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Honors Thesis
Architecture of a Revolution: Cosmological Time and Revolution in Chiapas
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At the end of the Cold War, the world has yet to witness an end to history, as Francis Fukuyama proclaimed, much less an end to conflict. Conflicts have merely taken new shapes. Struggles no longer follow clean Marxist, non-Marxist lines, nor can they be explained as state against state, or even revolutionary movement against the state.[1] In a world of terrorist alerts and globalization, the battle takes place more along the lines of oppressed against the forces of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism along with technological innovation has changed the shape of international interactions offering new spaces for resistance and autonomy as well as new targets to attack.[2]

On January 1, 1994, the Ejército Zapatista Liberación Nacional (EZLN) occupied the central portion of the poorest state in Mexico, Chiapas, joining this new era of conflict in defiance of neoliberalism. Physical appearances alone set this movement aside as something totally unique, and the expansion of the struggle into a "war of ink and Internet" forced global attention as thousands worldwide threw their support behind the Zapatista struggle against the political and economic exploitation of neoliberalism.[3]

Though the EZLN rose in a context of contemporary politics armed with postmodern weapons, the rebels link their struggle to pre-modern ones.[4] The result is a temporal patchwork foreign to dominant, capitalist, neoliberal notions of time. Every

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[1] I do not intend to argue that all conflicts during the Cold War were simply Marxist against non-Marxist and state against state. Rather, I think most conflicts during this period were cast discursively in this vein. I choose "non-Marxist" over "democratic" to account for support of Pinochet over Allende, the Shah over Mosaddegh (see Misagh Parsa. *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989) and similar supports of authoritarianism over competing ideologies.

[2] For an extreme example of this process of change, look to the cyber-state: Roy Smith. "Place and Chips: Virtual Communities, Governance, and the Environment." *Global Environmental Politics.* May 2003. pp 88-102, or, a cyber-state that tests the limits of global finance and territoriality, www.melchizedek.com.

[3] Kathleen Bruhn. "Antonio Gramsci and the Palabra Verdadera: The Political Discourse of Mexico's Guerilla Forces." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs.* Vol 41 Is 2 (Summer 1999) 29-55: 29.

[4] Though the Zapatistas were armed with AK-47s and other modern weapons, these tend to serve a more symbolic purpose, as important for image as for fighting. Careful crafting of image and the use of media became their post-modern arsenal.

instant of struggle compacts time, which most people in the developed world tend to place along a linear timeline—the years of the calendar of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, the conquest, the rise of the hacienda, the Mexican Revolution, the birth of liberation theology, and the nullification of Article 27 by Salinas all exist in a single moment with each event as relevant as every other. Though this sort of temporal acrobatics seems bizarre to most raised in modern, capitalist democracies, this conception of time reflects reality in indigenous Chiapas, a place where pre-modern feudalism sits alongside post-modern neoliberalism.

A people's conception of time offers important insight into the methods and outcomes of revolutionary struggle. This paper explores the spatial-temporal dimension of the uprising in Chiapas. After a discussion of methodology, I will study two test cases in which time and revolutionary struggle play a major role in determining methods and outcomes. Then, my focus will turn to the Chiapas and the rebellion born in the Desert of Solitude, the Lacandon jungle.

Methodology

"The two of us wrote *Anti-Oedipus* together. Since each of us was several, there was already quite a crowd."[5]

On January 1, 1994, the EZLN exploded onto the world stage with a movement that defied traditional categories and categorization. Unlike the Cuban guerillas, these revolutionaries did not seek true territorial gain and eventual political seizure. Unlike the Mexican Revolutionaries, these guerillas actually held rallies with flowers attached to their guns, guns that they hoped would never need to be fired. Unlike any other

[5] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978: 3.

movement, they begin to fight on a new stage—the entire world—with a new weapon—the media. All of these breakages with traditional categories forced a reevaluation of terms: did the group count as a revolutionary movement? If so, could they be considered postmodern revolutionaries?[6] Undoubtedly, so what does that mean?

This paper approaches the topic from a particular direction—that of cosmological time and its implications on the struggle. The topic requires delving into a unique consciousness. Efforts to understand this movement risk a sort of neo-imperialism, a seizure of the events of Chiapas followed by relocation within academic methodology. Jan de Vos warns of this process placing certain anthropologists and archeologists alongside "guerilleros, soldados, funcionarios, empresarios" as "agentes de penetración" and conquest in the Lancandon region.[7] Scholars make physical incursions or insertions into the region and leave the region to produce works attempting to be objective or scientific. The process is an imperial one: those with funding enter the jungle, pretend to be campesinos, and leave, plugging their studies into formulas crafted by other scholars, formulas that certainly force rigidity and conformity.

Obviously, alternatives to this method of scholarship are limited. Studies of the type described above rely on financial comfort and the luxury of an academic institution. Instead, the scholar must break with traditional or scientific methods of analysis. Jan de Vos works toward this goal in his recent history of the region. At the risk of sounding "'poco científico,'" de Vos chooses to focus on three concepts adopted from the center of

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[6] See the piece by Ana Carrigan. "Chiapas, The First Postmodern Revolution." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 417-433.
[7] Jan de Vos. *Viajes al Desierto de la Soledad: Un retrato hablado de la Selva Lacandona*. Mexico DF: CIESAS, 2003: 13.

indigenous life in the region—"tierra, siembra y sueño."[8] This sort of scholarship reveals the necessity of deconstruction, of attempting to remove one's own ideological biases while seeking to avoid misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the subject's ideology.

My paper will approach the topic from this standpoint by shrugging off scientific analysis and other more narrow-minded perspectives. By eliminating the traditional ways of study, I can minimize my scholarly imperialism and use a method that offers a better understanding of the forces involved in cosmological time and its manifestations in the EZLN. Before beginning my study of time and revolutionary struggle specifically, I need to go into more detail regarding my specific method, which is based on the rhizome.

The Usefulness of Multiplicities

The quote that begins this section of my paper opens a tract by Deleuze and Guattari and immediately prepares the reader for the basic analytic device of their work. Though my explanation of the rhizome will lack their finesse, a brief look into this compelling and useful concept will clarify the approach my study intends to take.

Books, individuals, collectivities, and teleologies are never units. Rather, one should look at the individual or book as connected to others and always as connected to countless others. As you read this paper, you connect along chains, along lines with the totality of my experience in a fashion similar to the growth of a rhizome, a plant tuber that sends out links that form other tubers in an endless web of connections. As Deleuze and Guattari state, "a rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social

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[8] Jan de Vos. *Una tierra para sembrar sueños: Historia reciente de la Selva Lacandona, 1950-2000.* Mexico DF: CIESAS, 2002: 10.

structures."[9] Occasionally the rhizome manifests something large and tangible, the tuber itself, but the rhizome exists more accurately as a multiplicity. These tangible moments offer a tangible target in an abstract and military sense: "a rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines."[10] Clearly ideas can never die: Zapata still lives in the mountains and wherever he or some version of him is needed or conceived.

The idea of the rhizome contradicts the alternative—the genealogical tree. This turn to arborescence creates unities where unities cannot exist and limits thought along hierarchical systems.[11] A study rooted in arborescent thought might ask about the status of the rural proletariat versus a peasant class in establishing the subjective conditions for revolution. Ignoring this system of analysis would be foolish; after all, "there are despotic formations of immanence and channelization specific to rhizomes, just as there are anarchic deformations in the transcendent systems of trees, aerial roots, and subterranean stems."[12] The challenge is to include these arborescent systems as part of a rhizome instead of ignoring the anarchic root structure to focus on a trunk.

The language of rhizome versus arborescence includes a spatial quality, a quality that Deleuze and Guattari articulate as smooth versus striated space. The rhizome exists in smooth space, the space of the nomad where "the line is therefore a vector, a direction and not a dimension or metric determination" with frequent changes in direction that "may be due to the nature of the journey itself, as with the nomads of the

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[9] Deleuze and Guattari, 7. This line links rather well with Foucault's statement: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Michel Foucault. *History of Sexuality, Volume One*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990: 93).
[10] Ibid., 9.
[11] Ibid., 16.
[12] Ibid., 20.

archipelagoes."[13] In the case of the sea, maritime drifters wander on an ocean of smooth space while the modern navigator, bound by the metric determinations of latitude and longitude, navigates a striated space. In the case of knowledge, the scholar can choose between experiences, selecting smooth or striated navigation of concepts, events, and ideas. The journey of the rhizome is nomadic; the striated path of knowledge is imperialistic.

