



**The Bamako Appeal and
the Zapatista 6th Declaration**

**From Reorganizing
the Existing World
to Creating New Ones**

Kolya Abramsky



CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT
CACIM's Publications Programme

1

AUGUST 2008

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About the Paper

Between summer 2005 and winter 2006 emancipatory global movements produced two far reaching documents, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration. Unrecorded by the world's mainstream media, the documents aimed to raise hope in bleak times. Slowly and quietly they began to be translated into a wide range of languages, and have begun to circulate around the world. The documents are aimed at a wide global audience, striving to circulate as widely as possible in order to link those already in struggle with one another and to inspire new processes of resistance.

Struggles throughout the world have seen a remarkable development in the last nearly fifteen years, namely a great increase in global coordination and communication between them. Yet, as February 15th 2003 saw the world's biggest single day co-ordinations of grassroots anti-war protesting in history, as trade summits throughout the world cannot escape the virtually inevitable rioting and militarized policing, as the WTO and ALCA (FTAA) negotiations have been thrown into complete turmoil, and even as ever-more left wing governments sweep across Latin America, and the US Congress has shifted substantially towards Democrat control, the limits of popular protest nonetheless become ever more patent. The free trade summits continue, the occupation in Iraq continues, the "clash of civilizations" continues. The war drums on Iran continue. The dollar continues to slide. The price of oil and food continue to rise. The hands on the clock continue to tick, getting closer to no one knows what, but getting closer nonetheless.

Both documents attempt to find ways out of this impasse. Seeking to understand how local, national, regional and global structures and processes interact with one another, they call for confrontation with the existing capitalist world-order and its infatuation with militarism and violence. Both documents seek to provoke long term questions and paths of action, aimed at building viable and lasting alternatives to capitalism. However, despite their broad similarities, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration are also substantially different. They are premised on different understandings of the capitalist social relations that shape our lives, and consequently offer substantially different insights and suggestions to those trying to find their way towards collectively imagining and constructing more humane worlds than the one in which we currently live.

While both documents warrant serious discussion and analysis, the Zapatista document is arguably a more useful document than the Bamako Appeal in terms of its potential contribution to long term strategies and organisational efforts aimed at creating new and more emancipatory social relations based on simultaneous processes of confrontational resistance and self-organized social reconstruction. As such, the final section of the article explores which organisational process exist at the global level that may be able to support and facilitate the autonomous organisational dynamics that the Declaration itself generates at the global level.

Also See Critical Engagement, No. 3 by Kolya Abramasky on the process of Intergalactica

Contents

1. The Bamako Appeal	9
2. 6th Declaration of the Selva Lacandona	37
3. The Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration - From Reorganizing the Existing World to Creating New Ones	64

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Preface

Since this text was written, in early 2007 (which itself was a rewrite of something originally written in mid-2006), a number of important developments have occurred. Perhaps neither document discussed here, the Bamako Appeal or the Zapatista 6th Declaration are as "hot" as they were when I wrote the text. Both have moved somewhat to the background as events evolved around them. Given that both texts are about long term processes that cannot be built overnight, it is in fact fairly logical that their presence will at times be more visible and at times less. Nonetheless, both texts still are key documents coming out of different global processes of networking struggle and that's why they are also included here. I was asked if my article could be reprinted now at only very short notice. Ideally I would have liked to have updated my original article (an article which was very topical when I wrote it, but is, nonetheless, not an article I would have actually written in the current moment). Time constraints only allow me to write this brief paragraph. I hope that the three documents together will give you a perspective on the efforts at envisioning the forms and ideals for another world from two different ideological perspectives.

At a global level, a number of developments which were brewing at the time of writing this article, have now emerged in clearer form. Perhaps the most important of these are the world-wide financial and banking crisis, inflation in food and energy, provoking world-wide food and fuel riots, the changing electoral scene in the USA. All of this and other issues have profound implications for global networks of struggle and the construction of emancipatory alternative.

With regard to the Zapatista 6th Declaration, a number of important developments have occurred. On the international level, the high-speed international networking of 2006, (which saw three intercontinental Encuentros of the Zapatista Peoples and Peoples of the World (the last of which was a women's meeting) and the Encuentro of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas)¹ has slowed down, as the process enters its next phase. In the summer of 2007, just a few weeks before this paragraph is being written, an international caravan visited Zapatista communities in Mexico², especially in response to an intensified repression campaign that the Mexican government has been building, and continues to build, against the Zapatista movement and the Mexican-wide Other Campaign. In the same timeframe, a country-wide struggle against the privatization of Mexican oil is also intensifying³.

- *Kolya Abramsky August 22nd 2008*

¹ See <http://zeztainternacional.ezln.org.mx/> for information and footage of these encuentros.

² See <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/> for information and footage.

³ While I feel it is important to briefly mention these details, I would like to stress that this article deals with the international process the Zapatistas have launched with their 6th Declaration. It is not attempting to do any serious analysis of the internal political developments within Chiapas or Mexico. On the one hand, this is not the purpose of the article, and on the other, I am in no way qualified to write such an article, having spent only very little time in Mexico.

THE BAMAKO APPEAL

[As circulated on the NIGD listserv on February 7 2006, after receipt from Samir Amin, President of the World Forum on Alternatives. Samir Amin and the WFA were one of the organisers of the meeting in Bamako, Mali, on January 18 2006, the day before the start of the Bamako Social Forum, from which this Appeal was issued. We have made minor formatting changes and also corrections and adjustments to the numbering, in which there was an error. This document is available at http://www.openspaceforum.net/twiki/tiki-read_article.php?articleId=66.

I. INTRODUCTION

More than five years of worldwide gatherings of people and organizations who oppose neo-liberalism have provided an experience leading to the creation of a new collective conscience. The social forums -- world, thematic, continental or national -- and the Assembly of Social Movements have been the principal architects of this conscience. Meeting in Bamako on Jan. 18, 2006, on the eve of the opening of the Polycentric World Social Forum, the participants during this day dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Bandung Conference have expressed the need to define alternate goals of development, creating a balance of societies, abolishing exploitation by class, gender, race and caste, and marking the route to a new relation of forces between North and South.

The Bamako Appeal aims at contributing to the emergence of a new popular and historical subject, and at consolidating the gains made at these meetings. It seeks to advance the principle of the right to an equitable existence for everyone; to affirm a collective life of peace, justice and diversity; and to promote the means to reach these goals at the local level and for all of humanity.

In order that an historical subject come into existence - one that is diverse, multipolar and from the people - it is necessary to define and promote alternatives capable of mobilizing social and political forces. The goal is a radical transformation of the capitalist system. The destruction of the planet and of millions of human beings, the individualist and consumerist

culture that accompanies and nourishes this system, along with its imposition by imperialist powers are no longer tolerable, since what is at stake is the existence of humanity itself. Alternatives to the wastefulness and destructiveness of capitalism draw their strength from a long tradition of popular resistance that also embraces all of the short steps forward indispensable to the daily life of the system's victims.

The Bamako Appeal, built around the broad themes discussed in subcommittees, expresses the commitment to:

(i) Construct an internationalism joining the peoples of the South and the North who suffer the ravages engendered by the dictatorship of financial markets and by the uncontrolled global deployment of the transnational firms;

(ii) Construct the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas confronted with challenges of development in the 21st century;

(iii) Construct a political, economic and cultural consensus that is an alternative to militarized and neo-liberal globalization and to the hegemony of the United States and its allies.

II. THE PRINCIPLES

1. Construct a world founded on the solidarity of human beings and peoples

Our epoch is dominated by the imposition of competition among workers, nations and peoples. However, historically the principle of solidarity has played a role much more conducive to the efficient organization of intellectual and material production. We want to give to this principle of solidarity the place it deserves and diminish the role of competition.

2. Construct a world founded on the full affirmation of citizenship and equality of the sexes

The politically active citizen must ultimately become responsible for the management of all the aspects of social, political, economic and cultural

life. This is the condition for an authentic affirmation of democracy. Without this, the human being is reduced by the laws imposed on him or her to a mere provider of labor power, an impotent spectator confronted with decisions handed down by those in charge, a consumer propelled toward the worst waste. The affirmation, in law and in deed, of the absolute equality of sexes is an integral part of authentic democracy. One of the conditions of this democracy is the eradication of all forms of the patriarchy, either admitted or hidden.

3. Construct a universal civilization offering in all areas the full potential of creative development to all its diverse members

For neo-liberalism, the affirmation of the individual - not that of the politically active citizen - allows the spread of the best human qualities. The capitalist system's unbearable isolation, imposed on the individual, produces its own illusory antidote: imprisonment in the ghettos of alleged common identities, most often those of a para-ethnic and or para-religious type. We want to construct a universal civilization that looks to the future without nostalgia; one in which the political diversity of citizens and cultural and political differences of nations and peoples become the means of reinforcing individual creative development.

4. Construct socialization through democracy

Neo-liberal policies aim to impose as the sole method of socialization the force of the market, whose destructive impact on the majority of human beings no longer needs to be demonstrated. The world we want conceives sociability as the principle product of a democratization without boundaries. In this framework, in which the market has a place but not the predominant place, economy and finance should be put at the service of a societal program; they should not be subordinated to the imperatives of dominant capital that favor the private interests of a tiny majority. The radical democracy that we want to promote re-establishes the creative force of political innovation as a fundamental human attribute. It bases social life on the production and reproduction of an inexhaustible diversity, and not on a manipulated consensus that eliminates all meaningful discussions and leaves dissidents weakened and trapped in ghettos.

5. Construct a world founded on the recognition of the non-market-driven law of nature and of the resources of the planet and of its agricultural soil

The capitalist neo-liberal model aims at submitting all aspects of social life, almost without exception, to the status of a commodity. The process of privatization and marketization to the ultimate degree brings with it devastating results on a scale without precedent in human history: the threat to the fundamental biogeochemical processes of the planet; destruction of biodiversity through the undermining of ecosystems, the waste of vital resources (oil and water in particular); the annihilation of peasant societies threatened by massive expulsion from their land. All these areas of society-nature metabolism must be managed as the common wealth and in accordance with the basic needs of all of humanity. In these areas, the decisions must be based not on the market but on the political powers of nations and peoples.

6. Construct a world founded on the recognition of the non-market-driven status of cultural products and scientific acquisitions, of education and of health care

Neo-liberal policies lead to turning cultural products into commodities and to the privatization of the most important social services, notably those of health and education. This option is accompanied by the mass production of low quality para-cultural products, the submission of research to the exclusive priority of short-term profits, the degradation of education and health care for the poorest sectors of the people, including even their exclusion. The reinstatement and expansion of these public services should reinforce the satisfaction of needs and rights essential to education, health care and providing food.

7. Promote policies that closely associate democracy without pre-assigned limits, with social progress and the affirmation of autonomy of nations and peoples

Neo-liberal policies deny the preconditions of social progress - that some claim are a spontaneous product of the market - preconditions such as the autonomy of nations and peoples, necessary to the correction of inequalities. Under the regime of market hegemony, democracy is emptied of all effective content, made vulnerable and compromised in the extreme.

To affirm an authentic democracy demands giving to social progress its determining place in the management of all aspects of social, political, economic and cultural life. The diversity of nations and of peoples produced by history, in all its positive aspects along with the inequalities that accompany them, demands the affirmation of autonomy of peoples and nations. There does not exist a unique universal recipe in the political or economic spheres that would permit any bypassing of this autonomy. The task of building equality necessarily requires a diversity of means to carry it out.

8. Affirm the solidarity of the people of the North and the South in the construction of an internationalism on an anti-imperialist basis

The solidarity of all the peoples - of the North and of the South - in the construction of a universal civilization cannot be founded on the illusory notion that it is possible simply to ignore the conflicts of interest that separate different classes and nations that make up the real world. Such genuine solidarity must necessarily transcend the antagonisms inherent to capitalism and imperialism. The regional organizations behind the alternative globalization movement must seek to strengthen the autonomy and the solidarity of nations and of peoples on the five continents. This perspective is in contradiction to that of the present dominant model of regionalization, conceived as consisting of mere building blocks of neo-liberal globalization. Fifty years after Bandung, the Bamako Appeal calls for a Bandung of the peoples of the South, victims of really existing capitalism, and the rebuilding of a peoples' front of the South able to hold in check both the imperialism of the dominant economic powers and U.S. military hegemony. Such an anti-imperialist front would not oppose the peoples of the South to those of the North. On the contrary, it would constitute the basis of a global internationalism associating them all together in the building of a common civilization in its diversity.

III. LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES AND PROPOSALS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

In order to progress from a collective conscience to the building of collective, popular, plural and multipolar actors, it has always been necessary to identify precise themes to formulate strategies and concrete proposals. The themes of the Bamako Appeal deal with the following 10 fields, including both long- term goals and proposals for immediate action: the political organization of globalization; the economic organization of the world system; the future of peasant societies; the building of a workers' united front; regionalization for the benefit of the peoples; the democratic management of the societies; gender equality; the sustainable management of the resources of the planet; the democratic management of the media and the cultural diversity; democratization of international organizations.

The Bamako Appeal is an invitation to all the organizations of struggle representative of the vast majorities that comprise the working classes of the globe, to all those excluded from the neoliberal capitalist system, and to all people and political forces who support these principles-- to work together in order to put into effect the new collective conscience, as an alternative to the present system of inequality and destruction.

PROPOSALS OF THE BAMAKO APPEAL

Only by building synergies and solidarity beyond geographical and regional borders is it possible to find methods of action that can lead to real alternatives in this globalized world. Working groups will continue during the year to inquire further into and concretize the topics addressed below, to prepare for the next meeting and to propose strategic priorities for action.

1. For a multipolar world system founded on peace, LAW and negotiation

In order to imagine an authentic multipolar world system which rejects the control of planet by the United States of America and guarantees the whole gamut of rights for politically active citizens, allowing the people to control their destinies, it is necessary:

1) to reinforce the movement protesting against war and military occupations, as well as solidarity with the people engaged in resistance in the hot spots of the planet. In this respect, it is crucial that the world demonstration against the war in Iraq and the military presence in Afghanistan envisaged for March 18 and 19, 2006, coincide with:

- calls for the prohibition of the use and the manufacture of nuclear weapons and destruction of all the existing arsenals;
- calls to dismantle all the military bases outside of national territory, in particular the base in Guantánamo [U.S.-occupied Cuba];
- calls for the immediate closing of all the CIA-run prisons.

2) to reject any interventions by NATO outside Europe and to require that the European partners dissociate from themselves from U.S. "preventive" wars, while engaging in a campaign intended to dissolve NATO.

3) to reaffirm solidarity with the people of Palestine, who symbolize resistance to world apartheid, as expressed by the wall establishing the divide between "civilization" and "barbarism." For this purpose, to give priority to reinforcing the campaigns that demand the demolition of the wall of shame and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories.

4) to widen the solidarity campaigns with Venezuela and Bolivia, since these are places where people are building new alternatives to neoliberalism and crafting Latin-American integration;

Besides these campaigns, it would also be advisable to:

- set up of a network of researchers, working in close connection with associations of militants acting at the local level, to build extensive and up-to-date data bases concerning U.S. and NATO military bases. Precise information on these military and strategic questions would make it possible to increase the effectiveness of the campaigns carried out to dismantle them;

- create of an observer group, an "Imperialism Watch," which would not only denounce wars and war propaganda, but also expose all operations and pressures, economic and other, exerted on the peoples of the world;
- create a worldwide anti-imperialist network that could coordinate a variety of mobilizations throughout the planet.

2. FOR an economic Reorganization of the GLOBAL system

With the goal of developing an action strategy for transforming the global economic system, it is necessary:

1) to reinforce the protest campaigns against the current rules of operation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and to define alternative rules (for the removal of the WTO from agriculture, services, intellectual property...) ;

2) to create working groups, which build relations with existing social associations and movements that have already undertaken this work over an extended period, to establish, in the most serious and exhaustive manner possible, an inventory of proposals for alternative measures in the most fundamental economic areas:

- the organization of the transfer of capital and technology;
- the proposal for regulations ("codes of investments" for example) specifying the rights of nations and workers;
- the organization of the monetary system: control of the flow of capital (in particular speculative capital), suppression of tax havens, construction of regional systems of management of the stock exchanges and their connection to a renovated world system (calling in question the role of the IMF and the World Bank, returning to the principle of the rule of national laws to define the local economic system, overcoming the obstacles imposed by the unnegotiated decisions of international organization, etc.) ;
- the development of a true legislation concerning foreign debts (requiring that national states provide audits allowing people to identify illegitimate debts) and the reinforcement of the mobilization, in the very short term,

for the cancellation of Third World debt;

- the reform of social services and their financing, including education, health, research, retirements...

3) to create groups of expert researchers who can follow the evolutions of the movements of capital and mechanisms of dependence of national financial capital on international financial capital;

4) to create working groups, with Internet site and newsgroups, by country and area, for the study of the structures of capitalist property, and the mechanisms by which capitalism operates in each country and its relationship with the international financial system;

5) to create places to educate journalists and inform them about the complex mechanisms of neoliberal globalization.

6) to establish contacts, in the form of connected Internet sites, between various associations of economists progressives and militants engaged in the search for alternatives to neoliberal globalization in each world region (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, Europe, North America).

3. FOR REGIONALIZATIONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE AND WHICH REINFORCE THE SOUTH IN GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS

Starting from the assumption that free trade, while supporting strongest countries and transnational monopolies, is the enemy of genuine regional integration and that the latter cannot be carried out according to the rules of free trade, it is necessary to create the conditions for an alternative means of co-operation within each great area, like for example a revival of the Tricontinental, always in close connection with the action of the social movements.

- In Latin America, confronting the aggression of the multinationals, the workers have proposed the demand for regional integration from a new point of view, based on cooperative advantages, instead of on comparative advantages. Such is the case of the alternative experiments of co-operation in the South regarding oil (Petrocaribe), reduction of the debt (repurchase of debts between countries of the South) or of education

and health (Cuban doctors), for example. In fact, this co-operation that is meant to support the growth and solidarity of all countries must be based on political principle and not on the rules imposed by the WTO.

- In Africa, hopes for unity is very strong, as is the consciousness that resistance and development are impossible while countries are isolated and confronted with pressures from neoliberal globalization. The many institutions of integration, however, are ineffective there, and the most active are those inherited from the periods of colonization and apartheid. The African Union and its economic and social program (NEPAD) do not include any idea of collective resistance. It is in this context that civil societies must become aware of the need to overcome their divisions.

For the North-African countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, the Euro-Mediterranean Accords constitute an additional example of regionalization carried out to impose dependency on the South.

- In Asia, to confront neoliberal globalization, despite the difficulties, popular initiatives to carry out another type of regional integration have succeeded in beginning to join together a number of civil society organizations and NGOs in the majority of the countries, leading in particular to the development of a popular charter aiming to reinforce co-operation in trade.

Consequently, it seems appropriate to recommend, besides an intensification of the campaigns against wars and the threats of wars, the following proposals:

- 1) for Latin America: to widen the support campaigns to the ALBA, definitively to make sure the U.S. strategy of ALCA fails; to promote independence and the development in justice and equity among peoples and to integrate based on co-operation and solidarity and with the ability to adapt to specific needs of these two latter characteristics; to mobilize the social movements so as to broaden and deepen the processes of alternative integration, such as with Petrocaribe or Telesur; to promote trade in the context of a logic of cooperation; and to strengthen the coordination of social and political action organizations to implement these recommendations.

- 2) for Africa: to sensitize the movements of civil society to the need to

formulate alternative proposals for African initiatives; to take into account the need for coordinating actions undertaken on regional and national levels; to launch campaigns for peace to put an end to the existing conflicts or to prevent the risks of new conflicts; to depart designs of integration founded on race or culture.

3) for Asia: to thwart the expansion and the competition of capital among countries and to reinforce solidarity between working classes of the various countries; to promote the local circuit between production and consumption; to promote sciences for rural reconstruction.

To be effective, co-operation among countries of the South must express solidarity with the peoples and governments that resist neoliberalism and seek alternatives from the point of view of a multipolar world system.

4. FOR the DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF the PLANET'S Natural resources

The concept of "natural resources" must be subordinated to that of sustainability, and thus of the right to a decent life for both present and future generations, with the goal of stopping the devastation and plunder of the planet. What is involved here is a vital principle and not a simple management of natural resources. These resources cannot be used beyond their renewal or replacement capacity, and should be employed in accordance with the needs of each country. Criteria for their use must be defined so as to guarantee genuine sustainable development, which means preserving biodiversity and intact ecosystems. It is also necessary to encourage the development of substitutes for non-renewable resources. The commodification of life results in wars over oil, water, and other essential resources. Agribusiness gives the advantage to the culture of exploitation and profits over the culture of ecological sustainability (and the meeting of subsistence needs). It imposes technical methods which produce dependency and destruction of the environment (contracts of exploitation to impose certain material methods of production: , machinery, chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and imperial seeds-- along with GMO).

