

ALAN ANGELL

THE LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1930:  
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

---

The material for these notes, which covers the literature upto 1990, was gathered while preparing an article on the subject for *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. A talk on the socialist and communist movements in Latin America during this period, based on the above article, was given at the Instituto de Historia in September 1992.

For the early years of the Communist movement in Latin America see Robert Alexander, *Communism in Latin America*, (New Brunswick 1957); and his *Trotskyism in Latin America*, (Stanford 1973); Rollie Poppino *International Communism in Latin America; a History of the Movement, 1917 to 1963*, (New York 1964). For an excellent collection of documents see Stephen Clissold ed., *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1918 to 1968: a Documentary Survey* (London 1970), and also Luis Aguilar, ed., *Marxism in Latin America*, (Philadelphia 1978).

Relations between Latin America and the Comintern are treated in provocative fashion by Manuel Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919-1943*, (Cambridge 1986). Quite outstanding is the detailed analysis of the Comintern in Central America, in Rodolfo Cerdas, *La Hoz y el Machete*, (Costa Rica 1986). Two books provide comprehensive coverage of more recent relations between Latin America and the Soviet Union; Nicola Miller, *Soviet Relations with Latin America 1959-1987*, (Cambridge 1989), and Eusebio Mujal - Leon ed., *The USSR and Latin America: a Developing Relationship*, (London 1989). See also the article by Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, "New Directions in Soviet Policy towards Latin America", *Journal of Latin America Studies*, Vol 21, Nº 1, 1989; and Fernando Bustamante, "Soviet Foreign Policy toward Latin America", *Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol 32 Nº 3, 1990. Cole Blasier examines Soviet perceptions of Latin America in his *The Giant's Rival: The USSR and Latin America*, (Pittsburgh 1983). See also J.G. Oswald ed., *The Soviet Image of Contemporary Latin America; a*

*Documentary History 1960-1968*, (Texas 1970); and Augusto Varas ed., *Soviet-Latin America Relations in the 1980s*, (Boulder 1986). For the activities of the Socialist International in Latin America see Felicity Williams, *La Internacional Socialista y América Latina*, (México 1984).

The polemic between Mariategui and the Comintern was the first of many debates between orthodoxy and "heresy" in the world of Latin American communism. For the debate see Alberto Flores Galindo, *La agonía de Mariategui; la polémica con la Komintern*, (Lima 1980); Carlos Franco, *Del marxismo eurocéntrico al marxismo latinoamericano*, (Lima 1981); Harry Vanden, "Mariategui, Marxismo, Comunismo and other bibliographical notes", *Latin American Research Review*, Vol 14. Nº 3, 1979; and by the same author, *National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariategui's Thought and Politics*, (Boulder, Colorado 1986); Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista de la historia social del Perú*, (Lima 1946); and Mariategui's best known book, *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*, (Texas 1971).

Discussions of the importance of Marxism as an ideology in Latin America are rather few and disappointing. There are exceptions, however, notably in the writing of José Arico: see *Marx y América Latina*, (Lima 1980); and "El marxismo en América Latina" in Fernando Calderón ed., *Socialismo, autoritarismo y democracia*, (Lima 1989). Another acute observer is Tomás Moulian, *Democracia y socialismo en Chile*, (Santiago 1983). An excellent and detailed exposition of Marxist ideas on underdevelopment is Gabriel Palma, "Dependency: a Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment" *World development*, Vol 6 Nº 7/8, 1978. Sheldon Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America*, (California 1984) is detailed but rather uncritical. A useful anthology is in Michael Lowy ed., *El marxismo en América Latina de 1909 a nuestros días*, (México 1982). Although not directly concerned with marxism, there is interesting discussion in Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist*, (London 1967), and in her book on the Peruvian poet, *César Vallejo: the Dialectics of Poetry and Silence*, (Cambridge). Gerald Martin, *Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, (London 1989) amongst its many other qualities explores the political commitment of Latin American writers. One of the few specific studies to take ideas and ideologies seriously, weird though some of those ideas were, is Donald Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution*, (Texas 1986). The ideological and political significance of the Spanish Civil War for the countries of Latin America is well treated in Mark Falcoff and Frederick Pike eds., *The Spanish Civil War: American Hemispheric Perspectives*, (Nebraska 1982). For the important period following the

Second World War see Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, "Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol 20 N° 1, 1988. Amongst the very few comparative works see the stimulating approach of Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia*, (Stanford, California 1986).

