

MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY, AND TRANSFORMATION OF REVOLUTIONS

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Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present: Essays. By James Dunkerley. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007. Pp. xv + 311. \$60.00 cloth, \$30.00 paper.

De la revolución al Pachakuti: El aprendizaje del respeto recíproco entre blancos e indianos. By Filemón Escobar. La Paz: Garza Azul, 2008. Pp. 318.

Subcommander Marcos: The Man behind the Mask. By Nick Henck. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Pp. xxv + 499. \$89.95 cloth. \$24.95 paper.

El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia. By Sian Lazar. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Pp. xiii + 328. \$84.95 cloth, \$23.95 paper.

Dissident Women: Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas. Edited by Shannon Speed, Rosalva Aida Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Pp. xiv + 280. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.

Our views of revolutions are changing along with the changing faces of revolutionaries. Most of the authors reviewed here are shaping a new paradigm for understanding multicultural globalization. Modernity brought an ethos of universally accepted, inalienable rights to social justice and freedom, investing these conditions in individuals as citizens of sovereign nations. The image of a revolutionary was that of a man taking up arms in defense of those rights and of men sitting down with quills or fountain pens to sign documents of implementation. This view was embedded in histories recounting the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the revolutions of independence in the Western Hemisphere in the early nineteenth century. The anticolonial revolutions of Africa and Asia after World War II introduced new strategies of nonviolence. Ongoing struggles against neoliberal globalization in Latin America and the Caribbean have introduced new images, reflecting the growing prepon-

derance of indigenous people, particularly women, among the revolutionary cohorts that oppose the invasion of their territories by ranchers and by global mining, lumber, and agricultural corporations.

By the end of the second millennium, emergent ideologies and strategies could no longer be contained within the modernity ethos, which stressed individual rights. The individualist ideals of earlier revolutionaries were impinged on by the collectivist goals of “peoples without history” and of women excluded from the implementation of constitutions drafted by the leaders of past revolutions. New revolutionaries now challenge nations that defined themselves in terms of ethnic and cultural homogeneity brought about by the melting pot (or pressure cooker, as some call it) of the industrialized United States or of *indigenista* policies in Latin America.

The books under review present both the embodiment of revolution in revolutionaries (Escobar’s autobiographical account of Bolivia’s revolutionary trajectory; Henck’s biography of Subcommander Marcos) and analyses of revolutions in process (the anthology on women in the Zapatista uprising edited by Speed, Hernández Castillo, and Stephen; Lazar’s ethnography of El Alto, a city that grew with the displaced populations of the mines and campo following the debt crisis of the 1980s).

James Dunkerley’s telescopic history of Bolivia’s three revolutions provides a framework for the revolutionary eras that have pervaded Latin America. The first of these revolutions arose in the independence movements of the late eighteenth century, which Dunkerley quixotically chooses to memorialize with the Irish adventurer Francisco Burdette O’Conor, who fought with Simón Bolívar in Ayacucho in 1809. The second revolution of 1952 succeeded in uniting a weak middle class of mestizos and criollos with a rebellious working class in a populist overthrow of the tin barons or *rosca*. The leaders of the third, still-ongoing revolution were forged in the successful battle against the privatization of water by the transnational Bechtel Corporation, and in the efforts of *cocaleros* to assert their right to grow a traditional crop in the face of drug wars.

Dunkerley’s seven essays were written over a thirty-year period and range back in time from the recently contested victory of Evo Morales, the first Indian president in South America, to the independence battles of the turn of the nineteenth century. What Dunkerley calls the perplexing features of the present political scenario in Bolivia could perhaps be clarified if its roots were traced to the diaspora of 1986, when the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced the closure of nationalized mines. Many out-of-work miners descended to the Chapare, where they joined *campesinos* in the alternative economy of growing coca. In the mobilizations sparked by syndicalist leaders schooled in the Federation of Mine Workers Unions of Bolivia, the new Movement to Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo, MAS) developed a politics validated by the indigenous roots of the *cocaleros* and the moral economy of family and community. The old leaders of

Felipe Quispe's Movimiento Indi Pachakuti found themselves locked in a contest of paradigms with the highly motivated insurgent groups now championed by antiglobal activists. This struggle between the old paradigm for revolution, stressing reason, material reality, linear time, and dominant players, and the new paradigm, linking past, present, and future, as well as complementarity and spiritual identification, is at the heart of the Pachakuti indigenous rebellion.

