THE "INDIAN QUESTION" IN LATIN AMERICA:
Class, State, and Ethnic Identity Construction

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THE FRIENDLY LIQUIDATION OF THE PAST: THE POLITICS OF DIVERSITY IN LATIN AMERICA. Donna Lee Van Cott. Foreword by Crawford Young. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. Pp. xv+340.)

EXILES, ALLIES, REBELS: BRAZIL'S INDIANIST MOVEMENT, INDIGENIST POLITICS, AND THE IMPERIAL NATION-STATE. By David Treece. (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 2000. Pp. viii+271.)

THE INDIANS AND BRAZIL. By Mercio P. Gomes. Translated by John W. Moon. (Gainsville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2000. Pp. xvi +301.)

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region in the past two decades, so it is no coincidence that these and many other books have recently been published on this issue. For the case of Mexico, following the 1994 uprising by the Zapatista National

critical sphere for the imposition of ruling capitalist interests. Any substantial modifications in the economic, political, and cultural conditions of subordinate groups and classes will have to be fought and won at this level, even if international solidarity will always be a welcome—but not *the* determinant—ingredient.

Third, given the demands of most Indian peoples in Latin America—which include land, territory, autonomy, self-governance, and rights to their cultural specificities—satisfying them will require state reform. The liberal ideology that has been in place since independence in most of Latin America is only capable of recognizing individual rights as the basis of equality. Yet, Indian peoples also demand that their communal property and cultural rights be institutionally acknowledged. The distinction between "land" and "territory" is critical in this context. Territory calls for a deeper meaning than the mere transferability of land ownership in market transactions. Territory alludes to the relation between humans and nature, and its users must ensure the possibility of its "ecological / cultural sustainability for the forthcoming generations" (Delgado P. 2002, 38). It is not that Indians want sovereignty over their territory, but they do want autonomy and self-governance in its management. Only a small minority of Indian groups demand full sovereignty from national states. The vast majority, however, demand state reforms so that their right to difference within equality be respected. Interestingly, such *cosmovisión*, or worldview, open to diversity has always been present in Indian societies. The intransigence of ruling conquering groups, though, has prevented them from seeing any value in accepting cultural difference. Latin American ruling classes will have to understand that such acknowledgment entails not a weakening but a strengthening of the state, not its impoverishment but its enrichment, the seeking of unity in diversity not in uniformity.[2] Most of the books under review tend to support these three arguments, especially the last.

INDIAN STRUGGLES, CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION, AND PLURINATIONALITY

The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America, by Donna Lee Van Cott, is a refreshing contribution to the literature on democratization and indigenous rights. While some of the most prominent political scientists (e.g., Terry Karl, Scott Mainwaring, Philippe Schmitter, and Guillermo O'Donell) have been settling for a "minimalist," procedural definition of democracy, Van Cott expects a normative transformation that goes well beyond regime change. At least in her case studies of Bolivia and Colombia, to properly address the

2. For a philosophical defense of diversity and multiculturalism in Latin America, see

secular problem of exclusion, "constitution-makers also found it necessary to transform the state, particularly with respect to its territorial organization and legality" (4). Van Cott's contribution, therefore, goes beyond the liberal, Western constitutional tradition in Latin America, to identify a type of democratization that approximates the indigenous cosmovision. Within this cosmovision, politics is embedded in a larger ethical and cultural universe, and citizens voluntarily obey the law because they accept it, rather than fear punishment.

Van Cott's book is based on a wealth of primary materials, including two hundred interviews with political actors at all levels. Her secondary sources span well beyond her two case studies, and we find frequent comparisons with constitutional experiences in other Latin American countries and post-communist transitions in East Europe. She offers a 35-page analytical introduction, with a series of ex-post hypotheses on the political conditions for "constitutional transformation," followed by two parts with three chapters each devoted to Colombia and Bolivia, respectively. Part 3 is also analytical, with one chapter that assesses the extent to which advancement has been made in constitutional transformation and implementation in her two cases, and the other with a very useful comparison (if somewhat repetitive on some issues) of multicultural constitutionalism in Latin America. Make no mistake about it: *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past* will be a central contribution on the advancement and limitations in the struggle by Indian peoples to institutionalize their social, political, and cultural advancements in becoming recognized by states as collective subjects of rights.

