

WORKS ON LATIN AMERICAN
ETHNICITY, EMIGRATION, AND
INDIAN RESISTANCE AND SURVIVAL

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Patzisotz History Company

"TO MAKE AMERICA": EUROPEAN EMIGRATION IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD. Edited by Ida Altman and James Horn. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992. Pp. 251. \$34.95 cloth.)

ZAPOTEC STRUGGLES: HISTORIES, POLITICS, AND REPRESENTATIONS FROM JUCHITAN, OAXACA. Edited by Howard Campbell, Leigh Binford, Miguel Bartolomé, and Alicia Barabas. Poetry translated by Nathaniel Tarn. Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. Pp. 317. \$45.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

MESTIZAJE IN IBERO-AMERICA. By Claudio Esteva-Fabregat. Translated by John Wheat. (Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press, 1995. Pp. 379. \$55.00 cloth.)

THE INDIAN IN SPANISH AMERICA: CENTURIES OF REMOVAL, SURVIVAL, AND INTEGRATION; A CRITICAL ANTHOLOGY. 2 volumes. Edited and with a critical study by Jack J. Himelblau. Artwork by Larry Graeber. (Lancaster, Calif: Labyrinthos, 1994. Pp. 455, 598. \$20.00 per cloth volume.)

THE INDIAN IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: RESISTANCE, RESILIENCE, AND ACCULTURATION. Edited by John E. Kicza. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1993. Pp. 240. \$40.00 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY IN LATIN AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Oliver Marshall. (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1991. Pp. 165. \$25.00 paper.)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by Donna Lee Van Cott. (New York: St. Martin's, 1994. Pp. 271. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

MAYA RESURGENCE IN GUATEMALA: Q'EQCHI' EXPERIENCES. By Richard Wilson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Pp. 373. \$32.95 cloth.)

The ethnic renaissance and survival of the Indians of America is a major issue in contemporary social history. It can also, however, be argued to be relevant to the evolution of the human occupation of the earth. The

peoples who survive today as the inheritors of an ethnic identity that relates them to pre-Columbian occupants of the New World carry a dual heritage that has stood the test of the genetic and cultural destruction imposed by the European invasion of the sixteenth century. Most of the volumes reviewed in this essay deal with one aspect or another of this survival and adaptation. They will be discussed in terms of the history they treat. The essentially historical works—the Himelblau collection, the Esteva-Fabregat work, and the Kicza collection—will come first, followed by the contemporary studies: the Van Cott volume of essays, that edited by Campbell et al., and the Wilson monograph. The two remaining volumes on European immigration do not fit anywhere into this scheme and will be dealt with at the end.

Historical Works

Were its title to be the guide, editor Jack Himelblau's *The Indian in Spanish America: Centuries of Removal, Survival, and Integration* would be a perfect introduction to the issues of ethnic resistance and survival. The compiler concludes his preface to the two volumes by explaining, "Our purpose is to introduce the student of Spanish-American studies to relevant intellectual queries dealing with the problematics of the Spanish-American Indian and related topics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries . . ." (p. ix). To achieve this goal, Himelblau has assembled sixty-nine selections, about 40 percent from the sixteenth century and the rest from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All are extracts from original texts. At the outset, one senses that the Himelblau collection has a great potential if for no other reason than the value of a general excursion for students and interested readers into the vast Hispanic literature on the Indians in the five hundred years since the conquest. Because the introductory essay is in English, it must be assumed that the collection is intended for an English-reading audience. It is therefore peculiar that even though English translations are available for some of the pieces, all but two of the selections are in Spanish, making the material unavailable to the vast majority of the intended audience. Himelblau clearly hoped to share his enjoyment in finding and reading these texts, and they indeed contain a wealth of material. Unfortunately, the collection as finally published reveals no basis for the choice of selections, no guidance as to what the reader is expected to find, and no review of the larger literature that would place them within a historical context. As a reviewer who lacks both the competence and the time to contextualize them, I must limit my review to little more than indicating the principal authors.

The Indian in Spanish America: Centuries of Removal, Survival, and Integration is divided into three parts, which are preceded by a two-page preface and a thirty-three-page essay bearing the same title as the collec-

tion. This essay deals almost exclusively with materials in Part C. Apart from allusions to Pedro Mártir de Anglería and Cristóbal Colón and a brief discussion of the fundamental dispute between Fernández de Oviedo and Bartolomé de las Casas, it mentions none of the other authors excerpted in Parts A and B.

Part A consists of 430 pages of sixteenth-century selections. Included are excerpts from Cristóbal Colón, Hernán Cortés, Pedrarias Dávila, Hernando de Castro, Pedro Ceiza de León, José de Acosta, monarchs Carlos V, Isabel de Portugal, and Felipe II, and friars Pedro Mártir de Anglería, Nicolás de Ovando, Antonio Montesinos, Bartolomé de las Casas, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Bernardino de Sahagún, Julián Garcés, and Francisco de Vitoria. This section also reprints three papal bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas. The selections appear in apparently chaotic order. Part B, "The Colonial Years," provides only twenty-two pages dedicated to two early-nineteenth-century excerpts, including nothing at all from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No mention is made of these materials in the "critical essay."

