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## REVIEW ESSAYS

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### RESISTANCE, REBELLION, AND REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AT THE MILLENNIUM

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*THE NEW POLITICS OF INEQUALITY IN LATIN AMERICA: RETHINKING PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION.* Edited by Douglas Chalmers, Carlos Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott Martin, Kerianne Piester, and Monique Segarra. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. 644. \$85.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

*BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION: CULTURAL POLITICS AND SOCIAL PROTEST.* Edited by Richard Fox and Orin Starn. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997. Pp. 279. \$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

*THE CHIAPAS REBELLION: THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND AND DEMOCRACY.* By Neil Harvey. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998. Pp. 292. \$49.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

*REINVENTING REVOLUTION: THE RENOVATION OF LEFT DISCOURSE IN CUBA AND MEXICO.* By Edward McCaughan. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1997. Pp. 207. \$59.00 cloth.)

*REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA: EL SALVADOR'S FMLN AND PERU'S SHINING PATH.* By Cynthia McClintock. (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998. Pp. 492. \$37.50 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

*SHINING AND OTHER PATHS: WAR AND SOCIETY IN PERU, 1980-1995.* Edited by Steve J. Stern. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998. Pp. 534. \$64.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

The last decade or so has witnessed an array of pronouncements: the end of history due to the triumph of capitalism and liberal democracy,<sup>1</sup> resisted only by a few recalcitrants; the looming clash of civilizations and threats to this global liberal democracy;<sup>2</sup> and the end of revolutions,<sup>3</sup> gone out of vogue,<sup>4</sup> not least in their twentieth-century bailiwick, Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>5</sup> Given my skepticism about these pronouncements, I will focus instead on two contentions addressed in different ways by all six books under review here. The first is that the triumph of democracy as something more than the scheduling of elections and the tentative emergence of civil society has proven ephemeral beyond its least complicated facets, their institutionalization turning out to be a far cry from the democratization of everyday lives. The instantiation of democracy, meaning making it meaningful to the material and ideological conditions of everyday lives, has proven elusive. Second and related to this contention, while revolutions may be on the wane (although any number of instances suggest otherwise) and bereft of a teleological dimension associated with them over the last hundred years, reports of revolution's demise are greatly exaggerated in both substantive and theoretical terms. Human beings continue to struggle in myriad ways to reshape their lives and the world in which they live, and revolution remains one of the most useful lenses for analyzing societies in flux.

Nonetheless, the public is assured early and often in Latin America and the Caribbean that "neoliberalism" holds sway, while revolution is only found dead and buried in books. Apparent instances to the contrary represent either inexplicable remnants of the cold war or historical anomalies fallen into the hands of nefarious drug traffickers. As I have argued elsewhere, revolution is as likely as ever, perhaps even more so given that the primary causes of revolution in most conceptualizations of the term remain profoundly extant. It is a time of great global change, replete with potential for systemic upheaval. Millions are hungry and resent the widening

1. Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Avon Books, 1993). The most commonly invoked "recalcitrants" are the Cubans, the North Koreans, assorted Islamic fundamentalists, and drug traffickers.

2. See Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the New World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); and Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov.–Dec. 1997):22–43. An intriguing response to such analyses is John Gray, "Global Utopias and Clashing Civilizations: Misunderstanding the Present," *International Affairs* 74, no. 1 (Jan. 1998):149–64.

3. Robert Snyder, "The End of Revolution?" *Review of Politics* 61, no. 1 (1999):5–28; and Jeff Goodwin, "Is the Age of Revolution Over?" in *Revolutions and International Affairs: A Reader*, edited by Mark N. Katz (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, forthcoming).

4. Forrest D. Colburn, *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

5. Carlos Figueroa Ibarra, "Shipwreck and Survival: The Left in Central America," *Latin American Perspectives* 24, no. 1 (Jan. 1997):114–29.

gap between the rich and the poor. Confronted by the failed promises of neoliberalism and liberal democracy, they have a model—themselves and their elders, overflowing with historical narratives of rebellion and revolution and the possibilities inherent in creating a new world—and an opportunity in the common struggle to define and decipher the not-so-New World Order. Thus instead of a shrinking space for revolutionary and related processes, more space may well exist for such activities due to less international support<sup>6</sup> (always heavily overblown), without the intense bipolarity of the cold war years and perhaps more “permissiveness” (although revolutionaries have rarely sought permission). In sum, while these may not be our parents’ or grandparents’ revolutions, they will be revolutions nonetheless.

### *A Few Words about Revolution*

*Revolution* is a hotly contested term, and no effort will be made here to unpack the debate or resolve it.<sup>7</sup> Still, some issues need to be addressed. First, modern definitions of revolution have almost always underscored the struggle for state power. While this emphasis is commonsensical, revolutions are clearly about more than state power. The classic cases are denoted in large measure by the effort to transform fundamentally the material and ideological conditions of everyday lives. Here the French case

6. Classic examples of expositions of the Soviet and Cuban export model of Latin American and Caribbean revolution include Mark Falcoff, “Struggle for Central America,” *Problems of Communism* 33, no. 2 (1984):63–66; Henry Kissinger, *Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), p. 25; and *Rift and Revolution: The Central American Imbrolio*, edited by Howard Wiarda (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1984). McClintock, in her book reviewed here, cites as examples Georges Fauriol, *Latin American Insurgencies* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1985); Michael Radu and Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Latin American Revolutionaries* (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey, 1990); and William Ratliff, *Castroism and Communism in Latin America, 1959–1976* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1976).

7. Good recent overviews can be found in the McClintock book reviewed here (pp. 21–43) and in Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945–1991* (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). An attempt at an up-to-date précis is Eric Selbin, *Modern Latin American Revolutions*, 2d rev. ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1999), 4–6. Two indispensable works are Rod Aya, “Theories of Revolution Reconsidered,” *Theory and Society* 8, no. 1 (1979):39–99; and Jack Goldstone, “Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation,” *World Politics* 23, no. 3 (1980):425–53. They have been nicely updated in John Foran, “Theories of Revolution Revisited: Toward a Fourth Generation,” *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 1 (1993):1–20; Theda Skocpol, “Reflections on Recent Scholarship about Social Revolutions and How to Study Them,” in *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, edited by Theda Skocpol (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 301–44; and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, “Structural Theories of Revolution,” in *Theorizing Revolutions*, edited by John Foran (New York: Routledge, 1997), 38–72.

provides the archetype. But cases such as Russia, Cuba, and Iran exemplify the power, premise, and promise of revolution. Regardless, real people in the real world will continue to struggle for justice and dignity whether others choose to recognize their campaigns as revolution.

