

ZAPATISTA COMMUNIQUÉS & COMMENTARIES

DECEMBER – JANUARY, 2012-2013

CCRA ZAPATISMO DOSSIER #1



**Center for Convivial
Research & Autonomy**

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As a small collective dedicated to collective pedagogies, the CCRA currently claims a number of interconnected projects that weave together innovative, community-centered research, learning, and local capacity-building. The CCRA's investment in co-learning spaces generates critical analytical skills, research tools, facilitation techniques, and community service strategies able to address the intersections of environmental regeneration, community well-being, community safety, food sovereignty, and community health. For more info: ccra@mitotedigital.org

During the early hours of December 21, 2012 the EZLN flowed in from the five caracoles (La Realidad, Oventik, Morelia, La Garrucha, Roberto Barrios) with approximately 40,000 Zapatistas assembling in five key municipalities (Ocosingo, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Palenque, Altamirano and Las Margaritas) throughout Chiapas. This most recent occupation echoes the intervention of January 1, 1994 with the exception of the execution in silence, "without arms, without death, without destruction" and in far greater numbers.¹ The Zapatista's strategic display of force not only speaks to the success of their local autonomy but also to the challenges that remain in fulfilling the mandate of the San Andres Accords, advancing the mobilization begun with La Otra, and transcending the impact of the 4th World War throughout Greater Mexico. Not surprisingly, the Zapatista's intervention continued in a series of communiqués and commentary generated by the political space they made possible.

While Zapatista detractors and critics revive old claims that dismiss the Zapatistas as nothing more than political theater orchestrated by the personage David Ronfeldt and Armando Martinez describe as the "star quality spokesman 'Subcomandante Marcos,'" others

continue walking a path that attempts "to go beyond solidarity." "Our first task is to defend Zapatismo," as Gustavo Esteva has recently remarked, a Zapatismo that no longer only belongs to the Zapatistas.³

Zapatismo, as was said long ago, is an intuition, a political ethos increasingly from below and to the left. As such, it continues to erupt in a variety of locales and across an ever-growing rhizome of communities of struggle living the future they imagine in the present. In the same way Zapatista autonomous rebel municipalities are spaces where "another way of doing politics is already a reality."⁴ Thus, we are increasingly aware of the successes of the "one no and many yeses" because dignity always produces knowledge about itself. We benefit from the Zapatistas commitment "to learn to recognize the face and word of our fellow travelers."⁵

Not surprisingly, the import of such a profound and strategic intervention was taken up at the Tercer seminario de Reflexión y análisis: Planeta Tierra movimientos antisistémicos⁶ hosted by CIDECI-Universidad de la Tierra.⁷ "To know, study, and understand the Zapatista experience," Raúl Zibechi reminds us, "is more urgent than ever for those of us who live under the progressive model."⁸

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This document inaugurates a series of dossiers, or collections of documents, that attempt to contribute to a living archive of struggle. As such, they gather the key texts shared by the EZLN and a selection of commentaries generated in response or as a consequence of their intervention. It is by no means exhaustive and it anticipates additional collections, each emerging along side the critical ruptures and the spaces that advance "a new way of doing politics." By living archive we suggest that the dossier not only collects the primary sources of struggle, but also circulates the statements of opposition

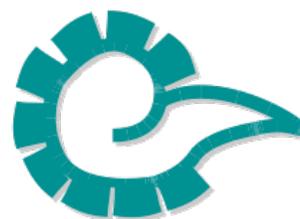
that are taken up in the many spaces of rupture that these texts serve.

Notes

1. See, Communiqué of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee —General Command of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation, December 30, 2012 <<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/02/ezln-announces-the-following-steps-communiqué-of-december-30-2012/>>.
2. See, Ronfeldt and Martinez, "A Comment on the Zapatista 'Netwar'" in In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR880.html>.
3. See, <<http://seminarioscideci.org/category/audios-tercer-seminario/>>.
4. See, Communiqué of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee —General Command of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation, December 30, 2012, <<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/>

2013/01/02/ezln-announces-the-following-steps-communiqué-of-december-30-2012/>.

5. Quoted in Gloria Muñoz Ramírez <<http://upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/4063-we-are-here-zapatistas-send-silent-message-with-the-return-of-the-pri>>.
6. See, <<http://seminarioscideci.org/category/3er-seminario/>>.
7. See, <<http://seminarioscideci.org/esta-es-la-pagina-de-los-seminarios-del-cideci/>>.
8. See, <<http://mywordismyweapon.blogspot.com/2013/01/the-tenacious-zapatista-persistence.html>>.



Communiqué of the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico.
December 21, 2012
To Whom It May Concern:

Did you listen?

It is the sound of your world crumbling.

It is the sound of our world resurging.

The day that was day, was night.

And night shall be the day that will be day.

Democracy!
Liberty!
Justice!

From the Mountains of Southeastern Mexico.
For the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee – General Command of the EZLN

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos,
Mexico, December 2012

Translation by El Kilombo Intergaláctico

[<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/02/communiqué-of-the-clandestine-indigenous-revolutionary-committee-general-command-of-the-zapatista-national-liberation-army-mexico/>]

We Don't Know You? ***

Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico
December 29, 2012.

Zapatista Army For National Liberation.

Mexico.

To Whom It May Concern Above:

"You think that you are on the winning side...
And so, in addition to traitors, you're idiots."
Tyrion Lannister in the Song of Ice and Fire, Part II: "Game of Thrones." George R.R. Martin.

"A reader lives a thousand lives before dying," said Jojen.
"He who never reads lives only one."
Jojen Reed in the Song of Ice and Fire, Part V: "Dance of Dragons" George R.R. Martin. (Jojen Reed will appear in the third season of the HBO series "Games of Thrones". His character will be played by Thomas Brodie-Sangster. Note supplied by Marquitos Spoil).

"If someone draws a bulls-eye on their chest," said Tyrion after sitting down and taking a sip of wine, "they should be aware that sooner or later someone will shoot arrows at them."

"All of us need to be made fun of once in awhile, Lord Mormont," replied Tyrion shrugging his shoulders. "If not, we begin to take ourselves too seriously."
Tyrion Lannister with the leaders of the Night's Watch in the Song of Ice and Fire, Part I: "Game of Thrones."

"Out with the handsome
better ugly and delicious
than handsome and stupid"
Botellita de Jerez [Mexican Rock Band]

Ladies and Gentlemen?

When we saw the article we thought it was a prank for the 28th of December,¹ but we see that it is dated the 24th of the same month.²

So we don't know you yet? Hmm... hmm... let's see:
Enrique Peña Nieto. Wasn't he born in Atlacomulco, in Mexico State? Isn't he the relative of Alfredo Del Mazo and Arturo "long hands" Montiel?

Is it not he who ordered, in collusion with the PRD municipal government of Texcoco, the eviction of flower vendors and the arrest of the leader of the People's Front in Defense of the Land, Ignacio del Valle, in May of 2006?

Is it not he who ordered his junkyard dog, Wilfrido Robledo Madrid to attack the town of San Salvador Atenco and order his police to sexually assault the women? Is he not the intellectual murderer of Javier Cortés and Alexis Benhumea? Was it not the Supreme Court of the Nation that determined that the three levels of government (note: federal government: PAN; state government: PRI; municipal government: PRD) did in fact commit grave violations against the individual rights of the population?

Is he not the one that made tragically ridiculous the case of the little girl, Paulette, a case better known as "the case of the murderous mattress?"

Is he not the one who praised himself for initiating the police violence in San Salvador Atenco and with his prideful attitude, forgetting that he was in front of critical young people and not a television set and from his position of rule in the bathroom of the Ibero [University Iberoamericana], ordered the slander of the nonconforming students, thus giving rise to the student-youth movement that would become known as #yosoy132?

Is it not he who, as his first act of government and in collusion with the PRD government of Mexico City, ordered the repression of the protesters on December 1st of this year that resulted in the torture and incarceration of innocents?

Is it not he who has read poorly the teleprompter that has accompanied him even before the media coup d'etat on July 1, 2012?

It is not he who now wants to hide behind the skirts of the alleged relatives of the repeatedly deceased, as if this were all a bad soap opera?

Oh and listen, now that we're on the topic of soap operas, what will be the trend of this six-year term? I mean, with Echeverría it was the *guayaberas*; with López Portillo the fresh juices; with De la Madrid the gray rat; with Salinas de Gortari, prozac; with Zedillo, the bad jokes; with Fox the wisecracks; with Calderón, blood... and with Peña Nieto? "True loves?" Ooooh... what a joke

Anyway, sorry, let's continue with our not-knowing:
Emilio Chuayffet Chemor. Was he not Enrique Peña Nieto's boss and "teacher"? Was he not Secretary of State under Ernesto Zedillo? Is he not the little drunk that, in 1996, told the Cocopa that the federal government accepted its initiative for law, and then, in his hangover, retracted it? Was he not one of the intellectual authors of the Acteal massacre in December 1997? Was it not he who wanted to impose the fashion of the "flirtatious hair-dos" between

priistas, with his only supporter being his then-pupil Enrique Peña Nieto?

Pedro Joaquín Coldwell. Was he not government commissioner for peace in Chiapas when the Acteal massacre occurred, and who kept quiet and continued receiving a salary in return for doing nothing?

Rosario Robles Berlanga. Was she not head of government in Mexico City for the PRD? Did she not take pride in the repression that her police launched multiple times against the students of the UNAM during the strike of 1999-2000? Was she not the one who, at the head of the PRD, sold, in all senses of the word, her party? Is she not now in charge of fighting the Bejaranos for corporatism in Mexico City and throughout the republic?

Alfonso Navarrete Prida. Was he not the one who first covered up organized crime's "balancing of accounts" that resulted in the murder of Enrique Salinas de Gortari (pssst, you guys don't get along at all, right?) and later exonerated Arturo "long hands" Montiel?

Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong. Was he not accused of rerouting government funds to the PRI? Was it not against him that the attorney general (PGR) opened a preliminary investigation (PGR/SIEDO/UEIDORPIFAM/185/2010) for having links to the criminal organization "Los Zetas"? (Ah, is there a change in the strategy for combating narco-trafficking?)

(Oops, I'm seeing now that one of the brothers of the Subsecretary of Migration, Population, and Religious Issues, of the Secretary of State under Mr. Osorio Chong,³ has not one but multiple preliminary investigations—various of these with the stamp "cancelled because of the death of the witness," and then another stamp "he's not dead after all," and then another "it turns out he is indeed good and dead," and so on... hmm... 18 times. The last stamp, "turns out the bastard is still out there somewhere" is from December 21, 2012, with a handwritten note that says, "pending activation, wait for instruction from CSG." ... hmm... what do those initials stand for? Did they change the name of the PGR? Somebody should tell the *tampiqueño*, no?

Of course, you all will tell me that these people are not in charge, that in reality it is Carlos Salinas de Gortari who dictates to Enrique Peña Nieto what he should do (ah! What would have become of this country had the teleprompter not been invented?)

Ok, ok, ok. Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Is it not he who looted like none other the wealth of the nation during his rule? (yes, I know they are all thieves, but there are amateurs and there are professionals). Is it not he who devastated the Mexican countryside with his reforms to Article 27 of the Constitution? Was it he whose New Year's toast we soured in the early morning of 1994? Was it not he who saw his dictatorial dreams destroyed by a few wooden rifles? Was it not he who ordered the assassination of Luis

Donaldo Colosio Murrieta? Was it not he who, this past December 21, picked up the emergency line and asked frenetically: "what are they saying? What are they saying?" and who felt a chill down his spine when he received the answer, "nothing, they're in total silence."

All of you, are you not those who have always opted for violence over dialogue?