It is still too early to make a balance sheet of Bolivia and Colombia, according to Van Cott, but clear limitations are emerging. Her assessment of the limited experience so far (1991–99 in Colombia, 1994–99 in Bolivia) is based on analyzing measures of improved political representation and participation, and the effect of special measures to recognize and extend special rights to previously marginalized ethnic groups. She then presents indicators of inequality and violence to look for improvements. Unfortunately, improvements on all counts are rather limited, and a number of aspects have worsened (particularly violence in Colombia). With regard to decentralization, for instance, local rulers have increased their power in both cases. The representation of women has not improved in either of the two cases. On the positive side, access to public office has increased for marginalized groups in both countries, and so has the representation of the indigenous population. A downside of Indian participation in electoral politics, though, has been a fragmentation of their organizations that has resulted from various non-indigenous parties trying to lure Indian representatives to their ranks. Another problem has resulted from the clash of conceptions about representation. While the liberal meaning tends to see representatives

as independent, with the possibility of changing their positions, the indigenous conception tends to favor the notion of a mandate, arrived at consensually by the representative's constituency (or by traditional authorities). If constitutional transformation outcomes can be labeled as either "negative," "mixed," or "creative," then those in Colombia and Bolivia would be of the "mixed" kind. For Van Cott, however, they both contain considerable promise for moving forward into outcomes that are more creative.

The greatest achievements in constitutional transformation in Bolivia and Colombia have been symbolic, with the recognition of indigenous rights and the characterization of both societies as "multiethnic and pluricultural." The least progress has been made with respect to the establishment of extensive autonomous regions under indigenous authority. While this was one of the greatest aspirations of indigenous peoples, constitutions tend to favor autonomy only at levels below the municipality. As Van Cott concludes, the "long-term satisfaction of rights claims depends mainly on the ability of indigenous organizations to achieve internal political unity, to forge alliances with nonindigenous sectors, and to maintain at least passive support from the public" (244). The contribution of Indian struggles to Latin American democratization lies in infusing the political culture with values of participation, inclusion, and tolerance. Rather than debilitating the state, conceding spheres of autonomy to the peoples that constitute it "is a strategy for strengthening the state itself, by increasing its capacity to dispense justice and protect rights" (278).

this time, as nationhood beyond all divisions. As Treece points out, a striking feature of Indianist literature at this time is that reference to African slavery was all but absent. The image of the "ideal slave," however, became prominent: the Indian warrior who voluntarily serves a landlord. Treece argues that Indianismo of this period (post-1850s) was bound up ideologically with the needs of the ruling class to legitimate its extremely illiberal exploitation of African labor. Linked to this theme was that of "miscegenation," or the mixing of "races": the *mestiço* offspring of Indian and white offered a foundation for a harmonious integration of "races, classes, and cultures." At this point, the Indian is no longer destroyed and sent into a mythical past but survives into the future as a democratizing and moderating force in modern Brazil.