Deleuze and Guattari end their introduction to the rhizome with the fervor of an Italian Futurist manifesto, a high-volume used car commercial, a self-help manual, and a police interrogator:

> Make rhizomes, not roots, never plant! Don't sow, grow offshoots! Don't be one or multiple, be multiplicities! Run lines, never plot a point! Speed turns the point into a line! Be quick, even when standing still! Line of chance, line of hips, line of flight. Don't bring out the General in you![14]

The rhizome offers an alternative to rigidity, hierarchy, and ideological imperialism. Avoiding these limits deconstructs those structures and offers advantages to this sort of study.

The rhizome creates an innovative approach to time and an end to History. "Progress," "Manifest Destiny," "5-year Plan," "Sherman's March to the Sea" all lose relevance to the rhizome. Time weaves along tubers and root fibers with the Paris Commune of 1871 contemporaneous with the overthrow of Salvador Allende, which is also contemporaneous with the Yates' "Easter 1916"—all send off fibers that weave and connect into a continuous now. Histories of the rise and fall of civilizations vanish as we

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[13] Deleuze and Guattari, 478-9.

[14] Ibid., 24-5. The language picks up on the abundant examples of political manifestos with commands barked in an excited staccato. These lines reflect the energy of all the examples mentioned from Futurism to examples in the media, suggesting that Deleuze and Guattari go beyond mere explanation of a way of learning and thinking to serious advocacy.

look at the jetting-off and regeneration of the rhizome from miniscule tubers: Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and no one will forget this—after all, that was the title of a political cartoon by Charles Nelan during the Spanish-American War (predictably, not during the Cuban War of Independence).[15]

This study will journey across the lines of stratification and (de/re)territorialization by flying between the economic and political, the Catholic and Mayan, the Rebellion of the Chiapanecos of 1532 and the rise of the EZLN: these aspects of my study must be placed on "a map that must be produced, constructed, a map that is always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entryways and exits and its own lines of flight."[16] This map will make sense of a mental attempt at nomadic study, existing in a space between and within smooth and striated, for "smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space."[17]

With these concepts in mind, I plan to map, to navigate a central course. I will begin with a discussion of definitions of revolution before continuing with case studies on revolution and time using the Italian Futurist movement and the Situationist movement.[18] After these studies, I will dive directly into the Chiapas case to look at economics, Mayan cosmologies, Catholic incursions, and the masked face of Marcos

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[15] Charles Nelan. "Nero Fiddled While Rome Burned." *New York Herald*. 22 July 1898.
[16] Deleuze and Guattari, 21.
[17] Deleuze and Guattari, 474.
[18] These cases, though chosen for their usefulness, have rhizomic connections to Mexico. Futurist works and manifestos written in the 1910s influenced the Stridentist Movement in Mexico around 1922, a movement that was later swallowed up into the mural movement. The writings of the Situationists played a role in the 68 movement in Mexico resulting in the massacre at Tlatelolco, something that influenced Marcos directly (Subcommandante Marcos. "Tlatelolco: Thirty Years Later the Struggle Continues." *Our Word is Our Weapon*. Ed Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 151-154).

with his brilliant lexicon of revolutionary manifestations. Finally, I'll trace these paths to find the past-present-continuous now at work.

Crafting Definitions

The act of defining is an act of stratification and territorialization. This act inevitably creates limits and boundaries, and cuts off lines of flight and roots in a rhizomic web that could be useful, challenging, and fun. The definition game is a game of crafting metric dimensions, of drawing and cutting instead of tracing and wandering. The goal is to craft something scientific: as Jeff Goodwin argues in his work attempting a definition of revolution, "concepts as such are not more or less true, but more or less *useful* for generating falsifiable explanations of interesting phenomena."[19] Goodwin wants to cleave lines between truth and falsehood in a scientific manner, but this act requires a taste for imperialism that I seek to avoid.

Other definitions offer broader interpretations opening the door to more roots and tubers. John Foran picks up on Jeffery Paige's definition, defining revolution as changes in the "metaphysical assumptions" of social and power relations while seeking a "utopian alternative," a definition which opens the door to "a deepening of the currents of human rights, the increasing assertiveness of the formally suppressed gender, ethnic, age, and class groups," etc.[20] Eric Selbin adds gentle limits to this extremely broad definition: Selbin marks revolution as "effort by a broad based, popularly mobilized group of actors . . . to profoundly transform the social, political, and economic institutions and the attendant justifications and manifestations with dominate their lives" all aiming at the

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[19] Jeff Goodwin. "Defining Terms." *No Other Way Out; States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. New York: Cambridge, 2001: 9**.**

[20] John Foran. "Introduction to the Future of Revolutions." *The Future of Revolutions: Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Globalization*. Ed. John Foran. New York: Zed, 2003: 8-9.

"transformation of the material and ideological conditions of their everyday lives."[21] Both of these interpretations serve my study, and both have their benefits and drawbacks. For the purposes of this paper, I find crafting a definition unnecessary and distracting, an institution of a scholarship that I criticize.

Avant-Garde Architects: Revolution in Time and Space

Architecture serves as a useful vehicle for exploring the connection between space and time while, in my mind, offering a basis, or at least a metaphor, for studying space, time, and revolution. Buildings control human movement through space and across time from both the inside and the outside. Urban planning reflects the sum of architectural spaces on the broad flow of human traffic. Buildings also speak a temporal language with different architectural elements quoting historical epochs or denying history altogether. Play with spaces can equal play with time, and a focus on architecture offers a concise view of the movements in this case study.

Both Italian Futurism and Situationism held the avant-garde during their respective periods of influence. Both movements incorporated artists of all sorts in leading the struggle for a very different society. The artistic orientation of the movements offers a broad set of theoretical literature to draw upon, which allows for an easy study of time in relation to the movements. By using these cases, I can articulate how a conception of time influences revolution before turning to the more complex case of the struggle in Chiapas.

The Adoration of the Roaring Car

[21] Eric Selbin. "Revolutions: A Brief Aside." *The Story of Revolutions: Myth, Memory, and Mimesis.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming: 4-5.

Italy, in 1909, was a very young state and an even younger nation. Italy was a patchwork of city-states and other small political entities until the Risorgimento of 1861 under Vittorio Emmanuel II. After political unification, a broader quest for national unity began. Tuscan was arbitrarily chosen as a national language, and by the turn of the century, the project of uniting the diverse linguistic and cultural enclaves was well under way.[22] The industrial north often clashed with an agrarian south, illiteracy was rampant, and urbanization, especially around Milan, led to the rapid construction of low-income housing thrown up quickly with little thought to the future. Urban planning, "so essential a part of architecture," only reached the curricula at the Accademie di Belle Arti (the Brera) and the Politecnico around 1921.[23] Italy found itself in a national, cultural, and urban crisis, and Futurism rose to address these issues.[24]

Intellectually, a few minds shaped the artistic and political currents in Milan. From Germany, the writings of Nietzsche led to the glorification of the "man at the wheel, who hurls the lance of his spirit across the Earth, along the circle of its orbit."[25] Like other avant-garde movements influenced by Nietzsche, the Futurists sought a new spiritual age, but instead of turning to nudist retreats, like their German contemporaries, Die Brucke, the Futurists turned to urban politics with methods informed by Henri Bergson and Georges Sorel.[26]

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[22] Esther da Costa Meyer. *The Work of Antionio Sant'Elia*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995: 2.
[23] Da Costa Meyer, 20.
[24] Socialism also aimed at unifying the country but sought more traditional means. Eventually fascism would achieve greater success than any other movement.
[25] Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. "The Founding Manifesto of Futurism." *Marinetti: Selected Writings*. Ed. R.W. Flint. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972: 41. I note the gendered use of language, but I must note that the Futurists probably intended "man" as meaning "not woman" instead of simply "humankind." The leaders of the movement often expressed disdain toward all females who they considered romantic and passé—human versions of art nouveau, impressionism, or democracy.
[26] For a discussion of Die Brucke, turn to Jill Lloyd's work *German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

The work of Bergson shaped the conception of time and space adopted by the Futurists. Instead of accepting the dominant Cartesian notion of time, Bergson conceived time in terms of *durée*, often translated as "duration" or "durance."[27] *Durée* refers to time as an elastic concept with moments coexisting instead of being divided neatly into units. Existence is a long happening instead of a series of events, largely as a result of memory. True representation of this metaphysical idea would reflect existence as "perpetual becoming," time stretched, twisted, and bent.[28] The implications become fascinating: reality can only be perceived, in this system, through representation of reality, a concept appealing to artists and, had they existed, media moguls.