Second, the concept, implicit or explicit, of some “age of revolution” that has passed is beset by problems of terminology, dating, and location, as shown by the slant of all these analyses that emphasize Europe (or related white settler regimes) or Europe’s longest standing outpost, Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>8</sup>

This observation leads to the final point that a plot recurs in some sense in revolutions in Latin America and the Caribbean: revolutions “happen there” as part of the region’s “romantic” flora and fauna,<sup>9</sup> with the mythical glamour and danger that evoke the romanticization of France and the early years in Russia. This pattern reflects in part five hundred years of struggle and memory. Since the first defiance of the Spanish conquerors,<sup>10</sup> subsequent generations of revolutionaries have sought to enable and ennoble their efforts by invoking figures like Túpac Amaru, Toussaint L’Ouverture, José Martí, Francisco Zapata, José Carlos Mariátegui, Augusto Sandino, Farabundo Martí, and Che Guevara—and the ideals that they and their struggles purportedly represent. Conversely, populations have sought to identify and understand their struggles through the mythos generated around these figures. The cult of the heroic revolutionary has produced in much of Latin America a popular political culture of resistance, rebellion, and revolution. Something distinctive about the revolutions in Latin America and the Caribbean has attracted and inspired observers across the other regions.

8. Were one to try to codify an “age of revolution” for Africa, for example, the emphasis would almost certainly have to be on the era following World War II, perhaps beginning with the Mau-Mau rebellion in Kenya in 1952 and continuing through today (although a cut could be made with the negotiated settlement leading to the ANC triumph in South Africa). In Asia, a likely starting point seems to be China in 1910, probably ending with the victories of revolutionaries in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (although the ongoing situations in Sri Lanka and Indonesia merit note).

9. For amplification on this topic, see Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialism Ideology in the Disney Comic* (Amsterdam: International General, 1971); or George Black, *The Good Neighbor: How the United States Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean* (New York: Pantheon, 1988). As for romanticization, note the scathing claim by Sánchez Lira and Villarreal that “many North American leftist intellectuals have a tendency to romanticize the violent social processes south of the border. It seems that, for them, we will always be curious and exotic subjects in need of redemption.” See Mongo Sánchez Lira and Rogelio Villarreal, “Mexico 1994: The Ruins of the Future,” in *First World, Ha, Ha, Ha! The Zapatista Challenge*, edited by Elaine Katzenberger, 223–34 (San Francisco, Calif.: City Lights, 1995).

10. This trend can be dated from 1519, when on the island of Hispaniola native chieftain Enriquillo took up arms against his *encomendero* and the colonial authorities. See Daniel Castro, *Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1999), ii.

*What Might Have Been and What May Be*

The three volumes under review here by single authors include the welcome return of Cynthia McClintock to matters revolutionary with a challenging argument about the trajectories, successes, and failures of revolutionary movements in El Salvador and Peru. In the other two compelling analyses, Edward McCaughan assays the state of revolution among activists and intellectuals in Mexico and Cuba, while Neil Harvey contributes a detailed historical study and interviews with the poor and indigenous in one of the most ambitious and useful texts to date on Chiapas. This key case, along with that of Colombia, should be considered by those debating the future of revolutions in the region.

The three volumes edited by Steve Stern, by Richard Fox and Orin Starn, and by Douglas Chalmers et al. follow a somewhat similar pattern. Stern's collection focuses on a revolutionary phenomenon whose time appears to have passed and its impact on a society. Fox and Starn's edited volume explores the routes that may be open to those seeking to change their lives. Chalmers and his co-editors and contributors contemplate what the future may hold amongst the convoluted relationships of social change, social justice, and meaningful democratic practices.

The edited volumes display all the virtues and some of the dilemmas commonly noted when edited volumes are reviewed. It is certainly possible to discern inconsistencies in the quality of some essays, although such complaints most often reflect the vagaries of expertise or debates over interpretation. One can also note an occasional loss of focus and omissions that leap out at a reader who deems these matters necessary (redolent of the common academic sin of expecting others to write the book the reader might have written, if only he or she had had the time). Such faultfinding, however, would miss the great merit of these three volumes, which are well put together in substance and sequence and are thus powerful examples of what well-thought-out conferences and able editors can do with a good concept.

*The Past as Prologue? Revolution in El Salvador and Peru*

At the end of the 1980s, any reasonable analyst might have anticipated that the Salvadoran and Peruvian governments of the 1990s might well be led respectively by the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN) and Sendero Luminoso,<sup>11</sup> two divergent revolutionary movements in contrasting contexts. Few would have predicted that ten

11. The full name is the Partido Comunista Peruano–Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL). Sendero Luminoso came from the subtitle of the party newspaper, "By the shining path of Comrade José Carlos Mariátegui."

years later, the FMLN would be El Salvador's strongest legal opposition party and perhaps the most influential player in national electoral politics and that Sendero would be reduced to a bit player in Peru's hinterlands by arrests, tactical errors, and the inexorable push of its brutal ideology.

In *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path*, Cynthia McClintock wrestles with the questions that largely guide the study of comparative revolutions. Where did these revolutions come from? Why did they succeed to the extent they did before failing? And what do these cases portend for the future of revolution? Before endeavoring to answer these questions, McClintock offers an astute assessment of the current state of the literature on theories of revolution that will assist anyone seeking a handy primer. Cognizant of the continued dominance of Theda Skocpol's paradigmatic definition in *States and Social Revolutions*,<sup>12</sup> McClintock joins an array of scholars who have raised issues with Skocpol's work from various perspectives. McClintock takes issue with an overemphasis on political variables and the rejection of economic or socio-economic variables, which can be critical to understanding the Peruvian case, as she deftly demonstrates. After canvassing an array of theories of revolution, McClintock adds economic variables to her wide-ranging analysis. As she points out succinctly, "misery matters" (p. 29). She also brings in "regime type, revolutionary organization, and international context" in a way that she considers new (p. 33).

In a convincing exercise, McClintock explores the evolution, organization, and ideology of both revolutionary movements, placing each in its social context, with particular attention to political and economic matters. She also assesses the role of the United States in these events. Little new ground is broken on El Salvador, although the comparative context is illuminating. On Peru and the once enigmatic autogenous revolutionaries of Sendero Luminoso, McClintock's expertise serves her well, especially in the interviews she obtained with Senderistas—no small feat for a U.S. academic.