Part C, "Republican and Post-Republican Periods," provides the principal basis for the critical essay but contains extensive materials where "the Indian" goes all but unmentioned. Ten of the sixteen authors selected from this era are mainly concerned with matters other than Indians: Simón Bolívar, Domingo Sarmiento, Benito Juárez, Gabino Barreda, José Hernández, Manuel González Prada, Alejandro Deustra, José Martí, Ignacio Ramírez, and Samuel Ramos. What they have to say about Indians is important, but much of the reprinted texts seems more to reflect Himelblau's general interest in nineteenth- and twentieth-century social philosophy. As if to show a comparable lack of balance in the other direction, one-quarter of Part C is excerpted from Lucio Mansilla's *Una excursión a los indios Ranqueles* (1870). This revealing and rich document, however, is the only serious first-hand description of Indians in the entire volume. The other substantive selections dealing with Indians are taken from four important *indigenista* essays by José Carlos Mariátegui, Antonio Batres Jauregui, Miguel Angel Asturias, and Manuel Gamio.

For someone who merely wants to explore and peruse without having to walk through the shelves of a library, this collection unquestionably contains material of interest. But its title is misleading in that much of the volume has little to do with Indians and makes no systematic effort to present materials on the "removal, survival, and integration" of Indians.

Claudio Esteva-Fabregat's *Mestizaje in Ibero-America* was first published in Spain in 1987 (following by many years his *Estructura étnica y social de Iberoamérica* in 1961). The volume discusses one of the great subjects in the history of social relations in the Western Hemisphere. If one is

to discuss the survival of the American Indian, it must be recognized that genetically, part of that survival has occurred through the process of *mestizoización*, although it has generated a population that rejects Indian identity. Unquestionably, genes of recent admixture run through a significant portion of today's Indian peoples, survivors who chose to reject the identity of European origins. Similarly, the sociocultural features of both the Old World and the New have been selected and reformed in divergent ways by different social traditions that have evolved from the mixture of peoples and societies. Out of this infinite possibility for divergences, *mestizaje* has yielded two populations of dialectically opposed identities, each chosen from the past. This complex and challenging process—combining five hundred years of social, cultural, psychological, and biological dynamics and interrelations—has nowhere been accorded serious holistic historical and scientific attention.

It must be said at the outset that Esteva-Fabregat has not provided such a treatment in *Mestizaje in Ibero-America*, but something of this kind must have been his intent. Because he had the courage to undertake this ambitious goal, reviewers should have equal courage to evaluate it. It appears at the outset that the work was prepared with an inadequate methodological framework: it offers no treatment of how to relate the biological, sociocultural, and ethnic conceptual materials, or whether a serious treatment of hard data was to be part of the effort. This approach rapidly yields considerable confusion. Esteva-Fabregat discusses the cultural, historical, and biological inheritance of the modern Ibero-American population but applies concepts derived from biology (such as recombination and heterosis) directly to cultural materials. He employs terms like *culture*, *race*, and *ethnic* but nowhere explains their relationship. Probably because of the volume's breadth—encompassing all sociocultural and genetic mixtures over a period of five hundred years—it makes no attempt at a serious review of the literature.

Mestizaje in Ibero-America tries to provide at once a historical evolution of racial and cultural mixture of Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans from the time the Iberians arrived until today. It begins with a discussion of concepts that leaves the reader with little precise idea of how the author is going to use the terms. One example must suffice.

The concept of *Indian* designates those individuals descended from indigenous or native lineages of pre-Columbian America, who are thus racially distinct from Caucasians and Negroes. Since this distinction is difficult to establish biologically when there is no rigorous classification of the individual, the concept of Indian is also applied to individuals who are members of tribal societies or ones that are politically autonomous from the national societies in whose territory they live. In this sense, anthropometric and serological research, on the one hand, and ethnic-cultural research, on the other, allow us to designate as Indians large masses of the individuals who live tribally, in some instances, as occurs in jungle or isolated communities, or whose ethnic identity appears separate from the national iden-

tity of the state to which they belong. It is also common to designate as Indians groups of peasants who speak only indigenous languages, who live in a communal or local form, who are called such by members of the national society, and who refer to themselves in a manner distinct from what is properly the identity of the state. *Such natives we do not consider here as Indians* and ethnically, they seem to be in a process of acquiring a consciousness of the nation or state. In this sense, their children are already bilingual and include themselves within the national identity. (P. 3, emphasis added)

It is clear that this statement poses a great many more questions than it answers. *Caucasian* and *Negro* are not technical terms. Who is to be included? Why should Indians who are “groups of peasants who speak only indigenous languages, who live in a communal or local form, who are called such by members of the national society, and who refer to themselves in a manner distinct from what is properly the identity of the state” not be included? By defining *Indian* in this way, Esteva-Fabregat eliminates three-quarters of the fifteen million people included as Indians in his Table 12.13 (those of Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia). With these groups excluded after independence, little is left with which to further mestizaje. Why cannot a person be both an Indian and a citizen of a nation-state? It must be added, however, that while this concept of *Indian* is totally without virtue, Esteva-Fabregat seems tacitly to recognize the fact and effectively ignores his proposed usage throughout the rest of the book.