This concept of time affects and establishes a unique conception of space. Just as no individual moments exist, individual objects cannot exist in moments. Instead objects exist across planes of sight in different dimensions of time. Bergson explains the concept of spatial *durée* clearly:

> When I direct my attention inward to contemplate my own self (supposed for the moment to be inactive), I perceive at first, as a crust solidified on the surface, all the perceptions which come to it from the material world. These perceptions are clear, distinct, juxtaposed or juxtaposable one with another; they tend to group themselves into objects. Next, I notice the memories which more or less adhere to these perceptions and which serve to interpret them. These memories have been detached, as it were, from the depth of my personality, drawn to the surface by the perceptions which resemble them; they rest on the surface of my mind without being absolutely myself. Lastly, I feel the stir of tendencies and motor habits—a crowd of virtual actions, more or less firmly bound to these perceptions and memories.[29]

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[27] F.C.T. Moore. *Bergson: Thinking Backwards*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1996: 59.
Suzanne Chamier. Personal Interview. 12 November 2001. Some scholars argue that "duration" does not quite capture the term because of its finite connotations in English: the alternative, "durance" is an archaic expression that lacks contemporary context. With this in mind, I've chosen to use the original French.
[28] Henri Bergson. *An Introduction to Metaphysics*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1955: 41.
[29] Henri Bergson, 25.

Instead of simply viewing any object, in this case his self, as a static object as perceived by the eye, Bergson adds the dimension of time—memory. Not only does this new component shape his personal impression of the self, but also it establishes an entirely new image: a "sphere" with his self at the core and the periphery extending into the outer world.[30] All objects expand on the basis of memory: I see my hand typing at the keyboard, but, could I add the memory of where my fingers have just typed to my vision, I would see a total blur. Were I to follow that memory further, my hands would be behind me, thumbing through books, or at the refrigerator, pouring a glass of water. The temporal combined with the spatial creates an entirely new vision of the world.

Bergson's notion of intuition also plays an influential role. Intuition is one of the key modes of perception necessary to understand the absolute over the subjective.[31] Bergson meant to establish intuition as much more than just a feeling: he sought using intuition as an exact method to understand the different "lines" separating and converging to form objects.[32] In other words, intuition is the chief means of experiencing *durée*. In order to view an object in its real or absolute form, one must actually enter into the object on an intuitive level. External vision, as mentioned before, does not adequately represent the time, according to Bergson, and only total entry into an object can allow such an understanding, and intuition presupposes *durée*.[33] Since the concept of intuition is much less complicated than the concept of *durée*, less explanation is necessary. However, intuition plays a much more important role in the political formulation of both Sorel and later Marinetti.

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[30] Henri Bergson, 25.
[31] Henri Bergson, 21-2.
[32] Gilles Deleuze. *Bergsonism*. New York: Zone Books, 1991: 115.
[33] Gilles Deleuze, 13.

Sorel placed his faith in proletarian violence. Sorel, as a philosopher, has received a multitude of labels from syndicalist to fascist, socialist to irrationalist, Marxist to anarchist. Strong arguments can be made for all of these perspectives, but perhaps the most correct, at least academically, is Marxist. Sorel, like other thinkers, some his contemporaries and some to come later, such as Lenin, Trotsky, and Mao, sought a way to take Marx's ideas, with elements of his own vision of "socialist utopia," and find a course of action to make such a world possible.[34] Believing that Marx misunderstood the nature of history because of a flawed concept of time, Sorel decided that Marx's philosophy of history, and subsequent projection of the future, was "myth."[35] In response, Sorel created a plan for an uprising of the proletariat using one tool—violence.

Sorel argues that violence will intuitively, as defined by Bergson, arouse the proletariat to glorious revolt to overthrow the bourgeoisie and create a socialist utopia. He notes that empirically war causes fundamental changes in thought, change which could be used to rouse a new paradigm of thought.[36] War was by no means the only method of violence advocated by Sorel; in fact, he praised the mass strike as another method to intuitively raise class-consciousness:

> Thus every conflict which gives rise to violence becomes a vanguard fight, and nobody can foresee what will arise from such engagements; although the great battle never comes to a head, yet each time they come to blows the strikers hope that it is the beginning of the great *Napoleonic battle* (that which will definitely crush the vanquished); in this way the practice of strikes engenders the notion of a catastrophic revolution. (Italics original)[37]

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[34] Gunter Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics: Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction, 1909-1941*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996: 31.
[35] Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde*. Princeton: Princeton, 1993: 157.
[36] Georges Sorel. *Reflections on Violence*. New York: Peter Smith, 1941: 56-7.
[37] Georges Sorel, 71.

The fantastic language itself was probably intended to incite revolution on an intuitive level. After all, Sorel was not solely focused on "terrorist bloodshed" as a method to revolution; on the contrary, he wanted a metaphysical struggle so that any "creative force . . . imbued with . . . a revolutionary mentality" would serve as an impetus to revolution.[38] Simply any act breaking with the traditional system provoking a violent reaction would, in Sorel's views, help to "re-awaken class-consciousness stifled . . . by democratic ideas."[39] Here, revolution links to performance, for, in this scheme, a violent play holds more force than a political manifesto. Again, reality becomes representational and intuitive.

In this context, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti assembled a group of artists, musicians, and intellectuals under the label of Futurism. His "Founding Manifesto," published in *Le Figaro* on February 20, 1909, rocked the artistic establishment of Europe. In the manifesto, Marinetti glorifies the speed of "a roaring car that seems to ride on grapeshot" while arguing the need "to free this land from its smelly gangrene of professors, archaeologists, ciceroni, and antiquarians."[40] Instead of an Italy glorified for its Roman or Renaissance past, Marinetti wanted to vest Italian fame in technology and speed, in the aesthetic of "locomotives, trams, automobiles, and bicycles"—on the future, not the past.[41] This language initiated a vast project aimed at the physical destruction of Italy's past with a reconstruction rooted in a perpetual future, the aforementioned "perpetual becoming" of Bergson.

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[38] Gunter Berghaus, 31.
[39] Gunter Berghaus, 30.
[40] F.T. Marinetti. "Founding Manifesto." 41-2. A "ciceroni" is a sight-seeing guide.
[41] F.T. Marinetti. "Against Past-loving Venice." *Marinetti: Selected Writings*. Ed. RW Flint. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972: 56.

The Futurist rhetoric attracted a small and very young corps of artists and musicians who developed a body of Futurist artwork aimed at transforming the world. Boccioni's incorporation of Bergsonian force-lines and Carrá's use of Sorelian themes communicated to the intuition with the linguistic time of *durée,* seeking a violent reaction overthrowing the past while breaking down the isolated object in capitalist time into "the one single form which produces continuity in space," or the "environment + object."[42] With this conception of time and space, artwork itself could provide the desired revolution and after the revolution, artwork would serve as a way to direct the population—the result being an entirely new form of government, the artcracy.[43]

The architectural dimensions of Futurism appear in the work of Antonio Sant'Elia. Sant'Elia picked up on Boccioni's plan to "create a sort of emotive ambience, seeking by intuition the sympathies and the links which exist between the exterior (concrete) scene and the interior (abstract) emotion."[44] "Sant'Elia could hardly ignore Boccioni's writings," and his architecture and architectural themes reflects his acceptance

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[42] Umberto Boccioni. "Plastic Dynamism 1913." *Futurist Manifestos*. Ed. Umbro Appolonio. New York: Viking Press, 1973: 92-5. For a visual representation of these works, look to Boccioni's sculpture "Unique Forms in Space" from 1913 and Carlos Carrá's "Funeral of the Anarchist Galli" from 1911.

[43] For my purposes, I quote Professor Sante Maletta in his use of the term "artcracy" during a summer seminar on Futurism at the Universittá Catollica in Milan. Dr. Maletta's use of the term comes from his translation of various manifestos by Marinetti, though other translators select other terms.

This "artcracy" also helps separate the Futurists from the Fascists. Marinetti did at one point glorify Mussolini as a "physiological patriot" with "ultradynamic eyes [that] dart with the speed of automobiles racicng on the Lombard plains" (FT Marinetti. "Portrait of Mussolini." *Marinetti: Selected Writings*. Ed RW Flint. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972: 158-9). Despite these statements, Marinetti distrusted Mussolini who he considered an opportunist. After all, Mussolini left the Socialist Party when he realized his authoritarian ambitions would soon reach a dead-end. Furthermore, after World War I, the Futurist Movement consisted of Marinetti himself. Boccioni and a few other artists died in the War, and Carrá switched to metaphysical still-life painting. Though the angry politics of mass mobilization under Futurism may have contributed tools to the Fascist rise, Futurism can not be lumped together with Fascism neatly in either an artistic or political sense. Fascist art establishes solidity and order while often quoting a great Roman past (see the train station Milano Centrale, Mussolini's favorite architectural work), while Futurism praised dynamism and an end to the passé.