Concretely, two levels of actions on the environment must be combined: micro and macro. At the macro level, which relates to the national governments, it would be desirable that an interstate framework of

multilateral dialog should have the ability to put political pressure on the national governments to take global measures. The micro level concerns local or regional actions, where civil society has an important role to play, in particular to disseminate information and to change practices in order to save resources and protect the environment. The local level must be at all times be reinforced, as decisions are too often considered only at the macro level.

The following actions could result from this:

- 1) to constitute an international court charged with considering ecological crimes: the countries of North and their local clients could then be sentenced to pay reparations to the countries of the South (ecological debts);
- 2) to disallow as illegal contracts that force farmers to be dependent on the suppliers of seeds, a situation that leads to technological slavery and the destruction of biodiversity;
- 3) to abolish "pollution rights" and their sale and purchase and to oblige the rich countries to decrease their production rate of carbon dioxide (now 5.6 tons per person per year in the United States) to allow the poor countries (now 0.7 tons per person per year for the non-G8 countries) to industrialize;
- 4) to prohibit the buildings of dams (insofar as they are really necessary) without compensation for the displaced populations (economic refugees);
- 5) to protect the living and genetic resources from being patented by the North, which impoverishes the countries of the South. This process constitutes a colonial-type theft;
- 6) to fight against the privatization of the water, which the World Bank promotes, even in the form of private-public partnership (PPP) and to guarantee a minimum quantity of water per person while respecting the rhythm of renewal of ground water;
- 7) to create a group to Observe the Environment (Ecology Watch) prepared to denounce and respond to those actions characterized as aggression against the environment.

5. FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR PEASANT FARMERS

In the domain of peasant agriculture, there are initially medium and long-term objectives related to food sovereignty, which are simultaneously at the national, international, multilateral (that of the WTO) and bilateral levels (Economic Partnership Agreements [EPA], negotiated between the African, Caribbean and Pacific [ACP] countries and the European Union). Then, at the national level, this also involves agricultural pricing and marketing policy (more than structural policy)-- the access of the farmers to the means of production and first of all, the land. In the very short term, in 2006, what is necessary is preventing the completion of the Doha Round, and the refusal to conclude the EPAs. For this purpose, the proposals here relate to two axes: the means to achieve food sovereignty in the medium term, and as a precondition imposing a setback on the Doha Round and EPAs.

1) Proposals to assure food sovereignty:

Food sovereignty involves granting to each national state (or group of states) the right to define its internal agricultural policy and the type of connection it wishes to have with the world market, along with the right to protect itself effectively from imports and to subsidize its farmers -- with the proviso that it is prohibited from exporting agricultural produce at a price lower than the average total production cost excluding direct or indirect subsidies (upstream or downstream). Food sovereignty is the lever that makes it possible for all countries to regain their national sovereignty in all areas. It is also a tool to promote democracy since it requires the participation of all the various forces in agro-alimentary production in defining its objectives and means, starting with the family farmers. It thus implies regulatory action on the national, sub-regional and international levels.

- At the national level:

The national states must guarantee access of the peasant producers to the productive resources, and first of all to the land. It is necessary to stop promoting agribusiness and the monopolization of the land by the national bourgeoisie (including government officials) and transnational firms to the detriment of the peasant producers. That implies facilitating investments in family farms and improving the local products to make

them attractive to consumers. Access to land for all the peasants of the world must be recognized as a basic right. Implementing this right requires adequate reforms of the land systems and sometimes agrarian reform.

To share the objective of food sovereignty with the urban consumers - an essential condition to have the governments participate - three types of actions should be carried out:

- restrict actions of the merchants that penalize the farmers and consumers.
- hold public awareness campaigns for consumers regarding the immense harm done to agriculture and to the economy as a whole by dependence on imported products, which are virtually the only products sold, for example, in the supermarkets of West Africa.
- gradually raise farm prices by promoting the right to import, but only in such a way as to avoid penalizing consumers with very limited purchasing power. This must be accompanied by the distribution of coupons to the poorer consumers that allows them to purchase local foodstuffs at the old price, similar to what is done the United States, India and Brazil--while awaiting an increase in productivity of the farmers to cause a drop in their unit production costs, enabling them to lower their selling prices to the consumers.

- At the sub-regional level:

So that the national states can recover their full sovereignty, and first of all their food sovereignty, regional political integration is unavoidable for the small countries of the South. For this purpose, it is necessary to reform the current regional institutions, in particular, in Africa, the West African Economic and Monetary Union and the Economic Community of West African States (UEMOA and CEDEAO in their French initials, resp.), which are much too dependent on the various mega-powers.

- At the international level:

To pressure the United Nations to recognize food sovereignty as a basic right of national states, one essential to implement the right to food as defined in the Universal Declaration of Humans Rights of 1948 and the

International Treaty of 1996 relating to economic, social and cultural rights. At this level, four regulatory instruments of international agricultural trade should be established to make food sovereignty effective:

- an effective protection against irresponsible, socially destructive imports, i.e., one founded on variable deductions that can guarantee a high-enough fixed entrance price to assure a minimum domestic farm prices adequate to secure farmers' investments and banks' loans; customs duties alone are insufficiently protective with regard to strongly fluctuating world prices, a fluctuation worsened by that of fluctuating exchange rates.
- the elimination of all forms of dumping, by prohibiting any export priced below the total average production cost of the exporting country, excluding direct or indirect subsidies.
- set the mechanisms of international coordination of price controls, so as to avoid structural overproduction and to minimize conjunctural overproduction that collapses farm prices.
- the need to get agriculture away from WTO control by entrusting the international regulation of agricultural trade to an institution of the United Nations, possibly the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). In particular, by reforming its organization on the tripartite model of International Labor Organization (ILO), which would associate to this regulation the representatives of agricultural trade unions (International Federation of Agricultural Producers and Via Campesina) beside representatives of the agro-alimentary firms (which act already in the shadows on the governments negotiating with the WTO) and of the national states.

2) Short-term proposals to prevent the Doha Round and the Economic Partnership Agreement:

A major lesson of the ministerial Conference of the WTO in Hong Kong is that the governments of Brazil and India, and with them G-20, abandoned the interests of the populations of the Third World and appeared the most determined promoters of neo-liberal globalization. Since the Doha Round is a "total package" (individual undertaking), there is a way to cause its failure. International civil society, and first of all the country-wide organizations of North and the South, will be able in a media campaign to show that these subsidies (particularly of the "green box"), are an

instrument of dumping much more significant than the explicit subsidies for exports, and they will be still more significant starting in 2014 when the export subsidies are eliminated.

6. TO BUILD A WORKERS' UNITED FRONT

Two of the principal weapons in the hands of workers are the right to vote and the right to form trade unions. Up to now democracy and trade unions were built mainly within the national states. Now, however, neo-liberal globalization has challenged the workers the world over, and globalized capitalism cannot be confronted at the national level alone. Today, the task is twofold: to strengthen organizing on a national level and simultaneously globalize democracy and reorganize a worldwide working class.

Mass unemployment and the increasing proportion of informal work arrangements are other imperative reasons to reconsider the existing organizations of the laboring classes. A world strategy for labor must consider not only the situation of workers who work under stable contracts. Employment out of the formal sectors now involves an increasing portion of workers, even in the industrialized countries. In the majority of the countries of the South, the workers of the informal sector - temporary labor, informal labor, the self-employed, the unemployed, street salespeople, those who sell their own services - together form the majority of the laboring classes. These groups of informal workers are growing in the majority of the countries of the South because of high unemployment and a two-sided process: on the one hand, the decreasing availability of guaranteed employment and increased informal employment, and on the other hand, the continuous migration from the rural areas to the towns. The most important task will be for workers outside the formal sector to organize themselves and for the traditional trade unions to open up in order to carry out common actions.

The traditional trade unions have had problems responding to this challenge. Not all the organizations of the workers--except in the formal sectors--will necessarily be trade unions or similar organizations and the traditional trade unions will also have to change. New perspectives for organizing together, based on horizontal bonds and mutual respect, must develop between the traditional trade unions and the new social

movements. For this purpose, the following proposals are submitted for consideration:

1. An opening of the trade unions towards collaboration with the other social movements without trying to subordinate them to the traditional trade-union structure or a specific political party.
2. The constitution of effectively transnational trade-union structures in order to confront transnational employers. These trade-union structures should have a capacity to negotiate and at the same time have a mandate to organize common actions beyond national borders. For this purpose, an important step would be to organize strong trade-union structures within transnational corporations. These corporations have a complex network of production and are often very sensitive to any rupture in the chains of production and distribution, that is, they are vulnerable. Some successes in the struggles against the transnational corporations could have a real impact on the world balance of power between capital and labor.
3. Technological development and structural change are necessary to improve living conditions and eradicate poverty, but the relocations of production are not carried out today in the interest of the workers; instead, they are exclusively profit-driven. It is necessary to promote a gradual improvement of the wages and working conditions, to expand local production along with local demand and a system of negotiation to carry out relocation in other ways than simply following the logic of profit and free trade. These relocations could fit under transnational negotiation in order to prevent workers of the various countries from being forced to enter in competition with each other in a relentless battle.
4. To consider the rights of migrant worker as a basic concern for the trade unions by ensuring that solidarity among workers is not dependent on their national origin. Indeed, segregation and discrimination on ethnic or other bases are threats to working-class solidarity.
5. To take care so that the future transnational organization of the laboring class is not conceived as a unique, hierarchical and pyramidal structure, but as a variety of various types of organizations, with a network-like structure with many horizontal bonds.

6. To promote a labor front in reorganized structures that also include workers outside the formal sector throughout the world, capable of taking effective coordinated actions to confront globalized capitalism.

Only such a renewed movement of workers, worldwide, inclusive and acting together with other social movements will be able to transform the present world and to create a world order founded on solidarity rather than on competition.

7. FOR A DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIETIES AS A NECESSARY STEP TO FULL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Progressive forces must re-appropriate the concept of democracy, because an alternative, socialist society must be fully democratic. Democracy does not come from on high. It is a process of cultural transformation, because people change through their practice. It is thus essential that activists in popular movements and in left or progressive governments understand that it is necessary to create spaces for real participation both in workplaces and in neighborhoods. Without the transformation of people into protagonists of their history, the problems of the people -- health, food, education, housing... -- cannot be solved. The lack of political participation contributed to the fall of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The citizens of these countries were hardly motivated to defend regimes where they were observers and not actors.

The struggle for democracy must also be linked to the struggle to eradicate poverty and all forms of exclusion. Indeed, to solve these problems, the people must become wielders of power. That implies waging a struggle against the logic of capitalist profit and erecting in its place, in whatever areas that can be won, a different, humanist logic of solidarity. It is no longer enough to just assert the need for an alternative society; it is necessary to propose popular initiatives which are alternatives to capitalism and which aim to break the logic of commerce and the relations that this dynamic imposes.

But this also involves organizing struggles that cannot be reduced to simple economic demands, as necessary as these are, and which put forward an alternative social project, including real levels of authority and democracy, going beyond the current forms of parliamentary representative democracy and its elections. We must struggle for a new

type of democracy, coming from below, for those on the lowest levels of society, through local governments, rural communities, workers fronts, politically active citizens... This democratic practice of solidarity will be the best way to attract new sectors of society to the struggle for a fully democratic alternative society.

In order to concretize these principles, the following broad outline is proposed:

- Insert democracy into the totality of the conditions which characterize movements of emancipation and liberation, in their individual and collective dimension.
- Recognize that the failures of the Soviet system and the regimes that arose from decolonization resulted largely from their denial of freedom and their underestimation of the value of democracy. The development of alternatives must integrate this fact and give pre-eminence to building democracy.
- Contest the hypocritical words of the dominant powers, which are all too ready to give lessons in democracy. U.S. imperialism's cynicism is particularly unbearable, as its agents reveal themselves as torturers, warmongers and violators of liberty. Despite this, U.S. cynicism should not serve as a pretext to limit freedom and the exercise of democracy.
- Reject the dominant conception of democracy advanced by the United States and the Western powers. Democracy cannot be defined as accepting the rules of the market, subordinating oneself to the world market, to multi-party elections controlled from abroad and to a simplistic ideology of human rights. This type of neoliberal democracy blocks genuine democracy by arbitrarily tying the importance of free elections and the respecting of human rights to demands for an expansion of the market economy. The curtailment of democracy in this way, which puts the market first, perverts its meaning.
- Recognize that there is strong dialectic between political democracy and social democracy, because political democracy is incomplete and cannot last if inequalities, exploitation and social injustice persist. Social democracy cannot progress without struggle against oppression and discrimination, while still keeping in mind that no social policy can justify the absence of freedom and disrespect of basic rights.

- Affirm that democracy requires an effective and increasing participation of the population, producers and inhabitants. This implies transparency in decision making and in responsibilities. It does not diminish the importance of representative democracy. On the contrary, it completes and deepens it.

- Since democracy must facilitate the struggle against poverty, inequalities, injustice and discrimination, it must reserve a strategic position for the poor and oppressed, their struggles and their movements. In this sense democracy in the operation of these movements contributes to their survival and successes.

- Democracy in the anti-globalization (or "other-globalization") movement is an indication of the importance the movement attaches to democracy in its orientations. It indicates a renewal of the political and organizational culture, with particular attention given to the question of authority and hierarchy. For this purpose, one proposal for immediate action is to lead a campaign so that the movements for popular education have an important role in civic education in democracy and that this dimension be present in teaching.

Let us recall, indeed, that the anti-globalization movement is carrying a fundamentally democratic project. It asserts the access for all to fundamental rights. These include civil and political rights, in particular the right to freedom of organization and expression that are the bases of democratic freedoms. It also asserts the economic, social, cultural and environmental rights which are the foundation of social democracy. It finally asserts collective rights and the rights of the people to struggle against oppression and violence imposed on them. It is a question here of defining a program to implement democracy.

The anti-globalization movement also recognizes the importance of public services as one of the essential means to guarantee access to equal rights for all. It defends the struggles of workers and users of these public services. It promotes proposals coming out of movements to defend them, in education and health. For example in health, access to a list of free drugs, the rejection of monopolies, the dictatorship of patents and their attempts to put living organisms under control of a patent.

- The struggle for democracy must take account of various levels of intervention. We will examine five of these levels: enterprise, local democracy, national democracy, larger regions, and worldwide democracy. For each of these levels, an action can be proposed as illustration. The choice of the priorities will be the result of debate over strategy.

1) Democracy in the enterprise is a major demand. It implies the recognition of the authority of workers, users and territorial and national collectives. It necessitates the rejection of the shareholders' dictatorship and the destructive logic of finance capital. It leads to control of decisions, and in particular to making them on a local level. The development of innovative forms of self-organization and mutualisation is one way to assert the plurality of forms of production and to reject the false evidence that private capitalist enterprises are the most efficient. The movement demanding social and environmental responsibility from companies is of great interest, in spite of the risks of cooptation, on the condition that it leads to putting enforceable public standards into international law.

2) Local democracy responds to the demand for proximity and participation. It bases itself on local institutions that must guarantee public services and that provide an alternative to neoliberalism. It puts the satisfaction of the needs at the local level ahead of arrangements for companies on the world market. It makes the acquisition of citizenship possible, in particular through residence, and its consequences in terms of voting rights.

3) National democracy remains the strategic level. The questions of identities, borders, respect of the rights of minorities and the legitimacy of institutions form the bases of popular sovereignty. Public policies can be the arena of confrontation against neoliberalism. The progressive redistribution of wealth based on taxation should be defended and extended. Measures like a minimum income and retirement based on solidarity between the generations are not reserved for the rich countries, but flow from the division between profits and the income of labor specific to each society.

4) The larger regions can spread neoliberal policies everywhere, as in the European Union, or can demonstrate counter-tendencies or provide sites of resistance, as the development of Mercosur and the failure of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA - English, ALEA - French, ALCA -

- Spanish, Portuguese) shows. From this point of view, the continental social forums have considerable responsibility.

5) Worldwide democracy is a prospect for response to widespread neoliberal policies. In the current situation, the mobilizations with the highest priority to be carried by the anti-globalization movement are: cancellation of the debt, fundamental questioning of World Trade Organization (WTO - English, OMC-- French), suppression of tax havens, international taxation particularly on financial capital (transfers of capital, profits of the transnational firms, etc.), a radical reform of the international financial institutions (with in particular the principle one country, one vote), the reform of the United Nations in respect of the rights of the people and the rejection of preventive war.

We should create a Democracy Observation Post, which is able to resist the hegemony of the dominant countries, primarily the United States, with its duplicitous discourse on democracy; to encourage citizen control; to promote the democratic forms invented and implemented by the social movements and politically active citizens.

8. FOR THE ERADICATION OF ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND ALIENATION OF WOMEN

The forms of patriarchy are multiple, like its bonds with imperialism and neoliberalism. It is important and necessary to analyze its impact on women. " Patriarchy " refers to the domination of the father/patriarch and was used to describe a family model dominated by men, who have authority over all other members of the family. This model is certainly not universal, a number of African societies having been matrilineal or dual, with paternal and maternal lineages, each having their own roles for an individual. This patriarchal system expanded with the rise of monotheistic religions along with colonial ideologies and legislation.

Today, patriarchy specifically designates domination by males, and inequality between genders to the detriment of the women, and their multiple forms of subordination. The family, which socializes the child, remains primarily for the "domestication" of girls and women. This imposition of a hierarchy of the genders is all the more marked in that it is supported by cultural standards and religious values leading to the appropriation of women's productive and reproductive capacities. The

State reinforces this patriarchal structure with its policies and family codes. Discrimination persists in relations within the family, in education, in access to material, financial and natural resources, in employment, in participation in political power, etc. Despite a perceptible advance in women's rights, male domination is still firmly in place with the "masculinization" of institutions that constitute neoliberal organization.

The analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and imperialism and the balance sheet of the struggles of women against these systems leads us to propose several actions:

1. Break with the practice of placing the women's question on the side. This practice leads to a political and scientific apartheid. Since the question of gender cuts across many arenas, it must be taken into account in every recommendation.

2. Continue lobbying organizations of civil society and the political community, in order to reinforce the alliance between feminist organizations and progressive forces and to insert in the progressive agenda appeals in favor of women, including:

- struggle against the image of their inferior position in the social, political, cultural and religious discourse of the global society;
- develop education and training of women in order to break the internalization of this position of inferiority;
- spread a better consciousness of their active roles in society;
- encourage men to question this masculine domination in order to deconstruct its mechanisms;
- reinforce legal provisions for an effective equality between the genders;
- increase women's equal representation in institutions (parity).

3. Render visible the history of the women, their individual and collective actions, notably:

- the nomination of Mille women, established by some associations in Hong Kong, for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize;
- the campaign of Women say No to war against the war in Iraq;
- various campaigns on current subjects or social projects;

4. Promote the basic right of the women to control their bodies and their brains, to control decisions relating to their life choices: education, employment, various activities, but also sexuality and child-bearing (right to contraception, choice to have a child, right of abortion...) -- women's bodies being the site for all sorts of oppression and violence.

5. Support theoretical reflection, starting from feminine experiences, in order to counter male domination in order to reinforce the perspectives of women on various questions affecting society, and in order to open new horizons for research and action. Women's perspectives need to be cultivated particularly on matters of population (such as the population Conference in Cairo in 1994), or environment (as in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992), where women demand the right to live in a healthy environment.

6. Develop databases and an Internet site on the relationship between women and imperialism and neoliberalism.

9. FOR THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF THE MEDIA AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

1 - For the right to education:

Before the right to culture, the right to information and the right to inform, the fundamental problem of the right to education arises. This right, though it is officially recognized everywhere, remains ineffective in many countries, and particularly for young women. It is thus a priority for all social movements to pressure governments to fulfill their most elementary obligations in this field.

2 - For the right to information and the right to inform:

- Initiatives towards the large media

The right to obtain information and the right to inform enter in contradiction with the general logic of how the media are structured. Through their increasing concentration on a worldwide scale, the media are not only the direct recipients of the benefits of neoliberal globalization, but also the carriers of its ideology. It is thus necessary to fight tooth and nail to throw sand into the gears of this machinery for "formatting" the human spirit, machinery whose goal is to make the neoliberal order appear not only inevitable but even desirable. For this purpose, campaigns must be launched in each country, within the framework of an international coordination:

- for legislative initiatives aimed at fighting against media concentration;
- for legislative initiatives aimed at guaranteeing the autonomy of the editors as opposed to the shareholders and owners, by encouraging, where they do not exist, the creation of journalists' associations with real power to act;
- for education encouraging criticism of the media in the school system and popular organizations.