McClintock then limns the extent to which these two contrasting revolutionary organizations were able to mount consequential challenges to the state in each country. She characterizes the FMLN as representing what might be thought of as the region's more traditional revolutionary movements and likens Sendero Luminoso to the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. McClintock ponders whether these revolutions were made by the revolutionary organizations and their leaders (p. 45) or were brought on by the political and economic contexts from which they emerged (p. 47). She recognizes that both factors play critical roles, although revolutionary organizations are "important variables but only within the context of an entire

12. Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1979).



revolutionary equation" (p. 47). Both agents and structures tripped up the two revolutionary organizations, which were "poised to take power at certain junctures" (p. 90). The rest of the *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America* explores how and why.

McClintock confirms the lack of political space in El Salvador, which she believes fueled the FMLN's struggle. She contends more questionably that democratic Peru provided no impetus for Sendero Luminoso, although she warns that democracy defined simply as elections, however free and fair, is not enough (p. 312). McClintock's analysis of the Salvadoran and Peruvian armed forces is also suspect, failing to note how the havoc wreaked by the revolutionaries pales in comparison with the violence perpetrated directly and indirectly by the two government forces. In general, McClintock takes a somewhat harder line with the revolutionaries than with the governments and their minions, as in her conclusion that the human rights violations of the Peruvian military were caused by Sendero (p. 311). One could come away from this book with the sense that the two sides were far more evenly matched than they really were, particularly in Peru. Carlos Iván Degregori, a leading expert on Sendero, points out in his contribution to Stern's *Shining and Other Paths* that "raving [and] racist" military violence often "far outstripped Shining Path violence" (p. 155, n. 16; p. 140).

McClintock's analysis of economic trends in *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America* is compelling and bolsters her demand that such factors be returned to the study of revolution. Poverty, she contends, does not breed democracy but increases the likelihood of revolutionary movements. The wild card in all these situations is the role played by the United States, to which McClintock extends the same sort of understanding that she awards to the Peruvian military. The United States has played an enormous role in how revolutionary processes have unfolded in the region. Pervasive U.S. support forestalled the FMLN in El Salvador, and U.S. lack of interest may have fueled Sendero Luminoso in Peru. McClintock does not consider whether the United States should be involved at all.

Taking the revolutionary organizations and their leaders seriously deepens and enriches the analysis in *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America*, given the importance of divisions among the leaders and the inescapable role of personality. But after reading what seems to be an accurate portrayal of the personality cult surrounding Sendero's creator and leader, Abimael Guzmán,<sup>13</sup> I think McClintock makes more of the divisions and personalities within the FMLN than may be warranted. And despite her salutary recognition of the importance of external factors and the loom-

13. A major work on Guzmán is now available in English: Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999).

ing U.S. presence, McClintock omits another reason for increased FMLN unity after 1983. FMLN pragmatism was almost certainly enhanced (as was that of the Sandinistas) by what might be called “the lesson of Grenada”: splits in leadership can be fatal.

McClintock states her view of the future early on: “In contradiction to the conventional wisdom and the historical record . . . , the thrust of this book is to suggest that revolution is not a Cold War relic in Latin America” (p. 7, see also pp. 18–19). Almost three hundred pages later, McClintock concludes, “At the threshold of the twenty-first century, revolutionary movements are not an anachronism. Revolutionary conflict of the kind that emerged during the Cold War is over; revolutionary conflict is not” (p. 299). Rooted in the existing conditions and carried out by citizens who must live in them, revolutions will continue to emerge in Latin America and the Caribbean.

### *Renewal and Renovation*

Where better to assess thinking about the future of revolution in the region than in modern Latin America’s fonts of revolution and revolutionary rhetoric, Mexico and Cuba? The Mexican Revolution of 1910 influenced such thinking in the region for the first half of the twentieth century, while the Cuban Revolution in 1959 dominated discussions in the second half. *Reinventing Revolution: The Renovation of Left Discourse in Cuba and Mexico* is Edward McCaughan’s engaging guidebook to the state of the debates among leftist intellectuals in these bastions of revolution. The book ably illustrates that revolution is being rethought, and in his view, renewed.

Mexico’s dramatic revolutionary past has been obscured by the mists of time and the inertia of the revolutionary process that degenerated in the second half of the century into stultifying playacting. But Mexico also experienced the first major social discord after the cold war, the uprising staged by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN). And despite repeated efforts to marginalize the Cuban experience in the 1990s, Cuba remains a defiant if damaged monument to the Latin American revolutionary tradition. Fidel Castro has managed against all odds to remain relevant, ascending to the role of some sort of global elder. The ongoing mystique and miasma of Che was displayed abundantly during the commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of his death, replete with reburial, several massive biographies, innumerable articles and references, and advertising campaigns using his image to hawk an array of goods named for him. Cuba endures as the modern world’s point of reference on revolution.

McCaughan believes that it is possible to discern in these different bastions of revolution and reform important renovations of revolutionary discourse. To this end, McCaughan interviewed in depth seventy-four in-



tellectuals<sup>14</sup> at what seemed a key moment for the Latin American and Caribbean Left: the demise of the Soviet Union and the putative triumph of liberal democracy and its doppelgänger, global capitalism. This juncture enabled McCaughan to challenge successfully Jorge Castañeda's dominant analysis of the state of the Latin American and Caribbean Left in *Utopia Unarmed*<sup>15</sup> as overwhelmed and somnolently shifting into a pragmatic search for some tame version of social democracy. McCaughan convincingly demonstrates that this "liberal-minded reformism" is but one of several tendencies among leftist and progressive intellectuals in the region (p. 11).<sup>16</sup>

McCaughan argues in *Reinventing Revolution* that in addition to liberal-minded reformists and orthodox socialists, a third current can be identified as "renovative," denoting "those leftists who still emphasize social goals and social, even collectivist, political and economic visions, and who are critical of both statist-socialist and liberal approaches" (p. 12). McCaughan's renovators, he is quick to note, have a great deal in common with Castañeda's liberals. The primary distinction has to do with the conviction that it is possible to construct an "egalitarian, socially just, and democratic *non-capitalist* world system" (p. 12, his emphasis).