[44] Quoted in da Costa Meyer, 78.

of Futurist conceptions of time and space.[45] Sant'Elia's writings fell directly in line with Futurist theory: "'this architecture cannot naturally be subject to any law of historic continuity. It must be new, as our state of mind and the contingencies of our historic moment are new.'"[46] He recognizes architecture, located within time and space, had to change along with new notions of time in space—in this case the time and space of durée. The revolutionary project entailed a representational project, and architecture certainly fit within this scope.

With this need in mind, Sant'Elia laid the conceptual basis for a number of Futurist projects. He drew sketches of a Cittá Nuova, or New City, with dominant diagonals, power stations as monumental as cathedrals, and spaces for movement that encouraged physical and visible speed (see figures at bottom).[47] After establishing these concrete examples of a new architecture, Sant'Elia wrote his "Manifesto of Futurist Architecture" in 1914, beginning with the incendiary phrase, "No architecture has existed since 1700."[48] Against the "architectonic prostitutions" popular in Italy, Sant'Elia conceived of "the Futurist House and City," revealing the dual focus of his vision on the intuitive shaping of the individual at home while catering to the needs of urban planning issues ignored by the academies of the time.[49] The new spirit of modern humanity demanded "*the light, the practical, the ephemeral and the swift,"* and to meet these

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[45] Da Costa Meyer, 79.
[46] Quoted in Da Costa Meyer, 141.
[47] To see an example of his plans, look to the two images of the Cittá Nuova and a power station in the figures preceding the bibliography.
[48] Antonio Sant'Elia. "Manifesto of Futurist Architecture." *Futurist Manifestos*. Ed Umbro Appolonio. New York: Viking Press, 1973: 160. I must make a note on the authenticity of the manifesto. Da Costa Meyer argues that the manifesto seems more the result of a "collective subject" instead of the unique work of Sant'Elia, who "was never exclusively a futurist" (Da Costa Meyer, 145). Da Costa even argues that the work may have been penned by Marinetti or Boccioni and published under Sant'Elia's name to give the work more credibility. Regardless, formal analysis of Sant'Elia's work places it in line with the Futurist program, and, even if the manifesto were authored by someone other than Sant'Elia, my argument applies to Futurism more broadly and does not rest on the theoretical predilections of one architect.
[49] Antonio Sant'Elia: 160, 169.

demands the Futurist city would take the form of a "tumultuous shipyard, agile, mobile and dynamic" with Futurist houses "like a gigantic machine."[50] Sant'Elia envisioned a formal and material speed to architecture that could join the revolutionary project, "that is to transform the world of things into a direct projection of the world of the spirit."[51] An architecture of dynamism and elasticity joined a spatial-temporal matrix of dynamism and elasticity, and using this metaphysical-temporal language of the intuition would lead the proletariat to rise up and destroy history.

From *Durée* to *Dérive*: Psychogeography and the Situationist International

About a half century later in France, another avant-garde group emerged to challenge the political establishment. The young, bourgeois intellectuals questioned the basis of capitalism by studying characteristics of daily life from consumer culture to visual media. With an eye to this emerging postmodern society, the Situationist International, a group formed from a conglomeration of Lettrist International and other avant-garde political and literary groups, sought methods to study and overthrow the society of the visual image, the society of the spectacle. The group of student agitators created films, poetry, propaganda posters, and manifestos through the technique of detournement, or the allocation previous cultural symbols in different contexts and formats for a revolutionary purpose, to mobilize students and workers against the spectacle and against capitalism in general.[52] The process of detournement, therefore, is an obviously postmodern one: by reallocating images currently in the spectacle, the

[50] Antonio Sant'Elia: 170. Italics original.
[51] Antonio Sant'Elia: 172.
[52] Guy Debord. "Preliminary Problems in Constructing a Situation." *Situationist International Anthology*. Ed. Ken Knabb. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981: 45.

Situationists hoped to shake the foundations of the spectacle and force a reevaluation of existence in society.[53]

The revolutionary project also paid close attention to the conception of time within the spectacle. The Situationists faced the task of resisting time as spectacle while establishing a new consciousness of time to resist spectacular time. Guy Debord traces the evolution of time from the cyclical time of the nomad or peasant. In this conception, time does not progress but every day seems an endless repetition of the previous day as the cycle of planting-growing-harvesting or wandering-scouring-wandering makes moments in time indistinguishable and irrelevant.

Cyclical time eventually yields to irreversible time, "a mechanism for the transmission of power" and "an inexorable movement that crushed individuals before it."[54] Time drew from and served production and the bourgeoisie and eventually morphed into "pseudo-cyclical time . . . merely the *consumable disguise* of the time-as-commodity of the productive system."[55] Here, time masked the processes of alienation while being generated by alienation, becoming a genuine tool of the spectacle as individuals become more and more oppressed by the system while noticing no visible deterioration in lifestyle or autonomy. Consumable pseudo-cyclical time appears most obvious when time becomes a commodity in the form of luxury vacations, the idea of "saving time," and even the value given to a good conversation—all take part in the spectacle and become

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[53] To use the language of Baudrillard (see Jean Baudrillard. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Tr. Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), the Situationists accepted the precession of the simulacra, and, instead of creating other copies in a world of copies, the Situationists tweaked this world of visual illusion instead of hoping to bypass it entirely, revealing a degree of acceptance of the system to move around the system—something that will reappear in their handling of architecture and urban planning.

[54] Guy Debord. *The Society of Spectacle.* Tr. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1999: 96, 105.

[55] Guy Debord. *The Society of Spectacle:* 110.

illusion.[56] Spectacular time, then, is the time masking the inevitable history of production with the illusion of the spectacle.[57] This conception of time amounts for the inability of the US working class to "develop any political consciousness;" after all, the US working class lives brain-dead in the spectacular world of "televised imbecilities."[58]

In this context, Debord outlines the relationship of time to revolution:

> The revolutionary project of a classless society, of a generalized historical life, is also the project of a withering away of the social measurement of time in favor of an individual and collective irreversible time which is playful in character and which encompasses, simultaneously present within it, a variety of autonomous yet effectively federated times—the complete realization, in short, within the medium of time, of that communism which 'abolishes everything that exists independently of individuals.'
>
> The world already has the dream of such a time; it has yet to come into possession of the consciousness that will allow it to experience reality.[59]

Thus, Debord offers both hope and despair toward the project of reestablishing time to resist the spectacle. Though he envisions the quality of this new time, he argues that the consciousness making that time possible does not yet exist, and the hope of forming such a consciousness seems inconclusive. Regardless, he seeks a time that moves forward irreversibly but lacks the dehumanization and commodification of spectacular (consumable pseudo-cyclical) time. The hope and playfulness of this experiment appears in Situationist methods of urban planning and architectural experience in a manner far less utopian but more abstract than that of the Italian Futurists.

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[56] Guy Debord, *The Society of Spectacle.* 111-12.
[57] Guy Debord. *The Society of Spectacle.* 113.
[58] Guy Debord. "Report on the Construction of Situations and on the International Situationist Tendency's Conditions of Organization and Action." *Situationist International Anthology.* Ed. Ken Knabb. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981: 24. To return to Baudrillard, the entire Gulf War could be considered a "televised imbecility" carefully crafted to promote a collective amnesia. Jean Baudrillard. *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. Tr. Paul Patton. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. Likewise, military involvement in Grenada served as nothing but "window-dressing" aimed at restoring "market confidence." Jean Baudrillard. *America*. Tr. Chris Turner. London: Verso, 1992: 109-10
[59] Debord. *The Society of Spectacle:* 116-7.

