

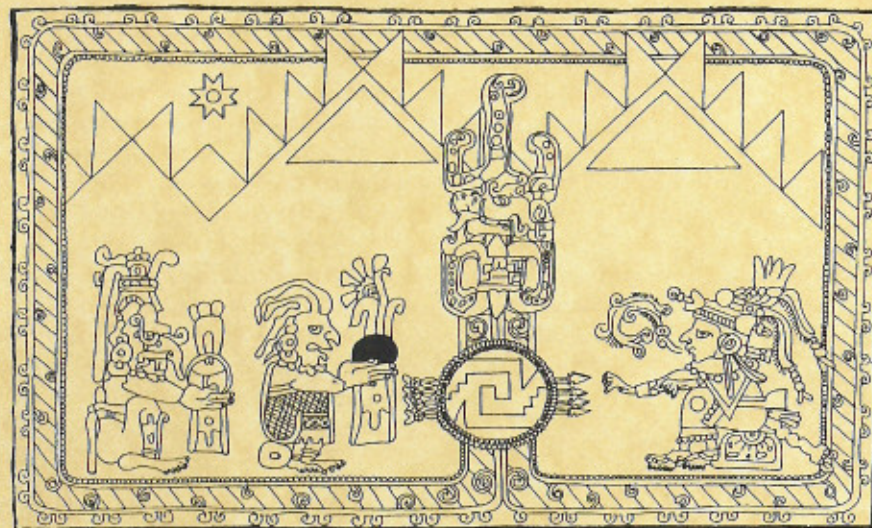
"For the public man, most especially for the political, we have to demand of him that he possess the public virtues, all of which can be summarized in: fidelity to his own mask (....), keep it in good repair, for there is no political mess which is not an exchange, a confusion of masks, a bad rehearsal for a play, in which no one knows their parts.

Endeavor, however, those of you who go into politics, that your mask be, as much as possible, your own work, make it yours yourselves, in order to avoid that others might put it on - or take it off - your enemies or your fellow politicians; and do not make it so inflexible, so impervious or impermeable that it suffocates your face, because, sooner or later, you will have to show yourself."

— Antonio Machado, "Juan de Mairena"
Mexico, the Middle of 1998
"Above and Below: Masks and Silences"
Communiqué from Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
EZLN

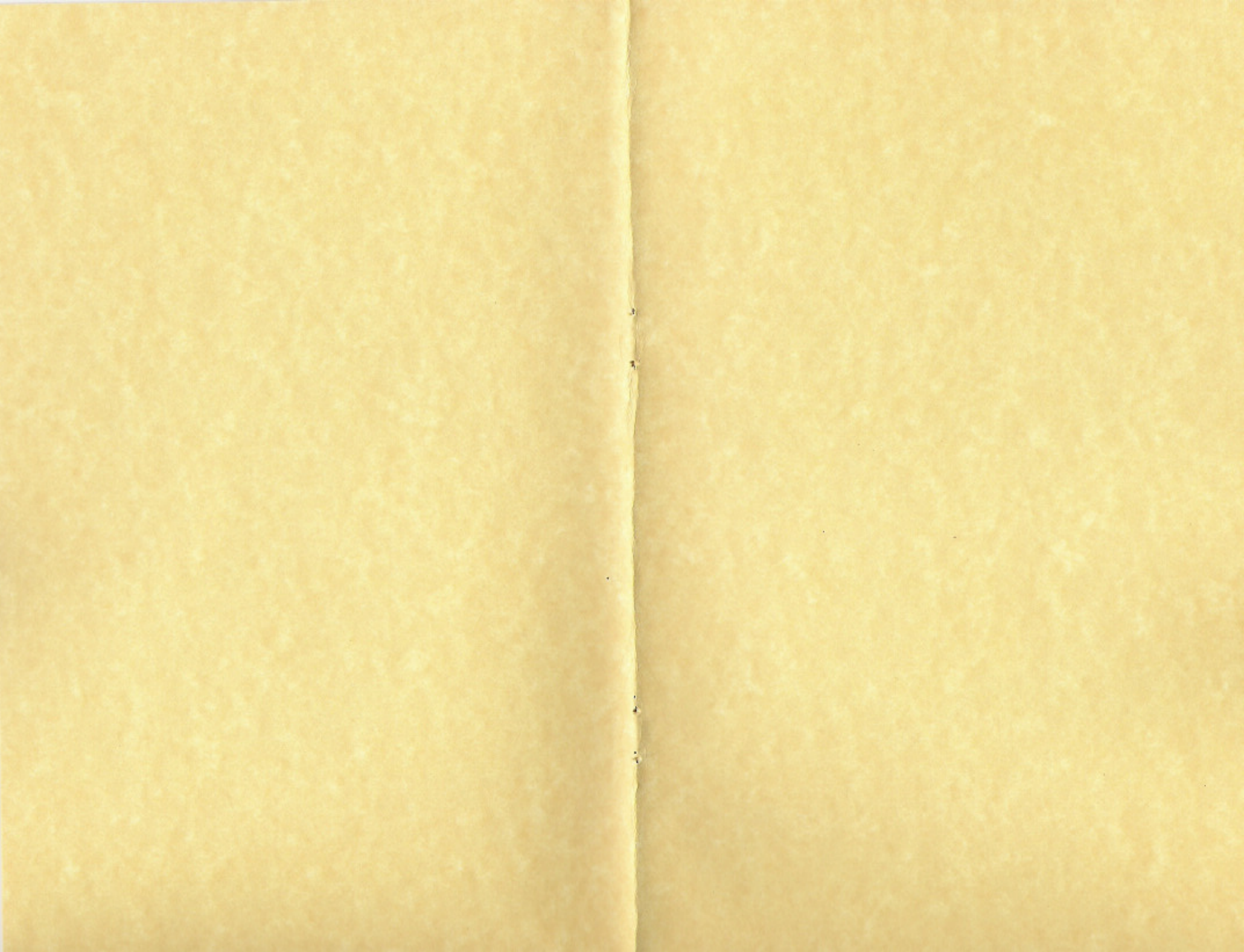
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Chiapas After Acteal: A View of Complicity

- A brief review of the positions of the people of the international civil society and the institutions with the international political society.
- A compilation of excerpts of articles from the mainstream press.
- "Masks and Silences" communiqué from Marcos.
- The 5th Declaration of the Lacadon Jungle
- Chiapas Resource Guide from the EZLN's Home Page.
- A glossary of names and words commonly seen in information about Chiapas including Zapatista support sights on the World Wide Web.



Chiapas After Acteal: A View of Complicity

Compiled by MoreRain

Special thanks to :

All the good people who risk their lives for freedom.

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San Pedro de Chenalho—Tzotzil municipality in the Chiapas highlands near San Cristobal de las Casas

Security Forces—Various forces made up of, among others, the judicial police, Public Security and the federal army.

Sedesol—*Secretaria de Desarrapado Social*, a Mexican government aid and development organization

Subcomandante Insurgente—Insurgent Subcommander

tan-tan—the end (slang)

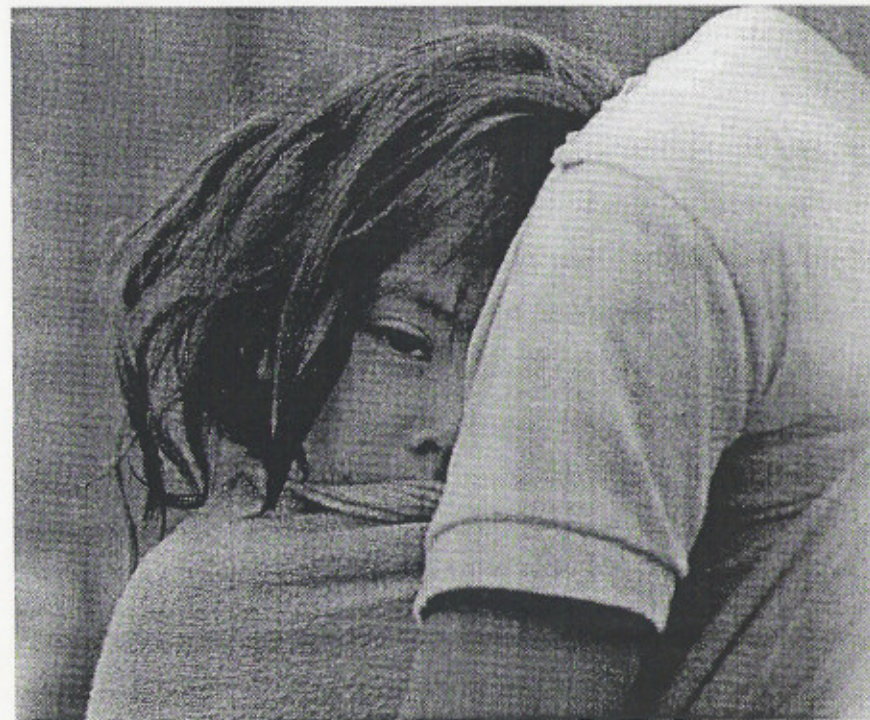
Tlatelolco—Square in Mexico City where more than 300 protesting students were killed by the Mexican Federal Army in 1968

Tzeltal & Tzotzil—Indigenous peoples living in the Chiapas highlands

vale—good, OK (Spain)

The White Guards—*Guardias Blancas*, armed guards hired by the ranchers to protect their property

Zedillo, Ernesto Ponce de Leon—President of Mexico since 1994



Ferro. Julio Cesar Ruiz—Former Governor of Chiapas, forced out after Acteal massacre

Labastida—Mexican Interior Minister, appointed to replace Chuayffet

mestizo—a person of mixed Indigenous and European descent

MIRA—PRI-financed paramilitary group active in Chiapas

National Intermediation Commission—independent commission headed by Samuel Ruiz, Bishop of San Cristobal

Northern zone—The Northern zone in Chiapas is presently undergoing social, political and religious conflicts, and harbors numerous paramilitary groups. The zone is made up of the following municipalities: Tila, Sabanilla, Tumbala, Salto de Agua.

NGOs—Civil society which has organized to respond to distinct needs and problems found in the country.

PAN—National Action Party. Opposition party of the right. Peace and Justice (Paz y Justicia)- PRI linked paramilitary group that operated in the Northern zone.

Paramilitary Groups—Armed groups that operate outside the law, made up mostly of campesinos and Indigenous people who belong to the PRI. Said to defend the political and economic interests of powerful people in the region. They are presumed to receive military training and weapons from the national army and other security forces.

PGR—*Procuraduria General de la Republica*, Mexican Attorney General's Office

Peace and Justice—PRI-financed paramilitary group active in Chiapas

Prado Pacayal—EZLN community in the region of Ocosingo, Chiapas

PRD—Party of the Democratic Revolution. Center left opposition party.

PRI—Partido Revolucionario Institucional, The Revolutionary Institutional Party, the ruling party in Mexico for 69 years

Red Mask—PRI-financed paramilitary group active in Chiapas

Sebastian Guillen—Former Mexico City University professor, believed by the government to be Subcomandante Marcos

Salud—health (a greeting)

San Andres Accords—Agreements signed by the EZLN and the Mexican Government in 1995 after negotiations. The government refuses to abide by the accords

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July 20, 1998 until liberation!

To: National and International Civil Society

From: Chiapas Solidarity Network of Olympia

Re:

Chiapas After Acteal: A View of Complicity

'On December 22, 1998... sixty paramilitaries of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (sponsored by the federal and state governments)... attacked the displaced refugees with high-caliber weapons.'

(Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, 12/22/97)

'Several thousand displaced refugees from other Indigenous communities of Chenalhó lived in Acteal. They had taken refuge there in order to protect themselves against the aggressions of paramilitary bands who 'take by assault' those communities which are not supportive of the government.

All of the refugees were Indigenous Tzotziles, civilians, who practiced the Catholic religion. There were Zapatistas and non-Zapatistas in the independent organization known as 'The Bees of Chenalhó.' None of the refugees had firearms.'

(Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, 12/26/97)

As the Mexican government wages a low-intensity war against the communities which support the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), the people of Chiapas are subjected to constant intimidation and abuse by paramilitary groups and government troops under the auspices of disarmament of the region and the dismantling of the autonomous zones.

This is in direct violation of the **San Andrés Accords** which state in point #2: "...To urge the emplacement of an all-inclusive new social agreement, based on the understanding of the fundamental plurality of Mexican society and on the contribution that the Indigenous people can make to national unity, beginning with the constitutional acknowledgment of their rights, and in particular, to their right to self-determination and autonomy."

The Mexican government tries to conceal their actions from international society claiming this to be an internal or political affair which they can handle without outside intervention. Since February 1995, nearly 10,000 people have been displaced, attacked or abused in some way by the military intervention in Chiapas. The number of dead or missing rises everyday. Still, the people refuse to resort to violence in reaction to these depredations of law and order.

GLOSSARY

Acteal—village in the region of San Pedro de Chenalho, Chiapas; site of December 22, 1997 massacre

andale—Go on, go ahead

Autonomous municipality— [*aka autonomous zones*] Implemented by the Zapatistas in pursuance of autonomy with their own authorities in communities and regions where they have influence.

Barragan. Esteban Moctezuma—Former Mexican Interior Minister

The Bees of Chenalho—*Las Abejas de Chenalho*, independent non-violent campesino organization in the Chenalho region

campesinos—small farmers, people who live in rural areas and work the land

Cardenas. Lazaro—Former President of Mexico (1934-1940)

CCRI-CG—*Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena—Comandancia General*, Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee—General Command of the EZLN

CNDH—National Human Rights Commission. Governmental organism with responsibility for monitoring and promoting respect for human rights.

Chiapas—state in South East Mexico, bordering Guatemala

Chenalho—see San Pedro de Chenalho

Chinchulines—PRI-financed paramilitary group active in Chiapas

Chuayffet, Emilio—Former Mexican Interior Minister, forced out of office after the Acteal massacre

COCOPA—National Commission for Concordance and Peace in Chiapas. Mexican congressional commission involved in mediating the negotiations between the EZLN and the government

comandante—commander, highest rank in the EZLN

compañera/compañero—companions, partners in struggle

CONAI—National Inter mediation Commission, independent commission headed by Samuel Ruiz, Bishop of San Cristobal

ejido—traditional collective form of land tenure

EZLN—*Ejército Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional*, Zapatista National Liberation Army

FZLN—*Frente Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional* is the civilian arm of the Zapatista movement

Accion Zapatista

312 East 43rd Street, #203, Austin, TX 78751
Phone/fax: 512-302-9547
email: nave@uts.cc.utexas.edu

Chiapas Media Project

4834 N. Springfield
Chicago, IL 60625
Tel: (773) 583-7728 / Fax: (773) 583-7738
email: alex2051@xsite.net
<http://chiapasmediaproject.org>

University Zapatista Liberation Network

University of Washington
UZLN / SAO 214, Box 352238
Seattle, WA. 98195-2238
email: emiliano@u.washington.edu

Special Commission for the Promotion of the FZLN

Calle Zapatecos 7 bis, Colonia Obrera, Del. Cuahatemoc
Mexico, D.F. c.p. 06800, Mexico Tel/Fax: (525) 7614236

NY Zapatistas

PO Box 157, Cooper Starion, New York, NY 10276
Voice Mail: 212-561-0302
email: iwrxl@uccvm.nyu.edu

For more information on the School of the Americas:

The School of the Americas Watch email list: herald@inetarena.com.
<http://www.soaw.org>

World Wide Web sites

<http://www.chiapasmediaproject.org>
<http://www.igc.org/ncdm> <http://www.nap.cuhm.mx/nap0.htm>
<http://www.peak.org/~joshua/fzln/index.html>
<http://www.ezln.org>
<http://www.ifconews.org>
<http://www.eco.utexas.edu/faculty/Cleaver/chiapas95.html>
<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/7083>
<http://www.laneta.apc.org/enlacecivil>
<http://www.burn.ucsd.edu/archives/chiapas-igopher://lanic.utexas.edu/11/la/Mexico/Zapatistas>

We ask the international community of the world to hear our plea to stop the violence upon the people of Chiapas by reading this information packet and find in some part of your heart a way in which you may help to make a change...

"The law, if not accompanied by history, if not constructed by reason and fortified by the truth, finally provokes that which it seeks to avoid: violent rebellion."

(Marcos, January 29, 1998)

THE POSITION OF THE AUTONOMOUS ZONES

Each of the autonomous communities have declared their independence from the Mexican government and stated their determination to govern and provide for themselves, in resistance to the neoliberal plans to assimilate and eliminate them.

To do so, they have fortified their traditional Indigenous participatory political process of community assemblies, and strengthened their traditional communal organization. They have also broadened their community education process to build community-wide critical analysis and knowledge of the root of causes of, and ways to develop an alternative to the conditions they are facing as Indigenous people, Mexican citizens and members of the global human race.

POSITION OF THE NATIONAL INTERMEDIATION COMMISSION (CONAI)

President Zedillo last week called the San Cristobal diocese the "theologians of violence" in one of the most furious and decisive attacks perpetrated ever against Samuel Ruiz.

In the meantime, members of the CONAI declared their task as concluded and demanded the Mexican government and the Chiapas state government to demonstrate with facts their good will to solve the conflict and to renounce to their present strategy of war." In a document titled "**In the Sake of Peace; An Increased Participation of Society,**" it is mentioned that the CONAI proved that:

- the government is dismantling the necessary conditions for dialog and negotiation through an increased militarization of Indigenous communities, mostly after the Acteal massacre last December,
- the proliferation of paramilitary groups that act under total impunity against Indigenous communities,
- the noncompliance with the San Andres Accords,
- and the discredit[ing] campaigns and increased aggressions against the CONAI and more particularly its president, Samuel Ruiz, who last year escaped, together with his convoy, an attack intended to be lethal.

During a tour in the zone of conflict Samuel Ruiz told Indigenous communities that he will restart a new phase in favor of pacification. He denied that the disappearance of the CONAI may be the end of his work in pacifying Chiapas because, he said, "The construction of peace is a duty that can never be given up."

—(La Jornada, 8, 11 June)

MEXICO'S POSITION ACCORDING TO LAW

Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, which in 1917 had established land redistribution and the ejido [agrarian communities with communal land titles] as the building blocks of agrarian reform in the countryside, was basically gutted by Salinas in 1992. The new legislation enacted by the PRI-dominated Congress ended land redistribution and made it possible for private and foreign investors to invest in or buy existing ejido lands. Certain limits were placed on the move toward privatization, such as the requirement that two-thirds of the ejidatarios on a given ejido have to agree to any privatization scheme, and the setting of limits on the size (2,500 hectares) and number of shareholders (25) that could turn a former ejido into a commercial corporation.

— copyright ©1994 Institute for Food and Development Policy

Mexico ratified the UN's "Convention to Prevent and Condemn the Crime of Genocide" provision on July 22, 1952, in which genocide is referred to as a "crime condemned by the civilized world and international law." It is also incorporated into their Federal Penal Code, article #149.