It is hard to pin Esteva-Fabregat down on precisely how he related the biological process to the cultural and ethnic processes. Considerable space is given in *Mestizaje in Ibero-America* to the process of cultural mixture, with many varieties detailed in a discursive manner. Although the author has many of the pieces necessary for constructing a general model for this process, he nowhere spells it out formally in a manner that would permit the reader to apply it. One of Esteva-Fabregat’s major arguments is that products of the early Spanish-Indian mixture benefited from heterosis (sometimes called “hybrid vigor”), a process he cites in attributing superior cultural performance to biological mixture. While he reiterates the heterosis argument at various points, nowhere does Esteva-Fabregat provide a clear sense of how he can detect that these products were superior. He further proposes that as the colonial engagement progressed, this process was attenuated because the Spanish tended to reproduce as *criollos* amongst themselves, leaving the production of *mestizos* to lower-class persons who evidently were incapable of yielding heterosis. Does class difference determine whether heterosis works or not?

Considerable emphasis is also given to the Hispanicization of the indigenous and black populations, a process that Esteva-Fabregat argues “diminished and even destroyed the superiority of native Spaniards through a differential in population growth . . .” (p. 45). It is not clear whether he is

attributing a cultural "superiority" or merely "dominance" to the Hispanic tradition, but Esteva-Fabregat leaves no doubt that he regards it as a prevailing process. Nor is it clear whether the later emergence of mestizos and mestizo culture is supposed to be a degraded Hispanicization or whether the appearance of new racial mixture continued to yield a mestizo heterosis, a superior culture. At another point, the discussion seems to slide quietly into the retention of a "Hispanic national consciousness," a "Hispanic identity [that varies] in intensity according to the pre-Hispanic cultural ingredients that are present in the daily inventories of their social activity . . ." (p. 69). Thus "identity" becomes a dependent variable of degrees of cultural mixture, totally confusing the dynamic independence of ethnicity and culture. In all this discussion, Esteva-Fabregat inexplicably makes no mention of two most important and influential works on the results of mestizaje, José Vasconcelos's influential *La raza cósmica* and Samuel Ramos's *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México*.

Esteva-Fabregat depends almost entirely on materials appearing prior to 1970, and even here his limited use of sources is inexplicable. When seeking empirical examples he tends to rely on relatively few cases with which he is familiar. An early section entitled "Basic Monographs" discusses few precursors and mentions only Robert Redfield's *Folk Cultures of Yucatán*, George Foster's *Culture and Conquest*, a 1952 article by George Spindler and Walter Goldschmidt, and his own 1984 *Antropología industrial*. Summarizing the ethnic and cultural demographic picture for the region, the data are cited as of 1962 (twenty-five years before the appearance of the first edition), with no indication as to how the figures were obtained. The text is a long, discursive essay that places more emphasis on discussing a few major concepts than on providing orderly analysis of the subject. Were it not for the fact that many of the arguments are repeated many times, one might blame some of the verbosity on the translator. This reader found the repetitiousness exhausting.

Despite the regrettably critical bent of this review, *Mestizaje in Ibero-America* is not totally without merit. Esteva-Fabregat's chapters on Spaniards' relations with Indian women contain many fascinating references to historical materials on the sexual interplay between the invading and native populations. These reflect Esteva-Fabregat's background as a distinguished anthropologist. But although his volume has interesting sections and advances a whole series of provocative if sometimes contradictory theses, its unfortunate disorganization and lack of rigorous thinking do little to advance general understanding of mestizaje in the New World.

The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience, and Acculturation, edited by John Kicza, offers ten previously published essays that take up various historical cases of indigenous adaptation and sur-

vival. The collection was, like that of Himelblau, evidently intended to provide readings for college courses. In addition to the selections, which are generally of high quality, Kicza has prepared an extended introductory chapter. Apparently no balance was sought in the regional coverage as six papers concern Indians in Mexico, four deal with indigenous groups in the Andes, and none on anyone else. All but the last two deal with the past: one on the pre-Columbian Inca, six on colonial Indian resistance, and four on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One other essay discusses recent violence among the Nahuatl resembling that among the Zapotec. The introductory essay tilts toward the view that the Indian societies are disintegrating and reflects little of the current turmoil of ethnic renaissance and reconstruction. Because all the essays have appeared elsewhere, they will be simply listed for the interest of those who might like to consider this volume for use in their courses.

The essays in *The Indian in Latin American History* are Thomas Patterson's "The Inca Empire and Its Subject Peoples" (1991); Steve Stern's "Early Spanish-Indian Accommodation in the Andes" (1981); Nancy Farris's "Persistent Maya Resistance and Cultural Retention in Yucatán" (1984); Robert Charles Padden's "Cultural Adaptation and Militant Autonomy among the Araucanians of Chile" (1957); Ronald Spores's "Spanish Penetration and Cultural Change in Early Colonial Mexico" (1984); William Taylor's "Patterns and Variety in Mexican Village Uprisings" (1979); Evelyn Hu-DeHart's "Yaqui Resistance to Mexican Expansion" (1984); Erick Langer's "Native Cultural Retention and the Struggle for Land in Early-Twentieth-Century Bolivia" (1990); Frans Schryer's "Ethnic Identity and Land Tenure Disputes in Modern Mexico" (1990); and Evon Vogt's "The Maintenance of Mayan Distinctiveness" (1990). The collection ends with a meager glossary and two brief essays on supplementary readings and films.

