



The Power of the Word: Discourse, Collective Resistance, and the EZLN as the Radical ‘Other’

Nizar Mohamad

Abstract:

Departing from the foco theory of revolution that swept Latin America since the 1960s, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) represents a turning point in ideological currents marked by the region’s new social movements. Combining ski masks with poetry, Marxism with Christianity, and pan-indigenism with anti-neoliberal globalization, the EZLN, through an eclectic fusion of discursive pillars, has metamorphosed over time into a group capable of representing all things to all people. Since their official declaration of war ‘against the Mexican state’ on January 1, 1994, the EZLN has witnessed an evolution in their discourse, shifting greater weight and focus onto becoming an organization that can increasingly relate to—and connect with—the world’s oppressed. Accordingly, this paper will attempt to illustrate how the discourse of the EZLN has evolved from focusing on synthesizing pan-indigenism and class struggle to becoming a more pluralistic expression against neoliberal globalization. This paper will seek to accomplish this by drawing on the evolution of their language and symbols within their political and economic climate, dividing neo-Zapatismo into two main periods—namely 1994-2005, and 2006 onward. Methodologically, this paper will seek to assess the growth of the evolution of their discourse against a backdrop of historical events within Mexico in order to pinpoint overall trends. Transcending traditional notions of revolution and collective resistance, the EZLN’s model enriches international studies, as their popularity as global icons demonstrates the transnationalization of struggle, wherein local plights are increasingly viewed as part of a greater global struggle—connected to a world marked by unprecedented integration.

Résumé :

En partant de la théorie foco de révolution qui secoua l’Amérique latine depuis les années 60, l’Armée zapatiste de liberté nationale (EZLN) représente un tournant décisif des courants idéologiques marqués par les nouveaux mouvements sociaux de la région. Combinant les masques de ski avec la poésie, le marxisme avec le christianisme et le pan-indigénisme avec la mondialisation anti-néo-libérale, l’EZLN, à travers une fusion éclectique des piliers discursifs, a métamorphosé, avec le temps, en groupe capable de représenter toute chose à tous. Depuis leur déclaration de guerre officielle “contre l’état mexicain” le 1 janvier 1994, l’EZLN a connu une évolution dans leur discours, plaçant plus d’importance et d’attention en devenant une organisation qui peut, de plus en plus, se rapporter et se connecter avec les opprimés du monde. Par conséquent, cet essai tente de illustrer comment le discours du EZLN a évolué d’une

concentration sur la synthétisation du pan-indigénisme et la lutte des classes à devenir une expression plus pluraliste contre la mondialisation néo-libérale. Cet essai cherche à accomplir ceci en prélevant l'évolution de leur langue et leurs symboles au sein de leur climat politique et économique, divisant le neo-Zapatismo en deux périodes majeurs : c'est-à-dire 1994 à 2005 et de 2006 à nos jours. Méthodologiquement, cet essai cherche à évaluer la croissance de l'évolution de leur discours contre un contexte d'événements historiques au sein du Mexique afin d'identifier des tendances générales. Transcendant les notions traditionnelles de révolution et de résistance collective, le modèle EZLN enrichit les études internationales, comme leur popularité iconique globale démontre la transnationalisation de la lutte puisque la détresse locale est considérée de plus en plus comme une part d'une lutte globale plus grande—liée dans un monde marqué par l'intégration sans précédent.

Departing from the machismo foco model that has gained prominence in revolutionary Latin American politics and discourse since the 1960s, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), also known as the Neo-Zapatistas, or simply Zapatistas,¹ represent a turning point in ideological currents marked by the region's new social movements. Incorporating discursive pillars that include, among other things, pan-indigenism, Mexican nationalism, class struggle, and anti-neoliberalism/neoliberal globalization, as well as elements derived from Liberation Theology, the EZLN, from their ski masks to their poems, interviews, and communiqués, have become a multifaceted symbol of resistance as Mexico's radical 'other'. Accordingly, the heart of this paper's subject matter is to examine the progression and evolution of the EZLN's discourse since they officially 'declared war against the Mexican state' on January 1, 1994². Beginning with the First Declaration of the Selva Lacandona in 1994, this paper will attempt to illustrate how the discourse of the EZLN has evolved from focusing on synthesizing pan-indigenism and class struggle to becoming a more pluralistic expression against neoliberal globalization. This paper will seek to accomplish this by drawing on the evolution of their language and symbols within their political and economic climate, dividing neo-Zapatismo into two main periods, namely 1994-2005, and 2006 onward. Before this, however, this paper will introduce the EZLN's character as a new social movement, and then proceed to briefly trace the historical precursors that led to their formation—a formation that rests on (and is driven forward by) the struggle against the legacies of liberal injustice.

¹ This paper recognizes that although they are often referred to as "Zapatistas", this label will be excluded here, opting to refer to them interchangeably as the EZLN or Neo-Zapatistas.

² The First Declaration of the Selva Lacandona ("Lacandon Jungle") is the first of six official declarations outlining, among other things, the demands of the EZLN in their struggle against the Mexican government. Issued out of the Lacandon Jungle, it officially introduced the world to the discourse and demands of neo-Zapatismo. See "EZLN's Declaration of War, Today we say 'enough is enough!' (Ya Basta!) First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html>, accessed April 30, 2014.

The Radical ‘Other’: a Revolution Modeled on ‘Difference’

Residing alongside the Guatemalan border in the Southeastern Mexican province of Chiapas, the EZLN is a revolutionary social movement that is essentially unique in its ideology and structure. Modelling their name symbolically after the revolutionary figure of Emiliano Zapata, the name itself chosen by the EZLN fundamentally invokes a theme of revolution and resistance. Often said to project a “hybrid revolutionary discourse” or “metalanguage against modernity”³, the EZLN transcends traditional notions of Marxism and departs from the *foco model*⁴ by eclectically mixing elements of leftism with Indianism, nationalism with anti-capitalism, and Liberation Theology with human dignity. In fundamental opposition to the homogenizing tenets of the liberal concept of democracy, the EZLN’s ideology and structure is built on a notion of participatory democracy that functions by “positing the central role of difference”, and thus “sees ‘other’”⁵. This is precisely what has made them so unique as a movement, as their social orientation stresses the inclusion of the ‘other,’ which will briefly be addressed below.