In proving this thesis, McCaughan reviews what he considers the crisis of the leftist paradigm in Cuba and Mexico from the 1960s to the 1980s. He then engages those committed to the traditional old socialist and more contemporary liberal perspectives and gives the renovators a voice. They are given plenty of room to speak, but at times their voices could use some context. McCaughan might have been more forthcoming about why he chose some particular passage, what he believes it means, and why it matters. A work announcing itself as "primarily an empirical rather than a theoretical work" (p. 17) could have benefited from a bit more empiricism. Given that the centerpiece of this project is the array of interviewees and the events and processes that shaped their worldviews, readers are given too little information about the speakers and their paths. This omission is particularly significant for the renovative thinkers—how did they get to their current perspectives?

The orthodox socialists and liberal reformers are interesting but predictable. The renovators, who are far from monolithic in their views, share a commitment to breaking out of the dichotomous thinking that has gripped the region. A salient example is found in the third and fourth chap-

14. A number are academics whose names will be familiar to readers of this journal. Others are political activists, popular opinion makers or critics, and some dissidents in Cuba.

15. Jorge Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1993).

16. A rather different take on the reinvention of revolution in Mexico by some Mexican intellectuals is found in *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*, edited by John Holloway and Eloína Peláez (London: Pluto, 1998).

ters (the core of the book in many ways), in which the groups' perspectives on democracy are explored. The renovators, uncomfortable with both the vague conception of democracy "synonymous with Marx's utopian communism" and the restriction of "democracy to purely formal political rights that likewise become nearly meaningless in the real world of political, economic, and social inequality" (p. 76), wrestle with what democracy denotes. The Cubans focus on participation, particularly at higher levels, and the possibility of meaningful influence outside the state apparatus. The Mexicans seem more concerned with democratizing and professionalizing a nominally democratic government as they focus on a skillful and knowledgeable civil society. Neither revolution as commonly conceptualized nor liberal democracy will get them to that goal.

This intriguing discussion alone makes *Reinventing Revolution* worth reading. It also highlights the occasional idiosyncratic turns in the book. For example, an illuminating discussion on democracy and Fidel is appended as a postscript to Chapter 4 to remedy "an obvious omission" (p. 99). A similar remedy is needed for a more obvious omission: the dearth of attention to the Mexico's pro-democracy student protesters (hardly revolutionaries) who were set up and slaughtered in 1968. The events of that year ruptured the claims to legitimacy of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) via either the revolutionary tradition or broad popular support. This fissure has widened in the intervening years and helped legitimate electoral reformers, armed reformists, and revolutionaries. In a book underpinned by the influence of the "world revolution of 1968" (pp. 185, 189–90) and in which Cubans talk about the impact of the Soviet invasion that crushed "the Prague Spring," a few more voices surely could have been found to address this topic.

Subsequent chapters of *Reinventing Revolution* follow the same pattern. Chapter 5 considers the state versus the market from the orthodox and liberal viewpoints with no surprises but fascinating discussions. Chapter 6 offers the renovators' perspective, wherein they appear to be leery of the state and skeptical of markets while profoundly committed to social justice and national sovereignty. The latter is the subject of Chapters 7 and 8, with the interviewees assessing the nation-state in the face of the vaunted New World Order and what possibilities exist for autonomy within the apparent one-world system. Renovators essentially accept "the new global realities" without conceding their inevitability (p. 161), push for "political and ethical goals," and seek to reformulate national sovereignty in the face of such exigencies. "Relative national autonomy" would appear to be the answer, denoted by "a strong democratic state acting in the interests of the majority, some form of Latin American regional integration, broad cross-border alliances with social sectors opposed to neoliberal restructuring, development of national scientific-technical capacity and industries in cutting-edge technologies, and reconstitution of national culture in defense of *lo na-*

cional" (p. 181). Here it would have been useful to have a more direct and thorough probing of the various respondents' reactions to the arrival of the EZLN in Mexico, a glimpse of an existing revolutionary process.

The concluding chapter of *Reinventing Revolution* is the briefest but perhaps most compelling. McCaughan surveys the entire project and provides some of the history and context that would have served well earlier. He first presents a quick recap. In Cuba, orthodox notions about democracy prevail, liberalism has had some impact on economic reform, and renovation is weak. In Mexico, the renovators are strong (if few?), liberalism dominates understandings of democracy, and the orthodox hold sway over economics. Then McCaughan offers an impressive analysis of the five factors explaining what he and his respondents have described: the structural position of Mexico and Cuba on the semiperiphery, the strength of nationalist political and popular cultures that emerged from the respective revolutions, the impact of "the world revolution of 1968" on leftist intellectuals, inter-elite divisions over the rules of the games, and the problematic of being "a left-in-power vs. a left-in-opposition" (pp. 184–85).

McCaughan's conclusion in *Reinventing Revolution* echoes Cynthia McClintock and presages Neil Harvey: "the structural realities of life on the semiperiphery encourage the search for antisystemic alternatives but do not guarantee the outcomes of such pursuits" (p. 196). This illuminating volume serves to remind readers that the century-old vibrant leftist discourse and debate in Latin America and the Caribbean continue apace, as citizens of the hemisphere search for ways in which to rework their world.

### *The Future of Revolutions?*

Did the future of revolution appear in Chiapas, Mexico, on 1 January 1994?<sup>17</sup> Does Mexico's premodern or modern or postmodern Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional represent "the face of revolution as the world faces the next century?"<sup>18</sup> The details of the event are by now well known and readily available. Few recent cases of collective action (whether rebellious, revolutionary, or a social movement) have generated as many claims and counterclaims or attracted as much attention. The key point here is that even as the New World Order was supposedly being established and the ink was still drying on assorted triumphalist declarations,

17. On the five-hundred-year struggle of the region's indigenous peoples, see Roger Chartier's worthy warning about "the chimera of origins" in *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), 4. The convention is to trace revolutionary and related processes from some key date, usually when power was seized, less commonly from the time when the armed or popular uprising became widespread or open.

18. John Foran, "The Future of Revolutions at the *Fin-de-siècle*," *Third World Quarterly* 18, no. 5 (1997):791–820, 804.

the EZLN seized the headlines with a decidedly revolutionary-looking event meant to lay claims for the millions being left out of this new order.

