 a Deputy from Costa Rica on the Regional Commission of ASOCODE:

The permanent confrontation between peasant organizations and states, and the search for negotiations and concertations, show how complex these

relations are. In particular, it indicates that the old contradiction, the old confrontation between peasants and capital, or peasants and the state, is today giving way to other equations counterpoising the peasantry and the institutional system, the peasantry and the transnationals, the peasantry and NGOs, the peasantry and the media, the peasantry and political parties, and so forth. (Hernández, 1994, p. 89)

This indicates the promise of autonomous social movements as sites enabling articulations speaking with greater specificity to the particularity of the situation of a constituency and to the manner in which it is represented-- even as the tight integration of, for example, Salvadorian campesino organizations with a national-popular oppositional/party formation has had its own, evident productivity. The changed landscape of struggles articulated by social movements is a landscape in which knowledge, production and struggle have been articulated in less abstract terms. Knowledge systems, modalities of production and sites of struggle have been articulated and valued in terms of their plurality. It is now much less the case that a certain vision of Knowledge and Production is understood and positively valued over against (in binary opposition to) ignorance and sustenance; and social struggles, considered together, prove irreducible to a singular, primordial national-popular struggle. The case of the articulation of

Sandinismo proves suggestive of why this is so.

Endnotes

1 The analysis of researchers affiliated with the NITLAPAN Institute in Managua has already been referenced in relation to such efforts at resemanticization; but such efforts go well beyond a single institutional site.

The antagonism between Sandinismo and Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast populations, an antagonism that figured large in the conjuncture of the 1980s, was attenuated significantly with the setting in place of political structures for regional autonomy; the struggle to realize such structures challenged both a Marxist-inflected economic definition of identity and the understanding that a Nicaraguan national cultural identity was primary.

The "Déclaration des femmes autochtones réunies lors de la IIIe Rencontre des Premières nations de Abya Yala, tenue à Panama du 4 au 8 mars 2000"--a document articulated in the framework of participation in the October 2000 World March of Women--includes the statement that "Nous rejetons le concept de la pauvreté considérée sous l'angle du capital économique; nous donnons de la dignité à notre richesse culturelle, spirituelle et territoriale."

Wilson Campos, a Costa Rican farmer who was the first General Coordinator of the Regional Commission of ASOCODE, stated in an article entitled "ASOCODE: Our View on Development" that:

We have taken up the challenge of managing our organisational process and producing answers...from our own cultural experience and our experience as producers, while at the same time seeing ourselves as part of a larger social complex. Our answers...derive from a very critical attitude towards the development models imposed on us in the past, and also from a serious evaluation of our abilities and potential.

[We place] the enrichment of our cultural roots--the sensibility which enables and at the same time monitors this development--social relations and the natural environment on the same level as material prosperity. This development cannot continue behind the single banner of neo-liberalism, but must be based on respect for the obligations deriving from the rational use of natural resources, for the right of every human being to be able to meet his or her basic needs and, especially, the obligations of the present generations

to those which will follow them.

Our logic can no longer be based on economic growth or average income.... (Campos, 1994, pp. 28-29)

Appendix: Critical Assessments of the Sandinista Development Project and Agrarian Reform

This review of the literature assessing the Sandinista development project and agrarian reform indicates the priority accorded to the reactivation and extension of modernized production and to building a base for capital accumulation by way of agro-export production. Further, a substantial body of work will be shown to lend support to the argument that more of the resources directed to large projects, and to the reactivation and extension of modernized production on the state farms, might have been better directed toward less capital-intensive campesino production, of a sort responding to widespread aspirations of the land-poor and the landless. The review also indicates the rationales and situations informing certain decisions, and some of the problematic effects of certain state interventions in the countryside--i.e., those in domestic trade and in the provision of basic food at subsidized prices--which had been intended to benefit popular sectors through an immediate redistributive justice. A concluding portion of the chapter contrasts discourses on campesino production and associative relations in the 1990s with those of the early 1980s, with a view to clarifying and problematizing the latter as they stand out in relief against the former.

My literature review does not elaborate on practice

within the diverse types of cooperatives established under Sandinista government (production cooperatives, credit and service cooperatives, "dead furrow" cooperatives), and I do not consider gender analysis of the development and agrarian reform projects. While such considerations are of great interest to me, given the already-ambitious scope of my project I have chosen not to address them in the context of this thesis. They deserve more than the superficial treatment I could accord them in the context of space limitations here. Further, while it may be assumed that the formation of Sandinista production cooperatives, as opposed to redistribution of lands for family-unit production, offered more possibilities for the transformation of gender inequalities, such inequalities continued on the production cooperatives, even as they were challenged and as they were lessened in the context of some cooperatives. So, for example, although a minority of the women living and working within the context of the production cooperatives were officially considered as "cooperative members," and had the rights and responsibilities entailed in such formal membership, many women married to cooperative members were not offered membership themselves. I am aware that my positive disposition in relation to the redistribution of lands for small-scale family-unit production might be questioned from a feminist perspective, and I greatly value questions posed from a feminist perspective, but I am

confident that I could be respond to them without a change in my position vis-à-vis the question of types of land redistribution.