There are relatively few memoirs by marxists, or former marxists, and they are not always reliable. But well worth reading are, for Chile, Elías Laferte, *Vida de un comunista*, (Santiago 1961); Pablo Neruda, *Confieso que he vivido: Memorias* (Barcelona 1983); and the ex-comintern agent turned militant anti-communist, Eudocio Ravines, *The Yanan Way*, (New York 1951". For Mexico see Valentín Campa, *Mi testimonio: experiencias de un comunista mexicano*, (México 1978). Quite outstanding is Roque Dalton's recounting of the life of the veteran Salvadorean Communist, *Miguel Mármol*, (Connecticut 1986). On another leading Salvadorean figure see Jorge Arias Gómez, *Farabundo Marít: Esbozo biográfico*, (Costa Rica 1972). For Argentina see José Peter, *Historia y luchas de los obreros de la carne*, (Buenos Aires 1947), and, by the same author, *Crónicas proletarias*, (Buenos Aires 1968). For the memoirs of a leading Comintern agent, who was active in Mexico see M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, (Bombay 1964). And for the memoirs of a labour activist from the opposite side of the political spectrum see Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America*, (New York 1967).

On Chinese communism in Latin America after the Sino Soviet split see Cecil Johnson, *Communist China and Latin America, 1959-1967*, (New York 1970); and by the same author, "China and Latin America: new ties and tactics" *Problems of Communism*, Vol 21 N° 4, 1972; J.L. Lee, "Communist China's Latin American Policy", *Asian Survey*, November 1964; Alain Joxe, *El conflicto chino-soviético en América Latina*, (Montevideo 1967); and Alan Angell, "Classroom Maoists: the Politics of Peruvian Schoolteachers under Military Government", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol 1 N° 2, 1982. See also Ernest Halperin, "Pekin and the Latin American Communists", *China Quarterly*, January 1967.

The guerrilla movements that sprang up following the Cuban Revolution are discussed in great if uncritical detail in Richard Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America*, (London 1973). The strategy of such movements derived from Régis Debray's influential if partial account of the success of the Cuban revolution in *Revolution in the Revolution?* (London 1968). Debray later wrote a two volume, *A Critique of Arms*, (London 1977 and 1978), which sets out his revised theories and includes case studies of guerrillas in Venezuela, Guatemala and Uruguay. Very revealing of the problems facing rural guerrilla

movements are the diaries of Che Guevara in Bolivia, edited by Daniel James, *The Complete Bolivian Diaries and other captured documents*, (London 1968). See also I.L. Horowitz, *Latin American Radicalism: a documentary report on Left and Nationalist Movements* (London 1969). A more recent account of the revolutionary left is Ronaldo Munck, *Revolutionary Trends in Latin America*, Monograph Series N° 17, Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, Montreal, (1984). See also the perceptive article by Steve Ellner, "The Latin American Left since Allende: Perspectives and New Directions" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol XXIV N° 2, 1989.

The literature on the Cuban revolution is huge. Amongst the works which look at the Cuban revolution in comparative or theoretical perspective are James O'Connor, *The Origins of Socialism in Cuba*, (Ithaca 1970); K.S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power* (New York 1970); Cole Blasier and Carmelo Mesa Lago eds., *Cuba in the World*, (Pittsburgh 1979); W. Raymond Duncan, *The Soviet Union and Cuba: interests and influence*, (New York 1985); Pamela Falk, *Cuban Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge, Mass 1985); D. Bruce Jackson, *Castro, the Kremlin and Communism in Latin America*, (Baltimore 1969); William E. Ratliff, *Castroism and Communism in Latin America, 1959-1976*, (Washington 1976); Carla Anne Robbins, *The Cuban Threat*, (Philadelphia 1985); Andrés Suárez, *Cuba, Castro and Communism 1959-1966* (Cambridge, Mass 1967); Bertram Silverman ed., *Man and Socialism in Cuba*, (New York 1972); Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution*, (Cambridge, Mass 1978). Marxism in Cuba before Castro is described in Sheldon Liss, *Roots of Revolution: Radical Thought in Cuba*, (Nebraska 1987). On the pre-Castro Communist party see Harold Sims, "Cuban Labor and the Communist Party, 1937-1958", *Cuban Studies*, Vol 15 N° 1, 1985; and Antonio Avila and Jorge García Montes, *Historia del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, (Miami 1970). Maurice Zeitlin, *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class*, (New York 1967) explores the political ideas of ordinary Cubans.

