

Malena de Montis Oral History Content Summary

Track 1 [duration: 1:24:35] [Session one: 13 October 2015]

[00:00] Malena de Montis [MM] Explanation of birth name, Maria Elena, father calling Malena for love of Tango of same name. Describes father earning living from dancing Tango in United States of America (USA) during Depression. Mentions Argentinian husband. Discusses significance of Tango, sorrow and freedom of woman, MM relating to latter. Born in Managua, Nicaragua to upper-middle class family, father civil engineer from Honduras, mother Nicaraguan. Describes father's work building Pan-American Highway, from Guatemala to Panama, MM travelling with him from early age, living in several Central American countries. Third of four children in family. Attributes beginnings of social to consciousness to early exposure to worker families in mountain villages of construction zone, observing difference to own privileged life.

[05:00] Describes love of nature from playing in rivers. Refers to Tarzan and Jane. Remarks on sadness on returning to areas finding rivers no longer exist, clearing of mountains and trees. absence of rivers in Nicaragua today. Refers to development and corruption. Mentions attendance of Catholic primary and secondary schools. Move to Miami, Florida, USA, aged 13, living with aunt to learn English. Aunt's husband first cousin of Anastasio Somoza DeBayle [Somoza], MM mixing with Somoza family from young age, remarking on familiarity of 'environment'. Move to Guatemala, attending Maryknoll high school, Colegio Monte María, Guatemala City. Describes school as progressive, embracing liberation theology. Experience of weekends doing social work in Indian communities contributing to MM's consciousness. Describes cohort as intense, pushing transformation. Involvement with revolutionary group, El Crater. Mentions closure of school after MM's graduate year. Story of Sister Mary Ann Peter who marrying Jesuit priest, in USA involved in struggle against Vietnam War, and influence on MM.

[10:05] Describes rising family tensions, mentions father buying Mercedes Benz. Describes desire to become a nun. Anecdote about kneeling before God for sign. Describes father's opposition to idea, sending MM to Immaculata University, Pennsylvania, USA to study Home Economics. Describes mother as modern woman with observance of formalities in expectations of MM. Describes family. Mentions attendance of Colegio Teresiano de Managua, American Nicaraguan School. Describes living in Miami, Florida, USA during Cuban migration, witnessing discrimination.

[15:00] Describes shock at segregated buses, Cubans at back. Anecdote about own rebellion and argumentative stance, MM known among family and friends as *Abogada* [lawyer]. Describes Catholic school, daily communion. Story about 'trauma' at parents' non participation, MM associating with mortal sin, parents' family planning prohibited by Catholic Church. Refers to own break with Church. Story about First Communion at boy's school, dressed in white, relishing in 'bride' moment, walking down aisle. Describes mother's special nightly prayer with MM and siblings, *Angelito de mi huerta*, prayer to Guardian Angel. Describes domestic help in home without contribution from MM. Describes playing piano from early age, , ballet and modern dance. Anecdote about theatre role aged ten.

[20:30] Describes having many friends, close friendship with cousin Luvi, like sister, estrangement following Nicaraguan Revolution. Describes reuniting now, in spite of cousin's conservatism, political and religious differences, viewing relationship as reflection of MM's newfound acceptance of diversity at this moment in life. Describes mother as avid reader, playing cards during father's absence in field, MM's sense of abandonment. Acknowledges mother's support later in life, caring for MM's children during her 'revolutionary period'. Describes public perception of parents as perfect couple. Describes father as patriarchal, dominant head of household. Describes corporal punishment for brothers, quoting different approach towards girls and women. Reflects on trauma of witnessing punishment and subsequent anger at mother for non-intervention, with later consciousness.

[25:00] Describes mother as modern woman in sense of activities, smoking, playing cards, painting, travelling with her sister. Remarks on hypocritical aspect of Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. Describes heavy drinking. Describes parents' meeting on Casares beach, Nicaragua, mother marrying at 18, father 11 years senior. Describes romance of relationship, box of letters from father. Describes paternal grandfather, engineer from Europe, travelling to Honduras to work on mines, marrying MM's Honduran grandmother. Anecdote about grandmother as strange woman.