In the mid-eighties, there was a shift in agrarian reform land distribution policy which some have referred to as a "pro-peasant turn." At the outset of Sandinista government, however, the FSLN leadership had decided that the bulk of appropriated Somocista lands--constituting some twenty percent of the arable land in Nicaragua--would be maintained as state farms. Redistribution of lands for cooperative production was a secondary though still significant priority. There was some redistribution of land to the landless and the land-poor for family-unit production, but in an initial phase in particular such redistribution was relatively limited, despite a widespread campesino desire for such terms of redistribution (Saldaña-Portillo, 1997).

Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo's years of research on the Nicaraguan agrarian reform, from 1984 onwards (summarized in "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction--Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy") confirmed that the "'minifundistas', the itinerant proletariats, and even many of the permanent proletarians [agricultural workers on the state farms] still identified greater access to land as their overriding interest" (1997, p. 136). The former two sectors made up roughly half of the

rural "EAP" (Economically Active Population), but "their interests and the interests of an agro-export economy were directly at odds, because this economy could neither absorb them as full-time workers nor afford to lose their part-time or seasonal labor" (1997, p. 136).

The prioritization of investment in state farms and modernization and the degree of distribution of resources to relatively large, capital-intensive projects has figured as a focus of critique in a substantial body of the literature assessing the 1980s; the review here concentrates primarily on this work. In some cases the critiques are framed in relation to the terms of the agrarian reform and the perception of missed opportunities due to the failure to implement and invest in a more "radical" (peasant-oriented) agrarian reform. The body of work to be considered includes the work of analysts who positioned themselves as critical supporters of the revolution or who were active participants in the revolutionary process; and many reference assessments internal to Sandinista institutions.² Some of the work is positioned within what has been termed a "pro-peasant" or "campesinista" perspective. In other cases critiques are framed with reference to the dilemmas faced by revolutionary policy makers. In addition to the type of assessments described above, I also reference instances of another body of work--the numerous detailed investigations into specific aspects of the political economy of Nicaragua in the 1980s.

These analyze particular outcomes and chart the factors related to policy shifts. (See, for example, The Political Economy of Revolutionary Nicaragua, ed. Rose Spalding.) This literature advances numerous assessments which may be taken to offer some support for critiques of the broad terms of the Sandinista development project, although it is not structured in relation to such an intent.

The accounts referenced here may be distinguished from a large body of literature, including historical literature, which has cast the development initiatives undertaken as technical matters; they were taken to simply reflect what needed to be done to rebuild the country after the post-insurrectionary war, and to generate foreign currency and a base for capital accumulation, in order to repay the huge debt inherited from the period of Somoza rule, and to enable social investment, production and defense in the interest of the people. Such terms of representation render invisible the manner in which choices related to development and agrarian reform initiatives functioned as one factor among many in the disarticulation of the Sandinista project.

The failure of the Sandinista development project, as manifest in the severe economic problems which ensued in the second half of the 1980s, has often been attributed to three factors which clearly were highly significant: resistance on the part of the large producers of the private sector (whose contributions to capital accumulation had been projected),

in the form of decapitalization despite loans on favourable terms, black market trading, etc.; the dynamic of black market trading as it disarticulated the formal economy; and, to a much greater degree, to external military and economic aggression. (By 1985, over 40% of the national budget was being expended on the war effort; and in 1985 the United States imposed a trade embargo that affected about 15% of Nicaragua's foreign trade, compounding previous efforts to make it difficult for Nicaragua to secure financing and markets.) Tragically, U.S.-sponsored military and economic aggression against Nicaragua both cost many lives and contributed dramatically to the inability to maintain capital-intensive projects and make them viable. However, as analysts such as Peter Marchetti have stressed, the onset of such aggression could have and should have been anticipated and considered as a factor in decisions about what model of development to undertake. Further, even without the external aggression, common critiques in the literature assessing the early Sandinista development project would still hold. These critiques affirm the need for greater popular participation in planning and decision-making processes, and for a questioning of the relatively marginal role accorded to small-scale, low-input production. Pre-existing practices and dispositions related to campesino formations might have been taken to a far greater degree as a resource to be worked with, rather than a problem to be surmounted.

Outside the literature written from a "pro-peasant" perspective (i.e., that of the NITLAPAN research institute in Managua), such critiques are often advanced to some degree although not foregrounded. Within NITLAPAN'S analysis in the 1990s they figure within an emphasis on the continuation of questionable logics of modernization across the decades, and on the shaping of agrarian policy makers and analysts of past and present within an "urban culture" entailing a lack of understanding of, if not contempt for, "rural culture."

There were several respects in which the most marginalized of campesino formations, and campesino aspirations for land, were taken to be a problem: the manner of production of these sectors, and their focus on production for consumption, was taken to constitute an inefficient use of land resources; both the state farms and private producers were dependant upon the continuous supply of harvest wage labor, and campesinos with their own sizeable plots would desist from undertaking this labour; Sandinista government began with an uneasy alliance with large private producers, and with the FSLN's hopes that they would reinvest the considerable credit resources extended to them in production, and the FSLN was hesitant to feed fears that there would be continuing and more extensive redistribution of lands, with this in turn contributing to lack of reinvestment in production and heightened anti-FSLN

sentiments; and, as Saldaña-Portillo's research found, "sectors of the FSLN in MIDINRA [the Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform] adhered to a stubbornly Leninist construction of small-scale private property as the petit bourgeois basis for the reproduction of capitalist relations" (1997, p. 148). 'Minifundistas' (with tiny plots of land) and 'itinerant workers,' as groups which provided agrarian wage labour part of the year, were seen, within a developmentalist teleology, as in the course of an "incomplete" process of proletarianization, and the FSLN did not wish to advance a "repeasantization" ("recampesinización").

