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¡Ya Basta!
An Analysis of the Impact of the Zapatista
Movement on the Development of
Anti-Globalization Protest

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1. Introduction

None of the most radical political occurrences of the last two decades, from the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 to the strikes of South Korea in 1996 and the Genoa demonstration in 2002 – all seen as constructed situations – has managed to produce the effect of the Zapatista insurrection in inspiring activists, entering academic debates and becoming, somehow, the imaginary linking thread of the so-called anti-globalisation movement. In this sense, therefore, we have to recognise that the Zapatista politico-poetic discourse, always in combination with their praxis, has some of the effects of a discursive event in inciting and shaking the productive and creative mechanisms of the revolutionary imaginary (Mentinis 103).

The aforementioned quote sums up some of the key aspects of the Zapatista movement for the development of anti-globalization protest networks. The Zapatistas, a group of armed indigenous peasants, which is situated in a remote corner of the world that is Chiapas, one of the poorest states of Mexico, seems to be at the forefront of the battle against unregulated financial globalization. Their armed uprising in 1994 and their declaration of war against the government and the army attracted worldwide attention and they became one of the trademarks for anti-globalization. They set up their own autonomous municipalities by taking over and occupying territories under the premise that land should belong to the people who work it. With their actions they were defying the rules of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) which made it possible to privatize land that before was declared as communal property.

The Zapatistas' ideas, concepts and practices constitute(d) an inspiration for numerous activist groups and individuals. Distributed through their messages and communiqués, and infused with their unique rhetoric, these impacts have become a major contribution to the worldwide activism against (economic) globalization. One of the catchphrases originating from the Zapatistas represents the saying “¡ya basta!”, which is also included in the title of this study. Moreover, because of its significance for other people around the globe (it can be translated to “enough is enough” or “enough already”), it represents a kind of a wake-up call and a reminder for not surrendering to the prevailing order, for many activists participating in the anti-globalization movement.

Numerous analyses and works from a variety of different fields of studies, such as social anthropology, political science, and of course studies about globalization have been addressing the different aspects of the Zapatista movement. These include their practice of direct democracy, their involvement in and importance for the anti-globalization movement, and their use of new media such as the Internet. Many of these approaches will be taken up in this project, with a particular focus on globalization studies and the theories that inform them. These include the theory of framing where common injustice frames are constructed, such as the designation of a common enemy that is neoliberal globalization. Moreover, political theory, especially in the sense of horizontal organizing, direct democracy, and the construction of network activities, is a useful tool in the study of the Zapatistas and the anti-globalization movement.

This thesis will specialize in the contributions, either originating with or being rediscovered and adapted by the Zapatistas, on the various actors, groups and campaigns active in the anti-globalization movement. Although several studies have already contributed in meaningful and constructive ways to this research, very few focus on the explicit impacts and influences the Zapatista movement has had on the movement for a globalization from below. Furthermore, since solidarity with the Zapatistas has had its heyday particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s, few contributions have been made to the relevance of the movement to more recent manifestations of protest and dissent. Hence one of the purposes of this study is to illustrate some of these connections to recent groups, such as the Occupy movement.

Therefore, the project at hand will provide an overview over the most relevant characteristics of the Zapatistas as well as the anti-globalization movement and identify overlaps and common causes of the two. Moreover, in order to provide enough background information for the readers, a concise summary of the history and the formation of the Zapatistas, as well as the anti-globalization movement will be provided. The purpose is to point out the manifold and diverse character of the movement for a globalization from below, as well as to highlight the contributions the Zapatistas have had on a variety of different groups, networks, and activists. These impacts and influences are comprised of a range of diverse ideas, convictions, and tactics, many of which

do not necessarily originate with them, but were rediscovered and adapted to their particular situation and put in a more general context in order to provide inspirations and suggestions for others. However, despite the accomplishments of the Zapatistas and their inspirational potential, a few critical arguments can be made about their all-inclusive nature which can lead to a certain vagueness of their proposals and ideas. These criticisms can also be applied to the anti-globalization movement in general and will be pointed out in several passages of this study.

Concerning the structure of this project, the first part will deal with the Zapatista movement in general and will introduce their background, formation, and their goals, as well as their relevance in a wider perspective. Moreover, it will cover the particular political and economic circumstances which are some of the causes for the Zapatistas' occurrence. The second section will elaborate on the anti-globalization movement and discuss the nature of the network, as well as the concerns and aims of its activists and supporters. In this regard the ever widening gap between rich and poor is a crucial factor in the solidarity among the diverse groups and networks. Furthermore, this part of the project will provide a short introduction to the diverse character of manifestations of the movement, such as protests and the various techniques of direct action. The last part of the project will be concerned with the impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on anti-globalization groups and their forms of protest and direct action. These include ideological, rhetorical, practical, as well as organizational layers. These impacts and possible influences will be compared to different groups and networks active in the anti-globalization movement and the adaption of these practices as well as their origins will be elucidated.

Due to the heterogeneous nature of the work which exists about the Zapatistas, it is in fact necessary to draw on a wide range of different sources and approaches, including the fields of cultural studies, media studies, social anthropology and political science. Important scholars, like Graeber, Olesen, Held and McGrew, and Clifford have contributed valuable research for the study of anti-globalization theory and practice, as well as the Zapatista insurrection and thus provide crucial foundations for the development and evolution of this thesis. Especially the theory of framing will be important for numerous parts of this thesis since it allows the Zapatistas as well as the anti-globalization

movement to form ties and connections and to broaden their struggle. This theory is reflected in the unification of struggles, the designation of a common enemy, and in general, the bridging of a diverse range of causes and concerns.

In summary, this study tries to provide a new analysis of the impacts of the Zapatista movement on activist groups of the past and in particular on more recent examples of mobilizations of dissent. The impacts and influences on the Occupy movement, as well as the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army represent especially interesting observations since these groups constitute more contemporary forms of protest, as compared to the other examples like the White Overalls and the “Battle of Seattle”.

2. The Zapatista movement and its history

“Class struggle *requires* capitalism perpetually to develop new methods to oppress, exploit and divide, because the oppressed are constantly discovering new ways to organize, escape oppression and gain spaces of freedom” (Adamovsky 14).

In this chapter I will provide an overview of the history and the causes for the 1994 uprising of the Zapatistas which brought worldwide attention to their movement, their struggle, and their demands. I used the quote at the beginning of this section in order to emphasize the innovations that the Zapatista movement represents, which are the reason for the broad-based support they almost immediately received after they rose up in arms. Capitalism, as the common enemy and the reason for the exploitation of people all over the world, also constitutes an important concept in the struggle as well as the rhetoric of the Zapatista movement. Moreover, the emphasis on spaces of freedom relates directly to the movement as well, since one of the reasons for the insurrection was the claim to self-organized and autonomous land territories where the decision-making power of the government has no say. The first section of this study will focus on the roots and conditions which constitute some of the causes, influences, and preconditions for the uprising of the Zapatistas.



Fig. 1. Zapatista soldiers (among them the infamous Subcomandante Marcos)

2.1. Preconditions for armed insurrection

2.1.1. Land issues, poverty and oppression

The state of Chiapas, located in the south of Mexico, has been and still is one of the most underdeveloped regions of the country, in economic, social as well as political terms. Especially in the rural areas, the majority of the population lives in poverty while at the same time being illiterate and having to cope with various diseases. There exist few opportunities for the people there and underdevelopment and unemployment are serious problems (Clifford 120-121). In some communities, even clean water is a luxury good which adds to the numerous hardships and experienced injustices (Ryan 7). Actually, the situation in Chiapas is paradoxical since the state is rich in resources, such as basic foods like oil, corn and beans, and at the same time provides Mexico with hydroelectric power (Collier 10).

One of the most devastating difficulties the population still has to face – which was also a reason for the Zapatista uprising in 1994 – is the unequal distribution of land which stems from the past when Mexico was a colony and only a handful of affluent landowners controlled a large portion of “landless and small-holding peasants” (Clifford 121). These very conditions sparked the Mexican revolution of 1910 where the peasants started a rebellion against the prevailing conditions. Emiliano Zapata, a peasant leader of the revolution to whom the Zapatistas owe their name, was one of the leading figures in this insurrection which was “a struggle for their very lives, a struggle grounded in the daily oppressions and injustices [the peasantry] faced at the hands of wealthy landowners within a system tailored to their economic exploitation and political domination” (Khasnabish 33-34). This same motive would be the reason for the armed uprising of the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional or Zapatista Army of National Liberation) – the armed wing of the Zapatistas – in 1994 when the indigenous peasant communities saw themselves forced to confront “the imposition of an externally imposed oblivion” (Khasnabish 34). In this context, they can be seen as the heirs of Zapata and the original Mexican revolution.



Fig. 2. The two heroes of the Mexican revolution: Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata

Concerning oppression, Indians – especially those who were taking part in mounting demonstrations, land invasions, or even negotiations – were frequently the victims of attacks, imprisonment and even assassination by authorities, and paramilitaries. Moreover, the harsh governmental repression of the dissidents, which included human rights abuses and torture, caused the start of clandestine organization tactics and also the growing number of volunteers who wanted to join the emerging army (Higgins 149-150). Racism and prejudice constitute problems which are closely connected to oppression since these issues have also for centuries played a role in the relationship with the indigenous population. Additionally, such attitudes also represent the general sentiment towards the “indigenas” in the entire nationstate of Mexico. In order to dominate and continue to exert control over the agrarian populations, local authorities deployed such tactics as “fraud, intimidation, and repression” (Clifford 121). In many instances this exertion of extreme violence against Indians even continues to this day (Khasnabish 22).

2.1.2. The amendment of article 27, NAFTA and the adoption of neoliberal policies

Considering the developments described in the previous section, it can be concluded that, as Flusty (173) points out, the Zapatistas did not emerge out of nothing but the conditions, particularly in Southern Mexico, had frequently set off revolutions led by indigenous and rural populations in as early as the 17th and 18th centuries. Among the causes for these uprisings were, as is the case with the Zapatistas, the fight against the annexing of communally hold land and

against the repression of native communities by colonial rule or state authority. In more concrete terms, the amendment of article 27 of the Mexican constitution – which guaranteed the rural populations agricultural land to be owned by the communities themselves and which was an outcome of the original Mexican revolution – was one of the many causes for the Zapatista uprising in 1994 since the ownership of land constitutes a necessity in the surviving of the indigenous peasants. The constitution of 1917 and article 27 were meant to redress these unequal distribution schemes and “integrate the peasantry into the post-revolutionary architecture of power” (Khasnabish 43) but, especially in the south of Mexico, due to insubstantial central determination, injustices remained in place and a majority of the people continued to live in poverty and without resources (Clifford 121).

Ultimately, the amendment of article 27 is a continuation of the adoption of neoliberal policies by the state in the late 1980s and early 1990s which started “to dominate the international economic and political landscape from the late 1970s on” (Higgins 136). These policies meant “[r]emoving subsidies, reducing union power, firing hundreds of thousands of civil administration workers, and exposing manufacturing goods and producers to an aggressive international market” (Higgins 136). In more concrete terms, the government, after the debt crisis of 1982, privatized agrarian resources which were declared as communal property before and sold national industries to foreign investors which in turn affected the peasants and their claims to land. Furthermore, these new policies affected the countryside itself by exposing it to economic exploitation by multinational agricultural enterprises and thus depriving indigenous people and peasants, who are dependent on their land and the production of crops such as corn and coffee, of their minimum subsistence means (Collier and Collier 452). Land, for the agrarian population in Chiapas is not only a means to support themselves but at the same time it constitutes the basis of their community because land helps them to persevere as a collective (Ronfeldt et al. 27). Moreover, the outcomes of the policies were reducing the budget on health care, education, subsidies for food in general, and price guarantees in agriculture (Khasnabish 53). This again lead to a sharp increase in poverty and debt for the majority of indigenous people. As Rosset observes in this regard, the neoliberal adjustment agenda “called structural adjustment in the Third World and Reaganomics in the U.S. [...] reaches into the very heart of

communities, enriching the few while impoverishing the many” (ix).

Another outcome – which is connected to the argument made above – of these 'new policies' was the increasing departure of indigenous peasants who had to leave their communities. Many of these indigenous people then started to inhabit the “Selva Lacandona” (Lacandón jungle), where a large part of the Zapatista communities still resides and at the same time organizes and creates new forms of indigenous communities (Higgins 130-135).

Furthermore, the changes of article 27 alongside with the lifting of price protections on important crops such as coffee, while opening the market to free trade and thus increasing privatization, were a hard blow to the rural population. What made things worse was the implementation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) which in effect constituted a permission for cheap imports (such as corn for instance) coming from the USA and other countries. Additionally, NAFTA enabled national and international corporations and investors to own land. This in turn was threatening to the surviving of the peasants since they are dependent on their land and products (Clifford 121-123). Moreover, the government cut subsidies and price supports because of the inauguration of NAFTA and therefore exposed local producers to “unfair competition from imported and subsidized United States crops” (Collier and Collier 452). A result of that was that the already impoverished and underdeveloped state of Chiapas, especially in terms of infrastructure like availability of electricity, education and health care, plunged into even deeper destitution (Collier 123-124). Unsurprisingly then, the Zapatistas themselves refer to the free trade agreement as a “death sentence” because they see it as a threat which increases the divide between the narrow concentration of wealth and the poverty of the masses and thereby also destroys their indigenous cultures. Additionally, NAFTA was expected to displace a large number of workers from the land and at the same time contribute to the pejoration of poverty and “a surplus of labor” (Chomsky 176). Moreover, communally held and redistributed land which are outcomes of the Mexican revolution, meant increasing autonomy for the indigenous peasants. So the implementation of NAFTA, for many, signified the revocation of the revolution of 1910 (Flusty 174).

Therefore, the reasons for the armed insurrection of 1994 comprise to a large extent the neoliberal and free trade policies that the government of Mexico was/is pursuing which are directly affecting the peasants' day-to-day lives.

(Nash 135). Since the people are so dependent on their land and crops, they saw these political, economical, and social changes as a threat to their very existence.

2.2. History and uprising

2.2.1. The formation and pre-history of the EZLN

The EZLN has its roots in the long-lived organization of indigenous peasants and constitutes a result, and at the same time a challenge, to the neoliberal policies adopted during the 1980s and 1990s and thus also to NAFTA (Moghadam 95). Peasant organizations and armed groupings whose common goals were subsumed under the banner of the struggle for land and freedom already emerged in 1970s. As was briefly mentioned before in section 2.1.1., their protests were met with military force and the paramilitarization of the surrounding areas of their homes. As a consequence of these events and the military tactics by the authorities, many Indians either disappeared or were assassinated on a daily basis (Mentinis 3).

1982 marked the year when the FLN (Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional or Forces of National Liberation), a revolutionary organization inspired by the politics of Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro (Clifford 123), came into contact with groups operating outside of the Lacandón jungle. Among these were some radical people who originally came from the city and wanted to form a guerilla collective. After some changes in the structure of the FLN, including the recruiting of indigenous combatants, the foundation for the EZLN was laid (Mentinis 3-4). The Zapatistas in general are, for the most part but not exclusively, made up of groups of various indigenous people (most of them Maya Indians: Tzotziles, Tzeltales, Tojolabales, Choles, Zoques, Mames) and peasants of the region, fighting for their land and freedom (Collier and Collier 452).

The EZLN itself then officially formed in 1983, when a group of modest proportions consisting of a few indigenous people and mestizos settled in the Lacandón jungle (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 25). In 1984, the infamous spokesperson for the Zapatistas, Subcomandante Marcos, arrived in Chiapas. According to his own remarks, he came there by accident since he was drunk

which caused him to take the wrong bus and he just got off in the Lacandón jungle (Durán de Huerta 9).



Fig. 3. Subcomandante Marcos

During this period the organization was comprised of only a few people, three indigenous peasants and three mestizos. The non-indigenous Zapatistas, who at the beginning wanted to form a more traditional Marxist-Leninist guerilla army, learned to adapt themselves, their ideas, and their view of the world. Hence what was to become the ideology of “Zapatismo” was at the beginning an adaptation to the indigenous realities they were confronted with (Higgins 158-164). This included an understanding of indigenous needs, culture, and the ethnical discrimination that the Indians experienced, and at the same time a rejection of pure Marxist doctrines (Clifford 123-124). This adaptation process also encompassed the goals of the Zapatista struggle and even language itself, all of which will be elaborated in section 4 of this study. In the early 1990s, finally, the Zapatistas “had developed a loose ideology that mixed its socialist roots with community concerns and customs” (Clifford 124). In short, as Collier observes during the first months and years of the formation of the EZLN, a “process of mutual education” (82) between the Indians and the urban revolutionaries was under way. Thus a kind of hybridization procedure was taking place and the outcome was a leftist, or anarchist ideology that included the particularities of indigenous thought and its tenets.

Nevertheless, within only a few years the EZLN had transformed itself from a small guerilla collective into an army consisting of thousands of men and women with the on-going and increasing support of many other communities in

the jungle and the mountains of Chiapas. After debates and conclaves concerned with future operations of the organization, in which the decision was made to declare war on the Mexican government and army, and in which Subcomandante Marcos was appointed spokesperson for the Zapatistas, the EZLN made its first public appearance. This happened on October 12 in 1992, when about 10, 000 indigenous people came to the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas and some activists overturned the statue of the city's founding father, Diego de Mazariegos, a Spanish conqueror. This symbolic act did not occur on any given date but on the same day the 500th anniversary of the “conquista” was celebrated (Mentinis 4-6). Moreover, it constituted a test run for the illustrious uprising which was about to happen roughly a year later (Khasnabish 60).

2.2.2. The uprising in 1994

On January 1, 1994, the same day that Mexico approved NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional or the Zapatista Army of National Liberation) started an armed uprising in which they declared war on the government of Mexico, the president and the armed forces. During this uprising they occupied the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas and six other nearby towns in the state of Chiapas (Clifford 117). The Zapatista army largely consisted of young, indigenous, and disciplined fighters who were equipped with “rubber boots, homemade army uniforms, bandanas, ski masks, and weapons ranging from handmade wooden rifles to Uzi machine guns” (Collier 1).



Fig. 4. Armed, balaclava-wearing Zapatistas

While some of them were busy with burning criminal and judicial records, others swarmed out into the jungle and mountains in order to find new inductees among the indigenous people and farmers. Referring to article 39 of the Mexican constitution which grants the people the right to alter the government, they tried to get support from other Mexican citizens who should help them to end the “illegitimate despotism” of then president Salinas de Gortari and his PRI party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional or Institutional Revolutionary Party) who were suspected of election fraud.

The EZLN also attacked an army base near San Cristóbal and liberated 179 detainees from a prison close to the city (Collier 1-2). Furthermore, the Zapatistas abducted Absalón Castellanos Domínguez, a former governor of Chiapas, because he was guilty on charges of corruption and repression of his adversaries, and temporarily kept as prisoner of war (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 77). He would later be released in exchange for some hundred Zapatistas kept and tormented in state prisons (Khasnabish 7). During the uprising, the Zapatistas furthermore took over some territories under the premise that the land belongs to the people who work it while the owners fled and thus leaving the Zapatistas in control of the zone. The Zapatistas distributed this new accumulated land which encompassed about 300, 000 hectares among themselves and support base families without land (Ryan 6).

Armed insurgency was chosen as a last resource against misery, exploitation, racism, and oblivion experienced by the indigenous population in the Mexican southeast. At that point the Zapatistas perceived the tactic of armed insurrection as the only effective opportunity to challenge the PRI's hegemony and to create a democratic space (Mentinis 9). On this same day they additionally announced their struggle for democracy, freedom, and equality for all Mexican people. Furthermore, the Zapatistas also issued the “First Declaration of the Selva Lacandona”, one of many inspiring and creative messages which would continue to emerge from their ranks (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 73-75). The demands of the Zapatistas comprised such fundamental rights as “work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace” (EZLN, War 15). In particular, their demands consisted of the countenance of their movement, the respectfulness of indigenous people, the founding of a government by and for the people and the abolition of NAFTA (Ronfeldt et al. 2).

The government of Mexico of course did not just stand by and watch these attacks but immediately deployed 12, 000 troops plus equipment into the new war zone. After a few days of fighting, the Zapatista army had to retreat into unreachable and mountainous terrain in and around the Lacandón jungle. The federal army did not give up and was still looking for and attacking the rebels with the help of armored means of transport and aerial bombardments (Collier 2-4). Battles were fought for ten days and ended with 200 to 300 deaths plus over one hundred wounded, the majority on the side of the Zapatistas (Mentinis 9). Nonetheless, despite the fighting with heavy artillery, the EZLN tried to make sure that no civilians were harmed or injured and furthermore appealed to international organizations and the Red Cross to monitor and modulate the confrontations according to the Geneva accords (EZLN War 14).

At that time, the Zapatistas, with the help of international reporters, had already made themselves known nationally as well as around the entire globe (Collier 4). This media campaign which earned them the backing and sympathy from people and organizations around the world was part of their strategy from the very beginning. It caused a mass of people concerned with human rights, indigenous rights and members of other NGOs to physically, as well as electronically, support and declare their solidarity with the Zapatistas and their agenda (Ronfeldt et al. 1-3). Plus, due to pressure coming from the people themselves – or civil society for that matter – who came together in Mexico City in order to protest for a peaceful and political resolution of the war, a unilateral ceasefire was declared (Mentinis 9).

So fighting itself actually lasted for ten days and after the ceasefire between the government and the EZLN was declared, peace talks began which included issues concerning political, economic, and social reforms (Nash 135). These talks took place in the cathedral of San Cristóbal which on that day was surrounded by over a thousand Zapatistas, NGO activists, the Red Cross, police, reporters, photographers, and TV teams. Bishop Samuel Ruiz from the diocese of San Cristóbal was chosen as a mediator in the peace talks. In these talks the Zapatistas also explained their reason for rising up in arms because, according to them, they could no longer acquiesce in their exclusion and marginalization which manifests itself for example in the death due to hunger and curable diseases. Moreover, they asserted that they were looking for peaceful and political solutions to their problems (Mentinis 11-12). As an

indication of their good intentions the Zapatistas released their hostage, the former governor of Chiapas (Collier 5). The terms for the dialogue on the side of the Zapatistas were: a ceasefire on both sides, the retreat of the federal army, the discontinuation of the bombings, and the creation of a national commission of mediation. The dialogues in San Cristóbal furthermore constituted an important phase of the struggle since they made possible the first encounter with the press, national and international civil society, and the political elite which they were fighting against (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 79-85).

Unfortunately, the peace talks were terminated by the Zapatistas since according to them, the government was not seriously concerned with negotiations but rather saw itself forced to negotiate because of international pressure. Additionally, the Zapatistas declared that they would not resume peace talks, unless the government negotiators showed some commitment (Nash 135). Furthermore, they stated that they would not lay down their arms as long as their demands were not met and peace was established (Collier 6). The peace talks were resumed on several occasions but consensus between the government and the rebels was never reached, even until today, 19 years after the rebellion that took place on January 1. One of the occasions which were part of these peace talks, were the San Andrés accords which were negotiated between the EZLN and the government in 1996. These accords included such topics as the rights and culture of the Indians, democracy and justice, wellbeing and development, reconciliation in Chiapas, women's rights in Chiapas, and an end to hostilities (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 96-97). Nevertheless, as mentioned before these were never implemented and the conflict in a way remains unresolved (Ryan 9) "with dozens of 'autonomous' Zapatista communities continuing to exist outside state administrative control, subsisting on their own resources and transnational support" (Clifford 127).