Studies of Contemporary Survival and Adaptation

Three of the other volumes under review deal directly with the contemporary processes of survival and adaptation, specifically the volumes edited by Donna Lee Van Cott and by Howard Campbell et al. and the monograph by Richard Wilson. Van Cott's *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America* resulted from a 1993 conference sponsored by the Inter-American Dialogue, a private public-policy organization concerned with inter-American relations. The intent was to promote discussion on the problems faced by "the region's constitutional democracies . . . in their relations with increasingly active Indian movements that span many countries" (p. ix). The collection consists of an extended introductory essay by Van Cott, followed by an essay on the relationship of international organizations to the emergence of indigenous movements

within the various countries. Subsequent contributions discuss Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Brazil, and Paraguay. The country essays are fairly brief histories of recent developments in Indian movements and are therefore somewhat summary in nature. Their general quality is high, and the collection provides as good an overview of the direction of relations between state and Indians in Latin America as may be found in the literature. Five of the contributors have been actively involved in the developments they describe, and (aside from the editor) only three are not Latin Americans.

Van Cott's introduction to *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America* summarizes the various contributions, situates the beginnings of such movements in the 1940 Patzcuaro Congress and the 1971 World Council of Churches Conference in Barbados, followed by the initiation of serious activities by the United Nations in 1977. The introduction then explores certain themes that the editor found common in the shift from the focus on minority rights to the current concern with multiethnicism and plural cultures. In this section, Van Cott discusses self-determination, political action and land reform, territorial rights and access to natural resources, and the violence associated with counterinsurgency and anti-narcotic action.

Alison Brysk analyzes the significant role played by international organizations and nongovernmental agencies in the emerging indigenous renaissance, principally in helping local actors confront national secular interests. Sovereign states have traditionally imposed whatever policies they wished on indigenous societies within their boundaries because foreign powers rarely cared whether the indigenes of other countries lived or died. Globalization changed that situation by creating international organizations that could act as self-proclaimed allies of indigenous peoples. Brysk argues that their rationales have been based on two areas in which nation-states are particularly vulnerable. One is "rights"—meaning human rights and specifically Indian rights. The other is ecology, specifically the devastation wrought by state development on the natural environment. The argument that Indians' adaptation to the environment constitutes them as part of an earlier healthy ecology leads to the conclusion that the environment-Indian interdependence means that the destruction of either one destroys the other. The international organizations and nongovernmental organizations claim an imperial neutrality in demanding that nation-states sacrifice their version of welfare and development to allow for the rights of Indians and welfare of the environment. Brysk's analysis is illuminating and relevant.

Four Andean countries—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru—receive major attention in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, and the contributions on them all describe major changes in national policy and process over the past half-century. All conclude that Andean

Indians still confront problems, economically and politically, but that in all cases where the states have experienced major rewriting of the constitutions, Indians are now visible actors on the national political scene, and political parties have reformed around issues raised by indigenous concerns. Each country has its own historical antecedents and is therefore evolving along a somewhat different track.

Most cases chronicle important periods of successful indigenous efforts: the political victory of an active indigenous politician, Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, as vice-president of Bolivia; the major Colombian constitutional changes that opened up national political action to Indians; and the 1964 Agrarian Reform in Ecuador. All have changed forever the earlier picture of the suppressed and exploited underclass that succeeded in emerging from the developments of nineteenth-century liberalism. Peru's history has been especially different because of the early-twentieth-century indigenista efforts of the Augusto Leguía regime to "bring the Indian population into the market and extend the central government's political control . . ." (p. 111). Indian community rights were established by national law long before they appeared elsewhere.

María Isabel Remy's contribution on Peru introduces the dichotomy between "*indios*" and "*salvajes*," a significant distinction throughout the Andes. It is also embodied in the contrasts of "highland" versus "lowland," "*sierra*" versus "*montaña y selva*," and "civilized" versus "tribal" and exhibits clear parallels with the contrast between Mesoamerican societies in the north and east of Central America and the South American related societies in the south and east. Historically, the distinction is the difference between the demographically massive nuclear American agricultural civilizations and the thinner, more scattered horticultural and gathering societies of the lower tropics. In Colombia and Ecuador, the thinner tribes took the lead in the emergence of Indian organization. In Bolivia the highland Indian peasants, first the Quechua and (according to Javier Albó's account) now the Aymara, led in the formation of Indian political action. In Peru neither region seems to have been outstanding in this regard, and the state has apparently been a much more important leader.

Albó's analysis of the progress of Indian political struggles in Bolivia is fascinating in detailing political changes that have brought forces once at each others' throats into close alliance. This account is an important one because it is precisely this kind of inversion of alliances and public values that have allowed Indians in a number of cases to advance politically. Of greater significance, however, is the fact that Albó's essay illustrates the degree to which apparent trends in political processes can suddenly be reversed with attendant surprising consequences.