—(Quoted from "Chiapas Al Dia: 108", Published by the Centro de Investigaciones Economicas y Politicas de Accion Comunitaria San Cristobal, Chiapas [Center for Economic Research and Political Action])

On February 16th of 1996, the representatives of the Mexican Federal government and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation signed the first agreements of the San Andrés Accords which recognized the autonomous rights and culture of the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico.

The people appreciate and admire the courage of the military, and everyone who wishes for a peaceful solution to the conflicts admire the character, the impartiality and the strength of each Mexican soldier. The Armed Forces are the guarantors of national sovereignty, bastion of liberty and defenders of the institutions of the Republic.

—(Ernesto Zedillo, President of the Republic, 2/19/98)

THE POSITION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

GENEVA - The High Commissioner of the United Nations (UN) for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, energetically condemned the assassination of nine persons in Chiapas, and urged the federal government to search for effective means to restore dialogue in the region.

Onecimo Hidalgo Center of Economic and Political Investigations of Community Action (CIEPAC)

email: ciepac@laneta.apc.org

Mexico Solidarity Network

4834 N. Springfield Chicago, IL 60625

(773) 583-7728 fax: (773) 583-7738

email: MSN@mexicosolidarity.org

<http://www.mexicosolidarity.org>

Zapatista Update

Joshua Paulson's bi-weekly

joshua@peak.org

Chiapas Schools Construction Teams

San Diegans for Peace in Mexico

Craftsman's Hall AFL-CIO, 3909 Centre Street, San Diego, CA 92103

(619) 232-2841 fax: (619) 232-0500

email: mexicopeace@igc.apc.org

Global Exchange

Attn: Ted Lewis

2107 Mission Street, #303, San Francisco, CA 94110

(415) 255-7296 or 800-497-1994, x230 fax: (415) 255-7498

email: chuy@globalexchange.org

<http://www.globalexchange.org>

Chiapas Urgent Call

625 SW 18th Ave, Suite 210-C, Portland, OR 97205

(503) 245-3866 **hotline:** (503) 279-8251

Portland-area activist news and announcements regarding Mexico, Central America, cross-border struggles, immigrant issues etc:

PCASC: pcasc@igc.apc.org and AFSC: net@afscpdx.org.

El Bracero

hosts of the next Aguascalientes regional gathering (Oct. 24)

Grower's Market, Suite #206, 454 Willamette St, Eugene, OR

email: elbracer@efn.org

IFCO-PASTORS FOR PEACE

PO Box 408130 Chicago, IL 60640-8130

(773) 271-4817 Fax: (773) 271-5269

email: p4p@igc.apc.org

<http://www.ifconews.org>

Comite Emiliano Zapata

P.O. Box 71606, Oakland, CA 94612

Phone: 510-594-4302

email: comite/zapata@geocities.com

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/7083>

Plan of Action

- Organize information brigades
- Inform your friends about the Zapatista movement in Mexico
- Attend rallies in support of the FZLN and the EZLN
- Write letters to the media and to government officials (yours as well as ours)
- Visit Mexico and participate in one of the civilian peace encampments in Chiapas
- Participate in organizations in your country that struggle for justice and dignity and against Neoliberalism

SEND MONETARY DONATIONS TO THE FOLLOWING FZLN ACCOUNT:

Bank account in the name of

Julio López Montoya
No. 1308643-4
Bank: Bancomer (Mexico City)

also:

Mercedes Osuna
No. 1000853-3
Bank: Bancomer (Plaza 437)

Zapatista Support

NUEVO AMANECER PRESS - N.A.P.

General Director: Roger Maldonado; Director Europe: Darrin Wood
Coordinator: USA-Mexico-Europe: Susana Saravia (Anibarro)
Advisory and support team: Mexico
email: amanecer@aa.net
<http://www.nap.cuhm.mx/nap0.htm>

National Commission for Democracy in Mexico

NCDM: *Spokespersons for the Zapatistas in the US:*
5902 Monterey Rd., #194, Los Angeles, CA 90042
(213) 254 9550 Fax 213-254-9597 Toll Free: 1-800-405-7770
email: moonlight@igc.apc.org
Web: <http://www.igc.org/ncdm>

Enlace Civil

Handles donations for Zapatista communities
Ignacio Allende #4, San Cristobal de Las Casas 29200
Chiapas-MEXICO 1 cl/fax: (967)-82104
email: enlacecivil@laneta.apc.org
<http://www.laneta.apc.org/enlacecivil>

This represents a deterioration in human rights and demonstrates a climate of fear between the Indigenous peoples of this Mexican state, held between government forces supported by military officials, on the one side, and armed resistance groups on the other, Robinson added.

On behalf of the United Nations, she acknowledged that the nine deaths had been reported as having been perpetrated by government forces, in a region characterized by displacements and poverty. A reduction in the military presence in this region could be an important first step in the restoration of confidence in order to find a peaceful solution, she added.

She also urged the Mexican government to comply with their international commitments in matters of human Rights, especially clause #169 of the "International Organization Of Work Relating To Tribal Peoples."

THE UNITED STATES POSITION

On June 18, 1998, the US Department of State stated in a press briefing: "President Zedillo did move quickly to have his attorney general investigate the massacre: likewise, we have no doubt of President Zedillo's firm determination to achieve a peaceful solution. We believe, however, that the complex set of conflicts in Chiapas is fundamentally an internal Mexican affair."

—(Briefer: James P. Rubin)

"The US Government admits illegal use of our weapons and training in the repression of Mexican indigenous. Us army war college professor tells of counterinsurgency training and 'private diplomacy'." (See excerpt)

—By Garance Burke, *El Financiero International* (7/14/98)

POSITION OF THE US DELEGATION

6/30/98 - 7/1/98

US Congressional Representatives Visit Chiapas
Declarations of the US Delegations:

Luis Gutierrez (D) US Representative, "The most alarming thing that we have found in Chiapas is the militarization, especially in view of the upcoming elections. When schools are converted into military barracks, democracy is a joke."

"We have met with a population that says 'we want to work the land, develop in harmony, be able to feed our families, this is what we want'. This is a people who suffer intensely, in very dramatic way. If the people of Mexico could have walked and accompanied us these days, seeing the faces and hearing the voices of their Indigenous Mexican compatriots, we would arrive at peace!"

Bobby Rush, also a federal representative from Illinois, said that, "There is collaboration of those in power to commit atrocities against the Indigenous peoples. The United Nations should investigate the situation in Chiapas." Rush added, "I'm going to contact the US ambassador to the United Nations to ask for his collaboration on this issue. To the Secretary General of the UN I will ask that an observation commission be sent to investigate the atrocities that the Indigenous people are suffering!"

"Five years ago there was a vigorous debate over the Free Trade Agreement and the Mexican government was not afraid of 'foreign intervention'. You can't be against when the issue is human rights and in favor when the issue is investments. We are all implicated when the issue is human rights in the world. I feel close to the Indigenous Mexicans that we visited; they are oppressed and exploited!" said Rush. "In Chiapas, a type of violence is used against the Indigenous peoples that I have never seen before. The people that we met want peace, they want a better life, but they have stuffed them into a nightmare because of the paramilitary violence. International public opinion should unite in favor of the Indigenous people," he added. "As a fighter for liberty, I cannot do less. These atrocities give you chills."

Jesus Garcia (D) from Chicago, "there is complicity on the part of the US government who trains the officials of the Mexican army and gives arms to the government of this country. This has nothing to do with the sovereignty of Mexico nor that of the US; we are going to intensify the investigations in Congress because we are not going to permit our government to train assassins!"

Emma Lorenzo, coordinator of Pueblos Sin Frontera and a member of the US Methodist Church, denounced that, "Chiapas is another Vietnam, but the border is much closer to the US."

Sara Feingeholts, (D) state representative from Chicago, declared, "What impressed me most was that we could leave from San Cristobal or Tuxtla Gutierrez to the Indigenous communities and pass from the first world to the fourth world. Many times we have closed our eyes in the face of things like this; we cannot do that now; we cannot permit a situation whereby the Indigenous people live each hour in constant fear for their lives. I have had that experience in the holocaust and I cannot stay seated and let this happen here!"

"As a Christian I have the obligation to help the Mexican people to find a solution. The government is manipulating the Indigenous people, one against the other. It is very important that it is known what is going on here. We have seen the faces of the sick children, living in horrible conditions that we could never have imagined!" She inquired, "If the San Andres Accords have not been implemented by the Mexican government, then who is it that does not want the peace dialogs?"

Phil Blackwell, pastor of the Methodist Church and member of this delegation, "the commitment to human rights cannot be considered a national matter; that they are saying that it is foreign interference only indicates that we should increase our presence!"

CHIAPAS

Resource Guide:

What You Can Do to Help

FROM: ELZN's Home Page...

- Contact the Special Commission for the Promotion of the FZLN in Mexico:
Calle Zapotecos 7 bis
Colonia Obrera, Del. Cuauhtémoc
Mexico, D.F. c.p. 06800
Tel/Fax: (52 5) 761 4236
- Send us a message from anywhere in the world, or visit one of the offices of the FZLN inside Mexico.
- Send messages expressing your support for the liberation of all the presumed-Zapatista prisoners, and in favor of a peaceful and negotiated solution to the conflict to the following government officials:

Dr. Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon
Presidente de la Republica
Palacio Nacional
Fax: (52 5) 271 1774

Residencia Oficial de Los Pinos
Fax: (52 5) 515 1794

Secretario de Gobernacion
Fax: (52 5) 546 5350

Gobernador del Estado de Chiapas
Fax: (52 961) 3 24 58

- Send messages to the Mexican Embassy and/or Consulate in your country
- Send messages to the Mexican Consular offices in the United States
- Send messages to the Mexican Embassies and Consulates in other countries
- Send messages to the following newspapers and journals:

La Jornada
Fax: (52 5) 510 1901 / 521 2763

Reforma
Fax: (52 5) 628 7188

El Financiero
Fax: (52 5) 531 8420 / 227 7620

Proceso
Fax: (525) 629 2028 / 629 2086

VII. Time For the Word For Peace.

Brothers and Sisters:

The time has passed when the war of the powerful speaks, let it speak no more. It is time to speak of peace, the one we deserve and need, the peace with justice and dignity.

Today, on July 19th of 1998, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation signs this Fifth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. We invite all to know it, distribute it and add their efforts and labor to its needs.

Democracy!
Liberty!
Justice!

From the Mountains of the Mexican Southeast
Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee
General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation Mexico,
July of 1998



POSITION OF THE

CHIAPAS SOLIDARITY NETWORK OF OLYMPIA

We believe the military action in Chiapas is not "an internal Mexican affair" but in fact a violation of the "Convention to Prevent and Condemn the Crime of Genocide" as adopted by the UN on December 9, 1948, and which entered into effect on January 12, 1951, which states, "genocide is defined by the following acts which have the objective of destroying in totality or in part a national ethnic racial or religious group:

1. the killing of members of any such group;
2. the infliction of serious physical or psychological harm to group members;
3. the imposition of living conditions calculated to bring about its partial or total destruction;
4. the imposition of birth control methods within these groups;
5. the forcible transporting of minors from one group to another."

The Mexican government has made a farce of peace talks by refusing to implement any of the agreements which were signed in San Andres. Deploying troops of ever increasing numbers into Chiapas, the Mexican government intends to dismantle and disrupt Indigenous Autonomous Zones.

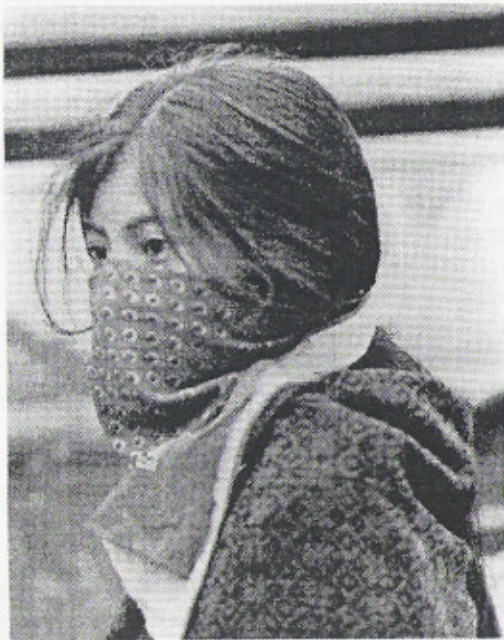
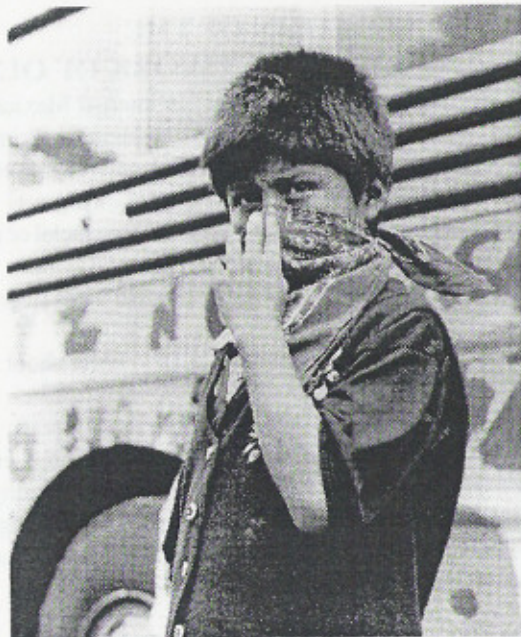
Communities are divided because of problems over land and the manner in which they [Mexican government] relate to the autonomous municipality. The PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] members in Los Platanos, one of the few communities in San Juan de la Libertad [El Bosque] who are not with the autonomous municipality, expelled the families that were the Zapatista bases of support and established a state of siege.

San Juan de la Libertad [El Bosque] is the fourth autonomous village out of 32 autonomous villages in Chiapas that has been attacked and dismantled in the past two months (April/May 1998) by government forces. The scenario is familiar. Local PRI supporters enter the community accompanied by the army, police and immigration officials.

The invasion and massacre June 10, 1998 in San Juan de la Libertad [El Bosque] paints a clear picture of Zedillo's strategy in Chiapas:

- Attack the Zapatista civilian support base using the army, police, local PRI sympathizers and paramilitaries.
- Dismantle the self-declared autonomous villages.
- Provoke the Zapatista army into a response, giving the military an "excuse" for direct attacks on the EZLN.

The US government continues to support the injustices of the Mexican government in the form of free military aide, supposedly for the use in the "war on drugs." Live footage from Chiapas, and news from international observers make it clear that these weapons are being used against Indigenous civilian communities.



For this we propose to take the legal initiative of the Commission on Concordance and Pacification to a national popular ballot in all the municipalities of the country so that all the Mexican men and women can manifest their opinion about this initiative. The EZLN will send its own delegation to each one of the municipalities in all the country in order to explain the content of the Cocopa initiative and to participate in the realization of the consultation. For this, the EZLN will call upon national civil society and political and social organizations, in order to make known its summons in more detail.

We Call Upon:

- The Indian peoples of all of Mexico to, together with the Zapatistas, mobilize and demonstrate their demand for the recognition of their rights within the Constitution.
- The brothers and sisters of the National Indigenous Congress so that they participate, together with the Zapatistas, in the task of consults all Mexican men and women about the legal initiative of the Cocopa.
- To the workers, peasants, students, housewives, squatters, landowners, small businesses, retired, handicapped, religious men and women, youth women, elderly, homosexuals and lesbians, children, so that in a collective or individual manner they participate directly with the Zapatistas in the promotion, support and realization of this consultation, as one more step towards a peace with justice and dignity.
- To the scientific, artistic and intellectual community so that they join the Zapatistas in the tasks of organization of the consultation in all the national territory.
- To the social and political organizations so that, together with the Zapatistas, they work to carry out the consultation.
- To the honest political parties committed to popular causes so that they give all the necessary support to this national consultation. For this, the EZLN, directs itself, publicly and opportunely, to the national leadership of the political parties in Mexico.
- To the Congress of the Union so that they assume their commitment to legislate for the benefit of the people, to contribute to peace and not to war by supporting the fulfillment of this consultation. For this, the EZLN directs itself, in a timely and public manner, to the coordinators of the parliamentary factions of the independent legislators in the houses of Deputies and Senators.
- To the Commission on Concordance and Pacification so that, fulfilling its role as coadjutant in the peace process, it clear the path for the realization of the consultation about its initiative. For this, the EZLN will direct itself, in a timely and public manner, to the legislative members of the Cocopa.

and independent congressmen, to legislate for the benefit of all Mexicans:

- To rule by obeying;
- To fulfill their duty by supporting peace and not war;
- To make the division of powers effective;
- To oblige the executive branch to stop the war of extermination it is carrying out in the Indigenous populations of Mexico;
- To listen to the voice of the people of Mexico and obey them at the moment they are making law, with full respect to the prerogatives conferred to them by the political Constitution;
- To support with firmness and amplitude the Commission on Concordance and Pacification, so that this legislative commission can carry out effectively and efficiently its work as coadjutants in the peace process;
- To respond to the historic call which demands full recognition for the rights of the Indian peoples;
- To contribute to create an international image of our nation which has dignity;
- To go into national history as a Congress which stopped obeying and serving the one, and fulfilled its obligation to obey and serve the all.

This is the hour of the Commission on Concordance and Pacification. It is in your hands and within your abilities to stop the war, to fulfill what the executive does not intend to fulfill, to open hope for a peace with justice and dignity to create the conditions for the peaceful coexistence of all Mexicans. It is the hour to faithfully fulfill the law written for the dialogue and negotiation in Chiapas. It is the hour to respond to the confidence which was deposited in this Commission, not only by the Indian peoples who sat at the table of San Andres, but by all the people who demanded the fulfillment of the word which was given, an end to the war and the beginning of the peace which is necessary.

It is the hour to struggle for the rights of the Indian peoples, as a step to democracy, liberty and justice for all. As part of this struggle which we summon in this **FIFTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE** for the recognition of Indigenous rights and for an end to the war, we ratify our... **"For Everyone Everything, Nothing For Us,"** the **ZAPATISTA ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION** announces it will directly carry out in all of Mexico a...

**NATIONAL CONSULTATION [POPULAR BALLOT]
ABOUT THE LEGAL INITIATIVE ON INDIGENOUS
RIGHTS OF THE COMMISSION FOR CONCORDANCE
AND PACIFICATION AND FOR AN END TO THE WAR
OF EXTERMINATION.**



Mexico May Face New Round of Violence

Yesterday, villagers in Chiapas who support the EZLN clashed with state police in at least two shoot-outs. At least one police officer was killed and five were wounded. Witnesses told reporters that the shoot-outs started when state police, backed by army troops, tried to dismantle an alternative town council the rebel supporters had set up in the southern Chiapas village of San Juan de la Libertad [El Bosque].

According to the official version of Sunday's events here, troops on a pre-dawn patrol saw three armed men in a schoolhouse and demanded they give up their weapons. They refused and fired on the troops. A six hour firefight ensued in which the army suffered no casualties, killed 11 alleged guerrillas, wounded five and captured another 22. A wounded man later died. In a news conference in Acapulco Monday, government officials displayed 14 captured AK-47 rifles, hundreds of rounds of ammunition and EPR literature.

