

TO LEAD AS EQUALS

*Rural Protest and Political Consciousness
in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979*

Jeffrey L. Gould

The University of North Carolina Press

Chapel Hill and London

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction 1

Part I. Labor and Politics, 1912–1949

1. We All Remember Joaquín: State, Capital, and Labor Relations
in the Ingenio San Antonio, 1890–1936 21

2. The Auspicious Fields: The Labor Movement in the Ingenio
San Antonio, 1944–1949 46

3. But We Were Hardly Beginning: The Chinandegan Workers'
Movement, 1920–1948 65

Part II. The Campesino Movement and Somocismo, 1950–1964

4. So We Have Nothing to Discuss Doña Tesla: The Origins of the
Campesino Movement in Chinandega, 1957–1959 85

5. Elite Divisions and Campesino Unity: Toward a Community-Rooted
Class Perspective, 1959–1961 113

6. Sacred Rights and Social Peace: The Struggle for the
Nuevos Ejidos, 1961 133

7. The Village of Tonalá Combats Its Destiny, 1961–1962 157

8. The Growth and Limits of Labor-Campesino Solidarity, 1962 182

9. Andrés Never Understood: Educating the Liberator, 1962 205

10. Beyond the May Rains: Women and Leadership in the Time
of Juan Angel López, 1962–1964 225

Part III. Campesinos and the Sandinista Revolution, 1964–1979

11. The Campesinos and Agrarian Reform, 1964–1973 245

12. Toward Revolution in the Countryside, 1974–1979 270

Conclusion 292

Appendix 1. Chronology 307

Appendix 2. Characters and Places 310

Notes 313

Bibliographical Essay 363

Index 367

A section of photographs will be found beginning on page 147.