Since the beginning of the armed uprising and the subsequent media coverage, the Zapatistas not only represent their own causes, which are the right to land, equality, autonomy, and freedom, but they also declare their solidarity with other anti-globalization movements and causes and furthermore they "have come to stand for radical changes to globalization" (Collier and Collier 451). They can be seen as one of the key influences of the anti-globalization movement, as well as a part of it. Alongside the lines of their autonomy and the emphasis on communal decision making, thus rendering

leadership useless, they reject top-down organizational strategies and do not lay claim to state power (Rosset x). Moreover, because of their use of modern communication technologies such as the Internet and other media, the Zapatistas are sometimes considered to be the first post-modern revolutionary guerilla movement (Collier and Collier 451).

On top of that, the Zapatistas initiated two meetings (or “encuentros”) to which they invited large parts of civil society. These two “Intercontinental Encounters for Humanity and against Neoliberalism”, which the Zapatistas organized, represented a new stage in the struggle against economic globalization. During the first of these encounters about 5, 000 people from 42 countries came to Chiapas in order to discuss strategies and get to know other struggles and campaigns from around the globe (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 109-110). These two encounters are some of the keystones of the anti-globalization movement since they provided a forum for the coming together and the convergence of struggles of all the different activists, groups, and organizations which would take part in it. Especially with the “Second Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and against Neoliberalism” – a document which was issued on the last day of the first encounter and explicitly states the creation of a global resistance movement – the delegations of people that met in Chiapas decided to form

a collective network of all our particular struggles and resistances, an intercontinental network of resistance against neoliberalism, an intercontinental network of resistance for humanity. This intercontinental network of resistance, recognizing differences and acknowledging similarities, will strive to find itself in other resistances around the world. This intercontinental network of resistance will be the medium in which distinct resistances may support one another. This intercontinental network of resistance is not an organizing structure; it has no central head or decision maker; it has no central command or hierarchies. We are the network, all of us who resist (EZLN, Second La Realidad 125).

2.3. Causes for the uprising: What do the Zapatistas struggle for/against?

“No oppressive system can be total, because oppression has always been met or confronted by resistance” (Adamovsky 46).

With relation to the quote above, the Zapatistas claim to be the product of a struggle by the “poor and dispossessed” (Clifford 117) which has been going on for the last 500 years and which implied the exploiting of people and resources, tyranny, neglecting, racial hatred, and racial extermination (Khasnabish 65) or in other words “genocide, racism, slavery, neglect, repression, and the denial of their capacity for self-determination and autonomy” (Khasnabish 21). Adding to their desolate situation are the troublesome conditions prevalent in Eastern Chiapas which include the planting of coffee and other crops which cannot be sold, land erosion, hunger, the viciousness of the big ranchers, the lack of medical care, and the insufficient education (Collier 54). The government of Mexico and the ruling PRI party, alongside with their neoliberal agenda, were identified as key players in this cycle of oppression of the poor by the powerful that the Zapatistas together with others around the globe were/are facing.

Thus the overthrow of the illegitimate government, or as they call it the dictatorship of the ruling PRI party, constituted one of the goals during the uprising which was made clear in their “First Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle”. Although the Zapatistas could never achieve that particular goal, their movement and uprising still had a substantial impact on a national and international level. Moreover, they assured in the “First Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle” that they will not end the battle until the fundamental requirements of “work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace” (EZLN, War 15) have been granted to them. To sum it up, the Zapatistas are calling for democratic and social changes and an end to political corruption and unfair economic competition. They perceive economic globalization, or neoliberalism, as a continuation of the colonization process instigated over 500 years ago (Russell, Online 399-400). In this sense the movement constitutes an icon in the struggle against capitalism in general, a point which will be elucidated in section 4.

The Zapatistas, as was mentioned before, saw NAFTA and the implementation of neoliberal policies in Mexico as a threat to their land claims. Hence, they issued the demand for self-administration of their premises by stating in their first declaration that “the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN” (EZLN, War 15) should be suspended. In simple terms, what the Zapatistas demanded, were egalitarian reforms that “will end the corrupt politics and unjust economic practices prevailing in Mexico” (Russell, Online 399-400). Hence they declared that they “will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met, by forming a government for our country that is free and democratic” (EZLN, War 15). In addition to that the Zapatistas wanted “to strike a symbolic blow” against the neoliberal agenda and the “corporate *laissez-faire* embodied in NAFTA” (Danaher and Mark 241).

Furthermore, they took up arms in order to make themselves heard because they wanted to change their situation of exclusion and marginalization. The search for political solutions to their requests was also part of their agenda (Mentinis 12). So the actual goal of the Zapatista uprising (which they were to admit only later) was to direct attention to their situation in which they succeeded. Furthermore, after the fighting ended and a ceasefire was negotiated, the EZLN would resort to words as their primary weapons instead of real weapons (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 75). The EZLN thus made the dialogue with civil society, rather than with the government, a priority in their activities (Mentinis 12). As a consequence, their uprising and the Zapatistas “inspired enormous sympathy from people throughout the world who read about the uprising in their newspapers and watched reports about it on television” (Collier 9).

As was mentioned before in section 2.2.2., they do not only represent themselves and their own causes (the right to land, equality, autonomy, and freedom) but rather affirm their integration and interconnectedness in a wide range of struggles. In order to position themselves as inclusive as possible, the Zapatistas' central demands are and remain “freedom, democracy, and justice” (Higgins 155). More concrete demands include the eradication of illiteracy, receiving education and dignified jobs, respecting indigenous peoples and cultures, creating hospitals, freedom for the independent press, the canceling of debts for the poor, ending hunger, malnutrition and exploitation, releasing political prisoners, free and truly democratic elections, the right to self-

determination including political, cultural and economic autonomy, and the creation of birth clinics and child care. Moreover, they demand that the land should belong to those who work it in order to secure that the farmers have a means of subsistence for themselves and their families (Wehling 1995).

In relation to the point made before that they do not only struggle for themselves, the Zapatistas also emphasized the unification of all the diverse struggles which gather around the issue of neoliberalism, economic globalization, or the globalization from above (Adamovsky 128-129). In particular, the movement among numerous other things strives for

a new politics, for democracy, for political liberties [...] [f]or justice, for life, and dignified work [...] [f]or full rights for women in every regard, [f]or respect for elders, youth, and children, [f]or the defense and protection of the environment [...] for culture, for education, [...] [f]or liberty, for tolerance, [f]or humanity (EZLN, Second La Realidad 124).

Coming along with this standpoint, the EZLN positions itself against

dictatorships, against authoritarianism, against repression. Against the politics of economic liberalization, against hunger, against poverty, against robbery, against corruption. Against patriarchy, against xenophobia, against discrimination, against racism, [...] against the destruction of the environment [...] against ignorance. Against slavery, against intolerance, against injustice [...] [a]gainst neoliberalism (EZLN, Second La Realidad 124).

As can be seen in the quotes above, problems as far-reaching as sexism, racism, and environmental issues are part of the Zapatistas' agenda. This unification of struggles includes groups as well as individuals affected or agitated by the negative consequences of economic globalization (Russell, Online 411). In a wider sense, alongside with the dialogue with civil society, this constitutes one of the key tenets of "Zapatismo" and an impact on a global scale of their struggle which will be discussed in more detail in section 4. In this sense the Zapatistas can be seen as an inspiration and as role models for the movement of movements, as the movement against neoliberal globalization is sometimes called.

Nevertheless, they constantly have emphasized that they refuse to adopt a vanguard role or to take power but rather – as they do in their communities – try to "lead or command by obeying". This means that the movement, with the help of common decision making processes, remains faithful to the needs and the demands of its members. Moreover, one of their stated goals is to do away

with power relations. At the same time, the Zapatistas refuse all kinds of hierarchies, but instead try to accomplish consent despite existing differences between the various movements (Adamovsky 127-128). In doing so they try to create “a world in which many worlds fit” (EZLN, Fourth Lacandon 88) in which they have succeeded by creating “literal and metaphorical space for self-organization, wherein governance may be popularly reclaimed through an active rearticulation of civil society” (Flusty 176) and thus inspiring a movement for a globalization from below.

3. The nature and aims of the anti-globalization movement

“What we saw [...] was the flowering of a new radical movement in America and across the world, rambunctious, anarchic, internationalist, well informed and in some ways more imaginative and supple than kindred popular eruptions in recent decades” (Cockburn and St. Clair 1).

The quote above describes the rally of activists that gathered in Seattle in 1999 in order to protest against the WTO (World Trade Organization), and the subsequent actions that happened in other cities around the globe (such as Davos, Washington D.C., and Genoa). These protests, in the majority of cases, accompanied what are perceived as manifestations of the neoliberal version of globalization, such as WTO meetings, G8 summits, and WEF (World Economic Forum) gatherings. Neoliberalism is identified as the doctrine of free market ideology which involves the removal of so-called trade barriers, like local environmental laws and standards, as well as cuts in subsidies for local businesses in order to create more competition. That is to say neoliberalism is inclined to empower rich states and big corporations and grant them admission to the markets of developing nations where they are able to benefit from cheap labor and loosened environmental standards. This behavior will inevitably also affect workers at home in wealthy nations since the outsourcing of the labor-force brings about unemployment amongst other negative consequences (Martell 240). Notwithstanding such impending outcomes, according to the confused logic of neoliberalism, the freeing of markets and the personal liberation of human beings are perceived to be the same thing or at least interlinked (Graeber, Occupy 178).

This section will try to provide an overview of the most important and for this study most relevant factors of anti-globalization protest. It is frequently argued that the Zapatista rebellion, as well as the protests against the WTO in Seattle in 1999, constitute milestones in the history of anti-globalization protest (see for instance Khasnabish 167 or Mentinis 136). Some scholars, like Steven Flusty (1), even claim that the protests in Seattle are in fact a continuation of the

Zapatista rebellion, thus suggesting that the anti-globalization movement as a whole would not have come into being without the rebellion in Chiapas a few years earlier. While the rebellion most certainly has had a considerable and indeed iconic impact on the entire movement against economic globalization, I would not go so far as to assert that it would not have been possible without the Zapatistas. Leaving that argument aside for the moment, what follows is a description and investigation of the so-called anti-globalization network and its forms of protest, including a short account of the nature and the causes for the emergence of such a movement.

3.1. An attempt at a definition

“Resistance is as old as oppression itself” (Adamovsky 48).

The aforementioned quote tries to convey in a very simple and effective way that every oppressive factor in this world, no matter how insignificant for a majority of people, has been met with resistance, no matter how small or marginal. The same point can be made for globalization, or more precise, economic globalization which was and continues to be confronted with a considerable amount of opposition.

To come up with an exact definition of what the anti-globalization movement is, is not an easy task since there exist numerous diverging accounts and opinions on that matter. Naomi Klein (Reclaiming 219) even poses the question if this movement actually exists, or if people just like to talk it into being. Nonetheless, she adds that to many people, what happened in the streets of Seattle in 1999 during the WTO conference, was “a kind of coming-out party for a global resistance movement, or the 'globalization of hope'” (Klein, Reclaiming 219). Danaher and Mark (223) add that the movement was already on the stocks many years before the “Battle of Seattle” (“Battle of Seattle” is the term often used to refer to the protests in 1999).

The very label “anti-global” poses a problem of definition for many people involved in the movement because the term globalization itself comprises multiple, diverse and reciprocal kinds of processes. These include for instance

an increase in intercultural exchange, increasing flows of goods and services (also including money), but also the transglobal flow of people, information and cultures. Furthermore, globalization accelerates or induces economic, social as well as political interconnectedness (Osgerby). Thus, around the globe, local processes are necessarily influenced by global ones. Globalization itself constitutes the various different kinds of procedures which lead to more and increasingly diverse ways of interconnections between people and which operate across increasingly wider ranges (Lechner and Boli 4). So a majority of activists do not necessarily fight against globalization per se but rather agitate against economic globalization, or the implementation of neoliberal policies – including cuts in healthcare, education, environmental concerns, and subsidies for basic human needs such as food production (International Forum on Globalization 521) – by governments and international institutions and thus many reject the term “anti-global”. People active within the network very often demand a different kind of globalization, a globalization from below, or a more just version of globalization because of the inequalities that it induces. Hence terms like global justice movement, new global, alter-globalization movement, movement against neoliberal globalization, or movement of movements are preferred instead (Della Porta et al. 8-9). More terms which are commonly used include “anti-corporate, anti-capitalist, anti-free-trade, [and] anti imperialist” (Klein, Reclaiming 219). Some of the features of globalization are even of vital importance to the movement. These include global transportation and communication services, the fast spread of information, and even the money system (Lechner and Boli 479). Graeber (Anarchists 203) notes that the term “anti-global” in fact was an expression coined by the U.S. media and that the campaigners themselves never made use of nor approved of it. Therefore, as we have seen, the label “anti-global” does not necessarily imply the rejection of every kind of process that globalizing trends have brought with them, but rather a restructuring of these so that the inequalities and issues of power involved, take on a more fair and equal form or disappear altogether.

One decent definition of the anti-globalization movement, or the movement of movements, which encompasses a great deal of information about its nature, is the following:

Representing a diverse range of social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), from anarchists to social democrats, the anti-capitalist [or anti-globalization] movement has evolved as a powerful reaction against corporate-driven and state-promoted globalization. Coordinating both local and global action, the movement has made use of direct action, transnational campaigns and the politics of protest to bring to the world's attention the subordination of human and ecological security to the operation of global markets. In the last few years the summits of all the major global and regional institutions have confronted mass street protest [...] (Held and McGrew 64).

Moghadam provides us with a more concise, but still useful, definition: “[...] the global justice movement is [...] an integral part of global civil society, a democratic sphere beyond the spheres of the state and the market” (116).

Precisely because of its heterogenous nature, the movement with all of its aspects and currents is not that easy to define. Nevertheless, what it did was to bring about a substantial impact on the perception and conjecture of globalization in academic circles as well as in the public realm (Lechner and Boli 479). Another important fact about the anti-globalization movement is that it has no leaders in the traditional sense but rather is comprised of networks instead of hierarchical structures (Adamovsky 100). This most probably also ensues from the divergence and heterogeneity of the movement's nature which would make it impossible to establish a central leadership, and additionally the influence of anarchist principles (Graeber, *Anarchists* 203). The idea of a leaderless and anti-vanguard stance refers to the Zapatistas' notions of a leaderless revolutionary movement mentioned in section 2.2.2. Thus it can be argued, that the rebels in Chiapas have had a direct influence on the anti-globalization movement's tactics and organizational structures. Muñoz Ramírez (EZLN 110) even claims that the Zapatistas gave birth to a network structure which would eventually develop into the anti-globalization movement since they laid the groundwork with their determination (in their second declaration of La Realidad for humanity and against neoliberalism) to form a collective web of different movements and struggles against neoliberalism. This network according to their ideas should have no formal organizational structures and no central leadership or coordinating committee, all of which apply to the anti-globalization movement as a whole. Additionally, because of the almost immediate and continuing support from activists in other countries and parts of

the world, the Zapatistas must have made a significant impact on global civil society and struck a chord with many people. This is most likely the result of their demands, innovative philosophy and worldview incorporated in “Zapatismo” which was discussed in section 2.2.1. and will be further elaborated in section 4.1. According to their own judgment, they think that all the support they receive is due to the fact that people can recognize that the Zapatistas do not only care about themselves and their particular situation, but rather about a whole range of issues and concerns with a common causal agent: neoliberalism (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 56). Alongside with this identifying and defining of a common enemy that is neoliberalism, the Zapatistas' leaderless, anti-vanguard stance and the network structure of the movement (also a possible impact originating from the indigenous insurrectionists) will be explored in more detail in section 4 which deals with the impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on the alter-globalization movement.

As touched upon earlier, many people take the view that the whole movement actually started in Seattle in 1999. Although there are others who think that it started with colonialism and the initial trade enforcements by the colonizers, about 500 years ago. Still others maintain that it began in 1994 with the Zapatista rebellion, on the day that NAFTA was adopted in Mexico (Klein, *Reclaiming* 220). Moghadam (91) observes that the movement of movements began to take shape at least since the late 1990s. Moreover, she correctly maintains that although Seattle is seen as the takeoff of the numerous campaigns and even the movement itself, it originates from the protests that occurred against structural adjustment policies (or neoliberal policies for that matter) in the so-called “Third World” (Moghadam 92). As we can see, there are about as many different conceptions about the origins of the movement, as there are different kinds of activists involved in it.

Nevertheless, all of the different struggles and concerns that center around the issue of anti-globalization can be grouped together under this banner of the movement of movements, or the “coalition of coalitions” (Klein, *Reclaiming* 220). Besides, all of the groups, organizations and individuals involved in this coalition have one thing in common and which unites them: the struggle against economic globalization, or the globalization-from-above. This globalization-from-above, or the “cosmocracy” (Held and McGrew 58), a

program directed by the political and financial elites of the world, is seen by many activists as a concession of benefits for a small minority of the human race. The IMF (International Monetary Fund), the G8, the World Bank, and the WTO are perceived as the most influential instruments through which this cosmocracy operates on a worldwide scale. These institutions furthermore make up the basis of a wide-reaching scheme “of liberal global governance enslaving the world and its peoples to the dictates of a neoliberal ideology and global corporate capitalism” (Held and McGrew 58). Moreover, (economic) globalization is not perceived as a solution to the world's problems but rather seen as one of the prime causes since the decisions made in its interests have such wide-reaching consequences for the entire globe (Lechner and Boli 479). Thus the summits of international institutions, such as the WTO, the IMF, the WEF, the UN, and even the EU are frequently met with protests and counter-events which oftentimes get more press coverage than the actual summits. These protests, especially since Seattle, did gain more and more participants as well as increasing coverage from the international press (Della Porta et al. 9).



Fig. 5 and 6. Anti-WTO protests in Seattle 1999

The alter-globalization movement thus constitutes a reaction to economic globalization and a manifestation of an alternative globalization-from-below through a formation of ties between worldwide civil society and the internationalization of collective struggle. Among its ranks you can find individual activists, unions, religious organizations, NGOs, civil society and social movement factions, and transglobal advocacy groups which are all disinclined to war as well as neoliberalism. In this regard the global justice

movement represents the unavoidable reaction to global capitalism and the contemporary world order (Moghadam 91-92).

The movement of movements, or the network of networks, as it is often called, connects all the different groups, organizations, and individuals through “weak links” (Della Porta et al. 58). Groups active in the alternative globalization movement include for instance: anti-sweatshop campaigns, peasants struggling against the expropriation of their land (like the Zapatistas), indigenous groups standing up for their territory (again like the Zapatistas), debt relief campaigns, religious groups, labor unions worried about the effect of trade liberalization, and feminists concerned with the burden that globalization places in particular on women (Lechner and Boli 480). Moreover, due to its acknowledging of diverse campaigns, the movement is very anxious to build bridges and alliances, and hence to bring together all the different currents (Eschle 1747). Thus, participants are “engaged in campaigns focusing on different issues but with the same general objectives” (Della Porta et al. 36).

One of the most important institutions of the global justice movement is the World Social Forum (WSF), a counterpart to the WEF and similar assemblies, and a forum for all the grassroots struggles involved in the activities against economic globalization. This gathering frequently took and at times still takes place in Porto Alegre, Brazil, where a free and democratic space shall be created for activists from all around the world. The idea is that it should be possible for the activists to “meet, exchange ideas, participate in cultural events, and coordinate actions” (Moghadam 107). These goals were reached and thus facilitated the encountering and communicating of various organizations and movements from all over the world and hence articulating a common global opposition to the prevailing order (Adamovsky 149).

However, all of this does not mean that there are no differences and disagreements involved between the various protagonists, since the anti-globalization movement spans so many different movements and campaigns (Klein, *Reclaiming* 220). Thus there exist quite diverging views on the points mentioned earlier, because some also argue that the aforementioned conceptions overstate the influence of capitalism and tend to forget that global economics encompasses many complex and versatile political factors. Furthermore, one should not underestimate the influence of global civil society

and the “relative autonomy of global institutions” (Held and McGrew 58). Hence, because of these diverging ideas, even inside the ranks of the anti-globalization movement itself, the questions of political and economic domination remain the same, that is to say: Who is in charge? What are their specific benefits and interests according to which they govern? What are their aims and which tactics do they employ? (Held and McGrew 58).

3.2. What are the primary concerns and specific aims of the anti-globalization movement?

Especially after the protests against the WTO in Seattle, many forms of anti-globalization protest have been directed against the summits of global financial institutions and their advocates and representatives. These marches, which take/took place all over the world (in Davos, Genoa, and Washington D.C. just to mention a few), consist(ed) of people who are/were dissatisfied with the policies imposed by the financial and political elites. The rage of the groups involved in the movement, as we have seen in the section above, is directed towards a particular form of globalization, namely economic globalization. This type of globalization is often defined as follows: “it is primarily an economic force, emanating from the West, that imposes an unjust, unequal, and environmentally harmful capitalist system on the world to the detriment of local cultures and democratic self-control” (Lechner and Boli 479).



Fig. 7 and 8. A women's rights/feminist group protesting for the world's poor at the WEF meeting in Davos 2012

Thus we can observe that the “'globalization-from-above' engendered 'globalization-from-below'” (Moghadam 99). So actually the issue is not globalization per se, but rather the type of globalization pursued by transnational corporations, global banking institutions, and by capitalist elites which was/is a leading factor in increasing inequalities, oppression, and exploitation on a worldwide scale (Lechner and Boli 479-480). The activists themselves (more specifically WSF participants) perceive globalization to be compounded of the following: a widening gap between the rich and the poor which increasingly enriches the already rich, while at the same time impoverishing the poor even more (81 percent of the respondents); the worldwide domination of capital controlled and enforced by big business (75 percent); and a new label for imperialism (68 percent) (Moghadam 110). A large portion of these problems will be talked about in a bit more detail in the following section.



Fig. 9. Seoul, 2010 November 10: People protesting against poverty

Inequalities, the widening gap between rich and poor, and the domination of global capital

“Neoliberal economic globalization is responsible, according to its critics, for nothing less than the globalization of poverty and social exclusion” (Held and McGrew 83). This argument stands in marked contrast to neoliberal rhetoric which claims that inequalities and poverty are in decline since – as the

argument goes – the more economies open up to the world market, the more poverty and inequalities are reduced (Wade 187). Segerstrom for instance surmises that “[...] trade liberalization promotes economic growth and reduces poverty” (16). It has to be noted however that the statistical data used for these kinds of assertions come from the World Bank and these tend to be error-prone. To the contrary, many studies prove that global income inequalities are in fact on the rise since at least two decades and probably will even continue to widen (Wade 187-193). Thus, globalization in this sense encompasses far reaching asymmetrical disparities concerning the periphery and the center (Rajgopal 134). In concrete terms, this means that people in developing nations, due to their marginalization and exploitation, are far worse off than people in the so-called “First World”. Moreover the unequal distribution of resources which generates significant differences between the North and the South is always an issue (Della Porta et al. 82). These differences involve their financial situation, their working conditions, as well as their general quality of living. Such consequences of neoliberal policies furthermore go hand in hand with the widening gap between rich and poor countries and populations (Shiva 502).