Dunkerley's talent in drawing together evidence from the social sciences, voices in the street, and the echoes of history is most apparent when he analyzes the paradoxes of the 1997 election. He relates the popular story of how the three major party contenders in the election all succeeded in their requests to the Virgin of Urupata—Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada of the National Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario, MNR), who asked her to help him to win the election; Jaime Paz Zamora of the Revolutionary Left Movement (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR), who asked that she make him president; and Hugo Banzer Suárez of the National Democratic Action (Acción Nacional Democrática, AND), who asked her to let him run the country—as Sánchez de Lozada won the electoral vote but was excluded from power when Banzer aligned himself with Paz Zamora in the runoff, ensuring that the latter was named president while he ran the country. This is a neat synecdoche of the gamesmanship of politics in that fitful period.

Dunkerley seeks order in Bolivia's disorderly history, with its record of 157 coups from 1824 to 1982. He views the political process as a series of tough, pragmatic decisions made by a sophisticated electorate. His analysis based on personalized portraits reveals the accidental nature of history as Che Guevara mistakenly attempted to start an agrarian revolution in Bolivia at the beginning of the military pact made by René Barrientos, who became a protagonist on the U.S. side of the cold war after his 1964 coup. (The fiery hell to which miners consigned Barrientos after he ordered the San Juan massacre is an unsolved mystery, hinted at but not resolved in the autobiography of Filemón Escobar reviewed here).

Dunkerley's gamesmanship model falters when he tackles the revolutionary process that has gained momentum in the new millennium. He is correct in stating that the paradigm that social scientists use to analyze revolution in the past is unequal to the task of assessing the new politics of revolution, but he does not show the way to interpret the new, ongoing revolution. To analyze the water war against the Bechtel Corporation, which won international support from antiglobal activists, a globalizing approach is required. We can appreciate this need even more clearly in examining the current crisis, which postdates the publication of Dunkerley's book. To understand how Evo Morales was able to overcome the secession of wealthier sectors from an economically weakened country beset with counterinsurgency, it is necessary to assess the waning position of the

United States in Latin America and its loss of control over internal politics as the nations of the Southern Cone rallied to support their neighbor.

From the autobiographical study of Filemón Escobar we gain a greater sense of the forces motivating the turbulent politics of Bolivia. His life span encompasses the turn from Marxist and more specifically Trotskyist analyses of class struggle to postmodern concerns with ethnicity and culture. The remarkable photo album that accompanies each page of text shows a life dedicated to revolutionary change, beginning with family portraits of Escobar's wife Olga and their three children, whose births coincided with the *golpe* of October 1970, the dictatorship of Banzer in 1971, and the *golpe* of Luis García Meza Tejada in 1980. Their smiling faces in successive stages of growth attest to the remarkable strength of Bolivian worker families and their endurance in exile, imprisonment, and struggle.

Escobar was confirmed in revolutionary goals from the age of thirteen, when, in 1946, he and other orphans of the Chaco War cut down the body of President Gualberto Villarroel, which had been left hanging from a streetlight in La Paz's Plaza Murrillo. Assassinated on the order of the *rosca* of tin barons as a warning against democratic change, Villarroel had laid the basis for the 1952 revolution with his laws in favor of workers and the middle class. These laws were annulled on his death, leaving the orphans to be subjected to harsh discipline, especially those who called Villarroel their only father.

Escobar was sent to work in the mines of Uncía after graduating from sixth grade. There he was schooled in the militant class action of the Workers' Revolutionary Party (Partido Obrero Revolucionario, POR) and the Federation of Mine Workers Unions of Bolivia. He educated himself by reading the poetry of Pablo Neruda and the prose of Federico García Lorca, Wolfgang Goethe, Charles Dickens, Balzac, and Fyodor Dostoyevsky. The POR's Guillermo Lora became a guide to the political writings of Karl Marx and Trotsky, and Radio Voz del Minero brought a wider vision of music and culture to the mining community.

In Escobar's description, the hierarchy of administrators ranked by national origin, color, and nationality in the mining company is reflected in housing and lifestyle, with Bolivian engineers ranked below foreigners. The military barracks that were erected near every mining center to defend this rank order embody the ongoing class struggle in concrete terms. The shared pride in work and the risks miners face daily evince the solidarity of the class movement, which Escobar expresses in burning prose.

