

CONTENTS

Foreword by Peter Rosset	vii
Preface to the Third Edition	ix
Preface to the Spanish Edition by Rodolfo Stavenhagen	xiv
Abbreviations	xvii
Introduction	I
Chapter One: Chiapas and Mexico	15
The Legacy of Conquest	18
Export Enclaves and National Consolidation	23
Mexico's Revolution	28
Agrarian Reform	31
Chapter Two: Eastern Chiapas: Land	37
Colonizing Eastern Chiapas	37
Agrarian Reform and Conflict	45
Chapter Three: Eastern Chiapas: The Building of Social Movements	53
Protestant Evangelization	55
Catholic Responses	61
Peasant Organizations	66
Challenges to the Government	70
Disillusionment and Disagreement	78
The Growth of the Guerrilla Movement	83
Chapter Four: Oil and the Crisis in Mexican Agriculture	91
Crisis in Agriculture	93
Energy Development in Chiapas	96
Restructuring Peasant Agriculture	101
Chapter Five: The Toll of Restructuring on Lives and Communities	107
Land and the Changing Economy	110
Gender and Generation Gaps	113
The Widening Gap between Rich and Poor	116
Leaders Who No Longer Need Followers	119
Chapter Six: Exclusion: The New Politics	125
"New Law," "New Politics"	126
Control of Money	130
Tradition versus Literacy and Law	135
Divided Solidarity	139
Chapter Seven: Transitions	147
Lessons from the Past	151

vi **BASTA!**

Chapter Eight: The New Indigenous Movement	159
The New Zapatismo	161
The Double-Edged Sword of Neoliberalism	167
Militaryization and Containment	170
Legal Concessions and Co-optation	177
Chiapas at an Impasse	181
Chapter Nine: Connecting the Local to the National and the Global	183
Networking for Survival	183
Antimonies of Solidarity	185
Neoliberalism and Anti-neoliberalism	187
Launching the Global Anti-neoliberal Cause	190
Networking for Autonomy in Chiapas	194
Agroecology and Resistance	197
The Mut Vitz Organic Coffee Cooperative	200
The Social Inequities of Agricultural Free Trade	206
Challenges for Global Resistance Movements	210
Notes	217
Bibliographical Note to the Revised Edition	239
References	243
Index	269
About the Authors	281

Figures

0.1 Chiapas and the Area of Zapatista Rebellion	3
1.1 "A Rich Land, a Poor People"	17
1.2 Export and Development in Nineteenth-Century Chiapas	23
1.3 Agrarian Reform in Chiapas	33
2.1 Eastern Chiapas Land Tenure, 1953 and 1991	38
2.2 Colonization and Landscape Changes in Eastern Chiapas	42
3.1 The Spread of Protestantism	57
3.2 Independent Organizations in Chiapas	73
4.1 Trends in Mexican Energy Development	95
4.2 Sites of Energy Development	97
4.3 Declines in Agriculture, 1960–1980	100
4.4 Growth in Construction and Transport, 1960–1980	100
4.5 Changing Intensity of Apas Farmland Use	102
7.1 Organizational Chart, Unión de Ejidos "Profesor Otilio Montaña"	156