As the radical ‘other,’ the ideology and structure of the EZLN is in itself revolutionary. As opposed to the macho aura of the *foco guerrilla model*, the hierarchical structure of the liberal state, and the social stratification of the indigenous Mayan cargo system,⁶ the EZLN is built on a commitment to a radically inclusive conceptualization and implementation of participatory

³ John Bahn, "Marxism in a snail shell: Making history in Chiapas," *Rethinking History* 13, no. 4 (December 2009): 541.

⁴ Formulated originally by French philosopher Régis Debray, the *foco model*, also known as the *foco theory of revolution*, is a theory inspired by the revolutionary tactics, experiences, and ideological outlook of Ernesto “Che” Guevara. Among other things, the theory stipulates the need for armed revolution in the form of organized paramilitary mobilization as a means of overthrowing the state and achieving socialist democracy. Stressing the need for vanguardism, armed insurrection, and utilizing pitched battles alongside peasant warfare to achieve tactical success, the *foco model*, while accentuating social justice, espoused an aura of machismo and elitism that the EZLN continues to reject, as is explored in the paper.

⁵ Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, *The Speed of Dreams*, Edited by Canek-Pena-Vargas and Greg Ruggiero. (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2007), 23

⁶ The Mayan cargo system consists of a series of customs and traditions that govern the social interactions and socio-economic components of Mayan societies in parts of Latin America, mainly in Central America, including notably Southern Mexico. Based on hereditary, patriarchal, and generational ties, young men are particularly disadvantaged in the Cargo system, as they are forced to spend an entire lifetime proving their commitment to the community before being elevated to a position of power or privilege. As opposed to commonly invoked myths that depict Mayan society as egalitarian and utopian, the Cargo system contains within it a great deal of social stratification, including the presence of Cacique elites.

democracy, including the integration of women. It should be noted here that although the EZLN reject the social stratification of the cargo system, particularly the role of the elders, they have integrated the system's importance of the community into their model of governance⁷. Their four main struggles—indigenous rights, democratization, land reform, and women's rights—visibly influence their practices as they engage in rotational leadership, communal councils, and governing through consensus, all while actively encouraging greater inclusion and participation of women through their Women's Revolutionary Law. This law has become “of great symbolic importance for thousands of indigenous women who are members of peasant, political and cooperative organizations”⁸. Furthermore, as opposed to the machismo of the foco model, which as Margaret Randall notes, treated the plight of women in Nicaragua's revolutionary FSLN government as subservient or residual to securing socialism⁹, the EZLN's approach is radically different.

Through the usage of ski masks, made famous by their chief “spokesman” Subcomandante Marcos, the Neo-Zapatistas are able to both conceal their identity and make a symbolic anti-caudillo statement, as their refusal to associate a face with leadership corresponds to their repudiation of having a sole leader, as well as their rejection in principle of hierarchical structures of governance¹⁰. Furthermore, their struggle for autonomy and a pluriethnic nation permeates through their educational system as they have instituted schools in local indigenous languages that

⁷ Ryan Hollon and Karen Lopez, “Autonomous Capacity Building: Zapatista bases of Support, Radical Commercial Corridors, and the Battle for the Horizon in the Urban U.S.,” *A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 1, no 1. (Winter 2007): 50-68

⁸ R. Aida Hernandez Castillo, “Zapatismo and the Emergence of Indigenous Feminism,” *Report on Race and Identity* XXXV, No.6. (May/June 2002): 40

⁹ Margaret Randall, *Sandino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1994)

¹⁰ In an interview conducted almost immediately after the EZLN took control of the city of San Cristobal de la Casas on January 1, 1994, Subcomandante Marcos, on the importance of their masks, articulated the following:

“The one who speaks is a more collective heart, not a caudillo. That is what I want you to understand, not a caudillo in the old style, not in that image. The only image that you will have is that of those who make this happen are masked. And the time will come when the people realize that it is enough to have dignity and put on the mask and say: Well then, I can do this too...we do not want a dictatorship of any other kind, or anything out of this world, like international Communism. We want justice now where there is not even minimum subsistence—such as in the whole state of Chiapas”. See Tom Hayden ed., *The Zapatista Reader* (New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation's Books, 2002), 210-211

teach an alternative view of history that develops an “awareness” or “critical consciousness” of the exploitative nature of social relations¹¹. Through these schools, they seek to emancipate their communities by dismantling the educational institutions that have reinforced the historic status quo, from colonialism to neoliberalism, instead replacing them with school systems in Chiapas that reassert the role of the subaltern, in which “Indians have passed from being the objects of someone else’s history to the subjects of their own... as protagonists of the history of Chiapas and Mexico”¹². This has allowed them to redefine their indigeneity in order to ‘reinvent’ their image, opting for a more active and empowering role as the ‘other’ while advancing their demands for greater autonomy.

Significantly, the discourse the EZLN employs circulates prominently across the globe. Their usage of idioms, metaphors, poems, and short stories, alongside their multiple communiqués and declarations, have found their way into virtually all mediums from YouTube and Facebook to transnational NGO statements, journals,¹³ and book publications. As they have over time become the icons or ‘poster boys’ of anti-neoliberal globalization, their symbol even managed to invoke constant references by those involved in the Occupy Wall Street gatherings in New York¹⁴. It follows that a brief look at their history would be instructive in providing some background as to the contemporary origins of their discourse.

¹¹ Adam David Morton, “Global Capitalism and the Peasantry in Mexico: the Recomposition of Class Struggle,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (Taylor and Francis) 34, no.3 & 4 (July/October 2007): 451

¹² Thomas Benjamin, “A Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no.2 (April 2000): 450

¹³ Notably, the EZLN’s literature has frequently been featured in *La Jornada*, one of Mexico’s leading newspapers.