[30:05] Describes early influences, including grandmother's constant prayer, Catholic school, simultaneous fascination and rejection. Describes maternal grandmother telling scary stories, 'La Carreta Nagua'. Mentions seeing 'Dracula' when very little. Amusing anecdote about jumping onto bed. Describes housemaids threatening the Devil would come. Reflects on impact of imagery, own creativity and inventiveness. Story from school, MM calling classmates to say no school because Mother Superior had died, ensuing punishment by school, MM on knees. Story about first trip to Miami, USA, after winning hula hoop competition, prize of ticket and year's supply of bread for family. Mentions Pan Fino bread factory, Nicaragua.

[35:00] Describes interest in philosophical books as young girl. Mentions Herman Hesse's 'Siddhartha', Erich Fromm. Describes mother's collection of art books, MM's love of the Impressionists, Pablo Picasso. Describes influence of music, playing piano by ear, family listening to Frédéric Chopin, Johannes Brahms, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Describes family dancing at home. Mentions Tango, Cha-Cha-Cha, Harry Belafonte, Bolero, Merengue. Mentions Ballet classes, enjoying less. Describes father earning a living in USA in 1930s, during Depression, by dancing Tango after graduating from Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, USA. Mentions dancing with own children.

[40:01] Describes first impressions of USA. Mentions Lerner Shop, Three Sisters, sundaes at Wolfie's, Miami, Florida. Describes activities in Miami. Anecdote about encounter with snake, overcoming fear. Story about encounter with shark while swimming, San Andrés Island. Story Reflects on ability to react efficiently in challenging situations. Story about home collapsing in 1972 Nicaraguan earthquake, four-year old son trapped under entire floor, no access.

[45:50] Mentions move to Guatemala for Maryknoll secondary school, rise of social consciousness. Reflects on Miami trip, not enjoying environment shared with Samoza

family, strictness of aunt, body and dietary issues. Courses in Philosophy and Psychology while studying Home Economics at Immaculata, triggering questions on God and religion. Describes parents' move to Panama, story of meeting husband there age 17, marriage in Nicaraguan Embassy. Discusses hormonal impulses and sexuality.

[50:00] Trauma of early days, sexual problems. Ensuing contentment to be 'perfect wife'. Birth of three children by age 21. Mentions husband head of Enterprise Group, Panama. Describes founding Montessori school with other women as local schools unsatisfactory. Describes feeling crisis of responsibility of motherhood. Describes impact of 1960s, learning about El Che Guevara, history of own country Nicaragua, The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), hippy movement.

[55:00] Mentions love of The Beatles. Describes self-transformation from Panamanian bourgeoisie to barefoot, bra-less hippy. Detail of impact on marriage, decision not to have more children, curiosity outside of relationship. Mentions teaching in Cursillos de Cristiandad movement of Catholic Church. Story about involvement of priest as spiritual guide in marriage, advising MM to sublimate, MM's insistence on divorce. Mentions visit to Rome, Italy, and disdain at gold and adornment of Vatican. Describes failed attempt at open marriage, and will to return to study.

[01:00:00] Study of Philosophy and Psychology at University of Panama. Describes experience of various forms of therapy, personal confusion. Scholarship to New York, USA to work with Doctor Alexander Lowen. Mentions Reichian therapy of Primal Scream. Return to Panama, joining communist party, participating in musical groups. Attendance of Panama branch of Florida State University. Describes divorce, falling in love with man, significant in life, from 'very poor' background. Mentions underage shoe-shining, Mercedes Benz, Volkswagen. Describes meditating on mountain to come to decision on personal dilemma on custody of children.

[01:05:05] Describes decision children would accompany MM, husband's non-interference. Describes influence of Marxist and Feminist literature on decisions made. Mentions Simone de Beauvoir, Germaine Greer's 'The Female Eunuch'. Reflects on reckless decision to refuse large divorce settlement, remarking that good in that consistent with beliefs at time. Describes working as typist while pursuing studies, running of Montessori school, activities as member of communist party. Describes being shunned by friends, reflecting on complete change of life style. Mentions Club Unión, Union Club, Panama City. Describes first important work, in Ministry of Planning, Panama, research on female prostitutes in rural community, Tonosí District, Los Santos Province, Panama.

[1:10:00] Presentation of paper at United Nations First World Conference on Women, Mexico City, Mexico, 1975 [Mexico]. Describes becoming active with women met there. Mentions importance of Mercedes Oliveira. Describes learning about Nicaragua, FSLN, pursuit of involvement. Describes meeting Dora María Téllez, Sergio Ramírez Mercado, Ernesto Cardenal Martínez, participating in solidarity groups in Panama. Scholarship granted by Edelberto Torres-Rivas and Sergio Ramírez – mentions leaders of first Sandinista government, Nicaragua – to study for Masters in Rural Sociology in Costa Rica, run by Latin American program El Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO). Describes moving to Costa Rica

with children. Begins story about sitting in empty apartment waiting for truck from Panama. Mentions Karl Marx's 'Das Kapital'. Reflects on how children coped with changes at time. Story about nanny from Panama not adjusting to changes within social strata.