- To support the alternative media

The alternative media and the non-profit media, in all their forms (print, radio, television, Internet), already play important role in delivering pluralist information not subject to the diktats of finance capital and multinational corporations. This is why it is necessary to demand that governments create legal and tax conditions from which these media can benefit. A watchdog group of the Alternative Media could identify the most advanced laws existing in the world today. Just as the owners and directors of the large media do, it would be useful for the alternative media to organize each year a worldwide meeting of the people responsible for the alternative media, possibly within the framework of the process of the World Social Forums.

- Don't allow the television networks of the North a monopoly of the images broadcast to the world

The large networks of international television of North, like CNN, have profited for a long time from a de-facto monopoly and have presented a view of the world corresponding to the interests of the dominant powers. In the Arab world, the creation of Al-Jazeera, with great professionalism, made it possible to break with the one-sided vision of Middle-Eastern conflicts. The recent launching of Telesur makes it possible for Latin America to be seen not exclusively through the prism of the North-American media. The creation of an African network meets an identical need, and all effort must be made to assure that it is born.

3 - For the right to express oneself in one's language:

The first way to recognize all the expatriate elites of the planet is by their use of English. There is a logical bond between the voluntary or resigned submission to the U.S. super-power and the adoption of its language as the sole tool for international communication. Today Chinese and the Romance languages have - if one promotes mutual comprehension within the large family that they form - and tomorrow Arabic will have as much a right to play in parallel the role English does. It is a question of political will. To fight against "all-English," the following measures should be encouraged:

- to create a goal within the educational systems, if conditions allow, of teaching two foreign languages (and not only English) for active and passive competence (understand, speak, read, write) and one or two other languages for passive competence (to read and understand orally).
- To put into practice, in the education systems, methods to teach mutual comprehension of the Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian -- which are official languages in 60 countries). When each one speaks his/her own language and understands that of the conversational partner that communication is most efficient.
- In the specific case of Africa, to make teaching and promotion of the national languages a political priority of the African Union.

To create an international fund to support the translation of the maximum number of documents in the languages of the countries which have low incomes, in particular so that they are present on the Internet.

10. FOR the DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND the institutionalization of a multipolar international order

The United Nations is a peoples' institution, and for this reason represents a step forward. But it also reflects the balance of power among national states, whose impact can prove to be ambivalent, even negative, regarding certain peoples or under certain circumstances. Changes in the UN are thus necessary, insofar as the hegemony of the most powerful countries enables them to use the UN for their own purposes. Consequently, we propose the following initiatives:

1. Democratize the area referred to as the United Nations;
2. Initiate "reforms" of the UN with a goal of limiting the inequalities of the balance of power among national states;
3. Act on the governments which constitute UN, and for this reason, to constitute within each country an observer group that permits a demonstration of the action of the governments within the United Nations, its specialized organizations and the authorities created by the Bretton Woods meeting (the IMF, the World Bank, WTO);
4. Refinance the specialized organizations such as the FAO or the WHO, to avoid their dependence upon transnational corporations;
5. Ensure a wide and effective presence of social movements and nongovernmental organizations within the international institutions;
6. Promote International Courts of Justice, in particular concerning the economic crimes, while preventing them from being manipulated by the dominant powers, and, in same time, constitute courts of popular opinion in order to promote alternative means of establishing justice;
7. Democratize the United Nations, increase the power of the General Assembly and democratize the Security Council in order to break the monopolies (right of veto, atomic powers);
8. Promote a United Nations that allows for regionalization that is equipped with real powers on the various continents. It is in particular proposed to promote a Middle East Social Forum, gathering the progressive forces of

the countries of the area to seek alternative solutions instead of the U.S. project of the Greater Middle East.

9. Promote inside the UN respect for the sovereignty of national states, in particular vis-à-vis the actions undertaken by the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO.

10. Promote a world Parliament of the People to bring humanity out of the vicious circle of poverty.

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6th Declaration of the Selva Lacandona

**Zapatista Army of National Liberation
Mexico, June-July 2005**

@ http://www.anarkismo.net/newswire.php?story_id=805 on March 30 2006 at 3:30 pm IST

First part : I - What We Are, and II - Where We Are Now by Marcos - EZLN Friday, Jul 1 2005, 12:30pm

Second part : III - How We See the World, and IV - How We See Our Country Which is Mexico
by Andrew - Anarkismo Thursday, Jun 30 2005, 12:45pm

Last part : V - What We Want To Do, and VI - How We Are Going To Do It
by CCRI - EZLN Friday, Jul 1 2005, 12:14pm

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Translated by irlandesa

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This is our simple word which seeks to touch the hearts of humble and simple people like ourselves, but people who are also, like ourselves, dignified and rebel. This is our simple word for recounting what our path has been and where we are now, in order to explain how we see the world and our country, in order to say what we are thinking of doing and how we are thinking of doing it, and in order to invite other persons to walk with us in something very great which is called Mexico and something greater which is called the world. This is our simple word in order to inform all honest and noble hearts what it is we want in Mexico and the world. This is our simple word, because it is our idea to call on those who are like us and to join together with them, everywhere they are living and struggling.

I - What We Are

We are the zapatistas of the EZLN, although we are also called "neo-zapatistas." Now, we, the zapatistas of the EZLN, rose up in arms in January of 1994 because we saw how widespread had become the evil wrought by the powerful who only humiliated us, stole from us, imprisoned us and killed us, and no one was saying anything or doing anything. That is why we said "Ya Basta!," that no longer were we going to allow them to make us inferior or to treat us worse than animals. And then we also said we wanted democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexicans although we were concentrated on the Indian peoples. Because it so happened that we, the EZLN, were almost all only indigenous from here in Chiapas, but we did not want to struggle just for own good, or just for the good of the indigenous of Chiapas, or just for the good of the Indian peoples of Mexico. We wanted to fight along with everyone who was humble and simple like ourselves and who was in great need and who suffered from exploitation and thievery by the rich and their bad governments here, in our Mexico, and in other countries in the world.

And then our small history was that we grew tired of exploitation by the powerful, and then we organized in order to defend ourselves and to fight for justice. In the beginning there were not many of us, just a few, going this way and that, talking with and listening to other people like us. We did that for many years, and we did it in secret, without making a stir. In other words, we joined forces in silence. We remained like that for about 10 years, and then we had grown, and then we were many thousands. We trained ourselves quite well in politics and weapons, and, suddenly, when the rich were throwing their New Year's Eve parties, we fell upon their cities and just took them over. And we left a message to everyone that here we are, that they have to take notice of us. And then the rich took off and sent their great armies to do away with us, just like they always do when the exploited rebel - they order them all to be done away with. But we were not done away with at all, because we had prepared ourselves quite well prior to the war, and we made ourselves strong in our mountains. And there were the armies, looking for us and throwing their bombs and bullets at us, and then they were making plans to kill off all the indigenous at one time, because they did not know who was a zapatista and who was not. And we were running and fighting, fighting and running, just like our ancestors had done. Without giving up, without surrendering, without being defeated.

And then the people from the cities went out into the streets and began shouting for an end to the war. And then we stopped our war, and we listened to those brothers and sisters from the city who were telling us to try to reach an arrangement or an accord with the bad governments, so that the problem could be resolved without a massacre. And so we paid attention to them, because they were what we call "the people," or the Mexican people. And so we set aside the fire and took up the word.

And it so happened that the governments said they would indeed be well-behaved, and they would engage in dialogue, and they would make accords, and they would fulfill them. And we said that was good, but we also thought it was good that we knew those people who went out into the streets in order to stop the war. Then, while we were engaging in dialogue with the bad governments, we were also talking with those persons, and we saw that most of them were humble and simple people like us, and both, they and we, understood quite well why we were fighting. And we called those people "civil society" because most of them did not belong to political parties, rather they were common, everyday people, like us, simple and humble people.

But it so happened that the bad governments did not want a good agreement, rather it was just their underhanded way of saying they were going to talk and to reach accords, while they were preparing their attacks in order to eliminate us once and for all. And so then they attacked us several times, but they did not defeat us, because we resisted quite well, and many people throughout the world mobilized. And then the bad governments thought that the problem was that many people saw what was happening with the EZLN, and they started their plan of acting as if nothing were going on. Meanwhile they were quick to surround us, they laid siege to us in hopes that, since our mountains are indeed remote, the people would then forget, since zapatista lands were so far away. And every so often the bad governments tested us and tried to deceive us or to attack us, like in February of 1995 when they threw a huge number of armies at us, but they did not defeat us. Because, as they said then, we were not alone, and many people helped us, and we resisted well.

And then the bad governments had to make accords with the EZLN, and those accords were called the "San Andrés Accords" because the

municipality where those accords were signed was called "San Andrés." And we were not all alone in those dialogues, speaking with people from the bad governments. We invited many people and organizations who were, or are, engaged in the struggle for the Indian peoples of Mexico, and everyone spoke their word, and everyone reached agreement as to how we were going to speak with the bad governments. And that is how that dialogue was, not just the zapatistas on one side and the governments on the other. Instead, the Indian peoples of Mexico, and those who supported them, were with the zapatistas. And then the bad governments said in those accords that they were indeed going to recognize the rights of the Indian peoples of Mexico, and they were going to respect their culture, and they were going to make everything law in the Constitution. But then, once they had signed, the bad governments acted as if they had forgotten about them, and many years passed, and the accords were not fulfilled at all. Quite the opposite, the government attacked the indigenous, in order to make them back out of the struggle, as they did on December 22, 1997, the date on which Zedillo ordered the killing of 45 men, women, old ones and children in the town in Chiapas called ACTEAL. This immense crime was not so easily forgotten, and it was a demonstration of how the bad governments color their hearts in order to attack and assassinate those who rebel against injustices. And, while all of that was going on, we zapatistas were putting our all into the fulfillment of the accords and resisting in the mountains of the Mexican southeast.

And then we began speaking with other Indian peoples of Mexico and their organizations, and we made an agreement with them that we were going to struggle together for the same thing, for the recognition of indigenous rights and culture. Now we were also being helped by many people from all over the world and by persons who were well respected and whose word was quite great because they were great intellectuals, artists and scientists from Mexico and from all over the world. And we also held international encuentros. In other words, we joined together to talk with persons from America and from Asia and from Europe and from Africa and from Oceania, and we learned of their struggles and their ways, and we said they were "intergalactic" encuentros, just to be silly and because we had also invited those from other planets, but it appeared as if they had not come, or perhaps they did come, but they did not make it clear.

But the bad governments did not keep their word anyway, and then we made a plan to talk with many Mexicans so they would help us. And then, first in 1997, we held a march to Mexico City which was called "of the 1,111" because a *compañero* or *compañera* was going to go from each zapatista town, but the bad government did not pay any attention. And then, in 1999, we held a consulta throughout the country, and there it was seen that the majority were indeed in agreement with the demands of the Indian peoples, but again the bad governments did not pay any attention. And then, lastly, in 2001, we held what was called the "march for indigenous dignity" which had much support from millions of Mexicans and people from other countries, and it went to where the deputies and senators were, the Congress of the Union, in order to demand the recognition of the Mexican indigenous.

But it happened that no, the politicians from the PRI, the PAN and the PRD reached an agreement among themselves, and they simply did not recognize indigenous rights and culture. That was in April of 2001, and the politicians demonstrated quite clearly there that they had no decency whatsoever, and they were swine who thought only about making their good money as the bad politicians they were. This must be remembered, because you will now be seeing that they are going to say they will indeed recognize indigenous rights, but it is a lie they are telling so we will vote for them. But they already had their chance, and they did not keep their word.

And then we saw quite clearly that there was no point to dialogue and negotiation with the bad governments of Mexico. That it was a waste of time for us to be talking with the politicians, because neither their hearts nor their words were honest. They were crooked, and they told lies that they would keep their word, but they did not. In other words, on that day, when the politicians from the PRI, PAN and PRD approved a law that was no good, they killed dialogue once and for all, and they clearly stated that it did not matter what they had agreed to and signed, because they did not keep their word. And then we did not make any contacts with the federal branches. Because we understood that dialogue and negotiation had failed as a result of those political parties. We saw that blood did not matter to them, nor did death, suffering, mobilizations, consultas, efforts, national and international statements, encuentros, accords, signatures, commitments. And so the political class not only closed, one more time, the door to the Indian peoples, they also delivered

a mortal blow to the peaceful resolution - through dialogue and negotiation - of the war. It can also no longer be believed that the accords will be fulfilled by someone who comes along with something or other. They should see that there so that they can learn from experience what happened to us.

And then we saw all of that, and we wondered in our hearts what we were going to do.

And the first thing we saw was that our heart was not the same as before, when we began our struggle. It was larger, because now we had touched the hearts of many good people. And we also saw that our heart was more hurt, it was more wounded. And it was not wounded by the deceits of the bad governments, but because, when we touched the hearts of others, we also touched their sorrows. It was as if we were seeing ourselves in a mirror.

II - Where We Are Now

Then, like the zapatistas we are, we thought that it was not enough to stop engaging in dialogue with the government, but it was necessary to continue on ahead in the struggle, in spite of those lazy parasites of politicians. The EZLN then decided to carry out, alone and on their side ("unilateral", in other words, because just one side), the San Andrés Accords regarding indigenous rights and culture. For 4 years, since the middle of 2001 until the middle of 2005, we have devoted ourselves to this and to other things which we are going to tell you about.

Fine, we then began encouraging the autonomous rebel zapatista municipalities - which is how the peoples are organized in order to govern and to govern themselves - in order to make themselves stronger. This method of autonomous government was not simply invented by the EZLN, but rather it comes from several centuries of indigenous resistance and from the zapatistas' own experience. It is the self-governance of the communities. In other words, no one from outside comes to govern, but the peoples themselves decide, among themselves, who governs and how, and, if they do not obey, they are removed. If the one who governs does not obey the people, they pursue them, they are removed from authority, and another comes in.

But then we saw that the Autonomous Municipalities were not level. There were some that were more advanced and which had more support from civil society, and others were more neglected. The organization was lacking to make them more on a par with each other. And we also saw that the EZLN, with its political-military component, was involving itself in decisions which belonged to the democratic authorities, "civilians" as they say. And here the problem is that the political-military component of the EZLN is not democratic, because it is an army. And we saw that the military being above, and the democratic below, was not good, because what is democratic should not be decided militarily, it should be the reverse: the democratic-political governing above, and the military obeying below. Or, perhaps, it would be better with nothing below, just completely level, without any military, and that is why the zapatistas are soldiers so that there will not be any soldiers. Fine, what we then did about this problem was to begin separating the political-military from the autonomous and democratic aspects of organization in the zapatista communities. And so, actions and decisions which had previously been made and taken by the EZLN were being passed, little by little, to the democratically elected authorities in the villages. It is easy to say, of course, but it was very difficult in practice, because many years have passed - first in the preparation for the war and then the war itself - and the political-military aspects have become customary. But, regardless, we did so because it is our way to do what we say, because, if not, why should we go around saying things if we do not then do them.

That was how the Good Government Juntas were born, in August of 2003, and, through them, self-learning and the exercise of "govern obeying" has continued.

From that time and until the middle of 2005, the EZLN leadership has no longer involved itself in giving orders in civil matters, but it has accompanied and helped the authorities who are democratically elected by the peoples. It has also kept watch that the peoples and national and international civil society are kept well informed concerning the aid that is received and how it is used. And now we are passing the work of safeguarding good government to the zapatista support bases, with temporary positions which are rotated, so that everyone learns and carries out this work. Because we believe that a people which does not watch over its leaders is condemned to be enslaved, and we fought to be free, not to change masters every six years.

The EZLN, during these 4 years, also handed over to the Good Government Juntas and the Autonomous Municipalities the aid and contacts which they had attained throughout Mexico and the world during these years of war and resistance. The EZLN had also, during that time, been building economic and political support which allowed the zapatista communities to make progress with fewer difficulties in the building of their autonomy and in improving their living conditions. It is not much, but it is far better than what they had prior to the beginning of the uprising in January of 1994. If you look at one of those studies the governments make, you will see that the only indigenous communities which have improved their living conditions - whether in health, education, food or housing - were those which are in zapatista territory, which is what we call where our villages are. And all of that has been possible because of the progress made by the zapatista villages and because of the very large support which has been received from good and noble persons, whom we call "civil societies," and from their organizations throughout the world. As if all of these people have made "another world is possible" a reality, but through actions, not just words.

And the villages have made good progress. Now there are more compañeros and compañeras who are learning to govern. And - even though little by little - there are more women going into this work, but there is still a lack of respect for the compañeras, and they need to participate more in the work of the struggle. And, also through the Good Government Juntas, coordination has been improved between the Autonomous Municipalities and the resolution of problems with other organizations and with the official authorities. There has also been much improvement in the projects in the communities, and the distribution of projects and aid given by civil society from all over the world has become more level. Health and education have improved, although there is still a good deal lacking for it to be what it should be. The same is true for housing and food, and in some areas there has been much improvement with the problem of land, because the lands recovered from the finqueros are being distributed. But there are areas which continue to suffer from a lack of lands to cultivate. And there has been great improvement in the support from national and international civil society, because previously everyone went wherever they wanted, and now the Good Government Juntas are directing them to where the greatest need exists. And, similarly, everywhere there are more compañeros and compañeras who are learning to relate to persons from other parts of Mexico and of the world,. They

are learning to respect and to demand respect. They are learning that there are many worlds, and that everyone has their place, their time and their way, and therefore there must be mutual respect between everyone.

We, the zapatistas of the EZLN, have devoted this time to our primary force, to the peoples who support us. And the situation has indeed improved some. No one can say that the zapatista organization and struggle has been without point, but rather, even if they were to do away with us completely, our struggle has indeed been of some use.

But it is not just the zapatista villages which have grown - the EZLN has also grown. Because what has happened during this time is that new generations have renewed our entire organization. They have added new strength. The comandantes and comandantas who were in their maturity at the beginning of the uprising in 1994 now have the wisdom they gained in the war and in the 12 years of dialogue with thousands of men and women from throughout the world. The members of the CCRI, the zapatista political-organizational leadership, is now counseling and directing the new ones who are entering our struggle, as well as those who are holding leadership positions. For some time now the "committees" (which is what we call them) have been preparing an entire new generation of comandantes and comandantas who, following a period of instruction and testing, are beginning to learn the work of organizational leadership and to discharge their duties. And it also so happens that our insurgents, insurgentas, militants, local and regional responsables, as well as support bases, who were youngsters at the beginning of the uprising, are now mature men and women, combat veterans and natural leaders in their units and communities. And those who were children in that January of '94 are now young people who have grown up in the resistance, and they have been trained in the rebel dignity lifted up by their elders throughout these 12 years of war. These young people have a political, technical and cultural training that we who began the zapatista movement did not have. This youth is now, more and more, sustaining our troops as well as leadership positions in the organization. And, indeed, all of us have seen the deceits by the Mexican political class and the destruction which their actions have caused in our patria. And we have seen the great injustices and massacres that neoliberal globalization causes throughout the world. But we will speak to you of that later.

And so the EZLN has resisted 12 years of war, of military, political, ideological and economic attacks, of siege, of harassment, of persecution, and they have not vanquished us. We have not sold out nor surrendered, and we have made progress. More compañeros from many places have entered into the struggle so that, instead of making us weaker after so many years, we have become stronger. Of course there are problems which can be resolved by more separation of the political-military from the civil-democratic. But there are things, the most important ones, such as our demands for which we struggle, which have not been fully achieved.

To our way of thinking, and what we see in our heart, we have reached a point where we cannot go any further, and, in addition, it is possible that we could lose everything we have if we remain as we are and do nothing more in order to move forward. The hour has come to take a risk once again and to take a step which is dangerous but which is worthwhile. Because, perhaps united with other social sectors who suffer from the same wants as we do, it will be possible to achieve what we need and what we deserve. A new step forward in the indigenous struggle is only possible if the indigenous join together with workers, campesinos, students, teachers, employees...the workers of the city and the countryside.

Part 2

by Andrew - Anarkismo Thursday, Jun 30 2005, 12:45pm

III - How We See the World

Now we are going to explain to you how we, the zapatistas, see what is going on in the world. We see that capitalism is the strongest right now. Capitalism is a social system, a way in which a society goes about organizing things and people, and who has and who has not, and who gives orders and who obeys. In capitalism, there are some people who have money, or capital, and factories and stores and fields and many things, and there are others who have nothing but their strength and knowledge in order to work. In capitalism, those who have money and things give the orders, and those who only have their ability to work obey.

Then capitalism means that there a few who have great wealth, but they did not win a prize, or find a treasure, or inherited from a parent. They obtained that wealth, rather, by exploiting the work of the many.

So capitalism is based on the exploitation of the workers, which means they exploit the workers and take out all the profits they can. This is done unjustly, because they do not pay the worker what his work is worth. Instead they give him a salary that barely allows him to eat a little and to rest for a bit, and the next day he goes back to work in exploitation, whether in the countryside or in the city.