In Sandinista Economics in Practice: An Insider's Critical Reflections, Martínez Cuenca (Minister of Planning from 1985 to 1990, and one of the architects of the substantial adjustments to economic policy during that period) faults, among others, Jaime Wheelock--Minister of the MIDINRA, the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform--for "agricultural policy [that] was skewed in favor of a greater state role and was centred on the idea of carrying out big projects and centralizing resources" (1992, p. 60). Martínez Cuenca underlined a "triumphalist attitude" and a tendency to view the economy as a technical issue divorced from the political front. Geske Dijkstra's study, based on extensive fieldwork in Nicaragua, echoes some of these criticisms. Dijkstra's

Industrialization in Sandinista Nicaragua: Policy and Practice in a Mixed Economy argues that there was an excessive emphasis on state investments--including large agro-industrial projects--for which there were insufficient funds. She references this as typical of an inability of "socialist oriented governments to avoid 'growth optimism' and 'megalomania' in the initiation of investment projects" (1992, pp. 186-87).

Bruce Wright's Marxist political science analysis in Theory in the Practice of the Nicaraguan Revolution asserts as one of its lines of argument that "Sandinista practice was based on a sort of developmentalist logic that emphasized 'modernization' of productive techniques" (1995, p. 222). State farms "had been created to maintain an industrial model" (p. 197).

Biondi-Morra's Hungry Dreams: The Failure of Food Policy in Revolutionary Nicaragua, 1979-1990 sets out case studies of several state enterprises, analyzed from a business administration perspective. Hungry Dreams is an important contribution to the literature; from 1984 to 1987 Biondi-Morra was the director of a research and training program under the auspices of the MIDINRA and of the Central American Institute of Business Administration, and the sources he cites are "primarily interviews...with the personnel of the...MIDINRA and internal working documents of the ministry" (p. xi). Many of the critiques he advances

reference explanations of problems as given by FSLN leaders and top managerial personnel themselves.

Hungry Dreams presents case studies of several state enterprises (along with more comprehensive data on overall trends in the production of particular agricultural products) in relation to "four critical macro policies: foreign exchange, food prices, wages, and interest rates"(4), and in relation to the logics of the practices of policy makers, state-farm managers, agricultural wage labourers, black market traders, and producers. Biondi-Morra argues that "the ultimate failure of the state enterprises can be explained largely by the government's inability to link effectively the macro dimension of food policy design to its micro, or implementation, level"(p. 3). Further, the macro economic policies set were "inconsistent with the micro foundations of the Nicaraguan economy"(p. 203).

Nicaragua "never had a centralized planned economy"(p. 200), but the state did take on a huge responsibility; programs related to the presumed needs of producers, consumers and wage workers had to be implemented and coordinated with macro-economic policy related to foreign exchange, pricing of foods and production inputs, wages and interest rates. Policy decisions:

were not made on the basis of any ironclad ideological script or political script but instead emerged, almost piecemeal, on the basis of ideological predispositions

and political calculations of opportunities and constraints. In other words, the Sandinistas continually reviewed and revised decisions. (p. 201)

Biondi-Morra's analysis accepts the sincerity of the FSLN leadership's desire to ensure that "basic needs" would be immediately met by way of the "social wage" (which included the provision of staple foods at subsidized prices), and affirms the desirability of a redistribution of wealth. However, the "damaging macro-micro-schism" was such that "Sandinista macro economic policies were a tragedy" (p. 205), undermining the leadership's "own noble aspirations to meet the nutritional needs of Nicaragua's poor majority" (p. 205). The structure of decision making and the particularities of implementation mechanisms engendered a lack of coordination and a seriously delayed appreciation of negative results; and the efforts of state-farm managers to meet state-set goals limited their capacity to change plans in a timely way, in response to their perceptions that they were engendering future problems. The post-war effort (following the overthrow of Somoza) to reactivate production was shaped by "a production culture within the government that made increasing physical output the overwhelming concern of its economic branches, more important than monetary or efficiency considerations" (p. 191). Practice in the first half of the decade is taken to have fundamentally undermined the possibility of positive outcomes.

In Nicaragua: Cuestion Agraria y Participacion

Campesina, Vera Gianotten, Ton de Wit and Rodrigo Montoya adopted a peasantist perspective and (as Harris notes) criticized "the 'proletarian bias' of the initial phase of the Sandinistas' agrarian policies, which they claim were founded on the assumption that state farms and producer cooperatives would advance the 'proletarianization' of the work force and contribute to Nicaragua's agricultural modernization" (Harris, 1993, p. 203). Tom Barry's comparative analysis of the Salvadorian and Nicaraguan agrarian reforms (a chapter in his Roots of Rebellion: Land and Hunger in Central America) also takes up a pro-peasant perspective, and likewise notes a shift following the initial phases of policy:

The first stages of Nicaragua's agrarian reform--the 1979 expropriation of Somoza property and the 1981 land reform law--did not constitute an agrarian revolution. Instead, they were essentially attempts to strengthen the agroexport system, albeit in the interests of a government committed to workers and peasants. In contrast, the 1986 agrarian reform law was a step toward a redefinition of the agricultural economy. Adding to its impact were other pro-peasant measures, including the complete liberalization of basic food marketing and the political strengthening of UNAG. When seen together, these measures demonstrate the

government's increased commitment to small and medium-sized growers. (1987, p. 129)

Envío, a monthly magazine of analysis collectively authored by researchers connected with the Jesuit University of Central America (UCA) in Managua, and published in both English and Spanish, functioned in the 1980s as an important site of ongoing critical support for the revolutionary process. In a 1987 article, Envío affirmed that:

Technology and whether property is publicly or privately owned is not what defines socialism in its initial stages. In the first phases what counts is the project of building a democratic base where campesinos and workers gain increased power over resources and the freedom to develop them. Without that base, technological development and the creation of a powerful state sector is a risk. (Instituto Historico Centroamericano, "The New Economic Package--Will a Popular Model Emerge?" Envío, V. 7 No. 86 (August 1988), p. 48, quoted in Ruchwarger, 1989, p. 100)

This constituted a critique of the broad terms of initial development and agrarian reform policy.

In the 1980s and into the early 1990s, the authorship of Envío articles was attributed to the IHCA (Instituto Historico Centroamericano). More recently, authorship is not attributed to the IHCA, but to Envío staff when the specific authors are not named. This staff includes researchers

affiliated with the NITLAPAN research institute at the UCA in Managua. One article which is attributed to specific authors--Marchetti and Maldidier of the NITLAPAN research institute--is described as a summary of the prologue to a forthcoming book which "systematically develops the peasant perspective as a viable option for Nicaraguan agriculture" (Marchetti and Maldidier, 1996, p. 28). This project is based in long years of experience working with the peasant/farmer sector (Marchetti worked with CIERA, the research arm of MIDINRA, from 1980 to 1985, following which he worked with the IHCA) and with "primary sources on the ground" (Marchetti and Maldidier, p. 28). The article in question--"Peasant Farmers Must Be Included"--takes on a highly critical tone in relation to the FSLN leadership's "statist project," and asserts that the Somocista lands confiscated at the outset of the revolution should have been immediately given over to campesinos rather than transformed into state farms. The authors cast agrarian policy makers of the 1980s and 1990s as shaped by a "Pacific urban culture" which has misunderstood and devalued "rural culture." They suggest certain parallels between "left" and "right" visions of agrarian development in terms of how peasant identity and production has been perceived, and affirm the need for a historical understanding of the term "peasant." The title of the piece--"Peasant Farmers Must Be Included"--emphasizes the situation of a group which in relative terms was not one

of the greatest beneficiaries of the agrarian reform and development projects, an intermediate strata between the poorest campesinos and medium-scale producers. As a group which, prior to the overthrow of Somoza, had already held land, peasant farmers generally were not beneficiaries of agrarian reform land redistribution, although many received credit and had some access to production assistance through membership in Credit and Service Cooperatives. The bulk of the redistributed land was given over to Sandinista Production Cooperatives, and for landless campesinos the possibility of benefiting from land redistribution generally entailed participation in the latter (prior to the mid-decade shift, when for the first time substantial amounts of land were redistributed for family unit production). Maldidier and Marchetti argue that peasant farmers were well-placed to provide a model for poor peasants, but that institutional structures and the terms of redistribution of resources were such as to seriously limit this possibility.

In Harvesting Change: Labor and Agrarian Reform in Nicaragua, 1979-1990, Laura Enriquez advances her measured critiques from a position highly sympathetic to the FSLN, framing her study with reference to the dilemmas revolutionary policy-makers faced. She emphasizes that despite the leadership's fear of generating a process of "recampesinización" ("repeasantization") through the speeding up of land redistribution--a process that would

(and, according to Enriquez and other analysts, did) work to the serious detriment of the state farms by limiting the harvest labour supply—the FSLN nevertheless did redistribute land from the start and did steadily step up land redistribution, due to their commitment to building a better life for the rural poor.

Marchetti and Maldidier, in contrast, affirm that a stepping up of the pace of land redistribution did not result from a desire "to lessen inequalities in land tenure or to economically strengthen the peasant sector"; rather, "the objective was to win poor peasants back from the ideological influence of the peasant farmers and the farmers, and to increase defence capabilities" (1996, p. 24). The FSLN "was afraid of organizing peasants to achieve a solid agrarian reform, because that would have broken its tacit alliance with agrarian business sectors and would have questioned its statist program" (1996, p. 24). Somocista properties "should have been distributed to peasants in 1979, instead of becoming state farms" (1996, p. 24). The "true agrarian reform"

...was carried out by peasant farmer contra guerrillas. They were the ones who forced the FSLN to convert over 235,000 acres of state farms into cooperatives from 1983 to 1986. Here is one of the great historical ironies of the 1980s: the United States financed a guerilla movement that questioned not only Sandinismo,

but also, indirectly, the oligarchic institutions of Nicaraguan agrarian capitalism. (1996, p.24)

It is interesting to contrast "Peasant Farmers Must Be Included" (1996) with a 1985 article also co-authored by Marchetti--"The Peasantry and the Development of Sandinista Agrarian Policy, 1979-1984," by Deere, Marchetti and Reinhardt. The latter presents one of the most detailed historical accounts of the multiple factors influencing policy decisions; it emphasizes FSLN "pragmatism and flexibility," and states that in the first two years "lack of state paternalism vis-a-vis the peasantry and the decentralized nature of cooperative formation fostered every conceivable combination of land tenure, productive organization, and collective activity" (91). The 1996 text, as noted above, sets out an aggressive critique of Sandinista agrarian policy and the FSLN's "statist program."