The literature on left wing movements in individual countries varies greatly in quality: in general too much is written by passionate supporters or by no less passionate opponents. An unusually scholarly treatment of the urban guerrilla in Argentina is Richard Gillespie, *Soldiers of Perón - Argentina's Montoneros*, (Oxford 1982); but see the review article of the book by Celia Szusterman, in *The Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol 16 N° 1, 1984. Relations with the USSR are well treated in Mario Rapoport, "Argentina and the Soviet Union: history of political and commercial relations, 1917-1955" *Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol 66 N° 2, 1986; and in Aldo Vacs, *Discrete Partners: Argentina and the USSR* (Pittsburgh 1984)

For the politics of the left in Argentina in the inter-war period see, Horoschi Matsushita, *El movimiento obrero argentino, 1930-1945*, (Buenos

Aires 1983); and David Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement 1930-1945: a study in the origins of Peronism*, (New Mexico 1985). Also useful on the labour movement is Samuel L. Bailey, *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina*, (New Brunswick 1967); and Ronaldo Munck, *Argentina from Anarchism to Peronism*, (London 1987). The best assessment of the way that Peronism captured the support of the Argentine working class is Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class 1946-1976*, (Cambridge 1988). A savage attack on the Argentine CP is Jorge Abelardo Ramos, *Historia del estalinismo en Argentina* (Buenos Aires 1969). A more recent study is Ricardo Falcón and Hugo Quiroga, *Contribución al estudio de la evolución ideológica del Partido Comunista Argentino*, (Buenos Aires 1984). For the official account of the Communist party's relations with Peronism, see Oscar Arévalo, *El Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires 1983). For a left Peronist view see Rodolfo Puiggrós, *Las Izquierdas y el Problema Nacional*, (Buenos Aires 1973). On the Socialist party see Richard Walter, *The Socialist Party of Argentina*, (Texas 1977). For Trotskyism see Osvaldo Coggiola, *El trotskismo en la Argentina 1960-1985*, 2 Vols (Buenos Aires 1986).

There are several good studies of the Brazilian left. For the early years see Astrojildo Pereira, *Formação do PCB* (Rio de Janeiro 1962); and John W.F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900-1935*, (Texas 1973); and Sheldon Maram, "Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890-1921", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol 57 N° 2, 1977. For a careful and critical examination of a longer period, Ronald Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party: Conflict and Integration 1922-1972* (New York 1974). On the CP see also Leoncio Martins Rodrigues, "O PCB: os dirigentes e a organização" in Boris Fausto ed., *Historia Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, Vol X (Sao Paulo 1981). The problems facing the Brazilian left in trying to cope with populism is well illustrated in John French, "Workers and the Rise of Adhemarista Populism in São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1947", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol 68 N° 1, 1988. For the way that the Brazilian state controlled labour see Kenneth P. Erickson, *The Brazilian Corporative State and Working Class Politics*, (California 1977). See also John W.F. Dulles, *Brazilian Communism 1935-1945: Repression during world upheaval* (Texas 1983). An advocate of armed struggle is João Quartim, *Dictatorship and Armed Struggle in Brazil*, (London 1971); and a participant, later killed in a confrontation with the army, Carlos Marighela, *For the Liberation of Brazil*, (London 1971). See also Jacob Gorender, *Combate Nas Trevas: a Esquerda Brasileira; das Ilusoes Perdidas a Luta Armada*, (São Paulo 1987). On the PT see Rachel Meneghelo, *PT: a Formação de um Partido 1979-1982*, (São Paulo 1989), and Leoncio Martins Rodrigues, *Partidos e Sindicatos*, (São Paulo 1990).