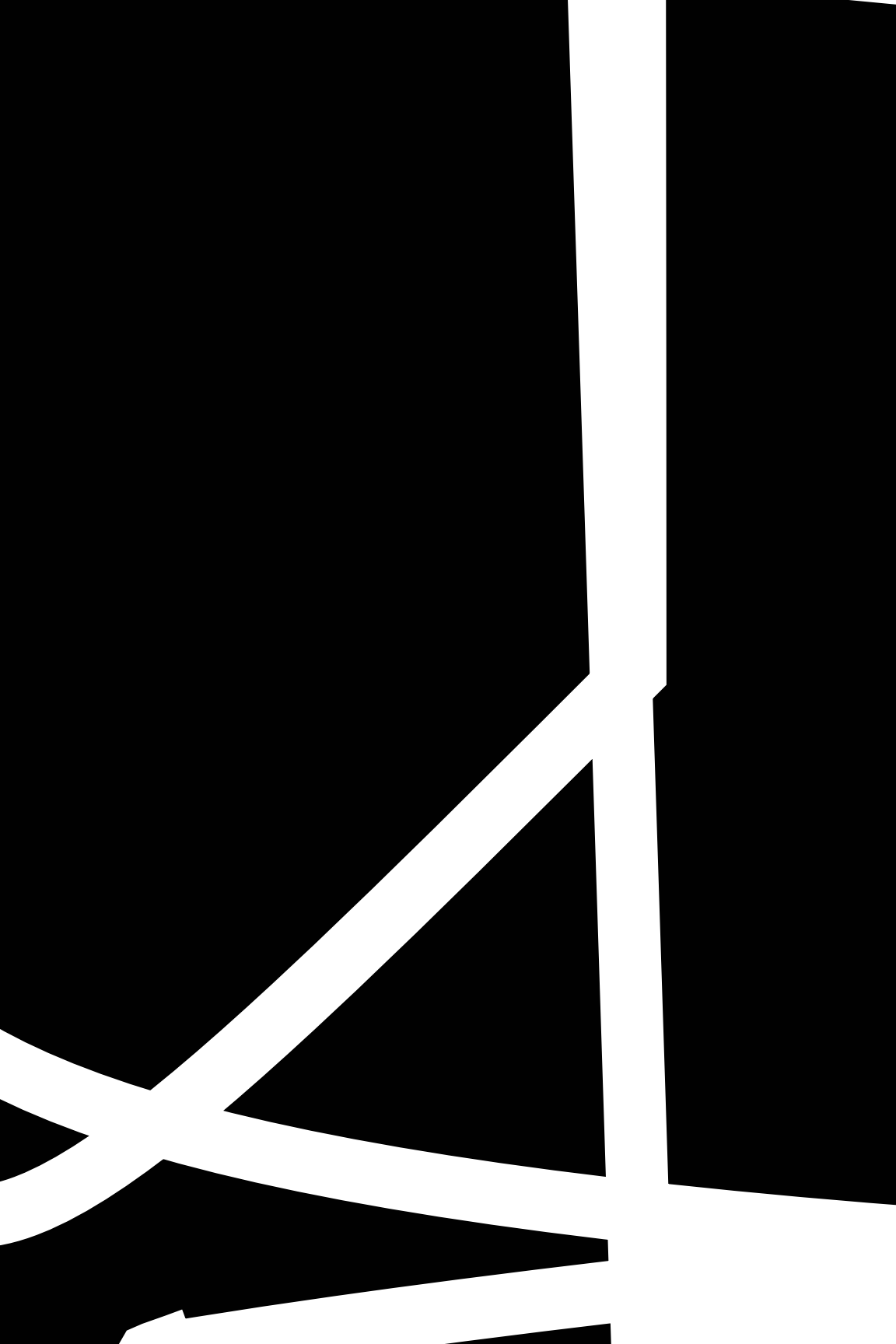
By the end of the Empire (1888), however, integrationist forces were once again expressed in Indianist literature, this time claiming roots in a "universalist" cultural perspective. Its significance amounted to a rejection of the traditional, indigenous, and rural emphasis of colonial and imperial history in favor of modern, European models of civilization and capitalist development. As Treece concludes, the "Indianist imaginary could only ever manufacture Imperial subjects, never citizens" (248). The great irony is that indigenous culture has itself "always offered alternative models for thinking the relationship between individual and community, self and other, for imagining forms of social interaction and coexistence in which difference and identification, autonomy and integration, collective self-realization and the realization of the individual might be compatible, rather than mutually exclusive" (248).

The Indians and Brazil by Mercio P. Gomes, a veteran anthropologist, has the ambitious goal of showing that Brazilian Indians are experiencing a "demographic turnaround." Whereas their numbers continually declined since the European invasion in 1500, as of about 1970, they have actually started to climb again. By his estimation, there were five million Indians in 1500; falling to a low of 120,000 in 1955; but then rising to about 350,000 at the turn of the twenty-first century. If this is Gomes's chief empirical claim, his theoretical argument is that the acculturation paradigm in anthropology, which had been used to interpret the Indian question until the late 1980s, is only half right (x). In his view, even anthropologists who set out to defend the possibility of Indian survival, like Darcy Ribei develv, and othe,v, ws21tionn-oT*0 Tw[(view)89(, eva

fabricates its self-image partly by contrasting itself with others, such as the "egalitarian peoples" or the Indians of Brazil. Gomes is successful in demonstrating his empirical claim, but he only partially sheds the paternalism of most theory and policy about Brazil's Indians that preceded his book. Nevertheless, this is a book full of valuable information, analysis, and insight, even if wordy and repetitive at times.