Some local officials and witnesses dispute this account. Standing by the bullet pocked, blood-stained two-room schoolhouse, local resident Narciso Santiago says that on Sunday about 80 villagers from surrounding towns, most of them Mixtec Indians, gathered for a community meeting here. Speaking through a translator, Mr. Santiago said that no one saw the people in the schoolhouse carrying weapons or wearing uniforms.

Marcelino Santos, the official in charge of education for this poverty-stricken municipality, says he has no doubts about what happened. "There wasn't an armed confrontation," he says. "They were massacred by the army." That's also the line taken by the center-left opposition Democratic Revolutionary Party in Guerrero state. PRD officials say they believe the killings were intended to intimidate locals from participating in coming elections.

—Excerpts from an article by Jose De Cordoba,
The Wall Street Journal, 6/11/98



Four Olympians, as part of the Pastors for Peace Caravan, were involved in this incident near Taniperlas, Mexico.

Fifth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle

In which we summon all honest men and women to struggle for...
THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF INDIAN PEOPLES AND FOR THE
END OF THE WAR OF EXTERMINATION.

There will be no transition to democracy, nor reform of the State, nor real solution to the major problems in the national agenda, without the Indian peoples. With the Indigenous it is necessary and possible to make a better and new country. Without them there is no future as a Nation.

This is the hour of the Indian peoples of all of Mexico. We summon them so that, together they continue to struggle for the rights which history, reason and truth has given us. We call upon them so that, together, by gathering the heritage of struggle and resistance, we mobilize all over the country and let everyone know, through peaceful and civic means, that we are the root of the Nation, its base of dignity, its present of struggle, its inclusive future. We summon them so that, together, we can struggle for a place of respect at the side of all Mexicans. We summon them so that, together we can show that we want democracy, liberty and justice for all. We summon them to demand to be recognized as a dignified part of our Nation. We summon them so that together, we can stop the war made against us all by the powerful.

This is the hour of national civil society and independent social and political organizations. It is the hour of the peasants, of the workers, of the teachers, of the students, of the professionals, of the responsible religious men and women, of the journalists, of the squatters, of the small businessmen, of the debtors, of the artists, of the intellectuals, of the handicapped, of the HIV positive, of the homosexuals, of the lesbians, of the men, women, children, youth, elderly, unions, cooperatives, peasant groups, political organizations, social organizations. We summon them so that, together with the Indian peoples and with us, we struggle against the war and for the recognition of Indigenous rights, for the transition to democracy, for an economic model which serves the people and does not serve itself, for a society which is tolerant and inclusive, for respect for differences, for a new country where peace with justice and dignity be a reality for all.

This is the hour of the Congress of the Union. After a long struggle for democracy, led by the opposition political parties, today in the House of Deputies and Senators there is a new balance of power which makes the arbitrary power of "Presidentialism" difficult and points, with hope, towards a true separation and independence of the powers of the Union. The new political make-up of the lower and higher houses presents the challenge of giving legislative labor dignity, the expectation of making it a space to serve the Nation and not whatever president is in power, and the hope of making the word "Honorable" which proceeds the collective name of federal deputies and Senators, something which is real. We call upon the deputies and senators of the Republic of all the political parties which are registered

for the recognition of the rights of Indian peoples.

Because of the commitment made since the first day of our rebellion, today we once again place in first place, above our suffering, above our problems, above our difficulties, the demand that the rights of the Indigenous be recognized with a change in the political Constitution of the United States of Mexico which assures them all the respect and the possibility to struggle for what belongs to them: the land, housing, employment, bread, medicine, education, democracy, justice, liberty, national independence and peace with dignity.



VI. It is the Time of the Indian Peoples, of the Civil Society and of the Congress of the Union.

Brothers and sisters:

The war has spoken with its strident noise of death and destruction.

The government has spoken as has its criminal mask.

It is time that words flower in the silent weapons we have carried for centuries, this is the time for peace to speak, this the time of the word for life.

It is our time.

Today, with the Indigenous heart which is the root of dignity of our Mexican nation, having heard, together with everyone, the voice of death which comes from the war of the government, we call upon the people of Mexico and the men and women of all the planet to unite their steps and strengths with ours in this stage of the struggle for liberty, democracy and justice, through the...

US Group Reports Bus Attack in Mexico

SAN CRISTOBAL DE LAS CASAS, MEXICO, April 25, 1998 (Reuters) — Pro-government Indians attacked a bus on Saturday with a church group based in New York that was delivering aid to refugees in the troubled state of Chiapas, members of the group said. "A group of Indians shouting, 'Foreigners get out!' threw rocks and sticks into the bus with the group," the Rev. Lucius Walker, said. Mexico has expelled several foreigners recently, a move that human rights groups have criticized.

—Excerpts from an article in the *New York Times International Section*, 4/27/98.

The Future of "Profound" Mexico: Reflections on Autonomy

Many of the municipal leaders chosen by the PRI have been left governing only in the principal municipalities and, in some cases, trying to govern from rented houses, because the Zapatistas have taken control of the municipal president's offices, as in the municipalities of San Juan de la Libertad [El Bosque] and San Andres. On April 10, 1998, the municipality of "Richardo Flores Magon" declared itself to be a rebel municipality, in the community of Taniperlas, in the constitutional municipality of Ocosingo. The community was overrun by the military and vacated on April 11, and several persons were arrested, 7 from the community and 2 from national solidarity groups. Twelve members from international solidarity groups were expelled from the country. (Expulsion carries with it a lifelong ban on legally entering Mexico again).

—Excerpts from "*Chiapas Al Dia: No. 108*"
(Previously published by CIEPAC as *La Opinion*) April 11, 1998

In Southern Mexico, A Slow Simmering War: Some Flee Chiapas While Others Are Forced Out

About 15,000 people have fled their homes for makeshift refugee settlements in the mountains and in the highland colonial town of San Cristobal de las Casas, the nearest city to the troubled communities. And at least 1,000 more people have been killed. Most of the dead were slain singly or in small groups. Locals liken the nature of the low-intensity warfare to el chupacabras, a blood-sucking monster of Latin American legend...

The communities targeted for military raids are, like Morelia, among the 42 of Chiapas' 110 municipalities that have declared themselves autonomous from the state and federal government. That makes them natural targets for the soldiers who enter on the pretext of ferreting out criminals, drugs, arms—and meddling foreigners.

Word of such military actions travels a rumor mill far more swiftly than via the spotty and ineffective telephone service. In Morelia, where people live in homes with dirt floors and cook over open fires, the details of the raid in Taniperlas, a town more than five hours away, are well known.

"We don't want what happened in Taniperlas to happen here," said a woman who, like nearly everyone interviewed, did not want her name used. "We've seen what happens when the army comes," the woman added bitterly, referring to a 1994 raid on Morelia that left three elders dead and homes looted and burned. "They grab the men. They torture them. They kill people."

As was the case in Taniperlas, a group of foreign human rights observers lives in Morelia. The whole point of the rebellion was to make life better for the peasants. "The government has never done anything for the peasants. If it had, there wouldn't be this situation."

—Excerpts from an article by Gwen Florio; *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 25, 1998

Guerrillas Take Hits From Army In Two States

Mexico's uneasy truce with Zapatista rebels blew up last week in a firefight between their sympathizers and police and Army patrols. One policeman and at least six Zapatistas died. The first clash in four years in the southern state of Chiapas came just days after mediators, led by Catholic Bishop Samuel Ruiz, resigned in frustration over government interference and a continuing crackdown on pro-rebel villages. The Zapatistas seek broader rights for Indians.

The Mexican Army also went into action last week in the western state of Guerrero, attacking alleged leftist insurgents in a town near Acapulco. The government said the 12 peasants who died were members of the Revolutionary People's Army, but the Mexican Academy of Human Rights demanded an investigation to verify that they were not executed.

While the two guerrilla movements are not linked, the central government in Mexico City may now have decided upon an armed response to both.

"It appears the hard line of the government is trying to destroy all the bridges that would allow negotiated solutions in all conflicts," charges Miguel Acosta, an academy official.

—Excerpts from an article by Lucy Conger; *US News & World Report*; 6/22/98

Reason has always been a weapon of resistance in front of the stupidity which today, but not for a long time, appears to be omnipotent and sweeping. Whether or not we are present, peace with justice and dignity is a right which Mexicans who are honest, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, will continue to struggle for.

V. By Resisting, We Will Continue.

Brothers and sisters:

The EZLN has managed to survive as an organization one of the fiercest initiatives unleashed against it. Its military capacity is intact, it has expanded its social base and fortified itself politically as it has exposed the justice of its demands. The Indigenous character of the EZLN has been fortified, and it continues to be an important driver of the struggle for the rights of Indian peoples. The Indigenous are today national actors and their destinies and demands form part of the national discussion. The word of the first inhabitants of these lands have a special place in public opinion, the Indigenous are no longer tourist or folklore, but a struggle against poverty and for dignity. The Zapatistas have extended a bridge with other political and social organizations, and with thousands of people who have no party. From all of them we have received respect and answered all of them. We have also, together with others extended bridges to all the world and contributed to creating (at the side of men and women of the 5 continents) a great network which struggles by peaceful means against neoliberalism and resists fighting for a better and new world. We have also contributed something to the birth of a new and fresh cultural movement which struggle for a new humanity and a new world.

All this has been possible thanks to our compañeros of our support bases, upon them has fallen the immense burden of our struggle and they have taken it on with firmness, decision and heroism. The support of the Indian peoples of all the nation has also been important, that which comes from our Indigenous brothers who teach us, listen to us and speak to us. National civil society has been the fundamental reason why the just demands of the Zapatistas and the Indigenous of all the nation continue in the path of peaceful mobilization. International civil society has been sensitive and has had ears and eyes which have been attentive so that the response to the demands not be more deaths and prisons. The independent political and social organizations have accepted us as brothers and in this way our resistance was nurtured. All of us have helped us to resist the war, no one to make it.

Today, together with all who walk with us and at our side we say:

We are here! We will resist!

In spite of the war we suffer, in spite of our dead and imprisoned the Zapatistas do not forget why we struggle and what is our principal banner in the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice in Mexico:

respected it), the legal initiative developed by the Commission on Concordance and Pacification is a legal proposal born of the process of negotiation and as such, in the spirit of giving continuity and reason for existence to the dialogue, it is a firm base which can open the peaceful solution of the conflict. It can be converted into an important aid to nullify the war and proceed to peace. The so-called "Cocopa law" is elaborated on the basis of what was produced by the Indian peoples from below. It recognizes a problem and establishes a basis for solution. It reflects another way of making politics, a way which aspires to be democratic, responds to a great national demand for peace, united social sectors and allows us to continue on the agenda of the great national problems. That is why today we ratify our support for the legal initiative elaborated by the Commission on Concordance and Pacification and we demand it be raised up to the constitutional level.

IV. The Dialogue and Negotiation, ... Possible if They Are True.

In terms of the dialogue and negotiation we say we have three great enemies which must be defeated if there is to be a viable, efficient and credible path to peace. These enemies are the absence of mediation, the war and the lack of fulfillment of the agreements. The lack of mediation, the war and the lack of fulfillment are responsibility of the government.

The mediation in the negotiation of a conflict is vital, without it, it is not possible to constitute a dialogue between the two parties in conflict. Upon the destruction of the National Commission of Mediation with its war, the government destroyed the only bridge which exists for the dialogue, it undoes an important obstacle to violence and provokes the question: Can there be a national mediation or an international one?

The dialogue and negotiation can be pertinent, viable and effective when, in addition to having a mediation, confidence and credibility are re-established. Otherwise, it can only be a farce in which we are not willing to participate. We did not go into that dialogue for that purpose. We went into it to seek peaceful means, not to buy time to construct political frauds. We will not be accomplices to a simulation.

We can also not be cynical and fake a dialogue in order to avoid persecution, jail and the assassination of our leaders. The banners of the Zapatistas were not born with our leaders, they will not die with them. If our leadership is assassinated or jailed, they cannot say it was because they traitors and unaccountable.

We did not rise up in arms and become rebels because we believed ourselves stronger and more powerful. We rose up in demand of democracy, liberty and justice because reason is on our side and the dignity of history is on our side. With this in our hands and in our chest, it is impossible to be passive before injustices, treacheries, and lies which are a "style of government" in our country.

Chiapas Church Renews Peace Efforts After Massacre

The savage massacre of 45 Tzotzil Indians on December 22 on the village of Acteal in the Mexican state of Chiapas has focused new attention on the continuing crisis and conflict in that state and on the peace and justice efforts of the local Catholic Church. Paramilitary gunmen with ties to the local government opened fire on the Indians inside the village's Catholic church, where they had gathered, some to pray for peace and others to sort through used clothes they had received as a Christmas donation. The assassins pursued the fleeing villagers, hunting them down in a nearby ravine and methodically dialing them. Among the victims were one baby and 14 other children as well as 21 women, four of whom were pregnant.

The massacre threw the Mexican government into crisis as the ties of the paramilitaries to local and state officials of Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party were revealed. Some high-ranking party members have been implicated in helping to arm the assassins, while others, including the state governor, knew of the massacre beforehand but did nothing to prevent it. Both the governor and the Mexico's interior minister were forced to resign.

Meanwhile, the local Catholic Church intensified its long-standing efforts to address the root causes of the conflict and to promote what it calls a "culture of peace." In a mid-January letter to the Mexican government, four bishops from Chiapas called for a restarting of the stalled peace talks with the Zapatista rebels, which had been mediated by Bishop Samuel Ruiz of San Cristobal de Las Casas. The letter also asked the government to extend a gesture of good will by reducing the number of troops in the area.

Ruiz has become internationally known and admired for his outspoken defense of human rights and social justice, especially the rights of his state's Indigenous Indian population, who have suffered some of the worst poverty and oppression in Mexico. He has been nominated for the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize. Last November, Ruiz and his coadjutor bishop, Raul Vera, were ambushed by paramilitary gunmen. Vera had originally been sent to the diocese in an attempt to pacify opponents of the diocese's justice work. But, according to observers, he was quickly transformed by what he saw in Chiapas and has joined ranks with Ruiz in denouncing human rights violations and the persecution of both the Indigenous population and the church.

—(U.S. Catholic, March 1998)

Mexico's Brutality Stands Exposed

The recent massacre of 45 unarmed people - mostly women and children - in Chiapas exposes the brutality that prevails in much of rural Mexico and presents a challenge to the Clinton administration.

The perpetrators of the slaughter appear to have direct links to officials of the PRI, Mexico's ruling party for 70 years. Despite denials by Mexican authorities, evidence points, at the least, to the case of the army and police authorities looking the other way. At worst, the crime could have been authored by government officials.

The Zapatista rebels claim that they monitored radio communication between members of the government in the area which contain proof that the Chiapas authorities were complicit in the slaughter.

In any event, Mexican President Earnest Zedillo bears ultimate responsibility for the massacre because he could have prevented it. After grueling and prolonged negotiations over more than two years the Zapatista and the government finally reached an accord that allowed for the setting up of autonomous village governments. But in '96 and '97, Zedillo refused to abide by the accord.

Instead, he waged a virtual war of attrition against the Indian communities, sending the military deeper into their jungle communities, running tanks and armored vehicles through the village roads. Zedillo studiously avoided closure on the Chiapas conflict since a peaceful settlement would have cost some of his party faithful in wealth and political power.

The landowners and the caciques, or village bosses, interpreted the government's refusal to abide by the signed accords as a license to retake what they formerly held: land and political power. Landowners in league with ruling party officials recruited unemployed, landless young men or trusted ranch hands. They provided them with training in the use of weapons - often from military officials. They formed goon squads and launched a campaign of violence against the most vulnerable of Zapatista organizers or sympathizers. They evicted villagers from their land and turned them into refugees.

The campaign of bloodletting began more than two years ago and has continued unabated. Human Rights Watch documented over 200 murders in the conflicted area and attributed many of them to para-military groups.

Bishop Samuel Ruiz of San Cristobal de Las Casas, Chiapas, charged that the government "could have stopped the violence... before this shameful event." A caravan in which Ruiz was traveling in November fell under attack from armed assailants. The attackers of the Bishop's caravan, a group call itself "Peace and Justice," had received \$700,000 handout from the PRI-controlled government in Chiapas, according to Luis Hernandez Navarro, a member of the commission to monitor the peace accord in Chiapas.

- We watched our silence, made the resistance of our villages speak louder against betrayal and violence.
- We watched how the silence also spoke to us about who we really are not about who brings the war, but about who seeks peace, not about imposing our will, but about wanted a place where everyone fits, not about being alone and pretended many are at our side, but about being everyone even within the solitary silence of he who resists.
- We saw that our silence became shield and sword which wounded and wore away at those who want and impose the war. We saw that our silence made the power which simulates peace and good government slide and fall once and again, and that its powerful machine of death once and again smashed against the silent wall of our resistance. We saw that in each new attack it won less and lost more. We saw that by not fighting, we fought.
- And we saw that when the will for peace is silent it becomes firmer, it reveals itself and it convinces others.

III. San Andres: A National Law for All the Indigenous and a Law for Peace.

A national law should respond to the hopes of the Indian people of all the nation. In San Andres there was representation of the Indigenous of Mexico and not just the Zapatistas. The agreements were signed with what constitute all the Indian peoples, not just the Zapatistas. For us, and for millions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous in Mexico, a law not fulfilled in San Andres constitutes a simulation, it is a door to war and a precedent for Indigenous rebellions which, in the future, will come to present an invoice which history always presents to lies.

A constitutional reform in Indigenous rights and culture should not be unilateral, it should incorporate the Agreements of San Andres and recognize the fundamental aspects of the demands of the Indian peoples for autonomy, territoriality, Indian peoples, and normative systems. In the Agreements the right to Indigenous autonomy and territory is recognized, according to article 169 of the ILO, signed by the Senate of the Republic. No legislation which attempts to limit the rights of Indian peoples to their communities, and promote the fragmentation and dispersion which make annihilation possible, can secure peace and the inclusion in the Nation of the first Mexicans. Any reform which attempts to tear up the ties of historic and cultural solidarity which exists between Indigenous, is condemned to failure and is, simply a historic denial and injustice.

Even though all the San Andres Agreements are not included (proof once again, that we were not intransigent, that we accepted the work of the coadjutants and

- We saw that, by being quiet, we could better hear the voices and winds from below, and not only the churlish war from above.
- We saw that, by being quiet, the government buried the legitimacy which reason and the will for peace give as a route and a path. The absence of our word only pointed out the hollow and sterile word of he who rules by ruling, and others who did not hear us or who distrusted us became convinced. In this way, the need for peace and justice with dignity was affirmed.
- We saw those who are others like us, seek out other ways in which peace could return to the terrain of hope, we saw them construct and launch initiatives, we saw them grow. We saw them come to our communities with aid, letting us know that we were not alone. We saw them protest by marching, signing letters, petitions, painting graffiti, singing, writing, coming here with us. We saw them propose a dialogue with them, a true one, not the one simulated by the will of the powerful. We saw some of them disqualified by the intolerance of those who should be more tolerant.
- We saw others we had not seen before. We saw that the struggle for peace added them to us, not us, new and good people, men and women, who could have chosen cynicism and apathy, chose commitment and mobilization.