Subcomandante Marcos, in order to refer back to the Zapatistas, (qtd. in Avilés, Minà 175) also emphasizes this widening gap, by stating that the rich minority gets increasingly smaller and richer, at the same time while the impoverished masses become poorer. This is connected to the expropriation and exploitation of natural resources where the rich take over vital resources from the poor while at the same time leaving them with the negative consequences (Shiva 502). Examples include the expropriation of land in Mexico (with reference to the Zapatistas and indigenous people), or the practices of the oil industry in general, resulting in the natives of the affected countries usually not getting their share.

And governments play a significant role in this vicious cycle since they do not try to change or ameliorate the situation of their people but rather act in the interests of neoliberalism, or to put it in a more drastic way, neocolonialism. They “function [...] as the vassals of vested interests (read the business elite), and work [...] against the interests of vast numbers of the marginalized groups” (Rajgopal 134). An example of these so-called neocolonial practices is the outsourcing of work from rich countries to developing nations, by moving

production facilities to far-away countries, where at times exploitative conditions (that is why many call it neocolonialism) prevail. That means that the companies can reduce production costs of their goods to a minimum because they can pay the workers much less in developing countries than they would have to pay employees in the “First World”. When they do that their profits keep rising since they sell their goods at a high price but at the same time they are exploiting the workers because of the cheap labor wages they are paying them (Martell 238-242). So activists, with good reason, are suspicious of governments and corporations, which in order to make more profits and in order to increase their shares, are causing harm to the environment and at times are even extinguishing lives. Furthermore, the companies are not helping or enriching the poor as they often claim to do (Harding 497). To mention one example, Nike, the shoe manufacturer, is one of the primary suspects when it comes to sweatshop labor, even child labor, and unfair working conditions (Klein, No Logo 366-368). Additionally, environmental standards are loosened in order to get access to resources. As an example, companies coming to mind which are frequently associated with grave environmental issues, specifically oil disasters, are Shell and BP. As was mentioned before, governments are perceived as playing along with the multinationals by for instance opening up national resources to privatization and thus leaving the corporations in charge of these (Martell 240). Eventually, all of these outcomes – alongside with destitution, the deprivation of power, exclusion, and inequalities – of the neoliberal version of globalization will, if not stopped soon, lead to further conflicts across the globe (Held and McGrew 83).

Neoliberalism, or to put it more drastically, the domination of global capital, as we have seen in the previous paragraph, is thus perceived as one of the main causes for a wide range of problems concerning the whole globe. Precisely that is the reason why it constitutes the common enemy (once again this can be attributed to the Zapatistas and their communiqués) of the anti-globalization movement and a starting point for collective actions. The problems which it spawned include the indebtedness of “Third World” countries, wars and conflicts, and a general deterioration in standards of living. Additionally, as was mentioned before, global institutions, such as transnational corporations, the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO are imposing neoliberal agendas on the

whole planet (Moghadam 112).

The movement's struggles and goals

In quite general terms, the movement tries to bring about change in world politics, economic, as well as social matters. Justice and equality in this regard are important pillars for this reorganizational process of reforming and humanizing capitalist expansion. Some of its ideals, like for instance the aforementioned justice and equality, are rooted in a “long-standing socialist and social-democratic tradition of opposition to the harsh consequences of modernizing change” (Lechner and Boli 479-480).

The global justice movement encompasses a wide range of different groups and organizations including labor unions, peace groups, organizations for women's rights, environmentalists, and advocates of gay and lesbian rights. All of these groups involved have their own agenda and concerns which are situated in the realm of change of corporate-driven globalization. These include, among many others, a taxation of global capital transactions (the so-called Tobin tax), a demand for different regulations concerning the policies of the WTO (one of the causes for the “Battle of Seattle”), and the campaigns directed against the use of sweatshop labor by companies like Nike (Lechner and Boli 480). Thus we can observe that many people are not against industrial advancement but rather want “local communities to have a say in how their resources are used, to make sure that the people who live on the land benefit directly from its development” (Klein, Reclaiming 227). This aspect once again refers back to the Zapatistas since as was described in section 2 of this study, they too fight for self-determination and autonomy in regard to their resources which are in their case closely connected to land issues.

Also, the alter-globalization movement does not limit itself to theoretical and metaphorical politics, but the diverse groups and campaigns strive for quite specific changes and ideas. One of the common goals in the whole range of designs is that global justice can only be achieved by a tremendous change in regulating worldwide financial operations. Hence, what is quite obvious, is that the interests of the alter-globalization movement are conflicting with the ones of the financial and political elites (Lechner and Boli 480). So what the global

justice movement as a whole wants is to end “invasions, occupations, or wars[,] hunger, poverty, exploitation, [and] pollution” (Moghadam 112).

More concretely speaking, the anti-globalization movement's demands revolve around an end to impoverishment, especially in developing nations, the abolition or mitigation of debts, the advocacy of human rights, the endorsement of fair trade, a tax for capital transactions, and a restructuring of global interstate institutions of commerce. Thus the alternatives that are suggested at the World Social Forums, for instance, include: protection and conservation of the environment through organic farming, fair trade, diversity in biological as well as cultural matters, human rights, justice, and equality. As concrete measures, the consequences and commodities of the neoliberal agenda are repudiated and confronted. These include commercialization in general, labor in sweatshops, genetically modified foods, and global capitalist frameworks. These issues that the movement is concerned with began to take shape because of the new principles, measures, and arrangements – i.e. in particular neoliberal policies – which the emergent regime of global free trade began to enforce and adopt. Activists started to notice these developments through dramatically increasing privatizations and patented services of all different kinds, such as traditional know-how and existential natural resources (Moghadam 97-107). Klein (Reclaiming 224) observes in this regard that free trade institutions and agreements like the WTO, GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Services), and TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) try to create more rigid rules for protecting ownership rights on patents for drugs and seeds. Even such basic necessities like water, healthcare, and schooling are subject to these privatization strategies. That is one of the reasons why many people feel uneasy about the privatization of many aspects concerning life and survival itself.

An important factor for the movement of movements is the “concept of international solidarity and identity construction of global citizenship” (Moghadam 112). This is in fact necessary since it would be sheer impossible to bring together all the different threads – like environmental issues, human rights, women's rights, antiracism, the fight for true democracy and peace (Della Porta et al. 81) – of the movement without a unifying and common general idea. The concept of international solidarity among the different struggles

furthermore constitutes one of the impacts (which will be talked about in section 4) that the Zapatistas have had on the movement since they were the ones that brought this concept to the attention of the general public again. I added the word “again” in the last sentence because the alter-globalization movement and its wide-reaching solidarity is also a kind of revitalization of solidarity with developing nations, prominent during the 1960s and especially the 1970s (Olesen, *Globalising* 257). With regards to the necessity of establishing links and solidarity among the different groups, Della Porta et al. observe:

Heterogeneity triggers an ongoing *process* of identity building, open to continual renegotiation. The ensuing collective identity is necessarily plural and open so that dialogue continues during the various protest campaigns against a state of affairs perceived as *unjust*. The discourse is prevalently (both old and new) left-wing and focuses on those values of social justice and democracy, solidarity and the environment. Nowadays, the global movement seems to reflect a search for a redefinition of a (plural) left-wing culture (90).

In order to encapsulate this whole argumentation, the movement of movements consists of a wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements, and individuals, including anarchists as well as social democrats. It is a response and a counteraction to the type of globalization enforced by corporations and nation states which act in the interests of capital and profits (Held and McGrew 64). On top of that the

[...] movement opposes the very definition of capitalism as a 'market economy', which destroys human culture and community, exploits labor and degrades nature. The WTO is the mouthpiece of neoliberalism, an outlook and an economic philosophy that finds radical democracy [and] equality intolerable. So justice in world trade is by definition a revolutionary and utopian aim. Let's get on with it (Cockburn and St. Clair 118).

This quote by Cockburn and St. Clair provides a very general idea about the movement's goals and opinions and gives an insight into its general concerns, a few of which were discussed in this section. People active in the movement of movements are criticizing neoliberal policies and their global outreach. Furthermore, they endorse justice and equality for everyone on a worldwide scale. Among the most prominent issues which people are concerned with are a

decline in secure jobs, unemployment, and unprotected labor conditions. Additionally, massive cuts concerning social matters were/are met with passionate protest actions (Della Porta et al. 6-11). Considering the first WSF paper, further issues involve the exploitation of workers, poorness, and discrimination according to ethnic, racial, and gender differences. Furthermore, they include environmental concerns as well as immigrant rights and laws (Della Porta et al. 71). All of these unresolved problems equally affect the inhabitants of the northern as well as the southern hemisphere (Della Porta et al. 11).



Fig. 10 and 11. Marches concerned with environmental issues

3.3. Manifestations of the movement: Protests, campaigns and direct action

The (physical and also virtual) manifestations of the anti-globalization movement appear to be as multifaceted as the groups and networks involved in it and it is nearly impossible to come up with a complete description of all the strategies that are employed. Nevertheless I want to provide a few examples in order to illustrate some of the strategies of the alter-globalization movement.

Tactics can range from protests, informational campaigns and boycotts to direct action. The main differences between these is that protests usually appeal to authorities in order to achieve change. Supporters of direct action, on the other hand, act as if power structures do not exist and as if “they were already free” (Graeber, Occupy 149). Direct action, once again, constitutes a very general and broad spectrum of activities, some of which involve culture jamming, a drastic remodeling of advertising's messages on billboards and

electronic publications which provide counter-messages to the ones originally intended by the companies that created the ads. The philosophy behind this practice is that people should be able to and are even entitled to respond to pictures and messages they were not eager to see in the first place. Oftentimes culture jamming focuses more on providing meaningful, critical messages than merely on longing for laughs. The implementation of it encompasses high quality culture jams, like computer-generated graphics and billboard replacements, as well as simply spray-painted or repainted original ads. Nevertheless, the tactic in itself can constitute an opinion or a dissident message because of the mere blight of expensive advertising (Klein, *No Logo* 280-285). Other forms of direct action involve bringing a meeting or a factory to a halt (Graeber, *Occupy* 149).



Fig. 12 and 13. Culture jamming

Another quite popular tactic of direct action is concerned with the destruction of corporate property, as witnessed at the WTO protests in Seattle and subsequent rallies around the globe. The Black Bloc, a loose network or actually more of a strategy (Owens and Palmer 342), is responsible for numerous attacks on corporations such as Starbucks, McDonald's, Nike, GAP, and also banking institutions which are perceived as “manifestations of corporate dominance” (CrimethInc. 12). Plus, very often the windows of storefronts are smashed or spray-painted with revolutionary messages during demonstrations (see fig. 14 and 15). The Black Bloc is a mummied group of people in black clothes which favors anarchist principles and violent attacks against corporate and police property, as well as the police itself, and thus is causing financial harm to the companies and is spreading anarchist as well as

anti-corporate messages (CrimethInc. 42-43).



Fig. 14. Storefront attacks at a Starbucks



Fig. 15. Black Bloc activists smashing windows at Niketown in downtown Seattle

Connected to culture jamming, and in a certain way also destruction or at least temporary seizure of property, is the practice of “hacktivism” where activists sabotage the websites of companies and political parties and either spread their own messages, jam a site or service, or release private data of their targets. An example for a “hacktivist” group would be the Anonymous collective which is notoriously famous for such kinds of activism. I will come back and talk a bit more about this group when dealing with the Occupy movement and its ties to the hacker collective in section 5.2. of this study.

Additionally, direct action can include reclaiming public space, as it happens during Reclaim the Streets events, where public roads are collectively taken over by activists and a public party, often with the addition of a sound-system, is organized. A similar approach is taken by the Critical Mass bicycle rides whose goal is also to reclaim the streets from traffic during their rides. Sometimes because of the similarity of their approaches these two events are even deliberately staged alongside each other (Klein, No Logo 314-316).

Happenings such as Reclaim the Streets parties are in addition most likely one of the reasons why very often the term carnival is used for many types of protest actions. Flusty (190) defines the concept as follows: “carnival is a collective and emplaced bodily practice that playfully dismembers the rigidly imposed body politic”. Graeber (Occupy 153) observes that the protests and mobilizations that can be subsumed under the banner of anti-globalization, especially between 1999 and 2001, perceived themselves as carnivals of

resistance, carnivals against capitalism, or festivals of resistance. Due to the presence of clowns (which will also be a topic covered in section 5.1.), giant puppets, marching bands, people in turtle costumes (especially at the “Battle of Seattle” because of the WTO's trading policies which could endanger wildlife) and even radical cheerleaders and pink blocks in tutus, many events and mobilizations look like big parties.



Fig. 16, 17 and 18. Carnavalesque elements: giant puppets and costumes at WTO countersummits



Flusty (190) remarks that “[t]he Battle in Seattle, in its loosely collaborative horizontal organization, its spontaneity, its deployment of violently playful confrontation, and even in such material culture forms as its masks and puppets, signifies a resurgence of [the carnival]”. So the incorporation of carnivalesque elements in order to create a kind of cheerful rebellion has been a crucial strategy for the alter-globalization movement because clowns as well as the carnival “mock[s] everyday law and order” (Klepto 407).

3.4. A short summary

This section, which dealt with the anti-globalization movement as a whole and its various subgroups, organizations and networks, was an attempt at giving an insight into the nature, structure, aims, concerns and tactics of such groups. Moreover, at the beginning of this chapter, the relationship and the possible influences, the Zapatistas have had, and to a certain extent still have on the movement, were addressed. These impacts include the non-hierarchical structures, the absence of a central command, or coordinating committee of all the collectives and groups involved, and the direct decision-making processes employed by many groups and organizations. Furthermore, attention was paid to the unifying, and at the same time diverse character of the alter-globalization movement, as well as its tactics. These two characteristics also constitute possible impacts which originate from Chiapas, since the Zapatistas were most likely the first to speak of the formation of such a diverse and non-hierarchical, anti-neoliberalist movement in their “Second Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and against Neoliberalism”. The next section will discuss in more detail the impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on the anti-globalization movement and its forms of protest and will provide specific examples of the matters at hand.

4. The Zapatista movement's impact and influence on the development of international anti-globalization protest

"[The Zapatistas] have made words their chief weapons" (Clifford 140).

"Our weapons are words, and we may need our arsenal at any moment" (Marcos, Hourglass 12).

These two short quotes introduce one of the main reasons why and how the Zapatista movement has managed not only to gain so much international support, but also in turn influenced a whole range of different groups and movements in the field of anti-globalization. The emphasis on words, which in effect means their communiqués and messages which contain their ideas and their ongoing struggle(s), has helped the movement spread their ideas and worldview, which appeal to the hearts and minds of the public in Mexico as well as in other parts of the world. Although the messages coming from Chiapas are not the sole reason for the international solidarity and support, they constitute an essential and crucial element in the communication of the Zapatistas with global civil society and present a crucial impact on many of today's anti-globalization movements.

In terms of spreading their opinions and views, there are a lot of different methods at work. First of all, there was the dissemination of their words by the traditional print media, such as the small newspaper *El Despertador Mexicano*, which published their first declaration of the Lacandón jungle, and the daily newspaper *La Jornada*. These publications occurred on the very first days the uprising took place. The aforementioned *El Despertador Mexicano*, for instance, published an explanation of the reasons for their uprising on January 1, the very same day it took place. Additionally, the mass media from around the globe entered the stage in the first days of the uprising (January 3 and 4) which also helped spreading the information about the rebel group from Chiapas (Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 75-77). Flusty (180) in this regard observes: "Written, the Zapatista's [sic] words (and especially their formulation by Marcos) were disseminated through the Spanish language press, sometimes as often as two to three times per week, and broadly spread over the Internet". Thus, the

Internet also played a significant role during as well as after the rebellion, a point which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4. Moreover, the Zapatistas' use of the Internet constitutes one of the possible impacts on other anti-globalization movements since they were the first ones who made effective use of the World Wide Web and many groups and organizations ever since tend to do the same, thus spreading their messages to a global audience.

The distribution of texts, however, does not constitute the only possible impact the Zapatistas have had on other movements but many of the other influences and impacts stem from this practice. In this chapter I will talk about some of these effects that the Zapatista movement had and still has on the development of anti-globalization protests around the globe. The first of these which will be discussed in section 4.1. is the spread of the Zapatistas' own philosophy which is very often subsumed under the banner of "Zapatismo" and includes their basic ideological conviction and worldview. Section 4.2. will cover the general influences which are mainly concerned with the Zapatistas' ideas and rhetoric and which also can be recognized in other struggles originating in distant places. Section 4.3. deals with the importance of the Zapatistas' spokesperson, Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, and his ability to bring the demands and ideas of the rebels from Chiapas to worldwide attention through the EZLN's and his own writings. Moreover, it will deal with the general iconic impact of the rebels on the anti-globalization struggle as a whole. As was mentioned before, section 4.4. will discuss the role of the internet in the Zapatista struggle as well as other movements such as Occupy (Wall Street), the "Battle of Seattle", and others. In section 5., I will try to provide a more detailed analysis of the impacts and influences on specific, and selected examples of movements, such as Occupy, the White Overalls, the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA), and the WTO protests in Seattle as well as similar counter-summits against the IMF and the World Bank. Many of the practices and ideas discussed in this section and attributed to the Zapatistas may not exclusively originate from them but nonetheless, the indigenous peasants from Chiapas are certainly one of the key groups who made these attributes and influences popular again and accessible for a wider audience.

4.1. The ideology, worldview and democratic practice of the Zapatistas

As was mentioned briefly in the introduction to this section, the Zapatistas' ideological convictions and worldview transpire predominantly through the EZLN's and Marcos's messages and communiqués. Many of these are/were made available online (very often only a few days after they were published or communicated), probably in order to secure as wide a dissemination as possible, as well as in print. There exist a whole range of publications which are collections of essays and communiqués by the Zapatistas but also texts that were written about them and their ideas. Some of these ideas and convictions have had a more or less direct influence on other groups, organizations, as well as individuals active in the anti-globalization movement. All of the ideas and organizational practices, as well as the form of democracy practiced by the Zapatistas can be subsumed under the term “Zapatismo” (see section 4.1.3. for further discussion) which represents many of the particularities of the philosophy and practices which the Zapatista movement is known for. Moreover, “Zapatismo” constitutes one of the causes of the impacts that the movement has had on a global scale (Khasnabish 63).

4.1.1. General ideological influences

In short when talking about the ideological influences of the Zapatistas on the anti-globalization movement, it can be argued that

[...] the Zapatistas are the proponents of a vision in which democracy and civil society are the main engines of a radical social change that fundamentally challenges contemporary economic and political arrangements and which takes place from below rather than from above (Olesen, Globalising 263).

This mode of thought in turn constitutes a direct impact on the movement for global justice which also tries to develop alternate forms of thoughts and living. “Much of [the] work is ideological as much as material, aiming to displace dominant ideas of capitalism and global relations” (Martell 249).

The EZLN's ideological convictions furthermore are inspired by anarchist principles which can be discerned in their definitions of democracy and their refusal to take power for themselves. In this regard the Irish Mexico Group

(2001) observes that “the Zapatistas represent a return to at least some of the ideas of the Mexican anarchists”. These anarchist aspirations make up one of the ideological fundamentals and at the same time impacts why other groups and networks could almost immediately identify with the EZLN's struggle. Among these are the implementation of grassroots democratic practices and the rejection of leadership, aspects which will be tackled in further detail in the following sections. A general ideological impact, stemming from anarchism and influencing the Zapatistas as well as the anti-globalization movements, represents the idea of rejecting the current political and economic system which cannot be changed for the better by the means of reforming it. This tactic would only lead to improvements on the surface but cannot ameliorate the core of the problem. Thus a rejection or even an overthrow of the contemporary system is regarded as the only solution (Rucht in Richter et al. 119). Cleaver (Electronic, 1998) argues that “[w]e must abandon the perspective of command and control in favor of consultation and coordination [...] to create a world with no command at all” and that the Zapatistas most probably have demonstrated that such a world is possible. Although such anarchist ideas cannot be attributed to the Zapatistas alone, since such modes of thought have been around for ages before the rebellion in Chiapas occurred, the indigenous rebels were still one of the groups crucial for the revival of such ways of thinking.

The Zapatistas realized very quickly that their demands and their uprising met with wide ideological support from their own country, as well as other nations (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 8). Hence, they can provide encouragement and inspiring ideas and practices for others who want to join the struggle against neoliberalism. In turn, the activists from distant locations stay informed about the situation of the Zapatistas and recurrently help them by taking action and thus a mutual relationship of solidarity ensues. Additionally, their dialogue with and focus on international civil society, which constitutes a unique characteristic of the indigenous uprising and one which other movements lack, tried to reach a wide audience and inspire local, national, and international groups and networks (Clifford 143-148). Many people feel inspired by the EZLN's struggle to such an extent that they want to “run around the mountains with a mask and a gun” (Appel qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 172). This, however, is not what the Zapatistas want, because in order to help them, according to their convictions which also forms part of the impact of “Zapatismo” further elaborated in section

4.1.3., you should “go home and fight for justice in your own lands, because if there is justice in your own lands, there will be justice here as well because it is all the same struggle” (Appel qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 172). One of the groups directly inspired by this notion were the Tute Bianche (White Overalls), an anti-globalization protest group from Italy (see section 5.4.), because after the first encounter, they started to mobilize against G8 meetings and similar events (Hobo qtd. in Wright 2000). Another example provides People's Global Action (PGA), a network of anti-globalization groups, campaigns and movements which coordinates protests against capitalism and for social and ecological justice. This network constitutes another outcome of the encounters against neoliberalist policies and embraces the anti-hierarchical and horizontal character of the organizational practices of the indigenous peasants (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 148-149). The Zapatistas hence succeeded in inspiring and reaching a global network of actors, since – because of their modern, distinctive and extraordinary spirit and nature – they managed to build a bridge between themselves and international activists which “share many of the aspirations and imageries that the Zapatistas, through their spokespersons and their communiqué[s], were able to write down” (De Angelis 10). However, we should be careful when considering the concrete achievements of the Zapatistas since many of their enthusiastic aims have not been put into effect. The majority of the indigenous people of Mexico, for instance, still remain in trouble because of their poverty and marginalization (Clifford 177).

4.1.2. Rejection of a vanguard role

To begin with, the Zapatistas, as was described in section 2 of this study, do not want to hold power in the traditional sense, nor do they want to adopt a vanguard role, nor act as a direct model for other movements. Clifford (142) observes that

[t]he Zapatistas no longer claimed a central role for themselves. Nor did they seek to impose a radical program on Mexico. [...] Instead, civil society was increasingly conceived as a creative 'space' marked by open speech, debate, and deliberation from which a new politics would emerge.

Thus, in short, they reject taking power for themselves and hence represent an inspiring and new idea of democratic principles (Clifford 148) which alongside

with this refusal to play a vanguard role are some of the reasons for the widespread identification with the Zapatista movement (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 11). This is due to the fact that the Zapatistas portrayed their uprising under the banner of inclusiveness, which means they are accepting everyone who could possibly find a common ground with the rebels in Chiapas, despite national, cultural, and social differences (Collier and Collier 453). This inclusive character and refusal to lead, on the other hand, could be interpreted as a weakness, since some scholars, like Halliday (127), also in regard to the anti-globalization movement, claim that its aims and non-hierarchical stance limits its own possibilities because of its insufficiency of correlation.