¹⁴ Francisco Javier Gomez Carpinteiro, “The Subject’s Tracks: The Other Campaign, Self-Knowledge, and Subjectivity in the Liberal Democratic Cycle,” *Latin American Perspectives* 40(5), no.192 (September 2013): 148

Contemporary Origins

“We are a product of 500 years of struggle”¹⁵. In many ways, the EZLN wages its struggle against hierarchies in general as a response to the exploitative reconfiguration of society imposed upon them in a historical sense, first by colonialism, then by the liberal state as developed in post-Independence Mexico. For the sake of this paper, the contemporary precursors that matter date back to a historical context that emanated between the 1960s and 1980s.¹⁶ During this period, overpopulation, combined with increasing privatization (including the dissolution of state corporatism), unemployment, poverty, and political repression all proved to have a disproportionately negative impact on the peasants and indigenous populations in Mexico, particularly those in Chiapas¹⁷. Taken together with the relationship forged between Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) and the Chiapan Cacique elites, social stratification within indigenous Mayan societies was further exacerbated. This relationship, which rested heavily on the PRI’s historic formula of co-optation or coercion, rewarded these elites for complying with the state’s need for land to further ‘developmental’ ambitions—most notably in the industries of agriculture, oil, and gas. Here, their role as land brokers allowed them to determine who was given access to *ejido* land¹⁸ in exchange for valuable concessions from the state, including distribution licenses for Coca Cola and Corona plants. This impeded democratic spaces and opportunities within indigenous communities, particularly in light of the pre-existing cargo system, which required young men to spend their entire lives proving their commitment to the community before being elevated to a position of power. As many of these men would either

¹⁵ "EZLN's Declaration of War, Today we say 'enough is enough!' (Ya Basta!) First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html>, accessed April 30, 2014.

¹⁶ Written in 1995 in one of their earliest declarations, the EZLN issued a statement in which they proclaimed, in their words, “we are the products of encounter between indigenous wisdom and resistance and the rebelliousness and valor of the generation of dignity which lit the dark night of the Sixties, the Seventies and the Eighties with its blood”. See John Holloway and Eloina Paleaz, *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico* (London, VA: Pluto Press, 1998), 126

¹⁷ Sarah Washbrook, “The Chiapas Uprisings of 1994: Historical Antecedents and Political Consequences,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (Taylor and Francis) 32, no. 3 & 4 (2005): 417-449

¹⁸ *Ejido* lands are village lands communally held under a traditional Indian system. *Ejidors* function in principle by granting ownership to the community, while use is given to individuals and families for the sake of cultivating lands.

become catechists or seek seasonal employment outside the community, the exploitation experienced during seasonal employment, along with the decentralization of the Church and the emergence of a progressive one in its place—influenced heavily by the tenets of Liberation Theology—all intersected to result in the creation of a distinct social atmosphere. This atmosphere set the stage for new forms of political consciousness that crossed class-ethnic lines. Furthermore, their encounters in Chiapas with peasants who had escaped the horrors of the Guatemalan Civil War had also contributed in their radicalization. When they came to combine their indigenous plight with components of this new founded radical language—containing elements that ranged from revolutionary Marxism to Liberation Theology—to challenge the traditional systems of power and status quo favourable to the Caciques, their leaders often expelled them. Many of these people came to form the EZLN, and over time, as the government failed to successfully co-opt them, it turned to coercion and their cross ethnic-class struggles were met with increasing repression.

Seminal Beginnings

Home to only three percent of the country's overall population, while providing the rest of Mexico with resources and raw materials that range from electricity to corn, Chiapas, significantly, has been described as a “rich land consisting of poor people”¹⁹. It is in this climate of poverty, vulnerability, overpopulation, social exclusion, economic exploitation, and discrimination—by both the state and the community elites—that the stage was set for EZLN's seminal beginnings, as they emerged onto the scene in Chiapas in 1983. Long before their official ‘declaration of war against the Mexican state’ on the 1st of January 1994, the contemporary history of the Neo-Zapatistas as an organization began with the establishment of the first encampment of the Emiliano Zapata Guerrilla Nucleus in the Lacandon Jungle on November 17,

¹⁹ Benjamin ctd in Adam David Morton, “Global Capitalism and Pesantry in Mexico: The Recomposition of Class Struggle,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (Taylor and Francis) 34, no.3 & 4 (July/October 2007): 447

1983. At this stage, they consisted of a revolutionary “mixture, apparently contrived, of Leninism, Maoism, [and] Geuvarism”²⁰. In light of such rising birth rates, poverty, and political repression, the discourse of struggle began to change, altering traditional Marxist conceptions to actively include indigenous platforms and involvement, causing it to flourish²¹. The members of this group quickly synthesized together with their indigenous surroundings to give birth to a new more radical form of consciousness—Neo-Zapatismo.

In light of this synthesis, as one leading Comandante explained, the “EZLN learned how to adapt itself to our indigenous peoples, that is, that the organization knew how to make the changes necessary to be able to grow”²². This adaptation or change would lend itself to the conceptualization of “leading by listening” and “governing by obeying”²³, mixing into its revolutionary orientation the language, customs, and traditions of the indigenous population which the movement represents²⁴. This included a model of power relations through local indigenous understandings of democratic spaces, lived experiences, and the “politics of listening”, which translated into a commitment to radical participatory democracy, based on rotational governance and communal councils for decision making²⁵. Here, it should be noted that the famous discourse on learning through “the politics of listening” or “‘command obeying’ clearly demonstrates the central difference between the Zapatistas and all former Latin American revolutionary experiences: the Zapatistas are not a ‘guerrilla force’ nor an ‘armed party’ with a particular social base, but rather they are the social base itself,” as the communities collectively decide on

²⁰ John Holloway and Eloina Paleaz, *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico* (London, VA: Pluto Press, 1998), 127

²¹ Nick Henck, *Subcomandante Marcos, the Man and the Mask* (London: Durham University Press, 2007), 132-137

²² Subcomandante Moisés qtd in Gloria Munoz Ramirez, *The Fire and the Word A History of the Zapatista Movement*, Translated by Laura Carslen with Alejandro Reyews Arias (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2008), 74