The contribution on Colombia by Jesús Avirama and Rayda Márquez is intriguing because of its internal critiques of the process. Two

other recent studies by Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa and by Guillermo Padilla could be consulted as complements to this coverage.¹

Mexico and Guatemala are the two Mesoamerican societies examined in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, both of them generally comparable with the agricultural peoples of the Andes. The differences in the two accounts are well supported by the markedly different histories. Julio Tresierra's analysis of Mexican developments draws contrasts between what he views as parallel processes in constant interplay: the *Indianism* of the Indians and *indigenismo* of the Mexican national state. Until now, the Mexican state (especially with the strategic efforts of the leading political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional) has succeeded in co-opting Indian societies, often through the Instituto Interamericano Indígena. The broader purpose of *indigenismo*, however, is to maintain the political subordination of Indian populations, whether through assimilation, buy offs, or outright repression. Tresierra argues that the Indians themselves always had their own goals, expressed as Indianism. But the Mexican state has succeeded in turning most Indianist efforts into bases for further control.

It was President Lázaro Cárdenas's policies of "Mexicanization" of Indians that moved *indigenismo* into high gear in the 1930s. The First Inter-American Indian Congress in 1940 capped these efforts by projecting the process throughout the hemisphere. While the Instituto Interamericano Indígena never had the authority to force *indigenista* actions on its member governments, it was nevertheless an important forerunner of the global actors discussed by Brysk. Its Mexican counterpart was the most powerful of the various national Indian institutes established at the time. The *ejido* system instituted by Cárdenas led to extensive control of many Indian populations by the government while providing the basis for selective allocation and shifting of lands.

Reviewing in 1996 papers prepared for a conference in 1993 reminds one sharply of how rapidly events in Indian politics are developing. The Chiapas rebellion broke out a few weeks after the conference took place. All the contributions in this volume describe ongoing processes, the dynamics of which were still much in evidence at the time. Yet all were out-of-date as soon as they were prepared. I am particularly sensitive to this in my own essay on Guatemala, as it dealt almost entirely with the ongoing political status of the Indian population. If Mexico claims 6.5 million Indians as of 1990 (according to Tresierra's table 8.1), 1.8

1. See Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa, "Ethnic Minorities and Constitutional Reform in Colombia," in *Ethnic Conflict and Governance in Comparative Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1995), 100–138; and Guillermo Padilla, "What Encompasses Goodness: The Law and Indigenous People of Colombia," in *Ethnic Conflict and Governance in Comparative Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1995), 139–52.

million of them were Maya. Almost all Guatemalan Indians are Maya, and their number stands somewhere between 3.5 and 5 million. Thus although the Guatemalan Indian population may be only half that of Mexico, the fact that all belong to the same language group creates an intensely different situation. While indigenismo has long been active in Guatemalan politics, it has never been central to government policy. Indians were generally subject to a forced labor regime until 1945, and the state usually insisted that they warranted no special rights. The first significant Guatemalan revolution took place in 1944, and Indian politics did not emerge at the national level until the extended revolution that began in the 1960s gradually set the scene for a widening field for indigenous activists. The holocaust of military suppression in the late 1970s and 1980s slowed but in no way stopped the continuing expansion of a real, if fragmented, Indian political movement. Its contrary effects are illustrated by Richard Wilson's monograph (to be discussed subsequently).

If some of the essays on the Andes and Mesoamerica are cause for pessimism, the essays by Carlos Frederico Mares de Souza Jr. on Brazil and Ester Prieto on Paraguay (to a lesser degree) are deeply depressing. Whereas most Indians in the northern areas have some advantage in numbers, those in the Southern Cone constitute only about 2 percent of their respective national populations and are thus vulnerable to a variety of human predators, including segments of the government. In this regard, they recall the Colombian cases, although Avirama and Márquez provide no population figures. The annihilation of Indians continues in Brazil as the frontier and certain underpopulated territories become increasingly targeted for entrepreneurial exploitation. Efforts by the government have been positive in many respects, but officials have not yet found an effective way to cope with the inescapable advance of "civilization."

Ester Prieto's report on Paraguay establishes that serious Indianist policies are very recent in origin, but the 1992 constitution provides some promise of the development of legal actions that should provide better protection of rights for the surviving Indian people. Here again, as in Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and elsewhere, the promise still vastly exceeds the product.

While Van Cott's *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America* provides a series of national overviews of Indian-state relations and Indianist development, the two volumes on the Zapotec and the Q'eqchi' focus on particular cases. When read in conjunction with the Van Cott papers, they well illustrate how little one can understand of actual processes through summary reviews.

Zapotec Struggles, Histories, Politics, and Representations from Juchitán, Oaxaca, edited by Howard Campbell, Leigh Binford, Miguel Bartolomé, and Alicia Barabas, attempts to describe a growing ethnopolitical

movement that has achieved increasing success in Juchitán since it was founded in 1973 by middle-class and peasant Zapotec students. This volume appears appropriately in the Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry because it is a highly self-conscious attempt to combine a polyvocal text constructed from the work of Zapotec intellectuals, painters, writers, and politicians with a series of ethnohistorical accounts by “Western” social scientists. The central concern of the book is to make an overt political defense of the development of COCEI, the *Coalición Obrera Campesina Estudiantil del Istmo (Tehuantepec)*, from a local social movement to a dominant political organization in Juchitán. The overall product is successful, at least for this reader, in that the mixture of various kinds of text yielded a consonance of information. The “social scientific texts” are without exception sympathetic to the historic process under discussion and thus unlikely to prove discordant. The Zapotec poetry (translated by Nathaniel Tarn), the historical statements, and folklore are generally woven comfortably into the whole. With two exceptions, all the selections are reprints of research that appeared previously (reworked in some cases). Each of the book’s four sections is introduced by an essay tying together the otherwise diverse contributions. An “afterword” concluding the volume brings the reader up-to-date on the more recent political successes of COCEI.