Are you not those who always rely on force when you are wrong?

Are you not those who have made a school of corruption and vileness in all of the political parties?

Are you not those who have refused to honor the San Andrés Accords that would have meant constitutional recognition of indigenous rights and culture and that would have put an end to the displacement masked as mining, aqueducts, dams, tourism, highways, and subdivisions?

Are you not the ones who, with your *compañer@s* in the political class, look like those security advisors that, in large buildings, try to convince the tenants of the middle, upper, and penthouse floors that they are not in danger as the lower floors and the basement are being dynamited? I mean, does anyone believe you?

You all, who so many times have killed me, declared me dead, extinct, defunct, finished, cadavered, disappeared, defeated, surrendered, given up, bought off, annihilated, do you think that anyone will believe you when its actually true that, as in love, in body and soul I deliver myself to death and become just a little bit more earth in the earth?

If you have responded "no" to any of these questions, then you're right, we don't know you.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

Mexico, December 2012.

P.S. THAT REPEATS – I know you already know this, but it's important that you remember it: we aren't scared of you. Ah, and we're not the only ones.

P.S. WHICH, GENEROUSLY, OFFERS TO THE BAD GOVERNMENTS A 10-STEP MANUAL (note: it's easy reading, don't be alarmed), TO IDENTIFY A ZAPATISTA AND HOW TO KNOW OR NOT IF ONE "HAS CONTACTS WITH THE EZLN":

1.- If he or she asks for money or projects from any of the three levels of government, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

2.- If he or she establishes a line of communication without previously announcing it publicly, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

3.- If he or she speaks or asks to speak directly with any of the 3 levels of government without first publicly announcing this intention, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

4.- If he or she wants a job, title, homage, award, etc., NOT A ZAPATISTA.

5.- If he or she is scared, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

6.- If he or she sells out, surrenders, or gives up, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

7.- If he or she takes him or herself very seriously, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

8.- If he or she does not provoke chills on sight, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

9.- If he or she does not give the impression that he or she says more with what he or she keeps quiet, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

10.- If he or she is a ghost of those that have disappeared, NOT A ZAPATISTA.

P.S. THAT APOLOGIZES.- Oh, I know you expected something more serious and formal. But, isn't the tone and

style of this missive better "proof of life" than a photo a video, or even an autograph?

THE P.S. THAT DELIVERS A HAIKU FROM MARIO BENDETTI TO SUPMARCOS: "I don't want to see you / for the rest of the year / that is, until Tuesday.

[<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/07/we-don't-know-you-yet/>]

Notes

1. Translator's note: On December 23th 2012, in response to the EZLN's silent march that took place on December 21, 2012 the new PRI Secretary of State Miguel Osorio Chong made a public statement to the effect that the EZLN was getting ahead of itself because they "did not yet know" the nature of the new administration (see *La Jornada*, December 24th 2012 "*Todavía No Nos Conocen*").
2. Translator's note: December 28th, *Día de los inocentes*, is similar to April Fools Day in the Anglophone world.
3. Translator's note: The subsecretary of migration is Paloma Vicente Guillén, sister of Rafael Sebastian Guillén (referred to here as "*el tampiqueño*") whom the Mexican government alleged in 1996 to be the identity of Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

EZLN Announces the Following Steps Communiqué of the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico
December 30 2012.

To the People of Mexico:

To the People and Governments of the World:

Brothers and Sisters:
Compañeros and *Compañeras*:

In the early morning hours of December 21, 2012, tens of thousands of indigenous Zapatistas mobilized and took, peacefully and silently, five municipal seats in the southeast Mexican state of Chiapas.

In the cities of Palenque, Altamirano, Las Margaritas, Ocosingo, and San Cristóbal de las Casas, we looked at you and at ourselves in silence.

Ours is not a message of resignation.

It is not one of war, death, or destruction.

Our message is one of struggle and resistance.

After the media coup d'état that catapulted a poorly concealed and even more poorly costumed ignorance into

the federal executive branch, we made ourselves present to let them know that if they had never left, neither had we.

Six years ago, a segment of the political and intellectual class went looking for someone to hold responsible for their defeat. At that time we were, in cities and in communities, struggling for justice for an Atenco that was not yet fashionable.

In that yesterday, they slandered us first and wanted to silence us later.

Dishonest and incapable of seeing that it was within themselves that there was and still is the seed of their own destruction, they tried to make us disappear with lies and complicit silence.

Six years later, two things are clear:
They don't need us in order to fail.
We don't need them in order to survive.

We, who never went away, despite what media across the spectrum have been determined to make you believe, re-emerge as the indigenous Zapatistas that we are and will be.

In these years, we have significantly strengthened and improved our living conditions. Our standard of living is higher than those of the indigenous communities that support the governments in office, who receive handouts that are squandered on alcohol and useless items.

Our homes have improved without damaging nature by imposing on it roads alien to it.

In our communities, the earth that was used to fatten the cattle of ranchers and landlords is now used to produce the maize, beans, and the vegetables that brighten our tables.

Our work has the double satisfaction of providing us with what we need to live honorably and contributing to the collective growth of our communities.

Our sons and daughters go to a school that teaches them their own history, that of their country and that of the world, as well as the sciences and techniques necessary for them to grow without ceasing to be indigenous.

Indigenous Zapatista women are not sold as commodities.

The indigenous members of the PRI attend our hospitals, clinics, and laboratories because in those of the government, there is no medicine, nor medical devices, nor doctors, nor qualified personnel.

Our culture flourishes, not isolated, but enriched through contact with the cultures of other peoples of Mexico and of the world.

We govern and govern ourselves, always looking first for agreement before confrontation.

We have achieved all of this without the government, the political class, and the media that accompanies them, while simultaneously resisting their attacks of all kinds.

We have shown, once again, that we are who we are.

With our silence, we have made ourselves present.

Now with our word, we announce that:

First – We will reaffirm and consolidate our participation in the National Indigenous Congress, the space of encounter with the original peoples of our country.

Second – We will reinitiate contact with our *compañeros* and *compañeras* adherents of the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle in Mexico and the world.

Third – We will try to construct the necessary bridges toward the social movements that have arisen and will arise, not to direct or supplant them, but to learn from them, from their history, from their paths and destinies.

For this we have consolidated the support of individuals and groups in different parts of Mexico, formed as support teams for the Sixth and International Commissions of the EZLN, to become avenues of communication between the Zapatista bases of support and the individuals, groups, and collectives that are adherents to the Sixth Declaration, in Mexico and in the World, who still maintain their conviction and commitment to the construction of a non-institutional left alternative.

Fourth – We will continue to maintain our critical distance with respect to the entirety of the Mexican political class, which has thrived at the expense of the needs and desires of humble and simple people.

Fifth – With respect to the bad governments – federal, state, and municipal, executive, legislative, and judicial, and the media that accompanies them, we say the following:

The bad governments, which belong to the entirety of the political spectrum without a single exception, have done everything possible to destroy us, to buy us off, to make us surrender. PRI, PAN, PRD, PVEM, PT, CC and the future political party RN have attacked us militarily, politically, socially, and ideologically.⁴

The mainstream media tried to disappear us first with opportunist and servile lies followed by a complicit and deceptive silence. Those they served, those on whose money they nursed are no longer around and those who have succeeded them will not last any longer than their predecessors.

As was made evident on December 21, 2012, all of them failed. So, it's up to the federal, executive, legislative and judicial governments to decide if they are going to continue the politics of counterinsurgency that have only resulted in a flimsy simulation clumsily built through the media, or if they are going to recognize and fulfill their commitments by elevating Indigenous Rights and Culture to the level of the Constitution as established in the "San Andrés Accords" signed by the Federal Government in 1996, which was at the time led by the very same political party that today occupies the executive office.

It will be up to the state government to decide if it will continue the dishonest and despicable strategy of its predecessor, that in addition to corruption and lies, used the money of the people of Chiapas to enrich itself and its accomplices and dedicated itself to the shameless buying off of the voices and pens of the communications media, sinking the people of Chiapas into poverty while using police and paramilitaries to try to brake the organizational advance of the Zapatista communities; or, if instead, with truth and justice, it will accept and respect our existence and come around to the idea that a new form of social life is blooming in Zapatista territory, Chiapas, Mexico. This is a flowering that attracts the attention of honest people all over the planet.

It will be up to the municipal governments if they decide to keep swallowing the tall tales with which anti-Zapatista or

supposedly “Zapatista” organizations extort them in order to attack and harass our communities; or if instead they use that money to improve the living conditions of those they govern.

It will be up to the people of Mexico who organize in electoral struggles and resist, to decide if they will continue to see us as enemies or rivals upon which to take out their frustration over the frauds and aggressions that, in the end, affect all of us, and if in their struggle for power they continue to ally themselves with our persecutors; or if they finally recognize in us another form of doing politics.

Sixth – In the next few days, the EZLN, through its Sixth and International Commissions, will announce a series of initiatives, civil and peaceful, to continue walking together with other original peoples of Mexico and of the continent, and together with those in Mexico and the world who struggle and resist below and to the left.

Brothers and Sisters:

Compañeros and Compañeras:

Before we had the good fortune of the honest and noble attention of various communications media. We expressed our appreciation then. But this has been completely erased by their later attitude.

Those who wagered that we only existed in the communications media and that, with the siege of lies and silence they created we would disappear, were mistaken.

When there were no cameras, microphones, pens, ears, or gazes, we continued to exist.

When they slandered us, we continued to exist.

When they silenced us, we continued to exist.

And here we are, existing.

Our path, as has been demonstrated, does not depend on media impact, but rather on comprehending the world and all of its parts, on indigenous wisdom that guides our steps, on the unswerving decision that is the dignity of below and to the left.

From now on, our word will be selective in its destination and, except on limited occasions, will only be able to be understood by those who have walked with us and who continue to walk without surrendering to current or media trends.

Here, not without many mistakes and many difficulties, another form of doing politics is already a reality.

Few, very few, will have the privilege of knowing it and learning from it directly.

19 years ago we surprised them taking with fire and blood their cities. Now we have done it once again, without arms, without death, without destruction.

In this way we have distinguished ourselves from those who, during their governments, distributed and continue to distribute death among those they govern.

We are those, the same, of 500 years ago, of 44 years ago, of 30 years ago, of 20 years ago, of just a few days ago.

We are the Zapatistas, the very smallest, those that live, struggle, and die in the last corner of the country, those that do not give up, do not sell out, those that do not surrender.

Brothers and Sisters:

Compañeros and Compañeras:

We are the Zapatistas, receive our embrace.

DEMOCRACY!

LIBERTY!

JUSTICE!

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast

For the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee—
General Command of the Zapatista Army for National
Liberation

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

Mexico.

December 2012 – January 2013.

Translation by El Kilombo Intergalactic

[<http://compamanuel.wordpress.com/2012/12/31/ezln-announces-next-steps/>]

Notes

4. Translator's note: PRI (the party of the 70 year dictatorship and home of former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari); PAN (the right-wing party of recent president Felipe Calderón which oversaw the total devastation and the deaths of tens of thousands of Mexicans due to its “war on drugs” during the last twelve years); PRD (the institutional “left” party which joined the PAN and the PRI in blocking constitutional reforms on Indigenous Rights and Culture and which until recently was the party of Andrés Manuel López Obrador); the PVEM (Partido Verde Ecologista de México), PT (Partido del Trabajo), CC (Convergencia Ciudadana) and RN (Regeneración Nacional, the political party that is now being built by Andrés Manuel López Obrador after his friendly exit from the PRD).

