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### Title

Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas.

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7q54x3mb>

### Journal

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 4(3)

### ISSN

1359-0987

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### Publication Date

1998-09-01

### DOI

10.2307/3034189

Peer reviewed



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Review

Author(s): Bill Maurer

Review by: Bill Maurer

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sep., 1998), pp. 580-581

Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3034189>

Accessed: 20-08-2015 22:42 UTC

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cycle. Studies of intermarriage or close friendship would be particularly revealing. Though the book is weak on that aspect, one of its important lessons is to demonstrate the value, indeed the necessity, of an interactionist and dramaturgical approach to such matters. As such it at once reveals the limits of the 'cultural traditions' paradigm and points to a new and fruitful alternative.

JOSEPH RUANE

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COLLIER, GEORGE A. WITH ELIZABETH LOWERY QUARATIELLO. *Basta! Land and the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas*; foreword by Peter Rosset. xvi, 182 pp., illus., maps, bibliogr. Oakland, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1994

Based on his thirty years of research in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico, Collier (with Quaratiello) has written this fascinating book illuminating the antecedents to the rebellion of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN). The Zapatista rebellion, which began on 1 January 1994, captured world media attention and raised the hopes of the Left in Mexico and beyond. Accompanied by images of rebels in black ski masks, media stories wrote a romance of timeless Maya Indians, rising up after 500 years of oppression, and issuing proclamations over the Internet from the heart of the Lacandon jungle. Collier's book cuts through such images by taking a hard look at the history and political economy of Chiapas, its indigenous and peasant communities and their incorporation into global processes of change. The book reveals a long history of peasant and Indian politics intimately connected to the Mexican state and the world economy.

At the centre of Collier's account are changes to Mexican agrarian policy and Mexico's oil boom and bust. The history of agrarian reform lends clues as to why a region ostensibly so firmly in the camp of the ruling party of Mexico (the PRI) for so long would come to be the site of rebellion. Nineteen-thirties agrarian reform co-opted Indians with land redistribution schemes that forged indigenous ties to state and party and precluded ties across different indigenous communities. Throughout this century, the PRI has consolidated the support of Indians through land reform, 'indianist' cultural projects and petrodollar-funded public works. But, under IMF-imposed austerity, the precepts of the North American Free Trade Agreement

(NAFTA) and the neoliberal thrust of government planners, the PRI dismantled agrarian reform and abrogated its social compacts with Indians and peasants.

The OPEC price rises of the early 1970s encouraged Mexico to export its oil reserves. Borrowing against its projected petrodollar accounts, the state financed large-scale public works projects (in Chiapas, these included important hydroelectric plants), drawing peasants and Indians out of agriculture and into wage work. The oil bust in 1982 plunged Mexico into debt and led to a massive scaling-back of spending and efforts to get peasants back on the land. But the peasants 'returning' to their land were no longer the same people who left it: wage-earning had reshaped communities and consciousness; intensified agriculture necessitated chemical inputs and thus shifted from a labour-intensive to a capital-intensive enterprise. The net result was a widening gap between rich and poor peasants and the reformulation of indigenous politics. Gender relationships shifted from mutual interdependence to women's dependence on men's wages; politics shifted from a politics of rank, where successful men accumulated followers to achieve political power, to a politics of class, where successful men accumulated cash to buy political power and leaders no longer needed followers.

Chiapas was not without new forms of social and political movements before the rebellion. Protestant evangelization in indigenous communities led PRI-loyal municipal leaders to expel converts, who joined land-starved peasant colonists in the lowlands of eastern Chiapas, the site of most rebel activity. Catholic responses to the evangelicals took the form of liberation theology and, in 1974, included an 'Indigenous Congress', whose manifestos resonate with Zapatista demands. Peasant movements, emphasizing access to land and credit, and fair labour practices, also provided a ground for new forms of organization. But as these organizations were variously co-opted by the PRI, the Zapatistas, claiming neither religious nor partisans' affiliations but rather appealing to the rhetoric of Mexican nationalism, stepped into the breach and found eager recruits.