We saw everyone in silence, in silence we saluted those who sought us out and opened doors, and in silence we constructed this response.

- We saw men and women born in other lands add themselves to the struggle for peace. We saw those who from their own countries extended a long bridge of "you are not alone," we saw them mobilize and repeat the "Ya basta!", first we watched them create and carry out demands for justice, marching like a song, writing like a cry, speaking like a march. We watched all those sparks bouncing against the skies and arriving in our lands with all the names which José uses, with all the faces of everyone which in all the world want a place for everyone.
- We watched others cross the long bridge and from their lands, arrive in ours after jumping over borders and oceans, to observe and condemn the war. We watched them come to us to let us know that we are not alone. We watched how they persecuted and harassed them as they do us. We watched how they were beaten like us. We watched as the slander was thrown at them like us. We watched how they resisted as we did. We watched them stay even when they were told to get out. We watched them as they returned to their lands speaking what their eyes had seen and showing what their ears had heard. We watched them continue to struggle.

Zedillo, who barely mentioned the Chiapas situation over the past two years, has now promised to insure justice for the victims of the massacre by bringing in federal government officials to do the investigation. Already, the Mexican government's spin doctors have attributed the blood bath to rival Indian families fighting a vendetta. Small wonder that villagers and church officials alike belittle the government's effort to institute the rule of law.

It's not enough now to arrest some of the hired killers. It's time that Zedillo sign and enforce a peace agreement that allows Indian villages to govern themselves and keep their tiny plots of land.

President Clinton has a role to play, too. His administration has argued that NAFTA gives the United States leverage to pressure Mexico on human rights issues. The time has come for Clinton to use that influence and ask Zedillo to settle this conflict before civil war erupts in Chiapas.

— *(Written by Saul Landau for the Progressive Media Project and distributed by Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service. Spring 1998)*

Mexican Peace Mediator Quits Talks In Chiapas Resignation Of Bishop Feeds Fear Of 'All-Out War'

MEXICO CITY - Mexico's leading peace mediator, who kept the faith through two assassination attempts and numerous threats from death squads, has finally quit peace talks in Chiapas.

Bishop Samuel Ruiz, twice a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize, told his parishioners Sunday the fragile peace process could no longer withstand the "aggression and persecution" of the Mexican government.

As well, the peace committee he headed - the only independent body negotiating with Mexico's Zapatista rebels - has disbanded. It was called the National Mediation Commission, or **CONAI**. The resignations have dashed hopes for peace in Chiapas and led to fears of new violence among human rights groups.

"Bishop Ruiz is the only person the Zapatistas have confidence in," said Suzanne Ramsey, of the Toronto-based Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America. "He is a great loss," she added. "We are worried the government will turn to a military response, and there will be all-out war in Chiapas."

From Chiapas, mediation commission officials accused the Mexican government of conducting "an official strategy of war" against the Zapatista rebels, in violation of a truce. The Mexican government denies charges of a crackdown.

In a communiqué yesterday, the interior ministry said reports of persecution against members of the clergy seeking peace are "absolutely false." The ministry said it would continue to seek a dialogue with the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (**EZLN**), which began a struggle of Indigenous land rights in 1994.

said it would continue to seek a dialogue with the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), which began a struggle of Indigenous land rights in 1994.

In his homily Sunday, Ruiz described a growing crackdown by the government and harassment by the army. "There's a systematic and growing persecution against us," Ruiz said at the cathedral of his diocese, San Cristobal de las Casas.

"Seven priests have been falsely accused and expelled from the country, four priests have been falsely jailed in clear violation of their human rights and some 40 churches have been closed down by the Mexican army." Ruiz said that the government's crackdown in Chiapas has made his work untenable and that he had no choice but to resign.

Chiapas has been involved in a low-level war since 1994. Paramilitary death squads have taken the battle against the rebels into their own hands, throwing suspected Zapatista sympathizers off their lands.

—Written by Linda Diebel, Toronto Star Latin American Bureau, 6/10/98

Chiapas and the UN: Role Stirs Debate in Mexico

"We do not consider it appropriate to internationalize the conflict," Interior Minister Francisco Labastida, in charge of public security, told reporters on Saturday....

....UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan told a news conference on Friday he had received documents from the Mexican government on the Chiapas conflict, which began in January 1994 with an armed uprising by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

....Annan said he would be discussing Chiapas with officials as well as non governmental groups after he arrived in Mexico City on July 21 as part of a Latin American tour, and hinted that UN mediation was on the table.

....Church leaders also welcomed the suggestion of third party mediation. The war between rebels and backers of President Ernesto Zedillo's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has claimed hundreds of lives since the EZLN first rebelled.

....But Chiapas state governor Roberto Albores Guillen, who took office in January a month after a massacre of 45 Indians by pro-ruling party paramilitaries in the highland village of Acteal, said Annan would be welcome — "as a tourist!"

...."Let the Secretary General of the United Nations come to enjoy the beauty and culture of Chiapas. Then he will be welcome," Reforma daily quoted Albores assaying on Sunday.

and revealed he was no more than a criminal beast. We saw that our silence avoided the growth of death and destruction. We saw that the assassins were unmasked and hid themselves in the garb of what they call the "state of law." Once the veil behind which they hid was torn off, the tepid and pusillanimous [cowardly] were revealed, the ones who play with death for profits, the ones who see in the blood of others a step upward, the ones who kill so that the killer may be applauded and cloaked. And he who governs lost his last hypocritical attire. "The war is not against the Indigenous" he said while he persecuted them, jailed and assassinated the Indigenous. His own personal war accused him of murder just as our silence did.

- We saw the powerful government become irritated because it could not find rival or surrender, we watched them turn against others and beat those who did not have the same path as ours but raise similar banners: honest Indigenous leaders, independent social organizations, mediators, accountable non-governmental organizations, international observers, any citizen who wanted peace. We saw all these brothers and sisters beaten and we saw they did not surrender. We saw the government hit everyone, and in an attempt to overcome other forces, create more enemies for itself.
- We saw as well that the government is not one, its vocation of death which its chief professes is not unanimous. We saw that within it there are people who want peace, who understand it, who see it as necessary, as something which cannot be set aside. Silent as we were, we saw that other voices inside the machine of war spoke to say no to its path.
- We saw the powerful deny its own word and send to the legislators a legal proposal which does not resolve the demands of the first people of these lands, which threatens peace, and defrauds the hopes for a just solution to put an end to the war. We saw them sit at the table of money and from there announce their treachery and seek the support which those below deny them. From money the powerful received applause, gold and the order to finish those who speak with mountains. "Kill those who must die, thousands of them, if necessary, but put an end to the problem," so spoke money to the ear of he who says he governs. We saw that what was already acknowledged, our right to govern and self-government as part of this nation, was not fulfilled.
- We saw that the proposal wanted to tear us into pieces, rob us of our history, erase our memory and forget the will of all the Indian peoples who became collective in San Andres. We saw that the proposal brought division and rupture with it, it destroyed bridges and erased hopes.
- We saw that to our silence was added the will of good people who, in the political parties, raised their voice and organized force against the lie, and in that way stopped the injustice and simulation of those who faked a constitutional law of Indian rights which was little more than a law for war.

While the government accumulated hollow words and hurried to discuss with a rival who continually escaped it, the Zapatistas made of silence a weapon of struggle which it did not recognize and against which it could do nothing, and our silence was bombarded once and again with the pointed lies, the bullets, the bombs, and the beatings. In the same way in which, after the battles of 1994 we discovered a weapon in the word, now we made it with the silence. While the government offered threats to all; destruction and death, we learned and taught one another and taught others another form of struggle, that which says that with reason, truth and history, it is possible to fight and to win...by silence.

While the government meted out bribes and lies in the form of economic subsidies to buy loyalties and break convictions, the Zapatistas made of our dignified rejection of the alms of the powerful... a wall which protected us and made us stronger.

While the government put out lures with corrupt wealth and imposed hunger in order to force surrender, the Zapatistas made of our hunger a food and of our poverty a wealth for those who know they have dignity and are accountable.

Silence, dignity and resistance were our only strengths and our best weapons. With them we fought and defeated a powerful enemy because it lacks reason and justice in its cause. From our experience and from the long and luminous history of the Indigenous struggle given to us by our ancestors, the first inhabitants of these lands, re-took our weapons and made soldiers of our silences, light of our dignity, and a rampart of our resistance.

Nevertheless, in the time of our silence, we did not participate directly in the principal national problems with our position and proposals; even if our silence allowed the powerful to give birth and nurture rumors and lies about internal divisions among the Zapatistas, and tried to clothe us in the garb of intolerance, intransigence, weakness, and vacillation; even if some were disillusioned because we did not speak and others took advantage of our absence to pretend they spoke with our voice, in spite of these sorrows and also because of them, great were our steps which we walked and saw.

- We saw that it is not possible to silence our dead, our dead speak in their death, our dead accuse, our dead cry out, our dead live once again. Our dead will die no more. These dead who belong to us and all those who struggle.
- We saw dozens of us confront with hands and fingernails the modern weaponry, we watched them go to jail, we watched them rise up again and resist again with dignity. We watched members of civil society go to jail because they were near the Indigenous and because they believe that peace has much to do with art, education and respect. We saw them. Dark-skinned was their heart and as brothers we saw them.
- We saw the war come from above with its clatter and we saw that they thought we would respond and they would absurdly convert our responses in arguments to increase their crime. And the government brought the war and they obtained no response, but their crime continued. Our silence stripped the powerful naked

...."The key to resolving the conflict isn't international mediation," ...La Cronica [newspaper] said in an editorial.

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CHIAPAS: The Situation of Those Displaced by War

Extract from the document,

"The Insupportable Lightness of the Law:

Impunity; Three Months From Acteal,"

Popular Alternative Communication, Working Group

In order to trace the situation of the displaced, we must begin by differentiating the type of displaced to whom we are referring, and, depending on when and where this phenomenon has occurred, we will be able to formulate a corresponding strategy.

The phenomena of the displaced in Chiapas can be characterized by three distinct types and stages:

a). The first type of displaced we distinguish within the period of the beginning of the paramilitarization, from February 1995 to December 1997, and are those who are located within the municipalities in the Northern zone of Chiapas:

Tila, Sabanilla, Tumbala, Salto de Agua and Palenque, and reached a total of 5873 persons, from approximately 20 communities, who took refuge in neighboring communities in order to seek safety from the paramilitary offensive of Peace and Justice. This wave of displacement ran from the North to Los Altos, and had to traverse violent actions of the paramilitary group "Los Chinchulines" in Bachajon, municipality of Chilon, on May 5, 1998, against the opposition, and which left 5 dead, various wounded, houses burned, and more than 500 displaced to Tuxtla Gutierrez and to other cities near Chilon.

This process reached to Los Altos in Chiapas, especially Pantelho, Chenalho, and, ultimately to [San Juan de las Libertad] El Bosque, causing about 9500 displaced.

These displaced persons live in quite difficult circumstances because, during the entire time they have been displaced, they have not been allowed to plant or harvest, living solely on national and international aid from non-governmental organizations, the caravans, the solidarity of the neighboring communities, support supplied by the Diocese of San Cristobal and, occasionally, by the Diocese of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

The situation of those displaced who are living in the northern zone, in communities close to their communities of origin, is not as difficult as those living in Chenalho, who are sheltered in camps. Those overcrowded in the north are fewer in number, and they can help with the work of those who have given them shelter. However, the situation is made difficult because of harassment from the paramilitary group Peace and Justice, which is directed against everyone not identified with the official party - the PRI - : controlling the crossroads and paths, letting the residents through only if they are carrying "safe passage" passes given out by the paramilitaries, collecting tolls to allow passage, destroying harvests, profaning Catholic churches, assaulting foreigners, robbing homes, belongings and domestic animals, etc. As bad as it is, the situation is worsened during the rainy season, when the roads become impassable where the rains are heavy, and access to humanitarian aid is diminished.

The displaced of Chenalho are located primarily in 9 large camps, which are:

X'oyep (1098 persons), Acteal (750 persons) and Tzajalchen (18 families) belonging to the civil society. **Las Abejas; in Poconichim (736), Acteal (250) and Polho (6550)**, by EZLN support bases. Displaced from Las Abejas in San Cristobal live at the INI (National Indigenous Institution) facilities **(17 families)**, in **Don Bosco (150 persons)** and in **La Nueva Primavera (100 persons)**, also of Las Abejas.

The displaced are living in various communities in Chenalho, in extremely difficult conditions, since, among other things, they cannot plant; the shelters made of cardboard sheets were damaged with the first rains; 60 to 95 persons are sleeping in spaces that are 10 x 5 meters or 10 x 15 meters, and some houses have nylon roofs; with one blanket to cover every two persons; they do not have water in the camp, the 5000 liter barrel supplied daily by the Mexican Red Cross has to be shared with one part going to the Army and another to some PRI members, and, to make matters worse, on January 3, the Army took possession of the only spring of water which exists in X'oyep, harassing the women when they tried to draw water, and now the people have to bathe themselves in streams which are two to three hours away, with the added danger of being assaulted by the paramilitaries who prowl around the camps. Health workers have been relegated to simply translating for several NGOs and the Red Cross who are working in the area, and they have seen the diminution of their organizational capacity, both in training and self-management.

This critical situation creates desperation in the refugee population, and they had been thinking of returning on the 25th of this month, which would be rather risky, because, in communities like Los Chorros, there are 8 armed paramilitaries who continue firing their weapons and harassing the population; also, in Yashgemel there are 14 persons who have not been detained, despite the fact that they also participated in the massacre in Acteal.

not a product of our solitary will, nor were they given birth alone. Representatives of all the Indigenous peoples of Mexico came to San Andres, their voice was represented there, their demands were presented there. Their struggle, which is a lesson and a light, shone there, their word and their heart were defined.

The Zapatistas were not alone in the agreements of San Andres. Together and behind the Indian peoples of the nation stood the Zapatistas. Like today, then we were only a small part of the great history which has no face, word and heart of Nahuatl, Paipai, Kiliwa, Cucapa, Cochimi, Kumiai, Yuma, Seri, Chontal Chinanteco, Pame, Chichimeca, Otomi, Mazahua, Matlazinca, Ocuilteco, Zapoteco, Solteco, Chatino, Papbucio, Mixteco, Cuicateco, Triqui, Amuzgo, Mazateco, Chocho, Izcateco, Huave, Tlapaneco, Totonaca, Tepehua, Populucan, Mixe, Zoque, Huasteco, Lacandon, Maya, Chol, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Mame, Teco, Ixil, Aguacateco, Motocinteco, Chicomuceltec, Kanjobal, Jacalteco, Quiche, Cakchiquel, Ketchi, Pima, Tepehuan, Tarahumara, Mayo, Yaqui, Cahita, Opata, Cora, Huichol, Purepecha And Kikapu.

Like then, today we follow a path together with all the Indian peoples in the struggle for the recognition of their rights. Not as vanguard or direction, only as one part.

We fulfill our word to seek a peaceful solution.

But the supreme government did not keep its word and did not fulfill the first fundamental agreement which we had made: the recognition of Indigenous rights.

To the peace we offered, the government responded with an inexorable war.

Since then, the war against us and all the Indian peoples has continued.

Since then, the lies have grown.

Since then the nation and the entire world has been deceived with the simulation of peace and the making of war against all the Indigenous.

Since then they have tried to forget the lack of compliance with the word of the government and they have tried to hide the treachery which rules Mexican lands.

II. As a Response to the War, Not Another War But the Same Resistance of Dignity And Silence.

While the government revealed to Mexico and the world their will for death and destruction, the Zapatistas did not respond with violence nor did we enter the sinister competition to see who could cause the most death and sorrow to the other part.



I. Resistance and Silence

Brothers and Sisters:

We understand that the struggle for the place we deserve and need in the great Mexican Nation is only one part of the great struggle of everyone for democracy, liberty and justice, but it is a fundamental and necessary part. Once and again, since the beginning of our uprising on January 1 of 1994, we have called upon all the people of Mexico to struggle together with us and through every means, for the rights denied us by the powerful.

Once and again, since we saw one another and spoke with all of you, we have insisted upon a dialogue and an encounter as a path upon which to walk. For four years now the war has not come to our side. Since then the war has come in the mouth and the steps of the supreme governments. From there comes the lies, the deaths, the miseries.

Accountable to the path you asked us to walk, we dialogued with the powerful and arrived at agreements which symbolized the beginning of peace in all our lands, justice for the Indigenous of Mexico and hope for all the honest men and women of the country. These agreements, the Agreements of San Andres, were

given the desperation of life in the camps, some have begun to return on their own, which entails great risk. As Juan Gomez of Los Chorros says, "we are the representatives of Las Abejas, but the others have begun to go back on their own, which means our word has no force, our word is now going to be useless when we return to the community." The risk is real: in front of the army, on June 5, two paramilitaries from Majomut beat up two members of Las Abejas; in Chibtic, PRI members continue provocations to such a degree that 27 families left the PRI, and are in the process of joining Las Abejas. Many other cases like this continue to occur in Chenalho.

Those actually responsible for the displacements in the northern area are the paramilitary group "Peace and Justice." In Chilon and Bachajon the paramilitary group "Los Chinchulines" is operating: of 26 members who had been jailed in May of 1995, 11 were released 15 days ago, after pressuring the authorities with a hunger strike at the Cerro Hueco jail. Meanwhile, there is a paramilitary group operating in Chenalho which is not known by any name. Some believe that it is the paramilitary group known as Red Mask, which operates in San Andres Larrainzar, but that has not been proven. What is certain is that they are armed militant PRI and Cardenista Party groups who continue to act with impunity.

The situation being experienced by the displaced is being used by the government in several ways: . It proposes the return of the displaced based on the granting of aid, offering them projects, the reconstruction of damaged houses, with the caveat that they join the official party (PRI). This is the case for the 85 displaced families in the north zone in Asuncion Huitiupan, where 41 of them had decided to return to El Paraiso, municipality of Sabanilla, where President Ernesto Zedillo visited on May 29. This return was directed by two ex-convicts from La Voz de Cerro Hueco, who had been released on the condition that they would join the PRI and would promote the use of alcohol among the displaced. The rest of the families decided to remain and to continue to belong to the opposition. . The case of the Indigenous in Tila who, on May 13, decided to return to Pantieneja: they were pressured to leave the PRD, to not accept visits from the priests from the Diocese of San Cristobal, to reject foreigners and to inform Peace and Justice of their meetings... Within the current electoral context, the majority of the displaced are being offered support if they return to the PRI, and, if not, they are not being allowed to return to their communities... The Zapatistas of Las Limas Chitamukum, municipality of Pantelho, returned with support and mediation from the Center of Indigenous Rights (CEDIAC) of Bachajon, after 8 months of intervention, but the government took credit for this work, stating that it was they who had promoted the return, and that CEDIAC was only co-advisor.

b). The second type of displacement is that generated as a product of the government's change in strategy, which began on April 11, 1998, with the dismantling of the Autonomous Municipality "Ricardo Flores Magon," and to this date has not ended, attacking primarily the municipal autonomies where the displaced's style of living is differs from those living in the camps.