When Escobar was jailed in 1961 along with labor-union leader Juan Lechín, newspaper editors, and other campesino and mine leaders for protests against the intervention of the United States, West Germany, and the International Development Bank to reorganize the mines in what was called the Triangular Pact, he gained another education with the hunters, fishermen, and salt miners of the sierra, who showed him a suppressed

world in which miners were the destroyers of nature. This ultimately altered his perception of the revolution and the turn toward Pachakuti. This change, projected in the title of Escobar's book, is spelled out in Javier Medina's prologue. In the Aymara and Quechua languages, *pacha* relates to the encounter of antagonistic energies pertaining to time and space. *Kuti* is the indigeneity in which this antagonism—symbolized in the ritual drama of the *tinku*, or battle of opposites, which is still performed during celebrations—is fought to delineate distinct cultures as they generate the future. In this time-space interim, indigenous people are encountering a new horizon of the modern age, Medina tells us, one that will shape the future not only of Andean peoples but of all humanity in the twenty-first century. European revolutions have little to teach us, as the Aristotelian limits of a single truth—linear progress rejecting the past as the future evolves in present conflicts—distorts an emergent reality that combines past, present, and future tenses in the Andean reality. Reciprocal respect, also evoked in the title of the book, is the key to understanding the new paradigm that Medina sees unfolding in Escobar's life and in the movement in which he fought.

Escobar narrates his own and the country's turn from class struggle to ethnic vindication by drawing on cultural roots. This transition was visible in 1986, when peasants, threatened with a tax on the crops that they produced, joined mining communities in the March for Life. When I spoke with Escobar after the army abruptly halted the March for Life, he was already advocating the turn to Pachakuti. Protests against the brutal coup executed by General García Meza Tejada in 1980 and the complicity of Víctor Paz Estenssoro (founder of the MNR and father of the 1952 revolution) in the IMF closing of the nationalized mines in 1986 take on a visceral reality in Escobar's memoir, showing how they nurtured the cultural roots of the third revolution. The cocaleros who brought Morales to power have broadened the scope of transformations, as the government (which two-thirds of the electorate supported in a recent poll) confronts transnational corporations that have tried to control hydrocarbons, natural gas, and water.

In May 2004, Morales expelled Escobar from MAS, ostensibly because of his attempt to integrate this new political force with the Bolivian Workers' Center (Centro de Obreros Bolivianos, COB), which remained the bailiwick of the old mining and Trotskyist organizations. Escobar ends his memoir by discussing the law for the nationalization of hydrocarbon and oil reserves, closing the circle that began in 1952 with Paz Estenssoro's nationalization of Patiño's tin mines. Left-wing disagreement over the high cost of the current buyout of private investments echoes that over the nationalization of mines more than fifty years ago, but the cast of characters differs. Escobar's text will provide future historians with a remarkably

frank account of the tense series of events unfolding in the new millennium, and I leave the field to them.

In Sian Lazar's account of El Alto, the reader is introduced to the site of innumerable protests and demonstrations since its origin as a city following the shutdown of nationalized mines in 1986. Based on fieldwork in 1999 and 2000, with returns in 2001 and 2003, the book is divided into place-based fiestas, with a second part on the relationship of merchants to the global economy. In the first part, Lazar focuses on celebrations organized by informal vendors that demonstrate what she calls a new formulation of citizenship defined by indigenous people. Using ethnographic description, Lazar attempts to show how the collectivist consciousness expressed in celebrations and marches is linked to antiglobal rebellion. However, the tension between what she describes as ritualized and embodied expressions of citizenship, on the one hand, and the formal status of individualized citizenship in the modernity model that Lazar brings as baggage into her participatory role, on the other hand, is imposed on what others see as continuity with past roots.¹ In defending the traditionalist position against the charge that it essentializes the authenticity of collective experience, Lazar observes that "romanticizing" is a reaction against prior devaluation of indigenous customs and practices. In this, she draws on Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's view that collective models strengthen the antiglobal movement.² This strategic essentializing position still fails to address the depths of cultural roots, as *cholas* reaffirm their right to inclusion in the new global society on their own terms, as documented in Andean ethnographies.