Howsoever, Olesen (Global 142) observes that the Zapatistas “renounce [...] any role of leadership or vanguard”. In terms of influence on other groups and organizations, this rejection of a vanguard role is reflected in the anti-globalization movement in the sense that many of the networks and groups that are part of it, also refuse to adopt a vanguard stance. One example of such an organization is the WSF (World Social Forum) which also rejects the adoption of a vanguard position but instead tries to promote diversity and differences, while at the same time uniting these heterogeneous ways of thinking and acting (Eschle 1756). Also PGA (People's Global Action), a protest coordination network, adopts the approach of decentralized and autonomous structures (People's Global Action). Rather, instead of creating leaders and followers, the groups and networks try to create horizontal relationships which empower everyone to “have the same opportunities to make their point of view heard, so that no one can accumulate more authority than others” (Adamovsky 101). Held and McGrew (113) observe that the radical mindset in general refuses to dictate rules of conduct for a more egalitarian society because this would echo the imposition of standards and practices from above which is the current tactic of politics. Hence, the new anti-capitalist movements refuse to grant privileges to any ideology or actor who is supposed to provide a blueprint of action for everybody else. Each actor should find and practice their own way of struggle (Adamovsky 108). Closely related to this idea of horizontality is the emphasis on “listening rather than giving orders” (Olesen, *Globalising* 261) – a key principle of the philosophy of “Zapatismo” – which will be discussed in the following passage.

4.1.3. Zapatismo, a new form of politics

The philosophy of Zapatismo

“Zapatismo” constitutes one of these terms that has no clear-cut definition. Furthermore, it is not a consistent ideological conviction, nor an established book of rules and regulations. Nor does it represent a political platform or program, nor a certain party manifesto to which one can cling to. Rather, it comprises a new proposition of doing politics based on the Zapatista principles of democracy, liberty, and justice, as well as an approach of radically criticizing power. Additionally, issues such as dignity and autonomy, alongside the aforementioned concepts, play a central role in this rebellious philosophy (Khasnabish 82-84). Subcomandante Marcos (qtd. in Le Bot: La nebulosa internacional) also stresses the importance of this undefined character of “Zapatismo” and that it is necessary to maintain its universality without adhering to doctrines and strict regulations. As was discussed earlier in section 2.2.1. the ideology that is known as “Zapatismo” came into being because of the mutual encounter between the indigenous peasants of Chiapas and the urban revolutionaries. Higgins (163) asserts that “[b]y listening to the Indians' own experience and history of exploitation, of humiliation, and of racism, the Zapatistas found the keystones upon which to build a new politics”. This focusing on listening instead of commanding and dictating answers, which is embedded in the famous Zapatista saying “asking we walk”, constitutes a technique and approach rather than a decisive objective (Olesen, Zapatismo 115). This strategy of changing the world additionally sets itself apart from most of the other radical movements of the past which usually have an authoritative and well-defined agenda regarding this issue (Holloway and Pelaez 1998).

Nonetheless, despite the fuzzy concept of “Zapatismo”, which constitutes neither a concrete and coherent ideology nor philosophy, it is possible to identify a few generic characteristics of this exceptional philosophical and political approach which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

A new form of politics and consensus democracy

The movement stresses that it wants to create “a society in which those who rule do so through the will of the people” (EZLN, Second Lacandon 44). Moreover, it does not aim at taking power and even though this might sound idealistic, unconventional and unusual to some, it is the Zapatistas' pathway and practice (Marcos, Popular 1996). Moreover, power is perceived as counterproductive because it not only corrupts but it frequently recreates modes of repression and tyranny (Adamovsky 89). These ideological convictions are subsumed under the famous Zapatista slogan “rule by obeying” (Marcos, Dreams 18). In addition to this concept, the following ideological cornerstones constitute important ideas for the Zapatistas:

- “obeying the ideas of the community”
- “consultation with base communities”
- “use of local and regional councils”
- “respect for difference”
- “governance as service”

(Olesen, Global 139). Therefore, they want to establish a new way or another form of doing politics (Starr, Martínez-Torres, and Rosset 113) and their form of direct democracy which is put into effect with the help of community assemblies is one of the characteristics of “Zapatismo”. Moreover, this type of radical democracy and the upholding of its core principles constitute one of the main reasons why the Zapatista movement could mobilize national and international support for their causes (Khasnabish 68-71). At this point it has to be stated though that despite the official adherence to anarchist and direct democratic principles, there exist Zapatista communities which do not practice this type of democracy by the book and as preached by Marcos and the official communiqués, but rather adhere to more imperious, unprogressive, and patriarchal modes of thinking and habits. So sometimes there can be a huge difference between the world of Marcos' and the EZLN's messages, and the reality one encounters on the ground (Ryan 48-49). Nevertheless, many of the groups active in the global justice movement share a similar conception of consensus democracy like the Zapatistas (Olesen, Global 149), that is, the official or symbolic version of it. These groups and platforms include for instance the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (see section 5.1.), the organizing

that took place in Seattle 1999 (section 5.3.), the World Social Forum (Olesen, Zapatismo 175-176), and to mention a more recent example, the Occupy Wall Street movement (see section 5.2.).

Examples of these new forms of doing politics constitute direct decision-making process as well as organizational practices. The Irish Mexico Group describes the consensus-democracy approach employed by the Zapatistas as follows: “There were no votes, and no obvious signs of people feeling they had been excluded by a majority decision, everything appeared to be decided by consensus, talked over until a point was reached where everyone agreed” (Irish Mexico Group 2001). In these so-called village assemblies, which deal with everything that is of concern to the community, everyone is allowed to speak and in the rare occasions that a vote needs to be cast (most decisions are made consensually), everyone over the age of 12 has a vote (Irish Mexico Group 2001). Assemblies take place at regional, community, and municipal levels and communities appoint representatives who in turn are attending regional and municipal assemblies. Furthermore, these assemblies have no fixed order or structure which would lead the discussion and so a very lively and at the same time chaotic consultation emerges. Everyone attending these general community assemblies is allowed to speak as long as he/she wants to – although only one person at a time – and hence such gatherings can take very long before they come to a resolution (Starr, Martínez-Torres, and Rosset 105-108). The origins of this type of direct democratic practice come from indigenous traditions popular among native communities across the Americas. The basic form of this practice is nearly the same in each of these assemblies and although it can take a very long time before a decision is made, it seems to be very important for the Zapatistas (and by now also for many other groups) that everyone has their say and consensus is achieved (Irish Mexico Group 2001). This process of consultation involves every single one of the more than 1111 Zapatista communities, for example when the CCRI (the general command of the EZLN) has to make a decision. If consensus and approval of every community cannot be achieved, then no resolution can be found until they agree on the matter at hand. Thus it can take up to about six months to come to terms, especially when a major decision has to be made. This kind of participatory democracy in turn has influenced other movements and groups who want to include such practices in their own assemblies and meetings (Starr,

Martínez-Torres, and Rosset 104). As a result, this type of decision-making process is also embraced and practiced by many student and trade unions at their base level (Irish Mexico Group 2001). Additionally, such a new form of politics and democracy also calls for new terms and definitions which can describe the matters at hand. Hence, in participatory or consensus-democracy there “is never any talk of leaders, representatives, or delegates, but only of spokespersons, facilitators, coordinators, and so on” (Della Porta et al. 50).

Consequently, all of these observations put together constitute a direct impact of the Zapatista movement on some of the groups of the alter-globalization and anti-capitalist movement who “prefer making decisions by consensus, rather than by majority 'rule' or minority 'loss'” (Adamovsky 110). An anonymous interviewee (qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 174) remarks that “[d]emocratic and collective values ... are what the EZLN has to contribute to activism outside of Mexico” as well as their anarchistic and grassroots conception of democracy (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 178). Therefrom, these horizontal relationships, tenets of dialogue and participation, as well as the focus on reaching consensual solutions are some of the instances that are of great importance in the movement of movements. Moreover, the leaderless character and the creation of discussion groups play an important part in organizational practices (Della Porta et al. 54). Many activists, therefore, have tried to include Zapatista methods in their own communities which is most probably due to the close identification with the rebellion in Chiapas, a fact which will be discussed in section 4.2. of this study. Additionally, as will be further elaborated in section 5.2., the practice of direct democratic values embodies an important influence on the Occupy movement which uses a very similar type of decision practice like the one described above.

A world in which many worlds fit

The title of this section “A world in which many worlds fit” is one of the best-known and famous sayings of the EZLN. More specifically, it occurs in the “Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle”, published on January 1, 1996 (EZLN, *Fourth Lacandon* 88), where the Zapatistas state that they want to create a new world which creates space for multiple worlds. This results from the conviction that in the world of the powerful there is only room for themselves

and no one else, especially not the poor. This very idea is also taken up by groups such as Occupy which employ a similar rhetoric and which will be elaborated in section 5.2. Hence, the Zapatistas affirm that they want to create “a world in which many worlds fit. The nation that we construct is one where all communities and languages fit, where all steps may walk, where all may have laughter, where all may live the dawn” (EZLN, Fourth Lacandon 88). The unifying aspect of these convictions is also reflected in multiple other impacts on the anti-globalization movement which originate from the Zapatistas, such as the demarcation of common causes, as well as a common enemy, that is neoliberalism (elucidated in section 4.2.), and the unification of the diverse networks and struggles (see section 4.2. as well). Examples for this bridging of worlds are the inclusion of many issues and concerns in the movement of movements, such as linking the critique of neoliberalism with the fight against the discrimination and exploitation of women, as well as environmental destruction, and the struggle for peace and justice (Della Porta et al. 22). Stahler-Sholk (501) asserts that the true innovation of the Zapatistas is not solely the connecting of their local struggle to global issues, but rather their decisiveness to shape and select the type of association and relationship to broader frameworks. However, it has to be stated that this all-inclusive aspect of the Zapatistas is also a source for criticism, since the inclusion of so many different issues and concerns, can produce a certain vagueness of the aims and goals of the movement. Hence it is quite easy to lose the prospect of all the different aims and goals. So this inclusionary thinking can be seen as more of a symbolic gesture.

Issues of identity

Even Zapatista identity was fuzzy: Their army, composed of poor and indigenous fighters, many illiterate and non-Spanish-speaking, was fronted by educated *mestizos* who justified the revolt by invoking the Mexican constitution and one of the country's heroes, Emiliano Zapata, a man nominally venerated by the state itself (Clifford 152).

The Zapatistas have a very unique approach to the concept of identity. Not only do they opt for a communal claim for diversity, but at the same time they insist on their “national rights and engag[e] in global outreach” (Stahler-Sholk 513). This same vagueness and at times even dichotomy of identities

allowed them to attract support from other groups with similar and overlapping concerns and issues. Furthermore, they embrace all kinds of armed or unarmed support. Backing the Zapatistas encompasses the determination to struggle against everything the EZLN is opposed to which involves issues such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and a world order that positions profits over people's rights, culture, and identity (Olesen, *Globalising* 260). Two core issues, however, constituted major concerns for the Zapatistas: the struggle for indigenous rights and the fight against neoliberalism (Clifford 152-153). The longing for the recognition of indigenous rights which forms part of their identities has had a tremendous impact on other indigenous groups and organizations in Mexico and other countries (Stahler-Sholk 499).

Nonetheless, the Zapatistas practice a “politics of inclusion” (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 161) in order to gain from and at the same time provide support for others. They achieved this end by the promotion of differences while at the same time adhering to their nebulous identities (Clifford 177). In order to illustrate this rather complicated and confusing conception, examples of this universal identity are the following phrases: “[...] we are all the same because we are different” (EZLN, *Opening* 114) and:

Behind our black mask,
Behind our armed voice,
Behind our unnameable name,
Behind us, who you see,
Behind us, we are you.
Behind we are the same simple and ordinary men and women, who are
repeated in all races [...] (EZLN, *Opening* 111).

As a side note, despite the inclusiveness and the construction of a shared identity between the Zapatistas and their supporters, it has to be noted that they are not the same and do not share a common likeness. Ryan (189) states: “[t]here can be sharing and generosity and strong bonds of solidarity built between us, but we also need to recognize the limits of our own capacity to come together. There are insurmountable inequalities [...]”. Nevertheless, exactly the EZLN's and Marcos' type of rhetoric – a point which will also be discussed in section 4.2. – has had the effect of including almost everyone in their struggle. Mentinis (138) in this regard observes that this

lack of definition, and even vagueness, of the Zapatista discourse has functioned as a kind of glue that brings the various struggles together, despite their differences and disagreements. It is precisely this bridging quality of the Zapatistas that has played a significant role in mobilizing

the crowds that move from demonstration to demonstration, participate in social forums and create alternatives [...]

This inclusionary form of politics also represents an impact on other different groups and organizations, such as the Occupy movement because this type of revolutionary group tries to get as many people as possible from different backgrounds and walks of life involved in the issues it deals with. The identity of the Occupy movement shares some similarities with that of the Zapatistas, especially in the sense that it is very broad-ranged. This idea is captured in the famous Occupy slogan: “we are the 99%”.

4.1.4. Change of tactics

“The armed conflict in Chiapas is a war of ink, of written word and a war on the Internet [...]” (Angel Gurria qtd. in Montes 1995).

The title of this section as well as the quote above refers to the adoption of peaceful tactics by the Zapatistas because after the first weeks of their uprising, they chose to use words as their primary weapons instead of real guns. Nevertheless, the Zapatistas still retain their status as an army and additionally still retain their weapons. Particularly in this fact lies a great deal of attraction that many left-leaning people, especially in Europe, the U.S., and Latin America find in the Zapatista struggle. It communicates a kind of romantic idea of an armed insurrection (Clifford 144-147). Appel (qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 172) states that “[a] lot of people come to the Zapatista struggle because they are enamored with this idea of armed indigenous resistance [...]”. However, the change of tactics, from armed insurrection to a “war of the word”, or armed passive resistance, and the dialogue with civil society won them their broad-based international support from a wide range of national and international backers. This broad-based support even involves more modest organizations, such as peace, human rights and social justice groups, like Amnesty International for instance. Besides the change of tactics, the rebels from Chiapas also refashioned their ends in order to receive ideological and solidary support from others around the world (Clifford 147-150). Flusty (179) remarks that the Zapatistas broadened their struggle and reshaped their demands by moving from armed insurrection to the privileging of the word as a

new alternative and since then their chief weapon. And although their armed aspect still retains a symbolic meaning (Olesen, Zapatismo 1), their impact on civil society and other movements revolves around their role as warriors of words and ideas. Their change of tactics could even be seen as an influence on the movement of movements since the majority of activists prefer nonviolence as a strategy (Della Porta et al. 133) and groups like the White Overalls (an Italian activist group which will be introduced in section 5.4.) even explicitly state them as a direct influence on their movement and their tactics (Ramírez Cuevas 2000).

4.1.5. Staging international encounters in Chiapas

The Zapatistas' ideas have influenced many activists across the globe. Not least in the round of global days of action against capitalism. One call for these protests actually arose at an international conference in La Realidad, Chiapas in 1996 and is part of the reason for the 'anti-capitalist' demonstrations of London J18 [a]nd Seattle N30 in 1999 and those that followed [...] (Irish Mexico Group 2001).

Since the adoption of nonviolent tactics alongside with the intentional and increasing contact with international civil society, the Zapatistas have tried to extend their reach even more. Especially, since they came up with the idea of staging gatherings in their homeland of Chiapas, they achieved this goal. The Zapatistas organized two encounters which more than 3, 000 people from all over the world attended (Olesen, Zapatismo 73). These encounters were called: the First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism (Primer Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo) held in July 1996 in Chiapas, and the Second Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism (Segundo Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo) held in 1997 in Spain, Barcelona. These two milestone events were crucial in the formation of “international networks and alliances among various political groups” (Mentinis 138). The explicitly stated and intended purpose of these encounters was to get to know all the different groups and individuals who are fighting against capitalism (or neoliberalism for that matter) and to bring them together (EZLN, Opening 112). The two encounters are a crucial aspect since they constituted inspiring events and benchmarks for a great number of people active in the

global solidarity and justice movement (Olesen, Global 142-143). Additionally, the purpose was to exchange ideas and thoughts (Marcos, Tomorrow 121). The impact of these events was the development and spreading of radical democratic visions and practices which emerged and flourished in local circumstances and to bring them to international attention and heights (Olesen, Zapatismo 170). In the EZLN's call for a "network of voices that not only speak, but also struggle and resist for humanity and against neoliberalism" (Marcos, Tomorrow 122), the encounters helped forge the Zapatista solidarity network which also began to increasingly converge with other international networks, causes, groups and individuals. Olesen (Zapatismo 147) observes that "[t]hese converging networks would later become an important part of the dynamic leading to the WTO protests in Seattle in 1999 and to the subsequent transnational wave of anti-neoliberal protest". Gatherings and events such as the ones described above have since then occurred in South America, Europe, and Australia with their intended and explicitly stated aspirations to develop alternative ideas to the current neoliberal world order (Clifford 143). In concrete terms, the encounters inspired the creation of small local protest and social justice groups and networks around the world which – on the advice of the Zapatistas – focus on regional and local contexts in the activists' home countries (Clifford 143). Examples of groups and networks created after and in a related spirit to the encounters include the White Overalls, People's Global Action, and the World Social Forum (Olesen, Zapatismo 149; Olesen, Global 147; Hobo qtd. in Wright 2000). From a very early stage on, the Zapatistas recognized that the struggle against global capitalism had to be a worldwide one and thus they recognized the essential requirement for collaboration and communicating among the different groups and networks (Mentinis 138). This aspect constitutes one of the reasons for the staging of the encounters and similar events.

This chapter tried to highlight some of the ideological impacts the Zapatista movement has had on various others active in the worldwide anti-globalization struggle. Their unique philosophical as well as practical approach subsumed under the banner of "Zapatismo", alongside with their grassroots democratic principles and their rejection of a vanguard function are some of the key elements in this context. Furthermore, their openness and deliberate bridging to other struggles constitute important factors. The two encounters the

Zapatistas organized additionally contribute to this all-struggles-encompassing character of their rebellion and ideology.

4.2. General influences and impacts on anti-globalization networks

“[The Zapatistas] helped forge, energize, and symbolize today's often quixotic but nonetheless important global justice movement” (Clifford 176).

This quote recaps some of the general influences and impacts, the Zapatista movement has had on various alter-globalization groups and networks. These impacts and influences coming from the rebellion in Chiapas are manifold and distinct and can even vary from group to group, mainly due to the extensibility of their ideas and practices to different contexts. However, there are a few key characteristics and influences which stand out. Among these are the enormous sympathetic reactions the Zapatistas generated among international activists, the very often unique and unifying ideas and rhetoric of the movement, the definition and designation of a common enemy and a common struggle, and even the sparking off of different anti-globalization groups and campaigns. This section will take a closer look at all of the aforementioned characteristics and try to explain the direct and indirect ties and links to other campaigns and struggles around the globe and how they relate to anti-globalization protest networks.

4.2.1. Sympathy and attracting international backing

First of all, it is interesting to note that the Zapatista rebellion almost immediately generated an enormous amount of sympathetic reactions coming from all around the world. Even though the Zapatistas' struggle revolves around a relatively small-scale and minor group with few means and resorts in a very isolated and unknown part of the world, it did in fact attract so much sympathy, curiosity, as well as supporters on a worldwide scale – especially from distant places such as Europe and the U.S. – like no other group after the Cold War. So the impacts and influences did not cease despite the distant location of the participants, also in terms of place, culture and society. And even though the

supporting of the rebels has never stopped, it is nonetheless marked by “flux and reflux”, with the time period between 1996 and 1998 – where the Zapatista solidarity network increasingly started to correspond with other movements and where the two intercontinental encounters were held – being the most active and acute one (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 2-3). What is important to note here is that the idea of solidarity is actually an artificial social construction and people tend to ally with others who are to a certain degree like themselves. Thus if international solidarity is to be created, the reducing of divisions and dissimilarities between donors and beneficiaries of solidarity is an essential requirement in order to achieve that goal (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 40). That is the reason why most of the messages emerging from Chiapas are addressed to an international audience. They are an indispensable tool for receiving ideological as well as practical support.



Fig. 19 and 20. Zapatista solidarity activists in San Francisco 2010

The Zapatistas even helped giving birth to a kind of “revolutionary tourism” – especially in the year 1995 – where groups and individuals could come to visit Zapatista communities (Clifford 133), as well as to provide them with material and actual laboring support (Ryan 11). The backing they received was of such epic proportions that tourists traveling to Chiapas, especially the ones from the U.S. and Europe, were perceived as potential sympathizers (Flusty 184). Moreover they managed to rock the cornerstones of the political landscape in Mexico within a few days of their rebellion, while their true demands and their points of view were still uncertain (Clifford 168). But “[t]he group's vigor, its continuing demand for indigenous autonomy, its embrace of civil society, and its call to fight neoliberal globalization all heartened left-leaning audiences worldwide” (Clifford 169).

In addition, within a few days after the uprising on January 1, protests in solidarity with the Chiapas rebels occurred in Mexico as well as abroad (Clifford 136). Olesen (Zapatismo 86) observes that the common idea within the solidarity network is that the international activists, through being consistently present, physically as well as electronically, have aided in the suspension of army activities and attacks on the EZLN. This view is also shared by the Zapatistas themselves. Hence, the generating of sympathy in fact saved their own lives and their subsistence as a group (if the army continued to send troops they would have won the war due to mere martial supremacy) because it forced the Mexican government to call a truce and end the attacks on the EZLN. The rebel group did actually understand this from the onset of their uprising, that in order to be successful and secure their very survival, they had to gain the moral support from civil society as well as NGOs, and raise international awareness through making themselves visible and heard (Clifford 127-138). The reason for this tremendous kind of attraction and attention lies most likely in the uniqueness and distinct character (in comparison to other guerilla groups) of the rebellion in Chiapas. Marcos himself (Popular 1996) asserts that “what makes us different from existing political organizations are not the weapons and the ski-masks, but the political proposals. We have carved out a new and radical path”. So once again, the unique character of “Zapatismo” (see section 4.1.3.) and the power of their words as weapons comes to mind. Nevertheless, as was indicated above, the appeal of the Zapatistas does not only ensue from their new way of doing politics, but also stems from the fact that they represent a very different and unique armed rebel unit in comparison to others that subsisted before them and still subsist (Irish Mexico Group 2001). Moreover, the particular form of solidarity that the Zapatista movement adheres to is called “mutual solidarity”, where the differences between those providing solidarity and those benefiting from it become blurred. Mutual solidarity “emphasizes similarities between physically, socially and culturally distant actors, while at the same time respecting and acknowledging local and national differences” (Olesen, Zapatismo 110). This notion stands in close relation to the rhetoric used in Zapatista communiqués, the general ideological convictions of the EZLN, as well as to the unification of struggles which is also a tactic employed by them (see the following sections 4.2.2. and 4.2.3.).

Another interesting factor is that the indigenous revolutionaries, although they had started the battle, were almost immediately apprehended as being the victims of the conflict. That could be one of the reasons why many human rights, labor, environmental, development, and social justice NGOs started to launch actions in Chiapas and thus tried to generate attention to the conflict. Examples for NGOs include(d) Amnesty International, Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, and Human Rights Watch (Clifford 146-166). It is in fact possible to talk about a Zapatista solidarity network which is comprised of many different groups and organizations, ranging from local alliances in direct contact with the rebels to international networks, physically present in Chiapas, to individual supporters who are involved only temporarily or in a sporadic manner (Clifford 175). Even political prisoner and Indian organizer Leonard Peltier put forward his support and solidarity to the Zapatistas' struggle by declaring: "[y]our blood is our blood. Your fight is our fight. Your victory is our victory. [...] I hope your visit here will inspire my people and others. I offer my handshake in solidarity with your great struggle" (Peltier 140). However, despite all the positive and encouraging nature of solidarity work with the Zapatistas and their struggle, Ryan also provides a quite disillusioning account of his acts of solidarity: "[...] as we worked together in Roberto Arenas, we [...] thought we were building Zapatista autonomy, and the community thought we were building...well, a water system" (Ryan 208).