Those displaced up to this point in Taniperla in Ocosingo include, 144 persons living in the mountains (members of ARIC - Independent, and Zapatista support bases); in Amparo

Aguatinta, in Las Margaritas, there are 14 persons; in the last displacement in [San Juan de las Libertad] El Bosque, more than 800 displaced from the communities of Chavajeval, Union Progreso and Los Platanos, are living in the mountains. The profile of this type of war displaced is that the majority of them are men, and they are living in the style of the Guatemalan Communities of People in Resistance (CPR), fleeing to the mountains, moving from one camp to another, without food or even the most basic necessities of life, because the army, as well as the paramilitaries, go into the mountain to persecute and assassinate them. In the case of Taniperla, there are two supposed ties between the state government and PRI militants, coordinated by Juan Villafuerte, replacement for Federal Deputy Norberto Santiz, (accused of being the primary leader of the paramilitary group MIRA), who presents himself as the (state) government's general secretary. These are the ones who request information from the caravans of solidarity. It is presumed that they often receive orders to assault those who come to take testimony and to lend solidarity. There are photographs of this in La Jornada.

Until now, the denunciations of the communities of La Selva (Ocosingo, Oxchuc and Altamirano) have come from areas where the paramilitary group MIRA is operating.

Victims of this type of displacement have also been created by other newly appeared paramilitary groups such as "Los Platanos" in [San Juan de las Libertad] El Bosque, or "Los Puñales," who extend to the zone of Amparo Aguatinta. The paramilitary group "Los Quintos," recently identified in the municipality of Venustiano Carranza, can reach their victims and the displaced population very quickly.

c). The third type of displaced are those created by PRI members of their own people. In Chenalho they demand a 2000 to 5000 peso (US\$222-556) collection for the support and maintenance of the 96 PRI members in the Cerro Hueco jail for the Acteal massacre. In many of the Indigenous communities in Chiapas, the conditions in which PRI members are living are not very different from those of many opposition members. Some PRI families cannot or will not cooperate, and they are threatened constantly, as is the case in the north zone and other places, where it is presumed that they have even been murdered for refusing to cooperate. Given this situation, they have two options: either go to the Las Abejas' displacement camps, or, if the people are in the majority, request to join that organization. Whereas, before the massacre, Las Abejas had a majority in 22 communities, there are now 27, joined by the communities of La Esperanza, Quextic, Sunux, Los Chorros and Tzajalucum.

There is a system of displacement caused by pressures on the Zapatistas by municipal authorities, as is the case in the community of Bademia, in the municipality of La Independencia, forcing them to either join the PRI or be expelled. There are many other cases such as this, but not all of them manage to be denounced.

[Translated by: Cecilia Rodriguez]

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast,

The Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee

General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

brings you this:

Fifth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle

Today we say: We are here! We resist!

"We are the avengers of death. Our race will not be extinguished as long as there is light in the morning star."

—Popul Vuh

Brothers and Sisters.

Ours is not the house of pain and misery. That is how it has been painted by he who robs and deceives us.

Ours is not the land of death and anguish.

Ours is not the path to war.

Ours is not treachery nor is there room in our step for oblivion.

Ours is not the empty floor nor the vacuous sky.

Ours is the house of light and happiness. That is how we gave it birth, that is how we struggle, that is how we will grow it.

Ours is the land of life and hope.

Ours is the path of peace which is seeded with dignity and harvested with justice and liberty.

"All on board!" the captain's voice is heard to shout-order-invite. The only ticket necessary is honesty. Several thousand oarsmen wait, are you ready to leave? No, we are missing...

With that strange and repeated tendency to complicate the life they have, these men and women of masks and silences built their boat...in the middle of the mountain!

"And now?" I ask them.

As if waiting, silence is the response. But behind their masks there is a smile when they bring me a message and a bottle.

I do what I always do in these cases: I put the message in the bottle, put the top on tightly with some chewing gum of chamoy which the sea gives me, I plant myself firmly by the side of the ceiba, with all my strength, I throw the bottle with the message very far. A trail of cloud gets it and, navigating, takes it to-to-wherever-it-knows-to-take-it. There goes the bottle. Whoever finds it can, by breaking it, break the silence and find some answers and many questions. Perhaps he will also be able to read...

VIII. Declaration from the Selva Lacandona?

Right, that's all.

Vale. Salud and be ready. Prepare umbrellas, raincoats and life jackets. Who can deny now that the word can call up the damp?

From the mountains of the Mexican southeast
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
In the name of the 300
Mexico, July 1998



d). CONCLUSIONS

The first type of displacements, which we referred to in Subsection (a), corresponds to a logic which can be related to the great transnational projects regarding natural resources in Chiapas, where there is a large corridor of biodiversity of great importance. This corridor begins in Marques de Comillas in the municipality of Ocosingo, passing through Taniperla, the municipalities of the northern zone and Chenalho in Los Altos, and ends at Malpaso, where it joins the hydroelectric dam of the same name. It is worth remembering the statement by Comandante Julian of the EZLN, concerning the zone of Taniperla, in which he stated that the militarization corresponded to protection of uranium in this Canyon. But it is not only the subsoil natural resources, but also the water resources: the Osumacinta River is found and passes through Palenque and Tenosique, in the state of Tabasco; and at the same time it also converges with the southeast project known as the Trinational Project of Osumacinta and the Route of the Mayan World, with large levels of direct foreign investment.

The large companies see the potential in the rivers and waters in this part of Chiapas, such as Osumacinta, Tzaconeja, Tulija, Chancala, Agua Azul, Izantun, the Grijalva, the Rio la Venta, etc. In addition, there are large petroleum reserves in Ocosingo, parts of Chilon, and in other municipalities in the northern zone, where large reserves of gas also exist. The aluminum and uranium deposits, which the federal government's Council on Mineral Resources has been exploring since 1983 in Tenejapa; others are located in an area of San Juan Chamula and Ostuacan. There are also the cloud forests that Pronatura has been exploring and trying to protect in the zone of Tila, Tapalapa, Tenejapa, Simojovel, Chilon, Ocosingo, Pueblo Nuevo, Solistahuacan and Chalhchihuitan; forests which figure within the large interests of future projects, such as the construction of hydroelectric dams, the seeding of large plantations, waterways and other subsoil resources. In this area, the Monterey business group, Grupo Pulsar, has projects already underway such as those in Tulija for the planting of bamboo (gandhua variety), eucalyptus, African palm, etc. We conclude that paramilitarization occurs where the government finds it necessary to provoke displacements as a means of protecting strategic natural resources, and for the purpose of isolating the military structure of the EZLN by putting a wedge between them and their support bases.

The second kind of displacement to which we referred in Subsection (b), occurs with the failure of the government's strategy of military occupation of Zapatista territory in February, 1995, due to the fact that the Zapatistas had territory under their control by means of the autonomous municipalities, and not just through military force. This political project of the EZLN is supported by communities and peoples from other parts of Chiapas: so much so that in the latest communiqués from the General Command of the EZLN, they refer to their bases in the Sierra, the Coast, the Border and the North. It is in

order to undermine this project that the dismantling of the autonomous municipalities are being carried out, under the pretext of “re-establishing a state of law,” at the cost of death and dislocation for the civil population.

At the same time, this “war strategy” and policy of imposition, opens the door to the state and federal governments to push their redistricting project, where the majority of the constitutional municipalities proposed by the government coincide with those of the EZLN. They merely change the location of the municipal seat to areas where the official party - the PRI -, paramilitaries or military, have control of local power in terms of politics, economics, territory, infrastructure, road access and loyalty from the population, among others. This is extremely dangerous given that a scenario of this nature could generate more internal conflicts between the different actors in any particular territory, and the government would end up acting in the same way that they criticize: imposing local authority.

The third type of displacements, to which we referred in Subsection (c), leads us to suggest that we are seeing one more demonstration of the imposition and recovery of areas lost by the PRI which they are attempting to recover. This is because the paramilitary plan imposes a regional political system that has its own economic and political rewards as a function of its control of territory. We are facing a stage of exhaustion in the paramilitary scheme, which many PRI members are refusing to enter, and they are being coerced by force. The government is entering the home stretch of a new military offensive in slow motion, using public security as a starting point, and the first anti-riot body of women in El Bosque, incorporated into the repressive state apparatus. At the end of the day, this system seeks to remake themselves and to impose themselves by force of arms, it refuses to die, and the only thing it is willing to discuss with the EZLN is their surrender; it has nothing to offer, and even less its lack of credibility and reliability.

Nonetheless, it is encouraging for the displaced that the International Red Cross (ICRC) in May 1998 obtained authorization from the Mexican government since May of this year to return to Chiapas. They are setting up with the aim of providing emergency support in the communities of Chenalho and [San Juan de las Libertad] El Bosque, where there has recently been violence, and where the displaced are living in difficult circumstances. This may help to ameliorate an emergency situation, but it could also facilitate security, and possibly the accompanied return of the displaced to those communities where they are harassed by the paramilitaries.

“The Insupportable Lightness of the Law: Impunity” (Excerpt, Part X)

e) attacks against personal dignity, especially humiliating and degrading treatments, rape, forced prostitution and any form of assault on decency:

In silence, these Indigenous watch the skies and the ground to predict the winds from below which run through the fields of Mexico and of the world, through the dusty streets of tiny villages and ranches, through the messy disorder of the popular neighborhoods, through the places of the honest unions, through the offices of the committed political parties, through the theatres-movies-auditoriums-salons-of-shows-art galleries, through laboratories and centers of scientific investigation, through the university cubicles, classrooms and halls, through meetings and assemblies of political and social organizations, through the churches of the poor, through the international solidarity committees, through the national and foreign non-governmental organizations, through the highways, through the roads, through the neighborhood streets, through the breaches, navigating the rivers, in the lakes and in the seas of this country, today awash in wet, and of this world awakening, late certainly, but awakening.

- In silence these Indigenous see and are seen.
- In silence they feel where the wind from below is blowing.
- In silence these Indigenous know.
- In silence they finish this new and absurd Noah’s Ark and, knowing that the wind is blowing for democracy, liberty and justice, they set high the double sail of hope, motor and light for this ship, the boat of those of always, the ship of life.
- With art and science they build the ark and choose from thousands of their own for the crew.
- The rest will wait in the port for it to arrive.
- If war and destruction arrive, they will resist as they have learned to do so in the hard school of the centuries, that is, with dignity.
- If democracy, liberty and justice arrive, they will know to share it, as they have known how to do through their history.

Mexico, the middle of 1998.

After a long silence these Indigenous speak about and call on all to board it. After such a silence, these Indigenous speak a ship, a Noah’s ark, a navigable Tower of Babel, an absurd and irreverent challenge.

In case there is any doubt as to who crews and directs it, the figurehead on the prow lights a ski mask! Yes, a ski mask, the mask which reveals, the silence that speaks. A “For everyone, everything, nothing for us” dresses the flag of the red star with five points over a black background which shines over the mainmast. In golden letters, to port, starboard and the stern, the “Votan Zapata” names the origin and the destination of this ship, so powerfully fragile, so resoundingly quiet, so visibly concealed.

But, besides the mirror, old Antonio always carries his old shotgun.

"It's in case the lion doesn't know history," he tells me smiling and winking an eye. From the side and here, the sea added: "In case the lion or the Orive."

And speaking of former Maoists and former radicals and former left, today brand-new advisors to the criminals of the right (who start out talking like cockatoos and now, in order to hide themselves, imitate the ostrich), old Antonio has his own version of that one about the revolutionary and the masses and the comparison with the fish in the water, and also the counterinsurgency strategy of "taking the water away from the fish" that the embarrassed government advisors are recommending today:

The Fish in the Water

Old Antonio tells a history that the oldest of the old of his community told him. He tells the history that there was once a very beautiful fish that lived in the river. He tells that the lion saw the fish and he had a craving to eat it. The lion went to the river but he saw that he could not swim in the river and attack the fish. The lion asked for advice from the opossum and he told him: "It is very simple, the fish cannot live without water. The only thing you have to do is to drink the water from the river and that way the fish will stay without moving and then you can attack it and eat it." The lion was pleased with the opossum's advice and he paid him with a position in his kingdom.

The lion went to the edge of the river and began to drink the liquid.

He died bursting from the water.

The opossum remained unemployed.

Tan tan.

NEW IMPORTANT NOTICE, BUT NOW NOT SO URGENT WARNING: *The interruption by the little horse of the sea has ended, but not so the queasy nausea ['mareado mareo']. Perhaps its persistence is due to that which is shown and spoken of in...*

VII. The Seventh Mask and the Seventh Silence

It is clear that in the arena of political action,(...) only he who puts the candle where the wind is blowing will triumph; never the one who pretends the wind is blowing where he puts the candle.

—Antonio Machado, 'Juan de Mairena'

1998: Mexico. While the supreme government stays on track towards war and tries desperately to join the winds from above, the growls of the beast and the spells in order to push the heavy sails of the ship of death, these Mexican Indigenous, who add the name of Emiliano Zapata to their history, prepare in silence the justice and the dignity that will have to arrive in spite of their death (or perhaps because of it).

"A dead person can be wept over or made into a martyr or a hero, and a raped woman is a living testament to the attack against ethnic community or national identity," states the investigator, Marta Lamas. Hundreds of raped women have been used as a lesson and a shame to others; some denouncements have names and have been made public; the majority remain silent out of fear of reprisals. There is not one single person serving time for these war crimes in area prisons.... Three months after the Zapatista uprising, three Tzeltales sisters were raped; 6 or 7 soldiers raped them; the rest "let them do it."

On October 4, 1995, in San Cristobalito (San Andres Larrainzar), three nurses from the Department of Health were sexually attacked by 25 disguised men. That same month Cecilia Rodriguez was raped by three armed men at the Montebello lakes. They were professional rapists.... Julieta Flores, member of the Popular Campesino Union Francisco Villa, of the municipality Angel Albino Corzo, denounced that on December 15, 1995, after a series of land takeovers and mobilizations, which were demanding the installation of a plural municipal government, judicial police, accompanied by local public police, detained her, along with other campesinos from the organization. They took her to the closest military base, where she was tortured and raped on several occasions. Afterwards, she was freed, without any charge being brought against her, and without any record existing of her detention.

Through March 8, 1997, the Woman's Group of San Cristobal de Las Casas had knowledge of more than 300 women who had been raped since the beginning of the armed conflict... The girls, Minerva Guadeloupe Perez Torres and Rebeca Perez Perez, 13 and 15 years old respectively, were kidnapped by members of the group Peace and Justice, in August of 1996. The girls were held for 10 days in the community of Miguel Aleman, municipality of Tila, where they tortured and sexually abused them, and then, finally, killed them... Many of the displaced in Chenalho state that women who are captured are forced to cook breakfast, wash clothes and are raped.

—(Del Valle, S. *The Living Dead of Chiapas. Doble Jornada, La Jornada, 1/5/98, p. 5*)

According to the Center of Human Rights Fray Bartolome de las Casas, the presence of the army corrupts the morals and good traditions of the citizens, by bringing in prostitutes, placing brothels in many communities and distributing alcoholic beverages and marijuana, which they sell or give to the residents.

—(Muñoz, A. *La Jornada. 8/18/97, p. 5*)

"The housewives are fearful, because of the diseases that they (the soldiers) transmit; we don't want centers of vice in this town, like prostitution, drug addiction and alcoholism, because we are very healthy the way we are." The soldiers settled into the football field, located at the edge of town San Juan de las Libertad (El Bosque), and "the gentlemen of the municipal seat were opposed to that, because they know very well that the field is where the children play," stated the authorities of the communities of [San Juan de las Libertad] El Bosque

—(Henriquez, E. *La Jornada, 4/6/97, p. 10*)

According to representatives of the rural municipal agency of Jolnachoj (municipality of San Andres Larrainzar), the soldiers are constantly harassing the people: "they rape the women, they get drunk, they raise hell at all hours of the night and they promote prostitution." The rural authorities of Jolnachoj presented at least 10 letters of protest to the state government concerning the harassment suffered by various residents, but not one denunciation was ever investigated.

—(Balboa, J. and Henriquez, E., *La Jornada*, 8/18/97, p. 3)

In a document signed by the mayor of the municipality in rebellion of San Andres Larrainzar, the increase of violations against young Indigenous girls by the soldiers is denounced; "many of them have become single mothers." The saddest part, he explained, is that they are students at the bilingual primary school, Justo Sierra, and it is when they are leaving the school grounds that the soldiers follow them and rape them. "The practice of prostitution, which comes from outside, has increased, and they throw the condoms anyplace, which the schoolchildren pick up and blow up for balloons. In addition, the Jolmachoj River has been contaminated with trash, waste and filth, and has a horrible smell. The contamination was denounced by the community to the people at the IMSS-Coplamar, but they didn't pay any attention," they noted. Prostitution has changed the life in the regions occupied by EZLN militants and sympathizers: children playing with condoms just used by soldiers, tattooed women strolling through town with soldiers in undershirts, prostitutes bathing nude in the rivers, women made pregnant by the soldiers and Indigenous couples separated.

—(Balboa, J. *La Jornada*, 12/23/97, p. 4)

A large increase in sexually transmitted diseases, the appearance of AIDS cases and the development of prostitution (they pay 100 pesos for virgins, while girls between 11 and 13 years old are "sold or lent" because of hunger) are the effects of the war. . . . more and more Indigenous chiapanecas are "going with soldiers," who keep the prettiest ones for the officers. Fathers and sons, according to testimony, encourage the women to prostitute themselves.

—(Perez, M., *Informe Sipaz*, *La Jornada*, 2/9/98, p. 15)

Nightclub owners in Ocosingo and Altamirano have in the last two years built up a prostitution network (which includes Indigenous women) in the eight military camps located in the primary Zapatista corridor in the Lacandona jungle. Some one hundred women are brought in weekly to the Canyons of Jatate, in order to satisfy the 3000 soldiers stationed in the Zapatista communities of La Garrucha and Nueva Providencia.

"They took the boy up to the top of a ceiba tree and at the foot of it they left a tied-up calf. They went away. The boy was supposed to watch what the lion did with the calf, to wait for him to go away and then to return to his community and tell them what he had seen. And so he did, the lion arrived and killed and skinned the calf, and afterwards he drank his blood, eating his heart and he left when the buzzards were circling waiting for their turn. "The boy went to his community and told what he had seen, the oldest of the old thought for a while and said: 'Let the death which the matador gives be his death,' and they gave the boy a mirror, some nails to shoe with and a calf.

"Tomorrow is the night of justice, said the old ones and they returned to their thoughts.

"The boy did not understand. He went to his hut and he stayed there for a good while watching the game. There he was and his father arrived and he asked him what was happening; the boy told him everything. The boy's father stayed silently next to him and, after a while, he spoke. The boy smiled while he listened to his father.