[1:15:42] Continues story about 'Das Kapital', complete incomprehension of text, Edelberto Torres-Rivas' encouragement of MM as revolutionary. Mentions Cuban women. Describes personal strength as organiser throughout life, decision that contribution would be that role. Describes cohort from different countries, mentions marrying Argentinian Marxist member. Discusses Samoja leadership, explanation of FSLN tendencies, MM joining Popular Prolongada (GPP), responsible for building solidarity in Europe. Describes friendship and collaboration with Gioconda Belli. Describes travel to Europe and meeting Social Democrat leaders Felipe González Márquez, Sven Olof Joachim Palme, Willy Brandt.

[1:20:00] Reflects on period as fantastic time, remarking on energy and conviction, excellence of training. Mentions preparation for war. Describes July 1979 triumph of Nicaraguan Revolution, participation in development of first government plan. Describes airplane to León, Nicaragua, MM proposed as Minister of Housing. Reflects on perspective on history of country prior to Revolution. Describes social work in Panamanian hospital, witnessing babies dying. Mentions Augusto Nicolás Sandino, US Army and Marines, FSLN. Discusses bourgeoisie and hypocrisy, personal conviction and significance for own children, impact of learning about Marxism, as tools.

Track 2 [duration: 1:11:35] [Session one: 13 October 2015].

[00:00] Describes revolutionary activities in Costa Rica. Mentions compartmentalization of revolutionaries, MM's role as driver, moving Sandinista leaders like Henry "Modesto" Ruiz [Modesto] around. Describes support from Social Democrats in Europe and Latin America. Mentions Carlos Andrés Pérez Rodríguez in Venezuela, Martín Erasto Torrijos Espino in Panama. Story about encounter with Tomás Borge Martínez as early warning of role of women in Sandinista movement, sexuality and power struggle. Describes role as organizer of solidarity meetings. Describes role in building of new government plan for Nicaragua.

[04:50] Story about transfer of large sum of money across Honduras-Nicaragua border. Mentions Samsonite. Describes culture of confidence in Sandinista leadership, few questions asked, 'with this incredible dream in our heads'. Describes trip to meet Paolo Freire at World Council of Churches (WCC), Geneva, Switzerland, background of knowledge and influence, mentions Freire's Guinea-Bissau letters, adopting methodology in own research on women prostitutes for Ministry of Planning, Panama. Freire's subsequent visit to Nicaragua on MM's invitation. Mentions literacy campaign. Anecdote about Freire's speech at New York University (NYU), USA, telling encounter with MM. Describes tension of responsibilities in Costa Rica, daughter's operation.

[10:00] Reflects on relationships with men, and personal challenge to live alone. Describes character of husband and evolution of relationship.

[14:00] Describes real consciousness and feminist commitment arising with Revolution, post 1979. Remarks on marginalisation of women's issues in all revolutions when immediate target is overthrow of government. Reflects on own actions in personal life as rebellions, reflective of being feminist and liberated from society and upbringing. Detail of background leading to participation in Mexico conference, detail of research undertaken in Tonosí, living in community, discovery that majority of women prostitutes, MM shadowing them in daily routine. Story about mother leaving son tied to tree overnight. Scholarship granted by International Labor Organization (ILO) for MM to write about experience, leading to Ford Foundation sponsoring attendance at Mexico conference.

[20:00] Describes age of prostitutes and background of region. Describes content of interviews with prostitutes and mothers. Discusses nature of UN conferences, compromises associated with growth of UN since foundation, impact on women's movement. Remarks on dislike for nationalism, own passion for popular education, debates with Freire, and feminist groups.

[25:06] Describes atmosphere of enthusiasm at UN First Conference on Women, Mexico, 1975, recalls protests, refers to military repression in Latin America. Mentions Augusto Pinochet, Jorge Videla. Account of attempted rape of MM by Mexican police officer. Mentions La Lagunilla, Mexico City.