²³ Speaking on the need to listen and obey in daily practices and customs, a guide and compañero Old Antonio recounted that “[a] good hunter is not a good marksman, but a good listener,” and that “[e]veryone hears, but listening means discovering what every sound means”. See Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, *The Speed of Dreams*, Edited by Canek-Pena-Vargas and Greg Ruggiero (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2007), 72

²⁴ See Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, *The Speed of Dreams.*, Edited by Canek-Pena-Vargas and Greg Ruggiero (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2007), 8

²⁵ Mariana More. “Imagination to Listen: Reflections on a Decade of Zapatista Struggle”. *Social Justice* 30, no.3 (2003): 17-31

everything from warfare to politics²⁶. Formally established in late November of 1983 with roughly one hundred members, the EZLN's membership grew, as their discourse and practices evolved to about 1,300 people in 1989, particularly in light of the electoral frauds of 1988 and 1989 in Michoacan²⁷. This "listening", which had contributed to the founding of their commitment to this new synthesis of radical democracy, has come to define their uniqueness as a new social movement. However, as a new social movement, they have evolved from 1994, which will be examined below.

The Eruption of Narratives: 1994-2005

Through slow and patient work in developing their democratic capacities and expanding their membership through to key sections of Chiapan society, the EZLN exploded onto the political scene on January 1st 1994 with the implementation of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Although in 1992 the Mexican government had begun combining repression in Chiapas with modifications of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution dealing with agrarian reform, the ratification of NAFTA, in accordance with multinational interests, was conditional on the article's complete removal, marking a "watershed [moment] for peasants"²⁸. This uprising was conceived primarily as a response to increasing privatization, unemployment, poverty, political repression, and the dissolution of state corporatism that would increase with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)²⁹ ³⁰. The First Declaration of the Selva

²⁶ John Holloway and Eloina Pleaz, *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico* (London, VA: Pluto Press. 1998), 130

²⁷ Tom Hayden ed, *The Zapatista Reader* (New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation's Books, 2002), 325

²⁸ Tom Hayden ed, *The Zapatista Reader* (New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation's Books, 2002), 337

²⁹ Sarah Washbrook, "The Chiapas Uprisings of 1994: Historical Antecedents and Political Consequences," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (Taylor and Francis) 32, no. 3 & 4 (2005): 417-449

³⁰ Liberalism's legacy in Chiapas becomes increasingly visible in the 1982 Debt Crisis, in which the Mexican government, in an attempt to relieve its external debt, began to engage in heavy privatization of state held industry, austerity, and removing historic communal land protections that date back to the 1917 Mexican Constitution. These policies, compounded by the economic setting, had a disproportionate impact on peasants, particularly those with unresolved land disputes in Chiapas. See Georga A. Collier and Jane F. Collier, "The Zapatista Rebellion in the

Lacandona was, as the EZLN proclaimed, a “Declaration of War” against the “Mexican federal army”, the “one-party system”, and the “dictator” Salinas de Gortari³¹. Although commonly considered a declaration of war “against the state,” it should be noted that, as a new social movement departing from the Guevarist foco model, the “EZLN did not seek to subvert the Mexican state, but to replace the existing political regime and transform its economic policies”³². Although claiming their initial objective was aimed to “[a]dvance to the capital”, however, in keeping with their bottom-up democratic practices they ensured that they would be “protecting in [their] advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated areas the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities”³³. This implies a safeguarding of civilians in conjunction with the spread of their bottom-up approach towards other regions of Mexico. When discussing PRI’s “betrayal of the nation”, it represented an eclectic discursive mixture of Marxist nationalism and anti-colonialist national liberation³⁴. The EZLN’s identity during this phase would consist of fusing these declarations with a heavy focus on indigenist discourse.

Pan-Indigenousness and Poverty: the Synthesis of Class and Culture

The EZLN coupled this military declaration outright with a distinctly indigenist discourse. From 1994-2005, the focus of their discourse mainly consisted of a fusion that sought to combine class and culture, particularly within a Mexican context that heavily accentuated indigenous nationalism. Although other forms of discourse were visible, including most notably anti-

Context of Globalization,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (Taylor and Francis) 32, no.3 & 4. (July/October 2005): 450-460.

³¹ "EZLN's Declaration of War, Today we say 'enough is enough!' (Ya Basta!) First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html> (accessed April 30, 2014).

³² Tom Hayden ed, *The Zapatista Reader* (New York, New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press/Nation’s Books, 2002), 65

³³ "EZLN's Declaration of War, Today we say 'enough is enough!' (Ya Basta!) First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html> (accessed April 30, 2014).

³⁴ Ramón Máiz, “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico” (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 250

neoliberal globalization, the movement's discourse during this era oriented towards placing greater weight on indigenous—and often Mexican—struggles. A communiqué dated April 10, 1994 pushed for the dissolution of ethnic, class, and religious differences in collective indigenous identity, referring to them as “the people of nocturnal passage”, the “voiceless”, the “foreigners in their own land”, the “people of eternal death”, the “landless and tomorrowless”, the “true men and women”³⁵, and so on. This very public statement reinforced the position, solidified internally from the beginning of their organizational activities during this era, of the EZLN's orientation towards the ‘dignity of the Indian’ while abandoning the traditional foco guerrilla ideology³⁶. Accordingly, ethnic identity was now given “precedence over class”, as campesino production and original Zapata slogan of “Tierra y Libertad” became less frequently utilized during this phase between 1994 and 2005.³⁷

This transitional shift does not, however, mean that other elements such as economic concerns, anti-neoliberal, nationalist commitment, etc. were abandoned, but that this discourse represented a new synthesis, increasingly placing weight on the plight of the Indians. Documents like “Words of the EZLN in Oaxaca, Oaxaca”³⁸ and “EZLN Communiqué: the March for Indigenous Dignity Begins”³⁹ demonstrate the mutually reinforcing discourses of Mexican nationalism, indigenism, and anti-hierarchy messages, while accentuating that the struggle of indigenous society represents at large the struggle of all Mexicans. Their conception of indigenous struggles as a microcosm of Mexican social relations is projected in their narratives, as they stress

³⁵ EZLN qtd in Ramón Máiz, “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 250

³⁶ Ramón Máiz, “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico” (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 252