Situationist International offered a broad resistance to authority, and one form this resistance took was opposition to the authority of urban structures. Urban layouts forced certain types of movement, and the Situationists developed the science of psychogeography to study human reactions to these urban layouts. Debord and others constructed psychogeographical maps to rearrange the streets of Paris along new pathways, disrupting the spectacle at least at the level of the image. Pre-Situationist texts began the exploration of these urban experiments. In the level of place-names, some argued for a renaming (which would later fall under the umbrella of detournement) to reveal the artifice in society: for example, one could buy "artificial flowers on Sun Street" or go to the "swimming pool on the Street of Little Girls."[60] Alongside these plays, the 1953 "Formulary for a New Urbanism" by Ivan Chtcheglov set architecture as a primary battleground in the struggle against capitalism:

> Architecture is the simplest means of *articulating* time and space, of *modulating* reality, of engendering dreams. It is a matter not only of plastic articulation and modulation expressing an ephemeral beauty, but of a modulation producing influences in accordance with the eternal spectrum of human desires and the progress in realizing them.
>
> The architecture of tomorrow will be a means of modifying present conceptions of time and space. It will be a means of *knowledge* and a *means of action*.
>
> The architectural complex will be modifiable. Its aspects will change totally or partially in accordance with the will of its inhabitants . . .[61]

This struggle against the authoritarianism of space and time under capitalism, later argued by Debord, required new architectural structures. Situationists, over the next decades, offered various solutions to this architectural-temporal problem.

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[60] Ivan Chtcheglov. "Formulary for a New Urbanism." *Situationist International Anthology.* Ed. Ken Knabb. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981: 1.
[61] Ivan Chtcheglov, 2. Italics and ellipses original.

The primary tool for breaking down dictated architectural environments was the *dérive,* "a technique of transient passage through varied ambiances."[62] Individuals engaged in such a project by giving up all motivations and destinations and then letting "themselves be drawn by the attraction of the terrain and the encounters they find there."[63] Through this technique, an individual can move along more natural pathways instead of merely the ones dictated by urban planners. *Dérive* entails an end to purpose and therefore a separation from the usual cycle of consumption and production. It explores "forms of life radically beyond the capitalist work ethic, as seen in the famous graffiti incitement, 'Ne travaillez jamais' (Never work).[64] During this activity, the individual can move in an entirely new conception of time and space—suspended from capitalist time and moving through purely psychogeographical tendencies instead of predetermined ones.

Dérive used the current environment in revolutionary ways, but eventually, Situationists had to move beyond simply adapting to these environments. In Paris after World War II, towns were being rapidly constructed, taking the form of "cemeteries in reinforced concrete . . . where the masses of the population are condemned to die of boredom."[65] This urbanism focused on the preservation of "bourgeois happiness," perpetuating the spectacle and promoting docility on the part of the worker.

Debord also envisioned the eventual construction of entirely new architectural forms to allow for greater freedom of consciousness. The highlight of these architectural

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[62] Guy Debord. "Theory of the Dérive." *Situationist International Anthology*. Ed. Ken Knabb. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981: 50.
[63] Guy Debord. "Theory of the Dérive." 50.
[64] Libero Andreotti. "Architecture and Play." *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents*. Ed. Tom McDonough. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002: 215.
[65] Constant. "A Different City for a Different Life." *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents*. Ed. Tom McDonough. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002: 95.

forms would be the "helicoidal house" which "permits the transformation of three four-room apartments into one twelve-room apartment in less than six-hours" by a series of floor gradations and moveable walls.[66] The environment could be molded on the momentary necessities of the individual instead of predetermined by a capitalist developer or classically-trained architect. This house would exist within a broader urban area with "vast and complex social space" with the possibility for play with "the atmosphere, lighting, and sounds in these various spaces."[67] This new urban space would heighten enjoyment of leisure time, which would increase with "extensive automation" in plants and factories.[68] The entire urban space would offer a life of *dérive*, "a space whose potentialities remained open-ended for all participants in the 'ludic-constructive' narrative of a new urban terrain."[69]

Situationist writings offer countless more references to the architectural project within the revolutionary struggle. In a world where "space and time . . . are out of joint," the Situationists offered alternatives to "the space of everyday life" which was "encircled by every form of conditioning."[70] Through *dérive*, the individual could separate himself or herself from the spectacle in both time and space. "This sort of temporalization of space . . . aimed to resist the reifying tendency to spatialize physical surroundings by means of the player's anti-objectifying stance," an "erotic" escape from "the productivist imperatives of bourgeois living."[71] By allowing the individual to move free from normal bourgeois imperatives, Situationists responded to "the final solution to the problem of

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[66] Guy Debord. "Theory of the Dérive." 54.
[67] Constant, 96.
[68] Constant, 99.
[69] Tom McDonough. "Situationist Space." *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents*. Ed. Tom McDonough. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002: 262.
[70] Raoul Vaneigem. "Basic Banalities II." *Situationist International Anthology.* Ed. Ken Knabb. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981: 128.
[71] Libero Andreotti, 222.

humanity."[72] Therefore, the overall revolutionary project went toe-to-toe with conceptions of space and time, offering new ways to walk free from capitalist control. The dreams for constructing new cities never reached fruition, but *dérive* offered a first-step toward the goal of breaking free of spectacular time and the spectacle more broadly. Though often lofty and theoretical, the Situationists recognized conception of time as flexible and mutable and adjusted their revolutionary project to their understanding of space and time. In May of 1968, these radical students and intellectuals nearly claimed victory over Paris, revealing the success of their language in mass mobilization, in shaking individuals from docility.

From Coffee-shop Revolutionaries to the Jungle: Chiapas as a Cradle of Revolt

The two previous case studies involve essentially bourgeois participants addressing modern and postmodern problems like alienation, national identity crises and the seizure of the real by the world of illusion. Though these revolutionary ideas pop up in small pockets of avant-garde thinkers worldwide, other revolutions, especially in Latin America, focus on issues that transcend classifications like "modern" and "postmodern" to combat hunger, poverty, lack of education, and other basic necessities. Most struggles, however grounded on basic needs like land and liberty, combine an intellectual elite with a larger proletarian class. For the Futurists, large, organized riots allowed the small elite to incorporate a larger mass of workers. The Situationists made their advances in May '68 with the support of thousands of workers. The EZLN takes the intellectual leadership of Marcos, Ramona and a few others and combines it with a larger indigenous community that has been struggling for just over 500 years. This section will begin with a

[72] Raoul Vaneigem. "Comments Against Urbanism." *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents*. Ed. Tom McDonough. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002: 120. To further contextualize this statement, Vaneigem intended the link between urban planning and the Nazi "final solution."

study of the region of Chiapas and its revolutionary history before moving more specifically into the ideology of the Zapatistas.

Chiapas has a long history of rebellion and resistance. The Rebellion of the Chiapanecos grew out of a large resistance movement begun in 1524. The leadership organized the rebellion along a secret series of religious refuges and hoped to avoid more forced labor in mines throughout the region.[73] The movement lasted for nearly a decade, and at one point the leader of the revolt, Sanguieve, established a free community in a canyon called Sumidero, establishing an island of independence from colonial rule.[74] Finally, the community was crushed by Baltosar Guerra, and the few survivors retreated to a cave in the canyon.

The next major uprising, the Rebellion of the Lacandones, lasted over a century from 1530 to 1695. Though the so-called Chiapanecos "decided to integrate themselves into the colonial system," the Lacandones chose to "resist the Spanish invader to the death."[75] The resistance grew from a small, furious group of Lacandones and Pochutlas. By 1564, bloody repression by the Spanish caused the Pochutlas to back down with other allies pacified by Fray Pedro Lorenzo who founded Ocosingo.[76] For the next century of resistance, the Lacandones struggled in isolation with limited effectiveness until being finally obliterated by a large military force. Regardless of their success, the tradition of resistance at all costs would provide a legacy useful for the next centuries of struggle.

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[73] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad: Panorama de Cuatro Rebeliones Indigenas de Chiapas." Not Published. 1979: 3-4. This paper is available only as a typewritten manuscript in the archives of the Catholic diocese available in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas.
[74] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 4.
[75] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 5. The quoted material is my own translation from the Spanish text.
[76] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 6.