"The next day, when the afternoon had already made the gold, and the gray of the night had let itself fall over the treetops, the boy left the community and walked on foot to the ceiba tree carrying the calf. When he arrived at the foot of the mother tree, he killed the calf and took out its heart. Then he broke the mirror into many little pieces and stuck them into the heart with the same blood, then he opened the heart and put the nails inside. He put the heart back in the calf's chest and with stakes made a frame to keep it standing on its feet. As if it were alive. The boy went up to the top of the tree and waited there. Above, while the night let itself fall from the trees to the ground, he remembered his father's words:

"The same death with which the matador will die."

"Now the night was below all the time when the lion arrived. The animal came close and, with one leap, attacked the calf and skinned it. When he licked the heart, the lion became suspicious because the blood was dry, but the broken mirror hurt his tongue and made it bleed. And so the lion thought that the blood from his mouth was from the calf's heart and, excited, he chewed up the entire heart. The nails made it bleed more, but the lion continued to think that the blood he had in his mouth was the calf's. Chewing and chewing, the lion wounded himself more and more and bled more and chewed more and more.

The lion was like that until it bled to death.

The boy returned with the lion's claws as a collar and he showed it to the oldest of the old of the community.

They smiled and told him: 'It is not the claws that you should keep as a trophy of the victory, but the mirror.'

That is how old Antonio tells that the lion was killed.

which makes the sea dizzy [*mareados como la marea que marea a la mar*']. In the way of medicine, the seahorse tells us a story (what else could it do!).

Old Antonio tells that when he was young his father Don Antonio taught him how to kill the lion without a firearm. Old Antonio tells that when he was young Antonio and his father was the old Antonio he told him the story that he now tells me out loud so that the sea will learn my lips. Old Antonio tells it to me just like this, but I call it

The History of the Lion and the Mirror

"The lion first skins its victim, afterwards he drinks the blood, eating the heart, and leaves the rest for the vultures. There is nothing that can go against the strength of the lion. There is not an animal which can confront him, nor a man who does not run away from him. Only a force which is equally brutal, bloodthirsty and powerful can defeat the lion."

The then old Antonio of the then young Antonio rolled his cigarette and, pretending to pay attention to the logs which were converging in the bright star of the flames from the bonfire, looked out of the corner of his eye at the young Antonio. He didn't wait long, because the young Antonio asked him:

- And what is this force great enough to defeat the lion?

The old Antonio of then handed the young Antonio of then, a mirror.

- Me? asked the then young Antonio, looking at himself in the round mirror.

The old Antonio of then smiled with good humor (that is what the young Antonio of then says) and took the mirror from him.

- "By showing you the mirror I meant that the strength which could defeat the lion was the same as the lion. Only the lion himself can defeat the lion."

- Ah! - said the then young Antonio, who said that in order to say something.

The then old Antonio understood that the then young Antonio had not understood anything and he continued telling the history.

"When we understand that only the lion can defeat the lion we begin to think how to make the lion confront himself. The oldest of the old of the community said that you have to know the lion and name a boy in order to know him."

- You? interrupted the then young Antonio.

The then old Antonio agreed through his silence and, after rearranging the logs on the fire, he continued:

The presence of the Mexican Army has provoked domestic violence, an increase in the consumption of alcohol and in psychosomatic illnesses, as well as the break-up of at least 20 Indigenous marriages, when the women agree to have sexual relations with the soldiers for 50 pesos. "In the communities of San Quintin and Nueva Providencia, the ejidal authorities don't govern, the soldiers govern....what the military says, is what the community does. There are many women who have left their husbands because they've fallen in with the soldiers, having relations. The women have abandoned their men and their children, because now they're trading with the soldiers," noted a human rights promoter and catchiest... Here there are children playing with recently used condoms (as balloons), tattooed women strolling about town with soldiers in undershirts and shorts; prostitutes bathing nude in the rivers ("showing off their wares," the campesinos say); but, above all, private homes turned into brothels. The owners of the brothels in Ocosingo and Altamirano make daily rounds in the camps at La Garrucha, Patihuitz, Puente Jatate, La Soledad, La Sultana and San Quintin, carrying the women in three-ton trucks, who stay there an average of eight to ten days in private homes converted into brothels, to satisfy the soldiers.

Parallel with that, 36 Indigenous women from San Quintin and Nueva Providencia made a living from prostitution. These are the only two communities where the Mexican Army forces live within the town, and they exert psychological pressure on the residents, transforming the social, cultural and political lives of the Indigenous... Many young Indigenous women have been willing to prostitute themselves for money: the soldiers pay 50 pesos for married women, and 100 pesos for young girls who haven't lived with a man.... prostitution has caused an increase in pregnancy among Indigenous women, because of their fear of being harassed by members of the Army.

—(Balboa, J. *La Jornada*, 1/27/98, p.4)

The women don't want to see guns now, and neither do they want to see the army, because they are afraid, and, also, they are surrounding the well where we go to get water," said the Tzotziles, who have demonstrated twice against the installation of the military camp in X'oyep. They said that on those two occasions they were only met with scratches and blows from the soldiers who refused to leave X'oyep. They also denounced that "some of them lift up the women's skirts and tell them that they will kiss them and they will fall in love."

—(Gil Olmos, J. *La Jornada*, 1/6/98, p. 10)

Fidelia walks timidly a few meters away from the truckload of soldiers. Stroking the barrel of his machine gun from the top of a military vehicle, a helmeted soldier says audibly: "she says she wants a soldier's son." His companions enjoy the sordid joke, which seems to be popular among the troops. This correspondent heard it two other times. Once, directed at a woman from the United States who had arrived in Polho. Another time, to a woman from Mexico City. In a high voice, a sergeant crooned in falsetto: "I want a soldier's son." It forms part of a rude and lewd attitude on the part of the soldiers and police, who photograph anyone who passes by, and in a joking tone make clucking sounds.

What is called sexual harassment in civilized countries, and is a crime, serves here to keep up the troops' morale.

—(Bellinghausen, *H. La Jornada*, 12/31/97, p. 4)

The military envoy that came through La Realidad yesterday, stopped in the middle of the town. From one of the vehicles, a soldier, with his arm, was occupied, for an entire minute, in insulting and making sexual allusions to a young girl, a Mexican citizen, a member of a civil peace camp, who was observing the military patrol.

—(Bellinghausen, *H. La Jornada*, 3/14/98, p. 7)

“The people appreciate and admire the courage of the military, and everyone who wishes for a peaceful solution to the conflicts admire the character, the impartiality and the strength of each Mexican soldier. The Armed Forces are the guarantors of national sovereignty, bastion of liberty and defenders of the institutions of the Republic.”

—(Ernesto Zedillo, *President of the Republic*, 2/19/98)

— **Onecimo Hidalgo Center of Economic and Political Investigations of
Community Action (CIEPAC)**

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Military Special Groups, Matter of Study for United States and European Specialists

Their fame transcends Mexico's borders. United States veterans speak of them, as do European military specialists. In inner circles, their direct and indirect participation is known in operations which have left a trail of pain, death and terror in civil society.

They are referring to the Special Forces of the Air Transportation Group, better known as **GAFE**. They are Mexican Army troops, highly prepared and trained in 17 of the major academies, schools and specialized bases of the United States armed forces.

In these centers, Mexican officials are prepared and trained in various military disciplines. In “low intensity warfare” strategies at the School of the Americas, located in the state of Georgia; in counterinsurgency in the countryside, at the Special Forces School in North Carolina; on intelligence, at Bolling Air Force Base In Washington DC; on techniques of night helicopter flights, at Fort Tucker in Alabama; helicopter repair in San Antonio, Texas and various preparations in 12 other military bases in the United States.

All the political, economic, ecclesiastical and military power against these 10 persons and, particularly, against Don Samuel Ruiz Garcia, the bishop of the diocese of San Cristobal.

On June 7, 1998, the seventh victim fell in front of the advance of the Zedillo war machine. Don Samuel Ruiz Garcia resigned from the CONAI and it was dissolved. With the disappearance of the Conai, a fierce resistance against authoritarianism, crime and intolerance was ended, but the search for peace has not ended for them.

But the machine did not stop with the resignation of the president of the Conai. Señor Ernesto Zedillo was not satisfied with seeing Bishop Ruiz Garcia out of mediation in the conflict. No, he wanted to see him disappeared, erased, dead. With malice he nurtured the opportunity to get him completely out of his sight, if the attempt had failed once, there would still be other opportunities. After all, if a cardinal could be assassinated (Posadas Ocampo) with no punishment for the crime, it would be easy to take care of an inconvenient bishop and one could continue without problems. And this is not one of those bad jokes that Zedillo likes to torture his cabinet with, no, the bitterness had been converted in this man into a truly personal style of government. And as for personal revenge, “he knows how to do it.”

Time and again, in each of his conjugal visits made to the next former interim Governor Albores Guillen, Señor Zedillo attacked, viciously and cowardly, the man who took peace and justice as flags, and who spared neither effort nor pain to complete his work with honesty, and which is, at the end of the day, the work of all human beings who respect themselves: to struggle for justice, respect and dignity.

This country owes these persons not a little. Although a chapter has ended in south-eastern Mexico, national history reserves them a place alongside the best. Long afterwards, when Zedillo is forgotten or in jail for his innumerable crimes, the names of these persons will still hold a very special place in the hearts of all those Mexicans who are now from below, especially the Indigenous.

Although outside this stage of the struggle, the “conaitas” have left it clear that they will continue struggling in different forms and in different places for the same thing: for justice for the Mexican Indigenous, for the transition to democracy and for peace.

However, the seven victims of the government's war are multiplied in other combatants who are resisting. They remember yesterdays histories in the today, like that which speaks of...

**IMPORTANT NOTICE, THAT IS, URGENT WARNING, OR HOW-
EVER YOU SAY IT:**

*The section, Stories of the Little Horse of the Sea arbitrarily interrupts this
veeery serious political analysis and, just like that, leaves us sea-sick like the tide*

forgotten by the government. In his perverse and lethal game, Ernesto Zedillo feigned to the Cocopa his willingness to accept the legislators' offices to achieve, efficiently and rapidly, peace in southeastern Mexico. By withdrawing his acceptance of the initiative for the Indigenous law, prepared by the Cocopa, the government made a fool of the legislators and robbed them of all moral authority to appear in front of the zapatista leadership. Afterwards, Zedillo set about battering the "cocopos" who did not align themselves with his war plans (that is, almost all of them), only to then ignore the commission for the long period during which he planned and executed the massive assassination of Indigenous perpetrated in Acteal in December of 1997. In short, the government has treated the Cocopa with ridicule, traps, blows and sabotage.

The EZLN will not do the same.

Simultaneous with the sabotages against the Cocopa, Government busied itself with assassinating and incarcerating more Indigenous, and in fighting a total war against the National Commission of Intermediation (Conai) and, especially, against its President, the Bishop Samuel Ruiz Garcia. Ultimately, words and contradictions. Labastida says what Rabasa retracts, Zedillo corrects both of them. Rabasa clarifies Zedillo, Labastida scolds Rabasa, in short, a confusion of masks and roles which would make one laugh if it weren't that it hides a brutal and uneven war.

After suffering a long and intense campaign of attacks and lies, the National Commission of Intermediation (recognized by the parties, EZLN and the federal government, as the mechanism for mediation in the peace dialogue) was dissolved.

Take note of these names: Don Samuel Ruiz Garcia, Dona Concepcion Calvillo Viuda de Nava, Doctor Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, Doctor Raymundo Sanchez Barraza, poet Juan Banelos, poet Oscar Oliva (these six as members), and Pedro Nava, Salvador Reyes, Gonzalo Ituarte and Miguel Alvarez as secretaries. The 10 formed the National Commission of Intermediation, one of the primary objectives for destruction by the government's war strategy.

Their crimes? All of them unpardonable: fight for peace with justice and dignity, represent national civil society as mediator in the conflict, believe firmly in dialogue as the solution to disputes, not submit to the government's orders, maintain autonomy and independence with respect to the parties, think that peace in Mexico must necessarily pass through the transition to democracy, commit oneself to the side of the Indians in their peaceful struggles and (the worst of all their crimes) make themselves into an obstacle to war.

For months these persons were the victims of attacks of all kinds, including attempts on their lives, property and liberty. For months they suffered the pressures of all the apparatus of the Mexican state; federal, state and municipal governments; the Army, police and paramilitaries; the two television monopolies and the local press; businesses; federal and local deputies; the high hierarchies of the Catholic and evangelical churches. Millions and millions of pesos wasted in smear campaigns against them.





Besides filling the Chiapas jails (having been previously emptied of the paramilitaries) with zapatista Indigenous and members of civil society, besides promoting the use of the Indigenous' huts as target practice for the federal Army, besides practicing summary executions which do not require envy from those practiced by military dictatorships around the world (an advantage of globalization?), besides having tied the name of "Mexico" to the blood-stained "Acteal"; "Chavajeval," and "Union Progreso," besides having brought terror, misery and the lie to the Indian lands of Mexico, Comandante Zedillo and his team are wearing seven medals for the other victims they claimed.

Yes, there are seven victims of their war: peace, dialogue as the means for solution of the conflicts, the Indigenous, national and international civil society, the movement towards democracy, the Commission of Concordance and Peace and the National Commission of Intermediation.

Continuing his personal fight against the zapatista rebels, Zedillo doesn't just take peace prisoner of war, which was there for the taking, he also attacked the hope for any future peace.

The dialogue as the means for a solution to the conflicts is one of the most important losses of the war in southeastern Mexico. By failing to carry out the Accords which he signed, Zedillo shattered confidence in his government. Without confidence, it is impossible to reach accords. And if it is not possible to reach accords, why have dialogue?

For their part, the Indigenous have been converted into the primary share of "triumphs" of Zedillo in Chiapas: no other regime has been responsible, directly and indirectly, for so many deaths, prisoners, tortures, expulsions, displacements and disappearances of chiapeneco Indigenous as the current one.

Government warfare claimed another victim in national and international civil society, by ignoring its calls for dialogue and peace.

One more victim is the transition to democracy, which finds itself halted by a political system disposed for a blood bath, so that it will not lose its privileges.

Only a nostalgic memory remains of national sovereignty. In its place are foreign military advisors, foreign arms, foreign combat tactics, foreign MRE's, foreign combat equipment. In the war in Chiapas the only thing that is national is the blood that is spilled.

Two other victims merit special mention: one was dragged away dying, the other lies irredeemably dead.

The first is the Commission of Concordance and Peace, formed by federal legislators of all the political parties with representation in the Congress of the Union. The Cocopa has been avoided, mocked, used, despised, humiliated and

And the masks are accompanied by other masks, apathy and cynicism wants to multiply among those from below. It tries to unite "nothing matters to me" with "only I am important to me, and so what," and in this way the power will accomplish one of its primary objectives: impose immobility and hamper brotherhood.

Then the silences come. That of the bitterness against everyone or no one, which is unleashed against anything within its reach. That of the impotence of feeling oneself to be too small in front of an overwhelming, inaccessible and, nonetheless, omnipresent machine. That of the desperation of seeing oneself and knowing oneself to be alone, without the slightest suspicion that things could be better tomorrow. That of the resignation that assumes the inevitability of injustice and the role of victim while the murderer covers his face, becoming real in the boss, the police, the man, the mestizo, the thief, the neighbor, the other-always-the-other.

And the silence of fury explodes at any moment, a silence which accumulates and grows in situations that are absurd, unexpected, incomprehensible: the man with the woman, the gang with any passerby, the worker with the worker, the Indigenous with the Indigenous, the one with the other, the fury with the fury.

New forms of struggle are creating their own masks and are forging their silences. Little by little the honorable mask of resistance grows and multiplies, the "I will not leave," the "I will not surrender," the "I continue fighting," the "I will not give in," the "come on!" Behind the same mask of anonymity, the Indigenous, workers, campesinos, housewives, neighbors, unionists, students, teachers, Christians, retired persons, disabled persons, drivers, shopkeepers, activists from political and social organizations, women, youth, children and old persons, all those who discover each other day by day, who resist by staying-like-this-as-if-nothing-happened-and-now-for-not-have-to-leave-have-to-fight-and-organize-and-turn-everything-upside-down-and-remake-it-new-and-it-is-not-true-that-we-are-few-and-it-is-not-true-that-we-are-weak-and-it-is-not-true-that-we-always-lose-and-it-is-not-true-that-this-and-it-is-not-true-that-the-other-and-get-lost-man-and-now-you're-going-to-see-and-it-is-not-true-that-it-is-not-true-and-no-and-why-not-and-no-and-why-yes-and-no-and-now-no-NO-NOW-NO...

And a terrible silence walks with and arises from the resistance: the silence which accuses and points.

V. The Seven Victims of the New Government Strategy in Chiapas

Comandante Zedillo's military campaign has been brilliant. Accompanying him in this bellicose enterprise have been Señor Labastida as chief of his Great State, Señor Rabasa as...as...what is it that Señor Rabasa does?, good, Señora Rosario Green in the service of not very simultaneous (nor very reliable) translation, and the señor? Albores Guillen as Field Marshall.

GAFE members stand out, for the most part, as officials of varying rank and service; with academic distinction in their military careers. They are dominated by youth, an athletic physique, an obvious aggressiveness and their participation in "elite corps" in any of the 12 regions and 40 military zones where they are stationed.

No One Knows How Many There Are

Except in specific areas in the Department of National Defense (Sedena), almost no one knows how many GAFE units exist, the number of forces they include and, although it is stated that their function within the immense body of Mexican armed forces, including the air force, is to fight drug trafficking, because of their high level of preparation, they have the capability of training other military bodies, but, above all, to act as "rapid response" operatives, and, in a clandestine manner, to organize and lend training and military strategies to armed civilians.

The previous information is from investigations and data from Darrin Wood, Director of Nuevo Amanecer Press - Europa; Brian Wilson, former United States Air Force official in Viet Nam; the Human Rights Center Miguel Agustin pro Juarez; The Jalisco State Human Rights Commission and the Jalisco Academy of Human Rights.

The "School for Assassins"

Darrin Wood, European journalist specializing in Latin American military subjects, in a wide-ranging investigation into the US Army's School of the Americas (SOA), which he calls the "school for assassins," notes that, despite domestic and international criticisms of the training given there to military personnel from other nations, 1997 will see the continuation of "the training of more than 900 officials in courses such as military intelligence, psychological operations and commando operations." Of special note is the fact that "for more than two years now, Mexico has the largest number of military personnel receiving instruction."

Detailing a description of allocations and subsidies sent by the SOA to the United States Congress, which confirms the existence of at least one instructor in our country "doing training work for the Mexican Army," Wood says that the first step in developing the study plan at the school "is identifying the kind of instruction necessary for meeting the political objectives of the United States in Latin America and the Caribbean," since, "given the high cost of direct intervention in nations" in the zone, the SOA "trains officials in those countries to meet their {US} objectives."