And capitalism also makes its wealth from plunder, or theft, because they take what they want from others, land, for example, and natural resources. So capitalism is a system where the robbers are free and they are admired and used as examples.

And, in addition to exploiting and plundering, capitalism represses because it imprisons and kills those who rebel against injustice.

Capitalism is most interested in merchandise, because when it is bought or sold, profits are made. And then capitalism turns everything into merchandise, it makes merchandise of people, of nature, of culture, of history, of conscience. According to capitalism, everything must be able to be bought and sold. And it hides everything behind the merchandise, so we don't see the exploitation that exists. And then the merchandise is bought and sold in a market. And the market, in addition to being used for buying and selling, is also used to hide the exploitation of the workers. In the market, for example, we see coffee in its little package or its pretty little jar, but we do not see the campesino who suffered in order to harvest the coffee, and we do not see the coyote who paid him so cheaply for his work, and we do not see the workers in the large company working their hearts out to package the coffee. Or we see an appliance for listening to music like cumbias, rancheras or corridos, or whatever, and we see that it is very good because it has a good sound, but we do not see the worker in the maquiladora who struggled for many hours, putting the cables and the parts of the appliance together, and they barely paid her a pittance of money, and she lives far away from work and spends a lot on the trip, and, in addition, she runs the risk of being kidnapped, raped and killed as happens in Ciudad Juárez in Mexico.

So we see merchandise in the market, but we do not see the exploitation with which it was made. And then capitalism needs many markets - or a very large market, a world market.

And so the capitalism of today is not the same as before, when the rich were content with exploiting the workers in their own countries, but now they are on a path which is called Neoliberal Globalization. This globalization means that they no longer control the workers in one or several countries, but the capitalists are trying to dominate everything all over the world. And the world, or Planet Earth, is also called the 'globe', and that is why they say 'globalization,' or the entire world.

And neoliberalism is the idea that capitalism is free to dominate the entire world, and so tough, you have to resign yourself and conform and not make a fuss, in other words, not rebel. So neoliberalism is like the theory, the plan, of capitalist globalization. And neoliberalism has its economic, political, military and cultural plans. All of those plans have to do with dominating everyone, and they repress or separate anyone who doesn't obey so that his rebellious ideas aren't passed on to others.

Then, in neoliberal globalization, the great capitalists who live in the countries which are powerful, like the United States, want the entire world to be made into a big business where merchandise is produced like a great market. A world market for buying and selling the entire world and for hiding all the exploitation from the world. Then the global capitalists insert themselves everywhere, in all the countries, in order to do their big business, their great exploitation. Then they respect nothing, and they meddle wherever they wish. As if they were conquering other countries. That is why we zapatistas say that neoliberal globalization is a war of conquest of the entire world, a world war, a war being waged by capitalism for global domination. Sometimes that conquest is by armies who invade a country and conquer it by force. But sometimes it is with the economy, in other words, the big capitalists put their money into another country or they lend it money, but on the condition that they obey what they tell them to do. And they also insert their ideas, with the capitalist culture which is the culture of merchandise, of profits, of the market.

Then the one which wages the conquest, capitalism, does as it wants, it destroys and changes what it does not like and eliminates what gets in its way. For example, those who do not produce nor buy nor sell modern merchandise get in their way, or those who rebel against that order. And they despise those who are of no use to them. That is why the indigenous get in the way of neoliberal capitalism, and that is why they despise

them and want to eliminate them. And neoliberal capitalism also gets rid of the laws which do not allow them to exploit and to have a lot of profit. They demand that everything can be bought and sold, and, since capitalism has all the money, it buys everything. Capitalism destroys the countries it conquers with neoliberal globalization, but it also wants to adapt everything, to make it over again, but in its own way, a way which benefits capitalism and which doesn't allow anything to get in its way. Then neoliberal globalization, capitalism, destroys what exists in these countries, it destroys their culture, their language, their economic system, their political system, and it also destroys the ways in which those who live in that country relate to each other. So everything that makes a country a country is left destroyed.

Then neoliberal globalization wants to destroy the nations of the world so that only one Nation or country remains, the country of money, of capital. And capitalism wants everything to be as it wants, in its own way, and it doesn't like what is different, and it persecutes it and attacks it, or puts it off in a corner and acts as if it doesn't exist.

Then, in short, the capitalism of global neoliberalism is based on exploitation, plunder, contempt and repression of those who refuse. The same as before, but now globalized, worldwide.

But it is not so easy for neoliberal globalization, because the exploited of each country become discontented, and they will not say well, too bad, instead they rebel. And those who remain and who are in the way resist, and they don't allow themselves to be eliminated. And that is why we see, all over the world, those who are being screwed over making resistances, not putting up with it, in other words, they rebel, and not just in one country but wherever they abound. And so, as there is a neoliberal globalization, there is a globalization of rebellion.

And it is not just the workers of the countryside and of the city who appear in this globalization of rebellion, but others also appear who are much persecuted and despised for the same reason, for not letting themselves be dominated, like women, young people, the indigenous, homosexuals, lesbians, transsexual persons, migrants and many other groups who exist all over the world but who we do not see until they shout *ya basta* of being despised, and they raise up, and then we see them, we hear them, and we learn from them.

And then we see that all those groups of people are fighting against neoliberalism, against the capitalist globalization plan, and they are struggling for humanity.

And we are astonished when we see the stupidity of the neoliberals who want to destroy all humanity with their wars and exploitations, but it also makes us quite happy to see resistances and rebellions appearing everywhere, such as ours, which is a bit small, but here we are. And we see this all over the world, and now our heart learns that we are not alone.

IV - How We See Our Country Which is Mexico

Now we will talk to you about how we see what is going on in our Mexico. What we see is our country being governed by neoliberals. So, as we already explained, our leaders are destroying our nation, our Mexican Patria. And the work of these bad leaders is not to look after the well-being of the people, instead they are only concerned with the well-being of the capitalists. For example, they make laws like the Free Trade Agreement, which end up leaving many Mexicans destitute, like campesinos and small producers, because they are 'gobbled up' by the big agro-industrial companies. As well as workers and small businesspeople, because they cannot compete with the large transnationals who come in without anybody saying anything to them and even thanking them, and they set their low salaries and their high prices. So some of the economic foundations of our Mexico, which were the countryside and industry and national commerce, are being quite destroyed, and just a bit of rubble - which they are certainly going to sell off - remains.

And these are great disgraces for our Patria. Because food is no longer being produced in our countryside, just what the big capitalists sell, and the good lands are being stolen through trickery and with the help of the politicians. What is happening in the countryside is the same as Porfirismo, but, instead of hacendados, now there are a few foreign businesses which have well and truly screwed the campesino. And, where before there were credits and price protections, now there is just charity' and sometimes not even that.

As for the worker in the city, the factories close, and they are left without work, or they open what are called maquiladoras, which are foreign and which pay a pittance for many hours of work. And then the price of the

goods the people need doesn't matter, whether they are expensive or cheap, since there is no money. And if someone was working in a small or midsize business, now they are not, because it was closed, and it was bought by a big transnational. And if someone had a small business, it disappeared as well, or they went to work clandestinely for big businesses which exploit them terribly, and which even put boys and girls to work. And if the worker belonged to his union in order to demand his legal rights, then no, now the same union tells him he will have to put up with his salary being lowered or his hours or his benefits being taken away, because, if not, the business will close and move to another country. And then there is the 'microchangarro', which is the government's economic program for putting all the city's workers on street corners selling gum or telephone cards. In other words, absolute economic destruction in the cities as well.

And then what happens is that, with the people's economy being totally screwed in the countryside as well as in the city, then many Mexican men and women have to leave their Patria, Mexican lands, and go to seek work in another country, the United States. And they do not treat them well there, instead they exploit them, persecute them and treat them with contempt and even kill them. Under neoliberalism which is being imposed by the bad governments, the economy has not improved. Quite the opposite, the countryside is in great need, and there is no work in the cities. What is happening is that Mexico is being turned into a place where people are working for the wealth of foreigners, mostly rich gringos, a place you are just born into for a little while, and in another little while you die. That is why we say that Mexico is dominated by the United States.

Now, it is not just that. Neoliberalism has also changed the Mexican political class, the politicians, because they made them into something like employees in a store, who have to do everything possible to sell everything and to sell it very cheap. You have already seen that they changed the laws in order to remove Article 27 from the Constitution so that ejidal and communal lands could be sold. That was Salinas de Gortari, and he and his gangs said that it was for the good of the countryside and the campesino, and that was how they would prosper and live better. Has it been like that? The Mexican countryside is worse than ever and the campesinos more screwed than under Porfirio Diaz. And they also say they are going to privatize - sell to foreigners - the companies held by

the State to help the well-being of the people. Because the companies don't work well and they need to be modernized, and it would be better to sell them. But, instead of improving, the social rights which were won in the revolution of 1910 now make one sad and courageous. And they also said that the borders must be opened so all the foreign capital can enter, that way all the Mexican businesses will be fixed, and things will be made better. But now we see that there are not any national businesses, the foreigners gobbled them all up, and the things that are sold are worse than the those that were made in Mexico.

And now the Mexican politicians also want to sell PEMEX, the oil which belongs to all Mexicans, and the only difference is that some say everything should be sold and others that only a part of it should be sold. And they also want to privatize social security, and electricity and water and the forests and everything, until nothing of Mexico is left, and our country will be a wasteland or a place of entertainment for rich people from all over the world, and we Mexican men and women will be their servants, dependent on what they offer, bad housing, without roots, without culture, without even a Patria.

So the neoliberals want to kill Mexico, our Mexican Patria. And the political parties not only do not defend it, they are the first to put themselves at the service of foreigners, especially those from the United States, and they are the ones who are in charge of deceiving us, making us look the other way while everything is sold, and they are left with the money. All the political parties that exist right now, not just some of them. Think about whether anything has been done well, and you will see that no, nothing but theft and scams. And look how all the politicians always have their nice houses and their nice cars and luxuries. And they still want us to thank them and to vote for them again. And it is obvious, as they say, that they are without shame. And they are without it because they do not, in fact, have a Patria, they only have bank accounts.

And we also see that drug trafficking and crime has been increasing a lot. And sometimes we think that criminals are like they show them in the songs or movies, and maybe some are like that, but not the real chiefs. The real chiefs go around very well dressed, they study outside the country, they are elegant, they do not go around in hiding, they eat in good restaurants and they appear in the papers, very pretty and well dressed at their parties. They are, as they say, 'good people', and some

are even officials, deputies, senators, secretaries of state, prosperous businessmen, police chiefs, generals.

Are we saying that politics serves no purpose? No, what we mean is that THAT politics serves no purpose. And it is useless because it does not take the people into account. It does not listen to them, it does not pay any attention to them, it just approaches them when there are elections. And they do not even want votes anymore, the polls are enough to say who wins. And then just promises about what this one is going to do and what the other one is going to do, then it's bye, I'll see you, but you don't see them again, except when they appear in the news when they've just stolen a lot of money and nothing is going to be done to them because the law - which those same politicians made - protects them.

Because that's another problem, the Constitution is all warped and changed now. It's no longer the one that had the rights and liberties of working people. Now there are the rights and liberties of the neoliberals so they can have their huge profits. And the judges exist to serve those neoliberals, because they always rule in favour of them, and those who are not rich get injustice, jails and cemeteries.

Well, even with all this mess the neoliberals are making, there are Mexican men and women who are organizing and making a resistance struggle.

And so we found out that there are indigenous, that their lands are far away from us here in Chiapas, and they are making their autonomy and defending their culture and caring for their land, forests and water.

And there are workers in the countryside, campesinos, who are organizing and holding their marches and mobilizations in order to demand credits and aid for the countryside.

And there are workers in the city who do not let their rights be taken away or their jobs privatized. They protest and demonstrate so the little they have isn't taken away from them and so they don't take away from the country what is, in fact, its own, like electricity, oil, social security, education.

And there are students who don't let education be privatized and who are fighting for it to be free and popular and scientific, so they don't

charge, so everyone can learn, and so they don't teach stupid things in schools.

And there are women who do not let themselves be treated as an ornament or be humiliated and despised just for being women, but who are organizing and fighting for the respect they deserve as the women they are.

And there are young people who don't accept their stultifying them with drugs or persecuting them for their way of being, but who make themselves aware with their music and their culture, their rebellion.

And there are homosexuals, lesbians, transsexuals and many ways who do not put up with being ridiculed, despised, mistreated and even killed for having another way which is different, with being treated like they are abnormal or criminals, but who make their own organizations in order to defend their right to be different.

And there are priests and nuns and those they call laypeople who are not with the rich and who are not resigned, but who are organizing to accompany the struggles of the people.

And there are those who are called social activists, who are men and women who have been fighting all their lives for exploited people, and they are the same ones who participated in the great strikes and workers' actions, in the great citizens' mobilizations, in the great campesino movements, and who suffer great repression, and who, even though some are old now, continue on without surrendering, and they go everywhere, looking for the struggle, seeking justice, and making leftist organizations, non-governmental organizations, human rights organizations, organizations in defence of political prisoners and for the disappeared, leftist publications, organizations of teachers or students, social struggle, and even political-military organizations, and they are just not quiet and they know a lot because they have seen a lot and lived and struggled.

And so we see in general that in our country, which is called Mexico, there are many people who do not put up with things, who do not surrender, who do not sell out. Who are dignified. And that makes us very pleased and happy, because with all those people it's not going to

be so easy for the neoliberals to win, and perhaps it will be possible to save our Patria from the great thefts and destruction they are doing. And we think that perhaps our 'we' will include all those rebellions?

Last part

by CCRI - EZLN Friday, Jul 1 2005, 12:14pm

V - What We Want To Do

We are now going to tell you what we want to do in the world and in Mexico, because we cannot watch everything that is happening on our planet and just remain quiet, as if it were only we were where we are.

What we want in the world is to tell all of those who are resisting and fighting in their own ways and in their own countries, that you are not alone, that we, the zapatistas, even though we are very small, are supporting you, and we are going to look at how to help you in your struggles and to speak to you in order to learn, because what we have, in fact, learned is to learn.

And we want to tell the Latin American peoples that we are proud to be a part of you, even if it is a small part. We remember quite well how the continent was also illuminated some years ago, and a light was called Che Guevara, as it had previously been called Bolivar, because sometimes the people take up a name in order to say they are taking up a flag.

And we want to tell the people of Cuba, who have now been on their path of resistance for many years, that you are not alone, and we do not agree with the blockade they are imposing, and we are going to see how to send you something, even if it is maize, for your resistance. And we want to tell the North American people that we know that the bad governments which you have and which spread harm throughout the world is one thing - and those North Americans who struggle in their country, and who are in solidarity with the struggles of other countries, are a very different thing. And we want to tell the Mapuche brothers and sisters in Chile that we are watching and learning from your struggles. And to the Venezuelans, we see how well you are defending your sovereignty, your nation's right to decide where it is going. And to the indigenous brothers and sisters of Ecuador and Bolivia, we say you are giving a good lesson in history to all of Latin America, because now you

are indeed putting a halt to neoliberal globalization. And to the piqueteros and to the young people of Argentina, we want to tell you that, that we love you. And to those in Uruguay who want a better country, we admire you. And to those who are sin tierra in Brazil, that we respect you. And to all the young people of Latin America, that what you are doing is good, and you give us great hope.

And we want to tell the brothers and sisters of Social Europe, that which is dignified and rebel, that you are not alone. That your great movements against the neoliberal wars bring us joy. That we are attentively watching your forms of organization and your methods of struggle so that we can perhaps learn something. That we are considering how we can help you in your struggles, and we are not going to send euro because then they will be devalued because of the European Union mess. But perhaps we will send you crafts and coffee so you can market them and help you some in the tasks of your struggle. And perhaps we might also send you some pozol, which gives much strength in the resistance, but who knows if we will send it to you, because pozol is more our way, and what if it were to hurt your bellies and weaken your struggles and the neoliberals defeat you.

And we want to tell the brothers and sisters of Africa, Asia and Oceania that we know that you are fighting also, and we want to learn more of your ideas and practices.

And we want to tell the world that we want to make you large, so large that all those worlds will fit, those worlds which are resisting because they want to destroy the neoliberals and because they simply cannot stop fighting for humanity.

Now then, what we want to do in Mexico is to make an agreement with persons and organizations just of the left, because we believe that it is in the political left where the idea of resisting neoliberal globalization is, and of making a country where there will be justice, democracy and liberty for everyone. Not as it is right now, where there is justice only for the rich, there is liberty only for their big businesses, and there is democracy only for painting walls with election propaganda. And because we believe that it is only from the left that a plan of struggle can emerge, so that our Patria, which is Mexico, does not die.

And, then, what we think is that, with these persons and organizations of the left, we will make a plan for going to all those parts of Mexico where there are humble and simple people like ourselves.

And we are not going to tell them what they should do or give them orders.

Nor are we going to ask them to vote for a candidate, since we already know that the ones who exist are neoliberals.

Nor are we going to tell them to be like us, nor to rise up in arms.

What we are going to do is to ask them what their lives are like, their struggle, their thoughts about our country and what we should do so they do not defeat us.

What we are going to do is to take heed of the thoughts of the simple and humble people, and perhaps we will find there the same love which we feel for our Patria.

And perhaps we will find agreement between those of us who are simple and humble and, together, we will organize all over the country and reach agreement in our struggles, which are alone right now, separated from each other, and we will find something like a program that has what we all want, and a plan for how we are going to achieve the realization of that program, which is called the 'national program of struggle.'

And, with the agreement of the majority of those people whom we are going to listen to, we will then engage in a struggle with everyone, with indigenous, workers, campesinos, students, teachers, employees, women, children, old ones, men, and with all of those of good heart and who want to struggle so that our Patria called Mexico does not end up being destroyed and sold, and which still exists between the Rio Grande and the Rio Suchiate and which has the Pacific Ocean on one side and the Atlantic on the other.

VI - How We Are Going To Do It

And so this is our simple word that goes out to the humble and simple people of Mexico and of the world, and we are calling our word of today:

Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona

And we are here to say, with our simple word, that ...

The EZLN maintains its commitment to an offensive ceasefire, and it will not make any attack against government forces or any offensive military movements.

The EZLN still maintains its commitment to insisting on the path of political struggle through this peaceful initiative which we are now undertaking. The EZLN continues, therefore, in its resolve to not establish any kind of secret relations with either national political-military organizations or those from other countries.

The EZLN reaffirms its commitment to defend, support and obey the zapatista indigenous communities of which it is composed, and which are its supreme command, and - without interfering in their internal democratic processes - will, to the best of its abilities, contribute to the strengthening of their autonomy, good government and improvement in their living conditions. In other words, what we are going to do in Mexico and in the world, we are going to do without arms, with a civil and peaceful movement, and without neglecting nor ceasing to support our communities.

Therefore ...

In the World?

1 - We will forge new relationships of mutual respect and support with persons and organizations who are resisting and struggling against neoliberalism and for humanity.

2 - As far as we are able, we will send material aid such as food and handicrafts for those brothers and sisters who are struggling all over the world.

In order to begin, we are going to ask the Good Government Junta of La Realidad to loan their truck, which is called 'Chompiras,' and which appears to hold 8 tons, and we are going to fill it with maize and perhaps two 200 litre cans with oil or petrol, as they prefer, and we are going to deliver it to the Cuban Embassy in Mexico for them to send to the Cuban people as aid from the zapatistas for their resistance against the North American blockade. Or perhaps there might be a place closer to here where it could be delivered, because it's always such a long distance to Mexico City, and what if 'Chompiras' were to break down and we'd end up in bad shape. And that will happen when the harvest comes in, which is turning green right now in the fields, and if they don't attack us, because if we were to send it during these next few months, it would be nothing but corncobs, and they don't turn out well even in tamales, better in November or December, it depends.

And we are also going to make an agreement with the women's crafts cooperatives in order to send a good number of bordados, embroidered pieces, to the Europes which are perhaps not yet Union, and perhaps we'll also send some organic coffee from the zapatista cooperatives, so that they can sell it and get a little money for their struggle. And, if it isn't sold, then they can always have a little cup of coffee and talk about the anti-neoliberal struggle, and if it's a bit cold then they can cover themselves up with the zapatista bordados, which do indeed resist quite well being laundered by hand and by rocks, and, besides, they don't run in the wash.

And we are also going to send the indigenous brothers and sisters of Bolivia and Ecuador some non-transgenic maize, and we just don't know where to send them so they arrive complete, but we are indeed willing to give this little bit of aid.