The 1985 text references compromises amongst different tendencies within MIDINRA and the FSLN leadership; it also references the fact that the rural popular organizations (UNAG and the ATC) did have the political space to challenge the direction of Sandinista agrarian policy, and that their interventions did contribute to a modification of policy, reflecting a compromise between their revindications and the interests and projects of other sectors and actors. Within the context of the broad "rules of the game" as set out by the FSLN from its position of hegemony, rural wage workers,

campesinos and medium-scale farmers negotiated changes in their favour. Writing in 1996, Marchetti references particular sites of negotiation and major policy decisions from which they were excluded. His earlier work notes their impact on the reshaping of policy, while his more recent perspective affirms that they could have and should have had a role in the determination of the broad rules of the game. For example, "they had no opportunity to express their rejection of the policy to make domestic trade a state-run process" (Marchetti and Maldidier, 1996, p. 24).

Critical assessments of a limited recognition of the potentialities of peasant production have not been advanced solely in the context of denunciations of a "statist project," nor in terms of a negation of the need for agro-export production. Considering, amongst other things, the mechanization of cotton harvesting on the state farms, Laura Enriquez (1991) suggests that investment in "less advanced levels of technology" on smaller-scale production units might have constituted a better option. Accepting the need for a certain volume of agro-export production (as do other critics of Sandinista policy), she makes a case for her suggestion that greater extension of land and resources to cooperatives for agro-export production might have "offered a means of both fulfilling the goals of the agrarian reform and contributing to the success of production in this vital sector of Nicaragua's economy" (1991, p. 173). In "a capital-

scarce economy... saving capital could outweigh the disadvantages of lower yields"(1991, p. 145). Smaller-scale production could have been expanded through greater extension, under the agrarian reform, of land and resources to cooperatives. And beyond lesser input costs, such production offered other advantages. "The conceptual significance of one alternative that was implemented on a small but growing scale...remains to be highlighted. The agroexport cooperatives had great potential for contributing to the resolution of harvest labor shortages"(1991, pp. 171-72). This was due to "integration in the community and their members' interest in ensuring an adequate labor force for the cooperatives"(1991, p. 172).

As many analysts have documented, "labour supply" problems were not simply related to the number of employees available. Many state farm workers took to putting in a very short work day (particularly during an initial period that came to be referred to, in popular discourse, as "la vacación histórica," or "the historical vacation"). This adds another dimension to Enriquez's account of under-recognized potential; cooperative members, she theorizes, could more easily make the link between their immediate efforts and their own immediate and longer-term gain than agrarian wage labourers on the state farms could.

Saldaña-Portillo, however, notes that many production cooperatives also suffered from a lack of commitment on the

part of their memberships, as was indicated by "the high rates of labor absenteeism and changing membership that plagued many cooperatives" (1997, p. 151). Saldaña-Portillo stresses that cooperativization (on the production cooperatives, as opposed to the credit and service cooperatives) required "that dispossessed and land-poor peasants reconstruct their concept of community" (1997, p. 151), and that such a transformation of consciousness "would necessarily be a violent and troubled one at the level of subjectivity" (1997, p. 151). A sensitivity to what this process entailed, however, was limited within the context of a project focused on an advancement of and a full utilization of the most "modernized" forces of production, and on the promotion of a collectivist consciousness:

From the perspective of the state, cooperatives appeared to be a compromise between large-scale agro-export production (state or private) and individual peasant production. From the perspective of the itinerant proletariats and the 'minifundistas,' however, cooperatives meant either land on the state's terms or no land at all. (1997, p. 151)

Land use as envisioned by the latter sectors was seen in large part in terms of immediate family consumption needs.

Saldaña-Portillo also notes another important factor involved in the choice to join or not join a cooperative, in the period after the full onset of the contra war. Many of

the available sites were in the war zones, and cooperatives were among the sites favoured by the contras for their brutal attacks.

Articles in The Political Economy of Revolutionary Nicaragua (ed. Rose Spalding, 1987) address the broad range of factors shaping developments in particular areas. As noted earlier, some of these articles advance numerous assessments which may be taken to offer support for critiques of the broad terms of the Sandinista development project, although they are not structured in relation to such an intent. Two of these articles are quoted below-- Peter Utting's "Domestic Supply and Food Shortages," and Carlos Vilas' "Troubles Everywhere: An Economic Perspective on the Sandinista Revolution."

Utting notes that:

in figures for economic growth...Nicaragua had the fourth highest growth rate in Latin American nations between 1981 and 1984. Such a program of rapid accumulation, however, generates a set of tensions that in the short term affect domestic supply as resources that might be used for immediate production and consumption are diverted towards long-term investment.