Gomes invokes three core reasons for the Indian demographic turnaround. One is the qualitative change in public health conditions in humankind during the twentieth century. The second is the anthropological practice of defending Indian rights, which he prescribes as a new, "prospective" style of doing anthropology. It consists not just in the empirical and theoretical claim that Indians will survive, but also in the practice of anthropologists to do all they can to make it happen. The third reason is that indigenous peoples themselves have risen up to organize and to generate a leadership for increasing political representation and legitimacy. Regardless of the diversity of Indian cultures in Brazil, the chief common element is that they all depend on access to their traditional lands and territories in order to continue with their own identities and cultures. Therefore, land and territory has been the constant object of struggle. Thus, against the voices of doom about the fate of Brazilian Indians (e.g., Marxists and capitalists, evolutionists and cultural relativists, materialists and idealists, hard-core scientists and postmodernists), Gomes sets out to counter their visions and find viable ways to increase the productivity of "egalitarian economies"(xvi passim).

As may be seen from the last point about productivity, Gomes also has a developmentalist agenda, so to speak. Moreover, this agenda is probably what renders much of his otherwise highly informative and insightful book an ambivalent enterprise. While he forcefully critiques the acculturation paradigm, Gomes also presents the very many obstacles and anti-Indian forces that have to be overcome for Indian survival. Such ambivalence comes from two sources: one valid, the other questionable. The first regards the conflictive nature of social relations around land and natural resources in Brazil. The second source of ambiguity, however, is the author's own indecisiveness. While he forcefully critiques Brazilian paternalism toward Indians and proposes that they should be treated as adult citizens and partners in future development, he at times adopts a clearly paternalistic attitude. This comes out particularly with regard to how Indians are to manage their resources in the future (assuming that Indians will indeed control them). While he describes Indians as proven experts in managing their natural resources, he also posits that the forces of money and consumerism are too strong for Indians to face without losing their identity. In his view, such a loss would come at a double cost: indigenous cultures and the environment. It is at this point that Gomes becomes paternalistic,



Oliveira, were originally published between 1983 and 1994 (most of them on the earlier side). The reason invoked to release them again in book form is that earlier publications had been issued in obscure outlets and many were out of print. Some of the core quantitative data provided have changed, but Oliveira provides some useful updates in his presentation. For instance, the total amount of Indian territories officially recognized in the early 1980s (as either *demarcadas*, *identificadas*, or *a identificar*) amounted to over forty million hectares. The figures to arrive at these estimates, however, assumed a much smaller Indian population. By 1998, with considerably increased Indian population, estimates for their territories had risen to ninety million hectares. Because most of the papers engage in an ethnography of public policy making vis-à-vis Brazil's Indians, and the central forces shaping it have not changed very much, these texts continue to provide very useful information and analysis. Another noteworthy change in policy regards the FUNAI, the main government agency that addresses Indian issues, including demarcation of their territories. Toward the end of the twentieth century, FUNAI had progressively reduced its disregard of indigenous demands for land, as well as its systematic lack of trust or acknowledgment of recent ethnic mobilizations.

Indigenismo e territorialização does not see Indians as inherently vulnerable, with a presumed tendency to extinction. These were never natural components of their existence before the colony. Rather, vulnerability and ethnocide were the result of efforts by the ruling classes to institute homogeneity and to abolish cultural, religious, and political differences by iron and fire. The book thus attempts to dissect colonial powers, routines, and knowledge in their specificity, rather than accepting the explanations offered by dominant social actors, whose

had given FUNAI five years to complete the demarcation process, and twice this grace period had already lapsed by 1983. After new deadlines for demarcation had come and gone by 1993, some twenty to thirty percent of Indian lands had still not been provided with any legal guarantee by the state. All things considered, says Gomes in *The Indians and Brazil*, "neither the Indians nor the rest of the Brazilian people should count on the good intentions of any government toward the defense of the Indian" (238).

Oliveira found a most interesting correlation, as to which lands have been demarcated and which have not. The greatest efficiency in land demarcation has taken place in the areas of greatest European pioneer advancement (with the consequent deepening of market relations), such as southern Brazil. Conversely, in areas of large Indian concentration but low demographic density for non-Indians, the demarcation process has hardly advanced. Somewhere in between lie the showcases of official *indigenismo*, such as the Parque Indígena do Xingu. Another correlation (that the author fails to point out) is that the highest Indian identity and mobilization also take place in those areas of greatest and most dense contact with whites—in southern Brazil. This point highlights the relational nature of ethnicity and identity politics.