³⁷ *Ibid*

³⁸ “Words of the EZLN in Oaxaca, Oaxaca.” Words of the EZLN February 26, 2001 in Oaxaca, Oaxaca. http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/2001/ccri/ccri_oaxaca_feb.html (accessed April 29, 2014)

³⁹ “EZLN Communiqué: the March for Indigenous Dignity Begins - 2/24/01.” EZLN communiqué: the March for Indigenous Dignity Begins - 2/24/01. <http://www.criszenzo.com/jaguarsun/chiapas/chiapas109.html>, accessed April 30, 2014.

that their plight has “a place in this [Mexican] flag”⁴⁰, highlighting that “[w]e are all part of the tree that is the Mexican nation”⁴¹. Works like these elaborative—yet deeply poetic—texts both intellectually and culturally challenge hegemonic notions of Mestizo nationalism, indigenous marginalization, and liberal norms in state-citizen relation while, contextually, the discourse simultaneously fosters solidarity against the status quo institutions of the day in the form of armed and social resistance. Thus, the discourse at this stage represented an active ideological challenge of pervasive cultural norms through literary means, which sought to strengthen their identity as a movement, while at the same time being situated within a context of actualized shifts in real world events.

Moving forward, the interactions with the EZLN and the Mexican state throughout the San Andreas peace process in 1996, to some degree created an opportunity for more political openness in Mexican society. Key to the peace process was the notion that the Mexican state, run by the PRI, was pushed to abandon its previous policy of co-option or elimination and genuinely consult with a social movement that both ideologically and militarily challenged its conceptions of a liberal (and neoliberal) state for the few and powerful. However, the subsequent backing out of the PRI from actually implementing the accords, along with a new military offensive in Chiapas, further elucidated Neo-Zapatista claims to legitimacy. A key appendage to the messaging of the EZLN throughout the peace process was the establishment of Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) in the Third Declaration of the Selva Lacandona⁴² and the Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (FZLN) in the Fourth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona⁴³ to act as a set of broad based

⁴⁰ *Ibid*

⁴¹ "Words of the EZLN in Oaxaca, Oaxaca." Words of the EZLN February 26, 2001 in Oaxaca, Oaxaca. http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/2001/ccri/ccri_oaxaca_feb.html, accessed April 29, 2014.

⁴² EZLN. "Third Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle." Cyber Nations Wiki. http://cybernations.wikia.com/wiki/Third_Declaration_from_the_Lacandon_Jungle, accessed April 29, 2014.

⁴³ EZLN. "Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle." EZLN: Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. <http://www.struggle.ws/mexico/ezln/jung4.html>, accessed April 29, 2014.

pan-Mexican political, yet non-partisan, civil society organizations or movements based on principles of coalition building and Neo-Zapatismo.

Translated into the realm of electoral politics, these developments had a profound impact on the subsequent elections of 2000. Given that the elections of 1988 where Salinas de Gortari won through more than questionable means⁴⁴, coupled with intense developments in regards to the EZLN from 1994 to 2000 that placed indigenous and land issues back on the national agenda, the elections of 2000 were quite politically charged. Subsequently, the PRI lost power to the Partido Acción Nacional's (PAN) Vicente Fox who, after EZLN pressure, caved into their demands of prisoner releases and de-militarization in Chiapas⁴⁵.

However, Vicente Fox failed to honour the commitments of the San Andres Accords, and instead opted in 2001 to pass the Law of Indigenous Rights and Culture, which would simply act as a constitutional reform that allowed them to be identified as Indian. The EZLN insisted on an Indian law that would correlate with the proposal outlined up by the Comisión de Concordia y Pacificación (COCOPA) to establish pluriethnic political autonomy within Mexico⁴⁶. This insistence grew as "avenues of political opportunity were closed by the Mexican government's failure to comply with the San Andre's Agreements, by the political and military harassment of the EZLN, and by the passage of a Law of Indigenous Rights and Culture that betrayed the spirit of the COCOPA draft"⁴⁷. As a result, the EZLN increasingly attempted to call on the 63 native tongues of Mexico, emphasizing the "root of the nation", the "Indian heart of the motherland", and "the proud indigenous essence of the Mexican nation"⁴⁸. Met with the government's denials

⁴⁴ Ginger Thompson., "Ex-President in Mexico Casts New Light on Rigged 1988 Election," The New York Times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/09/world/ex-president-in-Mexico-casts-new-light-on-rigged-election.html>, accessed April 29, 2014.

⁴⁵ Stanford University. "Zapatista Prospects in a Changed Environment."

<http://www.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Zapatista%20Prospects.htm> (accessed April 29, 2014).

⁴⁶ Ramón Máiz, "The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico" (1993-2009)," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 255

⁴⁷ *Ibid*

⁴⁸ Qtd in *Ibid*

of their repressive and exclusionary policies towards the populations of Chiapas—policies that saw paramilitaries being actively sheltered by state governors—they began attempting to overcome the “potential difficulties of ‘Indianist nationalist’ identity through bidirectional synecdoche and metaphor: ‘Detrás de nosotros estamos ustedes’ (literally ‘Behind us we are you’)⁴⁹. From this point on, the EZLN’s discursive tone placed greater emphasis on becoming more inclusive, in pursuit of mitigating mestizo-Indian barriers and drawing support from national, and later international, audiences. The symbolic emphasis of the “behind us we are you” discourse would eventually become the platform that would propel their discursive identity forward, as they managed to transform into a more holistic and inclusive movement that sought solidarity from world’s oppressed populations, and thus looked outward for support and validation⁵⁰. In the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, Marcos states the following:

The time has come to take a step that is risky but worthwhile. Because united with other sectors of society who suffer the same deprivations as us, it may be possible to achieve what we need and deserve. Progress in the struggle of the indigenous peoples is only possible if the Indian joins with the workers, the peasants, students, teachers, employees, and so on—with workers in town and country.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Subcomandante Marcos qtd in Ramón Máiz, “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 256

⁵⁰ It should be noted that although this discourse first appeared in Subcomandante Marcos’ Opening Remarks at the Intercontinental Encuentro for Humanity against Neoliberalism in Chiapas on July 27, 1996, the EZLN increasingly returned to this platform as the movement progressed. The following is a brief excerpt from the statement:

Behind our black mask,
 Behind our armed voice,
 Behind our unnameable name,
 Behind us, who you see,
 Behind us, we are you...
 The same excluded,
 The same untolerated,
 The same persecuted,
 Behind us, you are us
 Behind our masks is the face of all...