4.2.2. The unification and inspiration of struggles and the promotion of diversity

This section is closely related to the section about the concept of "Zapatismo" (section 4.1.3.) and the spread of this philosophy and practice in order to include as many other groups and networks as possible. In this inclusionary mentality also lies the influence of the Zapatista movement on the anti-globalization network. The reason for this is that many activists and groups seem to have adopted this all-encompassing and wide-ranging notion of unity among different, but in some ways related and connected, struggles. Moreover, the emergence of the EZLN's struggle and the subsequent activities appear to be one of the reasons for the growth and development of other movements for an alternative form of globalization. The rebels from Chiapas constitute an

inspiring prototype, or put differently “[t]he power of the Zapatistas is the power of example” (Irish Mexico Group 2001). What is interesting in this regard is that the EZLN, because of their impact on the anti-globalization movement and their uniqueness, represents a vanguard organization without the intention of being one (Durán de Huerta 97). Moreover, the EZLN's emphasis on a diverse range of tactics of struggle – including pacifist as well as more militant and radical strategies (Noé qtd. in Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 60) – seems to have struck a chord with many activists. Once again, it is important to note that this inclusionary approach (which is too far reaching since it is sheerly impossible to include everyone) to the unification of struggles has to be looked at in a symbolic sense.

The unification and inspiration of struggles

Olesen (Zapatismo 213-214) remarks that the contemporary complexion of the left exhibits a much more heterogenous nature than in former times which also is due to the rejection of any kind of vanguard conduct. This anti-vanguardist stance can once again be attributed to the influence and impact of the Zapatista movement, since it appears to be one of the first groups that developed, or better rediscovered – since the intentions to unite cooperative enterprises of opposition with communal consent already surfaced in anarchist thinking at least 100 years before (Flusty 208-209) – such modes of thought. The ensuing heterogeneous and vague spirit of this unified left is perceived by most of the actors as a strong point rather than a weak spot, although this is of course debatable. One of the famous mottos and slogans of the networks is the phrase “united by one no and many yeses” which comprises the rejection of neoliberalism as a common enemy (see also section 4.2.3.), while at the same time embracing a diverse range of different points of view and attitudes. Rucht (128) also observes that there is a general trend in the left as a whole which aims more at an inclusion of different thoughts, than an exclusion of certain ideas. He adds that a great number of people have realized that they cannot accomplish that much by adhering to strict dogmas and doctrines because in this way they will only reach a small amount of closely related minds. Flusty (192) maintains that “[...] in its hyperextension, this movement becomes a carnivalesque globality, a riotous postmodernism of resistance in the global

landscape wherein multiple voices retain their differences while conjoining [...]". In relation to this bringing together of all the different kinds of endeavors, Subcomandante Marcos (qtd. in Le Bot: ¿Un ejército indígena?) states that if the Zapatistas would stress too much their indigenous characteristics, they would be isolated from other anti-globalist efforts. Thus they wanted to make the struggle accessible to everyone and include indigenous attributes as well as generic ones in order to admit everybody into their fight. This kind of framing of objectives is indeed crucial for the unification of heterogeneous networks and for the formation of a social movement. Because of this technique it is possible to connect different concerns and causes, and to convince "groups from different countries and/or active on different issues to join a common struggle" (Della Porta et al. 89). The general ideological convictions of the Zapatistas, such as their fight for "real" democracy and their opposition to neoliberalism, are shared by many activists in the movement of movements. It is through this kind of bringing together of different threads, like justice, freedom, grassroots democracy, and environmental concerns, that the Mexican rebels managed to create "the symbolic umbrella under which old and new social movements, issues, and organizations have been linked" (Della Porta et al. 90). In their own words they put it like this: "Let it be a network of voices that resist the war Power wages on them. A network of voices that not only speak, but also struggle and resist for humanity and against neoliberalism" (Marcos, Tomorrow 122). Flusty summarizes the impacts of the Zapatistas concerning the unification, linking and organization of similar manifestations of anti-global thinking:

[...] in their efforts to elide military containment in Chiapas and establish a global reach, the Zapatistas have played a role in refining new organizing methods for the performance of dissent, and in assembling organizers to carry those methods 'intercontinentally.' Through this dissemination the Zapatistas have become a rallying cry articulating linkages between numerous other causes previously understood as local and distinct, causes like freeing putative political prisoners, 'Third World' debt forgiveness, and opposition to transgenic foods. Nor is this a happenstance occurrence, such linkages have been actively formulated and popularized by particular visitors to Chiapas (Flusty 186).

Concerning the inspiration and triggering of other struggles, one can generally assess that their example has inspired and incited other efforts of confronting the contemporary order. Cleaver (Effect 622) ascertains that the

revolt, due to its outreach, has infused and awakened a broad range of politically motivated endeavors from below, stemming from numerous nations around the globe. Even the rediscovery (because they certainly did not invent it) of the tactic of direct action can in a certain way be attributed to the inspiration of the Zapatistas, since through their uprising, and thus taking action and fate into their own hands, they constitute an example of hope for others (Mentinis 88). Paulson maintains the same notion since the Zapatistas are a kind of reminder for other people that there is always a reason to revolt. He adds that “[...] for a lot of people, seeing indigenous women armed only with sticks opposing heavily armed soldiers and tanks was something of a wake-up call: ‘if they can do it, I can do it too.’” (Paulson qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 143). The notion behind all of this taking action for yourself is that “[...] revolution is an ongoing process, which occurs every day, each time men and women develop new ways of resisting power and create new spaces of autonomy. Each time they create self-managed, noncommercial, and egalitarian spaces, the revolution is taking place” (Adamovsky 96). This notion was taken up by carnivalesque forms of protest (see also section 5.1.) where it is argued that carnival can represent materialized, experienced, and daily revolution (St. John 175). All of the aforementioned inspiring aspects are a consequence of the EZLN's intended communication and dialogue with civil society and indeed humanity as a whole (Mentinis 88). Olesen (*Zapatismo* 161) denotes this course of action as the activation and politicization of civil society through the creation of public space.

Especially at the beginning, many people were looking for some kind of magical tool which would incite revolutions in their countries of origin (Flood qtd. in Clifford 169-170). But, as Marcos (qtd. in *Le Bot: La nebulosa internacional*) asserts the activists in solidarity with the Zapatistas take what they require from “Zapatismo” which is in most cases a recollection for starting their own struggle against the injustices of the world. This is also reflected in the activists' conduct since they embraced the concept of mutual solidarity and they mostly aspire to advance their own causes, while at the same time providing support and help for the Zapatistas when they are in need of it (Clifford 174). Additionally, as intended by the Zapatistas, the inspiration and triggering of other struggles consists of creating an adapted variation of “Zapatismo” for one's own country in order to start off “our own resistance struggles, explicitly in solidarity with

Chiapas, but also raising hell here at home” (Dominick qtd. in Olesen, *Zapatismo* 148). A great advantage in this regard was the resonating nature of NAFTA and globalization, since the incorporation of these two “injustice frames” allowed the EZLN to transform an apparent local conflict about land into a fight of global character which affects humanity as a whole. So with the help of this positioning, the Zapatistas managed to unite their concerns and problems with the ones of other people around the globe (Clifford 159). This is exactly the reason why Clifford (168) maintains that by helping or supporting the Zapatistas in whatever way, one can at the same time advance one's own goals.

Additionally, since capitalism exerts influence on most people, albeit in a variety of distinct channels, everyone – from workers to students to artists to minorities to peasants and many more – has a reason to join the struggle and work towards the improvement of their particular situations (Adamovsky 107). Thus, to sum up the unifying aspect of the Zapatistas, the Irish Mexico Group (2001) states that “[their] language is that of postmodernism, but the underlying idea is one of unity among all peoples, even at the moment when we are most different”. However, it has to be noted that these ties to other struggles also constitute a rather symbolic gesture than an actual fact since they are rather weak and vague in nature.

Although Flusty (1-5, 196) and others suggest that the Zapatista uprising has spread to other parts of the world, like the “Battle of Seattle” for instance, this assertion is only partly accurate. While the rebellion certainly has an inspiring, ideal, and exemplary character, it seems a bit too far-fetched to claim that without it, the anti-corporate and anti-globalist movements would not exist and that they in fact are a continuation of the EZLN's struggle. Subcomandante Marcos (qtd. in Muñoz Ramírez, *EZLN* 247) rightly explains that they were not the first to rebel against the injustices of globalization. Nor is the rebellion in Chiapas and the struggle of the Zapatistas the proclamation of the protests in Seattle. Nor do the “Battle of Seattle” or similar countersummits constitute a continuation of Chiapas. All of these symptoms rather represent things that necessarily had to happen. And all of them are incarnations of this worldwide rebellion which develops and grows outside of mainstream and conventional politics, in ways entirely different to traditional political relations and conventionalized party politics and affiliations. Adamovsky (84) appropriately adds that “the Mexican indigenous uprising of the Zapatistas was the first cry of

a new family of anti-capitalist movements. Since then, anti-capitalists worldwide began to connect, explore new ways of participating, create politics, and inspire hope”. Nonetheless, Marcos (qtd. in Muñoz Ramírez, EZLN 222) also admits that the Zapatistas think that many positive outcomes and ideological benefits for the entire globe in regard to anti-globalization mobilization and anarchist thought would not have developed in this way if the EZLN did not start their uprising and armed conflict. Thus the Zapatistas themselves maintain that they have made a difference in the world which is true beyond doubt. Flusty (183) correctly concludes that they have “in short, inspired a global movement for the deconcentration and reorientation of power [...]” and according to Olesen (Global 136) “[...] the Zapatistas both reflect and inspire democratic concerns in the global justice and solidarity movement”.

Diversity of action

Another important factor in the global struggle against neoliberalism is the diverse range of tactics (as mentioned in section 3.3.) that the activists employ. This attribute can also, at least for the last 18 years, be in part affiliated to the Zapatistas because as Marcos puts it: everyone is able to fight for his/her rights and it does not necessarily have to be by means of armed insurgency. One can fight with a “microphone, a pen, a piece of paper, or a camera” (Marcos qtd. in Durán de Huerta 13). Exactly this kind of encouragement is most likely the reason for the combination of different kinds of tactics during many countersummits staged by the anti-globalization movement. We can even talk about a multiplicity of types of operations and procedures and a usage of a sophisticated range of dissenting behavior. That means that protestors and dissenters have employed unorthodox (see sections 3.3. and 5.), and in the majority of instances though not always, peaceful tactics. A lot of these means are taken up from earlier groups and organizations but usually, they are applied and readjusted to new contexts and can be disseminated across international borders (Della Porta et al. 139-147).

Another reason for this multiplicity of tactics also comes in part from the background of the activists themselves since “there [are] a thousand different ways of thinking, ecologists and feminists and socialists and liberals and anarchists [...]” (Irish Mexico Group 2001). Danaher and Mark observe that this

heterogeneity of tactics and ideas is the anti-globalization movement's biggest strong point. They call it "unity of diversity" (Danaher and Mark 306). The EZLN itself as well sees this heterogeneousness in the tactics of struggle against neoliberalism as an advantage, rather than a problem (Olesen, Zapatismo 144). Nonetheless, some people might disagree with this notion since, in their view, too much diversity rather ends in too much talk than actually accomplishing something. Notwithstanding this argument, this characteristic of diversity of tactics and actions represents another important impact from the Zapatista movement because they were also, almost from the start of their uprising, calling for the unification of all the diverse tactics and networks in the realm of anti-capitalist struggle. The following quotes from the EZLN's Second Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle illustrate this point:

"The sectarians suppose, erroneously, that just the firing of a gun will bring about the dawn that our people have waited for since night fell upon Mexican soil with the deaths of Villa and Zapata" (EZLN, Second Lacandon 48).

"Now is the time for hope to organize itself and to walk forward in the valleys and in the cities, as it did before in the mountains of the Southeast. Fight with your weapons; don't worry about ours" (EZLN, Second Lacandon 48).

4.2.3. Ideas, rhetoric and the creation of a common enemy

During the last years, the power of money has presented a new mask over its criminal face. Above borders, no matter race or color, the Power of money humiliates dignities, insults honesties and assassinates hopes. Re-named as "Neoliberalism", the historic crime in the concentration of privileges, wealth and impunities, democratizes misery and hopelessness. A new world war is waged, but now against the entire humanity. As in all world wars, what is being sought is a new distribution of the world (EZLN, First La Realidad 1996).

This quotation exemplifies many of the aforementioned aspects, as well as all of the facets (ideas, rhetoric, and the creation of a common enemy) mentioned in this section of the significant character of the Zapatistas for the anti-globalization movement. Once again by its unifying rhetoric, the EZLN tries to gather as much activists as possible for their cause and for other concerns. The concept of neoliberalism constitutes an important point of reference here,

since it ensures the integration and inclusion of as many human beings, devoted to the cause, as possible. The separation of the three core ideas (general ideas, rhetoric, and the creation of a common enemy) of this section poses a difficult task because, as can be seen in the quote, they all interact in the “recruitment of potential allies” and thus are hard to isolate.

As was discussed earlier in this project, the encounters the Zapatistas staged in 1996 and 1997 were an important part in the creation of the global justice or anti-globalization movement. The following quote is in a way an invitation to the first of these encounters held in the Lacandón jungle.

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation Speaks . . .

To all who struggle for human values of democracy, liberty and justice.

To all who force themselves to resist the world crime known as "Neoliberalism" and aim for humanity and hope to be better, be synonymous of future.

To all individuals, groups, collectives, movements, social, civic and political organizations, neighborhood associations, cooperatives, all the lefts known and to be known; non-governmental organizations, groups in solidarity with struggles of the world people, bands, tribes, intellectuals, indigenous people, students, musicians, workers, artists, teachers, peasants, cultural groups, youth movements, alternative communication media, ecologists, tenants, lesbians, homosexuals, feminists, pacifists.

To all human beings without a home, without land, without work, without food, without health, without education, without freedom, without justice, without independence, without democracy, without peace, without tomorrow.

To all who, with no matter to colors, race or borders, make of hope a weapon and a shield.

And calls together to the First Intercontinental Gathering for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism” (EZLN, First La Realidad 1996).

The unifying rhetoric and the creation of a common enemy are two easily discernible aspects in this passage. Through the formulation of this text, the EZLN tries to involve everyone that longs for a more just and egalitarian society, even on a global scale. Also clearly visible is their intention to include everyone in their common cause by naming all the people to whom this issue could be of interest, for instance, individuals, artists, students, etc. The formulation of a

common enemy, that is neoliberalism, is also quite obvious. The fight against it is portrayed as just and fair since neoliberalism, in their views, constitutes a crime against humanity as a whole. Hence actually everyone affected in a negative way by neoliberalist policies is welcome to join the struggle. The creation of neoliberalism as a common enemy additionally has a symbolic function. This can even be observed in Marcos' (Tomorrow 118) use of the concept: "On the one side there is neoliberalism, with all its repressive power and all its machinery of death; on the other side is the human being". Cleaver (Effect 631) states that this creation and formulation of a common enemy generated an enormous amount of resonating effects. It tied together many different grassroots collectives which, before the Zapatistas, were unable to collaborate or encounter commonalities in their efforts. As can be seen in the quote above, hope is also an important tool in the finding of common ground, and as discussed in section 4.2.2. this evocation of hope by setting an inspiring example, helped many people to recognize that it was still worth to fight for one's concerns, while being in solidarity with others. On the other hand of course, the formulation of a common struggle and enemy is a clever tactic by the EZLN in order to gain support from an international audience, and as Marcos has argued (qtd. In Le Bot: La nebulosa internacional) it was even important for their very survival since the support of international activists and organizations has helped to bring the whole conflict to the attention of the global media and subsequently public. Olesen (Zapatismo 154) argues in this regard that some of the issues concerning the Zapatistas were in fact highlighted and maybe exaggerated in order to attract as many sympathizers as possible. Another important example for the unique rhetoric of the EZLN and at the same time the integration of as many people as possible, can be discerned in the passage quoted in section 4.1.3., where the rebels place themselves on the same level as ordinary people by stating that they are like us. This implies that almost all the people of the world face similar difficulties as the Zapatistas which ties in with the creation of a common enemy and the unification of struggles mentioned earlier. This in turn is also very likely the reason why the EZLN and Marcos frequently address their audience as brothers and sisters. Here are some examples of the use of these family-like forms of address: "*Brothers and sisters of the whole world* [author's emphasis]" (Marcos, Tomorrow 115); "*Brothers and sisters of Africa, America, Asia, Europe, and Oceania* [author's

emphasis]" (Marcos, Tomorrow 115); "*Brothers and sisters attending the First Intercontinental Encuentro for Humanity and against Neoliberalism* [author's emphasis]" (Marcos, Tomorrow 115).

Concerning the issue of ideas, it can be noted that the impact of the Zapatistas lies to a great extent in their expression of radical democratic and anarchist thinking. Moreover, these ideas are the basis for the influences on the anti-globalization movement. The impact of ideas on the movement of movements can be discerned in the appreciation of "decentralized and autonomous action and interaction" (Olesen, Global 151) as well as in the incorporation of consensus democracy Zapatista-style. Additionally, the longing for having a more determining influence on international (economic) policies, and thus disempowering institutions such as the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF, can be attributed to the Zapatistas' reformist democratic ideas. In this regard, also the focusing on developments and difficulties which affect not only local and national circumstances, but rather have consequences for the entire globe can be retraced to the rebels from Chiapas. They were among the first groups to rearticulate this transcending of the dichotomies between "First" and "Third" World (Olesen, Zapatismo 212-213) which can also be seen in the quotes at the beginning of this section.

Another important idea that originated from the Lacandón jungle and has had a tremendous impact on the movement for a globalization from below is the formulation of the creation of an international network of resistance against neoliberalism. This groundbreaking plan was formulated in the "Second Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and against Neoliberalism" where it says that

[w]e declare [author's emphasis]: THAT WE WILL MAKE a collective network of all our particular struggles and resistances, an intercontinental network of resistance against neoliberalism, an intercontinental network of resistance for humanity. This intercontinental network of resistance, recognizing differences and acknowledging similarities, will strive to find itself in other resistances around the world. This intercontinental network of resistance will be the medium in which distinct resistances may support one another. [...] We are the network, all of us who resist (EZLN, Second Realidad 125).

Alongside with the creation of this network of struggle, the EZLN also suggested to create a network of communication which should link together all the participants. Once again, they also emphasized the importance of the

leaderless character of these institutions (EZLN, Second Realidad 125). If one takes a look at anti-globalization protest networks, it can be observed that these leaderless and democratic ideas basically came true since organizations and groups interact among another and also communicate effectively with each other in a horizontal manner. In particular since the Internet has come into being, it has played an important part in the staging of many anti-globalization protests and the communication between groups. One recent example is the Occupy movement which has made extensive use of the Internet in order to promote their cause and bring their issues to the attention of the general public.

In more general terms, also the denial of centralized forms of authority and the revival of anarchist principles represents a direct impact on many grassroots and new social movements (Olesen, Global 151). Hence it can be argued that the Zapatistas' social and political ideas have been adopted and adapted in the workings of the alter-globalization movement and they, at the same time, constitute "a catalyst and inspiration for the revitalization of the left" (Olesen, Zapatismo 209). Adamovsky (127-129) observes that many of the Zapatistas' practices are echoed in the features of the anti-capitalist movement. Among these are the refusal to impose a new blueprint for revolution and the contributions to constructing transnational networks which encompass a variety of interlinked struggles originating from different countries and thus uniting different currents under "one no and various yeses".

4.3. The Zapatistas as icons of anti-globalization and the writings of Subcomandante Marcos

"[T]he EZLN and Zapatismo emerged as rebellious articulations of hope that the world could be remade into a more just, democratic and free place"
(Khasnabish 73).

In the utterance above, the iconic meaning of the rebellion in Chiapas and thus the emergence of hope for many people come to light. Likewise this chapter will try to analyze the iconic impact of the Zapatistas and additionally examine the importance of Subcomandante Marcos' personality as well as his writings for the alter-globalization movement and the left in general. Since their

uprising in 1994 and the subsequent media coverage, the Zapatista struggle has come to stand for a (symbolic) rebellion against the status quo for many groups in the global justice movement. This iconic significance is one of the reasons why so many activists around the globe stand in solidarity with them and why a lot of people have adopted and adapted their ideas.

4.3.1. The Zapatistas as icons

As was already mentioned in the introduction to this section, the Zapatistas soon came to be perceived as icons and an inspiration. Russell (Myth 569) observes that their way of dress, their mules, and weapons which can be seen in many of the pictures of the Zapatistas, rendered them the status of almost myth-like figures. Moreover, the rearticulation of these images reinforces this effect. Additionally, as was explained before, this helped them to gain support from many corners of the world. Their rank as icons even reaches the extent of their inclusion in “news reports, art, literature, cartoons, music and product tie-ins such as posters, T-shirts [fig. 25], stickers, condoms [fig. 22] stamped with Marcos's face and 'authentic' action figures made in Chiapas by real peasants” (Russell, Myth 562). Especially the dolls (fig. 21 and 24) in this regard have become an important part in promoting the revolution in other countries and in general the Zapatistas have often “relied upon such unconventional linkage practices” (Flusty 185).



Fig. 21. Marcos doll

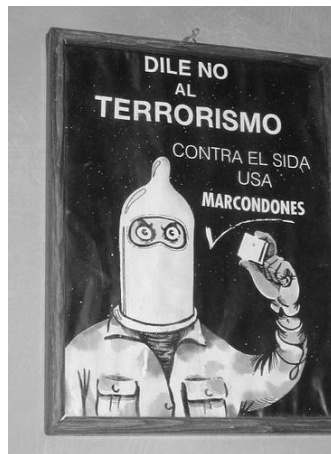


Fig. 22. Zapatista condoms



Fig. 23. Marcos featured on an album cover



Fig. 24. Zapatista doll



Fig. 25. Marcos T-shirt

As we can see, especially Marcos' face is a popular choice for commodities, most likely because he is the most famous face of the Zapatista insurrection due to his media presence. He even adorns the 1995 album cover of the Mexican-American grindcore/death metal band *Brujería* (see fig. 23) who also ideologically support the Zapatistas in their song *Revolución* (*Brujería, Raza Odiada* 1995). A more famous example for incorporating the Zapatistas' ideas is the band *Rage Against The Machine* who also promote a change in the here and now (Flusty 186). This approach is closely connected to the notion in section 4.2.2. where it is argued that revolution is not something to wait for but, in unison with the concept of direct action, that it is an ongoing process occurring in everyday life.

In addition, even the balaclava became a kind of brand image for the Zapatista uprising and a symbol of solidarity. Initially it was supposed to hide the true identity of the indigenous fighters (Marcos qtd. in Avilés and Minà 182). Nonetheless, over the years, many of the sympathizers and supporters of the indigenous insurrection adopted this famous symbol. Olesen (*Zapatismo* 146-147) asserts that many people in the anti-globalization movement, also and especially during protests, dress like Zapatistas (see fig. 26 and 27). Although Marcos (Popular 1996) seems to imply that not the masks and weapons, but rather their political ideas, are important for their transnational appeal, I think the balaclavas and guns still add up to their impact and image, and in consequence their general approval by international activists.