Letter to Luis Héctor Álvarez Álvarez⁵

Zapatista Army for National Liberation

Mexico

November – December 2012

“Most men would rather deny a hard truth than face it”

Tyrion Lannister to Jon Snow

“A craven can be as brave as any man, when there is nothing to fear. And we all do our duty when there is no cost to it. How easy it seems then, to walk the path of honor. Yet sooner or later in every man’s life comes a day when it is not easy, a day when he must choose.”

Master Aemon Targaryen to Jon Snow

To: Luis Héctor Álvarez Álvarez.

Somewhere in Mexico (I hope)

From: Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

Chiapas, México.

Señor Álvarez...

Err...Allow me a moment, *Señor Álvarez*, to explain a little bit about where the epigraphs come from; the quotes are from the book: *A Song of Ice and Fire. Book One: Game of Thrones.* 1996. George R.R. Martin. The television series *Game of Thrones*, which gets its name from the first volume of the saga, isn’t bad (Peter Hayden Dinklage, who gives image and voice to Tyrion Lannister, ironically, stands above the other actors and actresses; Jon Snow is played by Kit Harington, and Master Aemon Targaryen by Peter Vaughan), and you can obtain the first two seasons at a reasonable price from your favorite video seller (say yes to piracy).

The DVD that I watched was an unrequested gift from an street vendor on Eje Central, Mexico City (that is to say, someone bought it there and sent it to me)...oops, Mexico City’s “left” government is going to enforce article 362 of the criminal code against me because, let’s face it, it’s applicable to just about everything (they would be the envy of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz...oh, oh, and this article was proposed in 2002 by then-mayor of Mexico City, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and approved by the Mexico City legislature which had a PRD majority...hmm...don’t use this part...I wouldn’t want them to say that I am at the service of the right...you know how much I worry about what is said about me.)

The image was a little pixelated, but you could see and hear it pretty well. And at a good price, they tell me; in any case, it’s cheaper than paying for HBO, and without the anxiety of having to wait another week to know what happened with little Bran (Isaac Hempstead Wright), or with the dazzling Daenerys Targaryen (Emilia Clarke).

However I would also recommend reading the books – yes I know that this presidential term reading books isn’t in fashion and buying hair gel is cheaper – but one advantage is that you can take a course in practical philosophy (ah, the paradoxes) through the dialogues of Tyrion Lannister (who, I am told, is a literary projection of Mr. George R.R. Martin). The other advantage is that you can “spoil” (or whatever it’s called these days) copiously on your favorite blogs. Although it will earn you the enmity of many, your points (still negative) will increase significantly for posting. Just don’t go too far, because if it occurs to you to say that what happens in “Dance of Dragons”...ok...ok...ok...I’ll stop...say no to spoiling.

You’re Welcome.

Sincerely,

Marquitos Spoil.

Now:

Señor Álvarez Álvarez:

This letter is not only to reaffirm that which the multitudinous silence of December 21 should have made clear to you, to the political class, to the PAN government in general and to Felipe Calderón in particular: You have failed.

It’s not so dramatic really. Other governments have tried it before...and they will continue trying.

But, *Señor Álvarez*, you should not look to us as the cause of your failure, nor even to the lack of professionalism of your not so intelligent intelligence service (although now you know that they were and are total scoundrels). Who could possibly think that a Zapatista, any one of us, would turn to a government of criminals to ask for help if we were sick?⁶ Who could rationally think that the Zapatistas rose up for money?

Only the *demodé* conquistador mentality (best exemplified by Diego Fernández de Cevallos) inculcated in your political party, the PAN, would have allowed you all to enthusiastically swallow such a tall tale.

And you didn’t even need intelligence, all that you needed to do was to simply skim the newspapers or listen to past news reports: the bribones⁷ who presented themselves to you as “friends close to Sup Marcos” are the same people who simulated a surrender and “handover of arms” to the nefarious Croquetas Albores⁸ in 1998, posing as Zapatistas, and who are known scam artists who no longer fool

anyone...well, except you. How much did they take you for? The difference is that Croquetas knew that it was all a farce and he paid for it to happen (and for the media to present the natural springs of Jataté, just outside of the municipal seat of Ocosingo as if they were "in the Lacandón Jungle"), but you not only fell for it, you actually went so far as to include it in a book.

As if that had not been enough, then you go and invite Felipe Calderón to the presentation of the book, where, drunk on blood and alcohol, he not only blabbered incoherently but also distributed the his transcript to the media. Of course the media charged double, not to publish it, but to not publish it, because it made obvious the inebriated state of he who uttered those words. I think that it is clear now that Felipe Calderón Hinojosa lied up until the very last minute [of his office] and that what he said in his final governmental address was a shameless lie. The only rapprochement that his government had with the "representatives and leadership of the EZLN" was that of his armies, police, judges and his paramilitaries.

Well, now you know *Señor Álvarez*, what it is like to be despised by what the implacable calendar brings.

Like the indigenous, the elderly are ignored. And a symbol of that neglect is the meager coins of a handout, or, in your case, the humiliation of having been deceived, the insult of having been ignored, and the mockery that took place behind your back.

But there is a difference, a small difference, but one of those differences upon which the wheels of history turn: while you paid (with money that wasn't yours, by the way) to be mocked (and you even made it into a book); we, indigenous and Zapatista, punish your disrespect with our silence and our long walk.

Because we know well that they have also sold you the idea that you will be remembered for your struggle for democracy (in reality, your struggle for power, but there, above, they seem to use these terms interchangeably), but no, that's not the case. Although it's not much, you may be remembered for having been an accomplice (or an official, it's the same thing) of the most criminal government that this country has suffered since Porfirio Díaz.

And here, in Zapatista indigenous lands, you may be remembered as part of one more government that tried to defeat us (or to buy us, it's the same thing), and as made evident by the thunderous silence from San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Altamirano, Las Margaritas, Palenque, and Ocosingo, as one more that failed.

Because the political class and those who live from their stupidity, will extinguish themselves without anyone ever holding them to account (well perhaps only to thank them for no longer being obstacles), and they will be nothing, nothing more than another statistic in the extensive list of those duped by the dream of being "historic."

And note that we don't question your morality. It's well known that any band of criminals, like the one you have served all these years, seeks someone with a kind and gentle face so that, with this face as an alibi, they can conceal their predatory identity.

I think that you already knew this, *Señor Álvarez*. Above, throughout the entirety of the political spectrum, they are all the same. Although it's true that some naive people don't discover this until they themselves suffer injustice in the flesh, having ignored it when that injustice was meted out on a daily basis in other geographies near and far.

Your friends in the party profit from the blood of innocents, and now their only regret is that there was someone in the market who paid and charged more. All of them are nothing but a gang of criminals who made and make grotesque contortions to the foolish rhythms set for them by the media.

You must be proud to have been part of a team with a thug like Javier Lozano Alarcón, who had to hide in the senate so as to avoid being called to account by the law? Do you feel good for having been the *compañero* of Juan Francisco Molinar Horcasitas, a criminal whose hands are stained with the blood of children?

And, although sometimes paradoxes are comical, others are tragic.

Your political party, the PAN, was one of those that, since the dawn of 1994, led the hysterical uproar against us, demanding our annihilation, because according to them we were threatening to plunge the country into a blood bath. As it turns out it was your party, once in government, that spread terror, anguish, destruction and death to every corner of our already battered country.

And what about when the legislators in your party (together with those of the PRI and the PRD) voted against the San Andrés Accords that you had worked for, warning us that these Accords meant the splintering of the country. But it has been your party, *Señor Álvarez* that today hands back a nation shattered.

But take comfort, *Señor Álvarez*, your desire to go down in history will be realized. You will have your one line, yes, among those who were deceived by these jokers.

But also, in the pages of the history and geography books in the Zapatista schools, one paragraph will note: "The bad government of Felipe Calderón Hinojosa is known as that which brought senseless death to every corner of Mexico, that offered injustice to the victims and the perpetrators and that left, as a self-homage to crime made co-government, his own monument. If Porfirio Díaz left the Angel of Independence, Felipe Calderón left the Pillar of Light.⁹ In doing so, and without meaning to, both announced

the end of a world, although they were late, and will be late, in understanding this.”

I suggest that you add an epilogue to your book. Something like, “I must admit that I may be a lousy student of the indigenous Zapatista communities. But I have to say, after hearing their thunderous silence, I learned one thing: that it doesn’t matter if we use bombs, bullets, batons, beatings, lies, projects, or money, or if we pay off the media to scream lies and silence truths, the result is always the same: the Zapatistas don’t give up, don’t sell out, don’t tire and...surprise!!!...they don’t disappear.”

Because history, *Señor Álvarez*, will continue to repeat itself time and time again: rebels will reappear in every corner, and maybe, with them, so will their Mario Bendettis, their Mario Payeras, their Omar Cabezas, and their Carlos Montemayors. And maybe the Eduardo Galeanos of those torrents will or will not hold you and yours to account.

And there will also be windows, with or without marcos.¹⁰

And you all, *Señor Álvarez*, will continue peering out, looking at us without seeing us, scarcely realizing in this glimpse of the world to come that you all are irremediably outside of it.

I don’t think that you put this in your book, but remember that one time I told you that we Zapatistas are highly valued, but we have no price. And “there’s no need to confuse value with price” (no, it wasn’t Karl Marx that said that, it was Juan Manuel Serrat).

However, *Señor Álvarez*, in memory of the moments of solid dignity that you have had, and those that I witnessed when you worked in the Peace and Reconciliation Commission, you can still change this: Leave your party and what it represents, abandon the political class, which has done nothing but turn itself into an insatiable parasite. You are from Chihuahua. Go to the Sierra Tarhumara, ask that they allow you to enter into one of the rarámuri communities. Perhaps they won’t let you stay; our dear Ronco¹¹ is no longer here to ask. But maybe they will allow you to stay for a few days. There, with them, you will learn the fundamentals of the indigenous heart, of the struggle and hope of the original peoples of Mexico. After all, isn’t that the title of your book?

Go, *Señor Álvarez Álvarez*, to that, or to any indigenous community that will accept you after you’ve renounced that which you are today. There you will be respected (and not poorly tolerated) for your age, and above all, you will learn that for the Indian peoples of Mexico, “dignity” is a verb that has been conjugated in the present for five hundred years ... and then some.

Well, maybe this is the day that you have to choose. In your case, this is nothing simple, because it comes down to choosing between one world and another. Don’t let your old age detain or deter you. Look at us, we are over 500 years old and still we learn.

If you don’t do this, at least you will know for yourself the truth that is contained in the 17 syllables of that Haiku by Mario Benedetti:

“Who would have thought that,
it is the truth that the weak
never surrender”

Ok. Be well, and, did you listen? “There are few things/as deafening /as silence” (yes, also a Haiku and also by Mario Benedetti)

From the mountains of Southeastern Mexico,

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

México, December 2012.

[\[http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/08/letter-to-luis-hector-alvarez-alvarez1/\]](http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/08/letter-to-luis-hector-alvarez-alvarez1/)

Notes

5. Translator’s note: Luis H Álvarez is was part of the Commission of Concord and Pacification (COCOPA) in Chiapas responsible for the peace negotiations between the Federal Government and the EZLN; he served as Coordinator of the Dialogues for Peace in Chiapas under Vicente Fox and as Commissioner for the Development of Indigenous Peoples under Felipe Calderon. At the end of his tenure in July of 2012 as Commissioner for the Development of Indigenous Peoples Álvarez published a book “The Indigenous Heart: Struggle and Hope of the Original People of Mexico” in which he flamboyantly claimed that the EZLN had in effect disappeared as a relevant political force on the State of Chiapas.
6. Translator’s note: This comment refers to the constant rumors circulated in the past few years by the PAN government and Luis H. Alvarez himself that Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos was sick and on his death-bed and asking the Mexican government for assistance (see *Proceso* July 25, 2012, “El subcomandante Marcos sufre cáncer y pidió ayuda al gobierno: Luis H. Álvarez”).
7. Translator’s note: ‘Bribones’ means dishonest, but is also the name of a popular cartoon character in Mexico and a name that Marcos frequently uses to denote the political class.
8. Translator’s note: Roberto Albores Guillén, PRI Governor of the State of Chiapas from 1998 to 2000.
9. Translator’s note: The *Estela de Luz* (Pillar of Light) is a monument in Mexico City built in 2011 to supposedly commemorate the bicentenary of Mexico’s independence from Spanish rule.
10. Translator’s note: In the Spanish text the word “marcos” is a play on words used here to mean that both frame and a reference to Subcomandante Marcos.
11. Translator’s note: Ricardo Robles, Jesuit Missionary and tireless defender of the indigenous peoples of Mexico, spent over 45 years living with the Raramuri people of the Tarahumara.