Qtd in Marcos, Insurgente, and Juana Leon, *Our Word Is Our Weapon* (New York: Seven Stories; 2001), 103-104.

⁵¹ "EnlaceZapatista." Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-en/>, accessed April 26, 2014.

Consequently, the EZLN began reorienting their discursive focus towards resisting the perils of neoliberal globalization/global capitalism⁵², transforming its iconic identity once again, and departing from a focus on indigenoussness.

2006-On: Pluralism and Anti-Neoliberal Globalization

From 2006 on, the EZLN began to channel its discourse towards the perils of neoliberal globalization, allowing it to become an icon of anti-globalization sentiments. Although they had always made mention of neoliberalism as a “global decomposition”, a “Fourth World War” in which “we find ourselves in a world system willing to sacrifice millions of humans”⁵³, the shift only grew drastically after 2006. From 2006 on, the shift in emphasis would serve to allow the organization to align with the world’s oppressed peoples under the umbrella of anti-capitalist momentum. This was marked by the increasing attention given in their narrative towards “capitalist barbarity”, “unbridled capitalism”, and how the “capitalist system in Mexico is waging war through the land” and throughout the world with “neoliberal globalization”⁵⁴. Here, “the Recovery of Marxist language, the rejection of bourgeois democracy and the redefinition of the EZLN as an anti-capitalist left-wing movement all reflect...the manifest relegation of the Indian cause from the forefront of the EZLN’s program and structure, the former demands for Indian rights, autonomy, and cultural and political recognition becoming diluted within an anti liberal strategy that seeks to unite the multiple demands of a wider range of groups”⁵⁵. This allowed the movement to increasingly nurture and enhance the facilitation of bonds of solidarity

⁵² Francisco Javier Gomez Carpinteiro. “The Subject’s Tracks: The Other Campaign, Self-Knowledge, and Subjectivity in the Liberal Democratic Cycle,” *Latin American Perspectives* 40(5), no.192 (Septemer 2013): 142

⁵³ "Subcomandante Marcos on Neoliberalism and the Media, An Address to the Free Media Conference from Subcomandante Marcos", YouTube video, 1:00-1:22, posted by "zapata420", Jan 4, 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OTy3aLBSMw>, accessed April 23, 2014.

⁵⁴ Qtd in Ramón Máiz. “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 256

⁵⁵ Ramón Máiz. “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico” (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 258

with the world's oppressed peoples. In the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, Marcos illustrated his moral support by proceeding to state the following:

What we want in the world is to tell all of those who are resisting and fighting in their own ways and in their own countries, that you are not alone, that we, the Zapatistas, even though we are very small, are supporting you...⁵⁶

The Other Campaign

Along this trajectory of becoming more inclusive, the EZLN launched the Other Campaign in 2006. Touring Mexico for six months, spokesman Marcos—now “Delegate 0”—met with a wide array of people from varying groups and organizations, including indigenous leaders, trade union organizers, intellectuals, feminists, human rights activists, women’s rights activists, peasants, teachers, prostitutes, factory workers, sexual minorities, and fisherman, among others, to continue to ‘learn’ from others while denouncing neoliberalism and capitalism as the common denominator⁵⁷. This enabled the EZLN as a movement to continue to maintain the relevance of their struggle by facilitating moral solidarity with all of the world’s oppressed people, particularly through their usage of the internet, which among other things, allows them to connect to—and gather ideological, and financial support—from various NGOs and donors. Through the campaign, “persons with multiple experiences of exploitation and subjugation emerged as subjects renaming themselves in history”⁵⁸. Since Marcos had been alluding to “neoliberalism”, “exploitation”, “the great theft”, and the “sale of the motherland” since 1993⁵⁹, it should be noted that the launching of the Other Campaign in early 2006, “did not constitute a minor variation of

⁵⁶ ⁵⁶ "EnlaceZapatista." Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-en/>, accessed April 26, 2014.

⁵⁷ Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, *The Other Campaign*, Edited by Greg Ruggiero, Bilingual ed. (San Francisco: City Lights, 2006)

⁵⁸ Francisco Javier Gomez Carpinteiro, “The Subject’s Tracks: The Other Campaign, Self-Knowledge, and Subjectivity in the Liberal Democratic Cycle,” *Latin American Perspectives* 40(5), no.192 (Septemer 2013): 142

⁵⁹ Subcomandante Marcos qtd in Ramón Máiz. “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico” (1993-2009),” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 258

the EZLN discourse, but an abrupt change in its priorities”⁶⁰. The FZLN and MLN that were previously mentioned became the civil society forerunners of “the Other Campaign” outlined in the Sixth Declaration⁶¹. The importance of these organizations is that their configuration highlights the EZLN’s multiple efforts to shift towards creating a grass-roots coalition “from below and to the left” within Mexican society⁶², as the Sixth Declaration invited the peoples of Mexico to resist and opt for “another way of doing politics, for a program of national struggle of the left”⁶³. This “struggle of the left” was important, particularly as it came in light of the movement’s slow retreat from the Mexican Left.

The EZLN and the “Struggle of the Left”

Relations between the Zapatistas and the Mexican left have taken on two components: the first being an all out rejection of the “ ‘modern’ ” and ‘legitimate’ [electoral] left” while appealing to organizations “from below and to the left” through the auspices of the MLN and FZLN, and the second through the Other Campaign to take action for a radical social shift in Mexico⁶⁴. As discussed above, the EZLN took an approach of movement building across Mexico from 1994 – 2005 through the MLN and FZLN outlined in the Third and Fourth Declarations. The FZLN dissolved itself with the introduction of the Sixth Declaration’s Other Campaign indicating that certain members could, if they so chose, undertake the Other Campaign⁶⁵. This indicates a movement of resources and leftist activists into the Other Campaign itself; thus, adherents and

⁶⁰ Ramón Máiz. “The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico” (1993-2009).” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 5, no.3 (November 2010): 258

⁶¹ “EnlaceZapatista.” Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-en/>, accessed April 26, 2014.