[30:00] Remarks that greatness of 1975 not apparent until afterwards. Describes landing in Managua, Nicaragua for Revolution, people on streets. Describes leadership's lack of experience, story of first assignation related to agrarian reform. Mentions Modesto, Jaime Wheelock Román (Wheelock), Central Bank of Nicaragua building, Managua. Start of anecdote important to MM, describing background of significance of coffee plantations as main currency, prices falling after neglect during revolution.

[35:17] Account of journey with Wheelock to Samoza sugar plantation. Mentions Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy.

[40:00] Discusses importance of experience, lessons learned on assumptions about nation and reality of consciousness. Discusses power relations, domination and subordination reproduced worldwide. Discusses violence as key factor, nature v culture, inherent belief that human ability to overcome violence. Comments on role of educational, economic, religious and governmental institutions in maintaining violence, and link between religion and economic discord.

[44:24] Discusses Pope Francis. Differentiates between religious teachings and religious institutions, commonality between religions. Describes debates on abortion among feminist friends. Remarks on importance of building collective power. Discusses enmity among women as product of patriarchy, and need to address. Discusses difficulty of mother-daughter relationships avoided by society, need to address within same issue. Discusses importance of awareness of own personal transformations for deconstructing systems and building understanding. Mentions writings of Spanish philosophers and feminists, Celia Amorós.

[50:00] Links discussion to experience since early days of Revolution, interest on focus on power as key theoretical issue. Importance of popular power to Sandinista Revolution. Mentions Friere, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault. Describes educational journey. Mentions Panama, Costa Rica, doctorate at University of Massachusetts, scholarship to Mary Ingram Bunting Institute (Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study), Harvard University, thesis 'Feminism and Popular education in Latin America', with Nicaragua as case study, MM developing beyond Freire's focus on public domain, to include private domain of home, and intimate domain of oneself. Identifies three domains, discussing first struggle to shift power relations within. Discusses spirituality, intellect, origin of mandates. Describes second domain of relationships in private sphere, with family members, third domain as public, of community, school, work. Describes developing scheme to unravel complexity of position. Remarks that in Sandinista Revolution everything viewed through class lens, commenting on need to explore beyond.

[56:05] Describes current reflection on own changing perspectives, questioning of ideologies, move from Catholicism to Marxism. Argues entry point to feminism not gender, calling for change in power relations manifested in society, away from any form of domination. Describes working with men, to understand masculinity, building together. Mentions establishing two feminist non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Describes work in four main powerhouses of Sandinista Government, as Director of Social Planning in Ministry of Planning, on party structures in Department of Organization, and two mass organisations; National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) and women's organisation, Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE).

[1:00:00] Describes work on National Literacy Campaign, implementing participatory planning processes, bringing together leaders of mass organizations, and technocrats. Anecdote about exchange, and observation of surrender of power with ingrained system of learning. Describes growing awareness of discrimination against women in Sandinista government, issues fighting for sidelined. Describes move to Ministry of Education. Mentions experience on the ground in El Regadío, Nicaragua, Lisa VeneKlasen, Paolo Freire, Orlando Fals Borda, Marcos Arruda, pursuit of participatory research and popular education. Move to UNAG, referring to organisation as macho and patriarchal. Describes efforts and response, MM labelled lesbian. Describes start of underground meetings with small group of women, critique of AMNALE as 'subordinate wife of FSLN', leading to recognition as first openly feminist group in Nicaragua, coinciding with formation of country's new constitution.

[1:00:05] Names Tomás Borge Martínez, Carlos Núñez Téllez, as two allies. Membership of eight women each working in different realm, media, government organizations, including Sandinista Workers' Federation (CST), and MM in UNAG. Describes establishing women's department in each organization, realisation that not effective enough. Describes naming of new group, The Party of the Erotic Left (PIE). Story about group member Sofía Montenegro Alarcón and Fidel Castro in Cuba. Describes critical stance from start of Revolution, gaining reputation as controversial woman, ability to effect change including laws achieved through PIE. Remarks that planning document written in Costa Rica more radical than final Constitution. Describes wanting more state economy, resulting mixed economy programme positive as reality disparate to anticipation. Comments that Sandinista Revolution

intent on building popular power. Discusses internationalist stance not believed by United States of America, ensuing blockade leading to further radicalisation. Remarks that Sandinista Revolution last on continent to have strong Social Democrat support. [pause to move location]

Track 3 [duration: 23:50] [Session one: 13 October 2015]

[00:00] Describes consciousness-raising of gender perspective achieved by women in FSLN, NGOs later established. Mentions Cenzontle, Centro De Mujeres Ixchen, Puntos de Encuentro, El Centro de Derechos Constitucionales, CINCO, Movement of the 52%. Describes workshops, advocacy and change of laws while in FSLN, including freedom to divorce without permission of man, status of children born out of wedlock. Mentions support of National Directory. Comments on changing laws distinct from actual implementation. Mentions UN declarations officially recognized but not observed. Discusses importance of working in different dimensions with different strategies, always focusing on building women's political powers as a political force. Remarks that big challenge, giving example of United Nations Fourth World Conference On Women, Beijing, China, 1995, focus on women's empowerment, in Nicaragua producing powerful women who then 'forget they are feminists'.