Cartoon from the Sup to the Lame Critics

Postscript to the cartoon: Putting Out Fire with Gasoline

Sup Marcos

EJÉRCITO ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL
MÉXICO.

Enero del 2013

A: la chafa critica de los criticos idem.

De: SupMarcos.

"... quién sabe cuánta gente más en este mundo piensa que una conspiración la está amenazando. He aquí una forma que se puede rellenar al gusto, a cada uno su complot".

"Las personas con pocas ideas están menos afectadas por el error, hacen lo que hacen todos y no molestan a nadie, y sobresalen, se enriquecen, alcanzan buenas posiciones: diputados, condecorados, hombres de letras de renombre, académicos, periodistas."

Umberto Eco. El Cementerio de Praga



P.D.- Órales, el Laura Bozzo de la izquierda decadente nos da la bienvenida a su programa. Pobrecito, que alguien le avise que no estamos en el mismo canal.

SupMarcos

PUTTING OUT THE FIRE WITH GASOLINE
(postscript to the cartoon)

January 11, 2013

P.S. For you most enlightened ones—So you don't know who I was referring to [in the cartoon] because you don't watch television? Alright alright, you are all so very erudite, and you will have nothing to do with lowly popular culture, although... you don't know who Umberto Eco is either?

P.S. ON GENERAL SPORTS CULTURE IN GENERAL—Lionel Messi, Argentinean; plays soccer for the Spanish team Barcelona. When he's not making commercials for name brand bread, he's suspected of having, just like the much-missed Memín Pingüín, gum on his shoe, because the ball sticks to his foot and only comes off when either they take him down (Messi that is) or when the ball is deep in the net." Cristiano Ronaldo, Portuguese, plays soccer for the Spanish team Real Madrid; also known as CR7; when he's not making commercials for deodorant, he makes good goals. For more information about soccer as a business and as pleasure (for example: Pelé versus Garrincha), see Eduardo Galeano.. hmm.. you do know who Eduardo Galeano is, right? And for me, neither Barcelona nor Real Madrid, I'm for Jaguares of Chiapas,¹² in Mexico, and for the Internazionale of Milán in Italy (I just read that they've been routed, it has to be because of the visitors' jersey they've been wearing). But the Zapatistas remain firm, we're like the real fans of the Pumas¹³ (greetings to the Rebel), who are with their team win or lose, even though among the ownership of that team are people like Joaquín López Dóriga and Carlos Slim; or like the fans of América¹⁴ (greetings to La Polvorilla) that, when they are told that they are hated they reply, "hate me more"; or like the fans of la maquina azul,¹⁵ who put bags on their heads when they are ashamed but who never stop supporting their team; or like those who support Atlas¹⁶ (greetings Jis and Trino) and are still behind their team, though it doesn't even need to be said; etc., etc. Yes, I already know you're going to say that soccer is the opiate of the masses and why am I promoting such alienation, such lack of culture, blah, blah, blah.

P.S. THAT GIVES GEOGRAPHY LESSONS—Mexico City, Federal District, Mexico. Places where you can find, at a very reasonable price, any television series (including episodes that haven't come out yet), or movie (in some places you can get Oscar-nominated ones, before the committee of the Academy of Cinematic Arts and Sciences of Hollywood has even met), without having to betray your principles of not watching television: Eje Central "Lázaro Cárdenas" (formerly known as "San Juan de Letrán"); Pericoapa; Tepito, Calzada de Tlalpan; any entrance or exit to the metro; the hallways of any department at the UNAM; any corner of any neighborhood; if you want the originals, then you can go to the Ghandi (greetings to the family of Don Mauricio), El Sótano, or El Parnaso bookstores... El Parnaso closed? (an embrace to Tony), that's a shame. Ok, ok, ok, I know, but the world has more corners than your favorite Mixup.¹⁷ Note: don't be surprised if when you go to

get these DVDs you see police extorting the vendors or trying to evict them "because they make the city ugly." Or if you see a confrontation, don't be alarmed, the wretched tend to resist.

P.S. THAT GIVES ADVICE TO THOSE GOING TO THE IFE [FEDERAL ELECTORAL INSTITUTE] TO REGISTER¹⁸—Maybe it would go better for you in the elections if instead of judging los muertos de hambre¹⁹ (the most tender term they used during the case of the prepaid cards) that didn't vote for you, you tried to understand them. But in any case, the millions of Mexicans who did vote for you can tell you who each of the above mentioned characters and television series are.

P.S. THAT EXAMINES THE SUSPICIOUS AFFIRMATIONS REGARDING THE EZLN—A good part of the arguments that they use to criticize us are the same arguments that were used by the big television conglomerates, commercial radio, and the poorly named "bought-off press" from 1994-95 to date.

P.S. THAT SUGGESTS, INSINUATES, OR, AS SOME SAY, PROPOSES A SUPOSITORIO²⁰—Possible route that the "caricatured debate" would have followed (of course, minus the young female assistant that so impressed Mr. Quadri):²¹ those alluded to respond with a cartoon where the Sup is taking it easy, scratching those things that have gotten so expensive,²² belly out and stuffing himself with junk food, watching television (probably not with the logotype of Televisa, because they're very careful not to insult TV Azteca —ah, and you didn't see us accusing them of being paid by Salinas Pliego or Carlos Slim,²³ or saying that their campaign against the workers at Soriana was paid for by Wal-Mart), with the dialogue bubble saying something like "I'm preparing my next communiqué." The Sup then counter-attacks with another cartoon titled, "The Recent Past" where he is in a wheelchair and the indigenous person in front of him says, "The compas say they are ready, that it's up to you now and you know what to do." And the Sup responds, "Okay, I need to talk to Elías Contreras to have him get me some DVDs." The press and their friends wouldn't print the cartoon, but rather would start with reflections like "Is the Sup handicapped and that's why he doesn't appear publicly?" followed by some "very serious" investigations on the possible illnesses that might lead to being in a wheelchair.

P.S. THAT GIVES LESSONS ON RACISM IN COMMUNICATION—I read in various places "EZLN yes, marcos, no" and that they want to hear the indigenous Zapatistas, not the egomaniacal Sup. Okay, here goes: The last time the Sup put out a communiqué in the name of the EZLN: May 2011, on the occasion of the march in support of the just and dignified movement headed by Javier Sicilia. The communiqué from the CCRI-CG of the EZLN sent greetings to the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity and its struggle for the victims of the Felipe Calderón Hinojosa's absurd war. Between May 7, 2011 and December 21, 2012, the Juntas de Buen Gobierno [JBG, the Good

Government Councils], that is, the indigenous Zapatistas WITHOUT INTERMEDIARIES that are mestizo, white, or bearded (or other common things critics like to add), put out 27 denunciations, all tweeted and facebooked (or however you say that) on the “Enlace Zapatista” webpage. On average, the 27 denunciations were visited/read 1500 times each, and all of them were on the main page of the EZLN website for various days.

For example, the August 15, 2012 denunciation of the Junta de Buen Gobierno of La Realidad was the principal article on the Zapatista web page for 24 straight days and got 1080 visitors/readers. Number of tweets (or however you say that) that it provoked: zero. Number of journalists that “wrote up” the denunciation: one. Number of comments about it in writings by intellectuals, zero. Number of re-tweets (or however you say that): zero. Number of comments accusing the EZLN of being a creation of Salinas de Gortari: zero. Number of reflections about why the EZLN only appears in electoral seasons: zero. Number of newspapers that published in their print version the denunciation: zero. Of course, the text of the JBG denounced the alliance between state and municipal governments and the PVEM and the PRD to attack Zapatista communities.

Number of visits to the Sup’s cartoon that so offended the enlightened ones: more than five thousand visits in less than 48 hours (in addition to the tweets—or however you say that—the pingbacks—or however you say that—the cut and pastes, etc.).

Now, take a look at the period from August of 2003, the year in which the Juntas de Buen Gobierno were formed and when they become the direct spokespersons of the Zapatista communities, and see how many times they speak, in their own words and without intermediaries. Do the math of how many times you all realized that this word even existed. Okay, now, yes, write about the “suspicious” silence of the Zapatistas and ask yourselves why the zapatistas and marcos only “appear” when the PRI, which never left, comes back.

P.S. THAT TWEETS (or however you say that) ABOUT THE EZLN:

Tweet 1: “The Zapatistas are those who, in bullfights, root for the bull.”

Reply 1: “Well they’re naïve, in the end, the bull always gets killed.”

Tweet 2: “Not always.”

Reply 2: “The flowers are always for the bullfighter, not for the bull, the Zapatistas are confused.”

Tweet 3: (annulled for exceeding 140 characters): The political parties fight over who will be the bullfighter: some say it is better that the *picadores* wait longer to come out and thus facilitate the work of the bullfighter; others say that one

must be merciful and offer spiritual comfort to the bull before it is sacrificed; others say that what you have to do is lower costs so that the bull-fighting administration isn’t so burdensome; others say “by how much?”

Reply 3: (There isn’t one because tweet 3 didn’t go through).

Tweet 4: “Bull fights are going to disappear. In the meantime, the Zapatistas applaud the bull even more when, despite its wounds, it manages to take down the bullfighter.”

Response 4: (There isn’t one, they all went to bed).

The P.S. continues tweeting (or however you say that). After awhile, someone realizes that they’re still there and replies, “How come you only appear in suspicious situations?”

The end?

P.S. THAT NOW DOES NOT EXCEED 140 CHARACTERS (I think): “Durito: the Zapatistas are like Doctor House: they are almost always correct in their diagnosis and treatment, but the majority don’t like their methods. And we won’t even mention the patient.

P.S. THAT CLARIFIES: We have read you closely. We see how, when one of you dissents from another, you accuse each other of “pejzombie” or of “televiso” or derivatives of the same.²⁴ We don’t think that differences necessarily have political affiliation. For example, when someone says “the EZLN is an invention of Salinas de Gortari,” we don’t think that person is necessarily a “troll,” a pejzombie, a televiso, or a tvazteco (or whatever names they throw at each other). It could be, we think, that this is just a case of someone with a low IQ, too lazy to read more than 140 characters, or who might be trying to hook up with someone who has already said the same thing.

P.S. THAT CHALLENGES GEOMETRY: The world is round, it turns, and it changes. But the world imposed by those above, no matter how many times it turns, always leaves us on the bottom. The world that we want is also round, it also turns, and it also changes, but nobody is above at the cost of those below.