Following a foreword, preface, and introduction by various of the editors, Part One of *Zapotec Struggles* focuses on history, leading off with Víctor de la Cruz’s “Indigenous Peoples’ History (by Whom and for Whom),” a critique of Western historical treatment of Indians in general and the Zapotec in particular. He is mainly concerned with biases and historical positioning and ridicules the assumption of superiority evident in traditional Western accounts. Andrés Henestrosa narrates a brief myth about the founding of Juchitán. John Tutino then provides a historical summary of resistance among the Zapotec from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The song “A New Corrido for Che Gómez” by Tomás Ruiz recounts the death of a nineteenth-century Zapotec hero. Adriana López Monjardin’s “Juchitán: Histories of Discord” continues this history in the twentieth century, detailing resistance efforts by the Zapotec. She argues that recalling the past is central to contemporary ethnic development. “Memories of Anastasia Martínez” is by a woman who witnessed the Mexican Revolution and has woven accounts of times beginning in that era. The contributions by López Monjardin and Martínez include additional accounts of the life of Che Gómez. Next are two essays by Western historians. Editor Leigh Binford deals with irrigation, land tenure, and class struggle in Juchitán in the mid-twentieth century, pointing up how irrational changes in government decrees concerning communal and private properties created legal conflict and confusion. Arturo Warman describes how the construction of the Benito Juárez Dam either

caused or badly exacerbated a major agrarian problem. In the interest of "national development," the dam promoted the removal of land from small corn farmers in order to use it for large-scale sugar production requiring expensive irrigation. Part One closes with a poem by Gabriel López Chinas.

Part Two of *Zapotec Struggles* contains eight "Representations of the Juchitecos by Themselves and Others." Víctor de la Cruz opens the section with a poem entitled "Who Are We? What Is Our Name?" The poem is followed by a brief extract from G. F. von Tempsky's mid-nineteenth-century travel account of his one-night stopover in Juchitán. An extract from a 1950 speech by Benito Juárez blames Juchitán for "scandalously alter[ing] the tranquillity enjoyed by the district of Tehuantepeque" and for living in "a state of immorality and disorder." In "Juchitán Political Moments," Macario Matus sketches important political events from prehistory down to the present. De la Cruz's second essay continues his critique of Western authors, this time condemning social scientists for not taking partisan positions favoring the Zapotec struggle, targeting the work of two French writers whom he regards as especially guilty of misappropriating Zapotec data for their own benefit. Part Two ends with three essays concerned with gender. Andrés Henestrosa argues that sexual customs are rigid and highly moral, having been misrepresented in accounts by foreigners. "Juchitán, a Town of Women" is Mexican author Elena Poniatowska's account of the strength and character of the women of the region. Obdulia Ruiz Campbell then counters with an insider's account pointing out the disadvantages confronted by these women in what is still a very macho society. The women of the isthmus are famous in Mexican folk annals for their stunning costumes, powerful personalities, and apparent dominance of the social scene. The material given here, however, tends to soften that picture considerably, confirming their central importance in marketing and political activities but also showing their lack of formal political roles and their continuing sexual subjugation.

Part Three contains a puzzling assortment of writings on the evolution of COCEI. It begins with three poems, two by Macario Matus and one by Alejandro Cruz, and the "Inaugural Speech as Mayor of Juchitán" by Leopoldo de Gyves de la Cruz, which reflects a major political victory for the movement. Jeffrey Rubin details the political history of the emergence of COCEI and the political confrontation with the Mexican state that evolved around the local social movement. Next are a series of quotations collected by Marta Bañuelos from COCEI women about their experiences in the movement. Sergio Zermeño's essay ruminates over the similarities and differences of COCEI efforts when compared with the Narodniks in nineteenth-century Russia.

Part Four of *Zapotec Struggles* is entitled "Guendabiaani': The Politics of Culture in Juchitán." It presents a scattering of poems by Gabriel

López Chiñas, Enedino Jiménez, Miguel Flores Ramírez, and Víctor de la Cruz. Editor Howard Campbell leads the essays with an extensive history of COCEI's role in politicizing local history and Zapotecan identity, the COCEI organization itself, and the resulting cultural revival of the Zapotec Isthmus. He also discusses gender issues and women's roles in COCEI. This essay is followed by "Interview with Daniel López Nelio," which asserts that Zapotec cultural survival has always been linked to politics. Manuel López Mateos's "When Radio Became the Voice of the People" takes a different position, holding that politics is more of an expression of the cultures. Víctor de la Cruz contributes further with an essay on the importance of language to Zapotecan identity and survival. Next come three brief *cuentos* by Andrés Henestrosa, Macario Matus, and Manuel M. Matus. The final essay by Shoshana Sokoloff continues the exploration of gender in describing the important role played by Zapotec midwives.