Seeming to eschew the conventional revolutionary target of state power and opting for the Web over weapons, the EZLN appeared to present rebellion and revolution as performance with its “nonleader” Subcomandante Marcos as “the consummate *performancero*.”<sup>19</sup> Such aspects led many to declare the uprising the first postmodern revolution or the first rebellion of the twenty-first century and Marcos the first postmodern guerrilla leader. Some key information was ignored, however. The EZLN’s initial document, “The Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle,” set their uprising in a tradition at least five hundred years old and alluded to struggles even older, although the demands left little question about the rebels’ modernist sensibilities and emotional resonance with their intellectual compatriots of two hundred years ago in France. As for Marcos, his demeanor and ensemble—mask, pipe, and bandoliers resplendent with bright red shotgun shells that did not match the weapon in hand—are decidedly modernist, perhaps even premodern, evocative of some of the region’s millenarian movements of a hundred years ago. What are observers to make of all this?

Those anxious to assess this situation for themselves are well advised to read Neil Harvey’s absorbing account, *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy*. Harvey provides a wonderfully detailed introduction to the uprising, its roots, and its portents—contested matters all—from the perspective of campesinos and indigenous peoples.<sup>20</sup> The author is far better qualified than most to offer what may be the most nuanced book on the uprising yet.<sup>21</sup> Drawing on doctoral and postdoctoral research on campesino organizations in Chiapas in 1985–1987 and 1990–1992 and on

19. According to Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Subcomandante Marcos’s “persona was a carefully crafted collage of twentieth-century revolutionary symbols, costumes, and props borrowed from Zapata, Sandino, Che, and Arafat as well as from celluloid heroes such as Zorro and Mexico’s movie wrestler, *El Santo*.” See Gómez-Peña, “The Subcomandante of Performance,” in Katzenberger, *First World*, 89–96. Marcos, it seems to me, owes as much to Groucho Marx as to Karl Marx, to John Lennon as to Vladimir Lenin.

20. Anyone would have the bases covered after reading Harvey’s *The Chiapas Rebellion* coupled with Thomas Benjamin’s analysis of the state’s elite, *A Rich Land, a Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); the early EZLN documents contained in *Shadows of Tender Fury: The Letters and Communiqués of Subcomandante Marcos and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation*, translated by Frank Bardacke and Leslie López (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1995); and the recent sweeping volume *Rebellion in Chiapas: An Historical Reader*, edited by John Womack (New York: New Press, 1999). Other excellent sources are the more descriptive accounts by John Ross, *Rebellion from the Roots: Indian Uprising in Chiapas* (Monroe, Me.: Common Courage, 1995); and Philip Russell, *The Chiapas Rebellion* (Austin, Tex.: Mexico Resource Center, 1995). One of the first and best works on Chiapas is the collaboration of an academic and a journalist, George Collier with Elizabeth Quaratiello, in *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* (Oakland, Calif.: Food First, 1994).

21. Others were interested in Chiapas considerably before the public advent of the EZLN.

additional fieldwork in 1994 and 1996, Harvey makes a formidable effort to discern the historical legacy of “the rebellion” (his preferred term), to situate it in the social context of politics, and to wrestle with the complicated construction of identity and sovereignty under challenging circumstances.

Initial responses varied widely to news of an apparently bona fide revolutionary movement in Mexico intended to resurrect the hopes and dreams dashed decades before. Yet few if any observers recognized what Harvey describes at length as “a well-organized indigenous army with a mass base of support” (p. 3). In explaining where this rebellion came from and why it matters, Harvey has produced a book about far more than the promised “account of the struggle for land and democracy in Chiapas” (p. 1). His is the tale of modern Mexico, albeit with some pieces missing, which provides essential information and analysis for those seeking to understand the formation of movements—social or revolutionary—and the complex dance between agency and structure.

Harvey recognizes at the outset that “insufficient attention has been given to the complexity of relationships between agency and structure” (p. 11).<sup>22</sup> He sets out to highlight the “specifically *political* nature of popular movements” (p. 3, his emphasis) and therefore explore the complicated relationships among peasant and indigenous communities, their organizations, and the state. The core of the book deals with how marginalized and oppressed groups create the spaces to transform not only the material but also the ideological conditions (“political and cultural discourses”) of their everyday lives (p. 11).

The rest of *The Chiapas Rebellion* is structured historically, tracing ideas of community from the colonial period through the 1960s and the emergence of indigenous peasant movements in the 1970s and early 1980s and paying particular attention to leadership and strategy and how local networks linked to national ones. Repressive actions during the mid-1980s affected these peasant organizations and fueled the nascent EZLN. But the groundwork for it was laid in the late 1980s and early 1990s under the administration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari during the end of land reform and the NAFTA-defined installation of neoliberalism, all of which culminated in the EZLN uprising. A final chapter assesses the spaces created by the EZLN while highlighting some of the issues involved in undertaking the drive for massive societal change. Harvey supplies a tremendous amount of detail with nary a misstep along the way.

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For examples, see Benjamin, *A Rich Land*; and Robert Wasserstrom, *Class and Society in Chiapas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).

22. This issue remains contested among students of comparative revolution. For examples, see Timothy Wickham-Crowley, “Structural Theories of Revolution,” 38–72; and Eric Selbin, “Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In,” 123–26, both in Foran’s *Theorizing Revolutions*.

Yet questions remain to be raised and additional matters to be considered. Perhaps the most important is the absence in *The Chiapas Rebellion* of information about the other organizations struggling for similar changes in Mexico. The EZLN materialized at a time when many groups with related concerns were emerging, including the leftist Partido de la Revolución Democrática (the PRD) in 1989;<sup>23</sup> Mexico's largest organized debtor group, El Barzón<sup>24</sup> in 1994–1995; and the Ejército Popular Revolucionario (EPR) in 1996. The PRD can be explained largely as a political party of former PRIistas, and El Barzón was created by middle-class debtors wiped out by the 1994 peso devaluation. The EPR, in contrast, proclaimed its intention of overthrowing the government by arms and bringing popular democracy and social justice to Mexico in the June 1996 *Manifiesto of Agua Blancas*<sup>25</sup> and thus deserves more than a few sentences (pp. 210–11).

