In the end, a dramatic inversion of class and race relations resulted from the dialectics of the "geographies of fear." From a paternalistic and repressive situation, in which loyal Indian workers even protected their landlords and their estates, they ended up taking over the lands and losing "respect" for their former bosses. Older *ganaderos* wanted to resort to guns to recover land, but younger ones preferred a legal solution: the new geographies of fear, along with the lack of economic viability in the neoliberal realm, made it hard to return to farming. Even if former landowners were to recover their land, how could they continue farming when their very lives might be at stake? Eventually, even the town of Chilón became re-indianized. For example, its streets were taken over by Indian merchants who competed with the formally ladino-owned stores. Indians also became the restaurant customers who entered without any apologetic attitude or respect: they owned the stage.

## **Gerardo Otero**

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## NICK HENCK: *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2007.

One of the most remarkable features of the 1994 uprising of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) has been the vast discrepancy between its weak military power and its considerable global reach, the latter due in substantial measure to the eloquence of Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, the masked Subcomandante Marcos. As Nick Henck argues in his lengthy and able new biography of Marcos, the EZLN spokesperson has become "the most famous guerrilla leader since Che Guevara" thanks to his "charisma, media savvy, and mystique."

Henck, on the Faculty of Law at Keio University in Tokyo, began his study in response to Bertrand de la Grange and Maite Rico's 1998 book, *Marcos: la genial impostura*, a study that Henck considers "well researched" but "prejudiced and polemical" in its hostility toward Marcos. His purpose, he declares, has been "not to judge Marcos" but rather to "comprehend and contextualize him." Echoing Jorge Castañeda's view of Che, Henck sees Marcos as a Latin American rebel of middle-class background unable to remain indifferent to the moral issue of social injustice. Amid the post-Cold War world, Henck argues, Marcos' notable "flexibility of mind" has made him a clever innovator, "the most advanced stage so far in the evolution of the revolutionary—a Homo sapiens in a world of Neanderthals." The central question, he concludes, "is whether Marcos is the last of a dying breed or the next link in the evolutionary chain." In writing the first English-language biography of Marcos, Henck deserves credit for his scholarly thoroughness. One may not agree with all his interpretations, but one can readily appreciate the care with which Henck arrives at his judgments. The text of *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* demonstrates its author's intimate familiarity with his source material: over twenty interviews granted by Marcos to others; the voluminous Zapatista communiqués and documents; and an extensive array of secondary studies. Both in the book and on-line, Henck provides a comprehensive bibliography of written materials, internet sites, and videos relevant to Marcos and the EZLN. Although he was never able to interview the Subcomandante himself, Henck has visited Chiapas and has attended three meetings addressed by Marcos.

Of the book's three parts, the first on Rafael Guillén Vicente's youth is understandably the shortest. Born in 1957 as the fourth of eight children in a middle-class Tampico household, the intellectually precious Rafael benefited from a Jesuit education, a family given to constant discussion of current issues, and opportunities for widespread reading and dramatic acting. Henck engages in some interesting speculation on how his parents' commitment to moral truth and how Rafael's status as a middle child in the family may have influenced his psychological makeup. Subsequently, as a philosophy student at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Rafael studied Althuserian Marxism and wrote a thesis critical of "coffee-table Marxists" who shied away from revolutionary activism. He won the Gabino Barreda award as the outstanding student of his generation. Henck recognizes that the account of "Rafael's transformation into Marcos" still contains critical gaps and matters of dispute, but he remains certain that the future Subcomandante's ties to the Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional (FLN) solidified during his five years as a faculty member at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM) prior to his departure for Chiapas in 1984.

Part two covers the ten years that Marcos spent in Chiapas before the 1994 uprising, tracing the course of his adaptation to guerrilla life in the jungle. Biographies often suffer the problem of not devoting sufficient attention to events external to the life being profiled. Henck's depiction of the development of revolutionary conditions in Chiapas leaves out some important matters such as the Indigenous Congress of 1974. Nevertheless, he does succeed in tracing four parallel processes—Marcos' emergence as a more creative guerrilla thinker; his increase in power within the EZLN; the EZLN's outgrowth of its parent FLN; and the blossoming of the Zapatista guerrilla force as "an army of communities, not just a vanguard." Henck proves skillful in his interpretations of the complex and contested events of these years. He also exhibits an eye for interesting detail

such as a young Chamula girl purchasing over three hundred ski masks from a San Cristóbal market vender during the Zapatista preparations for war.

The largest segment of the book, part three, examines Marcos' controversial career as the spokesperson of the EZLN between 1994 and 2005. According to Henck's detailed account, Marcos repeatedly proved instrumental in making the voice of the Zapatistas heard beyond the boundaries of their confinement in Chiapas—during the uprising itself and the crucial initial mobilization of civil society in January 1994, in the contentious negotiations with government from the initial peace talks through and beyond the San Andrés Larráinzar Accords, in two national *consultas*, in mass national and international *encuentros* held in Chiapas, in Zapatista marches to Mexico City, and, to quote John Womack, in the "endless, seductive argumentation" of his writings and interviews.

Despite Henck's devotion to careful reasoning, questions arise about his underlying wish to see Marcos as "the next link in the evolutionary chain" of revolutions. Without an examination of the inner workings of the Zapatista communities in their efforts at indigenous autonomy and without an exploration of the continued violence in parts of Chiapas, the local gains of the revolution remain difficult to measure. His extensive efforts notwithstanding, Henck cannot fully explain what expectations Marcos held for the January 1994 revolt. His account does not sufficiently confront the implications of the inability of the Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (FZLN) and other Zapatista initiatives to build a functional political alliance with allies in the rest of Mexico. Has Marcos' global articulation of indigenous issues ultimately and precariously remained geographically confined?

An admirable achievement, *Subcommander Marcos* suffers from some factual errors concerning the Mexican Revolution and present-day matters. In a volume with an average of 4.5 notes per page of text, Duke University Press should have made the citation system more reader friendly.

## **Arthur Schmidt**

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## MATTHEW GUTMANN: *Fixing Men: Sex, Birth Control, and AIDS in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

This book argues that all aspects of reproductive health care could be improved with better information about men's sexual behavior. The background to this project is the increasing migration from Oaxaca, Mexico, to the United States, where men pick up AIDS. According to official statistics, 3,400 individuals were diagnosed with AIDS in the state of Oaxaca in 2006, but medical