Fig. 26. Solidarity activist in San Francisco 2010 wearing an EZLN ski mask



Fig. 27. Zapatista sympathizer in Mexico City

In this context it has to be noted that the Zapatistas themselves sport many different types of balaclavas, including ski masks, bandanas, or even artistic craftwork masks from the area (Flusty 177). It depends on what they have at hand or can afford. However, the balaclava serves other purposes than just protecting the ones who wear them from being identified. Among these is the symbolic function they serve, namely to connect a diverse range of people under one banner. That is to say by hiding their faces, the Zapatistas try to connect with others and project their concerns and demands on their fellow human beings from all around the world. That is the reason why, when asked who is behind the balaclava, Marcos (qtd. in Durán de Huerta 11) claims that one should “grab a mirror and look inside”. This aspect relates to the dissemination of the Zapatistas' struggle on a worldwide scale and it implies that everyone can join them in their undertakings. Thus it tries to open up the rebellion to basically everyone willing to join and do something against the imposition of neoliberalism. This kind of rhetoric is a crucial aspect in the propagation of the causes of the Zapatistas, as was discussed in section 4.2.3. and will also be covered in the next section about the importance of Marcos' writings.

Flusty (173), speaking about the iconic impact of the Zapatistas, observes:

[T]he unrest in Seattle, the person of Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, and the mountains of southern Mexico. And along this path lies an emergent praxis, iconography, and even material culture of globalizing

discontent, an elaborating circuit of traveling dissent that has embodied an alternate globality in the form of a portable carnival of resistance.

Concerning the general iconic impact of the uprising, it can be stated that it rekindled idealist and visionary thoughts and the possibility of a better world and the belief in it (Mentinis 137-138). Russell (Myth 561) even claims that the strategy of converting the Zapatistas into these mythical and iconic figures, was an intentional goal of the movement in order to rally support. I am not so sure if this assertion is correct since in my personal opinion, coincidence has played its part in the promotion of the rebellion. Although their broad formulation and articulation of their struggle and the inclusionary aspect of it, are certainly some of the key features for the massive amount of support they received, and maybe also an explanation for their iconic status among left-leaning audiences. In short, the EZLN and their incorporation of grassroots democracy are an international icon for anarchist and socialist ideology (Olesen, Zapatismo 174).

4.3.2. The personality and writings of Subcomandante Marcos

Subcomandante Marcos represents by far the most famous face of the Zapatista struggle. This is not only due to the personality cult surrounding him – an aspect which the EZLN claims was not their intention, although they use it in order to promote their cause (Clifford 162) – but also because of his creative and powerfully written texts and communiqués which are available online as well as in print. These texts span a wide range of different genres and methods, including “hard-hitting communiqués and manifestoes, tendentious fables (told by a beetle), a fanciful children’s story, and at times inexplicable, almost hallucinatory ravings” (Clifford 131).

Even the persona of Marcos represents a symbol of revolting. The reasons for this tremendous impact are not only his writings, but also his media presence and his role as a spokesperson. Once again, like in his writings, his interviews incorporate everything “from radical politics to classic literature to popular entertainment” (Clifford 161). His unique personality, which also sometimes confesses that he is uncertain about the struggle, and his ability to reflect critically and joke about himself, adds to this iconic and at the same time human image of him, as well as the Zapatistas as a whole. He helped create a feeling of unpredictability and even amusement concerning the struggle (Clifford

162). An example for this humor is the incident where he posed like a model while showing his naked leg to reporters. The intention was to mock his alleged sexual attraction. Another example is his reaction to the sale of the Zapatista condoms (see fig. 22) where he had a good laugh (Durán de Huerta 58).

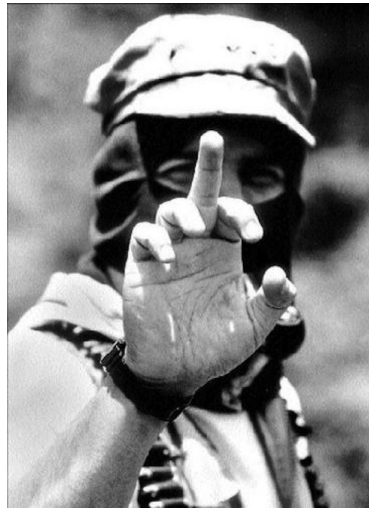


Fig. 28. Marcos gives a one-finger salute to George W. Bush

Although his true identity remains a mystery, there are speculations about who he actually is. The most widespread assumption is that he is an “urban Marxist intellectual and activist” (Klein, Farewell 11) who came to Chiapas in order to mobilize a guerilla army, a plan which underwent significant changes when he encountered the indigenous realities (see sections 2.2.1. and 4.1.3. for more information). When asked about his identity he himself states that

Marcos is gay in San Francisco, a black person in South Africa, Asian in Europe, a Chicano in San Isidro, an anarchist in Spain, a Palestinian in Israel, an Indigenous person in the streets of San Cristo'bal [sic], a gang-member in Neza, a rocker on [University] campus, a Jew in Germany, an ombudsman in Department of Defense (Secretaria de Defensa, Sedena), a feminist in a political party, a communist in the post-Cold War period, a prisoner in Cintalapa, a pacifist in Bosnia, a Mapuche in the Andes, a teacher in National Confederation of Educational Workers (Confederacio'n [sic] Nacional de Trabajadores de Educacio'n [sic], CNTE), an artist without a gallery or a portfolio, a housewife in any neighborhood in any city in any part of Mexico on a Saturday night, a guerrilla in Mexico at the end of the twentieth century, a striker in the CTM, a sexist in the feminist movement, a woman alone in a Metro station at 10 p.m., a retired person standing around in the Zo'calo [sic], a campesino without land, an underground editor, an unemployed worker, a doctor with no office, a non-conformist student, a dissident against

neoliberalism, a writer without books or readers, and a Zapatista in the Mexican Southeast. In other words, Marcos is a human being in this world. Marcos is every untolerated, oppressed, exploited minority that is resisting and saying,

"Enough!"

He is every minority who is now beginning to speak and every majority that must shut up and listen (Marcos, Majority 1994).

In this quotation, it is once again possible to identify the unifying character of the EZLN struggle, as well as the unique rhetoric of Marcos and the Zapatista movement as a whole, all of which have contributed to the impacts the movement has had on anti-globalization groups everywhere. As can be read in the quote, Marcos declares that he is an ordinary person and at the same time a symbol for every kind of minority which finds itself in a state of oppression (Clifford 162). Moreover, he himself states (qtd. in Avilés and Minà 153) that to this cult-like perception, people add that he represents a new Robin Hood or Zorro, or even an amalgamation of both. Sometimes he is even thought of as a modern Che Guevara: "This horse-riding warrior poet, who quotes Shakespeare and Cervantes, has become a symbol of resistance in the post-Cold war era. He is to the post-Cold War era what Che Guevara was, for decades, prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union" (Berger qtd. in Olesen, Zapatismo 10). And although the EZLN claims that they wanted to avoid this personality cult surrounding Marcos, for instance through the wearing of the balaclavas, they sometimes have, at least to a certain extent, used his cult-like status in quite opportunistic ways. He nevertheless represents an important factor in the Zapatistas' uprising along with his interpretation skills, which are able to bridge the cultural, linguistic, and social divides between the peasants and their supporters (Clifford 162-163). Thus he serves the purpose of communication between two different worlds, the indigenous world and the (primarily) Western world. He sees himself (Marcos qtd. in Le Bot: Marcos y sus Espejos) as a kind of bridge and window connecting these two worlds and remarks that the differences between the Zapatistas and more traditional left guerilla organizations is that they have found a new way of doing politics (Marcos, Popular 1996).

The writing of Marcos, like his personality in a way, have made the Zapatistas as a whole accessible to audiences from abroad (Flusty 177).

Moreover, they have helped to broaden the struggle against neoliberalism and sparked off many efforts and endeavors in the global campaign against economic globalization. The style and rhetoric of Marcos' texts have added to this impact and phrases like in the quote above or "be a Zapatista where ever you are" (Irish Mexico Group 2001) have inspired many activists. Moreover, the adoption of such phrases like "we are all Marcos" and "we are all Zapatistas" by activists in solidarity with them (Olesen, Zapatismo 116), shows that Marcos' texts and rhetoric serve a crucial function in the dissemination of the worldwide struggle against capitalism as well as their ideas. His supposed urban background and university education are perceived to be of great importance for connecting with and making the messages understandable for activists from other countries (Olesen, Zapatismo 213). In general, it can be said that a lot of the discourse about the Zapatistas has concentrated on their communiqués and messages which proves the assumption that these are important tools for their cause (Irish Mexico Group 2001).

4.4. The role of the Internet and media

As was argued before, the Internet has played an important role in the formation of the Zapatista solidarity network and consequently also in the creation of the anti-globalization movement. Traditional media have played a crucial part as well but the main focus in this section will remain on the World Wide Web. Clifford (128-132) observes that during the first days of the uprising, access to traditional media was important for the success of the Zapatistas and because of the development of the Internet at that time, many issues and articles were quickly (re)distributed online. Their "media-friendly" approach allowed for international journalists to report about the Zapatistas at first hand and it proved to be a clever strategy in order to promote their rebellion. Moreover, the personal contact between the rebels and reporters, as well as civilians was an important aspect. The Internet was a particularly useful tool for the propagation of the causes of the Zapatistas, outside of mainstream modes of communication (Kahn and Kellner 300).

Many of the EZLN's communiqués also appeared online very quickly for international activists to read, after they have been published by the newspaper *La Jornada*. They were also translated in order to make them understandable

for a transnational audience. Many early followers also created websites with messages and communiqués from the EZLN with translations in different languages, alongside with information about solidarity activities. An example was the ¡Ya Basta! Website, already created in 1994. The Zapatistas can thus be said to have been very successful and to a certain extent they still are, in their media presence. This aspect constitutes an important issue when talking about the impacts of the Zapatistas since they are one of the first rebellious groups to use (although the online publishing of their messages is done by third parties) the Internet as well as traditional media in such a progressive way.

Della Porta et al. (147-149) observe that being present in the media, very often alongside a media-friendly strategy (since it can win them supporters) are considered to be crucial characteristics of many anti-globalization protests. Especially the strategy of civil disobedience has the intentional effect of making the protest visible and grab the attention of the media in order to attract supporters and make public the particular issues and causes. Especially the Internet “[...] has broadened political communication and made it easier and faster” (Della Porta et al. 92) and the Zapatistas' impact consists in being one of the first revolutions to use the World Wide Web in such a way.

The advantages of online publishing and communication over the Internet are quite obvious but nevertheless, some shall be mentioned. The most obvious advantages are the fast dissemination of messages and information over large distances, as well as the uncensored distribution of them. Additionally, the relatively low costs present a virtue for many movements. Furthermore,

[the Internet] is helpful in the organization and logistics of demonstrations and as a means for different groups to keep networked. Second, the Internet can also be a specific means for the direct expression of dissent and protest. Third, it has a cognitive function, enabling information to be disseminated and public opinion to be sensitized on issues scantily covered by mainstream media, and also reinforcing collective identities” (Della Porta et al. 94).

In general, the Internet is of great relevance for the alter-globalization movement since it allows a relatively easy construction of identity, as well as the pursuit of global goals. The construction of (a common or shared) identity is particularly important because it enables the diverse networks to pull together. Moreover, the networked character of anti-globalization's organizing structures

can be realized very effectively with the help of the Web. Furthermore, the “reorganization and affiliation with other Internet subcultural groups” (Kahn and Kellner 300) plays a crucial role in the spread and propagation of concerns and causes.

Many organizations and individuals have since collaborated with the assistance of the World Wide Web. Examples include the protests in Seattle in 1999, protests against the G8 in Genoa, and the conducting of the WSF in Porto Alegre (Della Porta et al. 96). The Internet was and still is used by the global justice movement to stage and coordinate such collective actions against economic globalization and at the same time to promote direct democracy and the importance of global justice. Furthermore, the establishing of new connections and solidarities seem to be important for the promotion and development of succeeding endeavors and campaigns. Activists recognized the importance of a worldwide movement united by a positive agenda and with the help of the Internet and its potential to spread information, many groups and networks began to advocate collective ideas and values as well as to coordinate mass protest actions. Hence with their usage of the Internet, the subcultural groups of activists are trying to accomplish a globalization-from-below in opposition to capitalism's globalization-from-above. And the development of solidarity efforts constitutes an important part of their strategies (Kahn and Kellner 304-307). Especially the “Battle of Seattle” represents a hallmark in the employment of the Internet, since Indymedia – an independent collective of journalists specializing on coverage not driven by profits but rather the promotion of social and economic justice – was formed during the protests in order to cover the events and provide an electronic platform for the activists. The slogan “become the media” is a crucial ideological conviction of the collective which should inspire people to empower themselves and become active (Indymedia 2004). During the “Battle of Seattle”, Indymedia has recorded 1.5 million hits and it can be said that this kind of computer communication “offers important tools to organizations active on human rights violations, police repression, and environmental pollution” (Della Porta et al. 113). Especially after the 9/11 attacks, the Internet in general has become more politicized and new resistances, concerned with data privacy and protection as well as “rights to freedom of use and information” (Kahn and Kellner 303) began to take shape. A group which recently called attention to itself in this regard is the Anonymous

collective. In general, as Kahn and Kellner (303) observe:

[a]n array of discourses associated with post-structuralism, post-modernism, feminism, and multiculturalism focus on difference, otherness, marginality, the personal, the particular, and the concrete over more general theory and politics that aim at more global or universal conditions.

The Zapatistas, for instance, tried to provide a bridge between both, the particular as well as the universal in order to secure as much support as possible from civil society. Other subcultural endeavors have also tried to find answers to regional and universal concerns (Kahn and Kellner 304). The Occupy movement, in a similar way, tried to connect actors from around the globe and also attempted/attempts to find solutions to global problems.

Moreover, the Internet represents a crucial resource for activists in order to acquire information, as well as working as “a message amplifier” (Della Porta et al. 115). This very aspect can also be observed to have significance for a more recent example, namely the Occupy (Wall Street) movement. The development of the Internet helped spread messages across a wide range of platforms, such as *Twitter*, *Facebook* and *Youtube* very quickly, while at the same time making it possible for millions of World Wide Web users to access these in almost real-time. This dissemination of information in turn inspired a variety of new Occupy movements in different cities around the globe (Graeber, Occupy 57).

The Internet and social media, like the ones mentioned before, “are important in facilitating the protest and shaping the form it takes” (Acemoglu and Robinson 110). The hacker collective Anonymous of course operates on a worldwide basis as well, due to the possibilities the Internet offers the activists. Furthermore, “hacktivists have been especially influential in educating the public about governmental and corporate protocols that have been developed in order to survey the habits and attitudes of those active online” (Kahn and Kellner 309). This is not their sole function, because “hacktivist” collectives, like Anonymous, tend to hack, block and alter the content provided by corporate sites which are seen as targets due to their privacy or human rights policies. Such forms of protest also hit transnational corporations where it hurts the most, on their representational level, because they are usually particularly concerned about their public image. Both of these groups (Occupy and Anonymous) will be

discussed in more detail in the next section when dealing with the impacts of the Zapatista movement on selected examples of global justice movements and networks.

5. The Zapatista movement's impact and influence on selected examples of anti-capitalism and anti-globalization networks

Because of the symbolic nature of their revolt, their ability to draw connections between local oppression and international structures of institutionalized violence and repression, and their stance on indigenous rights and autonomy, the Zapatistas have been an important part of the struggle against global capitalism. The Zapatistas, the ultimate underdogs, have constantly and effectively battled not only with arms but also with words, ideas and visions for a sustainable and just future. The Zapatistas have inspired the mobilization of civil society in Mexico and around the world in the fight for democracy, liberty and justice (Zapatista Block 2006).

As can be read in this quote, the Zapatistas and their ideas comprise impacts of great importance for many groups active in the anti-capitalism and anti-globalization movement. This section will try to provide a few concrete examples of networks directly or indirectly influenced by the Zapatistas' ideas, philosophy, rhetoric and/or tactics. Some of these groups, like the Tute Bianche discussed in section 5.4. even claimed to be a direct offshoot of the Zapatistas, and that they were directly affected by their struggle and tried to push it further. Others do not lay claim to such a direct influence of the rebels from Chiapas, like the Occupy (Wall Street) movement (see section 5.2.) for instance. This section will therefore provide an overview over different forms of anti-globalization protest and groups and try to highlight the influences and impacts that can be traced back to the Zapatistas. The groups and networks under investigation include: the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (section 5.1.), the Occupy movement (section 5.2.), the coalition at work in Seattle 1999 at the WTO countersummit (section 5.3.), and the Tute Bianche or White Overalls from Italy (section 5.4.). Furthermore, groups and tactics, such as the hacker collective Anonymous and the Black Bloc will be touched upon as well.

5.1. Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA)

Formation and function

The Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army made its first public appearance at a protest in 2003, when former U.S. president George W. Bush paid a visit to the UK (Klepto and Up Evil 244). Other countersummits in which they have participated include the protests against the G8 in Gleneagles in 2005 and Heiligendamm in 2007 (Kapuy 87). They even managed to temporarily obtain a forced closure of a recruitment office of the British Army and set up their own recruitment center in front of the building (see fig. 31). With this direct action, alongside with the annoying and disturbing of the office's usual practices, they managed to stop the recruitment of soldiers for the army, at least for a certain amount of time (Klepto 403-404). According to one of its founders (Jordan qtd. in Kapuy 63), the unique nature of CIRCA lies in the blending of art and political activism, while adhering to direct action and peaceful means. The Clown Army consists of activists disguised as clowns who try to confront authority during protests with clown-like behavior, like laughing, telling jokes, parodying and mocking. The clowns' garment includes camouflage clothes (which are frequently either too big or too small) decorated with colorful patches, sieves and buckets used as helmets, and of course painted faces and red noses. Moreover, they carry with them such unnecessary items like toilet brushes, feather dusters, squirt guns, sex toys like dildos, plastic sausages, and rubber ducks (Kapuy 64-66; 120-126). This is supposed to show and highlight the ludicrousness in case of a searching of the activists, since the police will publicly have to take away all the unnecessary and ridiculous items the clowns carry with them. At this point the absurd nature of the situation reaches its peak (Klepto 410). However, it has to be stated that not everyone involved in anti-globalization protest can identify with and approve of CIRCA. Some participants perceive(d) the clowns as annoying and exhibit(ed) angry reactions. Moreover, CIRCA's tactics can be questioned in terms of their seriousness (Routledge 444).

Through this kind of conduct and style of dress the activists try to mock and at the same time question structures of power and authority (Kapuy 89). Klepto (408) states that “wherever they go, [CIRCA is] spreading a spirit of creativity that dances on the edge of chaos and order”. Moreover, CIRCA wants to restore the disobedient nature of clowning, as well as the application of disruption, critique, and healing of society. The carnivalesque element in their cheerful kind of dissent also constitutes a crucial technique in the anti-globalization movement as a whole, since the carnivalesque makes fun of the daily occurrences of law and order. Countersummits themselves were often called “Carnivals against Capitalism”, as was already mentioned in section 3.3. (Klepto 407). Carnavalesque festivals as well as revolutions are perceived to having very similar agendas, which can be seen in the diverse range of tactics employed by anti-globalization activists and by the creation of at least temporary alternative worlds or temporary autonomous zones which abrogate hierarchical and authoritative structures, at least for a short time. These spaces furthermore constitute a counterworld to everyday life under capitalism, with work and consumption being two of the key aspects of this oppressing structure. Revolution is also not seen as one single desirable thing, but rather, isolated incidents of dissent and disobedient behavior are perceived as crucial since they manage to break and disrupt – at least for a few moments – the prevailing order.

Also the body is an important part in their disobedient techniques which in general is a crucial element in carnivalesque means of protest as well (Kapuy 84-89). This aspect can be seen in the emphasis on the body, which other groups like the White Overalls (section 5.4.) or even feminist groups (see pictures in section 3.2.) have in common with them. Moreover, the carnivalesque forms of protest in general provide a space for the (although temporary) breaching of rules and hierarchies, as well as the undermining and inversion of these. Carnival for the activists constitutes a factitious rebellion, but nonetheless a form of political defiance (St. John 174-175). This temporary character of the rebellion relates to the notion that revolution can take place in the here and now with victories and achievements on a small scale. Of course the temporary aspect represents a point of criticism, since one can argue that after the action is over, the normal way of the world is restored with law and

order, as well as the usual hierarchies and overall character of the “old system”, in its place.



Fig. 29. Rebel clowns mocking cops



Fig. 30. CIRCA clowns employing a tactic of confusion



Fig. 31. CIRCA activists in front of a recruitment office of the British Army

The underlying assumption of CIRCA is that “[n]othing undermines authority like holding it up to ridicule and one of the most efficient techniques of ridicule is mocking by imitation” (Klepto 404). A practical example of this type of behavior is when a police officer shouts at the crowd in a protest and tries to force them to obey, a clownbatant (as the members of CIRCA are sometimes referred to) very often reiterates the order in a ridiculing voice time and again, and thus undermines the authority of the law enforcement officer. The idea is that the police usually do not know how to handle such derisive conduct, since they are only trained to cope with violent protestors who attack them or destroy property. Hence the police can quite frequently do nothing but watch the jokesters in confusion (see fig. 30). This exemplifies one of CIRCA's key tactics: “divide and fool” in order to offer resistance to every kind of authority. Again, this provides a breeding ground for the critique of carnivalesque tactics since it is

argued that such conduct does not amount to much, and does certainly not cause changes in society. However, the actions of the clowns do still amount to something because it makes people think critically about the prevailing hierarchies, identify with the clowns' ideas, and act accordingly.

Thus CIRCA actually avoids confrontation, since it is perceived to be a vernacular that authorities know how to respond to, since it is their own. This means that police forces for instance know how to handle violent protestors because they are trained to do so. Even when clownbatants get arrested or are faced with repressive actions, they still stay in their clown character and try to bring the situation into derision by incorporating playful behavior (Klepto 405-410). This kind of conduct should not only bring fun and creativity into protest actions but also liberate the activists from everyday rules and constrictions (Routledge 440). As was mentioned before, it is questionable if playing games can really free people from their own and society's constraints, especially due to the temporary character of the action.

CIRCA's intention is to try to get the individual back to the core of radical politics and direct action. It tries to modify the forms of thinking as well as fighting and putting the psyche, the body and the street on the same level and trying to radically rearrange them. The mere replacement of societal power structures with new ones, while ignoring the need for change in oneself and one's own mind, will only reproduce the errors of "so many past revolutions" (Klepto and Evil 247). In order to sum up the most relevant characteristics of the rebel clowns, one among their ranks, Kolonel Klepto, states

Armed with courage, rebel clowns make war with love, feeling and acting at the same time. In an era of permanent capitalist accumulation and expansion what could be more spectacularly useless to the rational productivist spirit of capital than an army of clowns. In a time of permanent global war on terror, what could be more dangerous than gaggles of clown soldiers, armed with love and driven by courage (Klepto 409).

Impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on CIRCA

'We are you' the Mexican rebel Zapatistas declared and not so far away the rebel clown echoes a similar sentiment, 'I may be different – a poor scapegoat, a grotesque ludicrous caricature, an object of ridicule' s/he proclaims, staring deep into your eyes and smiling anonymously from

beneath layers of grease paint. 'BUT – you – are – me' (Klepto 411).