(1987, p. 128)

Initial food and social wage policies brought immediate benefits to the poor, but:

In practice, short-term gains in the standard of living

gave way to an investment program that channelled substantial resources toward future production, to a war..., and to a foreign exchange crisis... (Utting, 1987, p. 147)

Tom Barry's analysis of the Nicaraguan agrarian reform (in his Roots of Rebellion: Land and Hunger in Central America) provides both an account of the terms of the channelling of resources, and an example of a common discourse whereby the conditions of war were referenced to explain the shortcomings of the state farms and capital-intensive projects. (While it is not my intent to deny the enormous impact of these conditions, it was to prove problematic that reference to them worked to pre-empt critical considerations of choices made.) In Barry's case, however, the restatement of this explanation figures ambiguously alongside his positive disposition toward peasant production, and his stress on the need for recognition that "peasant producers need not be an inefficient or backward sector of the agricultural economy" (1987, p. 135):

Between 1982 and 1985, MIDINRA directed an investment drive that was unprecedented in the country's history. It decided that the country's best bet for economic growth and increased agricultural production was to increase the technology and infrastructure available to the state sector. Under this development strategy, the

state agricultural sector was to be the country's most dynamic source of capital accumulation while the peasant sector was expected to decline in economic importance.

During the first six years of the revolution, fully half of the government's investment budget went to a handful of projects. These included two large dairy farms, a tobacco production scheme for the Bulgarian market, a deep-water port in Bluefields to facilitate agricultural expansion in the country's eastern half, a hydroelectric plant, an African palm plantation to produce vegetable oil, an ambitious plan to produce corn on highly mechanized and irrigated Pacific coast property, and a poultry complex. Nicaragua stood out as the only Central American nation investing in a new tomorrow for its agricultural sector....

These large-scale agricultural projects were conceived when the country counted on more international financing and did not face military aggression. The closure of the U.S. market, the drying up of external financing, and the U.S. backed contra war with its attendant economic costs combined to put a stop to new large investments and undermined the government's ability to finish those already started. MIDINRA was obliged to redefine its development

strategy. Simpler, less costly production methods, which did not require external inputs and could be applied to both agroexport production and basic food crops, were given increased consideration. (1987, p. 130)

Barry' closing statements underline the importance of designing "land tenure and land use patterns that support both large-scale and small-scale production" (1987, p. 135).

Echoing these remarks, Peter Utting notes in "Domestic Supply and Food Shortages" that policy makers:

...had difficulties in designing policies specifically adapted to the logic of peasant production. Rather, there was a tendency to treat the diverse forms of peasant, capitalist, cooperative, and state production...as one. These subsectors...operate according to very different logics...and confront different sets of objective and subjective circumstances. (1987, p. 133)

Utting attributes many of the problems which developed to an inexperienced planning apparatus.

As Utting notes, the "central focus of the agrarian reform was not a program of land redistribution to the poor peasantry and landless laborers" (1987, p. 132). An "ongoing subject of debate is whether or not a more radical program of land redistribution would have stimulated agricultural production in general and basic grain production in

particular" (1987, p. 132).

As do many other analysts, Utting emphasizes the extent to which domestic trade and food policy contributed to tensions in the countryside, and to a decline in corn production:

Relatively low official producer prices and a subsidy policy [in relation to the prices of basic foods] acted as a disincentive to production among the rich peasantry and capitalist producers who traditionally had grown corn for their workforce...prices set for corn were unable to keep pace with rural consumer prices. (1987, p. 133)

The nature of state initiatives to replace the previous system of intermediaries who bought and marketed peasant production proved to be a source of considerable frustration, in the more outlying rural areas in particular, as has been widely noted in the literature on the agrarian situation [Utting (1987), Enriquez (1991), Marchetti and Maldidier (1996), Núñez ed. (1995), Wright (1995), Saldaña-Portillo (1997)]. There was a disarticulation of an older marketing structure of which land-poor campesinos in particular were far from having a uniformly negative view; and there were major limitations to the state purchasing, marketing and distribution system. The rationale for the displacement of travelling merchants had been that of social justice; however, while "the relationship between the

merchant and the 'minifundista' was clearly exploitative" (Saldaña-Portillo, 1997, p. 146), FSLN policy makers had evidently failed to take into account the significance of this relationship's imbeddedness in socio-cultural relations, and the difficulty the state system would have in satisfactorily replacing the agents who had been cast as essentially exploitative.

There was a policy of planned distribution of family quotas of basic foods, at subsidized prices. However, the rural distribution system tended to concentrate produce in the main provincial towns. This "urban bias" was a consequence of the state's material and administrative limitations (Utting, 1987, p. 143). "Urban" concentration of services more generally, before the overthrow of Somoza, had been such that 'minifundistas' in particular had counted on the merchants who travelled to their areas in many ways (for "mail service, short-term loans, transportation, information on part-time jobs in other areas, legal and medical advice" [Saldaña-Portillo, 1997]). The credit, input and purchasing services operating under the Sandinista system entailed transportation arrangements, travel, and dealings with written documents and formal institutions that many campesinos had not previously had to deal with; further, it was often the case that the merchants of the sector that had been displaced came from the peasant communities with which they had had dealings, and they had not been perceived as

"outsiders," while the new agents campesinos had to deal with were.