⁶² Heidy Sarabia, “Organizing ‘Below and to the Left’: Differences in the Citizenship and Transnational Practices of Two Zapatista Groups,” *Sociological Forum* 26: 356-380.

⁶³ ⁶³ “EnlaceZapatista.” Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-en/>, accessed April 26, 2014.

⁶⁴ Indy Media, Chiapas “Comuniqué from the CCRI-CG of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation | Colectivos De Apoyo, Solidaridad Y Acción.” CASA. Accessed March 26, 2015. <http://www.casacollective.org/story/ezln-communicues/comunique-ccri-cg-zapatista-army-national-liberation>.

⁶⁵ FZLN. “Letter from the FZLN to the EZLN.” Letter from the FZLN to the EZLN. <http://zaptranslations.blogspot.ca/2005/11/letter-from-fzln-to-ezln.html> (accessed April 29, 2014).

supporters of the EZLN and its goals became known as “adherents of the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle” in the period of 2005 onwards⁶⁶. In this sense, the expanded discourse of 2005 forward has had a real effect on the organizational activities of the EZLN in terms of how their national and international supporters see their activities in relation to the organization and its goals. In regards to the electoral Left, the 1994 – 2005 period was rocky in relations with leftist parties such as the PRD who sabotaged the water supply of EZLN communities⁶⁷ and supplanted the implementation of the San Andreas Accords⁶⁸.

The discourse of the EZLN from late 2005 onwards is very critical of these parties, particularly of their goals and their outlook. Organizers from the Other Campaign have branded López Obrador, the PRD leader, as “a politician of the center right, a neoliberal “progressive””⁶⁹ while Marcos has come out critically against the “PRI, PAN, PRD, PVEM, PT, CC and the future political party RN” for their attacks “militarily, politically, socially, and ideologically”⁷⁰. Thus, the EZLN has maintained an open policy of communication and organization with like-minded grass roots civil society groups who adhere to their platform outlined in the Sixth Declaration while being heavily critical of all electoralist parties as being entrenched with corruption, an illustration of “bad governments which belong to the entirety of the political spectrum without a single exception”⁷¹. It is also interesting to note that the EZLN “recognize[s] and respect[s]” other political groups, like the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR), which wages armed struggle due to

⁶⁶ "enlaceZapatista," EZLN ANNOUNCES THE FOLLOWING STEPS, Communiqué of December 30, 2012 « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/02/ezln-announces-the-following-steps-communicue-of-december-30-2012/>, accessed April 27, 2014.

⁶⁷ "MEXICO: PRD cuts off Zapatista communities from water | Cultural Survival," MEXICO: PRD cuts off Zapatista communities from water | Cultural Survival. <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/mexico-prd-cuts-zapatista-communities-water>, accessed April 28, 2014.

⁶⁸ Luis Hernández Navarro, "Mexico Voices: How Mexico Politics Supplanted San Andrés Accords with Zapatistas," Mexico Voices: How Mexico Politics Supplanted San Andrés Accords with Zapatistas. <http://mexicovoices.blogspot.ca/2013/02/how-mexico-politics-supplanted-san.html>, accessed April 28, 2014.

⁶⁹ "YoSoy132: Student-led Uprising in Mexico - An interview with Patrick Cuninghame (Professor, Mexico City)," Class War University. <http://classwaru.org/2012/06/11/yosoy132-student-led-uprising-in-mexico-an-interview-with-patrick-cuninghame-professor-mexico-city/>, accessed April 28, 2014.

⁷⁰ "enlaceZapatista," EZLN ANNOUNCES THE FOLLOWING STEPS, Communiqué of December 30, 2012 « Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/02/ezln-announces-the-following-steps-communicue-of-december-30-2012/>, accessed April 27, 2014.

⁷¹ *Ibid*

their belief that the Mexican political landscape, as of 2007, maintain a “lack of spaces for political participation and struggle” for the oppressed⁷². The EZLN from 1994 to today has remained weary as to Mexican democratization; in the first period the EZLN embarked on a truly democratic project against what was until 2000 a virtual one party state. Although Mexico has experienced multi-party rule as of late, the EZLN has assessed the situation as remaining undemocratic on account of the acceptance of neoliberalism by all political parties. Thus, they remain sympathetic to armed struggle because of the undemocratic nature of political space in the country. However, even within circles of the Left, the EZLN has maintained its distinct identity as the contemporary radical ‘other’.

Conclusion

From the heart of the Lacandon Jungle to the chants of anti-neoliberal movements across the globe, the EZLN’s discourse has become iconic. As the weight of the focus has shifted the scale from a cross class-ethnic fusion of indigenous nationalism to anti-neoliberalism and anti-capitalism, both the group’s dynamics and character as a new social movement continue to represent a notable departure from Latin America’s mid-to-late 20th century foco model. While the EZLN’s discourse has undergone an evolution in focus and momentum from their official conception in 1994, the voicing and articulation of their struggle has reached global audiences, and for the longest period was able to give new life to their organization. Although slowly fading away from the spotlight within the past few years, the EZLN, through the success of their discourse, have immortalized themselves as global revolutionary icons, regardless of the particular dynamics of their ongoing plight for greater political autonomy within both Chiapas and Mexico at large. By fostering solidarity with other movements across the world, the Neo-Zapatistas have

⁷² Indymedia Chiapas, "Communiqué from the CCRI-CG of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation | Colectivos de Apoyo, Solidaridad y Acción," CASA. <http://www.casacollective.org/story/ezln-communicues/communique-ccri-cg-zapatista-army-national-liberation>, accessed April 29, 2014.

served as an effective symbol in expressing that the ‘other’ exists everywhere—and these ‘others’ are the oppressed and excluded, regardless of geography or ethnicity. Through the politics of listening, they have encouraged others to listen to them in return.