This quote by one of the founders of CIRCA, Kolonel Klepto, in a quite straightforward manner, states the impacts of the Zapatistas on the rebel clowns. These are first of all, the iconic impact of the Chiapas rebels and their subsequent inspiration for other groups and secondly, the application of almost the same rhetoric as the Zapatistas by proclaiming “we are you”. The exact wording used by them was

Behind our black mask,
Behind our armed voice,
Behind our unnameable name,
Behind us, who you see,
Behind us, we are you.
Behind we are the same simple and ordinary men and women, who are repeated in all races [...] (EZLN, Opening 111).

Another message from CIRCA in a very similar manner states

We are clandestine because we refuse the spectacle of celebrity and *we are everyone*. Because *without real names, faces or noses, we show that our words, dreams, and desires are more important than our biographies*. Because we reject the society of surveillance that watches, controls, spies upon, records and checks our every move. Because by hiding our identity we recover the power of our acts. Because with greasepaint *we give resistance a funny face and become visible once again* [emphasis added] (CIRCA 2012).

We can also compare it to the following section from the EZLN: “[t]he mountain told us to take up arms so we would have a voice. It told us to cover our faces so we would have a face. It told us to forget our names so we could be named” (EZLN, Opening 110). When looking at all these quotes, it becomes obvious that there are some overlaps between the two groups, especially in terms of rhetoric and wording, as well as ideas. This kind of rhetoric and wording serves primarily the function of universalizing the struggle against neoliberal globalization and capitalism and hence making it accessible to everyone. Connected to this observation is the intention of CIRCA to blur the distinction between culture and rebellion which helped the group to “engage and touch people who might otherwise not have got involved in radical resistance to the G8” (Klepto and Evil 252). Thus, like the Zapatistas, CIRCA tries to unite different kinds of people and activists in order to cooperate, and even manages

to involve people in the struggle who might not have participated without the presence of the rebel clowns. So in a way, CIRCA, like the Zapatistas before them, can also be seen to have sparked off new struggles through their emergence. In addition, the impact of direct action and taking matters in one's own hands, are also echoed in the ideas of the rebel clowns because, as Klepto and Evil (247) affirm "we want to be the change we want to see in the world". This slogan does of course not originate from the Zapatistas, but rather it is argued that Gandhi put it in a similar way. Nevertheless, through the inspiring example of the Zapatista uprising in combination with this phrase, we can at least allot the inspiration of actually trying to bring about change through direct action by making their concerns heard to the rebels in Chiapas.

Moreover, the wording of the quote at the beginning of this section implies the very important strategic and organizational method of horizontality, meaning that everyone involved in the group has a say concerning the various issues that are relevant to the participants. This horizontality, or in fact equality applies also to the organizing and coordinating activities of CIRCA (Kapuy 88). The Insurgent Clown Army as well, has a decentralized committee at its disposal with the purpose of making collective decisions via consensus, first in smaller groups called "clown gaggles" and then in a kind of general committee, which they call "clown council" (CIRCA 2012). Thus, in the Rebel Clown Army, as is the case with the Zapatistas (at least on the decision-making level), there are no leaders and followers in the strict sense, but everyone has a military rank and decision-making power (Kapuy 100-101). Moreover, in carnivalesque protests in general, hierarchical and authoritative structures, as well as the conception about expertise, are regarded as trivial and irrelevant, since according to them, everybody can be a professional or pundit because every human being is equipped with certain proficiencies and a certain competence (Kapuy 85). To be more precise, CIRCA's form of organization is based on small so-called "clown gaggles", in which everyone can contribute to the discussion of currently relevant issues. They seem to function in a very similar manner to the Zapatista community assemblies (CIRCA 2012). This particular form of decision-making process is also employed, as was mentioned earlier, in bigger groups. However, as it would be way too complicated to let every single person speak in a big assembly, the smaller affinity groups send a representative who

is supposed to contribute the smaller group's decisions and suggestions to the council. This organizational practice known as consensus democracy can once again be traced back to the Zapatistas, and is also used in a similar fashion in the Occupy movement, discussed in section 5.2. In the bigger meetings of CIRCA as well as the Occupy movement (for instance in their "General Assembly"), hand signals are used in order to make communication easier during these big meetings (Kapuy 111-113). This makes it easier for participants, for example, to agree with a proposal, without necessarily having to repeat the whole sentence or suggestion.

So once again the impact of consensual democratic values and organizational practices can be attributed to the Zapatistas. Additionally, the diversity of tactics, and at the same time the unification of struggles, which the Zapatistas promoted from very early on, applies to CIRCA since there are for instance groups that are primarily concerned with ecological issues. The rebel clowns themselves in this regard state

From across the country and abroad, rebel clowns converged, dressed in the most extraordinary costumes, all different and yet all united by the identity of the rebel clown. This sense of unity within diversity amongst the clowns was one of the most effective aspects of CIRCA (Klepto and Evil 252).

When compared to the following EZLN statement "we are all the same because we are different" (EZLN, Opening 114), one can see the resemblance of ideology, as well as the choice of words. Furthermore, the participation of CIRCA at the "Make Poverty History March" suggests a rather wide range of topics and causes the clowns are concerned with (Kapuy 72-73). In this regard, the following quote in a way implies the heterogeneous and practical approach of many rebel clowns "[...] the revolution is about a world where everyone discovers, you know?" (Jordan qtd. in Kapuy 63).

Concerning the rhetoric once more, in quite general terms, one can see a similarity in the choice of words in the writings of the Zapatistas as well as CIRCA. Klepto (409) writes

[w]hen the injustices of the system don't feel normal anymore [...] and inequality is no longer seen as inevitable. That is when we become active, that is the moment when we identify ourselves as 'activist' and start to disobey and rebel, dedicating our lives to struggle and creating a better world"

Two characteristics appear to be interlinked here with the Zapatista struggle, namely the fight against injustice and inequality, as well as the quite utopian mindset of trying to create a more just world. In turn, these concepts and ideas resonate with the slogan “another world is possible” which is a catchphrase for the alter-globalization movement in general. Additionally, the following passage also resembles the choice of words as well as the convictions of the indigenous rebels

By using popular forms of culture in public spaces we attempted to make our ideas and values visible, attractive, and hopefully irresistible! We felt that turning up in the middle of a city with free food, showing films and putting on performances that glorify civil disobedience, was a strategy that challenges a system which works so hard on demonising us and pushing us to the margins (Klepto and Evil 250).

This statement resonates with the Zapatistas' claim that they have taken up arms in order to make themselves heard (EZLN, Fundamental 1996). They furthermore employed the wording of marginalization on several occasions (see section 2.2.2.). Another instance of similarities in the wordings and ideas (concerning the involvement of basically everyone in their struggles as well as the creation of a new world) of the two groups constitutes the Zapatistas' catchphrase “creating a world in which many worlds fit”. This slogan is echoed by Kapuy's quote about the rebellious jokesters where he claims that “*We don't obey! We don't resist! We laugh and play! And by doing that we are creating a world with it's [sic] own meaning, where everyone is invited to join [author's emphasis]*” (Kapuy 130).

On a more obvious level, what the Zapatistas and CIRCA have in common, is the naming of their soldiers. CIRCA like the Zapatistas also employ military ranks, like major or colonel for instance. Moreover, among the members of CIRCA there even exists a Subcommandante Pozzo which is clearly an indication of the importance of the Zapatistas for the clown soldiers. One more reason for adopting a cover name, of course, is the protection or concealing of one's true identity, since remaining anonymous is a crucial aspect for anti-globalization activists, as well as for guerilla fighters. Another idea that CIRCA most likely adapted from the rebels in Mexico is the publication of communiqués, with the objective of getting people who are interested involved

in their cause, as well as providing some background information about the nature of the protest. One example for a communiqué from CIRCA is the promotion of “Operation Bush” where the clowns mobilized against former U.S. president Bush's visit to the UK (Kapuy 68-69). Even the idea of bringing the fun back into protests and revolutions in general, can be said to have been taken up again by the Zapatistas and hence influenced the rebellious jokesters of CIRCA in a certain way. The merging of fun with revolutionary thoughts is indeed nothing new because the famous quote “If I can't dance I don't want to be in your revolution” (Kates Shulman 1991), which is widely believed to have originated with anarchist thinker and activist Emma Goldman, captures this spirit in a similar way. Nonetheless, as was explained at the beginning of section 4, the Zapatistas have certainly played their part in making such thoughts, ideas, and even rhetoric and wordings accessible to the general public again.

In summary, it can be stated that the new and creative form of protest and the employment of “staging as an expression of political protest” (Kapuy 88), called “rebel clowning” by CIRCA, is shaped by many ideological as well as practical impacts. These came into existence – at least in this particular manner – because of the innovations of the EZLN. Some of the impacts include the way of organization, the horizontal relationships between activists, and the general ideological convictions inherited from the Zapatistas, such as the unification of struggles and tactics against neoliberalist/capitalist expansion, as well as the creation of “countercultural spaces” (Kapuy 133). In order to sum up the purpose of CIRCA in their own words, Klepto (407) asserts “CIRCA aims to make clowning dangerous again, to bring it back to the street, reclaim its disobedience and give it back the social function it once had: its ability to disrupt and heal society”. Nevertheless, romanticizing or overestimating the importance and efficiency of CIRCA is not recommended since rebel clowning, in a similar manner as the Zapatistas' efforts for unifying the struggle as well as their vague identity, represent rather symbolic practices and convictions (Routledge 448).

5.2. Occupy Wall Street and the Occupy movement

Formation and concerns

The beginning of Occupy Wall Street, or in general the Occupy movement goes back to a campaign by the anti-corporate magazine *Adbusters* where a notification for the occupation was first published (see fig. 32). At first, it seemed nobody really knew what was going to happen and it all looked unsure and vague. The only certainty was a meeting for a kind of “General Assembly” – a term which would later be a hallmark for the movement – which was published online.



Fig. 32: The original Adbusters campaign

However, after the very first meeting of a variety of different groups – among them many people who were in favor of a horizontal decision-making procedure – the whole movement started before its official appearance on September 17. The date was already chosen by the *Adbusters* campaign although no one from the magazine was present at the very first meeting on August 2, but they rather tried to spark off a reaction from the people themselves and consequently an initiative by the publishing of their initial idea. Some of the activists present started with the formation of small discussion groups in order to discuss what to do next and which demands they wanted to incorporate. The cornerstone for consensus-democratic decision-making processes was thus set. The Internet

played a crucial role right from the start since the activists present decided to stay in contact via an email list. Like in the case of the Zapatistas and consequently other networked actors, the Internet provided a crucial platform for the dissemination and the propagation of Occupy's concerns and demands. As Ronfeldt et al. (68) observe: "the new information and communications technologies help [groups] export a conflict to foreign venues and engage influential audiences there."

Concerning the name of the movement, Graeber himself came up with the idea of the famous Occupy slogan "we are the 99%" although he also states that it was nothing new but that a lot of people had this idea in their heads. A few days later, the first flyer was published which called for the first open "General Assembly". It also included the now famous "1% vs. 99%" rhetoric. The intention from the start was to form a new manifestation of direct democracy through the "General Assembly", although it was impossible at this moment to predict what will happen. When the day finally came and the "General Assembly" held its meeting, they decided to stay in Zuccotti Park – a park in the financial district of New York City – and occupy it as well as setting up their base camp there on a permanent scale (Graeber, Occupy 22-48).



Fig. 33. Occupy Wall Street base camp at Zuccotti Park



Fig. 34. Occupy protesters in London

The official definition of the Occupy movement is the following:

Occupy Wall Street is a people-powered movement that began on September 17, 2011 in Liberty Square in Manhattan's Financial District, and has spread to over 100 cities in the United States and actions in over 1,500 cities globally. #ows is fighting back against the corrosive power of major banks and multinational corporations over the democratic process, and the role of Wall Street in creating an economic collapse that has caused the greatest recession in generations. The movement is inspired

by popular uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, and aims to fight back against the richest 1% of people that are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future (Occupy Wall Street 2012).

During the first days and weeks of the occupation in Zuccotti Park (see fig. 33), people set up a whole community of its own with a library (see fig. 35), a kitchen, free medical care, and a group responsible for the livestream on the Internet, among other things.



Fig. 35. Library tent at Occupy Wall Street NYC

All in all, there were about 32 different groups and the “General Assembly” was in session every day. Through the help of the traditional media, as well as their own media presence, primarily on the Internet, the movement inspired similar occupations around the world within weeks. It seemed like the whole planet was waiting for a movement organized from below (Graeber, Occupy 53-58). As can be seen in the official Occupy statement, the issues the movement is caring about evolve around the “concerns of the working and middle classes about their economic future, challenges in access to economic opportunity, and the concentration of power among economic, financial, and political elites” (Roubini 151). In more concrete terms, some of the concerns bothering Occupy activists were the recent financial crisis, the bailout of the banks, and the indebtedness of so many employees and students. Generally speaking, people were losing their faith in the out-of-control (financial) system as a whole. Thus, like the Zapatistas, the Occupy activists were concerned with rising inequality on a worldwide scale. The reason and motivation for many of the occupiers was once again similar to the Zapatistas' reason for their rebellion, namely, they wanted to be heard and wanted more direct influence on their situation and in general have a say about issues concerning them (Hedges 169). This aspect of the

movement can be related to the theory of framing where activists try to get as much support from others as possible by the creation of so-called frames (Olesen 63-68). These frames can be seen as ideas and convictions, as well as common foes, which resonate with a broad range of activists. In the case of the Occupy movement, some of the unifying ideas would be the grievances against banks and corporations, the construction of a common identity (particularly observable in the phrases dealing with the 1 percent and 99 percent dichotomies), and the fight for a different world.

Most of the people who are involved in the Occupy movement demand the most basic rights and living standards for everyone. This fact can be seen in the postings of the people on the “We are the 99%” blog (<http://wearethe99percent.tumblr.com/>) – established even before the occupations – where many described their severe and desperate situation (Graeber, Occupy 70-76). Mostly due to the financial crisis starting in 2007, many people see themselves endangered of becoming destitute and thus solely aim for a more just world in order to be able to survive (Graeber, Occupy 76). Although the Occupy movement consists of such a diverse range of people coming from different backgrounds (among them also activists from the hacker collective Anonymous which will also be touched upon in the next section), they found a common ground, as well as a common enemy, namely the unbridled version of capitalism which “has put profits before people and left human values to be measured by price alone” (Barber 2011). This bringing together of people also stems from the use of new communication technologies, such as the Internet which tends to facilitate organizing, communicating and networking among activists, and helps in the formation of new solidarities for coming activities and struggles. This relates to the use of the Web by subcultural groups in order to broaden their reach and support (Kahn and Kellner 304).

Although, the activists of Occupy Wall Street were officially evicted from Zuccotti Park on November 15 (Wells and Walker 2011), after almost two months of occupation, the global significance of the movement has not completely ceased. This global uprising with its different predecessors, like the Arab spring, protests in Athens and Barcelona, and its contemporary uprisings which happened all over the globe since the occupation of the park in Manhattan, has changed many people's perceptions. Moreover, it posed a

threat to “every kind of existing power structures” (Graeber, Occupy 171) and still continues to do so. Concluding, one can say that, like the Zapatista uprising in Mexico, the Occupy movement and the organizing based around it has inspired and affected a wide range of activists, sympathizers, and also individuals in general. This is a remarkable achievement because, considering mainstream media coverage – especially at the beginning of the occupation – tried to discredit the movement and hence curb its influence. Additionally, the Occupy movement, again like the Zapatistas, has shown that a new form of politics, outside of traditional and mainstream parties and policies, is (still) possible. Their slogans and catchphrases, like “we are the 99%”, have played a significant role in the dissemination of their ideas and the movement as a whole. As of this day, it still remains to be seen how the future of Occupy will look like but “ [...] its rhetoric has the potential to continue to alter the discussion about redistribution and inequality” (Kuziemko and Norton 285).

Impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on the Occupy movement

To begin with, one of the most obvious impacts or influences of the Zapatistas on the Occupy movement, or at least some of the participating activists, lies in the style of their appearance. In concrete terms, many activists, especially members of the Anonymous hacker collective, and consequently many other people concerned with similar issues, have adopted the Guy Fawkes mask (particularly popular after the movie *V for Vendetta*) as their symbol of resistance. Members of the “hacktivist” group were present from the beginning of the occupation in Zuccotti Park and of course equipped with their trademark feature, the Guy Fawkes masks (Graeber, Occupy 162). In order to shed light on this apparent vacuous observation, it has to be stated that the masks, like the balaclavas of the Zapatistas, represent a kind of commonality symbol which draws together people from all aspects of life. Since they make people look similar and related to each other, the adoption of such an accessory – especially in the case of masks and balaclavas – is like a symbol for group affiliation. Moreover, as was stated before in section 4.3.1., the masking also serves the purpose of protecting one's true identity which is a very important feature, especially for such a group as Anonymous, because of their

involvement in many, at least officially declared, illegal activities. Nevertheless, the more important aspect of the masks for this project is that they – again like the ski-masks of the Zapatistas – connect likeminded people quite visibly, as well as forge a kind of common identity. This observation closely relates to Subcomandante Marcos' utterance about the faces behind the balaclavas of the Zapatistas, where he stated that “[b]ehind our black mask [...] we are you” (EZLN, Opening 111). Especially through the appropriation of the Guy Fawkes mask, which represents the adherence to anarchist tendencies due to its eponym, the political and ideological aspect of the adoption of such a symbolic feature is striking.



Fig. 36, 37 and 38. Anonymous activists and Guy Fawkes masks at Occupy Wall Street marches



Concerning the point made above, which in a way deals with the iconic impact of the Zapatista movement, it is interesting that right from the beginning of Occupy Wall Street, people with a tendency to adopt the outer appearance of the indigenous rebels were present. Graeber (Occupy 27-30) observes that during the very first meetings of the groups which would later become Occupy Wall Street, some showed their solidarity with the Zapatistas. In addition, a group of college students even sported clothes and accessories that originated with the army in the Lacandón jungle.

Another connection to the Zapatistas and the anti-globalization movement, is/was the presence of people who already were organizing or working for these movements and are now active in the Occupy campaign. Chris Hedges spoke to one person present at the Occupy protests, who was in solidarity with the rebels in Chiapas, and even worked with them for two months. This man (qtd. in Hedges 166) states:

What I saw in the Zapatistas was a people pushed to the brink of extinction and forgetting [...] Their phrases ring true: Liberty! Dignity! Democracy! Everything for Everyone! Nothing for Ourselves! The masks the Zapatistas wear check egos. People should be united in their facelessness. This prevents cults of personality.

Concerning the observation of the prevention of personality cults, the activist is certainly in the right with regard to the Occupy movement. Although, as was mentioned in section 4.3. about the iconic impact of the Zapatistas, and especially in the case of Subcomandante Marcos, opinions tend to differ. Although the Zapatistas are wearing masks, one cannot deny that there is a certain personality cult surrounding them, especially with regard to their most famous spokesperson. However, the interviewee captures a point made earlier, namely that of the unifying aspects that masks (the Guy Fawkes mask in this case) tend to have in the Occupy movement and the Anonymous collective.

However, what is perhaps more important is that the impacts of the Zapatistas are visible in the inspiration of other struggles and the dissemination of their ideology, as the Occupy movement. An activist in an interview observes

[...] the Zapatistas have sent out very clear and inspiring messages which people in the US have become aware of. The fact that these communities continue in struggle against the [capitalist] world is a source of strength, guidance and wisdom to those who are now mobilising in the United States (Marlina qtd. in Muñoz Ramírez, Occupy 2012).

Moreover, the definition of a common enemy, the refusal of mainstream politics and the rejection of “the system” in general can also be traced back to the inspiring example of the Zapatista rebellion. Mishra (197) concerning this comment states that the wrath of the people centers on a single thing, which is an economic system that is concerned primarily with creating personal affluence and disinterested in, or even opposed to, the common well-being, social justice,

and the preservation of the environment. These observations resonate with the theory of creating common injustice frames and a shared foe which aid in forging support and understanding for the movement, even among people who may otherwise not be supportive of Occupy, like many average citizens.

Moreover, the impact of direct action can once again be accredited to the Zapatistas, since they were one of the first new movements to inspire and spark off so many struggles and campaigns. The Occupy movement, like the Zapatistas, in turn has “[d]espite the lack of explicit demands, [...] 'reignited hope in the possibility of a free society,' in part by exemplifying, in the words of one participant, a new world that is 'participatory and democratic to the core'” (Miller 174). Thus, like the indigenous rebels before them, the Occupy movement has managed to inspire hope as well as utopian thinking about changing the world and making it a better place for everyone. Furthermore, Occupy Wall Street has adopted and made popular again direct action and grassroots organizing for many activists across the world (Graeber, Occupy 149).

Additionally – tying in with these ideological issues – the rhetoric of exclusion of the 99% majority in matters which affect their lives, resonates with the rebels from Chiapas. Hedges (167) observes: “The wider society creates a situation where people are excluded, people feel like they're not worth anything. They're not accepted.” These particular circumstances and wordings remind one of the situation of the Zapatistas since they also quite frequently speak of being excluded and marginalized. Moreover, even the now famous slogan “we are the 99%” alongside with the lumping together of more privileged and in general rich people under the banner of “the 1%”, can be seen as an appropriation of Zapatista-style rhetoric. An example of a similar kind of rhetoric and wording can be seen in these quotations from EZLN communiqués: “[...] we [...] who have no voice inside the palaces, we the foreigners in our own land, the ones completely dead, history's dispossessed [...] the true men and women ... the smallest of people [...]” (EZLN, Zapata 19).

In this paragraph above, like on many protest signs and in texts from Occupy, the “us vs. them” dichotomy shines through. Kuziemko and Norton (285) observe that the rhetoric of the Occupy movement separates society in two categories, the 1 percent on the top, and the 99 percent on the bottom of the

social and economic ladder. This kind of wording implicitly states that everyone who is not part of the wealthy 1 percent (“them”), is automatically confederate with “us”, the 99 percent. This is an effective technique for the Occupy movement, as well as it was for the Zapatistas, to rally support among likeminded people and also an easy and efficient way to call attention to their situation. The following phrase provides another example: “There is no place for us in the world of the powerful” (EZLN, Fourth Lacandon 88). Once again, there is a certain relatedness in the wordings of the two groups, since Occupy (and many on the left) also perceives the “1%” as the mighty and powerful elite dominating all others. One more similar locution is the following:

[...] simple and ordinary
men and women,
Who don't count,
Who aren't seen,
Who are nameless,
Who have no tomorrow (EZLN, Opening 112).

Especially the last phrase represents a contemporary problem which the Occupy movement also tried to address in their denunciation of the indebtedness of so many people, especially young ones.

Furthermore, the impacts of the Zapatistas, as well as other direct democratic and anarchist groups, are visible in the organizational practices of the Occupy movement. Right from the start, every activist present wanted the group to be based on consensus-democracy with the option of voting (Graeber, Occupy 31). Thus, they have adopted a form of decision-making process very similar to that of the EZLN where everyone has a say and people try to work towards a compromise, or “even better a creative synthesis which everyone can accept” (Graeber, Occupy 49). Hence, two different opinions or thoughts can arrive at something new, a whole new design that none of the participants has thought of before (Miller 177). The Occupy movement also employed the practice of forming smaller groups in order to reach a consensual solution, and then to discuss it in bigger environments and contexts, in their case, the “General Assembly” and then once again trying to reach general agreement. The smaller groups of Occupy Wall Street were called “working groups”. The New York “General Assembly”, the top level decision-making group, consisted of more than 40 at the time of writing of Graeber's book (Graeber, Occupy 139-

147). Beyond that, this kind of implementation of direct democracy in such a big group as the Occupy movement disproves the assumption that direct democratic decision-making structures, like the ones employed by the Zapatistas, do not work on a larger scale.