With the defeat of the Lacandones, the struggle became more desperate. The Rebellion of the Zendales from 1712 to 1713 organized itself around a religious cult. In a clear example of religious syncretism, the Virgin Mary appeared promising indigenous liberation: after seeing the appearance, Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria, who had supposedly ascended into heaven and returned, began the autonomous church known as the Virgen de Rosario de Cancuc.[77] A number of hermits and self-proclaimed miracle workers surfaced to spread the cult, and a struggle ensued to establish an independent, theocratic state to be called the New Spain of the Indigenous with its own "Audencia," an appropriation of the language of Spanish authority.[78] The Zendales attacked the Spanish at Ocosingo and Chilón, killing every single ladino at Chilón. Many fled the wave of attacks to Comitán, and mestiza or ladina women left behind were forced to marry the indigenous. Combat with regular Spanish forces quickly wiped out the indigenous movement—most were killed, and De la Gloria vanished forever.[79]

The Rebellion of the Chamulas of 1869 to 1870 also organized as a religious cult based, symbolically, in the caves of the Sumidero.[80] This time, the Spanish authorities shut down the movement before it could initiate more than just small attacks. The cult leader, Agustin Gómez, was arrested, so his followers crucified Gómez' ten-year-old brother "with the objective of having a savior for their own race."[81] Though the story sounds horrifying, it reveals the degree of religious syncretism as the indigenous combined elements of Catholic religion with their own desire for autonomy. Furthermore, the movement began in the Sumidero, a way of quoting other significant struggles

[77] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 8-9.
[78] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 10.
[79] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 12.
[80] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 21.
[81] Jan de Vos. "Tierra y Libertad." 14.

popular in indigenous myth. A half century later, those who desperately sought a savior in Agustin Gómez' younger brother would gain the symbolic savior of Emiliano Zapata and the formula would be complete. The tendency toward mythological struggle appears from the very beginning and continues well toward the twenty-first century as an organization of *campesinos* held their first meeting in 1998 at the house of Tzotz Choj, the last Mayan governor of the area.[82]

Something about the religious, cultural, economic, and political history of the region promotes a unique conception of time allowing for a totally flexible, rhizomic conception of history in what can be called mythological time: for myths tend to leave a lengthy past as an ever-present while expanding the individual's conception of time from a series of broken moments within a lifetime to the entire history of a culture.[83] In the Chiapan case, "culture," with the passage of time, transcends traditional ethnic (Lancandon, Pochutla, etc.) and linguistic (Tzotzil, Chol, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Zoque, Kanjobal, Chuj, and Mame—just to mention the most spoken)[84] groups to take on a definition more informed by economic status and mutual political interest. This reshaping of allegiances and mutual, cross-cultural desire for revolution linked to mythological time rose, in 1994, for many of the same reasons resistance began in 1524 and will continue through future epochs.

Chiapas: Between Feudalism and Neoliberalism

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[82] Coalición de Organizaciones Autónomas de Ocosingo. "Declaración de Toniná: Patrimonio de los Pueblos Indígenas." Pamphlet. 18 Jan 1998. Also from the archives of the diocese in San Cristobal de las Casas.

[83] I borrow this term from Eric Selbin. "Epilogue: The Future off Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Modern Latin American Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview, 1999.

[84] Xochitl Leyva Solano and Gabriel Ascencio Franco. *Lacandonia al filo del agua.* Mexico DF: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y CIESAS, 2002: 96.

Chiapas, like Haiti, Ethiopia, and other similar places, exists in a strange economic position.[85] The industrialization that visited Mexico from the time of Cardenas missed Chiapas. The Revolution that tried to end exploitative land policy with even more oppressive labor norms never brought labor rights and land reform to the poorest state with the largest indigenous population. Rather, economic exploitation in Chiapas reflects colonial economic relations of the eighteenth century as wealthier countries and parts of Mexico exploit the region for natural resources in exchange for much more expensive manufactured goods. This internal and external colonialism robs the state of valuable resources at the price of over-exploited workers, environmental devastation, and political and psychological disenfranchisement.

The economic plight of the indigenous in Chiapas has only increased over the past decades. The forests have vanished at an ever increasing speed since wood exports started reaching a global market in the late nineteenth century.[86] During the fifties, a "simple and antique method" returned for the exploitation of the forests, "la roza-tumba-quema," or "slash-and-burn."[87] The increased destruction of the natural environment for foreign benefit has continued throughout the century, leaving less and less fertile land available for cultivation.

Alongside the trend of ecological destruction runs a population explosion. The Lacandon forest region of Chiapas has approximately one thousand settlements ("colonias, rancherías, ejidos, nuevos centros de población, ranchos y demás pequeñas

[85] Though the connection between these places seems tenuous and certainly not intuitive, their economic situation makes the linkage clearer. Xochitl Leyva found this connection to be useful as well.
[86] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 15. Significantly, wood exports headed directly to London, Liverpool, and New York City, offering the indigenous an early taste of the increased globalization to come.
[87] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 23.

propiedades"), which supported a population of about ten thousand people in 1960.[88] Those same settlements in rural Chiapas now support 200,000 with an expected population of 250,000 by 2010.[89] The population explosion has been fueled by internal colonization by individuals seeking work as well as a huge emigration of Guatemalan refugees.[90] This intense population growth only makes the economic plight of Chiapans more dire, and towards the end of the twentieth century, the indigenous, extremely conscious of the processes affecting their lives, began to struggle again for change.

As discussed more fully above, Chiapas has a long history of struggle against imperialism of all sorts. With a unique cultural and religious blend, Chiapans have produced various uprisings and rebellions since the sixteenth century. In the twentieth century, this tendency found new encouragement in the form of a new progressive bishop seated in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Samuel Ruiz García, who taught along the intellectual lines of liberation theology. With this program, the various orders running education programs throughout Chiapas changed the pedagogy dramatically teaching to "'listen to the Word of God'" while "'reading the signs of the times,'" or "analyzing their own marginalized, indigenous, peasant reality at a local, state, and national level."[91] Alongside lessons on reading and writing, the Church taught courses on bettering the conditions of life on a personal and collective level, even going so far as to negotiate land sales to improve the "most cruel slavery" that most campesinos suffered.[92] After decades of such study on October 12, 1992, a large number of campesinos marched on San

[88] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 27.
[89] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 27-9.
[90] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 29. Some 20 to 30,000 refugees arrived between 1981 and 1982 alone.
[91] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 30. " . . . Se convirtó en una excelente escuela en donde aprendieron no solo a 'escuchar la Palabra de Dios' sino también a 'leer los signos de los tiempos,' es decir, analizar su propia realidad de campesinos indígenas marginados, a nivel local, estatal y nacional."
[92] Fray Pablo Iribarren. "Visita pastoral al ejido Samaria, 1987." *Viajes al Desierto de Soledad: un retrato hablado de la Selva Lacandona.* Ed. Jan de Vos. México DF: CIESAS, 2003: 295.

Cristóbal against "'500 years of colonial oppression," eventually setting the stage for a larger more spectacular event when the EZLN claimed the same town in 1994.[93]

Playing with Time

A visit to the cathedral at San Juan Chamula, just down the road from San Cristóbal, is a remarkable experiment in architecture and time. The cathedral, from the exterior, seems to be no different than many other in the region—a façade rooted in European baroque design but adapted and perhaps simplified in what is usually known as a "mission" style. The inside of the cathedral is completely unexpected. The pews, altar, and other trappings of Catholic ceremony are nowhere in sight. Instead, one finds scattered branches and religious leaders sacrificing chickens while eating psychedelic mushrooms and drinking a very strong alcoholic drink native to the region, *pox* (pronounced "posch"). The place reveals somersaults in time with the indigenous interwoven with the Catholic structure: perhaps an example of a religious *dérive* within a structure planned for very strict, predetermined purposes. Regardless, the viewer of this architectural puzzle realizes immediately that, in Chiapas, "time" lacks its linearity. Rather, the past remains intertwined with the present, functioning together with a cyclical view of time.

As Guy Debord argued, cyclical time derives from an agricultural or nomadic economic system. With each day a repetition of the other one and the only variation being seasonal, time seems an endless cycle of the same actions and processes from a person's birth until death. The indigenous campesinos of Chiapas certainly live in a cyclical time

[93] Jan de Vos. *Viajes*. 34.

born from the natural cycles accompanying planting and harvesting.[94] Relatively unincorporated into Western capitalism, most have yet to learn the progress-driven notion of time with its linearity and, as Marx stipulated, inevitable progress toward revolution. Obviously, the technology and media of the society of spectacle is wholly irrelevant to indigenous life, so "spectacular time" has not permeated the region.

Aside from these economic arguments, the Mayan cultural legacy leaves a cyclical conception of time still present in indigenous thought today. In this conception, cycles of days, years, and epochs can all be placed on essentially a twenty-four hour solar calendar with periods moving from dawn to noon to afternoon to evening to night. This conception of time proved an integral part in Jan de Vos' recent project of writing a history of the Chiapan indigenous for the Chiapan indigenous. The work, called *Nuestra Raiz,* was translated into five major indigenous languages with the indigenous language printed alongside the Spanish. In one section, de Vos goes into detail to explain the "Christian" conception of time centered around the birth of Christ: to make this understandable to the indigenous, de Vos contrasts this to indigenous notions of time—eventually graphically representing indigenous history on a solar calendar.[95] Throughout the work, de Vos uses this terminology referring to "el atardecer" or "el pleno día" while preparing the reader for a break in this cycle due to the modern economy and indigenous struggle, both bringing "el futuro incierto," the uncertain future.[96] This

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[94] Xochityl Leyva Solano emphasized this point in my conversations with her regarding time. She has noted the same cyclical conception of time in Chiapas as in other places in Latin America and Africa that have been, in some ways, left out of global capitalism.