The book is highly readable, illustrated with case examples and life stories, yet theoretically sophisticated. Collier's long history of research in the Zinacanteco hamlet of Apas leads him perhaps to focus more on the central highlands than the main site of rebellion in the eastern lowlands, but at the same time affords beautiful illustrations of the processes of change Collier

describes. This is an important book, not only for scholars and students of Mexican peasant and indigenous movements, but also as a testimony to the effects of neoliberalism and economic restructuring on communities that anthropologists can no longer claim to be local and isolated.

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CROSSLEY, PAMELA KYLE. *The Manchus* (The Peoples of Asia). xvi, 239 pp., illus., map, bibliogr. Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997. \$29.95

The Manchus, after the Mongols, were another non-Han people who had a profound influence on China and the Chinese. The more than 260-year Manchu rule of China ended in 1912 amid a Han racist revolution. Consequently, the Manchus have become like a shadow to the Han-Chinese, evidence to the ability of the Han-Chinese civilization to transform non-Han peoples.

Pamela Crossley's monograph on the Manchus, the first of its kind, is a powerful critique of nationalist rhetorics. Her work presents the Manchus in a light different from the 'barbaric' stereotype attributed to them by the Chinese, as they had had a previous history of governing an empire with a mixed economy, including agriculture, pastoralism and hunting.

Crossley's book begins with a discussion of issues of Manchu ethnogenesis and the distinction between 'Mongols', 'Tatars' and 'Manchus'. She insists that the Manchus did not have a 'traditional' culture or identity as such in the early seventeenth century, but they came into being with the Qing Empire founded by the Manchus. Thus her book concentrates on the process and efforts of founding and governing this great empire, along with the difficulties of maintaining a positive image for the Manchu bannermen, the military elite who ruled China, amid the poverty and hardships they endured.

Strictly speaking, this is not a simple chronological account; rather, it is a detailed presentation of the founders of the Qing Empire and its later emperors. Crossley provides the reader with much insight into Manchurian cultural and political institutions. She also analyses the complex relations they maintained with the peoples they conquered and those with the Western powers which later helped bring down the empire. The reader may be convinced by

Crossley's theory that the Manchus conquered and ruled the Mongols, the Han-Chinese and the Tibetans not so much by brute force as by various strategies. For instance, the Kangxi emperor successfully presented himself to the Mongols as a reincarnation of Chinggis Khan and also attempted to present himself as a devotee of Confucian philosophy. The Qianlong emperor, however, rejected such stratagems as demeaning. Consequently, he presented himself as a universal ruler in the fashion of the Buddhist 'wheel-turning king', thus transcending any earthly subjection or affiliation.

Qing Dynasty society achieved unprecedented prosperity under Qianlong. However, the extravagant imperial lifestyle also was the cause for a serious crisis, which only needed time to erupt. During the 1800s, a trade imbalance with the West, brought about by Manchu unwillingness to open the Chinese markets to the Western powers, ultimately gave rise to two opium wars, which served to undermine Qing power. A series of large-scale civil wars, such as the Taiping Movement, the Muslim Uprising and the Boxer Movement, sharpened the conflict between the Manchu imperial house and the Han-Chinese nationalists. The insurgent Han blamed the Manchus as the race responsible for the wreck of China. This Han view of the Manchus as non-Han rendered useless any attempt by the Manchu rulers to become a constitutional monarchy. In the end, the impoverished Manchu garrison communities, which had long been abandoned by the Manchu rulers as embarrassments, were attacked by the Han nationalists and many Manchus lost their lives.

There are just a few areas of concern that I would like to point out after a careful reading of this excellent book. For instance, Crossley has depicted Altan Khan as if he were a Khan of the Eastern Mongols. In my opinion, despite all his power, he was merely a tribal chief and his Khanship was granted only by the third Dalai Lama (p. 97). There is also some confusion between the two regions of Inner and Outer Mongolia (pp. 99-100). Otherwise, this work succinctly outlines the complex history of the Manchus and their institutions, thereby clarifying what have until now been understudied topics.

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DAVISON, JEAN. *Gender, lineage and ethnicity in*