The major weakness of Lazar's book is the lack of demographic data on the fledgling city of El Alto. Without positivist data—which postmodernists eschew in their search for nuanced accounts—it is hard to assess whether the cohort observed by Lazar is representative of the more than 1 million migrants who flooded the area. Most of the people who migrated to El Alto were in crisis; some were laid-off miners with little more than a few months' severance pay. In 1994, I interviewed a few former miners, who told me that they had been dumped in El Alto, conveyed there by bus from mining centers to what had been the dumping grounds for La Paz. Their first mobilization was to protest further dumping. Their strategies for survival drew on generations of collective organization and struggle, as well as dances and marches that exceed the critique of essentializing. It would be helpful to know how many were indigenous peasants, who

1. Hans Buechler, *The Masked Media: Aymara Festivals and Social Integration in the Bolivian Highlands* (The Hague: Mouton, 1980).

2. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

seem to make up the bulk of Lazar's informants, and how they related to one another in their celebrations and protests.

The *alteños'* commitment to democracy is clearly portrayed in Lazar's study. She is careful to deal with anomalies such as the preoccupation of citizens with political corruption. This seems to counter Lazar's own arguments, but, just as revisionist histories of U.S. populist leaders assess Huey Long or Richard Daley as fulfilling important functions in redistributing wealth, so do voters in El Alto try to strike a balance between criticism and holding politicians to account. The balance is struck during elections, which are taken very seriously, as people show their power. Although many practices appear similar to those of populist leaders in the United States, particularly in the early twentieth century, Lazar points out that what Americans might disparage as pork-barrel politics is considered a necessary part of the reciprocal relationship between the citizen giving the vote and the candidate who recognizes the need to reciprocate. This relationship is often sealed with the *compadrazgo* festival, introducing a fictive kinship bond between politicians and voters that works well in unequal status relations.

Lazar's book promises, but does not deliver, a view of rebellion that has been highlighted in other ethnographic literature on El Alto. What we do find is a fine-grained functionalist analysis of how dances and celebrations enable a traumatized group to survive rather than a charter for rebellion or revolution. I state this as a compliment, despite the critique of functionalism. The miracle is that El Alto can exist at all in the fragile economic straits and violent repression meted out to its citizens. The strategies at issue ensure that rebellion can survive along with accommodation on unequal terms. This is most telling in Lazar's analysis of fish sellers. In a very competitive market, fish sellers promoted a collective stance that enabled them to overcome violence in the upheavals from 2000 to 2002. As mediators between rural and urban dwellers, the leadership was able to maintain discussions and arrive at consensus in the face of tremendous odds.³

Turning to the more familiar territory of Chiapas, we also encounter indigenous people at the forefront of revolution, now in the context of a minority population within a repressive state structure (in contrast to Bolivia, where indigenous people constitute a majority). A characteristic of the uprising in Chiapas that is also true of the Bolivian rebellion is the prominent role of women, although this does not receive much attention in the books on Bolivia reviewed here. In the mid-1980s, a movement that

3. Readers interested in the political and economic basis in neoliberalism of the behaviors that Lazar describes can find a substantive ethnography in Lesley Gill, *Teetering on the Rim: Global Restructuring, Daily Life, and the Armed Retreat of the State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

had begun some years ago as a guerrilla operation against the state in reaction to the 1968 student massacre was transformed when Subcommander Marcos, along with a few other leaders, withdrew to the Lacandón forest to stage an agrarian revolution based on Marxist-Leninist principles. In the decade preceding the actual uprising on January 1, 1994, the guerrilla movement recruited men and women from among the indigenous settlers who had colonized the area for decades. Marcos took command of a sector of the operation in the Lacandón. The difference between this and other guerrilla movements such as Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), Sendero Luminoso, or Che Guevara's uprising is that one man from the original group stayed on and listened to the indigenous people. Marcos became their spokesperson, modestly assuming the title "subcommander" even as he was sought out by reporters from around the world.

Nick Henck's *Subcommander Marcos* focuses on this man who stayed on and who, in collaboration with youthful indigenous recruits and a wise elder named Don Antonio, formulated a new approach to revolution that some have called postmodern. Henck did not interview Marcos, who had stopped granting personal interviews, but he did interview some comrades in arms who had defected, as well as some supporters. He carefully assesses the Marcos myth, reviewing newspaper accounts, reports—including Marcos's own declarations—published by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN) and the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena, CCRI), and ethnographies.