[05:00] Mentions commitment to AMNLAE, PIE. Describes background of founding Center for Democratic Participation and Development (Cenzontle), focusing on rural development with a gender class perspective. Describes three threads of activity, working with women and men. Describes approaching people for organisation's board, developing proposal, beginning fundraising among individuals while studying for doctorate in USA. Mentions not taking salary for two years. Describes organisational breakthrough with first national research entitled, 'Women and Power in Nicaragua'. Describes pre-election findings of planned votes against FSLN, informing President, Daniel Ortega, ensuing clash.

[10:00] Discusses FSLN election loss after 11 years, problems of US blockade, counter revolution, policy mistakes, MM's learning. Describes actions taken in rural areas, people thrown off land, communities relocated. Describes post-revolution corruption, privileges enjoyed by leaders during shortages of basic needs in Nicaragua. Story about MM's children witnessing indulgences at *commandante's* house. Discusses Ortega rape of step-daughter, media repression, top-down exercise of power. Describes *piñata*, distribution of state property to leaders. Remarks that became strong capitalists.

[15:00] Discusses hardship of realisation that effort and 40,000 killed, 'for nothing' 'worse dictatorship than Samozas', Ortegas building among largest fortunes in Latin America, all family controlled. Comments on Ortega's wife. Describes work of Cenzontle, opening alternative free market for coffee production, focus on gender perspective working with peasant women. Describes disagreement with North American colleague, leading to own focus of work on linking economic and political power, working for women only. Describes methodology and feminist educational process using Freire insights. Describes background to credit programme started, leading to building Fondo de La Mujer.

[20:33] Describes challenge to become sustainable as financial institutional, with women sustainable at same time. Describes organisational developments, taking advisory role, focusing on training programme and advocacy within microfinance world. MM's role in introducing gender perspective to Red Centroamericana y del Caribe de Microfinanzas (REDCAMIF), attending global summits, working to develop model for microfinance from empowerment perspective. [pause to move locations due to noise level]

Track 4 [duration: 09:17] [Session one: 13 October 2015]

[00:00] Describes characteristic of programme implemented, winning Central American Best Practice Award, highlighting objective of economic and political empowerment of women, with holistic perspective, linking entrepreneurial development with political activism, women becoming defenders of their rights. Detail of two entry points. Describes need for political activism to achieve legal reform and projects from government. Describes politically active women's demand for income for families and interest in business. Mentions Just Associates (JASS), Mesoamerica, Africa. Describes recognition of model developed, with Intercambio award. Gives example of first group of women in c, focus on organisational aspect of business to enable efficient distribution of income, beyond co-operative models that reproduce exercise of power by leaders.

[05:45] Building of democratic and participatory productive enterprise nurturing political consciousness. Describes undertaking advocacy work in different spaces of microfinance world with dream of establishing women's bank operating differently to capitalist finance world. Describes advocating for acknowledgment of different scenarios requiring microfinance, for coping with poverty, to empowering women meaning approaching with equality perspective, questioning neoliberal capitalist model, advocating for credit combined with training so function understood, enabling effective participation.

Track 5 [duration: 53:07] [Session one: 13 October 2015]

[00:00] Describes thread of activism for Women's Rights, MM elected by Latin American Caucus of United Nations Fourth World Conference On Women, Beijing, China, 1995 [Beijing], to build Coalition of Women in Politics in Latin America. Describes participation prior to Beijing, from microspaces to macrospace, pushing for women's political rights. Additional focus on Reproductive Rights. Describes Beijing Conference, exchange of experience and learning. Remarks on impressive level of organisation, describing long lines of Chinese young women and men passing delegate luggage in chain, tents holding women from all over world with common cause. Describes as first time met political women from China, speaking from different political framework.