3 - And to all of those who are resisting throughout the world, we say there must be other intercontinental encuentros held, even if just one other. Perhaps December of this year or next January, we'll have to think about it. We don't want to say just when, because this is about our agreeing equally on everything, on where, on when, on how, on who. But not with a stage where just a few speak and all the rest listen, but without a stage, just level and everyone speaking, but orderly, otherwise it will just be a hubbub and the words won't be understood, and with good organization everyone will hear and jot down in their notebooks

the words of resistance from others, so then everyone can go and talk with their compañeros and compañeras in their worlds. And we think it might be in a place that has a very large jail, because what if they were to repress us and incarcerate us, and so that way we wouldn't be all piled up, prisoners, yes, but well organized, and there in the jail we could continue the intercontinental encuentros for humanity and against neoliberalism. Later on we'll tell you what we shall do in order to reach agreement as to how we're going to come to agreement. Now that is how we're thinking of doing what we want to do in the world. Now follows ...

In Mexico ...

1 - We are going to continue fighting for the Indian peoples of Mexico, but now not just for them and not with only them, but for all the exploited and dispossessed of Mexico, with all of them and all over the country. And when we say all the exploited of Mexico, we are also talking about the brothers and sisters who have had to go to the United States in search of work in order to survive.

2 - We are going to go to listen to, and talk directly with, without intermediaries or mediation, the simple and humble of the Mexican people, and, according to what we hear and learn, we are going to go about building, along with those people who, like us, are humble and simple, a national program of struggle, but a program which will be clearly of the left, or anti-capitalist, or anti-neoliberal, or for justice, democracy and liberty for the Mexican people.

3 - We are going to try to build, or rebuild, another way of doing politics, one which once again has the spirit of serving others, without material interests, with sacrifice, with dedication, with honesty, which keeps its word, whose only payment is the satisfaction of duty performed, or like the militants of the left did before, when they were not stopped by blows, jail or death, let alone by dollar bills.

4 - We are also going to go about raising a struggle in order to demand that we make a new Constitution, new laws which take into account the demands of the Mexican people, which are: housing, land, work, food, health, education, information, culture, independence, democracy, justice, liberty and peace. A new Constitution which recognizes the rights and

liberties of the people, and which defends the weak in the face of the powerful.

TO THESE ENDS ...

The EZLN will send a delegation of its leadership in order to do this work throughout the national territory and for an indefinite period of time. This zapatista delegation, along with those organizations and persons of the left who join in this Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona, will go to those places where they are expressly invited.

We are also letting you know that the EZLN will establish a policy of alliances with non-electoral organizations and movements which define themselves, in theory and practice, as being of the left, in accordance with the following conditions:

Not to make agreements from above to be imposed below, but to make accords to go together to listen and to organize outrage. Not to raise movements which are later negotiated behind the backs of those who made them, but to always take into account the opinions of those participating. Not to seek gifts, positions, advantages, public positions, from the Power or those who aspire to it, but to go beyond the election calendar. Not to try to resolve from above the problems of our Nation, but to build FROM BELOW AND FOR BELOW an alternative to neoliberal destruction, an alternative of the left for Mexico.

Yes to reciprocal respect for the autonomy and independence of organizations, for their methods of struggle, for their ways of organizing, for their internal decision making processes, for their legitimate representations. And yes to a clear commitment for joint and coordinated defense of national sovereignty, with intransigent opposition to privatization attempts of electricity, oil, water and natural resources.

In other words, we are inviting the unregistered political and social organizations of the left, and those persons who lay claim to the left and who do not belong to registered political parties, to meet with us, at the time, place and manner in which we shall propose at the proper time, to organize a national campaign, visiting all possible corners of our Patria, in order to listen to and organize the word of our people. It is like a campaign, then, but very otherly, because it is not electoral.

Brothers and sisters:

This is our word which we declare:

In the world, we are going to join together more with the resistance struggles against neoliberalism and for humanity.

And we are going to support, even if it's but little, those struggles.

And we are going to exchange, with mutual respect, experiences, histories, ideas, dreams.

In Mexico, we are going to travel all over the country, through the ruins left by the neoliberal wars and through those resistances which, entrenched, are flourishing in those ruins.

We are going to seek, and to find, those who love these lands and these skies even as much as we do.

We are going to seek, from La Realidad to Tijuana, those who want to organize, struggle and build what may perhaps be the last hope this Nation - which has been going on at least since the time when an eagle alighted on a nopal in order to devour a snake - has of not dying.

We are going for democracy, liberty and justice for those of us who have been denied it.

We are going with another politics, for a program of the left and for a new Constitution.

We are inviting all indigenous, workers, campesinos, teachers, students, housewives, neighbors, small businesspersons, small shop owners, micro-businesspersons, pensioners, handicapped persons, religious men and women, scientists, artists, intellectuals, young persons, women, old persons, homosexuals and lesbians, boys and girls - to participate, whether individually or collectively, directly with the zapatistas in this NATIONAL CAMPAIGN for building another way of doing politics, for a program of national struggle of the left, and for a new Constitution.

And so this is our word as to what we are going to do and how we are going to do it. You will see whether you want to join.

And we are telling those men and women who are of good heart and intent, who are in agreement with this word we are bringing out, and who are not afraid, or who are afraid but who control it, to then state publicly whether they are in agreement with this idea we are presenting, and in that way we will see once and for all who and how and where and when this new step in the struggle is to be made.

While you are thinking about it, we say to you that today, in the sixth month of the year 2005, the men, women, children and old ones of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation have now decided, and we have now subscribed to, this Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona, and those who know how to sign, signed, and those who did not left their mark, but there are fewer now who do not know how, because education has advanced here in this territory in rebellion for humanity and against neoliberalism, that is in zapatista skies and land.

And this was our simple word sent out to the noble hearts of those simple and humble people who resist and rebel against injustices all over the world.

Democracy!
Liberty!
Justice!

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.

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

Mexico, in the sixth month, or June, of the year 2005
Originally published in Spanish by the EZLN

Translated by irlandesa
To add your comments go to http://www.anarkismo.net/newswire.php?story_id=805

3
**The Bamako Appeal and
the Zapatista 6th Declaration
- From Reorganizing the Existing World
to Creating New Ones¹**

Kolya Abramsky

Fifty years after Bandung, the Bamako Appeal calls for a Bandung of the peoples of the South, victims of really existing capitalism, and the rebuilding of a peoples' front of the South able to hold in check both the imperialism of the dominant economic powers and U.S. military hegemony. Such an anti-imperialist front would not oppose the peoples of the South to those of the North. On the contrary, it would constitute the basis of a global internationalism associating them all together in the building of a common civilization in its diversity... The Bamako Appeal is an invitation to all the organizations of struggle representative of the vast majorities that comprise the working classes of the globe, to all those excluded from the neoliberal capitalist system, and to all people and political forces who support these principles-- to work together in order to put into effect the new collective conscience, as an alternative to the present system of inequality and destruction. (Bamako Appeal 2006)

We will forge new relationships... As far as we are able, we will send material aid such as food and handicrafts for those brothers and sisters who are struggling all over the world...we are going

¹ An earlier version of this article was published in Sen and Kumar, compilers, with Bond and Waterman (January 2007).

I would like to thank the following friends and colleagues who have taken the time to send me very useful comments on my original article - Denis, Jai, Peter, Lesley, RJ and Raj. Others who gave valuable feedback or assistance were Sergio, Ramon, Carwil, Friday, Dave and Olivier.

The article does not represent any organization, and the ideas in it (especially those which judge existing organizational processes) are entirely personal observations, though of course based on collective discussion and interaction with others.

The article is deliberately very heavily footnoted, since it is often hard to find archives of past protests, meetings and discussions, especially for people who were not directly involved. This is leading to earlier moments in the evolutions of the so-called "anti-globalization" movement becoming lost. Apologies for footnote haters, if you feel overwhelmed feel free to ignore.©

to fill [a truck] with maize and perhaps two 200 liter cans with oil or petrol, as they prefer, and we are going to deliver it to the Cuban Embassy...we'll also send [people in struggle in Europe] some organic coffee from Zapatista cooperatives, so that they can sell it and get a little money for their struggle. And, if it isn't sold, then they can always have a little cup of coffee and talk about the anti-neoliberal struggle...And to all of those who are resisting throughout the world, we say there must be another intercontinental encuentro...And we think it might be in a place that has a very large jail, because what if they were to repress us and incarcerate us, and so that way we wouldn't be all piled up, prisoners yes, but well organized, and there in the jail we could continue the intercontinental encuentro for humanity and against neoliberalism. (Zapatista 6th Declaration 2005)

Setting the Scene

Between summer 2005 and winter 2006 emancipatory global movements produced two far reaching documents, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration. Unrecorded by the world's mainstream media, these documents, both aimed to raise hope in bleak times, slowly and quietly began to circulate around the world.

Both documents attempt to understand how local, national, regional and global structures and processes interact with one another. Both are calling for some degree of confrontation with the existing order of a capitalist world-system infatuated with militarism and violence. Both are seeking to provoke long-term questions and paths of action, aimed at the construction of viable and lasting alternatives to capitalism. Both deal with the thorny but crucial question of how local struggles relate to wider global processes, how the particular relates to the universal. Finally, both documents are aimed at a wide global audience. Indeed, they aim to circulate as far and wide as possible, linking those already in struggle with one another as well as inspiring new processes of resistance².

² The Bamako Appeal is available at <http://thirdworldforum.net/fren/index.htm>, and the Zapatista 6th Declaration is available in English at www.zaptranslations.blogspot.com. Organizations and individuals can adhere to the documents via these websites.

As such, both documents are significant contributions that emancipatory movements around the world have felt inspired by, and deemed worthy of translating into a wide range of languages, debating and acting upon the texts. Indeed, this article is being rewritten just weeks after the Zapatistas held the first of a series of international meetings as part of the Sixth Declaration process, Encuentro entre los Pueblos Zapatistas y los Pueblos del Mundo (Meeting Between the Zapatista Peoples and the Peoples of the World), which took place over the New Year of 2007. And, at almost exactly the same time, the 7th World Social Forum took place in Nairobi, with important discussions on the Bamako Appeal³.

As will be described below, struggles throughout the world have seen a remarkable development in the last nearly fifteen years, namely a great increase in global coordination and communication between them. Yet, as February 15th 2003 saw the world's biggest single day co-ordinations of grassroots anti-war protesting in history⁴, as trade summits throughout the world cannot escape the virtually inevitable rioting and militarized policing (next in line is the 2007 G8 which will take place in Germany in June)⁵, as the WTO and ALCA negotiations have been thrown into complete turmoil, and even as ever-more left wing governments sweep across Latin America, and the US Congress has shifted substantially towards Democrat control, the limits of popular protest nonetheless become ever more patent. The free trade summits continue, the occupation in Iraq continues, the "clash of civilizations" continues. The war drums on Iran continue, louder by the day. The dollar continues to slide. The hands on the clock continue to tick, getting closer to no one knows what, but getting closer nonetheless.

Despite their broad similarities, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration are also substantially different. They are premised in different understandings of the social relations that shape our lives in today's

³ For reports and proceedings of the Zapatista Encuentro, see: <http://www.zetainternacional.org/> and www.narconews.com. A reader containing debate around the Bamako Appeal was produced for the Nairobi World Social Forum. This reader, which contains an earlier version of this article, can be found at: <http://www.cacim.net/bareader/home.html>. General reports about the Nairobi World Social Forum that are not specifically related to the Bamako Appeal can be found at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agg/free/wsf/nairobi2007/>

⁴ See <http://southmovement.alphalink.com.au/events/> for reports of actions which took place around the world on this global day of action.

⁵ See <http://dissentnetzwerk.org/node/49> for information about these mobilizations.

capitalist world-system, and consequently offer substantially different insights and suggestions to those trying to find their way towards collectively imagining and constructing more humane worlds than the one in which we currently live. This essay is intended as a small contribution to such debate.

While devoting equal attention to both document, on balance the article judges the Zapatista document to be a more useful document than the Bamako Appeal in terms of its potential contribution to long term strategies and organizational efforts aimed at creating new and more emancipatory social relations based on simultaneous processes of confrontational resistance and self-organized social reconstruction. As such, the final section of the article will explore which organizational process exist at the global level that may be able to support and facilitate the autonomous organizational dynamics that the Declaration itself generates at the global level, especially in relation to two important existing global networks - Peoples' Global Action and World Social Forum⁶.

From Anti-imperialism and "National Development" to Globally Networked Anti-Capitalist Struggles and Systemic Crisis

In order to understand the two documents, it is important to situate them in an analysis of the changing constraints of the world-system and its inter-state system, as well as to briefly appraise different "national" development strategies of the past and the historical specificities of current global dynamics. There is nothing new about the world-economy imposing constraints upon specific countries, regions or localities, as well as on specific social sectors within these geographically defined units. Nor is there anything new about resistance to these constraints, both locally

⁶ At this point it is appropriate to add some biographical information. I was very active in PGA from 1998-2002, at both a European level and a global level. Since then I have become less active in the PGA process, for a number of reasons - partly due to engagement in other activities, and partly due to some criticisms of the process which I elaborate on in this article. However, while becoming less active, I have nonetheless continued to follow the discussion process, and since moving to the USA in 2005 have followed email discussions about the process in the US. I have not attended any of the World Social Forums, but have attended some of the preparation meetings for European forums (and alternative forums), and attended the Indian Social Forum in New Delhi in 2006. However, I have closely followed much of the recent discussions, especially in the last two years. As mentioned already, an earlier version of this text was included in a reader that was made for the World Social Forum which took place in Nairobi in 2007, *A Political Programme for the World Social Forum ? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements*. In relation to international Zapatista processes, I attended the *2nd Intercontinental Encuentro For Humanity and Against Neoliberalism* in Spain in 1997, and the *Encuentro entre los Pueblos Zapatistas y los Pueblos del Mundo* which took place in December 2006/January 2007 in Chiapas, Mexico.

and through international cooperation. Since its beginning, the world-system as a whole has always been both constitutive of and constituted by the parts which exist within it, existing in creative tension, in which social relations are in a continual process of evolution, as patterns of domination are continually imposed, resisted, redefined, and reimposed, both spatially and temporally.

As such, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration both are direct heirs of the numerous attempts at resistance and experimentation as subordinated populations and regions attempt to better their position within the world-economy which have taken place over the last several centuries. It is important to simultaneously recognize their debts to the past (which indeed both documents explicitly do) as well as assessing their appropriateness for the specific current conjuncture which has given rise to the two texts, and to what extent they might be useful or limiting to future social struggles.

Throughout the last century, a wide variety of struggles and strategies against unequal distribution of resources, wealth, surplus and power emerged to challenge the hierarchies of the world-economy, its interstate system and world-wide division of labor, hierarchies which simultaneously existed (and continue existing) both between states and within states. Although some of struggles in the early part of the 20th century involved attempts to go beyond the nation state as a form of organizing social relations (the most significant example being revolutionary Spain in the late 1930s, in which anarchists played an important role), the majority, and most enduring, of struggles ended up relying on, and reinforcing the state (and the inter-state system) as a crucial form of managing and disciplining the social relations of production and exchange. The triumph of Stalin's conception of Socialism in One Country as distinct from Trotsky's conception of World-Revolution also played a key role in cementing this state of affairs. All state based strategies of social transformation have placed great emphasis on the need to "develop", "modernize" and industrialize, even those which have also placed great emphasis on the rural sector, such as (amongst others) Maoist China. These processes were backed up at an intellectual level by the dominant strands of orthodox "Marxism", most of which (at least until the 1960s) was rooted in the discourse of modernization based around "stages of development" majority. Such state-led efforts have been met with varying degrees of success, even in their own terms.

Yet, despite this common adherence to the nation state form, and the inability to escape completely from the constraints of the world-economy and the inter-state system, the post-second world-war global accumulation regime was based around a wide variety of different state forms and strategies - some more confrontational and some more accommodating to the capitalist world-order around them. Some of these attempts, such as the USSR in its early years, placed greater emphasis on confrontation and rupture with the existing order. Others, such as North Korea, tried to escape through autarky and delinking from the world economy. Yet others, such as the Western European welfare states, tried to accommodate. Some, such as Cuba, went to great efforts to abolish internal patterns of hierarchy and domination, while others, such as South Korea or Ireland, merely sought to ascend the ladder and better their own terms of engagement. A few protected, sought, or achieved global hegemony.

Nation states (and their associated "national" economies) achieved (and were granted) a relatively high degree of autonomy, based on a continual interplay between resistance and accommodation to the wider global constraints and the successful (or at times unsuccessful) management of class forces⁷, both at the national level and globally. Economic growth together with social management was achieved through national pacts, with coalitions of class forces varying from country to country. This is a process that started in the early 19th century, but really gained strength in the fires of the second world-war, which laid the terrain for the state centered post war-landscape of global accumulation under US hegemony. This landscape, in which global capital and the international communist movement found an uneasy yet acquiescent accommodation in the form of the Cold War, was based around the Bretton Woods Institutions, and

⁷ This discussion of class is based on the understanding that the division of labor is essentially a world-wide phenomenon, with national states serving to divide a global labor force, managing specific sections that inhabit territories under their jurisdiction and/or commercial or military influence, in order to continually produce, reproduce and control the labor force. Working class is understood in the broadest sense of the word, including anyone whose labor (or land or other natural resources) needs to be harnessed and/or commodified in order to produce surplus value. It does not prioritize industrial labor in the factory, nor urban labor over agricultural labor, nor waged labor over unwaged labor (mainly domestic, subsistence agricultural, bonded or prison labor, and in the past different forms of slavery and serfdom). Furthermore, it is based on the premise that real hierarchies and conflicts of interest exist within the working class itself due to internal structures of racist, sexist, ethnocentric, ageist or other forms of oppression and domination. Crucial material and status hierarchies also result from people's differing positions within the global division of labor, a hierarchy based around fundamentally different wage levels, both within, and especially between countries depending on their position within core-periphery hierarchies.

varying forms of Keynesian monetary policies combined with Fordist production regimes, formal political independence for colonies, developmentalism and import-substitution-industrialization (ISI). Importantly, monetary policy was in the hands of somewhat autonomous national central banks under political control. In countries associated with the Soviet bloc, as well as Communist countries that followed a different path (notably Yugoslavia), a different form of national development occurred, but showed remarkable similarities in many ways, still prioritizing industrial development and economic growth, and still largely based around the nation state form as a way of managing internally the labor force⁸.

However, and for a variety of reasons, state forms which had served well in the past have become increasingly untenable since the 1970s, and the state centered global accumulation regime has given way to the neoliberal, or so-called "globalization" regime, a regime that the Zapatistas have aptly baptized the "Fourth World War". This is a highly unstable accumulation regime which, via numerous financial crises, is in the process of swiftly morphing into what many are calling "armed globalization", "permanent global war" or "endless war" (Midnight Notes Collective 2001, 2002). Very briefly, this change, which has involved a substantial "financialization" of capital, has come about due to the undermining of the previous global accumulation regime, due to a combination of pressures. These pressures have come simultaneously "from above" (especially in relation to the decline of US hegemony), and "from below" (associated with the global labor force escaping capitalist control, especially following the Vietnam war and the world-wide circulation of struggles associated with 1968 and into the 1970s)⁹.

⁸ For a range of perspectives on role of the nation state in managing particular sections of the global accumulation regime and the world-wide division of labor, and the importance of national pacts (in combination with state repression) to undermine or contain class conflict within these global processes, see the following: Polanyi (1944/57); Silver (2003); Arrighi and Silver (1999); Holloway and Bonefeld (1995); Wallerstein (1984); Dunayevskaya, James and Lee Boggs (1950).

⁹ A detailed discussion of these changes is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this article. For a discussion of pressures "from above", especially in relation to the decline of US hegemony and the financialization of capital, see Amin et al (1982), Hopkins and Wallerstein (1996), Arrighi and Silver (1999), Arrighi (1994). For a discussion of pressures "from below" associated with the global labor force escaping capitalist control and the relationship between world-wide class struggle and financialization of capital in the 1970s, see Holloway and Bonefeld (1995), Cleaver (1989). For an analysis that combines both, though with specific reference to the US state, see O'Connor (1973). In any case, although different authors have placed differing emphasis, the distinction between pressure "from below" and pressure "from above" are to some degree artificial. This is why quotations have been used (McMichael (1990)).

Furthermore, the international organizational efforts aimed at promoting inter-state cooperation between peripheral countries in order to improve their collective strength in the world-system were greatly weakened during this period. Especially important in this regard was the fact that proposals to create a New International Economic Order through UNCTAD and a similar global restructuring of communications infrastructures through UNESCO, failed to materialize, and the Non-Aligned Movement/Tricontinental were reduced to the sorry condition of being either willing to accommodate to the demands of the global market, or powerless to confront it on its own terms. In parallel, and following the break up of the Soviet Union and the Comecon economy, the GATT has expanded both in scope and in the number of its members, and its Uruguay Round of negotiations resulted in the establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1995. The WTO now includes 150 member countries. China is a full member and Russia has Observer status and is in the process of becoming a full member.