P.S. THAT CALLS UP A BIT OF MEMORY: While a part of the enlightened left was still doing juggling acts to try to give theoretical foundation to the unfortunate occurrence of the “loving republic”²⁵ and was living a torrid honeymoon with the mass media (dedicating huge quantities of money to electronic and print media publicity), the students that would become known as “#yosoy132” had already denounced the role of the mass media in Mexican “democracy.” Later what happened happened, and that same enlightened left decided it wanted to become the mentors of these young rebels (or “trouble-makers” as they now call them). But since the young rebels are no longer in style, the enlightened left has forgotten about them, claiming that these young rebels have “missed their chance” or that they “made a lot of noise but didn’t achieve anything,” or that they’re just “starbucks

revolutionaries” (or however you say that), or “that you can’t change the world with a smartphone” (or however you say that). The calendar continues bleeding itself out and suddenly, they [the young people] will come back, stronger, more numerous. And those that now forget about tjem or criticize them will say, “of course, I knew they hadn’t disappeared,” or, “now I’m going to tell them what they should do.” Although there are others who will say “it’s very suspicious that you all appear when something is happening.”

P.S. THAT SHOWS ITSELF TO BE COMPREHENSIVE: There isn’t tox, we understand. We are “that” which, at home and at school, would provoke the following recommendation of parents, friends, and other sensible and decent people: “you shouldn’t hang out with those people, there’s a lot of talk about them.” And well about the Sup what can I tell you, it would be something like, “it’s not a good idea to associate with that man, we don’t even know who he really is.” Or, “it’s one thing is to help the poor little Indians, it’s something else entirely to associate yourself with that rabble who don’t even have cell phones, much less smartphones, not even a hand-me-down.

P.S. THAT WINKS: “Nerd is hot.”

P.S. ABOUT THE MILLIONS AGAINST THE THOUSANDS, OR HUNDREDS, OR DOZENS, OR FEW: The argument of majorities against minorities tires us, it reminds me of an old graffiti (or however you say that) on an old wall that I saw when I was old. With a symphony of colors, it dictated: “Eat shit. Millions of flies can’t be wrong.”

P.S. THAT COUNSELS PATIENCE: Oh, don’t despair. Just a few more words (or drawings, or audios, or videos) and soon only those who we are really interested in as interlocutors will be able to hear and understand us.

Vale. Cheers and, believe us, we understand: there are many reasons and not-reasons to ground cynicisms, apathies, to hell with it alls, or whatever other synonyms that occur to you; there are many, too many, they are all there is. Finding reasons in order to change and improve is a job very few are willing to take on.

The Sup trying to get a “Fatality”²⁶ package for the final words of the season.
(you’re kidding... now he’s going to come out with videogames).

Translation by Kilombo Intergaláctico

[<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/01/16/putting-out-the-fire-with-gasoline-postscript-to-the-cartoon/>]

Notes

12. Translator’s note: Jaguares is a first division Mexican league soccer team, based in Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas.
13. Translator’s note: Another Mexican league team, based at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).
14. Translator’s note: América is a Mexican league soccer team based in Mexico City.
15. Translator’s note: Maquina azul (literally the blue machine) refers to the Mexican league soccer team Cruz Azul, based in Mexico City.
16. Translator’s note: Atlas is another first division Mexican league soccer team from Guadalajara, Mexico.
17. Translator’s note: Mixup is a chain record store.
18. Translator’s note: “Those going to the IFE to register” refers to the newly formed party of MORENA [Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional] that seeks official recognition as a party from the Mexican electoral system.
19. Translator’s note: “Los muertos de hambre” was a pejorative term used by supporters of the institutional left to refer to those who were suspected of voting for the PRI in exchange for prepaid debit cards to use at popular chain stores.
20. Translator’s note: “Supositorio” could imply presupposition but also means “suppository.”
21. Translator’s note: During a one of the presidential debates that took place in 2012, candidate Gabriel Quadri was captured on camera ogling a young female presenter.
23. Translator’s note: Two Mexican businessmen on the Forbes list of richest people in the world.
24. Translator’s note: “Pejezombie” refers to those who are thought to unconditionally support Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador. “Televiso” is the pejorative reference to those who support Enrique Peña Nieto, a creation of the Telvisa media machine.
25. Translator’s note: This refers to the “la república amorosa” slogan used by Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador during the presidential campaigns.
26. Translator’s note: “Fatality” refers to the third installment of the “Mortal Combat” video game.

More than 40,000 Zapatistas Mobilize in 5 Chiapas Municipalities

Hermann Bellinghausen, Envoy

**In silence, they occupy the central plazas of Ocosingo, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Palenque, Altamirano and Las Margaritas

**Later they disappear in an orderly way



The indigenous wear a number according to the Zapatista zone to which they belong. Photo: Víctor Camacho.



Under the rain, thousands of indigenous marched through San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Palenque, Las Margaritas, Ocosingo and Altamirano Photo: Víctor Camacho.

Ocosingo, Chiapas, December 21, 2012

More than 40,000 Zapatista support bases filed silently this morning in five Chiapas cities, which results in the most numerous mobilization of said organization since the Zapatista National Liberation Army's (EZLN) armed uprising on January 1, 1994.

Coming from the five Zapatista Caracoles in the Lacandón Jungle, Los Altos and the Northern Zone, the Maya peoples in rebellion (Tzeltales, Tzotziles, Choles, Tojolabales and Mames) and Zoques of Chiapas occupied the central plazas of Ocosingo, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Palenque, Altamirano and Las Margaritas; in each case, in complete silence.

At 6:30 in the morning, about 6,000 indigenous Zapatistas, the majority young, concentrated near the University of the Jungle, near the Toniná archaeological site. From there they marched to the central park of Ocosingo, where they stayed for a space of three hours in front of city hall, which the EZLN's insurgents and milicianos took over with arms 19 years ago upon declaring war on the Mexican government.

On this occasion the action was civilian and peaceful, and the only ones that spoke were the raised left fists of all the Zapatistas, who filed in order onto a platform that they installed for that purpose. Toward 10:30 AM, the last of the demonstrators abandoned the plaza, on their way back to the Jungle.

In the same fashion, at the other plazas mentioned the Zapatistas placed platforms that all mobilization participants mounted with raised fist, in a parade of impressive brevity.

Some 20,000 Zapatista men and women paraded in San Cristóbal de Las Casas. According to reports, at least 7,000 indigenous congregated in Las Margaritas, and 8,000 in Palenque. The number in Altamirano is not known. According to the testimony of a transport worker (driver) from the zone of Ocosingo, double the number of indigenous that arrived in the municipal headquarters of Ocosingo could have left from the Caracol of La Garrucha, but there were not enough vehicles, therefore only 6,000 people were transported.

Intermittently, throughout recent weeks, the Enlace Zapatista electronic portal has been announcing "the word" of the EZLN's Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command (Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena, Comandancia General del EZLN), as well as of the Sixth Commission and International Sixth Commission. It is foreseen that these communications could be announced soon, but that has still not occurred.

On the date on which many unwary in the world believed that the world would end, according to the opportunist interpretation of the "prophesies" (in reality, mathematical calculations) of the ancient Mayas, the EZLN's support base communities, belonging to the contemporary Maya peoples, which in their languages are named "true men," with face covered carried out a powerful demonstration of power and

discipline, perfectly formed under a persistent rain (unusual in this time of the year) that accompanied the mobilizations in the different localities all morning long.

Able to “appear” quickly, the indigenous rebels “disappeared” as neatly and silently as they had arrived in the early morning in this city that, two decades after the EZLN’s traumatic irruption here on New Years 1994, received them with bewilderment and curiosity, without any expression of rejection. Under the arches of city hall, which suspended its activities today, dozens of Ocosingoans congregated to photograph with cell phones and cameras the spectacular concentration of covered faces that filled the park like in a game of Tetris, advancing among the gardening with an order that seemed choreographed, to go up to the platform installed rapidly since early on, raising their fist and saying, silently, here we are; one more time.

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Saturday, December 22, 2012

[<http://compmanuel.wordpress.com/2012/12/22/more-than-40000-zapatistas-mobilize-in-chiapas/>]



The presence of young women was particularly prominent. Photo: Víctor Camacho.

Zapatista March: The Deafening Silence of Resurgence

Tim Russo

22 December 2013

Only the resonating echo of rain pattering down on the cobblestone streets of Chiapas' colonial cities sounded as tourists from around the globe awaiting the end of the world in the center of the Mayan Civilization were surprised by the silent marches of more than 40,000 masked Mayan Zapatistas who descended on their apocalyptic misinterpretations of the Mayan 13 Baktún.

A faint sound of a baby's cry would occasionally emerge from a bundle beneath a plastic tarp on the back of a masked Zapatista in the endless lines of Mayan rebels who quietly held formation in the rain. They marched four file booted and bare-footed into the same cities they surprised on a cold new year's eve night 19 years ago, shouting their first Ya Basta!

Yesterday's weapon, differing from the 1994 armed indigenous uprising, was the Zapatista silence, their moral authority, the echo of a unified and deafening silence that shouted Ya Basta! once again. A silence that in their massive presence in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Las Margaritas and Palenque shouted without a word that the a new Mayan era has begun and the Zapatistas are present. A silence that was meant to remind Mexico's recently inaugurated President Enrique Peña Nieto

and his PRI party that the root causes of the Zapatista struggle are as prevalent today as they were 19 years ago: lack of health care, education, housing, land, food, indigenous rights, women's rights, gay rights, dignity, and justice. A silence that reminded the returning PRI that there is a Mexico profundo, a Mexico jodido, a Mexico con hambre, and a Mexico dispuesto a luchar and in struggle. The Zapatistas and the EZLN need not say a word today, their actions and silence said enough. *Aqui estamos!*

As early as 4 a.m. the Mayan indigenous, Tzeltales, Tzotziles, Tojolobales, Choles, Zoques, and Mames began their mobilizations from their five cultural centers of resistance, known as Caracoles, emerging from the Lacandon jungle, the Chiapas Canyon lands, and the rain soaked highlands. They quietly moved along the mountainous, fog-bearing roads towards the same cities (plus Palenque) that they descended upon when these ill-equipped ragtag rebels launched their armed uprising on January 1st 1994, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement went in to effect.

Yesterday's marches by the Zapatista National Liberation Army comprised of Mexico's Mayan indigenous peoples was the first mobilization since their May 7, 2011 march demanding an end to the widespread violence and impunity in Mexico. That march echoed Poet Javier Sicilia's

movement for justice demanding the end to PANista President Felipe Calderon's US-backed War on Drugs that has claimed up to 80,000 lives over the last six years. Calderon, who departs Mexico leaving a bloodstained country, will follow his predecessor Ernesto Zedillo's footsteps to a safe haven in US academia, entering Harvard and moving to Cambridge, a town ironically that has one of the world's lowest per capita murder rates, contrary to a Mexico ranking in the world's top 10 country's with major violent death tolls. Today's Zapatista march, explains award winning Mexican Journalist Jose Gil Olmos, marks a symbolic moment being December 21st on the Gregorian calendar and 13 Baktún, or the end of the 144,000 day Mayan long calendar, silently saying that this is beginning of a new calendar, a new era and the Zapatistas are present:

The mere presence of the Zapatistas here today just as the new government of Enrique Peña Nieto is getting started and the return of the PRI is a message in and of itself that the EZLN exists and is here, that the EZLN is a social and political force and they are reminding the PRI that things are not good, That the voice of the voiceless and the faceless are saying listen up! There is a forgotten Mexico here, a Mexico that is starving and disparate and the march, a silent march is an emblematic message in and of itself.

There were no visible Zapatista Commanders in the marches, no words spoken, no chants could be heard, nor

banners seen. Only two flags accompanied the thousands of Mayan rebels, a Zapatista five pointed red star on black and the Mexican flag. The same scenario could be seen in each of the five cities that the Zapatistas descended upon despite the unusual rains for the beginning of the Chiapas dry season. The Zapatistas arrived, marched on the city centers, built make-shift stages on top of cars and marched thousands of Zapatistas four by four, fists in the air, over the stages in front of their flags. Then, as quickly and quietly as they arrived, the Zapatistas disappeared into the fog and rain that camouflaged their arrival.