The Chilean left has received considerable attention, reflecting its importance in the politics of the country. An excellent overall interpretation is Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: from 1932 to the fall of Allende*, (New Haven and London 1988). The pioneer of labour studies in Chile wrote extensively on the politics of the union movement in Jorge Barría, *Trayectoria y estructura del movimiento sindical chileno* (Santiago 1963), and the *Historia de la CUT* (Santiago 1971). Relations between the parties of the left and the unions is also discussed in Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (Oxford 1972). A brilliant account of a worker seizure of a factory under the Allende government is Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: the Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York 1986).

Hernán Ramírez Necochea gives the official PC interpretation in his influential *Origen y formación del Partido Comunista de Chile* (Santiago 1965). An excellent unpublished doctoral thesis is Andrew Barnard, *The Chilean Communist Party, 1922-1947*, (PhD, London 1977). More recent studies include Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London 1984); Eduardo Labarca Goddard, *Corvalán, 27 horas* (Santiago 1972); and Augusto Varas, ed., *El Partido Comunista en Chile*, (Santiago 1988). Ernst Halperin deals with relations between the socialists and communists in his *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge, Mass 1965). On the Socialists see Julio César Jobet, *El Partido Socialista de Chile*, 2 Vols, (Santiago 1971); Fernando Casanueva and Manuel Fernández, *El Partido Socialista y la lucha de clases en Chile* (Santiago 1973); and Benny Pollack and Hernán Rosenkranz, *Revolutionary Social Democracy: the Chilean Socialist Party* (London 1986). Three books develop socialist rethinking in Chile, Jorge Arrate, *La fuerza democrática de la idea socialista* (Santiago 1987) and edited by the same author, *La renovación socialista* (Santiago 1987); and Ricardo Lagos, *Democracia para Chile: proposiciones de un socialista* (Santiago 1986). The most thorough account of the development of the Socialist party is Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952*, (Urbana 1978). A stimulating recent account is Ignacio Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago 1990).

There is a huge literature on the Allende government. For accounts relevant to this chapter see Eduardo Labarca Goddard, *Chile al rojo* (Santiago 1971) which gives a fascinating account of the origins of the government. For a good review of the literature see Lois Hecht Oppenheim, "The Chilean Road to Socialism Revisited", *Latin American Research Review*, Vol XXIV Nº 1, 1989. Allende's ideas are explored in Regis Debray, *Conversations with Allende* (London 1971). An interesting account by an aide of the president is Joan Garcés, *Allende y la experiencia chilena* (Barcelona 1976). The best account of the political economy of the period is Sergio Bitar, *Transición, socialismo y*

*democracia: la experiencia chilena*, (Mexico 1979), translated as, *Chile: Experiment in Democracy* (Philadelphia 1986). Relations with the Soviet Union are well treated in Isabel Turrent, *La Unión Soviética en América Latina: El caso de la Unidad Popular Chilena* (Mexico 1984).

For the history of Communist in Uruguay see Eugenio Gómez, *Historia del Partido Comunista del Uruguay*, (Montevideo 1961). For the trade union movement see Francisco Pinto, *Historia del movimiento obrero del Uruguay*, (Montevideo 1960); and Héctor Rodríguez, *Nuestros sindicatos 1865-1965*, (Montevideo 1965). For the armed struggle in Uruguay see the overly sympathetic account of Alain Labrousse, *The Tupamaros*, (London 1973).

The basic text on the Bolivian left is the work by the Trotskyist historian and activist, Guillermo Lora: this is accessible in an English translation by Christine Whitehead and edited by Laurence Whitehead, *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement*, (Cambridge 1977). A rather different book is by a USA AID official, John Magill, *Labour Unions and Political Socialization: a case study of the Bolivian Workers*, (New York 1974). A detailed examination of the problems of the contemporary left in Bolivia is James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia*, (London 1984). The electoral behaviour of the most radical sector of the work force is examined in Laurence Whitehead, "Miners as Voters: the Electoral Process in Bolivia's Mining Camps" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol 13 Nº 2, 1981.