Carlos Vilas' "Troubles Everywhere: an Economic Perspective on the Sandinista Revolution" advances assessments in terms close to those of the FSLN leadership; Vilas is an Argentinean intellectual who worked with the Nicaraguan Ministry of Planning from 1980 to 1984. "Troubles Everywhere" affirmed that:

The political commitment of attending to the most basic demands of the majority, the historic deficiencies in food, health, and education, and the need to develop the productive forces led to an expansionist policy financed initially with the income from liquid external resources... the slow maturing of investment projects and the problematical recovery of the levels of production led to sharp fiscal-financial imbalances... (1987, p. 235)

The policy of fixing price relationships "combined with the imbalance in supply mechanisms in the countryside, discriminated against the peasantry" (Vilas, 1987, p. 235).

Vilas advances various suggestions related to the reorientation of policy in the second half of the decade, emphasizing among other things the need to develop "the capacity for planning on a small scale and at the local level" (1987, p. 242). Nevertheless, his article asserts that an initial "expansionist policy" focused on large-scale,

modernized production was informed in significant part by a "need to develop the productive forces."

It proves revealing to contrast discourse articulating the early phase of the Sandinista development and social project with more recent discourse related to the agrarian situation in Nicaragua; against the latter, the former and the lack of priority it accords to minifundista/campesino production stands out in sharp relief. To quote a statement by Orlando Nuñez, an FSLN member who in the 1980s was the director of CIERA (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios de la Reforma Agraria), the research arm of the MIDINRA (Ministry of Development and Agrarian Reform), once the revolution takes power, it

initiates changes in the most backward social relations; and finally prepares itself to establish the economic-technical conditions of development and proletarianization of the society. Only then does the social revolution become possible, the order of which is: development of the productive forces, change in the capitalist relations of production, elimination of classes through the construction of popular power and the creation of a de-alienated consciousness and behaviour. (1987, p. 21; cited in Wright, 1995, p. 220)

The priority here accorded to the "development of the productive forces" articulates to the broad terms of the Sandinista development and agrarian reform project, in its

initial phase in particular.

Nuñez Soto was to co-author a 1995 publication entitled Desarrollo Agroecológico y Asociatividad Campesina: El Caso de Nicaragua (Agro-ecological Development and Campesino Associativity: The Case of Nicaragua). This presents a proposal for "agro-ecological development by way of the associative relations of campesinos and the producer-workers of the rural sector" (p. xi), based on the "experiences and tendencies" accumulated and in process; the proposal is presented in four initial chapters followed by 60 case studies/descriptions of local, regional and national-level initiatives. The discourse taken up in this text is to some extent exemplary of general shifts taken up in the analytic frameworks of many researchers of the agrarian situation in the course of the passage from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, and in the course of close engagement with the Sandinista revolution. Campesinos are referred to as "new economic subjects," and substantial emphasis is placed on agro-ecology, alternative agriculture, diverse relations of associativity and their vertical integration, local agroecosystems, sustainability, gender relations, food security, production units geared toward both production for consumption and the market, and biodiversity. There is mention: of past technocratic interventions concentrating on the macroeconomic level and neglecting the latter's articulation with the microeconomic level; of "recuperation

of the knowledge accumulated by campesinos and rural communities themselves" (p. 28); of "autogestión" (self-management); and of the importance of autonomous organization--i.e., of the absence of subordination of sectoral groupings to organizations or political parties. Such terms may be contrasted with the articulation of a necessary order of change, by Nuñez and other FSLN members, in the first half-decade following the overthrow.

María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo's "Developmentalism's Irresistible Seduction--Rural Subjectivity under Sandinista Agricultural Policy" demonstrates that Sandinista development and agrarian reform policy may be understood in part as an effort to produce subjects congruent with such an order of change. Even as the state farms were unable to absorb the majority of the rural poor as permanent workers, and as there was no flood of people with a strong desire to become production cooperative members, the FSLN "resisted distributing lands to the land-poor peasants because they did not want to reinforce the private property relation among this class, or to solidify their identification as peasant farmers, but rather as proletariats in the making" (1997, p. 145). (At the same time, FSLN policies "strengthened the bourgeois position of the small-holding and medium-holding peasants, to the detriment of the land-poor peasants" [1997, p. 145].) However, if

the Sandinistas had not considered the peasant

formation as regressive, they might have been able to direct political and economic resources toward incorporating this level of peasant production into a revolutionary vision of national development early on in the process. Perhaps then the startling revolutionary vision of the Sandinistas that emerged in 1979 would have been more viable. (1997, p. 166)

Conclusion

My review of literature on the Sandinista development project, and on the agrarian reform as it figured within this project, indicates the problematic rationales of a project which prioritized the reactivation and extension of modernized production on state farms, which channelled the bulk of state resources to state farms and other large projects, and which intervened very substantially in socio-economic relations in the countryside. A substantial body of work supports the argument that more of the resources directed towards "development of productive forces," and towards maintaining and increasing modernized agro-export production, might have been better directed towards campesino production using less capital-intensive technology. Aspirations of the landless and the land-poor for greater redistribution of lands for low-input family-unit production, and existing relations of trade in the countryside, could have been taken, to a far greater degree,