In this way, he emphasizes, "the Mexican government has the dubious honor (sic) of being the primary collaborator on issues of United States security on the continent." In his analysis of the courses taken over the last 36 years by Mexican military personnel, with a minimum rank of lieutenant, in the SOA, he notes that

between 1961 and 1970, a total of 75 officials were prepared: 11 in counterrevolution, one in counterinsurgency, six in military intelligence, six in guerrilla warfare, four in jungle operations and 47 in other disciplines.

Between 1971 and 1980 there was a marked increase in the number of trainees. 197 military personnel took courses: three in counterrevolution, two in urban counterinsurgency, three in domestic defense, four in military intelligence, six in guerrilla warfare, 60 in training, three in command, 26 in jungle operations and 90 in other techniques.

While between 1981 and 1990, 539 Mexican officers attended the SOA, who were instructed in: 19 in military intelligence, three in psychological operations, 27 in commando work, 210 in courses related to training, 12 in anti-drug operations and 268 in other specialties. Regarding the first seven years of this decade, the journalist reveals 623 Mexican military personnel attended courses at the SOA, of which 121 received military intelligence instruction, 29 in psychological operations, 163 in "training;" 32 in educational administration; 56 in special Mexican training; 30 in commando work; 20 in civil-military operations; 70 in anti-drug operations, and 102 in other areas.

This means that during the last 37 years, in the School of the Americas alone, 1327 Mexican Army officers have taken the following courses: counterrevolution, 14; urban counterintelligence, three; military intelligence, 150; guerrilla warfare, 12; jungle operations, 30; various disciplines, 460; courses related to training, 433; domestic defense, three; psychological operations, 32; educational administration, 32; special Mexican training, 56; civil-military operations, 20, and, in anti-drug areas, 82.

—By Trinfo Elizaldé, *La Jornada*, (8/15/98),
translated from the Spanish by irlandesa for Nuevo Amanecer Press

U.S. Admits Role In Chiapas Conflict U.S. Army War College Professor Tells of Counterinsurgency Trainings and 'Private Diplomacy'

Far from the eyes of the Mexican public, the United States government continues to play a crucial - and highly controversial - role in the Chiapas conflict.

Since 1995, hundreds of Mexican soldiers have been trained at elite U.S. military bases in counternarcotics, maneuvers that are virtually identical to the counterinsurgency tactics used in the Guatemalan civil war.

"The general (U.S.) response is that Mexico has to deal with its own problems," said Donald Schulz, an expert on Latin America at the U.S. Army War College. "At the same time, some of the training and equipment that has been provided to the Mexican military can be used for counterinsurgency purposes."

IV. The Masks and the Silences of Those From Below

*"The night will pass,
The waters can spit,
They can shoot the sparrows,
They can burn the verses.
They can cut down the sweet iris,
They can break the song and throw it into a swamp.
But this night will pass."*

—Manuel Scorza

The neoliberal model requires, for its maintenance and growth, the perpetration of a crime that is realized through millions of small and large crimes, and the State is in charge of collecting, in cash and efficiently, from the victims of those from below.

For this complicated (and useless) scheme, which serves as the stage for the death of the political system, to function, it is necessary to distribute large numbers of masks and silences for those from below. Anonymity, desperation, bitterness, apathy, impotence, resignation, skepticism, isolation and cynicism, are offered with full hands to be consumed by millions of Mexican men and women who barely survive in this country. Appearing to be free of charge, the silences and the masks which arrive from above to those from below tend to end up being very costly. The losses are exorbitant, but they are not measured in monetary terms, rather in human ones.

The masks of anonymity and isolation, which the frantic globalization tries to impose on men and women in all of Mexico, do not hide the singularity of every being, but rather the very real nightmare of the struggle of those from below. The daily injustice which the system inflicts on the Mexicans dilutes its impact precisely by the great multiplication of its crimes: a dismissal over here, a rape over there, an unjust imprisonment there, a robbery further over there, a political disappearance on that side, a fraud on this side, hunger and misery shut away between four walls of one over there. Victims anonymous and isolated by the system, millions of Mexican lose (in the neoliberal alchemy that converts its exploitation by an exponential secret) the opportunity to rebel against the nightmare that isolates them in terror, because it is anonymous in the aggression which it perpetrates.

Don't see or hear the other soldiers, those who fight the fires and help the population with the natural disasters.

Don't see or hear the soldiers who fight the national and international drug traffic.

Don't see or hear the soldiers dead in the fight against organized crime, which means destruction, hunger and misery for hundreds of people.

Don't see or hear the soldiers who fall, those, yes, in the carrying out of their duties.

For these soldiers there is no applause, not even one word, nor one salute.

For these soldiers there is silence, the forgetting.

Don't see or hear the soldiers who fight fires in various states in the country.

Look at and listen to (and applaud!) the soldiers who set fires and worship the fire in the Mexican south and southeast.

Look at and applaud the Huertas soldiers. Do not see or hear the Angeles soldiers.

Don't look, don't listen. Take your mask and your silence. Don't look and don't listen. Don't choose...

General Felipe Angeles. Official of the Federal Army in times of the Mexican Revolution, he crossed over to rebel lines and put his ingenuity and his knowledge at the service of the cause of the oppressed. He fought under the orders of Francisco Villa in the Division of the North. His brothers in arms in the government army of that time branded him a traitor to his country.

History remembers him as a military patriot.

General Victoriano Huerta. Official of the federal army during the times of the Mexican Revolution, he put himself under orders of the ambassador from the United States of North America to the then President Francisco I. Madero. He headed the counterrevolution and organized massacres of Indigenous and the destruction of villages in his military campaign against a transgressor of the law, the self-named "Emiliano Zapata." His brothers in arms of the then government army extolled him and praised him as a patriot.

History remembers him as a traitor to his Homeland.

1998, the Mexican Federal Army: so close to the Huertas and so far from the Angeles.

The mask of war, the silence of death always comes with it. And with death comes....

Moreover, if Mexico's political stability were at severe risk, said Schulz, the U.S. would militarize the U.S.-Mexico border and could consider further military deployment to Mexico. "If there were major instability in Mexico of the kind that the country was getting too close to in 1994," said Schulz, "this would provoke large-scale immigration and could carry with it violence to the United States - this is what we have to consider."

Schulz's comments follow the detention of two U.S. military officials in Chiapas last week, which sparked a controversy over the position of foreign military personnel in Mexico. Meanwhile, as political maelstroms come and go, Schulz's direct employer, the Strategic Studies Institute, will continue to conduct "strategic studies that develop policy recommendations ... [for] the U.S. Army as well as national leadership."

Since 1994, the United States has sold and donated over 235 million dollars' worth of arms and equipment to Mexico, including 103 UH1H "Huey" helicopters, 4 surveillance planes, as well as night vision, electronic control and satellite equipment.

Furthermore, in recent years the number of Mexican generals, soldiers and pilots receiving counterinsurgency training at the U.S. Special Forces (Green Berets) base in Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, has risen dramatically.

Schulz disclosed that several U.S. leased counternarcotics helicopters were used in Chiapas. "One cannot limit the uses to which they put our counternarcotics training, because that can be used just as easily for counterinsurgency," Schulz said. "There's a real problem separating the two, and I don't think anyone has come up with a solution."

A partial solution, according to a group of U.S. legislators - among them Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) - is a non-binding resolution regarding Chiapas. If passed, the resolution would recommend that U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright urge Mexican officials to disarm paramilitary groups and reduce military presence in Chiapas, and assure that U.S. military equipment is not used in the conflict. It also suggests that the United Nations intervene, and for the peace process to be renewed.

Foreign Relations Minister Rosario Green blasted the resolution, calling it "unacceptable interventionism" based on "incomplete, inexact and .. biased information." Although the resolution has been tabled until after August, the U.S. House of Representatives' Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee recently held a hearing on Chiapas, where scholars and human rights leaders testified.

"It's a process of educating the public that there is a growing institutional relationship between the U.S. and the Mexican armed forces," said Ted Lewis of nonprofit Global Exchange, which spearheaded lobbying efforts. "We don't see this as interventionism, we're trying to challenge U.S. policy."

Global Exchange's involvement was in part prompted by reports from S. Brian Willson, a Vietnam veteran and lawyer by training who has documented the flow of U.S. equipment to Chiapas. Willson writes that when Gen. Mario Renan - who was trained in counterinsurgency tactics at Ft. Bragg - served as the former commander of the Seventh Military Region in Chiapas, he directly supported ruling party-aligned paramilitary group Paz y Justicia, one of the area's most dangerous and best-funded counterinsurgency groups.

From all official accounts, the two Americans detained in Chiapas - the Embassy's Asst. Army Attaché Thomas Gillen and First Sergeant Elizabeth Krug - were on a "routine visit" when they were held in El Bosque for over four hours by Tzotzil Indians, who demanded to know their purpose in the area. They were freed once Chiapas state officials intervened, but not before making a splash in the Mexican press.

A meeting between Foreign Relations Vice Minister Carlos de Icaza and Charles Brayshaw, the U.S. Embassy's Charge d'Affaires, quickly ensued. "The Ministry confirmed the importance of foreign visitors' exercising prudence ... when visiting the Chiapas conflict zones ... so as not to interfere in internal affairs or endanger the positive path of bilateral relations," stated a press bulletin.

The ministry has also demanded that U.S. military personnel inform the Mexican government about their travel plans. Meanwhile, Schulz says in the event that the Chiapas conflict spreads to other states, there is no "clear-cut policy" for the United States. "The best results are from private, behind-the-scenes diplomacy, rather than diplomacy that is exercised in the public eye," he said.

— *By Garance Burke, El Financiero Internacional,*
Vol. 8, No. 07, August 3-9, 1998 (Front Page)
NUEVO AMANECER PRESS

Chiapas: 2 wooden shacks burned, one mural destroyed, dozens arrested (alive, unfortunately).

- **State of Chiapas in general:** an undetermined number of dead, wounded and imprisoned, product of actions which are called "undercover," and the strict application of the law.

RESULT:

Resounding triumph of the State of Law which you honorably represent.

My dear sir: The national armed forces have covered themselves in glory.

Rúbricas. [colloq. in accordance with standard procedure]

PS: If they could!

PS: To note the selfless labors and ample intelligence of Field Marshall Roberto Albores Guillen, under whose orders we had the honor of serving the Republic.

PS: From Marshall Albores: grrrr, bow-wow, woof, grr.

RESPONSE:

TO: Operational Command Group of the Federal Army
FROM: Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon

Congratulations. The federal Army will not be leaving Chiapas. Continue on with your enforcement of legality and the establishment of the state of law.

The only thing that is left for me to say: Guys, get tough on them!

"Everything with violence, nothing with politics."

EZPL

Rúbricas [also means flourishes or signature]

PS: A big hug (and a few croquettes) for my faithful friend and servant, Camp Marshall Albores.

PS: Never before have so few (me and those who support me) owed so much to so many (federales).

PS to the PS: Didn't it go like that?

Look and listen to these courageous soldiers, applaud your eminent chiefs.

Part of the War #1998/6.

TO: Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, Supreme Commander
FROM: Operational Command Group of the Federal Army
THEATER OF OPERATIONS: Southeastern Mexico
MILITARY CAMPAIGN: "The State of Law Via Actions"
DATE: December 22, 1997 to June 10, 1998

NUMBER OF TROOPS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: 60,000 (Note: not including the number of special forces, those which the opposition calls "paramilitaries")

MILITARY EQUIPMENT OF THE FORCES OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT: War tanks, armed personnel carriers, Hummer vehicles, reconnaissance aircraft, combat and bomber airplanes, helicopters, howitzers, mortars, light artillery, machine guns, automatic rifles, grenades, electronic surveillance equipment

NUMBER OF TROOPS OF THE TRANSGRESSORS OF THE LAW: 300 (including the masked joker who commands them)

MILITARY EQUIPMENT OF THE REBEL FORCES: shotguns, the kind they call "chimbos," 22 caliber rifles, sticks, machetes, stones, hands, fingernails, words and (as discovered by our intelligent intelligence services)....silence

ACTIONS CARRIED OUT:

- **Acteal, Chenalho, Chiapas:** 45 enemy casualties (men, women and children included), carried out by our special troops, in a tactical action they call "undercover."

- **Various Indigenous communities, Chiapas:** An undetermined number of decommissioned weapons (previously planted by us), subversive books such as "the gospel according to the masked joker."

- **Navil, Tenejapa, Chiapas:** Two sacks of beans (which shows that the transgressors were preparing for bacteriological warfare) and some weapons which we planted

- **Chavajeval, El Bosque ("San Juan de la Libertad" for the transgressors of the law), Chiapas:** 3 enemy casualties owing to our brave and bold light artillery fire, mortars and land and air machine guns.

- **Union Progreso, El Bosque, Chiapas:** 5 enemies executed for the crime of having rebelled against sacrosanct institutions.

- **Amparo Agua Tinta and Taniperla, in the self-styled autonomous municipalities of "Tierra y Libertad" and "Ricardo Flores Magon,"**

Date: Sat, 18 Jul 1998

From: Nuevo Amanecer Press <amanecer@aa.net> <http://www.nap.cuhm.mx/nap0.htm>

Subject: Subcomandante Marcos Communiqué

(Originally published in La Jornada in Spanish, translated from the Spanish by irlandesa for Nuevo Amanecer Press)

Above and Below: Masks and Silences

For the public man, most especially for the political, we have to demand of him that he possess the public virtues, all of which can be summarized in: fidelity to his own mask....., keep it in good repair, for there is no political mess which is not an exchange, a confusion of masks, a bad rehearsal for a play, in which no one knows their parts.

Endeavor, however, those of you who go into politics, that your mask be, as much as possible, your own work, make it yours yourselves, in order to avoid that others might put it on - or take it off - your enemies or your fellow politicians; and do not make it so inflexible, so impervious or impermeable that it suffocates your face, because, sooner or later, you will have to show yourself.

—Antonio Machado, "Juan de Mairena"

I. Mexico, the Middle of 1998....

Leaning against my shoulder, the sea sighs when it sees the complex plans of this new construction, drawn up through long and silent dawns, thought up from behind the masks that we are. And suddenly a gust of wind arrives, whipping the trees which are our windows, and shaking the large sheets of paper, full of drawings, of staggered scales, incomprehensible logarithms, of illegible letters that look more like obscure formulas of alchemy than scientific calculations.

In the middle of the year 1998 in Mexico and a wind arrives to break silences and to pull off masks.

After a long and heavy dry period, the rains begin to appear on the horizon of this country whose leaders are striving to take it to catastrophe. Protected by a trail of cloud, damp and amazed, I see half of 1998 go by and the last death rattles of a century which refuses to leave without scandals and outrage.

Far from here the World Cup assembles and summons emotions. The spell that is cast each time the ball rolls has been well understood by the South Americans, one to describe it, and the other to practice it. Eduardo Galeano, collector of these daily showers which some call "the history from below," and Diego Armando Maradona, who uses the ball to sing and to demonstrate that magic does not necessarily have anything to do with potions and esoteric formulas.

But from up here I do not see either Don Galeano or Don Maradona. Neither do I manage to see Olivio exercising his vocation of breaking nets ("and heads," says the sea, while trying to hide, to no avail, the marksman that Olivio abandoned in his flight, after splitting Marcelo's head open). I do see, though, millions of Mexicans in the role

in which the powerful have always wanted to see them, as spectators.

With national history stopped each time the Mexican football team faces off, the leaders of this country win a respite which reality relentlessly denies them. Millions of eyes glued to French soil allow the Power a short rest. The pleasure is short-lived, defeat arrives and the impasse which the role of spectators has allowed them comes to an end.

On this side of the world, the tragicomedy of national political life is also converted into spectacle, and the disorderly charade which is displayed every day in the halls of Power in Mexico receives no applause at all. There is time for the majority of Mexicans to stop being spectators to the scandals with which the governing class plans to end the century...and the country. Millions of nationals are now the victims of mega crimes and jumbo frauds.

If the shameful acts of the Mexican political class are merchandise for the powerful communications media, and whose successful presentation is measured in "rating" points, for the immense majority of those who struggle and die between the Rio Bravo and the Suchiate, they are only a continuation of the State crime which spans almost the entire century.

Determined to alert the citizenry to the growth of delinquency and violence, some communications media (those tied to the government) conceal the essential: the bloodiest and most brutal delinquents hold government positions (or are closely tied to them), and violence finds the federal government to be its primary executor, its largest instigator and its apologist par excellence.

In the spectacle of "great" Mexican politics, the confusion of masks and speeches keeps one from knowing for certain who is the judge and who is the criminal, who is the fraudulent and who the defrauded.

But it becomes more and more clear that Mexico at the end of the 20th century has its most criminal mask in the State one party system. In this Mexico, the growing State criminality (that which is exercised by the political Power) sees itself only equaled by the impunity with which it gives money, influence and proximity (or professed or embarrassed membership) to the select circle hovering around what some people still call (not without blushing certainly) "Señor President."

The middle of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon's six-year term has indelible marks, but the bloodiest of those is the daily crime of an economic model imposed through the indisputable arguments of bayonets, jail and the cemeteries. Even so, this State crime finds somber marks. Aguas Blancas in Guerrero in June of 1995. Acteal in Chiapas in December of 1997. El Charco in Guerrero in June of 1998, and Union Progreso and Chavajeval in Chiapas in June of 1998.

This face, the most irrational which the Mexican state has had in all its history, conceals its terrifying image behind another mask. And the sound of the blood which it collects day after day, is quieted through silence.

Only listen to Comandante Zedillo, the chief of those soldiers whom he has ordered to save Mexico... from those who are more Mexican than anyone.

Look and listen to what we tell you to see and hear.

This is nationalism! This is being a patriot! This is the "State of Law!"

This is the Federal Army! The armed guarantor of the defense of National Sovereignty!

So strong and not caring that those they are facing are so weak! So brave despite the fact that those they are fighting are unarmed! So bold even though those they are fighting are defenseless!

Do not look at or listen to your commander-in-chief lowering his head, embarrassed, in front of his North American equivalent. Do not see or hear the clumsy and grotesque "translation service" with which the Chancellor tries to hide the cowardice of Zedillo's government in front of the open faucets of the empire of the stripes and murky stars. Don't look at his army, the federal army, giving military honors to the Supreme Commander of the chief of the.....North American Army. Don't look at the Mexican officials accounting to and following orders from their United States "advisors."

Do not see or hear the silence of those Mexican Indigenous who are fighting for democracy, liberty and justice.

Do not see or hear that anachronistic "For everyone, everything, nothing for us." To whom would that occur during these times of "save yourself if you can"?

Do not see or hear reality.

These Indigenous ("zapatistas" I believe they call themselves) are the primary enemy, they sell the homeland; those who want to deliver national sovereignty to dark foreign interests; those who want to rebel against economic injustice; those who demand that he who governs, governs obeying; those who demand democracy for all; those who want a place in the Nation; those who struggle for justice; those who want a roof, land, work, bread, health, education; those who defend the independence of Mexico; those who want a new world, better...

What am I saying? Don't listen! Don't look! Applaud!

There are our brave soldiers killing the dark enemy (the color of their skin gives them away)!