Whereas the previous accumulation regime had been based on states having certain powers (albeit distributed very unevenly between states) the neoliberal regime has been based around an immense centralization of power towards the global level and a corresponding loss of autonomy for states, as the balance of forces has, at least temporarily, shifted in favour of capital. Multilateral, regional and bilateral trade regimes (including, but not limited to, the World Trade Organization, NAFTA, European Union, APEC) and international financial institutions (IFIs) (including but not limited to, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, regional development banks (e.g. Inter-American Development Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and credit rating agencies (e.g. Moody's, Standard and Poors)), as well as investment banks and hedge funds (e.g. The Quantum Fund) have all become enormously powerful. So too have financial markets, and transnational corporations. The latter have become powerful both in economic terms due to concentration of capital through mergers and acquisitions which in the last twenty years have happened at both an unprecedented scale and speed, as well as in political terms due to the proliferation of highly organized and influential business lobby groups, such as the World Economic Forum, International Chamber of Commerce, or the European Round Table of Industrialists, to name but a few. Importantly, the United Nations is also being subjected to these market pressures, with a major example of this being the Global Compact, an initiative aimed at establishing high level partnerships between the UN and leading industrialists.

This imposed expansion of the global market, and the corresponding centralization of power toward institutions representing the interests of global capital has meant that measures that were at one time effective for pursuing "national development" (even putting aside the critiques of the "developmental" model itself, which will be discussed below) have been effectively outlawed or made increasingly difficult. These include national currency controls, central bank autonomy, local performance requirements, national procurement requirements, tariffs and quotas, generic production, and other forms of national protection. Even public ownership and restrictions on upper-levels of land ownership are substantially threatened. This applies across the board, covering agricultural, industrial and service sectors, as well as intellectual property rights and investment regulations (both Foreign Direct Investment and Portfolio). Certain investment treaties even include provisos allowing companies to sue national governments for compensation if their interests are threatened. Whilst countries are hit differently, according to their economic, commercial, financial and military weight (as well as their internal class relations and social stability), all countries are hit to some degree. Even the USA has had WTO rulings against it, and its continued membership in the organization is provisional on the fact that it does not make more than three major rulings against it.

However, it is essential to stress that while states are changing, they are not necessarily weakening. While it is undoubtedly true to say that the partial autonomy that states had in the 30 years following the second world-war is weakening, it is also important to remember that states have never been completely autonomous, and have always functioned within a continuously evolving inter-state system of hierarchically networked states, in which some states are more autonomous relative to others (Wallerstein (1988), Holloway and Bonefeld (1995)). Nor should states be viewed as innocent bystanders in the process. Rather they have been, and continue to be, complicit in the construction of an increasingly centralized and polarized world market. Whilst states have always been collectively networked to manage, police, legitimate, restructure and impose the world-wide division of labor, recent changes mean that their role as the protectors and armed guardians of this order is becoming ever more explicit. States continue to serve the interests of protecting and promoting the expansion of capital, subsidizing it through the continued transfer of wealth from the public to the private sector, at

the same time as repressing dissent, and in particular labor¹⁰. Admittedly, the compromises that gave rise to a state with a role in providing welfare and stimulating national "development" may well have been (at least temporarily) undermined, but the state itself as an institution has not¹¹ .

However, what is changing, and perhaps irreversibly, is the public perception of state, both the state in general, and the developmental state in particular. Apart from in the few areas of the world where oppressed national groups are still struggling for a state (such as in Palestine, Kurdistan or Western Sahara), the state as an institution has progressively lost legitimacy since the world-wide circulation of social struggles in the 1960s and 70s. And, perhaps more importantly in the long-term, the promise of deferred reward contained in 'Modernization' and 'Development' discourses is also becoming increasingly hard to swallow for large numbers of people, movements and even governments in the periphery. As potential for communication and travel has increased, it has become ever more difficult to isolate people from one another in order to hide and deny social inequalities, both within countries and between them. Calls to be patient and wait for "development" at some undefined point in the future are becoming increasingly hard to swallow. This means that capital's option of implementing partial reforms which only satisfy a select group and exclude the rest, a process which has been essential in staving off and containing resistance in the past, is becoming increasingly unfeasible.

Yet, the more social demands are met, and especially if they are to be met for the broad majority in periphery countries, the more capitalism's profit margins will become squeezed. However, failure to respond to these social and economic demands will mean increasingly profound crises of legitimacy throughout the world, core and periphery alike, making it harder to contain resistance without direct repression, a cycle which further undermines legitimacy. These processes are not new, and were crucial factors in the cycle of struggles in the 60s and 70s. However, they have

¹⁰ Labor here is understood in the broadest sense. See footnote 2.

¹¹ See McMichael and Patel (2004) for a discussion that stresses the essential continuities between the Third Worldist developmental state and the nakedly coercive neoliberal state form based on national elites and a disciplinary process that they describe as "global fascism". Their argument builds heavily on Fanon's critique of Third World elites.

only been intensifying and accelerating since that period. Furthermore, struggles since this period, which importantly have often uncompromisingly prioritized struggles against hierarchies based around race, gender, age and ethnicity (in addition to struggles related to land, capital, economic opportunity, access to education and healthcare, etc), continue to present an ever more profound challenge to the unitary conception of state based development and to the ideology that surrounds it (Arrighi and Silver (1999); Hopkins and Wallerstein et al (1996); Wallerstein (1998); Cleaver (1988), (1989)).

Another important fact to consider is that accumulation of surplus is a global process. Nation states do not compete to accumulate. Rather, they compete for a share in global accumulation. The post second world-war economic boom generated a surplus big enough to distribute in a way that simultaneously allowed for major social reforms in the industrialized countries, minor social reforms in the now formally sovereign "developing countries", as well as leaving record profits for capital. All of this took place under and underpinned US hegemony. However, it is very likely that in any future expansions of the world-economy the competition for a share of the global surplus will be far tighter than it was in the post-war period, as we head towards a tripolar world of increasing rivalry between the USA, the European Union, and some configuration of Asian countries possibly involving China, India, Japan and the Koreas. All of this means that, in the face of growing social demands, it is likely that the majority of peripheral states are only able to capture a far smaller share of the global surplus than was possible during the era of the developmentalist state. This is likely to contribute to an important source of international tension, as well as fuelling south-north migration (Wallerstein 1998).

Crisis-A Stark Choice Between Accommodation and Confrontation?

These changes underway in relation to the state must be understood in the context of crisis. A number of crises have been manifesting themselves in recent years. The crisis of US hegemony is occurring in the context of a longer term crisis, the crisis of the capital-labor relation. The cumulative effects of past struggles, as well as the effects of reaching the planet's ecological and geographical limits, are making it increasingly hard for capital to maintain and expand its profit levels. Restorative mechanisms that have worked in the past

are becoming increasingly difficult to implement, deepening a long term systemic crisis, of the world-economy and its inter-state system. Crisis as a prolonged period of systemic disintegration, driving us forward with not only the need for far reaching change, but also the hope, opportunity and expanding possibilities opened up for emancipatory resistance, aiming for fundamental changes at the global level, going beyond any individual nation states. Once again it is becoming possible to imagine ruptures and revolution. (Wallerstein (1998), Hopkins and Wallerstein (1996); Amin et al (1982), Holloway and Bonefeld (1995), Cleaver (1993), Bell and Cleaver (1992))¹² .

A stark choice is presented - either accommodate on increasingly harsh and unfeasible terms to the demands of the world-economy, or resist in an openly confrontational manner. As will be described below, such confrontation is in fact increasingly occurring, both at the social level and at the state level, and ranging from the local, to the regional, the national, the international and, if Zapatista propaganda is to be believed, even the intergalactic levels. It is taking many different forms. Some resistance is explicitly anti-statist, such as the community based Zapatistas, some is more in favor of taking state power, as the recent electoral victory of Evo Morales in Bolivia shows. What is clear is that the last years have seen many different struggles accelerating their efforts at communicating and coordinating amongst each other at the global level through the painstaking, incredibly complex but also inspiring construction of global grassroots networks. These networking processes have had great success, which will be described later in this article, in accelerating a decentralized process of global convergence and communication between locally rooted struggles in different parts of the world based on respect for diversity and autonomy and a multiplicity of different political perspectives and organizational forms.

¹² It is not possible to go into greater discussion about crisis in this article. While it is widely agreed that the current period is a period of prolonged crisis, the causes are not generally agreed upon. Wallerstein (1998), Hopkins and Wallerstein (1996); Amin et al (1982) tend to focus on the crisis of US hegemony and the long-term crisis of the capitalist world-system. Holloway and Bonefeld (1995), Cleaver (1993), Bell and Cleaver (1992) focus more on the crisis of the capital-labor relationship, and the increasing difficulty that capital is facing in order to impose control on labor. However, both schools of thought have in common the understanding that the current period is simultaneously one of great danger and great hope and that long- term outcomes will greatly depend on the strength of worldwide social struggle.

It is in this context that the global War On Terror must be understood, a War on Terror that simultaneously threatens dissident states and dissident populations. While not denying the threat of weapons proliferation, the way in which the Capital-Letter War On Terror is being formulated and pushed means that the obsession with possible probable potential weapons of mass destruction is essentially a policing of different long term strategies of national level (state based) industrialization (as well as global social unrest). This is especially paradoxical given that international processes are at the same time heavily favoring a transition from oil to nuclear energy, giving very little support to renewable energies, and it is virtually impossible to separate the civilian and military use of nuclear energy. Importantly, multilateral, regional and bilateral trade and investment treaties are also increasingly including security clauses (Midnight Notes Collective 2002).

The young global networks have also been quick to respond to (though largely still ineffective in stopping) the global War on Terror, especially in relation to the war and occupation against Iraq, Palestine, and the war against Lebanon, as well as its "internal war" on migrants etc. Movements have also played an important role in accelerating struggles from the street into the negotiating halls of global institutions, as progressive or revolutionary movements have come to power, notably in several Latin American countries. Periphery states currently find themselves in a strange position, being caught between pressures of the world-market and facing enormous legitimacy crises in the face of their populations. Although it is too early to tell, this is perhaps reopening a significant space up for more radical, anti-imperialist, state based processes to emerge, as evidenced throughout Latin America, and importantly in the resource rich countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and most recently, Ecuador. The existence of such governments has been very important in shifting the discourse from one of free trade for the region to an almost entirely delegitimized and paralyzed the Free Trade Area of the Americas (ALCA in Spanish) and promoting the early rumblings of alternative regional integration processes. These include the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America (ALBA in Spanish) which Chavez is pushing, as well as two different processes of regional integration that Morales is carefully trying to construct simultaneously from the bottom upwards and from the top downwards. The end of 2006 saw two major summits to this effect in Bolivia - the Cumbre de la Comunidad Sudamericana de Naciones (CSN) [Summit of the South American Community of Nations] and the Cumbre Social por la Integración de los Pueblos [Social Summit for the Integration of the Peoples]¹³. Similarly,

recent WTO meetings (especially Hong Kong and Cancun) have witnessed major tensions between core and periphery countries (as well as among the core countries). The collapse of the WTO talks which took place in Geneva in summer 2006 mark an almost certain failure of the Doha Round. This collapse was largely due to the Indian government's position on agriculture, a position which was forced upon it by the strong peasant movements which exist in that country¹⁴. Needless to say, as these globally coordinated resistance processes have taken off, becoming more massified and moving from the streets to the corridors of state power, they have also become increasingly complex and contradictory. However, despite all the difficulties and uncertainties, their existence has been of vital importance, and their continued survival and evolution is likely to have an important impact on how the world-economy develops in the years ahead.

However, it would be dangerous to celebrate all forms of resistance, or to naively equate resistance to the status quo with emancipatory resistance. As existing power structures and mechanisms of control lose their ability to maintain order, space is opened up for many different forms of resistance. An important and obvious example of this is Al Qaeda, or the religious state of Iran which has recently hosted an international conference aimed at denying the Nazi Holocaust, a conference attended by such beacons of hatred and injustice as KKK wizard David Duke. A crumbling of regimes of power at the global level also opens up enormous space for the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, both into state hands and non-state entities. Similarly, should emancipatory global movements celebrate the fact that North Korea does indeed seem to have the nuclear bomb? Surely just because such actors are "standing up to the USA" this should not make them friends of the friends of justice and, as the Zapatistas would say, those who are "for humanity". Thus, a key question opens up - on what basis can we¹⁵ confront current social relations in order to transform the world

¹³ For a very informative analysis of this twin process, and the implications it has for movements in the region, see *América Latina en una Encrucijada Histórica* by Ramón Fernández Durán (2007).

¹⁴ For an analysis of the role of Indian peasant movements in the collapse of WTO talks in 2006, see *Biggest victory yet over WTO and "free" trade. Celebrate it!* by Olivier de Marcellus (2006).

¹⁵ The word "we" is used to describe people who are participating, in different ways, in collective processes of emancipatory social change. This includes people active in a wide range of social movements, understood as broad-based participatory processes consciously aimed at deconstructing different forms of discrimination and oppression and building equal and sustainable social relations. It also includes people who express their desire for change in forms which are not primarily political or antagonistic, but have a collective social impact, such as cultural resistance and creativity.

in a broadly emancipatory direction? We cannot afford to be trapped into the Cold War logic of supporting the "lesser" form of two equally despotic forms of control.

The next decades will undoubtedly be a time of rapid transformation and increasing conflict between different understandings of the kind of social relations we want to build in the future. As has been described above, many substantial changes are already underway and likely to intensify in the near future, in particular regarding the role and social perception of the state and its sources of authority and legitimacy. In addition to the many dangers inherent in this process, it also provides an excellent opportunity to advance long term emancipatory social change. But to make use of this historic opportunity, we urgently need to deepen and extend the existing global networks of struggles for social change and create alternative and decentralised social and economic relations at the grassroots level, in order to increase our collective capacity to transform society in such directions.

Although it is undeniable that recent efforts at state centered radical transformation, as exemplified by Evo Morales and Hugo Chavez, are an important, and even essential, part of today's radical struggles, it nonetheless remains an open question as to what extent they will actually be able to fulfill their stated goals. Linked to this is the degree to which anti-imperialist but state-centered forms of the past will become widely viable or desirable again at some point in the future. In general, the idea of nostalgically returning to past forms of social organization is something that is frequently both undesirable and unfeasible, and tends to ignore the reasons that these organizational forms were undermined in the first place. As the above discussion of crisis acknowledges, the importance (and perhaps the possibility) of building new forms of social organization rather than returning to old ones, cannot be over-emphasized. History does not repeat itself in mechanistic cycles, but rather is built upon past processes in ways that are both cumulative and spiraling outwards, as antagonisms are not merely reproduced with time, but are expanded and intensified (Fernand Braudel Center RWG 1979, Cleaver 1993, Bell and Cleaver 2002, Holloway 2005, Holloway and Bonefeld 1995, Hopkins and Wallerstein 1996, Wallerstein 1998, McMichael 1990).

It is within these historically specific dynamics of systemic crisis, and, hopefully emancipatory, social struggle that the Zapatista 6th Declaration and the Bamako Appeal must be understood, evaluated and acted upon. The remainder of this article will turn to these questions.

The Zapatistas - Armed Matchmakers of Global Anti-capitalism¹⁶

From their very early days, the Zapatistas were quick to call for international attention, and equally quick to receive it. One of their very early moves was to initiate a series of Intercontinental (humorously extended to Intergalactic) Encuentros for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism. Such gatherings, the first which was held under virtual military siege in Chiapas itself, attracted thousands of people from many parts of the world¹⁷. The slogan of the gatherings were "A World With Space for Many Worlds". Rather than attempting to lead an international movement headed by the Zapatistas, such encuentros aimed to create political spaces, for an incredibly fragmented, diverse, complicated and highly disillusioned social fabric to slowly come together, building globally reaching threads of solidarity where they had not previously existed. Solidarity based on mutual learning, inspiration, and the recognition of being part of a common global struggle against the global regime of neoliberalism (a term itself popularized by the Zapatistas), in what the Zapatistas referred to as the Fourth World War. From the beginning, despite conflicting tendencies, the aim of what has since been referred to as an "armed matchmaking process" (Midnight Notes Collective 2001) was to go beyond conventional (and often patronizing) one way solidarity from wealthy Northern countries to poor Southern countries. Rather, the challenge posed by the Zapatistas was that "*Todos Somos Indios*"- "*We are all Indians*", and that the best way for people to help the Zapatistas was to resist, rebel and construct alternatives in their own locations and to network struggles on the basis of autonomy, rather than on the basis of a homogenizing vision of unity.

¹⁶ This phrase has been borrowed from Midnight Notes Collective (2001)

¹⁷ The proceedings of the First Encuentro for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism, held in 1996 in Chiapas, are recorded in *Cronicas Intergalacticas Primer Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalism*, by the EZLN (1996), as well as on the website <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/chiapas1996/en/encounter1dx.html>. Information about the other Intercontinental Encuentros can be found at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/chiapas1996/en/gatherdx.html>.

And, needless to say, the process was immensely complex, attempting to construct new forms of unity, based on diversity, recognition of mutual ignorance in an ongoing experiment, and the ability to learn from one another, rather than the traditional leftist canons of homogenization, towing the party line as exemplified by select groups of intellectual holders of the truth, and the arrogant assurance of historical inevitability. An interesting, yet hardly recognized, example of this process of moving from solidarity to inspiration was the first protest in Davos against the World Economic Forum. Whilst these are now big events, blessed with the sanctity of the World Social Forum, the history of these protests goes back to 1994, just a few weeks after the Zapatista uprising, when a handful of Swiss activists decided to support the Zapatistas by protesting Zedillo's participation there (together with Kurdish supporters who were similarly protesting the presence of the Turkish heads of state), only gradually learning about the global merits of protesting the WEF's existence outright¹⁸. The inspirational effect of the Zapatista concept of self-organization based around autonomy and diversity meant that the 1st Intercontinental Encuentro, held in 1996 in Chiapas, must be seen as one of the key moments in the emergence of the so called "anti-globalization", "global justice", or "anti-capitalist" movement that has taken shape in recent years. Concretely, out of the second *encuentro* (held in the Spanish State in 1997) emerged Peoples' Global Action (PGA), a global communication and coordination tool that helped place WTO in the targets of globally coordinated struggles, with the first day of decentralized global action against WTO occurring in 1998, over a year before the protests in Seattle erupted into the world's media. The network had a crucial impact between 1998 and 2001, and, despite currently being in a complicated process of trying to redefine itself, and reemerge from a prolonged period of relative inactivity it may play an important role again in the future. (Abramsky 2001, Midnight Notes Collective 2001, Notes From Nowhere 2003, PGA website)

¹⁸ For a history of the resistance against Davos prior to the World Social Forums, see the leaflet *Auf Nach Davos* calling for resistance to the 2001 World Economic Forum, reproduced in Abramsky (2001). Also, see the call for global action against the 1998 World Economic Forum in *Peoples' Global Action Bulletin 0*, 1997, available at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/bulletin0.htm#5> and the archives of protests at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wsf/>.

Fast-forwarding a decade, the summer of 2005 saw the Zapatistas go into a red alert. After a long and intensive period of collective self-reflection and discussion within their communities, they issued the following grave, yet hopeful announcement:

To our way of thinking, and what we see in our heart, we have reached a point where we cannot go any further, and, in addition, it is possible that we could lose everything we have if we remain as we are and do nothing more in order to move forward. The hour has come to take a risk once again and to take a step which is dangerous but which is worthwhile. (Zapatista 6th Declaration)

As well as having a major effect within Mexico, which will be described later in this article, the declaration also immediately attracted large amounts of attention throughout the world, and especially amongst movements in Latin America. The initial excitement and expectations generated by the 6th Declaration within global networks was nicely summed up as follows:

The most important thing about this initiative, in my opinion, is its timing. It is eleven years since the tide began to roll back against neo-liberalism and imperialism. But for the Zapatistas, not enough has been accomplished. I have the sense that they are not the only ones who think this. I have the sense that throughout Latin America, and especially in all those countries where left or populist groups have come to power, there is a similar feeling that this has not been enough, that these governments have had to make too many compromises, that popular enthusiasm is waning. I have the sense that in the World Social Forum, there is the same sentiment that what they have accomplished since they started in 2001 has been remarkable, but is not enough, that the WSF cannot simply continue to do the same things over and over. In Iraq and the Middle East in general there seems also to be a sense that the resistance to the machista interventionism of the United States has been amazingly strong but that even so it has not been enough. Will the 6th Declaration now be the inspiration for a similar reevaluation throughout Latin America, in the World Social Forum, throughout the antisystemic movements all around the globe? And what will be the detailed objectives of the next phase?(Wallerstein 2005)

Peoples' Global Action and the World Social Forum - Awkward Dancing Partners?