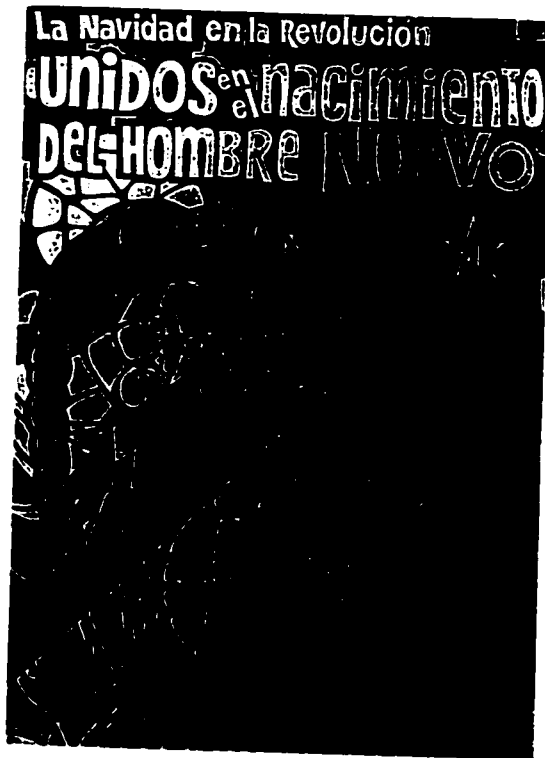
as a resource to be worked with, rather than a problem to be surmounted. A project with the objective of leading Nicaragua out of relations of dependency, and of "completing" proletarianization within an assumed developmentalist teleology, arguably furthered the extent to which Nicaragua was dependant--dependant on a flow of capital and credit for the purchase of inputs produced outside the country. Even in terms of an argument limited to a consideration of 'economic viability,' the choices made prove problematic; and, beyond this, a Sandinismo which claimed to be responsive to the aspirations of popular sectors should have been more responsive to the aspirations of the landless and the land-poor.

Within the history of nation-building projects informed by Marxist-Leninist and socialist thought, there have been instances of forced movements of peasants in the context of massive and compulsory cooperativization. There have also been cases of the state restriction of the movement of peasants into cities. These practices were absent in the case of Sandinismo. The heterogeneity and specificity of Sandinismo, as charted in Part One of the thesis, accounts for this historically-positive development. Nevertheless, the critiques advanced in this literature review and in the thesis as a whole remain pertinent.

Endnotes

1 The number of individual land titles given out in the first few years following 1979 was often cited as indicator that there was an immediate response to popular revindications for land. However, many of these titles went to squatters on the "agricultural frontier" who had already settled on the lands concerned.

2 In consideration of the extent to which much of the literature on Sandinismo was written from partisan positions ("for" or "against" the revolution) and driven by polemics related to the war, in assembling the materials reviewed and in organizing the review I set out to demonstrate that the critiques advanced do not simply correlate to such positions.



"Christmas in the Revolution. United in the Birth of the New Man." Poster by the Ministry of Social Welfare, 19 July 1980.

Figure # 1



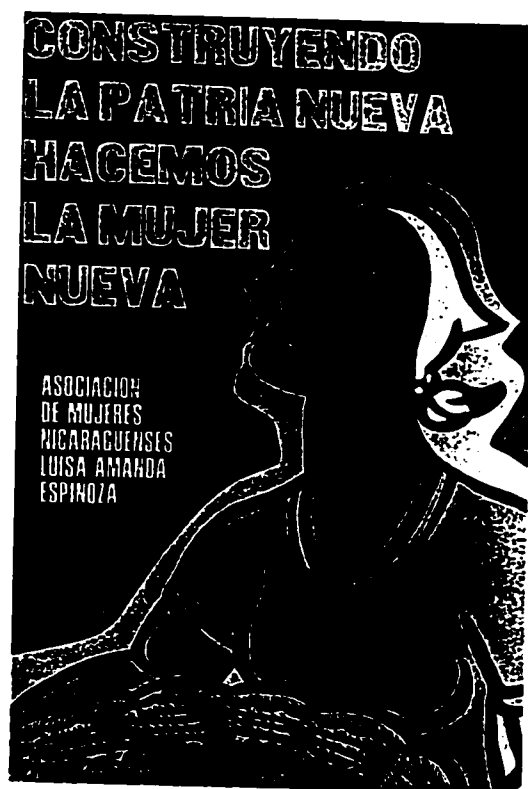
"The Birth of the New Man"
By the Boanerges Cerrato Collective
Figure 2



35

Daniel Pulido, *Birth of the
New Man*. The Monseñor
Oscar Arnulfo Romero
Spiritual Center, near
Managua.

Figure #3



Poster

Figure #4

"Building the New Homeland, We Make the New Woman"

AMNLAE (The Luisa Amanda Espinoza Nicaraguan Women's Association)



Untitled.

By Aurelio Geccarelli, 1987.

Figure # 5



Figure # 6



Figure # 7



Poster

Figure # 8

"Literacy to increase production"



Figure # 9



Figure # 10

Poster for the Literacy Campaign in Indigenous Languages
In the Atlantic Coast Region, With Text in Miskitu, English
And Sumu, and Smaller Text in Spanish Below

Overview of FSLN Documents, Speeches, Writings and Interviews Figuring Within the Corpus of Sandinista Discourse

The items in this overview are also listed in the bibliography.

Contents:

- 1A. Collections cross-referenced
- 1B. FSLN Programmatic and Ideological Documents and Position Statements
- 1C. Speeches by FSLN National Directorate members
- 1D. Interviews with FSLN DN members and leaders, and writings by FSLN National Directorate members

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