Henck's history of the guerrilla group in the decade prior to the uprising clearly follows its transformation from conventional armed revolutionaries to militant defenders of indigenous autonomy in a pluricultural nation. Marcos transformed himself, according to Henck, from the persona of guerrillero to leader of an expanding camp that had grown to more than two thousand recruits. The settlers' demands had become Marcos's demands: autonomy within the nation-state, with direct representation of Zapatista communities to the central government rather than through mestizo-dominated state governments.

The deteriorating economic situation and the failure of the government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to give title to land claims by settlers heightened the conflict that had simmered since the early 1990s between these settlers and paramilitaries organized by large cattle ranches. In 1989, Bishop Samuel Ruiz opened the Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Center for Human Rights (Frayba), putting pressure on the government to recognize land claims and end the gross violation of human rights. Henck takes the position that rivalry between the Zapatistas and Bishop Ruiz was endemic, seemingly contradicting the latter's support of settlers through the Frayba and the deacons he had trained. From my own partici-

pation in conventions, village peace camps, and interviews with people at the Frayba, as well as my reading of journalists and anthropologists, I was impressed by the cooperative relations among Zapatista and Christian base communities. A supportive relationship is confirmed by the fact that Zapatistas had faith only in the mediation of Bishop Ruiz when he served in the National Commission of Mediation (Comisión Nacional de Intermediación, CONAI) during the discussions that led to the San Andrés Accords of 1996.

Henck does not adequately assess the growing distance between the Zapatistas and the state after the year of the uprising, although this is part of the vast literature on the movement. The Zapatistas embraced democracy and struggled to cast their vote in the summer of 1994, but were discouraged when the interim governor of Chiapas failed to grant the promised titles to land. The remarkable deception when President Ernesto Zedillo broke the cease-fire agreement and launched an invasion in February 1995, adding forty thousand soldiers to the existing forces in the jungle, is lacking, as is the government's subsequent failure to engage in dialogue with Zapatista leaders. These breaches of faith help explain why Marcos and the Zapatistas broke off negotiations.

Henck gives a useful summation of some of the sources available to the public. However, because his focus is a biography rather than a movement, his narrative ends with Marcos's withdrawal from active duty during the election year of 2006. He offers little new information on events following the restructuring of governing units in the Lacandón in 1996 and the subsequent participation of women in governance, or on the corrosive effects of living under army surveillance. Nor does he elucidate the impact of Marcos's withdrawal. For all of this, one must turn to other ethnographies now available on Zapatista villages and on the role of Zapatista women as they participate in governance for the first time.

Dissident Women, edited by Shannon Speed, Aida Hernández Castillo, and Lynn Stephen explores the new relationships between citizen and state as indigenous people, many of them women, redefine citizenship. Examining the convergence of gender with ethnicity in the ongoing process of revolution, *Dissident Women* shows how insurgents are shaping a multicultural state that surpasses modernist precepts of citizenship to include collective identities. In this, it fulfills a conspicuous lack in the other books reviewed here. Probably the most remarkable feature of the Zapatista uprising is the participation of indigenous women, both in the armed uprising and in negotiations for an agreement with the government. In the course of their training as guerrillas and as leaders in village assemblies, women have found a distinctive voice that reinforces the sense of commitment to a new kind of society. The editors of *Dissident Women* illustrate this by including the Women's Revolutionary Law and the speech by Commander Esther at the National Congress in 2001 as a

preface to their book. Posted twelve days after the New Year's uprising by women who took part in the insurgent movement, the Women's Revolutionary Law set forth ten demands basic to the rebels' sense of what personal autonomy and collective democracy means. In the succinct speech of indigenous language (notable even in Spanish translation), the women who joined the guerrillas made demands that were not on the agenda of male commanders: the right to marry the man of their choice and to have only as many children as they could maintain alive, as well as other social welfare issues that define a life of dignity. John Womack's comment that they already had these rights misses the point:⁴ the Constitution of 1917 was never fully implemented in the interest of indigenous women or men, and then only on conditions set by the *mestizocracia* (mixed ethnic elites).

Hernández Castillo traces the advent of indigenous women to political participation to the National Indigenous Congress of 1974 and to artisan cooperatives and peasant unions outside the control of the National Confederation of Campesinos (Confederación Nacional de Campesinos, CNC). During the 1980s, women often held their own meetings in organizations such as the Rural Association of Collective Interest (Asociación Rural de Interés Colectivo, ARIC) and the Union of Unions (Unión de Uniones) to discuss specific interests that women held in common. Rejecting the category of feminists, the women thought of themselves as dissidents, developing an understanding of the political process as part of everyday life, shaping the notion of what the contributors to *Dissident Women* call "cultural citizenship." In their words: "We want a country that recognizes difference; we want to be indigenous and to be Mexican" (18–19).