The large proportion of texts that come from Zapotec authors is impressive, but it must be noted that over half of the Zapotec contributions (and more than a third of all the pieces) came from three individuals: Víctor de la Cruz (six pieces), Macario Matus (four), and Andrés Henestrosa (three). Their contributions obviously affected the flavor and impact of the volume. These accounts provide a convincing series of perspectives and evaluations of events and the nature of the role played by the Juchitecos in their evolution. A special effort was made to include accounts on Juchitecan women. In fact, the only three contributions not previously published are by and about women, two of them Zapotecas.

The differences and similarities between the Zapotec and the Q'eqchi' studied by Richard Wilson are marked. Their histories have differed radically. The Zapotec have been primarily peasant farmers, and only in recent decades have they been confronted with agrarian problems. Their long confrontation with the Mexican state revolved around other issues, such as control of coastal salt resources. They claim a proud history of resistance. The Q'eqchi', however, were subjected to demands for labor to produce coffee for export beginning in the nineteenth century, and many were displaced from their lands and converted into laborers. Important in both cases has been retention and expanded use of the indigenous language. The Q'eqchi' area is the only coffee-growing region of Guatemala where incoming coffee farmers had to learn the Indian language in order to operate. Thus the Q'eqchi' have demonstrated a kind of resilience against the dominant use of Spanish that even the Zapotec might envy. Socioeconomically and politically, however, Q'eqchi' history has been a disastrous one when compared with that of the Zapotec.

Wilson's *Maya Resurgence in Guatemala: Q'eqchi' Experiences* is one of the few efforts published thus far to focus a more traditional and microscopic anthropological lens on the recent era of violence and dis-

placement among the Indian population of Guatemala. It therefore makes a welcome contribution to a literature that has focused heavily on the consequences of the destruction and turmoil during years of displacement, massacres, and wars. Although the study deals with only the Q'eqchi' of central Alta Verapaz, Wilson lived in a series of small rural communities during 1987–1988 and 1991 and was eventually able to converse without the help of an interpreter.

In the first two chapters, Wilson examines the general concept of ethnicity as revealed in these communities and concludes, "there is no such thing as a single, coherent Q'eqchi' identity. . . . there is no single monolithic history, only competing reconstructions of the past . . ." (p. 16). Yet "most Q'eqchi' are proud of their language, religion and customs [and] overtly disdain Ladinos as people without *na'leb'*, or moral values" (p. 30). Local spirits, especially mountain spirits, are central to Q'eqchi' identity. Especially important to the existence of a pan-Q'eqchi' identity are the "Thirteen Great Tzuultaq'as," the tallest mountains that surround the Q'eqchi' linguistic region. But it is the local community that serves as the center of identity and along with fertility plays the central role in both agricultural and human reproduction. Wilson's account moves through the ethnic content of agricultural work, the "fertilizing of land," concepts of curing, and the intimate interrelations that individuals retain with each other through reciprocity and also with these spirits in all their activities.

Many readers will find particularly intriguing the final four chapters, which explore the challenges of changing religious orthodoxies and evangelical penetration, the dynamics of state terrorism, and the emergence of a new definition of Q'eqchi' identity. The emergent forms draw heavily on Catholic forms, reformulated through catechist doctrines, to create a new ethnic identity without the clear local components that were previously so central, to create new rituals out of the remnants of older ones and new concepts of community in regions of forced migration. The revivalism creates solidarity among the communities fragmented by the holocaust and also challenges ladinos and the state.

Wilson explores closely the anti-development organization of Q'eqchi' catechists, the *Qawa Quk'a*, an effort that has exalted the "traditional" and rejected local market processes. Boycotts were staged to protest the cash cropping that separated Indians from traditional ideals and also the use of plastic containers, Western medicines, purchases in the market, and fertilizers, insecticides, and herbicides. Much of this activity developed under the repression of the military occupations and had to be carried out in considerable secrecy.

Wilson's approach to the study of the Q'eqchi' contrasts with that of *Zapotec Struggles*, edited by Campbell et al. Wilson's monograph deals with contemporary and difficult changes in culture but remains an account written by an outsider of the range of changes that the Q'eqchi'

have been experiencing over some of the most difficult decades of their survival since the conquest. The volume on the Zapotec deals with a similar era of history, although the Mexican experience has thankfully not been as violently destructive. Although it is unfair to ascribe to either volume the responsibility of the model of a particular approach, a comparative note may be appropriate.

Zapotec Struggles relates many more direct statements by insiders and thus gives its readers the opportunity to receive more direct communication with “insiders” involved in the process. The volume also provides a variety of outsider accounts about the course of historical events. At the end, however, one finds no “whole,” no integral pattern, no picture that can be referred to with confidence. *Zapotec Struggles* is explicitly a political statement and has both the strengths and weaknesses that follow from that intent.

Wilson’s *Maya Resurgence in Guatemala* does not lack “inside” perspectives. He uses a good many quotations, but they have been selected to illustrate formulations that he is trying to make. Because Wilson as the single author had to weigh and select in order to construct his portrayal, the end result provides a much more coherent picture and, in this reviewer’s opinion, a model that permits and promotes further research. Wilson’s product indeed has loose ends, but they can be traced more easily to whether they arise from lack of data, loose thinking, or the nature of the situation. Wilson’s work was crafted with a single set of tools by a single artist, a picture with specific areas of clarity and fuzziness, but the result can be seen and criticized. The Zapotec volume is more like a canvas on which an assortment of painters (and nonpainters) have brushed, wiped, or thrown their contributions. If the reader has to provide the nexus, the integration, then it will probably not happen very constructively. The reader necessarily has fewer insights as to where to make connections. In short, given my own old-fashioned way of dealing with things, I find the Wilson volume more provocative, informative, and rewarding.