[05:03] Describes role after Beijing. Describes tensions and difference in stance with official Nicaragua delegation. Describes attendance of Second World Conference on Women Copenhagen, Denmark, 1980. Remarks on experience of tensions and fights among women in discussing and pushing issues. Mentions attendance of Association of Women In Development (AWID) forums. Discusses two stances, feminism of

difference and feminism of equality, describing each, remarking that reality involves both.

[10:35] Emphasises strength of feminist movement in Latin America in 1990s. Story about meeting Mahnaz Afkhami in Budapest, Hungary, in preparation for AWID conference, invitation to participate in Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) meetings as advisor. Describes experience as 'incredible', remarking on WLP's 'fantastic way of thinking about politics', personal exposure to Arab world, demystifying ideas. Discusses similarities between women. Mentions Iran. Describes adapting two WLP training manuals for Latin America. Mentions Jacqueline Pitanguy, Brazil, Mexico. Discusses urgency of women from WLP partnership meeting women in Latin America to define common strategies, comparing to Financial Market Authority (FMA) thinking globally and acting locally, calling feminists to do same.

[15:35] Discusses WLP's leadership concept, describing as 'eye-opening', importance of deconstructing common understanding of leadership, remarking that current debate in Latin America. Discusses role as founding member of Just Associates (JASS), starting as consultancy group focusing on development. Mentions Lisa VeneKlasen. Describes active role in pushing JASS forward as feminist organisation at AWID International Forum, Bangkok, Thailand, 2005. Describes leaving board to develop Alquimia schools in Latin America. Describes current completion of leadership training course for indigenous women, background of issue of land rights. Mentions Canadian mining companies. Describes two year training course for different countries with follow up, using popular feminist education. Explains five themes of curriculum.

[20:50] Describes current activity, mentioning closure of two NGOs. Discusses role of Ortega government. Describes JASS focus on women's collective power and NGO position, theoretical questioning of feminism. Discusses 'permanent question' of whether change possible, reflecting on progress of women in history. Mentions Stephen Hawking.

[25:00] Reflects on choice between positive thinking and negative, referring to Zygmunt Bauman analogy. Reflects on life of working in Human Rights organisations, Women's Movement, participating in a revolution, five children. Discusses ethical values, ethics as a practice, elaborating on own values. Mentions problem of religion in Arab world, comparing to Middle Ages.

[28:35] Discusses funding and donor relationships. Story about presentation of facts with Dutch organisation. Remarks that donations more focused on Africa and Western Europe, with no money for women's movement in Latin America. Discusses ideas to counteract problem, building independent alliances, moving towards philanthropy.

[33:00] Discusses changes in attitude over time. Describes background to establishing Autonomous Women's Movement (MAM) with PIE members, Meeting of the 52 Percent. Describes problems of exercise of power, jealousy among women in group. Describes background of Women's National Coalition 1995-97, bringing together women of all interests to establish agenda for negotiation with election candidates.

Describes giving inauguration speech before President, Violeta Chamorro. Describes strategy of meeting all female delegates of Left and Right, political, religious, business. Describes achievement of agreeing on 27 items, steering clear of abortion. Remarks on pledge from each political leaders, ignored after vote.

[40:30] Observes resurgence of feminist movement in Nicaragua and Mesoamerica today, after late 1990s decline. Discusses challenge of involving younger women, that necessary to change construction of women as worst of enemies within patriarchy, to align with values of dignity and equality. Remarks that profound change needed in intimate private dimension of every woman. Discusses feminist focus on what men are doing, on how to change domination of men towards women, on the external, calling instead for focus on inward change. Reflects on own experience as member of revolution and political party, and disparity between intentions and reality within home, citing domestic abuse by leaders, feminist women enabling that.

[45:00] Renounces use of 'revolution', concept no longer making sense. Discusses transformation needed to surmount cultural messages. Remarks on weight of guilt in women's lives, generated from religion and upbringing. Expresses pride in pursuing education with three children, remarking on vital role of education; managing three children during Revolution, always receiving scholarships. Comments that first among generation in Nicaragua to achieve doctorate. Reflects on low income with five children, loss of inheritance, education enabling consultancy for The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Hivos. Describes introducing gender perspective to class and race lens of Highlander Center, USA, meeting Myles Horton. Mentions Freire, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks.

[50:23] Discusses intersectionality of differences, power as a relationship, of domination or of equality, Discusses power relations based on race, class, gender, nationality, ethnicity, level of education, importance of knowledge, science towards complex thinking. Remarks on complexity of popular education, trainers failing to train themselves.