Other problems with *The Chiapas Rebellion* are more sins of omission than commission. For example, Harvey alerts readers at the outset to working with communal voices (p. 7), reflecting a reality that many researchers have encountered. But such an approach has implications that merit mention. Similarly, although Harvey handily destroys the contention that the EZLN members were simply professional revolutionaries,<sup>26</sup> he glosses over other more congenial assessments that might be scrutinized, given that they do not entirely accord with his own analysis (p. 10). And if citizenship is about more than individual rights and obligations vis-à-vis the state, Harvey's lengthy and intriguing discussion of citizenship in various guises and understandings might have benefited from consideration of the sovereignty of individuals—the right to their own lives, their own bodies, their own thoughts—which is more than a semantic distinction. Finally, Harvey's contention that “the defeat of rural insurgencies and the effects of agrarian restructuring in Latin America have also led to new ways of understanding peasant movements” (p. 30) seems a bit premature with regard to rural insurgencies like those in Colombia. But if his work represents one of the new ways of understanding, analysts will be well served by it.

23. Fifteen members, including ten national leaders, were interviewed for McCaughan's book.

24. The name of El Barzón invokes the yoke, in reference (as I understand it) to a maxim from the revolutionary era, “The yoke is broken, but the ox goes on.”

25. The Ejército Popular Revolucionario resulted from a merger of fourteen smaller groups. The most important one appears to be the armed wing of the early 1970s leftist group Party of the Poor (PROCUP), some of the region's only remaining *focistas* (Guevarists trying to emulate Che's foco-theory). An excellent introduction to the EPR can be found in Kathleen Bruhn, “Antonio Gramsci and the *palabra verdadera*: The Political Discourse of Mexico's Guerrilla Forces,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 41, no. 2 (1999):29–55. For a brief overview, see Georgina Gatsiopoulos, “The EPR: Mexico's ‘Other’ Guerrillas,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 30, no. 4 (1997):33.

26. This view is epitomized for Harvey by Carlos Tello's *La rebelión de las Cañadas* (Mexico City: Cal y Arena, 1995).



*Sendero, Another Riddle Wrapped in a Mystery inside an Enigma*

The Partido Comunista Peruano–Sendero Luminoso (PCP–SL) staged its first public acts in 1980 by hanging dead dogs from traffic lights and lampposts throughout Lima with placards proclaiming, “Deng Xiaoping, sonofabitch.” As Steve Stern notes in his introduction to *Shining and Other Paths*, this indictment of “the architect of counterrevolution in China” was thought to be explanation enough (p. 1). Twenty years later, academics, activists, and other observers are still struggling to comprehend and explain Sendero Luminoso, its surreal world, and how the movement went as far as it did and then failed. Stern asks, “how could Sendero have approached strategic victory and strategic defeat *simultaneously*?” (p. 4, his emphasis). *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru*, ably edited by Stern, presents analyses by U.S. scholars and several important Peruvian scholars and activists, some of whose work has never before been available in English.

The contributors trace the historical roots, revolutionary struggle and defeat, and political and cultural legacy of Sendero, the most insular and violent revolutionary movement in the Americas. The product of a 1995 conference, *Shining and Other Paths* adopts an agenda that Stern lays out: “to move ‘beyond enigma’ by bringing the art of contextualized historical analysis to the war that engulfed and redefined Peruvian society from 1980 to 1995” (p. 8). To this end, five sections focus on historical roots (and the intriguing concept that Sendero stood within and against history), the loss of popular support and the concomitant rise of the popular defense patrols (*rondas campesinas*), and the destruction of alternative paths (meant to heighten the contradictions). Two subsequent sections explore the implications of Sendero and the war for Peru’s social and political future. All the essays are nicely linked by Stern’s introductions to each section. The book does not quite live up to the contributors’ hope that their efforts have produced a book whose “whole is larger than the sum of its parts”—an admirable if nearly unobtainable goal—but it comes unusually close.

The three essays collected under the rubric “Within and against History: Conceptualizing Roots” provide what may be the best historical overview of Sendero Luminoso currently available. It is shown that race played a critical role, particularly the racism of the nonindigenous and provincial leftist intellectuals who led Sendero. Marisol de la Cadena suggests that they have a complicated history of their own (p. 54). Iván Hinojosa makes a convincing case that Sendero is on the margins yet readily situated within the larger context of the Peruvian Left, an argument that is discomfiting to both groups. The notion of Sendero as just one more faction among the many on the Left is not entirely convincing, but the contention that the Left essentially abandoned the struggle to Sendero and failed to take them seriously, perhaps because of racism and elitism, is persuasive.

The failure of the Peruvian populist military government (1968–1975) and the compelling stories of several individuals provide the bases for Florencia Mallon's essay exploring the trajectory of which Sendero became part. The rest of *Shining and Other Paths* flows from these fine historical groundings.

In the introduction to the next section, Stern's invocation of the subaltern may not be necessary or terribly useful.<sup>27</sup> But Sendero's loss of popular support and the rise of the *rondas campesinas* may be one of the most significant stories to be told here. It features some of the best Peruvian scholars studying Sendero and a leading young U.S. scholar. Carlos Iván Degregori's fascinating account details Sendero's buckets of blood approach that glorified violence but came back to haunt the perpetrators by costing them a great deal of support. This point is reinforced in Ponciano del Pino's investigation of "everyday life with Sendero Luminoso" and how the increasing dissonance between the revolutionaries and their families and culture eroded support for their revolution. These two pieces combine to illuminate the struggles that many felt themselves caught up in. Nelson Manrique strays a bit geographically (all the other pieces focus on the southern highlands) in providing a detailed look at dramatic differences in relatively small areas that shaped responses to Sendero. Finally, the prolific Orin Starn updates and expands the story of how Sendero drove the *campesinos* away and into self-defense organizations.<sup>28</sup> His carefully crafted essay confronts the reality of such organizations head on—they are a decidedly mixed bag.

Central to Sendero's strategy was destroying alternative approaches, a tactic meant to heighten the contradictions and force Peruvians to choose sides. Nowhere were the implications of this approach more apparent than in Lima, as Jo-Marie Burt demonstrates. José Luis Rénique shows how the same dynamic played out in the southern community of Puno. Isabel Coral Cordero discusses ramifications of the struggle for women, recognizing that Sendero sought to force women to choose where they thought their future would lie.