PGA (Peoples' Global Action) emerged, at least in part, from the international process around the Zapatistas in 1997/1998. The network has played a very important role in building autonomous and decentralized networks between existing groups and organizations and also in creating a political context that allowed new groups to spring up, seemingly from nowhere, thus spreading non-hierarchical, autonomous and decentralized ways of politically organizing.

Through a series of decentralized global days of actions and other initiatives¹⁹ PGA has had a number of startling successes in delegitimizing many of the global institutions, so much so that now all their meetings are trailed by local and global protests even without any clear PGA involvement. Indeed, the virtual collapse of the WTO in the 8 years since the first PGA conference took place is a huge achievement, certainly not one that is exclusively attributable to PGA, but PGA's crucial role cannot be underestimated. The collapse of the Doha Round of WTO talks in the summer of 2006 was a great victory for global movements. This victory is attributable in part to Indian peasant (and other) organizations forcing the Indian government to change its position within the WTO. These organizations have been a major driving force within PGA since its founding, contributing the guiding slogan "WTO is a Killer! Kill the WTO!".

In addition to its role in delegitimizing institutions of global capital, PGA has also created important global networks of information flow, among many different groups, especially so-called "autonomous groups" in the north, and peasant, indigenous and Black community organizations in many southern countries. Also, these projects, all of which had a unifying global theme, have been very important in going beyond traditional boundaries

¹⁹ Early PGA inspired global days of action include protests against WTO (Geneva) and G8 (Birmingham) in 1998 (<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/bulletin2/bulletin2b.html>, <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/bulletin2/m16europe.htm#Birmingham>), The Intercontinental Caravan in Europe (<http://squat.net/caravan/>), and June 18th Carnival Against Capital in 1999 (<http://bak.spc.org/j18/>, <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/global/j18.htm>) and to a lesser extent the anti WTO mobilization in Seattle (<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/uscaravan/index.html>, <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/seattle/index.htm>, <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/seattle/n30/index.htm>) (lesser because there were many other networks and organizations involved, not just PGA), and a caravan in Latin America (<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/pgalatina/southamericacaravan.htm>).

of what was possible within already existing networking processes, both in terms of scale and geographical reach.

However, I believe²⁰, PGA also has a number of important failures, failures that will need to be collectively assessed and addressed if PGA is to continue to have relevance as an organizational process in the next phases in global struggles. It has been almost entirely unable to build networks in Africa and the Arab world (sadly, in many ways unintentionally mirroring their exploitation, exclusion and marginalization by the world-economy as a whole); it has found it very difficult to involve mass organizations in the north, suffering acute problems of sub-cultural self-marginalization and invisibility (especially in Europe); and generally the PGA-inspired anti-capitalist elements have been fairly invisible in the "official" global history of the so-called "anti-globalization/alter-justice" movements, which is being told increasingly noisily by more and more people, but is unfortunately frequently inaccurate about the early years of the movement and its origins.

On the regional level, when concrete actions have been proposed (eg G8 summits in Evian²¹, Gleneagles²², Hong Kong²³, or St Petersburg²⁴, as well as the upcoming anti-G8 mobilizations in Germany²⁵ and the No Border Camp on the Mexican-US border²⁶), PGA continues to be a unique tool, in terms of providing a coherent framework for decentralized, autonomous confrontational direct actions. However, at the global level there has been no tangible unifying initiative within PGA for several years, a dimension which in the past was one of its key features. The last global PGA conference took place in Cochabamba in 2001 the week after September 11th, organized by the different movements which were then led by Evo Morales²⁷.

²⁰ See footnote 1, that the article is being written in a personal capacity rather than in representation of any organizational process. The following section on both PGA and WSF is subjective.

²¹ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/evian/index.htm> for reports.

²² See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/resistg8/reports/index.htm> for reports

²³ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wto/hongkong2005/reports/index.htm> for reports.

²⁴ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/g82006/reports/index.html> for reports.

²⁵ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/g82007/> for information about upcoming events.

²⁶ An English language brochure about this camp can be found at http://deletetheborder.org/files/ZINE%20A_eng.pdf.

²⁷ A report of this conference can be found at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/cocha/index.htm>.

Let us now take a step sideways to examine a parallel evolution within recent global networking processes, the World Social Forum - out of which the Bamako Appeal, an entirely different type of document from the Zapatista Sixth Declaration, was issued in early 2006.

The first World Social Forum took place in Puerto Alegre in 2001, in parallel and opposition to the meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos. This event brought together unprecedented massive numbers of opponents to neoliberalism - literally tens, and later hundreds, of thousands of activists, came to the Forum, whereas previous global meetings had had hundreds or occasionally one thousand participants. The first World Social Forum emerged from alliances that had been developing between different NGOs and alternative summits processes in relation to free trade agreements (especially important was the networking that emerged against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) in 1997-8). At this stage, most of these NGOs were lobbying for ameliorative reforms within the free trade agreements and institutions rather than pushing outright rejection and confrontation. Although some NGOs were more confrontational than others, the main emphasis was on lobbying rather than reform. The process was in the early stages of a shift towards greater levels of outright confrontation, with the defeat of the MAI marking an important radicalization of this process.

Within this process two organizations stand out as of particular importance - Attac (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions to Aid Citizens) and the Brazilian PT (Workers' Party). Attac is an organization that started in France to promote a mass movement aimed at taxing financial transactions in order to create a development fund and to help curb stock market speculation. The organization later inspired branches in many parts of the world, and its activity has expanded to include a wide range of issues including the WTO and international financial institutions, debt, taxation of financial transactions, tax havens, public services, water, regional free-trade zones. Attac coined a slogan that would retain importance in the coming years - "The World is Not for Sale". An important forerunner to the creation of the World Social Forum was the series of international meetings hosted by Attac in Paris in the summer of 1999, culminating in a very large meeting. The slogan that the WSF has since then popularized - "Another World is Possible" - was

already visible at this stage²⁸. It took a further two years to build the alliances and organizational capacity to host the first World Social Forum in 2001²⁹.

World-wide public sympathy towards the string of decentralised global actions against international organizations such as the WTO, World Bank, and IMF that had taken place from 1998 onwards resulted in a very positive process of increasing involvement by more mainstream social and political movements in what the media came to call 'the anti-globalisation movement'. Whilst not being in any way limited to this, the first World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre in 2001 was a clear manifestation of the growing interest and participation by the social-democratic, reformist or classic hierarchical left (including NGOs and political parties) in a process that had been initiated by more explicitly anti-authoritarian networks of autonomous and anti-capitalist social movements in the North and mass based anti-capitalist/anti-imperialist social movements in the South. This development had simultaneously positive and negative consequences.

On the positive side, many mainstream social and political movements took up seriously for the first time the struggle against global capitalism due to the 'mainstreamisation' of the so-called 'anti-globalisation movement', and the ones that were already working on this topic shifted the bulk of their work from lobbying international institutions to publicly denouncing and condemning them³⁰. This was a further blow to the legitimacy of these institutions, and of the economic and political system that they symbolise. Important long term strategic debates about

²⁸ A meeting entitled "*The dictatorship of Financial Markets - Another World is Possible*" took place in Paris June 24-25-26 1999, organized by ATTAC in partnership with CADTM/COCAD (Committee for the Cancellation of Third World Debt), DAWN (Development of Alternatives for Women in a New Era), the WFA - World Forum of Alternatives, and CC AMI/MAI (Coordination of Committees against MAI's Clones).

²⁹ I attended an international seminar in 1997 entitled "Surviving in a Globalized World" in Aachen, Germany. In this seminar, Susan George, drawing on the importance of Gramsci, gave a talk about the World Economic Forum. Already at this event she mentioned that it would be very good to hold a parallel event called a 'World Social Forum'. The 1997 event was a preparatory seminar to launch Peoples' Global Action, prior to its first conference in Geneva in January 1998.

³⁰ According to Dave Bleakney of the Canadian Postal Workers Union, this was one of the main achievements of Peoples' Global Action. "Up until the PGA inspired global street resistance labour and NGOs lobbied hard to be inside these summits. Now, politically it is seen as unacceptable to hang out with the bastards inside while thousands march outside. PGA did not inspire a movement of beggars and that is its biggest achievement, even if people aren't aware of it..." (private email communication, 13/12/2005, quoted with permission).

capitalism once again opened up within organizations and established consensus have come to be weakened. Furthermore, the active involvement of people from increasingly diverse social and political backgrounds in the mobilisations made them much larger, more fertile and increasingly problematic to repress³¹. Finally, the intentional visibility of the Social Forums made them more accessible to people without previous political experience than networks without representatives or spokespersons. In many ways, mass Forums that attract upwards of 100,000 people can be seen as crucial schools for people to learn and debate about a broad range of issues.

The negative side is closely connected to the positive side. The unequivocal rejection of capitalism and its overseeing institutions and governments, which characterised the first mobilisations, became slightly blurred as mainstream organizations joined the actions with demands towards these institutions which would actually increase their powers (such the Social Clause in the WTO, neo-Keynesian proposals for a Social Europe, a Tobin Tax on international financial transactions, etc). These demands are extremely unlikely to ever be implemented, but their presence in the mobilisations and the collective discourse of the so-called 'anti-globalisation movement' undermines the coherence of the message and therefore its delegitimizing potential. This is an unsurprising consequence of the involvement of social and political organisations which fight against neo-liberalism, not against capitalism.

A more serious problem is related to the same questions of visibility and forms of organisation that was referred to above. The WSF was created among other reasons due to the fact that there was no visible actor at the international level behind the large global mobilisations that took place from 1998 to 2000. These actions resulted in a major breakdown of legitimacy for both the WTO (due to the global days of action in Geneva

³¹ Unfortunately, the repression happened anyhow, as exemplified by the criminal behaviour of Italian authorities during the protests against the G8 summit in Genoa, in July 2001, which included the murder of Carlo Giuliani and the sadistic and totally unjustified attacks on demonstrators in the streets and in the Diaz school (where 66 of the 93 people who were sleeping had to be taken out in stretchers, many of them with broken jaws and ribs and punctured lungs). But the involvement of large and diverse social sectors in the protest provoked a strong rejection of that murder and of the repression in general, something that would not have happened in that way if only autonomous anti-capitalist groups would have participated.

in 1998³² and Seattle in 1999³³), the G8 in 1999³⁴, IMF/World Bank (due to the protests in Washington³⁵ and Prague³⁶ in 2000), and the World Economic Forum (due to regular and growing international actions in Davos, Switzerland, from 1994 onwards³⁷ (as well as later in Cancun, Melbourne and New York³⁸), as well as a serious erosion of legitimacy for the G8, the EU summits and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (due to mobilizations in Amsterdam, Birmingham, Quebec, Nice, etc). This lack of a recognisable actor at the international level motivated different organizations, most of which came from a rather mainstream and classic organisational culture and understanding of social change within the existing architectures of power (including newer mass organizations such as Attac), to fill the gap and create a very visible forum which would 'embody' the so-called 'anti-globalization movement'. The problem was that they decided to do it on the basis of alliances and partnerships that are highly problematic for many anti-capitalist social movements. The problematic alliances have resulted in aspects of its internal decision-making, functioning and participation which exclude the participation of many of the groups, movements and networks that initiated the Global Days of Action and which are still a substantial (and particularly dynamic and active) part of the so-called 'movement' (not least the Zapatistas themselves, owing to the fact that they are armed). Some examples include the presence of organisations such as the Latin American Association of Small and Medium Entrepreneurs in the International Council of the WSF, its controversial sources of funding (where the Ford Foundation, for instance, played an important role), or the prominent presence of conservative French ministers and other highly controversial politicians in different forums. Many of these issues were symbolically reflected in Lula's participation as leading speaker at both the WSF (thanks to the notorious role that his political party, the PT, has always played at the WSF) and

³² See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/bulletin2/bulletin2b.html> for reports.

³³ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/seattle/index.htm> for reports.

³⁴ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/global/j18.htm> for reports.

³⁵ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/global/a16dc.htm> for reports.

³⁶ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/s26/praga/index.htm> for reports.

³⁷ The first PGA bulletin, issued in December 1997, had a call for global protest and petition signing during the WEF meeting in 1998. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find the archives for these on the web. The call can be found at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/bulletin0.htm#5>.

³⁸ For a report of these, and other, protests against Davos, see <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wef/index.htm>.

the World Economic Forum in 2003, claiming to build a bridge between them. (Abramsky 2001; Notes from Nowhere 2003; Sen et al 2004)

The different appreciation of positive and negative aspects of the WSF and other Social Forums within autonomous anti-capitalist networks resulted in different strategies towards them. Some people and organisations decided to participate and try to influence the process from within, others decided to organise autonomous spaces in parallel to the forums, and others decided to ignore them completely or even organise actions against them. (The World Social Forum in Bombay actually marked one of the rare moments in recent years where non-violent Gandhians and Maoists in armed struggle actually collaborated in denouncing the World Social Forum, though they were not unified in their responses...³⁹) There is growing frustration among the movements that have been trying throughout the last years to change things from within the forums (particularly the WSF and the European Social Forum, or ESF), and there seems to be the intention to reinforce autonomous spaces independent from them. This interesting and dynamic debate is far from over, and is quite relevant to the extent that it reflects some of the strategic dilemmas that anti-capitalist networks are facing nowadays ^{40,41}.

Accelerating forward in time, the Fifth World Social Forum, held in Porto Alegre in 2005, saw attempts to create a centralizing programmatic document, informally known as the Porto Alegre Manifesto or the Appeal of 19. This document was primarily a product of high profile intellectuals within the World Social Forum such as Samir Amin, Bernard Cassen (of Attac, France), Francois Houtart from Belgium, as well as several others. The document was rejected within the World Social Forum itself as being highly problematic⁴². However, by the time the polycentric World Social

³⁹ The Indian Maoist organizations critique of WSF can be found in New Vistas Publications (2003).

⁴⁰ These processes have intensified over time, with large numbers of quite critical reports following the most recent forum in Nairobi. However, already the first WSF which took place in 2001 sparked criticism. See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wsf/index.html> for an archives of debates around WSF, both within the WSF and outside, from 2001 to the present.

⁴¹ However, whatever one's opinion of the WSF and other Social Forums, it is undeniable that the active role they played in the protests against the war in Iraq was decisively important in making them the largest global protests ever seen. This was a great achievement, since those protests had a very different nature than the anti-capitalist mobilisations that took place from 1998 to 2001.

⁴² The text of the manifesto is available at http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2005-02/20group_of_nineteen.cfm.

Forum took place in 2006 (in Bamako, Caracas and Karachi), the push for such a state-centric document was, arguably, fortified by the crucial role which Hugo Chavez played in providing infrastructure and political support to the event, as well as the renewed enthusiasm for state based transformation which had received an incredible boost through Evo Morales' election victory in Bolivia, and in turn the apparent renewed impulse that their successes gave to Fidel Castro as a veteran revolutionary on the world stage (at least before he became sick)⁴³.

The culmination of this was the Bamako Appeal, which was issued on January 18th 2006 in Bamako, sponsored by a small group of non-governmental organizations: most notably the Forum du Tiers Monde/ Third World Forum, the World Forum of Alternatives, and the Dakar-based ecology and development NGO, ENDA. The three leading individuals involved are prominent figures within these NGOs and the WSF, Samir Amin, François Houtart, and Rémy Herrera. It was published in a form ready for approval after just one day's debate, rather than for a wider and more prolonged collective debate and redrafting. It is a final document, rather than a living document in progress. Whilst it is important to recognize that the Appeal does not represent the World Social Forum, nor bear its name, it was nonetheless issued by prominent individuals and organizations active within the Forum, and in many ways can be seen as a logical outcome of the World Social Forum process itself.

On the one hand, by late March 2006⁴⁴ it had already gathered approximately, 21 collective endorsements, and 66 personal ones. At the organizational level, this included the major Brazilian union confederation, CUT and Brazil's landless labor organization, MST, as well as the Assembly of Social Movements at the WSF in Caracas. Personal signatories included Aminata Traoré, a Malian ex-minister prominent in the African Social Forum, Mahmoud Mamdani, a well known Ugandan radical academic, John Bellamy Foster, editor of the US Monthly Review, Bernard Cassen, ex-President of Attac in France, and Devan Pillay, an academic labor specialist, South Africa.

⁴³ Interestingly enough, one of the reasons for at least one major Indian peasant organization (KRRS) for boycotting the World Social Forum which took place in India in 2004 was that their proposal to invite Fidel Castro to participate in the inaugural ceremony was explicitly rejected as being too controversial. See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wsf/asia2003/krrs.htm>

⁴⁴ This is not the most up-to-date list of signatories. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a more recent list.

On the other hand, the document has also provoked immense controversy within the World Social Forum itself as well as outside of it, a controversy which continued into the Nairobi World Social Forum which took place in January 2007. At the Forum, large numbers of people attended discussions to debate the Bamako Appeal, and a wide-ranging reader⁴⁵ was produced compiling the debates which had taken place around the appeal since it was issued in the previous Forum. These debates had occurred in email, local and national meetings and especially in an international meeting which took place in Johannesburg in July 2006.⁴⁶

The Zapatista Sixth Declaration and the Bamako Appeal - Differing Approaches to Long-term Social Change

The following section will address the contents of the Zapatista 6th Declaration and the Bamako Appeal. First, the Zapatista document and after, the Bamako Appeal.

The Zapatistas are currently in a process of reconfiguring their struggles and interactions with other groupings, both within Mexico and globally. This change of strategy, beautifully, humorously and humbly articulated in the 6th Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle, extends an invitation to struggle together. Without an intensification of struggle (and importantly this actually involved participants in the Other Campaign actually dropping their arms), the Zapatistas stress the danger of losing all that has been gained. Importantly, The Other Campaign which has been initiated throughout Mexico is described as coming "From the Bottom to the Left", explicitly complementing the term "anti-neoliberal" with the term "anti-capitalist".

As will be described towards the end of this article, the first steps outlined in the Sixth Declaration are well underway, both within Mexico itself and also at the global level. Whilst the 6th Declaration is mainly devoted to The Other Campaign within Mexico, it is also explicitly inviting a global process of building new social relations from

⁴⁵ Sen and Kumar, compilers, with Bond and Waterman (January 2007). Available at <http://www.openspaceforum.net/twiki/tiki-index.php?page=BARreader>.

⁴⁶ At the international level, the role of the Indian organization CACIM (Critical Action: Centre In Movement) stands out as a key facilitator and promoter of critical debate around the Bamako Appeal.

the Bottom to the Left, calling for a global reconfiguration and reinvigoration of the Left, a globalization of The Other Campaign. Above all it is inviting a process of creation, not just of merely reassembling pre-existing Left parts that have somehow been sleeping for years. The document is based in the understanding that *the world Left does not exist, it is up to all those who are "humble and simple people like ourselves, who are dignified and rebel" to create and become the global left.* Above all, while covering a far reaching description of the Mexican and world-economy, the declaration has nonetheless been written in a playful, imaginative, seductive language, a language that can make people laugh and imagine.

Rather than an appeal to replicate the Zapatistas throughout the world, a task which is likely to be both impossible and undesirable, the Sixth Declaration is an invitation to groups in struggle throughout the world, to deepen their knowledge of one another, to deepen their interactions, their process of mutual creation and construction of a global process of resistance and construction, based on direct human interaction, diversity and autonomy. The Declaration includes a rejection of the concepts of "development", economic growth, and "modernization". And while having a healthy respect for indigenous knowledge, it does not fall back on nostalgic yearnings for a mythical past. Their appeal goes out to the great diversity of marginalized, oppressed, but struggling and dignified groupings. Notably, this also includes a lengthy and respectful inclusion of *"other loves"*, gays, lesbians and transgenders. By complexifying identity to a multilayered and immensely fluid space of interaction and autonomy between such diverse realities, it simultaneously played havoc with homogenizing discourses of the left, and also with conceptions of unity upon which the nation state itself is based. Such diversity does not advocate separatism, but rather a deepening of webs of inter-connection and respect for different forms of oppression and marginalization in a process of construction. It is in these connections that a new global Left can be built, not around pre-existing organizations, or any preconceived global working class, but rather by connecting fragmented groupings. Yet, paradoxically, though perhaps deliberately, while shying away from old leftist language about "the working class", the Declaration could hardly paint a richer and more diverse picture of the world's working class if it tried, or a more powerful conception of revolutionary working class unity and class

struggle⁴⁷. Yet, the important understanding is that, if it is ever to become a reality, the unity will be built through concrete struggle and concrete human bonds. It cannot be conjured up as an intellectual desire.