Have FUNAI's demarcation actions awarded "too much" land to Indian peoples? This has been a recurrent question in Brazilian public debates during the past three decades. Oliveira makes it clear that the types of land generally awarded to Indians and their low level of technology use require vast extensions for economic exploitation in a sustainable manner. Therefore, these surfaces cannot be directly compared with those held by other landlords. Furthermore, the figures should be placed in the larger context of land ownership: it so happens that "the 307 largest landholdings in Brazil, owned by an infinitesimal portion of the national population, account for an area roughly equal to half the total amount of land occupied by indigenous peoples" (Ramos 1998, 4).

The rest of *Indigenismo e territorialização* addresses specific agencies or aspects of the state that deal with the question of Indian lands. We can ascertain from the foregoing that the class structural processes for Brazil's Indian peoples have moved predominantly along two poles. Either they have been allotted meager land surfaces, a situation that has soon led to their proletarianization; or they have been awarded larger tracts of land, which have been sufficient for them to reproduce their livelihoods as Indian peasants. Still, for a substantial portion of Brazilian Indians, the legal status of their lands remains "to be identified" and therefore demarcated. This ambiguous status leaves them in a vulnerable situation, subject to the incursions of mine prospectors, loggers, and landlords. Such vulnerability decreases or increases, most

likely, depending on the relative attractiveness of their resources and their potential for profit making.

MEXICO: THE EZLN UPRISING, PAN-MAYAN SOUL, AND INDIAN AUTONOMY

To a greater or lesser extent, the two books reviewed on Mexico take off from the backdrop of the political earthquake of 1994: the uprising of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) on 1 January. In important ways, these two books supplement each other, by the topics they cover and the authors' backgrounds. The topics vary from narrowly defined identities, to concrete experiences in building autonomous municipal governance from the bottom up. Both authors include indigenous representatives of social and political organizations, as well as anthropologists.

Gary H. Gossen, a seasoned anthropologist with extensive field experience in Chiapas from the time of the "Harvard Chiapas Project" in the 1960s, compiled several previously published and some unpublished papers into his *Telling Maya Tales: Tzotzil Identities in Modern Mexico.* His long preface tries to come to terms with his own career as an anthropologist, but also as a person who had always been attempting to describe "the Other." He tells of how, essentially by peer pressure, he recently shifted from structuralism to postmodernism. This change is clearly expressed in some inconsistency between the various chapters, most of which focus on Chamula, the largest indigenous municipality, which also lies in the closest proximity to San Cristóbal de las Casas, the colonial capital of Chiapas. Yet, Gossen's book offers many pieces of rich ethnography and interesting—if debatable—interpretation. It provides useful insights into Chamula-Tzotzil culture, one which has been heavily influenced by corporatist relations with the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) through its indigenist policies since the 1940s.

Besides providing a contemporary picture of religious and other cultural rituals, Gossen attempts to establish the connections between current and ancestral Maya culture. Chapter 6, in collaboration with an archaeologist, draws the continuities of what he calls the "Maya soul."tzil culturcha

Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico, edited by Mexican anthropologist Aracely Burguete Cal y Mayor, contains an assortment of essays by scholars, activists and Indian representatives of a variety of social and political organizations of diverse ideological and political leanings. Its greatest value for English readers lies in the evaluations and "systematizations" of the struggle for autonomy provided by activists and Indian representatives, which rarely become translated. Articles by well-known scholars Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Hector Díaz-Polanco, and that by Aracely Burguete Cal y Mayor herself are also quite valuable. The variety of experiences with indigenous autonomy told in this book in fJ/F7 d2icalrn" of sh rYalso and Intion5 in Heic the Bu struggle fod In-Plurte Natizaal and g-book

which the regional social organiza ed to a national-level political party on the left. The Co eros, Campesinos y Estudiantes del Istmo (COCEI) est e on a one-to-one basis with Mexico's main party o d Partido de la Revolución Democrática, or PRD) that this is an exemplary relationship of autonon ocial organizations that have sympathies and f RD. One of de Gyves' main concerns is for In eve substantial state reforms to make federa ngthen local governments and contribute t ggle.