Late in the day a one-page communiqué signed by Zapatista rebel leader Sub-Comandante Marcos, El Sup, began to go viral on the internet. The communiqué simply read the following:

Did You Hear?

That is the sound of your world falling apart.

It is the sound of our resurgence.

The day that was the day, was night.

And night will be the day that will be the day.

Democracy!

Liberty!

Justice!

[<http://upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/4041-zapatista-march-the-defeating-silence-of-resurgence>]

Collapse and Rebirth in the Zapatista Maya World

Luis Hernández Navarro

24 December 2013

What has never gone away cannot reappear. What made the rebel Zapatista Mayas to occupy peacefully and in silence five Chiapas cities this December 21 was not to reappear, but rather to reaffirm their force.

The EZLN has been here for more than 28 years. It has never gone away. For ten years it grew under the radar; it announced itself publically more than 18 years ago. Since then it has spoken and guarded silence intermittently, but has never stopped. At one time or another its disappearance or irrelevance has been decreed, but it has always re-emerged with force and with a message.

This start of the new Maya cycle was no exception. More than 40,000 Zapatista support bases marched in the rain in five Chiapas cities: 20,000 in San Cristóbal, 8,000 in Palenque, 8,000 in Las Margaritas, 6,000 in Ocosingo, and at least 5,000 more in Altamirano. We're dealing with the most numerous mobilization since the emergence of the rebels from the Mexican southeast.

The magnitude of the protest is a signal that their internal strength, far from diminishing with the passage of years, has grown. It is an indicator that the counterinsurgency against them, carried out by the different governments, has failed. It is sign that their project is a genuine expression of the Maya world, but also of a whole lot of poor Mestizo campesinos in Chiapas.

The EZLN never abandoned the national scene. Guided by their own political calendar, loyal to their ethical congruence and with the force of the State against them, it strengthened its forms of autonomous government, it kept alive its political authority among the country's indigenous peoples and kept the international solidarity networks active. The fact that it has not appeared publicly does not mean that it is not present in many significant struggles in the country.

In the five Good Government Juntas that exist in Chiapas and in the autonomous municipalities the authorities of the Zapatista support bases govern themselves, exercise justice and resolve agrarian conflicts. Within their territories, the rebels have made their health and education systems function at the margin of the state and federal governments, organized production and commercialization and kept its military structure standing. They successfully resolved the

challenge of the generational relief of their commanders. As if it were nothing, they efficiently dodged threats from drug traffickers, public insecurity and migration. The book *Luchas “muy otras” Zapatismo y autonomía en las comunidades indígenas de Chiapas* is an extraordinary window for looking at some of these experiences.

The Zapatistas marched this December 21 in order, with dignity, with discipline and cohesion, and in silence, a silence that was loudly heard. In the same way in which they had to cover their face in order to be seen, they now interrupted the word in order to be heard. We’re dealing with a silence that expresses a fertile generative capacity for other horizons of social transformation, a great potency. A silence that communicates the will of resistance in front of power: “He who stays in silence is ungovernable,” Ivan Illich said.

A cycle of the political struggle closed in Mexico this December 1, at the time that another opened. The EZLN has a lot to say in the nascent map of social struggles that begins to be drawn within the country. Their mobilization can impact them in a relevant way.

Among the contours that define the new stage of social struggles are: the return to Los Pinos of the old PRI dinosaur, manned by Salinismo and its authoritarian ways of exercising state command; the pretension of managing social conflict starting from a pact among elites that excludes the subordinate sectors; the crisis, decomposition and reorganization of the partisan left, and the emergence of new social movements.

The EZLN is a new player that, without invitation, sits down at the table of the party that recently came out in national politics.

The Pact for Mexico, subscribed to by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the National Action Party (PAN) and, individually, by the president of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) seeks to agree on a program of reforms at the margin of broad social sectors. The EZLN’s mobilization makes evident that a very broad part of Mexican society is not included in that agreement, and that what its subscribers agree to does not necessarily have the endorsement of the citizens.

The party of the Aztec Sun [the PRD] is locked in an internal struggle that can provoke its rupture. The New Left’s pretension of yoking its destiny to the Peña Nieto government mortgages any possibility of a critical distance from power.

The National Regeneration Movement [Morena, its Spanish acronym] has been occupied with the organizational tasks for obtaining its registry. It is probable that the Workers Popular Organization [OPT, its initials in Spanish] continues the same path. It exists because there is a broad political and social territory that the partisan left is not occupying. The Zapatistas enjoy an indubitable political authority among those who people those latitudes.

In the last year and a half social movements have emerged that question power at the margin of the political parties. They don’t feel represented by any of them. The Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity, #YoSoy132, the community struggles against public insecurity and ecological devastation, the student protests in defense of public education, among others, walk along different paths than those of institutional politics. The sympathies toward Zapatismo within those forces are real.

But, beyond the conjuncture, the marches of the Maya 13 Baktún are a novel “¡Ya basta!” similar to what they enunciated in January 1994, and a renewed version of “Never more a Mexico without us!” formulated in October 1996, which opens other horizons. They don’t ask for anything, don’t demand anything. They demonstrate the power of silence. They announce that a world is crumbling and another is reborn.

Translation: Chiapas Support Committee

[<http://compmanuel.wordpress.com/2012/12/24/the-zapatista-maya-world-collapse-and-rebirth/>]



EZLN support bases marched silently through San Cristobal de las Casas. Photo: Victor Camacho.



The EZLN support bases used silence as protest. Photo: Victor Camacho.

The Moral and Organizational Strength of the EZLN

Jaime Martínez Veloz

31 December 2013

January 1st will mark the first 18 years of the armed uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN). A country that was on the threshold of modernity was surprised that thousands of insurgents, mostly indigenous, had taken up arms as a last resort, to fight for a better life for indigenous peoples and for the country.

The mobilization of thousands of Mexicans forced the state to negotiate with the insurgents for a decent and fair solution. After more than two years of intense negotiations, they managed to come to the first agreement between the federal government and the EZLN on indigenous rights and culture, which was signed on February 16, 1996, in the municipality of San Andres Larrainzar in Chiapas.

When an attempt was made for the agreement to be transferred to the Mexican legislative system through a bill drafted by the Commission for Agreement and Pacification (Cocopa), the state's reaction was brutal, cynical and stark. The initiative contained the most important items agreed between the federal government and the EZLN, there was not one idea in it that had not been agreed by the parties.

The EZLN's reaction to the initiative developed by Cocopa was one of acceptance, and that of the authorities was scandal and hypocrisy. The President and the economic power groups in the country had no qualms about accusing the EZLN and the Cocopa of wanting to balkanize, divide and fragment the country. Those who made these accusations are the same people who gave concessions of 25 million hectares to foreign and domestic mining companies, who between 2005 and 2010 extracted mineral resources worth 552 billion pesos and only paid 6,500 million pesos for the rights, that is to say 1.18 per cent.

In 2002, after a successful Zapatista march through different parts of the country, the then-President Vicente Fox turned over the bill to the Congress of the Union, via the Senate of the

Republic, where it was dismantled and instead a legislative mess was approved, the main premise of which was to be the route to remove the backwardness and marginalization of indigenous Mexicans. It was stated that the issue of the backwardness and marginalization of the indigenous was to be a matter of official programs and support, not of the full exercise of their constitutional rights, in this way refusing to enforce the agreement made in San Andres Larrainzar.

More than 10 years since the Mexican institutions promised the indigenous entry into paradise in return for refusing to comply with the agreement made between the EZLN and the federal government, reality proves the Zapatistas were right and shows the great failure of the State.

Between 2002 and 2012, annual federal spending on indigenous peoples rose from 16,663 million to 39,054 million pesos. However, the data on poverty and marginalization from official agencies does not show any impact on the reduction of indigenous poverty; on the contrary, it increases, each time in a way more offensive to a nation where since 1917 all governments have declared their recognition in different ways of "the debt owed by Mexico to its Indians, and the concern about ending the injustice they are suffering".

According to data from the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Coneval), and the income and expenditure survey for 2010, while the national average for extreme and moderate poverty is 46.2 per cent, in indigenous communities and villages it is 79.3, almost double. Eight out of 10 indigenous have not had access to the "promised land" that the Mexican government offered them in exchange for not fulfilling the agreement made in San Andres Larrainzar.

According to the figures from Coneval, 80.3 per cent of indigenous are below the welfare line, 83.5 per cent have no access to social security, 50.6 do not have basic services in their home and 40.5 do not have enough to eat. This means we can say that in

indigenous matters it was not public policy that failed, but the leadership of the State; the policy towards the Indians has been palliative, because it lacks an articulated vision and links to structural changes, like those contemplated in the agreements of San Andres Larrainzar.

After the government's failure to ratify [the agreement], the EZLN decided on a strategy of resistance, strengthening their organization through the creation of the good government juntas, collective work and community solidarity. During recent years they have walked in silence, away from the propaganda. Some misguided people, or those who have bet that the conflict would disappear or be forgotten, spread rumours or try to confuse, arguing that the EZLN is now not a problem, since, from their perspective, if the Zapatistas are no longer news, they do not exist.

The figures given here, showing the government's failure towards that section of the population, need to make the Mexican elites understand that silence is a form of struggle, and that it has nothing to do with any supposed weakness, in this case of the EZLN. On the contrary, while waste and failure have been synonymous with public policy, it is organization, work and discipline that have distinguished the Zapatistas at this stage.

The Zapatistas live, organize and work in a reality of great material shortages, which they supply with creativity and dedication. They have clear objectives that transcend generations; their arguments have been irrefutable, the vitality and consistency of their convictions have been a school of life for thousands of Mexicans. An affectionate embrace for all the Zapatistas who, there in their communities, are struggling every day to build a better future for our country. As they say over there: you are not alone!

[\[http://upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/4046-mexico-the-moral-and-organizational-strength-of-the-ezln\]](http://upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/4046-mexico-the-moral-and-organizational-strength-of-the-ezln)

The way Out of Reform-Revolution Dichotomy

Hermann Bellinghausen

2 January 2013

San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, January 1. Speaking before a full house at the University of the Earth in San Cristóbal, Dr. Pablo González Casanova*, Mexican sociologist, asserted:

"We are faced with the opportunity to organize a vast, worldwide network of groups in defense of the territory, the land and the Earth."

Dr. González was speaking in reference to the persistent and increasing construction of autonomy in Zapatista communities:

"That's the main task, if we think of the 'new politics' as built from the bottom up."

The Zapatista proposal, he added, "is a new alternative to the old dilemma of reform / revolution" that characterized the debate and struggles of the left during the twentieth century.

"We are faced with a new time that is changing the political geometry", beyond right-left opposition, "to speaking, as do the Zapatistas, of the top and the bottom."

Broad-Spectrum Crisis

González Casanova stated that the world faces a "broad-spectrum crisis", much bigger than a financial or economic crisis. Due to the mode of accumulation undertaken by capitalism in its current stage, it is "neither cyclical, nor of short or long duration" and puts at risk the very survival of the world.

He highlighted the innovation in the way of putting forth the revolutionary alternatives, here where the great transformations propelled by Lenin and Mao ended [in Mexico] in failure.

"It has its origin in southeastern Mexico, among those occupying the Maya communities", and represents a "universal project, not only for a new 'Indianist' or 'Indigenist' policy, but of human emancipation that, insofar as possible, will be peaceful."

