## CONDEMNED TO REPETITION The United States and Nicaragua

## ROBERT A. PASTOR

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS princeton, new jersey

## Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Preface	xi
Acknowledgments	xv
Part I: Setting the Stage	
1. Declining Dictators, Rising Revolutions The Ghost of Cuba Past · The Cuban Drama in Seven Stages · Insurrection and Revolution · The Thesis in Brief	3
2. A Fractured History The Subterranean Rhythm · U.S. Entry into the Caribbean · The First Somoza · Democrats vs. Dictators vs. Communists · Recurring Themes	16
3. Roads to Revolution The Brothers Somoza • The United States: From Identification to Neutrality • The Sandinistas • The Revolution before the Revolution	34
Part II: The Succession Crisis, 1977-1979	
4. Human Rights and Nicaraguan Wrongs Human Rights Policy · The Impact on Nicaragua · The Death of Chamorro · The First Policy Review · The Carter Letter · The Takeover of the National Palace · The Frontier	49
5. To Mediate or Not to Mediate: The Policy Question A Motive for Movement · The National Security Decision-Making Process · Behind the Mediation · Bombing the Bunker · Divergent Perspectives of the Mediation · In the Middle	76
6. Transitions Building Bridges · The Plebiscite · Anti-Climax · Sanctions and Their Impact	101
7. Marching to Different Drummers Withdrawal Pains · Unfriendly Neighbors · The Calm and the Storm · Secret Mission to Panama · A New U.S. Plan · In Different Directions	121
8. The Reluctant Arbiter The OAS Meeting • The Decision Not to Intervene • Two Pillars • The Torrijos Conspiracy	140
9. Denouement Translating the Plan into Panamanian · Preserving the Guard: The Formaldehyde Solution · The Last Days · Exit	167

.

## Part III: Relating to the Revolution

•

<ul> <li>10. Carter: Mutual Respect and Suspicion         The Carter Administration's Lessons · The Benefit of the Doubt ·         The Distribution and Purposes of Power · Relating to the United         States · The American People Debate Nicaragua     </li> </ul>	191
11. Carter: Mutual Temptations Changing Relationships · Compañeros and Contras · Salazar and the Counterrevolutionary Temptation · El Salvador and the Revolutionary Temptation · The State of Relations	213
<b>12. Reagan: Mutual Resentment</b> The Reagan Administration's Lessons • The Fork in the Road • Constraints: Congress and Contadora • The Fruit of Resentment	230
13. Reagan: Mutual Obsessions Deepening the Commitment · A Pause for Elections · The Reagan Doctrine · Contadora and Its Offspring · Consequences of the Contras: Nicaragua · Home to Roost · An Assessment	244
Part IV: Looking Back and Ahead	
14. Nightmares Come True: An Explanation Repeating the Seven Stages · Explaining U.S. Policy · Crossing Borders to Explain the Nicaraguan Revolution · Unable to Retreat	265
15. Turning Points Different Decisions • An Alternative to Perdition	286
16. A Different Road Future Crises of Political Succession · Relating to Revolutionary Governments · A Long-Term Approach · A Positive, Mutually Fulfilling Prophecy	297
List of Selected Abbreviations	315
Chronology	317
Notes	321
Primary Sources: Interviews	375
Index	381