Shout! Viva Mexico! Again! Viva Mexico!

Look at and listen to the part of the war which our selfless soldiers delivered to their chief, Comandante Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, and which we offer you exclusively on this channel:

Fortunately, the intellectuals of criminal objectivity (as well as their advised) are fewer and fewer, and they are more alone. There are, on the other hand, news media who have the honor of relying, for their pages and microphones, on political analysts, journalists and artists, who refuse the juggling that the government wishes to impose on them, and who continue dissecting national problems (and taking positions on them), looking for solutions that are inclusive, peaceful and rational.

With reason, history, legitimacy and the Nation lost, there is little left to the Mexican political system. It thinks that there is only one mask now that could save it and take it alive (although not now healthy and whole) to the other side of this century: The Mask of War.

III. The Mexican Federal Army: Between Angeles and Huertas

(Audio can be used by any news media in the service of the Supreme. Images will be those of the attacks on the communities of Chavajeval and Union Progreso, in the autonomous municipality of San Juan de la Libertad, Rebel Chiapas, on June 10, 1998).

Look at the federal soldiers: so young, so strong, so well fed, so well equipped, so well trained, so so. Look at them fight so heroically from behind their tanks, their light artillery, their helicopters, their bomber planes. Look with what decisiveness and courage they shoot and confront the enemy. What dedication! What great heroism! What bravery! What contempt for danger! What commitment to the defense of national sovereignty! Aren't they admirable? Don't you feel like singing the National Hymn where it says: "Mexicans to the cry of war...?"

This is patriotism. It doesn't matter that the other side, the "enemy's" side, only has machetes, stones, sticks, hands, fingernails, teeth. It doesn't matter that on the other side, the "enemy's" side, are Mexican Indigenous, those who first populated these lands, those who resisted the war of conquest, those who gave birth to the Nation fighting with Miguel Hidalgo, Jose Maria Morelos, Vicente Guerrero, those who fought against the gringos in 1847, those who fought by Juarez' side against the French invasion, those who gave flesh, blood and cries for justice in the revolution of Villa and Zapata, those who refused to be liquidated by a model, the neoliberal model, which makes a war of extermination against them through all means and in all forms.

It is not important, look at the brave federal soldiers fighting.

[The governments tell you] Don't look at the rapes, the beatings, the executions, the extermination of men, women, children and old ones. Don't look at the exodus of tens of thousands of displaced.

Don't look. Don't listen.

It would seem evident that masks conceal and silence quiets.

But the truth is that masks also reveal and that silences speak.

To conceal and to quiet, to reveal and to speak, masks and silence. These are the signs that will help to understand the end of this century in Mexico.

Yes, this is a country of masks and silences. I tell this to the sea, and she answers me, from behind her ski mask, with a silent gesture of paradox, which is more than eloquent, as she rolls up and guards the great plans.

But I tell you, and I tell myself, that there are masks and masks, and silences and silences.

There are, for example:

II. Masks and the Silence From Above

'I have heard much of your cosmetics: God has given you one face, and you make another; you prance, you swing your hips, you mispronounce, you give nicknames to God's creature, and you make of your ignorance your lasciviousness.'

'Hamlet,' William Shakespeare

What is the government's role in society? What should its role be? These questions are asked by the political parties, the analysts and by society. There are many responses to one and the other question, but the Mexican government has their own and, despite the madness of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse - Zedillo, Labastida, Green, Madrazo, Gurria, Ortiz, Rabasa and Albores (yes, I know already that I gave 8, but 4 are horsemen and 4 are beasts, you choose) - they impose them with blood (contributed by those from below) and fire (from those above).

Lacking the legitimacy which can only be obtained by the governed, these characters from the Mexican tragedy at the end of the century, supplant it with a mask made 'ex profeso,' that of the State of Law. In the name of the "State of Law" they impose economic measures, they assassinate, they imprison, they rape, they destroy, they persecute, they make war.

Without rational arguments, without legitimacy, without morals, the government of Mexico seizes its only resource: violence. But the government does not direct this violence against organized crime or against delinquency (that is, it does not use it against itself), it is used against the most impoverished, that is, a now immense majority, but which continues growing at the same rhythm as the country is collapsing.

It could seem to us that a collapse could have a thunderous sound, but, in this case, a silence covers it and announces it, the silence of the forgetting. In order to supplant its lack of legitimacy with legality, the Mexican State (and not just the government) must carry out a complex surgical operation on the entire social order. That is, to eradicate the historical memory from the governed. And they try to do this by substituting the true history (in lower case), with the OFFICIAL HISTORY. And this Official History is not learned in books, rather it was created in the mental laboratories of postgraduates in foreign universities. Harvard, Oxford, Yale, and the MIT are the modern "Founding Fathers" of the current Mexican leaders. And so the Official History comes from as far away as the indicators of economic growth, these have the constancy of a weather vane in the middle of a storm. And so the present is the only possible history for these "blackboard boys" (as Carlos Fuentes would name them), the "computer kids" (as who-knows-whom would name them), or the "Pines Cartel" (as their drug trafficking associates call them). If constancy and pain and hard work are characteristic of the history of those from below, the ephemeral is the preferred place for the Official History. The "Today" of the stock markets is the historical reference of these technocrats who, thanks to the criminal Carlos Salinas de Gortari, today find themselves in political power in Mexico. This Official History has its mask.

The Mask of "Modernity." Does it seem attractive? Functional? Aerodynamic? Biodegradable? Cool? Lite? It is nothing of that, but it is sold and consumed with similar arguments. The Modernity of the neoliberal leaders in Mexico reveals an empty and dry country. In spite of publicity and marketing techniques, and notwithstanding the millions spent in cosmetics and makeup, the mask of Mexican Modernity is being more and more chipped away. And it is more and more difficult to not see what it is hiding: the destruction of the nurturing bases of the Mexican State, that is, the bases of National Sovereignty.

With 'modernity' as a spinal column, a series of arguments (mask beyond a doubt) are wielded to justify (in the double meaning of "making justice" and "giving a reason for being") the dramatic destruction of all that which allows a country to keep its "national sovereignty" from being a mere rhetorical device. Ownership of subsoil wealth, of the territorial waters and air, of the lines of communication, of the businesses with social functions (education, health, food, housing, security), social policy, effective control of financial and commercial markets, money, language, government, armed forces, history, these are some of the foundations necessary for a State. Through various means, and behind several masks, but always with the same urgency, these bases of national sovereignty are being weakened, when they are not outright destroyed, by the neoliberal governments of Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, Carlos Salinas de Gortari and (the student surpasses his teachers) Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon.

With the masks of "industrial restructuring," "adaptation to the modern era of globalization," the "streamlining of public spending," the "elimination of subsidies which hinder free trade and economic development," "the international fight against drug trafficking," and "the end of the populist State," the Mexican governments since 1982 until the present have operated a veritable extermination campaign against the fundamental supports of national sovereignty.

The consequences of these actions and words are not suffered only by the Indigenous victims of the extermination campaign against them, not only by Zedillo who stains his hand more and more with dark blood, not just by Labastida who sees his political aspirations for the Presidency of the Republic going up in ruins, not just by Rabasa, who sees the necessity for demonstrating that there is no idiocy spoken which cannot be surpassed (by him, himself) with flying colors the next day, not just by "Marshall" Albores who now occupies a privileged position among the assassins and thieves of this century.

Not only by them, the consequences are also paid by the intellectuals who are not "on one side or the other." With its military and media campaign, the government has managed only to reduce even more the narrow space for intermediate opinions. And so the "neutrals" are caught in a false dilemma: support the government or support the rebels. The courtesy of minds contributes to the spread of desperation and clamors for an end to the "chiapanization" of national life.

Chiapas is a problem of public opinion: the words of war and the violent actions are only on the government's side, and on the side of the rebels is a silence which, to them, appears enormous, the "neutral" intellectuals are uncomfortable, because if they applaud government speeches and practices, they put themselves on the side of irrationality and crime, and if they criticize them, they put themselves on the side of a few hooded persons who, in addition to being rebels, are Indigenous.

Their desperation is comprehensible, the war which the government is carrying out in Chiapas and Guerrero is splattering all sides now, and it threatens to stain both pens and immaculate analysis.

But there are those who are not perturbed by the dilemma, and embrace with fervent and religious devotion the task of "giving reason" to the State crime which is taking place in Indigenous Mexico.

However, nothing is ever perfect, and the mistakes follow each other at a dizzying pace, provoking unease in the officious advisors. The discomfort of these intellectuals in the face of governmental stupidity hides the dissatisfaction of unappreciated advisors. The intellectuals of the Indigenous annihilation, "for reasons of State," are made uncomfortable by the governmental tardiness in putting "an end" to that stone in the shoe.

And so here comes the Mask of "Intellectual Objectivity." It is carried by a few characters in Mexico's cultural life who have free passage in the salons of the political, economic and religious power. Their first step was to begin criticizing the critics of the political system.

With the supposed "moral authority" which remorse confers, these intellectuals attack their colleagues who do not follow their frenetic path towards capitulation. "The operation to discredit critical reason was led by an intellectual 'beautiful people,' composed primarily of former young philosophers, former young sociologists and former young opinion leaders who knew the paths which would take them to the ancient teachings of the seated scribe." (Vazquez Montalban, Manuel. "Panfleto from the Planet of the Apes," Ed. Drakontos, Barcelona, P. 144). To that step is added others, and soon they are sharing the table with the high political, financial, religious, cultural hierarchies, that is, with the wills that drive the bloodthirsty vehicle of neoliberalism in Mexico. "The pragmatic power has relied not only on elegant teachers in order to move about with the old and new financial oligarchy, but it has also had at its disposal a chorus of organic intellectuals who have helped them to never write one line, nor have one idea of their own, at the same time providing them with the ideology indispensable for shooting and a complete collection of dithyrambs." *Ibid.*

At some moment these professionals of apostasy cease being court jesters with professional studies and/or published works, and become "advisors." Instead of sharing the crumbs from the table of Power (and making recommendations which will bring them significant economic advantages), these ideologues guide and advise our leaders. Certainly things don't always turn out the way the advisors and the advised might expect. And not just because of the continuous swings in their political positions and "serious" analysis (example: Jorge Alcocer, from the Salinas gang of intellectuals, who one day announced that he was forming a leftist party, and the next morning took a position as Under Secretary of Government), but also (and above all), because reality is not understood as it is, instead they counsel decisions based on the premise that reality should be what the Power wants it to be.

There is a long list of disasters, but by only mentioning "Chiapas," we have the one which represents all the others. The former independent intellectuals, and today devoted advisors, counseled "a strong hand," and "firmness" in the government treatment of the Indigenous rebels of southeastern Mexico. "All the costs have already been paid, we have nothing to lose," they said to support their recommendation of using a military road to definitively solve the conflict. They also advised a "new media campaign" (the name by which the government, and their advisors, know the speeches during public activities, press conferences and interviews at receptions) that would be consistent with "the policy of action" (c'est a dire de war) that they were carrying forward in the Indigenous communities in the country. Result: barking, slogans, scoldings, boasts, threats, words and contradictions ("Intergovernmental conflicts," the PGR would say, referring, not to Celosio's assassination, but to the statements by Zedillo, Labastida and Rabasa).

Selling off state enterprises for a song, giving in to the pressures of international markets, abandoning their social service functions (or changing their function into the buying of votes), ending supports for basic products and controlling salaries, leaving the future of the national currency to the discretion of large financial centers, yielding their governmental activities to the publicity campaigns which the sales market of countries demands, awarding the national armed forces the role of neighborhood policemen in the global village, rewriting (and erasing) national history, thinking in dollars, all in all, the last Mexican governments have managed, through various means, to make this country less and less ours, and less and less a country.

Pay attention. What remains of the Mexican State to allow it to claim that it is sovereign? Hundreds of state enterprises have been sold, the pompously named "Mexican Stock Exchange" looks like a branch of the Asian markets (and those who peddle the idea that it may be a branch indeed, but it's a branch of the North American Exchanges), the only consistency in the price of basic products is their upward mobility, the Mexican peso lacks a language in the international currency market, the Mexican governments think in English and only translate into Spanish when they are directing themselves to nationals (although not with any luck, as Chancellor Green demonstrated), the Mexican federal army carries out (under orders from North American advisors) in the national mountains the same work which General Custer did with the Indigenous in the United States, and high officials in the Mexican government respond swiftly and with certainty to the question: "When is Independence Day?" with a conclusive, "the fourth of July." Scandalous? Right, but for this we reach for the Forgetting. Another silence...

Yes, forget what we were, what brought us to here. Forget all the past, not just that of Deception and pain, but also, and above all, that of struggle and rebellion. But the peculiarity of that forgetting is that it doesn't try to erase what came before, but rather to condemn it, being ashamed of it, regretting it. As is evident, all attempts to "bring" the past into the present is subversion of the "peace and tranquillity," it is illegal, ultimately something to be combated. There you have, for example, those Indians who "bring" Zapata to these times of modern globalization and they have him speak and make history. And (what a scandal!) even on the Internet that terrorist cry of Zapata Vive! can be heard. Subversion, even to speak. How well off we were with that Zapata in his grave, in the museum, in the book that was never opened! Therefore, those who "bring" Zapata are illegal and subversive, that Zapata is illegal and subversive because of the nightmares he provokes, and, ergo, history is illegal and subversive - not just because it questions today, but also because it makes one believe (and struggle for!) that another today is possible. And to conceal this silence, another mask.....

The Mask of the Macro economy. There you have Señor Zedillo's speeches, a demonstration of contagious optimism, where he explains-scolds-warns us that THE - ECONOMIC - RECOVERY - IS - IRREVERSIBLE - AND - THE - STRENGTHENING - OF - OUR - ECONOMIC - INDICATORS - DEMONSTRATES - THAT - WE - CAN - SURVIVE - THE - CRISIS - AT - A - MINIMAL - COST - AND - HOW - LUCKY - YOU - ARE - COMPATRIOTS - TO - HAVE - ME - AS - YOUR - GOVERNMENT

- BLAH - BLAH - BLAH - BLAH - BLAH - BLAH - BLAH....

Ah, the macroeconomic achievements! But, where are they? In the fortunes of the richest men in Mexico who are on the Fortune 500 list? In wages? In prices? In employment? In social security? Look for them, look and you will find that, behind the macroeconomic mask, is hidden an economic model which has been imposed on this country since the beginning of the '80s, 16 years of economic policy, enough to evaluate it.

Results? In addition to the loss of National Sovereignty, we have an historical reversal of...30 years! Yes, Mexico '98 and Mexico '68 have in common not only an assassin heading the government with the presidential sash across his chest, but also the growth of poverty and growth in the number of the poor, the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands, and the deterioration of social services, which, at one time, eased the lives of Mexicans.

From 1968 to 1977 the percentage of the population living in poverty declined rapidly, between 1977 and 1981 this decline was accelerated. "In this way poverty was able to be reduced in 18 years, from more than three-quarters of the population to less than half. However, after 1981, there was an abrupt change in direction, in which poverty not only stopped declining, it started to grow at an accelerated rate."

(Boltvinik, Julio. "Economy and Welfare. Mexico at the End of the Millennium," in Vientos del Sur, 12-13, 1998. Mexico; and Hernandez Laos, Enrique. "Economic Growth and Poverty in Mexico," cited in Boltvinik, J. Ibid).

Now, at the beginning of 1998, we are at the same poverty levels as in 1968, 30 lost years. In addition, today we have fewer possibilities for improving our economic situation, "... the opportunities for the Mexicans' well-being in 1996, after almost three 5-year periods of the neoliberal model, have not only not grown, but they are 30% lower than in 1981. This results in a two-fold incapacity in the model. One part is the incapacity to make investment increase as rapidly as is necessary.... The other part is the growing incapacity to equitably distribute the investment throughout the population.... That is, the model was incapable of growth, but it also concentrated more and more investment in fewer hands, thus decreasing the possibilities for the well-being of the population." *(Ibid)*.

Certainly these macroeconomic facts will not be to the liking of Señores Gurria and Ortiz (and I doubt that they can refute them), but the real fact is that there is another "macro economy," that of those from below, lower salaries, less and worse education, less and worse housing, less and worse health, less and poor food. Yes, behind the mask there is a catastrophe.

On top of this, add a few abbreviations, **Fobaproa**, and you will have completed a nightmare cocktail, in addition to their poverty, millions of Mexicans will now have to take responsibility for the rescue of those other criminals, the bankers, who use the "State of Law" as an alibi, and who have an ever willing accomplice and procurer in the Government.

Outrageous, certainly. But.

Silence! Nothing can be done, it is the fatalism of globalization, imposing on us an indisputable silence and a conformist religiosity. It should not concern us that this resignation has reached all the way to Havana, since the destruction of Nations (which the globalization, irretrievably, entails) is presented to us as something self-evident, that is, natural, unquestionable and without contradiction.

Certainly neoliberalism has constructed, with its great financial capital, a formidable enemy, capable of dictating wars, bankruptcies, "democracies," lives and, above all, deaths in every corner of the world. However, this process of total globalization (economic, political and cultural) does not involve inclusion of different societies, incorporating their own characteristics. On the contrary, it involves the true imposition of one, and only one, thought: that of financial capital. In this war of total conquest everything and everyone must be subordinated to the judgment of the marketplace, whatever opposes or impedes it will be eliminated. But, in addition, it implies the destruction of humanity as a sociocultural collective and its reconstruction as a market element. To oppose neoliberalism, to fight against it, is not just a political or ideological option, it is a question of the survival of humanity. Someone warned that to go against globalization would be like going against gravity. Then, in any way: Down with the law of gravity!

The destruction of Mexico as a Nation must be hidden. And so another mask is necessary, that of Chauvinism. Motivated by an eagerness for peace, and trying to stop the extermination of the Indigenous which the Mexican government carries out on chiapaneco lands, hundreds of men and women from Mexico and from other parts of the world come to southeastern Mexico. There is nothing more uncomfortable for the criminals than to have witnesses of their extermination laboratory which they have set up on Indian grounds; and so the ineffable Department of Government brings the double recipe: for the nationals, jail, and for those from other countries, expulsion (with a prior xenophobic campaign in the press, radio and television). Suddenly, with equally stupid explanations, the primary peddler of the National Sovereignty has a fit of patriotism and, to the cry of "a good foreigner is a dumb and blind foreigner!" he sets to persecuting, harassing and expelling all those born in other lands who join their hearts to the struggle for peace with justice and dignity. The hundreds of foreign observers are left with beatings, rapes, threats, insults. For the foreign "investors" servile bowing, flattery and adulation abound.

And, as a grotesque adornment on this mask, comes the silence of Treason. Yes, treason to the word given in San Andres. Treason to those who believe in the path of dialogue. Treason to those who fight for peace. Treason to those who thought that it was possible that the government would recognize the rights of the Indigenous peoples. Treason to those who hoped that the war in southeastern Mexico would end. And the treason, the destruction, the forgetting, necessary to support an ideology, a "theory" that gives those crimes the reason that history so stubbornly denies them.