[95] Jan de Vos. *Nuestra Raiz.* Tr. to Tzeltal Gilberto Moreno Jiménez. México DF: CIESAS, 2001: 27-43. Though it might seem presumptuous for a Belgian scholar to write a work from an indigenous perspective, the work was celebrated by leaders within the indigenous community as a valid representation of the indigenous perspective and comes after decades of personal study and activism by de Vos in the region.

[96] Jan de Vos. *Nuestra Raiz.* 27. The end of this "uncertain future" could be a "futuro major," or better future, by following what de Vos calls the five paths (cincos caminos) to betterment—liberation theology,

uncertain future falls after five hundred years of "bad luck," which, in de Vos' temporal scheme, is "el anochecer."[97]

Then, at what will hopefully be the end of the "anochecer," the EZLN burst onto the political scene. In its leadership and membership, the EZLN stands a crossroads in economies and conceptions of time. The main link between the large indigenous membership and the outside world is Subcommandante Marcos, a university-educated scholar who certainly remains in tune with the economic systems accompanying spectacular time. Marcos writes on neoliberalism and capitalist exploitation in a world where feudalism and forms of slavery have not been abolished. The membership of the EZLN in Chiapas is mainly indigenous, and Marcos' long-time residence in the jungles of the region would certainly acquaint him with cyclical time.[98]

All we can really know about the EZLN, according to Jan de Vos, is what Marcos allows the world to see through his work.[99] This creates an interesting problem that again requires the employment of the rhizome. All we have available are the tracings of different roots. Currents of thought shoot from neoliberal, capitalist time, cyclical time of agrarianism, and the cyclical time of Mayan cosmology. I cannot possibly separate Marcos' personal thought and agenda from the genuine influence of the indigenous

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reflection on history, organization, rise to arms (EZLN), and communication (the initial call to arms of the EZLN quickly became a path to communication, offering a blend of all these paths). (187-196).

[97] Jan de Vos. *Nuestra Raiz.* 27.

[98] I specify "EZLN in Chiapas" to separate it from the global movement, which Xochityl Leyva Solano calls the New Zapatista Movement, which consists of the actual EZLN, the diversity of other organizations working for indigenous and peasant rights, and the EZLN supporters in the US and Europe. Thanks to the internet and global media, the EZLN has members of sorts throughout the world whose conception of time is certainly rooted in capitalism. For an example of these Zapatistas in diaspora, one can look to Marcos' inclusion of all who call themselves "'punk,' 'ska,' 'goth,' 'metal,' 'trasher,' 'rapper,' 'hip-hopper,' and 'etceteras.'" Subcommandante Marcos. "Why We Use the Weapon of Resistance." *Our Word is Our Weapon*. Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 159.

[99] Jan de Vos. Personal Interviews. May 2003. Or, as Marcos once noted, "Through my voice speaks the voice of the EZLN." Sub Marcos. "The Unjust Sentencing of Elorrriaga and Entzin." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Seals Press, 2001: 106.

cosmology, but the possibility remains that his plays with time are merely strategic. However, even if these games were strategic, their strategic value lies in their coincidence with indigenous thought, offering them more credibility. Thus, the temporal games played by the EZLN come from diverse sources to form a powerful tool for a successful rebellion. From this amalgamation, Marcos and the EZLN developed two central temporal tools rooted in indigenous cosmology and economic status—a collapse of a "long" history into an eternal present and the transformation of symbols of the past into live (though, from our perspective, merely metaphysical) existence in the present.

As mentioned earlier, in 1992, campesinos rallied in San Cristóbal to call attention to five hundred years of oppression. This call transcends individual lifetimes and transcends individuality entirely. Rather, this view of time linking individuals into a communal struggle of five centuries collapses all of that history into an ever-present, a "perpetual becoming" to echo Bergson's words quoted earlier. Zapatista manifestos and communiqués constantly reference these 500 years, calling themselves "the products of 500 years of struggle" in their initial declaration.[100] The indigenous, in the Zapatista mindset, feel every hour of this 500 year period of "misery and death," which allows from struggle with an intensity that an adult lifetime of capitalist alienation might not allow.[101] Commandante Ramona, when asked about the length of the struggle, revealed

[100] Subcommandante Marcos. "Declaración de la Selva Lacandona (2 enero 1994)." *EZLN: Documentos y Comunicados*. Vol 1. 2nd ed. Eds. Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis. México DF: Colección Problemas de México, 2000: 33.
[101] Subcommandante Marcos. "Viento primero: el de arriba." *EZLN: Documentos y Comunicados*. Vol 1. 2nd ed. Eds. Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis. México DF: Colección Problemas de México, 2000: 54.

that the 500 years of struggle will be followed by 500 more if need be—the collapse in time allows the conflict to continue indefinitely.[102]

This five hundred years of ever-present history links very neatly with the Mayan story of memory as told by Subcommandante Marcos. Memory, a very useful device, was a gift from the gods: "'Memory is good,' the greatest gods said and told, 'because it is the mirror that helps us understand the present and promises the future.'"[103] Every individual was given an equal share of memory handed out in a small cup; but, since some people were larger than others, the share of memory was proportionally more powerful in the smaller, less powerful people.[104] Therefore, the poor, with the stronger memory, can cross time in these ways, and 500 years seem like nothing at all.

This concept of time allows a useful dimension to symbols. Though Marcos, a master of detournement, plays with symbols often (the shotgun shell-filled bandoliers of Villa that hardly serve his AK-47, colors of the Mexican flag, a pipe to reference Che Guevara), the most useful tool for watching his symbol manipulation is the symbol that reached the name of the movement—Emiliano Zapata.[105] In the discourse of the movement, Zapata takes on many forms becoming memory, spirit, and even living human. The stern man from Morelos who led the south against Díaz, Huerta, and Carranza could not be co-opted by any regime, and his unflinching loyalty to agrarian reform offers inspiration for any struggling in the name of the campesinos. Instead of relegating Zapata to memory as a historical example of what must happen, the EZLN

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[102] Eric Selbin. "Same as It Ever Was: The Future of Revolution at the End of the Century." *Revolution: International Dimensions*. Ed. Mark N. Katz. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2001: 289.
[103] Subcommandante Marcos. "The Story of the Measure of Memory." *Our Word is Our Weapon*. Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 395.
[104] Subcommandante Marcos. "Measure of Memory." 395-6.
[105] To further explore Marcos' personal discovery of a functional poetics or functional symbolism for his revolution, turn to Nicholas Higgins. "The Zapatista Uprising and the Poetics of Cultural Resistance." *Alternatives.* Vol 25 No 3 (July-September 2000).

resurrected Zapata, or perhaps Zapata survived the assassination attempt in April 1919 to live again to fight ninety years later.

Marcos plays both sides on the symbol of Zapata. For the historical realists and those in his audience in metropolitan Mexico, the US, or Europe, Marcos plays with Zapata as a powerful, affective symbol. The name "Zapata" becomes a repeated whisper by the poor youth: "'Zapata' insists the wind, the wind from below, from us."[106] Though many may not accept a resurrected Zapata taking physical form, no one can deny his presence in collective memory. In a statement echoing realistic, capitalist politics, Marcos cites their opposition to the defunct Article 27 as a continuation of Emiliano Zapata's initial demand for land reform.[107] The uprising, like that of Villa and Zapata against Díaz, hopes to provide justice for the poor: here, the symbol stays in the past merely inspiring the present.[108] In this way, Marcos can latch onto the symbol of Zapata in a way that transcends most cultures and backgrounds, whether the one reading his work is in the US, Germany, China or wherever.