What is the legacy of this dramatic period in Peruvian history? The final set of essays in *Shining and Other Paths* suggests that the news is both good and bad. The best news, if correct, is Hortensia Muñoz's view that human rights have arrived in Peru and are there to stay. Less sanguine conclusions may be drawn from the other pieces. Carlos Basombrío Iglesias highlights the precarious position of human rights advocates and their

27. But see Florencia Mallon's wonderful "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994):1491–1515.

28. See his brilliant "I Dreamed of Foxes and Hawks: Reflections on Peasant Protest, New Social Movements, and the *Rondas Campesinas* in Northern Peru" in *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, edited by Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez (Boulder: Westview, 1992), 89–111.

struggle when attacked from both sides. Enrique Obando shows that civilian control of the military, occasionally touted as some sort of panacea, proved to be no guarantee of democracy. Patricia Oliart's insightful consideration of Alberto Fujimori and his personalistic populist approach to governance has chilling implications. One wonders what a close comparison of Fujimori with Sendero's Guzmán might yield.

Such a wide-ranging and detailed volume inevitably contains problems, least over matters of interpretation. The three discussed here could be readily remedied by commissioning additional essays for the next edition. First, readers might have been helped by an essay focusing on the ideas and inner workings of Sendero, especially because ideology played a substantial role in the decision making of the revolutionaries and influenced the thinking of those who opposed them. Second, given the time lapse between the conference and the appearance of the book, an essay would be useful on the shocking capture of Sendero's leaders, particularly Guzmán, and its aftermath. The other uncovered issue is raised by McClintock's study. Despite various references to class, *Shining and Other Paths* exhibits disappointingly little discussion of the economic factors and their role in the themes so well laid out here. The excellent analyses in the volume combined with McClintock's powerful analysis provide the state of the art on Sendero Luminoso.

### *Between and Between: Mobilization in Liminal Spaces*

If revolutions are over but social movements are not enough, where will citizens turn? As they have since time immemorial, they will turn to their own inner resources, seeking to resist, rework, and reform their lives, perhaps in ways not yet considered. According to editors Richard Fox and Orin Starn, *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest* seeks to expand general knowledge "about the ample and charged territory between the cataclysmic upheaval of revolutionary war and the small incidents of everyday resistance" by focusing "on the cultural politics of social protest" (p. 3). The product of another conference, this captivating compendium ranges widely in disciplinary focus and location. Its essays examine a wide array of ways in which individuals seek to retake control of their lives: "personal desire, local initiative, and human inventiveness must be the starting points for analysis of social protest" (p. 8).

Three essays in *Between Resistance and Revolution* deal with Latin America. Orin Starn's essay focuses on how Peru's *rondas campesinas* negotiated the exigencies of fighting Sendero without ceding control of their world to the equally despicable Peruvian military. This piece does not equal the quality of his other work on the topic, the most recent version being his essay in *Shining and Other Paths*. Arturo Escobar's effort to unpack the labyrinthine ties in the struggle for social justice and multilevel and multi-

layered efforts to defend nature is set on Colombia's Pacific Coast. The contexts and connections are dizzying. Issues like biodiversity, local ethnic separatism and cultural difference, the right to not simply land but territory ("an ecological, productive, and cultural space," p. 56), and questions of identity meet Western-style progress and developmentalism, mediated possibly by transnational activists and the discourse they manifest. Escobar discerns new manifestations of dissent and new meanings in the struggle of the Pacific Coast's black environmental activists to take control of their lives.

In the most powerful and provocative essay, Sonia Alvarez contends that what she calls "social movement webs" enable "dissenting voices to challenge the consolidation of a class-based, masculinist, racist, and exclusionary 'democracy,'" engaging from strength with the institutions of "actually existing Brazilian democracy" (p. 87). Alvarez finds activist groups forged under the military dictatorship and allegedly rendered unnecessary by the putative democratization to be quite alive. They are actively enmeshed in webs (a much more nuanced term in her hands than networks) that reflect "multilayered entanglements" (p. 90). Bound together by personal ties, political affiliation, and overlapping memberships, such groups as progressive Catholics, the urban landless, shantytown dwellers, grass-root women's organizations, and advocates of social concerns all work together in pursuit of common goals (p. 92). Alvarez convincingly demonstrates that the institutionalization of Brazilian democracy (which she calls "'institutionally engineered' democracy") is not enough (p. 109). Consolidation of democracy in Brazil will require recognizing those traditionally excluded from power and their identities, needs, and interests.

*Between Resistance and Revolution* ends abruptly, with this otherwise fine volume being undercut by the dire need for a conclusion. Ideally, a conclusion would pick up on the themes that are woven throughout the eloquent stories told: the ability of individuals to articulate their own visions and desires; the manner in which the construction, perpetuation, and even expansion of social protest relies heavily on culture; the ways in which the media and the transnationalized global community are shaping protest and strategies; and the belief that people and their choices matter. Early on, Fox and Starn invoke Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's maxim, "The middle is by no means an average; on the contrary, it is where things pick up speed" (p. 7). The spaces explored in this collection are not simply places in between. It must be recognized that popular struggles in most cases form "a stream without a beginning or end, gnawing away at its two banks and picking up speed in the middle."<sup>29</sup>

29. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "Rhizomes," *On the Line*, translated by John Johnson (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 58.

*Civil and Uncivil Society: "Rethinking Participation and Representation"*

If any subtheme unites most of the texts considered here, it is the complex issue of democracy: how it is defined, what it looks like on the ground, and what it means for those whose daily lives reflect little of what most Westerners associate with the term. Democracy—defined generally as Western or liberal-democratic procedures and specifically as elections—has been far more successful in Latin America and the Caribbean this time round. Democracy can be found more widely (if not necessarily more deeply) than in any of the region's previous cycles. The trend toward democracy has resulted in relatively open and fair elections and the peaceful transfer of power between opposing parties. These are no small feats in a region that was notoriously cool to democratic procedures and the relinquishing of office. Equally striking has been the attention and at least nominal commitment to human rights and dignity.

Yet even a cursory examination of the state of the hemisphere shows that meaningful democratic practices remain weak. Few Latin American democracies are inclusive, based instead on elite pacts and continued marginalization of the region's indigenous population. And notable setbacks have occurred. As for human rights, while the generals are back in their barracks, they retain their minions and have left their legacy. A palpable sense of justice has not yet taken hold in much of Latin America. Death squads remain active in some countries and resurgent in others. If democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean has been institutionalized, countries across the region are still saddled with corrupt and ineffective judiciaries, weak and often aimless political parties, subservient legislatures, and militaries beyond the reach of civilian control. Democratic consolidation remains elusive and the failure of neoliberalism to redress the grievances of the Latin American poor and dispossessed is now apparent.