Bibliography

- Anarkismo.net. "EZLN Communique-6th Declaration of the Selva Lacandona."
http://www.anarkismo.net/newswire.php?story_id=805 (accessed 30 April 2104).
- Bahn, John. "Marxism in a Snail Shell: Making History in Chiapas." *Rethinking History* 13.4 (2009): 541-60.
- Benjamin, Thomas. "A Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas." *The American Historical Review* 105.2 (2000).
- Carpinteiro, Francisco Javier Gomez. "The Subject's Tracks: The Other Campaign, Self Knowledge, and Subjectivity in the Liberal Democratic Cycle." *Latin American Perspectives* 40.5 (2013): 138-52.
- Castillo, R. Aida Hernandez. "Zapatismo and the Emergence of Indigenous Feminism." *Report on Race and Identity, NACLA Report on the Americas* (2002): 39-59.
- Colectivos de Apoyo, Solidaridad y Acción. "Communiqué from the CCRI-CG of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation." <http://www.casacollective.org/story/ezln-communicues/communique-ccri-cgzapatista-army-national-liberation> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- Collier, Georga A., and Jane F. Collier. "The Zapatista Rebellion in the Context of Globalization." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 32.3-4 (2005): 450-60.
- EnlaceZapatista. "EZLN Announces the Following Steps" 30 December 2012.
<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/02/ezln-announces-the-following-steps-communique-of-december-30-2012/> (accessed 27 April 2014).
- "EZLN Communiqué: the March for Indigenous Dignity Begins - 2/24/01."
<http://www.criszenzo.com/jaguarsun/chiapas/chiapas109.html> (accessed 30 April 2014).
- "EZLN's Declaration of War" Today we Say 'Enough Is Enough!' (Ya Basta!)."
<http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html> (accessed 30 April 2014).
- EZLN. "Third Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle." *Cyber Nations Wiki*.
http://cybernations.wikia.com/wiki/Third_Declaration_from_the_Lacandon_Jungle (accessed 29 April 2014).
- . "Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle."
<http://www.struggle.ws/mexico/ezln/jung4.html> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- FZLN. "Letter from the FZLN to the EZLN." <http://zaptranslations.blogspot.ca/2005/11/letter-from-fzln-to-ezln.html> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- Haar, Gemma Van Der. "Land Reform, the State, and Zapatista Uprising in Chiapas." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 32.3-4 (2005): 487-507.
- Hayden, Tom, ed. *The Zapatista Reader*. New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation's Books, 2002.
- Henck, Nick. *Subcomandante Marcos, the Man and the Mask*. London: Durham University Press, 2007.
- Hollon, Ryan and Karen Lopez. "Autonomous Capacity Building: Zapatista bases of Support, Radical Commercial Corridors, and the Battle for the Horizon in the Urban U.S." *A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 1.1 (2007): 50-68
- Holloway, John and Eloina Pleaz, *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*. London, VA: Pluto Press, 1998.
- Indymedia Chiapas. "Communiqué from the CCRI-CG of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation | Colectivos de Apoyo, Solidaridad y Acción." CASA.

- <http://www.casacollective.org/story/ezln-communicues/communique-ccri-cgzapatista-army-national-liberation> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- Máiz, Ramón. "The Indian Heart of the Nation: The Evolution of the Political Discourse of the EZLN in Mexico, 1993-2009." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 5.3 (2010): 254-72.
- Marcos, Subcomandante Insurgente. *The Speed of Dreams*. Edited by Canek Pena-Vargas and Greg Ruggiero. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2007.
- . *The Other Campaign*. Edited by Greg Ruggiero Bilingual ed. San Francisco: City Lights, 2006.
- "Mexico: PRD Cuts off Zapatista Communities from Water." *Cultural Survival*.
<http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/mexico-prd-cuts-zapatista-communities-water> (accessed 28 April 2014).
- More, Mariana. "Imagination to Listen: Reflections on a Decade of Zapatista Struggle." *Social Justice* 30.3 (2003): 17-31.
- Morton, Adam David. "Global Capitalism and the Peasantry in Mexico: The Recomposition of Class Struggle." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 34.3-4 (2007): 441-73.
- Navarro, Luis Hernández. "How Mexico Politics Supplanted San Andrés Accords with Zapatistas." *Mexico Voices*. <http://mexicovoices.blogspot.ca/2013/02/howmexico-politics-supplanted-san.html> (accessed 28 April 2014).
- Randall, Margaret. *Sandino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1994.
- Ramirez, Gloria Munoz. *The Fire and the Word, A History of the Zapatista Movement*. Translated by Laura Carlsen with Alejandro Reyes Arias. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Book, 2008.
- Sarabia, Heidy. "Organizing 'Below and to the Left': Differences in the Citizenship and Transnational Practices of Two Zapatista Groups." *Sociological Forum* 26.2 (2011): 356-80.
- Stanford University. "Zapatista Prospects in a Changed Environment."
<http://www.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Zapatista%20Prospects.htm> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- Thompson, Ginger. "Ex-President in Mexico Casts New Light on Rigged 1988 Election." *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/09/world/ex-president-in-mexico-casts-new-light-on-rigged-1988-election.html> (accessed 29 April 2014).
- Washbrook, Sarah. "The Chiapas Uprisings of 1994: Historical Antecedents and Political Consequences." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 32.3-4 (2005): 417-49.

YouTube Videos:

- "Subcomandante Marcos on Neoliberalism and the Media." An Address to the Free Media Conference from Subcomandante Marcos, *YouTube* video, 1:00-1:22, posted by zapata420 on 4 January 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OTy3aLBSMw> (accessed 23 April 2014).
- "YoSoy132: Student-led Uprising in Mexico - An interview with Patrick Cuninghame (Professor, Mexico City)." *Class War University*. <http://classwaru.org/2012/06/11/yosoy132-student-led-uprising-in-mexico-an-interview-with-patrick-cuninghame-professor-mexico-city/> (accessed 28 April 2014).
- "Words of the EZLN in Oaxaca, Oaxaca." 26 February 2001.
http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/2001/ccri/ccri_oaxaca_feb.html (accessed 29 April 2014).