For the indigenous of Chiapas, however, Marcos writes of Zapata as a living actor in the struggle, something he can only do because of the collapsed history and cyclical cosmology of the indigenous population. This story meshes with the previous one as Zapata crosses back and forth between physical being and metaphysical inspiration. "The oldest of the old in the indigenous communities say that there once was a man named Zapata who rose up with his people and sang out: 'Land and Freedom!' These old

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[106] Subcommandante Marcos. "Viento primero." 62. "'Zapata' repiten quedo los pobres jóvenes; 'Zapata' insiste el viento, el de abajo, el nuestro."
[107] Subcommandante Marcos. "El Despertador México." *EZLN: Documentos y Comunicados*. Vol 1. 2nd ed. Eds. Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis. México DF: Colección Problemas de México, 2000: 43.
[108] Subcommandante Marcos. "Declaración de la Selva Lacandona." 33.

campesinos say that Zapata didn't die, that he must return."[109] This statement, citing the old campesinos, reflects viewpoints drawn from the Mayan cosmology: "In the mountains, the dead live: our dead. With them live the Votán and the Ikál, the light and thee darkness . . . "[110] The rhetoric of a returned Zapata also appears in Zapatista training programs. In an interview between a Zapatista soldier mortally wounded by the Mexican army and a journalist, the Zapatista recalls comments made by his military instructor during training: "Do not forget it: when you all enter the battle, Zapata will ride once more."[111] The act of rebellion resurrects Zapata who hungers to defend the poor.

In this way, the symbol of Zapata takes on a number of forms. For the global audience, Zapata inspires the EZLN to continue a job undone. This use of Zapata's symbol links to Marcos' global advocacy, as he opposes neoliberalism and imperialism in general while fighting a number of fights across the world.[112] For the indigenous, the symbol of Zapata takes on a more corporeal presence. For some, Zapata feeds the struggle from the grave.[113] For others, Zapata roams the hills and will spring into action once the struggle begins. Regardless, the symbol of Zapata lives in one form or another:

> "Zapata appeared here in the mountains. He wasn't born, they say. He appeared just like that. They say he is Ik'al and Votán, who came all the way over here in their long journey, and so as not to frighten good people, they became one.

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[109] Subcommandante Marcos. "A Storm and a Prophecy." *Our Word is Our Weapon*. Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 32.
[110] Subcommandante Marcos. "Opening Remarks at the First Intercontinental *Encuentro* for Humanity and against Neoliberalism." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 110.
[111] Rafael Aceituno. "Morir por la patria nueva." *Viajes al Desierto de Soledad: un retrato hablado de la Selva Lacandona.* Ed. Jan de Vos. México DF: CIESAS, 2003: 335. "No lo olviden: cuando entren en la batalla, Zapata va a cabalgar de nuevo."
[112] For an example of Marcos' global focus, see his letter to then-governor Tom Ridge concerning the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Subcommandante Marcos. "Letter to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, USA." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 192.
[113] Ana Carrigan. "Chiapas, the First Postmodern Revolution." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001, 420: "'Because Zapata, even though he's dead, is the food of the Indians.'"

> Because, after being together for so long, Ik'al and Votán learned they were they same and could become Zapata."[114]

The syncretism, in this statement, completes the picture. The Mayan cosmology fuses with the political history to form one ever-present in which Zapata struggles like a god among humans. In this time play, Mayan religion fuses with the myth of Zapata, and the struggle continues in the temporal language of the indigenous.

While this "Votán Zapata, guardian and heart of the people," struggles on their behalf, the symbol also serves as a reminder of how uniquely postmodern the movement is.[115] In part, the lexicon of their struggle is a hodge-podge collection of images ascribed a past that might not genuinely exist. In this process, the symbol, though seeming to spring from a lengthy oral tradition, serves almost as a complete simulacrum of that tradition. Zapata, arguably, first became a symbol for the campesino struggle in Chiapas in 1982 with the foundation of the Organización Campesina Emiliano Zapata; furthermore, the gods, Votán and Ik'al reappeared for the first time after being lost for over a century in 1980 with the discovery of some eighteenth century documents denouncing the cult of Votán and Ik'al as examples of "pre-Hispanic devotions."[116]

Though these symbols offer obvious utility in establishing the legitimacy of the movement, they should not be dismissed as postmodern copies negating all reality. Rather, their usefulness as symbols stems from the fact that they link to a very real tradition within the indigenous community. Votán-Zapata can ride again on his white horse as the indigenous struggle across the centuries to claim and reclaim the region.

Conclusion

[114] Subcommandante Marcos quoting Old Don Antonio. "The Story of the Questions." *Our Word is Our Weapon.* Ed. Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001: 415.
[115] Jan de Vos. *Una tierra*. 382.
[116] Jan de Vos. *Una tierra.* 382.

Revolution implies a radical break with the status quo. The vanguard must find a way to motivate others to join the call while articulating a new vision of the future. Revolutionaries must also find a set of tactics to create the desired changes. Though often this implies the careful selection of military or political tactics, one cannot ignore the importance of temporal tactics.

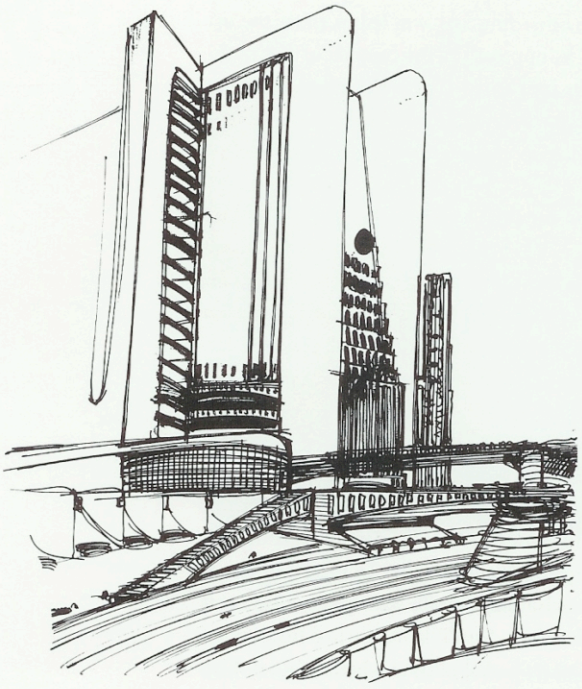
The Futurist movement crafted a philosophy of time suited to an age of dynamism they sought with the cataclysmic destruction of the old order through art and intuition. The Situationists viewed time as a tool of the spectacle and struggled for a new urbanism through the practice of *dérive* in order to suspend time and therefore suspend themselves from the power of capitalism.

In Chiapas, the temporal play took a complex form rooted in a number of sources. Economic poverty places the indigenous in cyclical time, a conception of time reinforced by the solar calendar of the Mayan cosmology. With this mythical background and a historical legacy of five hundred years of struggle, the EZLN crafted a discourse full of these temporal tactics reflecting the indigenous conception of time. The individual dissolves into a process that could continue forever while Zapata, perhaps an incarnation of Mayan deities, rides once again in defense of the campesinos. Though Marcos, an outsider, mediates between the face presented to the outside world and the masked faces of the indigenous, his views reflect that uniquely indigenous cosmology.

From the power stations of Sant'Elia to the psychogeographical studies of Debord, we end at the cathedral in San Juan Chamula with its quotations of Spanish imperialism housing resurrected indigenous animism. The syncretism in political beliefs

mirrors a syncretism in time in which the indigenous struggle for a better future while living a present which is also the past.

Figures One and Two: Futurist Images



115. Antonio Sant'Elia. La Città Nuova, preparatory study, 1914. Musei Civici, Como.

116. Antonio Sant'Elia. La Città Nuova, preparatory study, 1914. Musei Civici, Como.

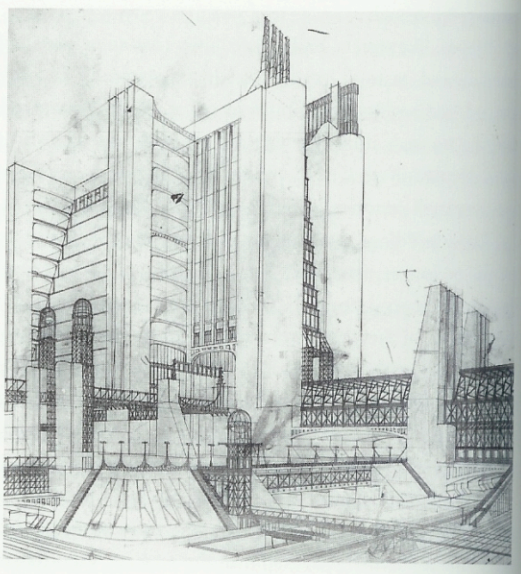




Plate 16. Antonio Sant'Elia. Power station. Dated February 25, 1914, Como. Collection of Paride Accetti, Milan.

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