The Mexican sociologist asked himself:

"What does Cuba and its revolution have that it remains standing where other experiments, such as the Soviet or that in Vietnam, led to the kind of capitalism that currently governs these nations?" It is "the combination of Marx and Martí", he ventured.

He said that today the Venezuelan experiment has gone farthest on the continent, without ignoring what is happening in Ecuador, Bolivia and Uruguay, which still remains insufficient, he notes, to how they are able to withstand the current phase of capitalism's "recolonization and dispossession" [of natural resources].

While in the five caracoles [name given to Zapatista Good Government administrative units made up of four to eight municipalities] in the jungle and mountains of Chiapas,

thousands of Zapatista supporters celebrated behind closed doors the nineteenth anniversary of the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), the Third Seminar of Planet Earth Reflection and Analysis was held in San Cristóbal. González Casanova made his remarks [at this gathering of] anti-systemic movements.

A banner on the large door of the caracol of Oventic, in the Highlands, announced in red and black letters:

"Long live the companions who adhere to the Other Campaign [name given to the independent political movement driven by the Zapista movement] in Mexico and the world."

The hooded guards who were there indicated to reporters that only [comrades] could register. Two more banners demanded the immediate release of Francisco Santiz López, EZLN support base, and Alberto Patishtán Gómez, adherent to the Other Campaign. Throughout the day yesterday, thousands of indigenous in numerous groups from many communities arrived at the caracoles.

Community Autonomy

At the same time, the Third International Seminar has served as an echo of the deliberate silence of the Zapatista march held on December 21. It has also served to renew dialogue with the civil society and the thinkers who remain partners of the Zapatistas, and is a response to the recent statement from the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, the General Command of the EZLN, and letters sent to the federal government and the recent arrival of Subcomandante Marcos.

Everything confirms the vigor and urgency of community autonomy. In the mountains of Chiapas, they remain in constant resistance; today they have the most widespread and longest self-management experience in the world.

The National Indigenous Congress (CNI), amply represented in the speech given by the Purhépecha leader Salvador Campanur, from the autonomous community of Cherán, Michoacán, was presented as a space for reflection and gathering of all the peoples and Indian nations willing to walk for autonomy, freedom and resistance. It was no coincidence that the figure and the name of Don Juan Chávez Alonso, who died months ago, resonated in the voice of his daughter Margaret, who arrived here from her community of Nurío and in the voices of her other companions.

The Wixaritari from Jalisco were present in their greetings and the reiteration of their struggle and their defense of the Wirikuta sacred desert against mining companies. As were the Yaquis who are defending their namesake river against the barbarism of the PAN government of Sonora [state], and

the Amuzgos from Suljaá, Guerrero [state] in the voice of their Radio Ñomndaá.

The Assembly of Indigenous Peoples of the Isthmus [of Tehuántepec] in Defense of Land and Territory insisted on denouncing the colonial abuses of transnational wind companies that are infesting the Zapotec communities of Unión Hidalgo and Juchitán, and the Icoot towns of San Dionisio and San Francisco del Mar in southern Oaxaca. The Spanish [companies] Mareña Renovables [Renewables], Femosa and others, by deception, are violating the rights of the peoples and, supported by the government of Oaxaca, have caused major social and environmental damage, and threaten to cause even more if the people do not stop them.

Since its inception, the Seminar has taken 'listening' as the condition for reflection: "It is a new era of the people's struggles", said Mercedes Oliveira, feminist anthropologist at CIDECI-University of the Earth. Jerome Baschet, Xóchitl Léyva and Ronald Nigh also participated as 'monitors of the silence' and the word of the rebels that in the New Year of 1994 took up arms against the "bad government". Nearly two decades later, they [Zapatistas] are still standing, and counting. Now they are announcing new initiatives and actions. ...

In the same way, several other figures explained their struggles and commonalities, including Emory Douglas, historical figure of the Black Panther Party in the United States; Andrés Cuyul, representative of the Mapuche peoples [south-central Chile and southwestern Argentina], the Puerto Rican nationalist filmmaker Ivonne María Soto and Juan Haro, of the Movement for Justice in El Barrio of New York.

In his interpretation of the capitalist disaster, the Belgian thinker François Houtart pointed out that there is "widespread resistance against economic inequality and the system that has been built in the world", and that faced with the crisis of the 'logic of development'

"we must find alternatives and not just regulations, we must completely rethink the reality of the Earth and of human reality."

This morning, Gustavo Esteva* elaborated on this crisis within the crisis of capitalism and listed the minimum "disaster conditions"--social, political, economic, food, environmental and experiential--that are found in Mexico. [Esteva] urged a consolidation of the routes of independence, food self-sufficiency, defense of resources and, above all, uncontaminated free thinking, without which it will be impossible to build a different world.

Earlier, Silvia Ribeiro had mapped the coordinates of the impending appropriation by Monsanto and the other companies, of the corn and life in Mexico, "aided" by the reformer enthusiasm of legislators from all parties who are paving the way for the multinationals and their genetically modified crops, to boot, with patent rights.

The final remarks of Margarita Chávez Alonso epitomize what the CNI and the speakers came to express, in this well-attended international seminar. Chávez Alonso expressed gratitude to her father for "having taught the way of the EZLN" to the communities in Michoacán. Spanish original

*Former president of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Pablo González Casanova is an internationally recognized sociologist. In 2003, UNESCO awarded the International José Martí Prize to Dr. González.

* Gustavo Esteva's work with grass roots movements is recognized internationally. In 1996 he advised the Zapatista movement in Oaxaca. A founder of the University of the Earth (Oaxaca), he has also been a key figure in the foundation of several NGOs and Mexican and Latin American networks, which Esteva prefers to describe as "hammocks", rather than networks or coalitions, because they try to adapt to initiatives undertaken by their members.

[<http://mexicovoices.blogspot.com/2013/01/mexico-zapatistas-way-out-of-reform.html>]



Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity Responds to the EZLN

México D.F.
January 3, 2013.

Our struggle is for life, and the evil government offers death as the future.

Our struggle is for justice, and the evil government is filled with criminals and assassins.

Our struggle is for peace, and the evil government announces war and destruction.

CCRI-CG of the EZLN

To the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

Brothers and sisters

First, we send you a fraternal embrace for your 29 years as EZLN and for the 19 years since you appeared publically. We congratulate you because we, in our short existence as a movement, know full well how difficult it is to build and sustain an organization. And above all, for your steadfastness, for showing us that morals, ethics and truth are the most powerful tools to build a world with peace, justice, dignity and democracy.

We also use this letter to thank you for the many lessons you have given to Mexican society and the solidarity you gave to the victims of May 7, 2011, when, making our cry yours, We've Had It Up to Here! [¡Estamos hasta la madre!], you came out to march in silence to demand an end to the war and justice for the victims. We will never forget that great mobilization and message as well as the fraternal reception that the Good Government of Oventic gave to the Caravan to the South.

Since then, the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity diagnosed the national emergency that you had already foreseen. With our walk in sorrow, we confirmed that this world is indeed crumbling and, facing this, we recuperated the fundamental elements of our humanness and life to begin building another world.

Just like you, we have taken on the struggle in the terrain of the symbolic to show the breadth of the transcendence of our causes. That's why we have put the testimony of the victims before the discourse of politics. However, the deafening system – in which the political class and organized crime have satiated their ambition for power and wealth, imposing a criminal economy where life and death are interchangeable products – has blocked all understanding of the gravity of the situation in which we are submerged: 80,000 dead, 20,000 disappeared, hundreds of thousands displaced and families and bodies destroyed. This new face of war is nothing more than the extension of the long night of the 500 years, which the dictatorship of the State party has taken charge of redressing in paramilitarism and repression against the people and social movements.

In spite of the foregoing, we walked to raise up the voice and testimony of the victims throughout the width and breadth of the country, as well as across the United States of North America, publically calling for accountability from those above, all political parties and all the powers that be, exposing the ethical and moral degradation of the political class, the criminals and the institutions. In our walk we have also seen dignified peoples and persons who are confronting this reality, breaking with the dynamics of the system and putting down the bases for the construction of other worlds, almost always with youth, victims and indigenous peoples as the main social subjects. We also identify as the indigenous peoples those who can be found heading up the construction of alternatives: Cherán, Santa María Ostula and Tiripetío in Michoacán; the peoples of the mountain and coast of Guerrero who bringing to life the Community Police; the defense of the sacred lands of the Wírrárikas and hundreds of communities that resist the megaprojects, the extraction economy and the accumulation of wealth by plunder.

Since May 8, 2011, before thousands of people in main plaza of

Mexico City, we proposed the necessity of setting the minimum bases needed to begin the reconstruction of the country. In that sense, we believe that one of the first necessary minimum measures is the signing and fulfillment of the San Andrés Larráinzar Accords, a project that would be the first step, not only to begin to pay off the historic debt that the Mexican nation has with her first peoples but so that the State keeps its word and, above all, to begin the construction of a model of democracy and justice through which true peace with dignity can be consolidated. That's why, and responding to your most recent communiqués, we want to let you know that we are ready to begin walking at your side and at the side of all Mexicans who are committed to this demand. That we believe that a Mexico with Peace, Justice and Dignity is only possible with Democracy and Liberty. That Mexico cannot be a complete nation with her peoples.

Dear Zapatista sisters and brothers,

We say from our hearts, which have been hurt by war and that struggle so that other families don't have to live the sorrow of losing or having a family member disappeared: we embrace your struggle the way you have embraced ours. We will struggle for a Mexico for all, a country that truly includes and recognizes her indigenous peoples, for a country where there are no dead or disappeared due to the ambition and opulence of a few and one in which, as your communities have already begun doing so, life that has been violently taken away can begin to flower again.

In the construction of a Mexico with Peace, Justice, Democracy and Dignity. All together!

Yours,
Movimiento por la Paz con Justicia y Dignidad

[<http://compmanuel.wordpress.com/2013/01/07/movement-for-peace-with-justice-and-dignity-responds-to-the-ezln/>]

"We Are Here": Zapatistas Send Silent Message With the Return of the PRI

Gloria Muñoz Ramírez

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Imagine close to 50,000 people marching in absolute silence, in five different townships, from two to five hours apart. Not a word, nor even a greeting. Just a raised fist in a sign of strength, determination and unity. Streets overflowing with masked faces and wordlessness. It is a huge demonstration of force—the largest in the entire history of the Zapatista movement—just days before the 19th anniversary of their first public appearance and 30 years since their founding.

What's behind a mass mobilization like this, with no more resources than what the communities themselves can offer? Without the spending accounts of political parties or other organizations that only mobilize with government money?

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN, by its Spanish initials) has taken a stance again. It wasn't a surprise like the first dawn of 1994, since the Dec. 21, 2012 reappearance had been announced beforehand. But no one knew it would be in silence and with greater strength than two decades ago. Twenty years ago no one imagined the EZLN even existed and although the state had enough information to predict the attack, it preferred to wait to act to avoid dampening the parade of its entrance into the First World with NAFTA. Those days of January 1994, the government immediately ordered military operations, but it had already been surprised, along with the rest of the world. The same thing happened 19 years later, this time without arms.

With the federal army deployed throughout the territory with the pretext of the war on drugs, Chiapas is the most militarized state in the country. In a show of defiance, the Zapatistas retake the streets and the two flags that they have always flown—the EZLN flag and the Mexican flag—wave freely. They carried these two flags in 1994, they have walked with them throughout the years, they always bear them. They earned the right to traverse the country with their

message of rebellion, with an army that backs them up, from the first twelve days of combat. No one can deny then that right.

Five presidents have ignored their demands. All have wanted to annihilate them, by bullets or with expensive government counterinsurgency programs. Slander and smear campaigns have surrounded them. The last year has seen a flurry of rumors of the death or illness of the spokesperson and military chief, subcomandante Marcos, who now has proved alive and well, like the tens of thousands of indigenous people of the organization who make up the backbone of the movement.