What is to be done? Profound political, economic, and social transformations in the region have remained elusive everywhere. How might the extraordinary inequities that are commonplace throughout Latin America be confronted? This, I think, is the critical question that undergirds the phenomenal project undertaken and reported on in *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, a monumental volume edited by Douglas Chalmers, Carlos Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott Martin, Kerianne Piester, and Monique Segarra. Its well-crafted historical studies shift the focus away from the frequent insistence on structures and thus serves as a fine corrective to the dominant literatures on democratization and social movements. Twenty essays are bracketed by an impressive introduction and a formidable conclusion. Vilas's persuasive introduction argues that democracy must mean more than rules and procedures (p. 11) and that all can participate (p. 21). Chalmers, Martin, and

Piester's conclusion focuses on "associative networks," next of kin to Alvarez's "social-movement webs." The essays in between are organized in five sections reflecting a coherence that most volumes, edited or otherwise, would do well to emulate.

It is not feasible here to review such rich and detailed essays, the consequence of an impressive array of fieldwork. The difficulty is compounded by a relative dearth of theoretical sophistication and connections that one might hope for in a volume of this magnitude (with notable exceptions). Placing good contributions side by side in sections, however well thought out, does not provide the effective links that could have been provided by section introductions connecting the larger themes. As ever, the challenge is to marry strong substantive work with sophisticated theoretical insights.

In interesting analyses of how "old social movements" have adapted to changing conditions, Scott Martin explores the alliances of Brazil's auto industry, Victoria Murillo the role of Argentine unions, and Anthony Pereira the experiences of rural unions in Brazil. This section is followed by a section exploring the routes and tools available to "new social movements." Margarita López-Maya and Kathleen Bruhn explore the emergence of leftist parties and their movement roots in Venezuela (Causa R) and Mexico (the Partido de la Revolución Democrática). Melina Selverston examines the tensions around identity as a vehicle for the indigenous in Ecuador. The limitations of political parties and the new stratagems resulting are highlighted in Kathryn Hochstetler's illuminating study of the shifting Brazilian environmental movement, caught between the state and leftist organizations. Aldo Panfichi offers an intriguing but sobering analysis of the appeal of personalistic authoritarian leaders with outsider credentials by focusing on Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori.

The next section of *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America* explores how violence carried out by the state and its opponents delimits popular mobilization and democratization. Deborah Yashar's disturbing analysis of Guatemala compares nicely with Jo-Marie Burt's insights into the complexities of Sendero's success and failure in Lima (presaging her contribution to the Stern volume). The relative autonomy of apparatuses of state repression and ensuing complications are considered by Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. Kenneth Roberts's interesting comparison of Chile and Peru confronts the realities of global structural constraints and complements Eric Hershberg's comparison of the vagaries of the transitions in Chile and Spain. Both contributions are deepened by comparison with the perseverance of the Uruguayan welfare state, illustrated by Fernando Filgueira and Jorge Papadópulos.

The final section of the collection features cases where popular organizations and parties have been able to influence policy processes to



varying degrees. Jonathan Fox's reprise of an earlier article on possibilities among social movements in Mexico is excellent and sets up subsequent studies by Kerianne Piester and Monique Segarra that explore attempts to alleviate poverty in Mexico and Ecuador. Inquiries about what may be possible are enhanced by the investigation of existing leftist governments in Northeastern Brazil by William Nylén and in Montevideo by Peter Winn and Lilia Ferro-Clérico. Maria Lorena Cook's contribution on NAFTA reminds readers of the transnational and globalized contexts in which all the matters discussed in the volume now play out.

In general, while referring to "the Left" is somewhat useful and reflects connections across time and space, it seems risky and trite to use the phrase in ways that imply some sort of monolithic organization—even as the various analyses demonstrate exactly the opposite. Finally, more direct investigation of the impressive array of obstacles confronting realization of meaningful democratic practices in Latin America and the Caribbean would be illuminating. Little has changed in the lives of most Latin Americans, and not much suggests that the situation will change anytime soon. Such carping aside, *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America* excels in many respects, providing rich and rewarding narratives often populated with fascinating individuals connected in various ways at sundry levels by "associative networks." It is ultimately the most compelling contribution reviewed here.

### *Reform, Rebellion, and Revolution at the Millennium*

Taken together, the six volumes just reviewed provide an impressive panorama of the state of reform (at least of the leftist stripe), rebellion, and revolution at the start of the twenty-first century. They also demonstrate the continuing utility of revolution as a theoretical construct or analytical lens.

First, all these texts offer ample evidence that debates over the respective roles of agency and structure continue and that structuralism and agency may each be significant in particular circumstances. What seems clear across these works is that while individuals' actions clearly confront certain limits begotten by structures, structures do not unconditionally dictate what human beings do. The interplay of circumstance and action creates human history: options are considered, choices are made, paths are pursued. Meaningful explanations lie with theories that can accord meaningful roles to both agents and structures.

Second, culture matters. At perhaps the most mundane level, culture matters because in much of Latin America and the Caribbean, the cult of the heroic revolutionary has produced a popular political culture of resistance, rebellion, and revolution. Even as we create our culture we are profoundly embedded in it, simultaneously justifying and explaining our

lives, raising for ourselves the possibility of changing that life. Stories of resistance and rebellion are therefore entrenched in culture.<sup>30</sup> Thus the possibilities and probabilities of citizens organizing to transform their lives is directly related to their culture. Serious efforts at understanding the matters considered by the texts here must be encultured.

Third, while human beings activate efforts at mobilization, the structural conditions that often form part of the real-world impetus for movements remain, replete with widening gaps and holes as the increasingly apparent contradictions of neoliberal policies reveal their abject failure to address scarcity and privation or to ensure meaningful consolidation of democracy in the region. While structural conditions have never moved anyone into or through revolutionary processes, they remain key factors in creating the bases. Immiseration often makes individuals far more willing to consider options that seem risky and dramatic to outsiders. Why they do so in some cases and not others remains one of the great mysteries for students of all manner of contentious politics.

These powerful and illuminating works will convince readers that most Latin Americans are confronted daily by poverty, exploitation, and injustice. It is equally clear that human beings are prepared to struggle at various levels and in a variety of ways—traditional, new, and not yet imagined—to protect and improve their lives according to their visions and aspirations. Until those dreams and desires are met, resistance, rebellion, and revolution will persist regardless of how we define them.

30. The use of culture in analyzing revolutions has been much debated. A representative sampling can be found in Foran, *Theorizing Revolutions*.