Marcelino Díaz de Jesús and Pe out the struggle for autonomy of Nahu l- sas, state of Guerrero. These people have been implementing de facto sion from power" (157). Political a ing well ahead of Mexican legislati

Within the southeastern state of devoted in *Indigenous Autonomy in* are quite varied in goals, political the core differences result from the have felt the presence of the state a

External forces had an important im- n theology catechists and "advisors" or from Mexico's north (*los norteños*). In the egion, Antonio Hernández Cruz writes that y began in the 1980s, after Indians finally suc- nd via the agrarian reform. This set the condi- which changed in character several times in the nlike the Chiapas highlands (Los Altos), where many policies were focused and the state became hegemonic, region had a very weak state presence. This situation gthen Tojolab'al autonomy.

tioned above, even if Mexican legislation has not been ad- adjusted to the Mexican government's international commit- to recognize their rights, Indian peoples in several states, uding several in Chiapas, have gone forward with their own prac- es of municipal autonomy. Marcelino Gómez Nunez's chapter in *Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico* is about "Autonomous Pluriethnic Regions (RAP): The Many Paths to *de Facto* Autonomy." He offers a detailed account of how the movement for autonomy was consolidated after the 1994 EZLN uprising.

Miguel González Hernández and Elvia Quintanar Quintanar write about "The Construction of the Autonomous North Region and the Exercise of Municipal Government" in Chiapas. They open by saying

that the goal of Chiapas Indians is to be recognized as "peoples with their own territory, identity, culture, and rights, and not as marginalized people" (194). The north region, which encompasses eight municipalities, is eighty per cent Indian. Its people have had a successful struggle to recover land via three phases. First, about twenty-two per cent of their former territory was recovered through agrarian reform in the Cardenista period (1934–40) and then in the 1970s. This access to land enabled the economic and cultural reproduction of Indian groups. By 1994 the process of mobilization for land takeovers was heightened by the EZLN rebellion. This concluded the physical recovery of land, but not all of it has been legalized yet. A second stage has consisted in the development of a peasant economy geared to retaining its surpluses, "reincorporating and developing traditional techniques that correspond to our people's true needs and ways of seeing life" (196–97). After the EZLN uprising, the third phase has focused on the struggle for identity and autonomy. On the political front, the struggle has focused on the fight for municipal government and for the construction of regional autonomy.

Mentioned only in passing by González and Quintanar, the northern municipalities have faced the heaviest repression from government-supported paramilitary forces, especially during 1998. Yet, those people involved in the experiences with autonomous municipalities have seen a very sharp learning curve. They have transformed the practice of government from one of power and corruption to one of service. Women, in particular, have become incorporated into leadership positions, in accordance with the Law of Women promulgated by the EZLN in 1994 (Stephen 2002, 176–215).

The experience with municipal governance in Ocosingo, the heart of the EZLN, has taken place since 1997, when Indian leaders were elected to the municipal council, according to Ricardo Hernández Arellano's chapter. His account is based on his direct experience as a member of this council. Ocosingo is the largest of 111 municipalities in Chiapas, occupying about 15 per cent of its territory, and containing a very large nature reserve called Montes Azules in the Lacandón Forest. This is the place where the EZLN was formed, based on pioneer settlers from several parts of the state, and representing several of the Chiapas Indian ethnicities (Leyva Solano 1998; Harvey 1998; Womack 1999).

The final chapter of *Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico* by editor Aracely Burguete Cal y Mayor sets out to analyze the structural foundations of the struggle for autonomy. Entitled "Indigenous Empowerment: Trends toward Autonomy in the Altos de Chiapas Region," this chapter addresses the region of Chiapas that has been most closely controlled by colonial authorities first, and then by the national state and local ruling classes. As mentioned, indigenist policies were applied vigorously in

Los Altos during the past half century, geared to integrate Indians into national society. Hence, Burguete begins with a very interesting paradox: It has been in this region of strong *indigenismo* where a sharp decline in *ladino-mestizo* hegemony has taken place, along with the rise of Indianismo (understood as Indian-identity building by Indians themselves). Recent years could be characterized, she argues, "by a marked sense of autonomy in indigenous actions and could well be considered as struggles of decolonization and reconquest" (original emphasis, 260). Particularly since the 1960s, there has been the growth and consolidation of an autonomous subject, i.e., indigenous empowerment. Burguete still considers that it is possible for an "ethnic co-existence" to emerge in the Los Altos cities.