5.3. The WTO countersummit in Seattle 1999

Emergence and concerns

ON NOVEMBER 30, 1999, SOME 50,000 [author's emphasis] people converged on the rain-soaked streets of Seattle to protest the World Trade Organization (WTO). The organization's critics represented a wide range of public interest groups [...] Among the demonstrator's ranks were trade unionists, environmentalists, human rights activists, farmers, animal rights groups, priests and Buddhist monks, and longtime consumer advocates (Danaher and Mark 222).

The quote above sums up the most important particularities of the hallmark event per se for the alter-globalization movement, namely the infamous "Battle of Seattle". The WTO conference took place in Seattle during November 30 and December 3 where a breakup of the talks ensued, not only because of the demonstrations, but rather also because of disagreements between the participating nations. This was due to the fact that many poorer countries "felt excluded from the key decision-making bodies" (Kaldor 105). Nevertheless, the demonstrations outside of the conference rooms also did their bit in this breakdown of talks about a new circle of discussions concerned with the further liberalization of so-called free trade (Kaldor 105). Danaher and Mark (222) observe that "[...] protestors surpassed the expectations of even themselves and managed to physically shut down the WTO meeting [...]". This comment ensues from the fact that activists from a variety of NGOs, as well as individual participants, managed to prevent the delegates from entering the convention building by blocking streets and entrances to the site. They used all the means available to them in order to barricade the convention center and the hotels of the delegates, such as puppets, their own bodies, cars, dumpsters and the like. The activists even formed a human chain (see fig. 39) around the building where the conference took place. Already on the very first day of the

summit, the WTO had to postpone and then cancel the opening ceremonies which marked also the moment when a peaceful protest escalated and the police began attacking the mainly peaceful protesters.



Fig. 39. Activists forming a human chain in order to block delegates from entering the convention center



Fig. 40. Protesting crowd in Seattle

This violence ensuing in Seattle in 1999 is one of the things that people tend to associate with the anti-WTO protests. It most likely ensued due to police reactions to the Black Bloc's behavior which attacked storefronts from multinational corporations (see fig. 15 in section 3.3.) such as McDonald's, Starbucks, Levi's, Bank of America, and other transnationals. This destruction of private property was specifically targeted against institutions and corporations which are representative of the worldwide domination of global capital (CrimethInc. 10-12).

Despite all the violence in the streets of Seattle, the coming together of all the diverse groups and activists and hence their mutual encounter and recognition represents a landmark in the history of the anti-globalization movement. "Seeing each other there, we discovered that we were part of a worldwide movement. This infused us with an incredible momentum and sense of purpose: suddenly we knew we were going to change the world, and we had a model for how to do so" (CrimethInc. 2). In order to name a few examples of the different groups, unions and campaigns present at the protest, people from the Anti-Slavery Campaign, the Kenya National Farmers Union, the Georgian Environment and Biological Monitoring Association, the Sea Turtle Restoration Project, the World Rainforest Movement, and the AFL-CIO (the federation of labor) and many others were present (Kaldor 105). Moreover, the participants came from more than 100 different countries and due to their commitment and

endurance, despite severe police repressions, they managed to shape the discourse about the whole system of free flows of capital and hence the economic system in general. “The WTO was transformed in much of the public mind into a dangerously secretive institution that was elevating corporate interests at the expense of workers' livelihoods, environmental protection, human rights, and even democracy itself” (Danaher and Mark 222). All of the aforementioned observations once again relate to the quite successful concept of creating common frames which are basically ideas that serve as common denominators for the diversity of groups and networks active in a protest.

The employment of carnivalesque tactics was also an important characteristic of the “Battle of Seattle”. Carnival, by the protesters is/was seen as “political action, as festive celebration, as cathartic release, as wild abandonment of the status quo, as networking tool, as a way to create a new world” (Ainger et al. 180). Thus, once again the carnivalesque element is perceived to be important for many, since it allows for a temporary breaking of rules and order. However, as was mentioned with regard to CIRCA (section 5.1.), it is debatable if carnival in fact helps changing something in the world, or if it is just another form of staging creative and fun protests. Nevertheless, the inclusion of carnivalesque elements presents one crucial achievement, which is the raising of public awareness about the concerns and issues the particular manifestation is involved in (St. John 431). Furthermore, it is supposed to animate people to join the protest instead of being mere spectators (Ainger et al. 177).

In more concrete terms concerning Seattle, the activists achieved a shutdown of the opening as well as the closing ceremonies, hindered then president Clinton from speaking to the WTO representatives, and managed to alter the manner of press coverage from a primary condemnation of senseless destruction to a harsh critique of unnecessary law enforcement brutality. Additionally, the WTO talks had to be postponed and there was no concrete agenda for the next meetings (Cockburn and St. Clair 113). These are some of the reasons why it is often claimed that Seattle 1999 represents a decisive victory for the anti-globalization movement since it also, like the Zapatistas, infused people with the hope for a better world and that this world is possible.

However, Halliday (124) disagrees with the notion that the Seattle talks

collapsed because of the activists' efforts. Rather, he maintains that the talks broke down because of differences between the interests of the participating nations. Nevertheless, as was mentioned before, the manifestations were the “spectacular coming out party of a movement long in the making” (Danaher and Mark 223) and represented a more or less new approach to the public debate about financial capitalism.

Impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on the “Battle of Seattle”

Once again, like in the other examples, the impacts of the Zapatistas on the “Battle of Seattle” seem to be manifold and are sometimes hard to separate from each other since they tend to overlap to a certain extent. First of all, one of the most important impacts and influences the Zapatistas have had on many groups and organizations, and also on the activists in Seattle, is the use of direct or consensual democracy. Cockburn and St. Clair (36) assert that networks of demonstrators, at times even as many as hundred or more, were taking decisions of their next steps by the adherence to a very simple form of consensual democracy. In these meetings, the groups and activists organized non-violent protest practice, correspondence, and communal strategies through a horizontal procedure of making decisions (CrimethInc. 19). These observations once again, as is the case with the examples of CIRCA and Occupy, disprove the claim that consensus democracy would not work on a larger scale.

Moreover, the unification of struggles as well as the designation of a common enemy holds true for the “Battle of Seattle”. Capitalist expansion is seen as a common fiend because of its wide-reaching consequences of exploitation (of humans and environment) for a whole range of people from different walks of life. For instance, the coming together of such diverse groups as the Earth First! coalition and the steelworker's union during the protests is seen as an example for the unifying character of the struggle (Cockburn and St. Clair 8-9). Another – now popular and even iconic – example for this unity among different causes and concerns is the unusual confederacy between the labor union of the Teamsters and the activists concerned with the endangerment of sea-turtles. Additionally, people in Seattle, like the supporters and activists in

solidarity with the Zapatistas, try to see a certain connection between their particular concerns and issues. Thus the perceived diversity of the movement ensues (Robin 7-24). It is even necessary, in order to create an efficient instance of mass action, to get people with different notions and points of views to function together without obstructing each other's particularities (CrimethInc. 62). Here, the notion of constructing common frames in order to include a wide range of people is important again. In the case of the WTO protests, the injustice frames, or common enemies, are the WTO and transnational corporations in general.

In this regard however, it has to be mentioned that although many see this diversity of struggles as an advantage, there are critics, like Halliday (127) who maintain that this diverse range of issues and networks grouped together do not represent a unified struggle but rather a vague and superficial roundup of people and concerns. The same kind of criticism in this regard can also be made for the Zapatistas. On the other hand, it is argued that these kinds of group affiliations are even necessary since the problem, or the enemy that is corporate globalization, all of them are fighting against, is far too big to outfight all on your own.

Moreover, the insight that mass organizing and the employment of direct action in order to get one's message across and call attention to the issues and concerns of the activists (Robin 23), seems to be very similar to the Zapatista's reason for their uprising. The assumption is that high society will not listen to the demands and concerns of the general public, unless they are directly confronted with it. That was most likely the intention behind the organizing in Seattle in 1999, to get the message out to the elites, as well as to potential sympathizers of the movement. This claim resonates with Robin who asserts that "[...] we need to get out into the streets and make a lot of noise, for only disruption, militance, and illegal activity will bring attention to that power and force it to reckon with our claims" (Robin 7). Hence one of the reasons for how the "Battle of Seattle" turned out to look like, could be the inspirational and in a way successful example of the uprising in Chiapas, where it was argued that they had to rise up in order to be noticed by the world.

The Internet of course, like for many subcultural initiatives, also played an important role during the protests. It proofed to be useful for activists in order

to coordinate actions, as well as for publishing uncensored coverage of the situation on the streets. The organization of mass protests, like the one that happened in Seattle in 1999, constitutes a typical advantage that the World Wide Web has brought for subcultural political organizing. The dissemination of information is one of the key strategies that is pursued during these rallies (Kahn and Kellner 306).

On a more subtle and even personal level, the impact the Zapatistas had on some of the activists in Seattle, is the presence of their supporters during the protests (Robin 13). Another interesting side note is that one protester who was captured by the police and asked for his name said that he was called Emiliano Zapata. However insignificant for the outcomes of the protest in general, it proves that many people identify with the struggle that the Zapatistas promote and even incorporate their rhetoric and wordings in their own actions. This example furthermore relates to the iconic image and appeal of the Zapatistas for left-leaning audiences (see section 4.3.).

Moreover, the Zapatista insurrection seems to be related to the “Battle of Seattle” in terms of the participants in the confrontation. In both cases, the actors and networks of civil society were fighting against the proponents of the unregulated financial sector (CrimethInc. 55-57). This observation comes along with the ideological character that the rebellion in Chiapas seems to convey, as well as with the rhetorical uniqueness that the EZLN has displayed/displays. Additionally, it is once again, like in the case of Occupy Wall Street, a repetition of the very popular “us vs. them” rhetoric.

5.4. Tute Bianche - The White Overalls

Formation and function

The White Overalls (or Tute Bianche) was an Italian activist group that frequently appeared at protests and countersummits, such as anti-G8 meetings (for instance in Genova 2001), protests against the IMF and the World Bank (in Prague 2000), and similar events. They were one of the groups which claimed to be directly influenced by the struggle of the Zapatistas. They wore white clothes (hence their name) alongside with helmets, gas masks, padding, and shields which were converted garbage can lids, in order to be protected against attacks by the police during protests. (Olesen, *Zapatismo* 150; Ramírez Cuevas 2000). They were proponents of civil disobedience which they saw as a tactic of fighting, in contrary to traditional methods, and an exercise of their rights against the injustices of the “system”. With their kind of non-violent behavior they wanted everyone to see who started the violence since it did not originate from their ranks but rather was started by the police (Hernández Navarro 2001). Hobo, an activist closely linked to the White Overalls, states:

[w]e decided to send strong images and signals that left no doubts as to intentions. So we invented [...] systems of protective apparel, like plexiglass shields used tortoise-style, foam rubber 'armour', and inner-tube cordons to ward off police batons. All things that were visible and clearly for defensive purposes only. We wanted people to understand on which side lay reason, and who had started the violence. When we decide to disobey the rules of the bosses of neo-liberalism, we do it by putting our bodies on the line (Hobo qtd. in Wright 2000).

Moreover, “[a]ccording to the White Overalls, symbolically breaking through police lines is good for media coverage, showing at the same time the violent face of the system, the violence of its structure” (Della Porta et al. 135). This in turn was representative of the creativity of the activists in their application of “active civil disobedience” (Ramírez Cuevas 2000).

Their ideological convictions centered around the issues of anti-capitalism and anti-globalization. In particular, they were concerned with the outcomes of economic globalization, especially in poorer countries, where famine, destitution, and diseases posed grave problems for the population. In summary, the White Overalls maintained that they were a continuation of the struggle that began in Chiapas and Seattle. Furthermore, their objective was that people's rights should be placed over profits and regulations imposed by

financial institutions (Ramírez Cuevas 2000).



Fig. 41 and 42. The White Overalls (Tute Bianche)
at the G8 countersummit in Prague

Impacts and influences of the Zapatistas on the White Overalls

As was mentioned in the previous section, the White Overalls frequently and explicitly evoked a direct connection to the Zapatistas. Luca Casarini (qtd. in Hernández Navarro 2001), a spokesperson of the White Overalls, even claims that according to their own wishful thinking, they were born alongside the Zapatistas in 1994. However, he also adds that is not really accurate since they did not emerge before the encounters in Chiapas and Europe (see section 4.1.5.), held by the Zapatistas.

In terms of symbolic representation, the White Overalls have their own trademark, the white suit, which according to themselves resembles the iconic symbol of the Zapatistas, the balaclava (Hernández Navarro 2001). Additionally, in order to stress this connection to the rebels in Chiapas, the White Overalls explicitly called themselves “Italian Zapatistas”. Moreover, they not only tried to lay claim to these more symbolic connections, but rather also adopted the leaderless approach and the refusal to long for power from the Zapatistas and tried to put the lessons, words and practices originating from Chiapas into a new context and hence spreading these ideas (Ramírez Cuevas 2000).

Also the rhetorical aspect of the Zapatistas is reflected in the ideas and wordings of the White Overalls. They for instance propagated that they “made Prague the capital of alternatives to the prevailing model, of the demands for a different future, for a new world” (Ramírez Cuevas 2000). In a way this claim resonates with Marcos' (Today 100) phrase: “[w]e are here today with the most

modest of purposes: to make a new world.” Moreover, these examples represent the kind of optimistic, indeed even utopian and at times unrealistic thinking, that the Zapatistas have elicited in activists since their uprising, and which has achieved enormous resonance with activists worldwide. Another example of rhetorical affectation can be seen in the following quote: “[...] we are using our bodies and our words as weapons” (Casarini qtd. in Hernández Navarro 2001). This quite clearly echoes the famous Zapatista slogan “our words are our weapons.” Additionally, they have adopted the “command by obeying” idea and try to incorporate it in their meetings and discussions (Casarini qtd. in Hernández Navarro 2001).

In addition, the White Overalls adopted many of the ideological convictions from the Zapatistas which are reflected in their rhetoric. These include the Zapatistas' tenets of direct democratic practices and their concepts of dignity and humanity as generic values. In order to uphold these values, it was important for the White Overalls to bring the struggle against economic globalization to Europe. For them, the system of neoliberalism is the same in Europe as everywhere in the world, and therefore also the global players are the same: the transnational corporations, the IMF and the World Bank and the like. Hence the conclusion followed that the struggle they had to join was the same everywhere and there was no distinction for them between the different fronts in Chiapas, Seattle, or Prague (Hobo qtd. in Wright 2000). This adoption of Zapatista ideas and hence also the participation in the worldwide struggle against neoliberalism represents another impact stemming from the rebels in Chiapas. They were the ones who called for the unification of struggles and forging of networks against neoliberalism in the first place. The White Overalls were among many groups which adopted these convictions and suggestions. This unification of struggles and causes, as well as the designation of a common enemy, is quite visible in the White Overalls' agenda. Vilma, an activist (qtd. in Ramírez Cuevas 2000), asserts:

we have been carrying out actions to fight the effects of neoliberalism in our country, from closing the camps for undocumented migrants in Trieste, Milan and Bologna (to the shout of 'we are all immigrants'), to protests against transgenetic crops in Genoa and Venice, opposing the

destruction of the environment and the exploitation of women and men with work flexibility and unstable jobs.

At this point the criticism of the vagueness and the inability of the alter-globalization movement to foster change comes in. It is argued that due to the great diversity of the causes, concerns and tactics of the movement, it will not amount to anything because of a lack of concrete solutions and alternatives.

Notwithstanding the validity of this critique, the idea of solidarity with others also plays an important role in the organizing of the White Overalls. Of course this idea has existed before the Zapatistas and cannot be said to be a direct impact, but nevertheless, the indigenous rebels helped to shape the mode of thinking (at least in recent times) that many different concerns and causes can find a common denominator, and solidarity is one of the key tactics to achieve this networking of struggles. As one of the activists (in almost the same wording as the Zapatistas put it, including the “us vs. them” dichotomy) observes after the G8 countersummit in Prague:

The movements from across Europe finally found themselves together, visible and determinate against an economic globalisation that threatens to create a dual society [...] This begins to confirm the validity of a new way of finding ourselves side by side in the world's streets, confronting global problems (Hobo qtd. in Wright 2000).

6. Conclusion

We live in a society of growing social, financial, and cultural injustices in which a continually widening gap between rich and poor is developing, resulting in the decline of the middle classes. This issue, among others, is one of the reasons for the global mobilization of the Occupy movement and the favorable opinions people hold for it. As the tremendous backing (by ordinary citizens) of Occupy Wall Street's demands have shown, traditional and mainstream politics as well as the system of representative democracy seem to have failed the people. Thus, it is not surprising that the hopes are set in a change of the "system" and consequently in groups and movements, such as the Zapatistas and Occupy (despite their utopian thinking and aims), that promote such new approaches to solving the problems of today's society.

One of the most important actors in the mobilization against unfettered capitalism in the last two decades has been the Zapatista movement, operating out of Mexico. The ideas, convictions, ideologies, and practices it inspired and still inspires are manifold and have reached an international audience. Numerous groups and networks active in the anti-globalization movement have adopted and adapted this set of ideas. Some of them did so on purpose (e.g. the White Overalls), while others, such as the Occupy movement, embraced these influences in a less obvious manner. Influences and impacts, which are not explicitly claimed by the movements themselves, are of course debatable and can also be traced back to other origins. Nevertheless, the Zapatista movement seems to have had a tremendous impact on anti-globalization campaigning, as various new movements began to appear and take shape after the two encounters staged by the Zapatistas. Examples include the White Overalls, the World Social Forum, People's Global Action, and also the anti-globalization movement which only appeared after these encounters in its current form. However, one should be careful not to overstate the influences of the Zapatistas because, as some beg to differ, the anti-globalization movement would have formed regardless of the uprising in Chiapas predating it. The

vagueness and unfeasibility of the Zapatistas', as well as the anti-globalization movement's demands, additionally constitute a basis for debates as many of these aims have gone unmet, and hence many mobilizations seem to have been in vain. One could make the same point of criticism for the Occupy movement and its agenda. Nevertheless, all of the mentioned examples provide – if nothing else – a symbolical and ideological relevance and influence for others. A case in point constitutes the hope for a better world and the possible occurrence of revolution day by day through small acts and achievements. These can include the (temporary) creation of autonomous spaces outside of the control of the “system”, as well as boycotts, like the “Buy Nothing Day”. So rather than focusing on one big all-changing revolution, which can be a quite unrealistic undertaking as well as an exercise in waiting (since such changes take time), activists have come to the conclusion that even small-scale victories and impacts can bring about changes, or at least animate and influence like-minded people.

This project has tried to provide an overview of the Zapatista ideology and practice, and has demonstrated how some of the most significant and influential movements and approaches for global change have been influenced by them. Moreover, the aim was to show how these impacts and influences live on, inspire, and develop in the various movements and networks of resistance. With the help of theories originating with political science, like the creation of resistance networks and the concept of direct democracy, this project has tried to analyze the importance and the impacts of the Zapatista movement on anti-globalization and anti-capitalist marches and rallies. Additionally, theoretical debates in globalization and anti-globalization studies, with the concepts of solidarity, framing (that is to find common causes among diverse groups) and the employment of carnivalesque tactics in protest actions, have played an important part in situating the Zapatistas' impacts and influences on anti-globalization activities. The engagement with such theoretical approaches has aided in the identification and analysis of the Zapatistas and other anti-globalization efforts, as well as in the discussion about the possible links,

impacts, and influences between the different networks.

It remains to be seen, nevertheless, what kind of impacts new anti-corporate and global justice groups like the Occupy movement and similar efforts will bring about. However, they have already laid the (ideological) groundwork for the development of new ideas and alternatives and have shown that people can achieve something when they work together towards a common goal.

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Zusammenfassung

Die Gruppe der Zapatistas stellt in gewisser Hinsicht einen Meilenstein für die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung dar. Sowohl durch ihre Ideen und Weltanschauungen, als auch durch ihre basisdemokratische Praxis hat sie eine gewisse Vorbild- und Ikonenfunktion für viele Aktivisten.

Der erste Teil dieser Arbeit beschäftigt sich vorwiegend mit der Vorstellung und der Geschichte der Zapatistas, einer Rebellengruppe in Mexiko, die 1994 einen bewaffneten Aufstand gegen die Regierung und die Armee geführt haben. Es wird besonders auf die Gründe ihres Aufstandes, die Vorbedingungen, und die Formierung der EZLN (der Befreiungsarmee der Zapatistas) eingegangen. Mögliche Anhaltspunkte für ihren enormen Einfluss auf die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung werden ebenfalls bereits angeschnitten.

Der zweite Teil der Arbeit handelt von der Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung als Ganzes und stellt Taktiken, Ideologien, und Anliegen der gesamten Bewegung, als auch ihrer Splittergruppen vor. Darüber hinaus wird auch der Begriff Anti-Globalisierung selbst, speziell am Beginn des Kapitels, diskutiert. Am Schluss werden noch einige Beispiele für Manifestationen der Bewegung genannt, einschliesslich der Taktiken des Protests und der direkten Aktion.

Das letzte Kapitel befasst sich im Speziellen mit dem Thema der Einflüsse und Auswirkungen der Zapatistas auf die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung. Zuerst werden generelle Tendenzen festgestellt, sowie die Philosophie und der „neue“ Politikansatz von direkter Demokratie der Zapatistas, die Deklaration eines gemeinsamen Feindes (Neoliberalismus), ihre anti-autoritäre Führungsweise, als auch die Wichtigkeit von Solidaritätsaktivitäten. Diese Eigenschaften stellen bereits Auswirkungen auf die globalisierungskritische Bewegung als Ganzes dar, sind aber oft auch Ansatz für Kritikpunkte, da den Zapatistas als auch der Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung des öfteren vorgeworfen wird, zu allgemein und vage zu sein, um wirklich etwas bewirken zu können. Daher rührt der eher symbolische Aspekt der Zapatistas. Darüber hinaus wird der ikonische Gehalt der Zapatistas, und im speziellen von

ihrem Sprecher Subcomandante Marcos, besprochen, und auch ihre Überromantisierung erwähnt. Die Entwicklung des Internets während der Revolution von 1994 und seine Bedeutung für die Zapatista Solidaritätsbewegung, als auch in Folge für die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung, ist ebenfalls ein Thema in diesem Zusammenhang. Abschliessend werden die Einflüsse der Zapatistas auf die globalisierungskritische Bewegung anhand von spezifischen und ausgewählten Beispielen skizziert. Diese beinhalten die Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA), die Occupy Bewegung, die WTO Proteste in Seattle 1999, und die italienischen Tute Bianche.

Diese Arbeit soll aufzeigen, dass sehr viele Einflüsse – obwohl oft nicht eindeutig – auf Anti-Globalisierungsproteste, entweder von den Zapatistas selber inspiriert, oder von ihnen in gewisser Weise „wiedererweckt“ wurden. Dabei werden die beiden ersten Teile der Arbeit, welche die Zapatistas und die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung thematisieren, als theoretische Grundlage herangezogen.

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