In looking at the three volumes produced by Van Cott, Campbell et al., and Wilson, one finds elements shared generally by Indians throughout the hemisphere that have become common currency in political and ideological discussions. What is interesting in the special cases—the Q’eqchi’ and the Zapotec—is how similar they are. While the Juchitecos have suffered, their agony is small in comparison with that of the Q’eqchi’ of the recent decades. The Mexican state has never been reluctant to resort to violence, but it has not in recent years undertaken a genocidal war like the one waged in Guatemala. Perhaps even more important is that the Zapotec have years of organizing experience compared with the Q’eqchi’, and one comes away with the clear notion that the Zapotec, particularly in Tehuantepeque, have a much deeper political engagement

with the national society than have the Q'eqchi' until recently. But for both groups, the use of the language is central, as a means of identity as well as political action. Moreover, as in so many places, the emergence of political action at the national level has taken place in the second half of the twentieth century. These kinds of differences are not easy to catch in general essays like those in Van Cott's *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*. Yet the product of these experiences is clearly set forth in many of the essays.

Works on European Migration to Latin America

While it can be argued that the two volumes in the category fall within the consideration of the subject of mestizaje, their contribution to understanding that process is marginal at best. Ida Altman and James Horn's *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period* brings together essays by seven authors from six countries, all focusing on migration to the New World in terms of departure from the home countries. Their intent is to examine migration as more of an interactive process between the sending and receiving areas rather than merely examining the latter. The essays therefore deal also with different parts of America and thus offer useful contributions to the histories of several regions. Contributions by Ida Altman and Auke Pieter Jacobs deal with sixteenth-century Spain. Two others deal with migrants who arrived in the middle colonies of Atlantic North America: James Horn discusses seventeenth-century British migration to the Chesapeake area, and Marianne Wokeck takes up eighteenth-century migration from Germany. Two more studies examine French emigration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Leslie Choquette investigates movements to Canada, while Christian Huetz de Lempes describes indentured servants in the French Antilles. All the contributions are rather specialized and focused and represent substantive contributions to the literature.

Altman's essay explores the interaction that resulted from the movement of individuals from the towns of Cáceres and Trujillo in Extremadura to the New World and the subsequent return of many of them. Difficult economic circumstances in this part of Spain clearly led many to seek to better their own and their family's situation by taking advantage of what seemed to be real opportunities abroad. Jacobs describes the complexities of official immigration and how they led to widespread illegal emigration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most common method was to enlist as a soldier or a seaman and then desert. He concludes that as many as half of all migrants evaded the formal procedures for immigration. One consequence was that the percentage of women migrants was reduced because they had fewer opportunities to do so illegally.

Oliver Marshall's *European Immigration and Ethnicity in Latin America: A Bibliography* contains 1,468 items "that relate to European immigrants and ethnicity in Latin America since 1800 and that have been published since about 1960 . . . in all European languages [as of July 1991]" (p. iii). Thirty-one European countries are included, with 149 items referring to Spanish migration, and 43 items to Portuguese migration. All are listed in terms of region of origin and country of arrival. Well over two hundred journals were reviewed for this compilation. The collection should prove to be a basic resource for students dealing with recent European migration to the New World, but it cannot be regarded as exhaustive.

Concluding Remarks

Collectively, these volumes were grouped for preparation of a single review, a system that has been the practice of *LARR* for many years. Aggregated reviews are very useful when dealing with a series of volumes on a common topic. Evaluation is enhanced by the presence of comparative materials, and the reader has the dual advantage of having the perspective of a specialist in the area and of covering a number of volumes at once. But when the volumes are unevenly related, as in the present case, such reviews can be counterproductive. The three works that attempt to cover the entire five hundred years of postconquest Indian history are so diverse in their context and intent that this reviewer found it impossible to link them. The essays in the Kicza collection might be brought to bear on the Himelblau assemblage and Esteva-Fabregat's work were it not for the absence of context in the Kicza volume and the lack of specificity of the latter two. In contrast, the volumes edited by Van Cott and by Campbell et al. as well as that written by Wilson address a common theme—the contemporary political dynamics of Indian adaptation within the nation state. All three make substantial contributions, albeit of very different kinds, and all three merit the reader's attention.



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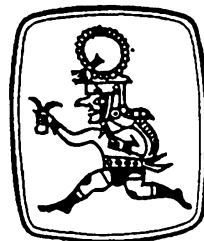
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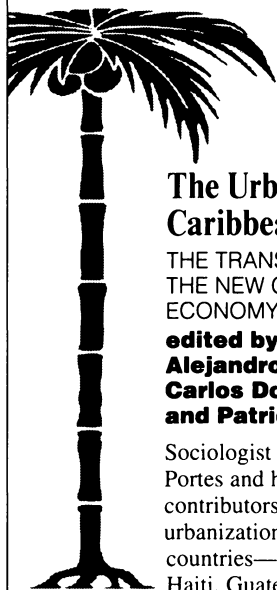
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