The silence of the march and the brief communiqué afterward revived expectations. What's next? When? Not only those from below are asking, Enrique Peña Nieto must also be wondering, along with the many-colored and many-faceted powers that be, since it is clear that even though they avoid speaking their name and pretend that therefore they don't exist, the demonstration of Dec. 21 is only the beginning. They're there, and they're legion. They are rebels. No one can buy them off. They are not divided. Their spokesperson is still their spokesperson. They are coming.

They surprised Carlos Salinas de Gortari in 1994, in the middle of his New Year dinner and what was not only the end of his administration, but also, and for the elite, the beginning of a new era—one that was not supposed to include an insurrection from below. A declaration of war and the military takeover of seven municipal seats by an indigenous army was Salinas' send-off.

Ernesto Zedillo was greeted in office with the message: "Welcome to the nightmare". This was followed by a position that has remain unchanged since then: "You should disappear, not only because you represent a historic relation, a historic aberration, a negation of humanity, and a cynical cruelty; you should disappear also because you represent an insult to the intelligence. You made us possible; you made us

grow. We are your other, your Siamese opposite. To get rid of us, you must disappear." The Zapatistas began the Zedillo administration with the Third Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, in which they proposed the creation of a Movement for National Liberation.

The third presidency the Zapatistas experienced was headed by Vicente Fox Quezada, of the National Action Party (PAN), who broke with more than 70 years of PRI hegemony. They told Fox from the first day of his government: "There should be no doubt. We are your opponents." With this message one of the most important mobilizations of the Zapatista movement began—the March the Color of the Earth.

The re-election of the PAN to the federal government with Felipe Calderón Hinojosa at the helm was the next time the EZLN saw a change in government. This was also the launching of the Other Campaign, announced the first day of 2006: "We are going to begin to walk to keep our promise made in the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. I will be the first to come out," said Subcomandante Marcos, "to see what the path we will be walking is like and if there are dangers, and to learn to recognize the face and the word of our fellow travelers. To unite the Zapatista struggle with the struggle of workers in the cities and countryside of our country called Mexico."

Today, five administrations later—with the important construction of autonomy in their villages, after many encounters and dis-encounters, with more than a few pains—the first message to the return of the PRI, and especially and as always to the people, is absolutely clear: "We are here."

Translation by Laura Carlsen

[<http://upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/4063-we-are-here-zapatistas-send-silent-message-with-the-return-of-the-pri>]

Zapatistas Show the Way Forward

Gustavo Esteva

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... Amid one of the worst crises in history, the end of a cycle and perhaps of an era, the disenchantment with institutions, governments and dominant policies is increasingly widespread [and global]. Their senseless responses to popular mobilization continue to aggravate the crisis and widen the gap between those at the top [economic elites] and those at the bottom.

In this context, the initiatives that the Zapatistas are taking today may be even more important than those of January 1, 1994. Then it was a national and global awakening. They were the first to say "Enough!" to the threatening tide of neoliberalism, which was subsequently recognized by all anti-systemic movements that emerged after their call. In Mexico they changed the political balance...

Upon telling them that they were not alone, however, "Lady" civil society then told them that she did not want more violence and demanded from them proof of a vague "institutional path". The Zapatistas obeyed. Not only did they become champions of active nonviolence and make it one of their primary tools of struggle, they also committed to dialogue and deal seriously with the institutions.

What happened, happened. Not just the federal government--the Legislative and Judicial branches of successive administrations--but local governments and all political parties dishonored their word and failed to keep their commitments. They discredited and continuously attacked the Zapatistas and the Zapatista movement.

Against all odds, denied by the media and political classes, systematically attacked by paramilitary or political groups as well as by the police, the Zapatistas consolidated and deepened their autonomous enterprise. Today they demonstrate the reality of an alternative, non-institutional left, a viable and effective path for political action. As organized resistance, it [the enterprise] sets limits on the offensive from above. As radical effort, it undermines the foundations of the oppressor system and advances in the reorganization of [grassroots] society from below.

The Way Forward: Together

Millions of people in Mexico and throughout the world will cross the bridges that the Zapatistas are beginning to lay out in order to coordinate the action. They have learned ... that in order to resist the horror that has befallen us, it is not enough to just say "no"--radically rejecting the policies and actions from above that hurt and rob us. We also need the autonomous construction that gives meaning to the effort, that takes the form of the new society and, in the struggle itself, prefigures the outcome. And we need to do all this

together, in concert. We must listen to ourselves and make ourselves heard, to compose a symphony together.

The Zapatistas show clear awareness of the difficulties they will face and the risks they will run. They are not put off by them. They are well aware of the impoverished human condition of those who lead the institutions. They know that the famous pact of the parties [Pact for Mexico] or Peña's commitments to the indigenous mentioned by the Secretary of Government Relations [Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong] are but new threats: They back away from the policy of indigenous inclusion, and they package as 'development' the robberies [of resources] they are planning. The Zapatistas also know that those who cannot think or act outside the conventional framework and who refuse to recognize that the problem is in the very apparatus of oppression--not only in its operators--will now continue concentrating energy in new fantasies about 2018 [next Presidential election]. But [the Zapatistas] do not treat them as enemies or ignore them.

Dishonest attempts are already being made to reduce the Zapatista initiatives on the indigenous question. Without a doubt, it is necessary to reactivate the National Indigenous Congress and maintain pressure on the [government's] non-compliance with the San Andrés Accords, but not at the cost of denying the extent of the current Zapatista initiatives. These initiatives challenge the dominant status quo and lay out, from indigenous wisdom, a path of transformation that includes indigenous and non-indigenous equally.

For all this, hundreds of participants at the Third International Seminar of Reflection and Analysis, held December 30 to January 2 by CIDECI and the Universidad de la Tierra in Chiapas, along with thousands who followed it online, celebrated with renewed spirit another anniversary of the EZLN uprising. The enthusiastic and lucid presence of groups, organizations and movements from a dozen countries served to show the relevance of the Zapatista initiatives beyond our borders and to begin the patient and serene labor of orchestrating our dignified rage. Spanish original

* Gustavo Esteva's work with grass roots movements is recognized internationally. In 1996 he advised the Zapatista movement in Oaxaca. A founder of the University of the Earth (Oaxaca), he has also been a key figure in the foundation of several NGOs and Mexican and Latin American networks, which Esteva prefers to describe as "hammocks", rather than networks or coalitions, because they try to adapt to initiatives undertaken by their members.

[<http://mexicovoices.blogspot.com/2013/01/mexico-zapatistas-show-way-forward.html>]

The Tenacious Zapatista Persistence

Raúl Zibechi

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The Zapatista communities' mobilization on December 21 and the Zapatista National Liberation Army's (EZLN's) three communiqués on the 30th of the same month were received with joy and hope by many anti-systemic and anti-capitalist movements in Latin America. Immediately, these movements' media outlets reflected on the importance of the mass mobilization, which comes during a difficult moment for those who are still determined to resist the system of death that misgoverns us.

These past years have been especially complicated for movements that are determined to build a new world from below. In most South American countries, repression of popular sectors has not ceased, despite the fact that the majority of the governments call themselves progressive. They have implemented a set of "social policies" designed, according to them, to "combat poverty," but in reality they seek to impede poor peoples' autonomous organization or to neutralize it when it has already reached a certain grade of development.

Progressive social policies, as demonstrated by the cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, amongst others, have not managed to reduce inequality, nor redistribute wealth, nor carry out structural reforms, but they have been very effective when it comes to dividing popular organizations and in not a few cases detour the struggle's aims towards secondary issues. They haven't touched land ownership and other means of production. Social policies seek to mitigate the effects of accumulation by dispossession without modifying the policies that sustain this model: open-pit mining, monoculture, hydroelectric dams, and large infrastructure projects.

With the exception of Chile and Peru, where the student movement and mining resistance remain alive, in the majority of the countries the initiative has been passed on to the governments, anti-systemic movements are weaker and more isolated, and we have lost strategic goals. Ever since formidable offensives against neoliberal privatization were launched, urban territorial work has found itself in an alley with a difficult short-term exit since ministries of social development, of solidarity economics and others have begun to infiltrate territories of resistance with programs that range from monetary transfers to poor families to various "support" for productive undertakings. Initially, the movements receive this support with the hope of growing stronger, but after a short while they see how it spreads demoralization and disintegration in their ranks.

What is a grassroots collective to do when it builds a popular high school in a neighborhood, with great sacrifice

based in collective work, when it sees how quickly the Government creates another high school in the area with better infrastructure and identical courses, and it even names it after known revolutionaries? The answer is that we don't know. We still haven't learned to work in territories that were once ours and are now spaces invaded by legions of workers and social workers with very progressive--and even radical--discourses, but who work for those above.

Zapatismo has grown stronger throughout this policy of military and "social" blockade and annihilation, where the State thoroughly dedicated itself to division through material "aid" as a complement to military and paramilitary campaigns. That is why many of us received the December 21 mobilization with great joy. Not because we suspected that they were no longer there, something that only those who listen to the media can believe, but rather because we proved that it is possible to go through the hell of military aggression combined with social counterinsurgency policies. To know, study, and understand the Zapatista experience is more urgent than ever for those of us who live under the progressive model.

It is true that progressivism plays a positive role regarding the Yankee domination in that it seeks a certain autonomy for a local and regional capitalist development. Faced with anti-systemic movements, however, those that try to follow the path of social democracy do not differentiate themselves at all from previous governments. It is necessary to understand the duality within a single model: the progressive collision with Washington's interests but within the same logic of accumulation by dispossession. In the strictest sense it has to do with a dispute between those who are the beneficiaries of the exploitation and oppression of those below, a role in which the local bourgeoisie and the administrators of the "leftist" parties allied with certain business unionism, claim part of the spoils.

The Zapatista journey leaves some lessons for the movements and the people who live "blockaded" by progressivism.

In the first place, the importance of militant commitment, the strength of values and principles, of not selling oneself out nor giving up despite how strong and powerful the enemy might appear and despite how isolated and weak the anti-systemic movements might be at a given moment.

Second, the necessity of following what one believes and thinking beyond immediate results, supposed successes or momentary failures, in contexts that are often

fabricated by the media. Persisting in the creation of movements that are neither institutionalized nor prisoners to electoral timeframes is the only way to build strongly and long term.

Third, the importance of a different way of doing politics, without which there would be nothing beyond what which is media, institutional, or electoral. An intense debate exists in not a few South American movements about the benefit of participating in elections or of institutionalizing themselves in various forms as a way of avoiding the isolation from territorial work and to enter into "real" politics. The Zapatistas show us that there are other ways of doing politics that don't revolve around the occupation of the State's institutions and that consist in creating, down below, forms of making collective decisions, producing and reproducing our lives based in "governing by obeying." This political culture is not adequate for those who try to use the common people as ladders for individual aspirations. That's why so many politicians and intellectuals within the system reject those new forms, within which they must subordinate themselves to the collective.

Fourth, autonomy as a strategic aim and as a daily practice. Thanks to the way in which the communities resolve their necessities, we have learned that autonomy cannot just be a declaration of intentions (as valuable as that might be) but rather it must be based in material autonomy, from food and health to education and the form of decision-making, that is, the form of governing ourselves.

Over the past few years we have seen experiences inspired by Zapatismo outside of Chiapas, including in some cities, which demonstrates that this is not about a political culture that is only valid in indigenous communities in that Mexican state.

Translated by Kristin Bricker

[<http://mywordismyweapon.blogspot.com/2013/01/the-tenacious-zapatista-persistence.html>]



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