The official version of Colombian recent history as seen by that country's party is contained in the party publication, *Treinta años de lucha del Partido Comunista de Colombia* (Bogotá 1960). The Communist party's views on the union movement are expressed in Edgar Caicedo, *Historia de las luchas sindicales en Colombia*, (Bogotá 1977). A Marxist account of popular struggles is Manuel Moncayo and Fernando Rojas, *Luchas obreras y política laboral en Colombia* (Bogotá 1978). Two important works on labour from a different perspective are Miguel Urrutia, *Development of the Colombian Labor Movement* (New Haven 1969); and Daniel Pecaut, *Política y sindicalismo en Colombia* (Bogotá 1973). A classic account by a Communist activist in the 1920s and 30s is Ignacio Torres Giraldo, *Los inconformes*, (Bogotá 1978). For the early period see also Gonzalo Sánchez, *Los "Bolcheviques" de El Líbano*, (Bogotá 1976). On Gaitán see Herbert Braun, *The Assassination of Gaitán: Public Life and Urban Violence in Colombia*, (Wisconsin 1985). On violence see Paul Oquist, *Violence, Conflict and Politics in Colombia*, (New York 1980).

A good article on the Peruvian left is Evelyn Huber Stephens, "The Peruvian Military Government, Labor Mobilisation, and the Political Strength of the Left", *Latin American Research Review* Vol 18 Nº 2, 1983. See also for recent developments, Jorge Nieto, *Izquierda y Democracia en el Perú, 1975-1980*, (Lima 1983). An excellent article on the guerrilla is Leon Campbell,

"The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960-1963" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol 8 Nº 1, 1973; and for an account by a participant see Héctor Béjar, *Perú 1965: apuntes sobre una experiencia guerrillera*, (Lima 1969). The trotskyst union organiser gives his version of the peasant struggle in Hugo Blanco, *Land or Death: the Peasant Struggle in Peru*, (New York 1972); and on Hugo Blanco see, Tom Brass, "Trotskyism, Hugo Blanco and the ideology of a Peruvian peasant movement", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol 16, Nº 2, 1989. The secretary general of the Communist party Jorge del Prado has written, *40 Años de Lucha*, (Lima 1968). On Sendero, see Cynthia McClintock, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory" in Susan Eckstein ed, *Power and Popular Protest*, (Berkeley, California 1989); and Carlos Ivan Degregori, *Ayacucho 1969-1979; El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso*, (Lima 1990).

On Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt, *Venezuela, política y petróleo* (Mexico 1956) is a basic source for many aspects of the politics of that country. See also the biography by Robert Alexander, *Romulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela*, (New Brunswick 1982). A Communist activist gives his account in Juan Bautista Fuenmayor, *Veinte Años de Historia*, (Caracas 1980). For the early period of the Communist movement see Manuel Caballero, *Entre Gómez y Stalin* (Caracas 1989). For the struggle between *Acción democrática* and the Communist party in the unions see, Steve Ellner, *Los partidos políticos y su disputa por el control del movimiento sindical en Venezuela, 1936-1948* (Caracas 1980); and, by the same author, "The Venezuelan Left in the era of the Popular Front" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol 11 Nº 1, 1979; Héctor Lucena, *El movimiento obrero y las relaciones laborales* (Carabobo 1981); and Alberto Pla *et al.*, *Clase obrera, partidos y sindicatos en Venezuela, 1936-1950* (Caracas 1982). An account of the guerrilla experience by a disillusioned participant is Angela Zago, *Aquí no ha pasado nada* (Caracas 1972). An outstanding study of the Venezuelan left in recent years is Steve Ellner, *Venezuela's Movimiento al Socialismo; from Guerrilla Defeat to Innovative Politics* (Durham, North Carolina 1988). A leading member of the new left, Teodoro Petkoff has written, *Socialismo para Venezuela?*, (Caracas 1970) and *Razón y pasión del socialismo*, (Caracas 1973).