THE POLITICAL CLASS FORMATION OF INDIAN PEASANTS: TOWARD A SYNTHETIC THEORY

Despite the diversity of countries addressed in the books under review, and the variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives they represent, it is possible to formulate a series of questions that might afford a synthetic perspective about the "Indian question" for the twenty-first century. In studying these books, I have attempted to establish in my own mind how the theory of political class formation I proposed in *Farewell to the Peasantry? Political Class Formation in Rural Mexico* (Otero 1999) might help formulate relevant questions for indigenous peasantries in Latin America. This theory addresses the relation between "class structural processes" and political class formation by going well beyond the class reductionist explanations that are common in traditional Marxism. It also assigns a critical determining role to regional cultures, in that they shape the demands posited by direct producers in the countryside. Similarly, state intervention is considered as a critical variable, as it shapes the context for rural struggles. Too often, social movements become co-opted into bourgeois-hegemonic discourse, depending on how such state interventions come about. A third mediating determination to be studied is leadership types and modes of participation,[3] and how they contribute to determine whether organizations, once formed, will remain independent from the state and autonomous from other political organizations.

As we have seen, the struggles of Latin American Indian peoples have attempted to challenge the homogenizing policies of neoliberal globalism by gaining an economic and political space for autonomous development. Indigenous struggles also posit an ideological challenge to Latin America's weak liberal democracies: They demand

3. Thanks to Heidi Jugenitz for her suggestion to include "modes of participation" as part of "leadership types." For further elaboration of this concept, see Jugenitz (2002).

the recognition of difference, when liberal ideology cannot go beyond the legal recognition of equality for all. The success of Indian struggles in the twenty-first century must therefore be measured against this goal: can the Latin American states move beyond liberalism, to accept and respect difference? I argue that this cultural achievement requires nothing short of also gaining control over territory and natural resources. Hence, class and identity issues cannot be separated in any analysis of indigenous mobilization in Latin America.

A strong reason for elaborating some analytical questions from the theory of political class formation (PCF), therefore, is precisely that it is a synthetic theory, rather than one intent on asserting the primacy of class or identity. These analytical questions could serve for future studies of Indian-peasant movements. The first question that I would posit is: How can we characterize the "class structural processes," or the ensemble of both relations of production (i.e., relations between exploiters and exploited) and relations of reproduction (i.e., relations among the exploited) in which direct producers are involved? Relations of reproduction are particularly important to call our attention to issues of gender relations, kinship, and community, all of which are of central importance in the reproduction (or fragmentation) of indigenous culture. The second question regards regional cultures and collective identity processes: How do direct producers conceive of themselves, and how is this identity related to their class positions on one hand, and to the formulation of their demands or objects of struggle, on the other?

Third, what has been the history of state intervention vis-à-vis the 6he forIn16(ol ovlliberal.2 Taity pnterv twion vis-sn what2s5(e fle)25]TJ-1 twon a*

Fourth, what are the leadership types and modes of participation among mobilized direct producers? Are leaders authoritarian and/or corrupt, and thus susceptible of co-optation into bourgeois-hegemonic discourse and politics? Alternatively, are they democratic and have the potential to preserve the independence and autonomy of resulting organizations? Are the modes of participation such that, even in the face of not achieving specific goals, the organizational capacity of the subordinate group has been enhanced for future struggles and the building of citizenship? Analysis of this dimension may well expand the notion of "success" for social movements by including the strengthening of independent and autonomous organizational capacity itself as a partial success. In fact, the proliferation of this type of organization in civil society would result in its invigoration and a changed relation of forces with political society or the state.

As may be seen, each of the four dimensions addressed in these questions relates to the internal sociopolitical dynamics in a nation-state and assumes that the impact of international relations remains constant. As Alison Brysk (2000) has argued, a fifth dimension that has affected social movements significantly since the 1990s is the extent to which they have enjoyed international solidarity. Brysk addresses the emergence of transnational civil society and the extent to which cross-border alliances determine social-movement success. While the international dimension of political struggles is indeed important, I have argued that the ultimate arbiter of social struggles will continue to be the national states in the foreseeable future. Therefore, the national-level determinants of political class formation, including that for indigenous peasants, will continue to be paramount.

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