When, with the reorganization of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista Army of National Liberation, EZLN) in 2003, local governing units called Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Good Governing Units) and regional councils called *caracoles* were formed in those villages in and around the Lacandón jungle where Zapatistas were a majority, women gained the right to represent their locality. As the editors of *Dissident Women* note, this redefined state-citizen relationships, providing a model for the multicultural representation of ethnic minorities. By bringing revolution into the domestic sphere, Zapatista women—and women in Catholic base communities—are shaping revolutionary imagery. The contributors to *Dissident Women* recognize the galvanizing role of Bishop Samuel Ruiz in developing the 1974 National Indigenous Congress and the National Council of Indigenous Women, but do not show the everyday development of women's leadership in the Catholic base communities. This requires a comparative analysis of Chiapas highland communities and settlements in the *selva* where the Zapatista movement originated. Women were able to take on leadership roles in the 1974 National Indig-

4. John Womack Jr., *Rebellion in Chiapas: A Reader* (New York: New Press, 1999), 252.

enous Congress, a step crucial in their formation as a political force. The editors recognize the impulse that Bishop Ruiz provided in organizing the congress and the National Council of Indigenous Women, and Maylie Blackwell brings to life the history of its formation on the basis of her discussions with the women who formed it. Readers who wish to understand the links among religious, political, and economic mobilizations in motivating women to enter the unfamiliar terrain of politics should consult the monographs written by the editors, contributors, and others.⁵

The articulation of gender and ethnic rights in women's political mobilization opens the emerging paradigm of multicultural globalization in the social sciences. By breaking away from the corporatist strategies that marked the incorporation of indigenous people in politics in the decades following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, indigenous women are strengthening the collective sentiments that were suppressed in the institutionalization of revolutionary gains. Women now have the most adamant voice in rejecting the welfare dependency preferred by the state, knowing how it distorts community life by favoring party supporters. I saw women in the community of Pat'huitz reject Mother's Day "gifts" thrown into the streets of their settlements by soldiers. The EZLN's rejection of all government resources that reinforce dependency fortifies this group's autonomy, despite the daily harassment that continues. Some of these efforts to achieve economic independence are described in Melissa Forbis's chapter on medicinal herbs, but readers will have to turn to Stephen's earlier ethnography on Zapotec artisans, and to other studies on Chiapas, to assess the political potential for women's organization in co-operatives of artisanal products and organic crops for sale in the world economy.⁶

If we return to the framework of three revolutionary moments in Latin America—the independence movements that institutionalized changes benefiting American-born criollos, the revolutions that institutionalized

5. R. Aida Hernández Castillo, ed., *La otra palabra: Mujeres y violencia en Chiapas antes y después de Actel* (San Cristóbal de las Casas: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1998); Shannon Speed, *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggles and Human Rights in Chiapas* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Christine Eber, "Las mujeres y el movimiento para la democracia en San Pedro Chenalhó," in Hernández Castillo, *La otra palabra*, 84–104; Christine Kovic, "Con un solo corazón: La iglesia católica, la identidad indígena, y los derechos humanos en Chiapas," in *The Explosion of Communities in Chiapas, Mexico* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994), 109–119; Christine Kovic, "Walking with One Heart: Indigenous Women and the Catholic Church among the Maya of Highland Chiapas" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1997).

6. Duncan Earle and Jeanne Simonelli, *Uprising of Hope: Sharing the Zapatista Journey to Alternative Development* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2006); June Nash, "Development to Unite Us: Autonomy and Multicultural Co-existence in Chiapas and Guatemala," *New Proposals: Journal for Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* 1, no. 2 (2008): 14–39.

changes to the status of mestizos in Mexico and of middle-class and industrial workers in Bolivia, and the ongoing revolution of indigenous people seeking pluricultural autonomy—it is only in the third revolution, marked by the electoral victory of MAS with Evo Morales's presidency and the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, that indigenous people and women are incorporated as citizens while retaining cultural autonomy. This is transformative in marking the end of modernity, characterized by monocultural nations and male dominance. In the conflicts that are giving birth to the current revolutionary movement, we can hope that the promise of modernity to bring justice and reason will prevail for all citizens of a globalized society.