An excellent set of essays on Mexico, covering the whole period is Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo ed., *Historia del comunismo en México*, (Mexico 1983). The early years of the Mexican left are thoroughly examined in Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México 1910-1929* (Mexico 1981); and see also Arnaldo Córdoba, *La clase obrera en la historia de México; Vol IX; En una época de crisis, 1928-1934*, (México 1980) and Manuel Márquez Fuentes and Octavio Rodríguez Araujo, *El Partido Comunista Mexicano 1919-1943*, (Mexico 1973). For the crucial Cárdenas years see Samuel León and



Ignacio Marván, *La clase obrera en la historia de México: en el Cardenismo 1934-1940*, (Mexico 1985), and Arturo Anguiano, Guadalupe Pacheco and Rogelio Viscaino, *Cardenas y la izquierda mexicana*, (Mexico 1975) and the chapter by Alan Knight "Mexico from 1930 to 1946", in Leslie Bethell ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol VII (Cambridge 1990). The influential artist and leading Communist party member David Alfaro Siqueiros has written his memoirs, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo*, (Mexico 1977). A good account of the early left is Gastón García Cantu, *El socialismo en México*, (Mexico 1969). There is no satisfactory biography of the influential Lombardo Toledano; see however R Millon, *Mexican Marxist; Vicente Lombardo Toledano*, (Chapel Hill 1966). Karl Schmitt, *Communism in Mexico*, (Texas 1965) has some useful information. An important article on the recent period is Barry Carr, "Mexican Communism 1968-1981: Euro-Communism in the Americas?" *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol 17 N° 1, 1985. Middle class fears of communism and marxism are well described in Soledad Loaeza, *Clases medias y política en México*, (Mexico 1988). For the recent period see Barry Carr and Ricardo Anzaldúa Montoya ed., *The Mexican Left, the Popular Movements, and the Politics of Austerity*, (San Diego 1986); and also by Barry Carr, "The Creation of the Mexican Socialist Party", *Journal of Communist Studies*, Vol 4 N° 3, 1988.

A superb study of Central America with many insights for the successes and the failures of the left in that region is James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus* (London, 198 ); see also Robert Wesson ed., *Communism in Central America and the Caribbean*, (Stanford 1982). A good review essay is John Booth, "National Revolts in Central America", *Latin American Research Review*, Vol 26 N° 1, 1991. For European socialist interest in Latin America see, Eusebio Mujal León, "European Socialism and the Crisis in Central America", *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (Washington DC 1989). On the tragic events of 1932 in El Salvador see Thomas Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln 1971); see also Vinicio González, "La Insurrección salvadoreña de 1932 y la gran huelga hondureña de 1954" *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Vol 40 N° 2, 1978. On Honduras see Víctor Meza, *Historia del Movimiento Obrero Hondureño* (Tegucigalpa 1980), and Mario Posas, *Lucha ideológica y organización sindical en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa 1980).

Three works deal with the current crisis in El Salvador, Tommie Sue Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador* (Boulder 1982); Enrique Baloyra, *El Salvador in Transition*, (Chapel Hill 1982), and James Dunkerley, *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador*, (London 1982). An account sympathetic to the guerrillas is Jenny Pearce, *Promised Land: Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango, El Salvador*, (London 1986).

The standard biography of Sandino in Nicaragua is Neill Macaulay, *The Sandino Affair*, (Chicago 1967); see also Gregorio Selser, *Sandino: General de hombres libres* (Buenos Aires 1959); and Sergio Ramírez, *El pensamiento vivo de Sandino*, (Costa Rica 1974). An official view of the sandinista movement is Humberto Ortega, *50 años de lucha sandinista*, (Managua 1979). Of the huge number of accounts of the revolution, the book by George Black is useful for its concentration on ideological aspects, *Triumph of the People: the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua*, (London 1981). On Costa Rica, the important civil war of 1948 is examined in John Bell, *Crisis in Costa Rica: the 1948 Revolution*, (Austin 1971). See also Gilberto Calvo and Francisco Zúñiga eds *Manuel Mora: Discursos 1934-1979* (San José, Costa Rica 1980). Though written from a decidedly cold war standpoint, there is a great deal of useful information in Ronald Schneider, *Communism in Guatemala 1944-1954*, (New York 1958). A rather distinct view is offered in Eduardo Galeno, *Guatemala: Occupied Country*, (New York 1969).