And, just as the Zapatistas do not aim at creating or taking over a state apparatus within Mexico, their conception of building global links is not based around interaction between states, but rather on creating alternative relations of solidarity from below. Rather than espousing an abstract ideal, the basis of such two-way solidarity is imagined concretely, including the proposal to build direct community to community links of material mutual support through the donation and exchange of handicrafts, coffee and maize. In other words, the aim is to imagine and construct new forms of politics and exchange at the global level. While Leftist (or anti-imperialist) states such as Venezuela, Cuba or Bolivia are celebrated and saluted with nothing but positive praise, they are not placed upon a pedestal above non-state based forms of resistance and struggle. Rather, such states are clearly recognized as just one actor among many. And, while saluting these individual states, another message also makes itself heard, even if just implicitly - that, despite the existence of a few anti-imperialist states, the state form in general is an important source of domination and hierarchy, and that for anti-capitalist resistance to be successful in the long run and at the global level, it must also be about building new forms of collective power from below that are able to transcend the nation state form and the interstate system. Collective forms of solidarity based on diversity and autonomy that undermine the unitary nature of the state, as well as the artificial ideological distinction between politics, economics, on which the state form rests. But, the Declaration does not look for prepackaged answers, nor does it try to elaborate a program. Rather it is an invitation to engage in a long term process of dialogue and cooperation to create, invent and experiment in building these new relations. And, a process relying on humans in all their glory and all their weakness, is bound to be full of setbacks and failures and, yes, simply fuck ups, all of which must be taken for what they are and learnt from. As the quotation at the beginning of the article makes

⁴⁷ For a very interesting discussion of the Zapatistas and global class composition analysis, see Monty Neill's *Rethinking Class Composition Analysis in Light of the Zapatistas*, in Midnight Notes Collective (2001)

clear, in an echo of Rosa Luxemburg's assertion that Revolution is built on a string of heroic failures, the Sixth Declaration humbly acknowledges that there is time to *"have a little cup of coffee and talk about the anti-neoliberal struggle"*. Furthermore, the same quotation very explicitly recognizes that if these processes of global construction really take off in a meaningful way, they will be subjected to very harsh repression.

we say there must be another intercontinental encuentro... And we think it might be in a place that has a very large jail, because what if they were to repress us and incarcerate us, and so that way we wouldn't be all piled up, prisoners yes, but well organized, and there in the jail we could continue the intercontinental encuentro for humanity and against neoliberalism

Let us now turn to a discussion of the Bamako Appeal.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, it is a far reaching document. Despite criticisms directed against it, it has undoubtedly emerged from within the organizational context of grassroots struggles, and much of the document contains very positive discussion and ideas. Yet, much of it is also highly problematic. This text will focus on the problematic aspects, since the positive aspects clearly speak for themselves⁴⁸. Many of the problems arise from the fact that the document leaves a feeling that it has an implicit agenda that rings out loud and clear yet at the same time remains simultaneously undeclared, as if the authors were not brave enough to actually place their terms of debate squarely on the table.

Whereas the Zapatista 6th Declaration is essentially and open ended invitation for emergent collaboration and experimentation, the Bamako Appeal is, in contrast, essentially a clearly defined program for action. Like the Communist Manifesto, it is, coincidentally, a 10-point program. The following ten fields are discussed, including both long-term goals and concrete proposals for immediate action: the political organization of globalization; the economic organization of the world system; the future of peasant societies; the building of a workers' united front; regionalization for the benefit of the peoples; the democratic management of the societies; gender equality; the sustainable management of the resources

⁴⁸ For a positive appraisal of the Bamako Appeal and its progress to date, see Amin (2007).

of the planet; the democratic management of the media and the cultural diversity; and the democratization of international organizations.

Within the World Social Forum itself, this is causing immense disputes. The difference between the collectively written and discussed Zapatista 6th Declaration, drawn up under red alert by entire communities, and the Bamako Appeal drawn up on activist red carpets, stands out clear for all to see. However, although the origins and the contents of documents are perhaps in some way connected, it is also important to recognize that they are also separate questions. A document written collectively in a democratic manner may be irrelevant, and a document written in a less participatory manner may be incredibly pertinent. Or, vice versa. It is important to assess both things separately. Antonio Martins, a member of the WSF International Council is quoted as asking of the Bamako Appeal:

Why should we rush into a 'choice' of campaigns supposedly capable of 'unifying' the world of social forums? Why should we propose them from small groups; are we re-establishing the barrier between those who think and those who fight, and violating the simultaneous commitment to equality and diversity? (Cited in Waterman 2006)

While it clearly aiming for as broad a readership as possible, it lacks some of the poetic flair that gives the Zapatista document such widespread appeal. Preferring the well-chewed language of past struggles, the Bamako Appeal highlights the need to "*build a united workers front*", aiming to contribute to the emergence of a "*new popular and historical subject*" and "*affirm the solidarity of the people of the North and the South in the construction of an internationalism on an anti-imperialist basis*". An important question stands out. What will the new historical subject (in the singular) be? Which actors is the Appeal primarily addressing? While it is clearly addressing movements, it is hard to escape the fact that "the humble and simple people" addressed by the Zapatistas nonetheless seem to be absent from the equation. Rather, it appears as if nation states and national and global policy makers (or perhaps aspirant policy makers who are now movement activists?) are the main expected audience, as well as undefined "experts" who are appealed to on several occasions throughout the text. Again implicit, is that the program will be approved from below, but implemented from above. The document is full of policy recommendations and demands rather than encouraging self-organized

activity and the construction of new relationships between human beings. This is not a stated message, but the controversial manner in which the document was approved seems to bode badly in this regard.

The document calls for a high level of increased coordination of struggles and solidarity, based on diversity and autonomy:

The diversity of nations and of peoples produced by history, in all its positive aspects along with the inequalities that accompany them, demands the affirmation of autonomy of peoples and nations. There does not exist a unique universal recipe in the political or economic spheres that would permit any bypassing of this autonomy. The task of building equality necessarily requires a diversity of means to carry it out.

Yet it nonetheless distinctly appears as a program aimed at harmonizing and homogenizing the demands of people all across the world and centralizing the movement to a much higher degree than its current levels. Many different opinions may exist as to whether such centralization and homogenization is a bad thing or not, and this diversity of opinion is fine and should be welcomed as part of a process of debating and sharing experiences of which strategies and tactics work and which do not work⁴⁹. Some might argue that the decentralized and diverse forms of resistance which have characterized contemporary global networks to date have reached the limits of their usefulness. This is a perfectly legitimate intellectual opinion to have, but such a position should be openly acknowledged, and debated in these terms. The disturbing fact is that, once again, the Bamako Appeal presents the argument in an implicit rather than explicit manner, seemingly having been snuck in the back door, since centralizing and homogenous organizational forms are not very popular within current global networks.

Work is not placed as the central axis of struggle for the global movement, but the document does contain a broad discussion of labor. According to Peter Waterman, this "may well be the most radical political statement on the topic to be found within or around the World Social Forum" (Waterman 2006)

⁴⁹ See Cleaver (2006a) for the importance of sharing concrete experience about what works and what doesn't work.

The most important task will be for workers outside the formal sector to organize themselves and for the traditional trade unions to open up in order to carry out common actions.... To consider the rights of migrant workers as a basic concern for the trade unions by ensuring that solidarity among workers is not dependent on their national origin. Indeed, segregation and discrimination on ethnic or other bases are threats to working-class solidarity... To take care so that the future transnational organization of the laboring class is not conceived as a unique, hierarchical and pyramidal structure, but as a variety of various types of organizations, with a network-like structure with many horizontal bonds.

Having displaced workers' struggle from the central position it occupied in old leftist discourses, the section also goes to great lengths to be critical of mainline trade unionism that marginalizes different forms of labor. Yet, at the same time, it gives the impression that reformed trade unions should still be at the center of workers' struggles that will reach out to include other forms of organizing, rather than conceiving these other forms of autonomous worker organizing being the centre of focus. At the same time, the document clearly distinguishes between "workers" and peasants, without either explaining why it makes this distinction or how work is understood in relation to the creation of surplus value. It is unclear if or how it considers unwaged labor and its struggles. What the Zapatista document does not say about a diverse world-wide working class, the Bamako Appeal does say, with a fairly "workerist" conception of working class, seemingly unaware of the conceptual advances made by autonomist class composition analysis and certain strands of world-systems analysis that understand relationally the multiplicity of different forms of waged and non-waged labor which are all essential for capitalism and its continued reproduction.

As the quotation at the start of this article makes clear, the Bamako Appeal places great emphasis on the North-South hierarchy and South-South solidarity. Aside from the fact that terms such as North and South are arguably increasingly unhelpful in explaining today's inequalities or at least need a serious reconceptualization (especially since the collapse of former Communist countries), there is very little, if any criticism of the "modernization" and "development" discourses per se, a criticism which has largely been spurred forwards by the struggles of groups (such as

indigenous peoples) who are themselves marginalized or oppressed by developmental practices (Cleaver 1988, Escobar 1994). Nor is there a discussion of the complicity of Third World elites in the process of capital accumulation and the political and economic relations of neo-colonialism (McMichael and Patel, 2004). The document calls for support of governments which resist neoliberalism and are anti-imperialist (arguably bordering on crude anti-Americanism?) without qualifying what such support may actually mean in practice. Implicit is a "with us or against us" message of unconditional support. Apart from the obvious fact that this kind of statement shows very little concern for the fact that state structures themselves constitute important sources of domination and hierarchy, it also neglects to raise major questions as to how it might be possible to be simultaneously supportive and critical of anti-imperialist states such as Chavez's Venezuela. Other important questions are also neglected. Vague calls such as "solidarity with the people engaged in resistance in the hot spots of the planet" suggests a very simplistic "the enemy of our enemy is a friend" approach, which could potential even include embracing Al Quaeda and the current Iranian government which, in addition to executing gays, has, as mentioned above, just hosted an international Holocaust denial conference with presence of an ex-Ku Klux Klan wizard. And, while it is clear that such actors are currently unwelcome in the picture, it is less clear what could happen as an anti-imperialist state such as Venezuela moves closer to Iran, as it is indeed in the process of doing. How easy will criticism of the Iranian regime be, especially if it were to start offering (and perhaps giving?) material aid to the global movement as Chavez has done at the World Social Forum?

In contrast to the Zapatista document which is clearly aimed at stimulating thinking and action with regard to the need to create new social relations, the Bamako Appeal appears strongly rooted in the desire to reform and improve, but not go beyond, existing institutional structures. The document is rooted in the language of reforming the nation state, the United Nations, and "*the full affirmation of citizenship*". States (hopefully anti-imperialist ones) will coexist with one another in peace, there shall be a "*return to the principle of the rule of national law... so that the national states can recover their full sovereignty*". Both citizens and states will have rights. There is no discussion implicit or explicit of the possibility of going beyond the nation state and the inter-state system, nor is there an attempt to engage seriously with the contradictory nature of universalism as being inherently exclusionary or the fact that states have

in any case never been autonomous in the past. Again, this raises, or fails to raise, many questions. Will the states form a confederation of non-capitalist states? Or perhaps some kind of reformed ultra-imperialist rearrangement of capitalism is being summoned up? How will citizenship be genuinely universalistic, when in the past it never has been?⁵⁰ Will existing structures be replaced with similar ones that are simply "better arranged"? And above all, how will such inter-statal relations actually be built?

Linked to this, but separate, is the issue of confrontation with existing relations of domination, which are surely essential for global anti-capitalist resistance. While the document clearly stresses the need to continue and accelerate political struggles against international institutions or agreements, such as the World Trade Organization or ALCA, other areas of (material) confrontation are neglected. Debt "*cancellation*" is demanded, but the more confrontational idea of globally coordinated *non-payment* of debt, an idea first mooted by Fidel Castro within the Non Aligned Movement, and later taken up by the more radical sections of Jubilee South, are nowhere to be seen in the Bamako Appeal. Nor are discussions of reparations for slavery and colonialism, which were some of the fundamental demands of movements protesting at the Durban Conference of Racism and which were cause for the US government to walk out of the talks. These are important demands that the global anti-capitalist movements have so far broadly failed to pick up on (with the exception of certain organizations in Jubilee South, especially in South Africa)⁵¹, and given that the Bamako Appeal does take the form of a programmatic document, this could be a very important demand for it to pick up on.

Another glaring absence is any discussion of direct re-appropriation of capitalist wealth, even though the global anti-capitalist movement (including some of the organizations which have signed the Bamako Appeal) is primarily based in mass movements that are squatting land in India and Brazil, buildings, and factories (Argentina) throughout the world, as well as using armed struggle to appropriate the fruits of oil from oil

⁵⁰ For a critique of the concept of "citizenship" *per se*, see Wallerstein (2002).

⁵¹ A useful book on the Durban Conference is Mann (2002). The NGO declaration, which includes a very strong statement on reparations, can be accessed at <http://www.racism.org.za/declaration.htm>.

multinationals (Nigeria) - to name but a few countries. Furthermore, there is only minimal discussion of the role that global resistance networks might be able to play in building processes of globally coordinated efforts at direct action based disruption of the commodity chains which keep the world economy alive, which is arguably a logical direction to go in after they have achieved so much success in delegitimizing organizations such as the WTO, World Bank and IMF which symbolize, promote, protect and impose the expansion of the global market.

At the risk of being overly paranoid, one possible conclusion that *might* be drawn from all of the above points, though perhaps not the only one, is that the Bamako Appeal implicitly contains the seeds of a program for a movement whose (very) long term aims are some (as yet still undefined) form of world government/world party⁵². The text is explicitly in favor of world "socialism", a word that is subtly referred to just once in a 17 page text. Again, the word "socialism" is explicitly rejected by many in the movement⁵³, and if an aim of this text is to resurrect and or/redefine the concept this is completely legitimate, but (at the risk of being accused of red-baiting) should be argued assertively and openly these terms, rather than snuck in.

In many ways, the goals of the Bamako Appeal are incredibly far reaching, but also incredibly utopian. There is little discussion of *how* the desired changes will come about and be defended. Its proposals are lofty: a multi-polar world system founded on peace, law and negotiation; an economic reorganization of the global system; regionalizations in the service of the people and which reinforce the South in global negotiations etc. While saying that there is a need to harness and mobilized the social forces in this direction it leaves much to be imagined as to how these forces will bring about these changes. In contrast to the Zapatista Declaration which stresses the need to construct a new global Left in which people are transformed in the process, the Bamako Appeal seems to be appealing to pre-existing social forces that are waiting to be mobilized by a bunch of high-level mobilizers with a highly mobilizing plan. Finally,

⁵² An important, and highly controversial, work arguing for the creation of a World Party can be found in Boswell and Chase-Dunn (2000). As far as the author is aware, neither of these authors were directly involved in the writing of the Bamako Appeal.

⁵³ For a critique of the concept "socialism" from an autonomist Marxist perspective, see Cleaver (2006b).

the absence of any discussion of the almost inevitable dangers of (global) counter-revolution should these proposed processes of resistance gain momentum is very conspicuous.

Part 3: Rearranging or Rebuilding? - The Need to Globalize The Other Campaign

The two documents, The Zapatista 6th Declaration and the Bamako Appeal clearly raise a number of important questions for current global struggles. Are the ideas and proposals in them desirable? If so, to what degree are they actually possible in the current conjuncture described in the first part of this article? In the event that they are both desirable and possible, how can we turn these ideas into reality? And, last but not least, are the different strategies and ideas mutually compatible or not? Can the different approaches reinforce one another or do they actually pose threats to one another?

As well as posing important organizational and strategic questions, both of the texts also raise fundamental analytical ones relating to the nature of state power and interstate relations, and whether this is a desirable arena of focus for struggle or not. At least implicitly, they also raise the question as to what kind of class alliances are (or are not) desirable and possible globally, potentially reopening important discussions about world-wide class formation, labour, and whether surplus (and bourgeoisie) are national or worldwide phenomenon; and can there be such a thing as a national revolution that occurs within individual states, or do we once again have to think in terms of world-revolution and the abolition of nation states and the inter-state system? The question of whether it will be possible or not to "change the world without taking power" (Holloway 2005) is one with no easy answers. A similarly difficult question is posed by Samir Amin (2007), namely does changing the world require different stages of partial gains combined with stages of compromises - or can it occur without such compromises? Indeed, this is perhaps one of the most crucial strategic questions that contemporary movements face. Social forces do not exist in the abstract, but ultimately depend on human behavior, and in particular the choices and alliances people do or don't make and the conflicts they choose to engage in or avoid, the institutions that are created and upheld, and those that are not. None of these questions will be answered on paper, but only through hard prolonged struggle, and judging which methods work and stand the tests of history and which do not.

While there are no immediate answers, it is crucial to keep open the space for actually struggling with these questions, affording a multiplicity of strategies and a fruitful collective exchange and learning process between struggles throughout the world as to what tactics and strategy do and don't work, perhaps especially with regard to the ongoing dialectic between state and non-state forms of resistance. It appears that the Zapatista document dares to open the questions for discussion, whereas the Bamako Appeal seems to be in serious danger of closing off the discussion before it has even really started.

As such, the Zapatista Sixth Declaration, an invitation to remake the world, or at least to attempt such an arduous task (celebrating the process to the full at the same time), seems to be a more useful intervention than the Bamako Appeal, a programme whose long term goals appear more orientated towards rearranging without changing fundamentals. An invitation that is worth taking seriously, and worth giving the attention that it undoubtedly deserves.

Let us return to the Other Campaign, and its first stage in Mexico. This involved a small group of people, led by Delgado Zero (a.k.a Subcomandante Marcos, though disarmed), travelling for 6 months throughout the country, throughout all the Mexican states and right up to the border of the USA, on a mammoth listening tour⁵⁴. A tour that traversed a total of 45,000 km, in order to build a national movement (as distinct from just a Chiapas-wide one) "From the Bottom to the Left", one of whose long term aims is to rewrite the Mexican constitution. In what was clearly a very well thought out and deliberate long term strategic move that recognizes the need for a long term process of social reconstruction and confrontation with the country's existing outdated political structures, the Other Campaign kept a distance from the national presidential elections while deliberately timing the launch of the campaign to coincide with the electoral one. The Zapatistas steadfastly refused to endorse the lesser-of-evils candidate, supposedly leftist Lopez Obrador, sparking much criticism from many on the institutional left. Indeed, the message that the current conjuncture requires movements across the

⁵⁴ For the proceedings of some of the major meetings in the first part of the Other Campaign, see <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/especiales/658/>.

world to think beyond electoral politics was deemed so important, that Marcos refused to attend Evo Morales inaugural ceremony in Bolivia, lest it be read as an endorsement of the electoral arena in Mexico itself. Instead of participating in the electoral campaign, their campaign involved listening to the different concerns of grassroots groups throughout the country, the concerns of the "humble people" appealed to in the Sixth Declaration itself.

The broad appeal and participation that has been generated can be seen by the wide variety of material that has been produced at different levels, including a multiplicity of autonomously produced posters, magazines embroidered cloths and bags and paintings depicting messages and scenes from the Other Campaign. These different levels of participation are important in a context where illiteracy is widespread. Another example of the broadness of the campaign includes the publication of an official Other Campaign book on Sexual Health. As mentioned earlier, the "Other" of the "Other Campaign" also explicitly includes "Other Loves". As May Day 2006 emerged to be a powerful day of migrant struggle in the USA, Delegado Zero made his way to the US Embassy in support of these historic mobilizations, and, in an optimistic and bold antidote to Bush's Axis of Evil, proclaimed to Mexico and the world that Evil Governments would indeed be toppled. And, in some instances, the Campaign has already faced harsh repression. In the weeks in which this article is being rewritten, there has been a renewal and intensification of paramilitary attacks against Zapatista communities.^{55, 56}

The bankruptcy of Mexican's existing political structures can clearly be seen in the convulsive context of which these first stages of the Mexican side of the Other Campaign took place. Electoral fraud has brought to power Felipe Calderón, a President who is widely described as being far right ("ultra-derecha"), having ties to the far-right organization El Yunque. After months of countrywide protest (especially strong in Mexico City) to challenge the election result, the week preceding the President's inauguration saw elected representatives literally using teargas and physical

⁵⁵ See <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/mexico/2007/index.html> for regularly updated alerts.

⁵⁶ The best English language coverage of the Other Campaign is the Other Journalism of www.narconews.com *La Otra Campaña – Palabras Pendientes 1 No.* and *La Guillotina – La Sexta Declaración de la Selva Lacondona* are two examples of Mexican grassroots magazines produced in the context of the Other Campaign, while *ContraHistorias 6* offers an academic compilation.

violence against each other in the House of Representatives. As these dynamics unfolded at the national level, a very dynamic and confrontational anti-capitalist movement for self-governance took shape (via the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxca, APPO). The repression that followed involved police and paramilitary violence, including the deaths of at least 10 people, mass arrests and disappearances, as well as amply documented cases of torture and sexual abuse taking place both inside and outside of jails. The inspirational nature of the APPO movement, combined with the terrible levels of repression which included the death of a US journalist, provoked widespread solidarity actions throughout the world, including a series of grassroots international human rights delegations. The struggle in Oaxaca is still very much underway, and in recent weeks, after a period of having been forced "underground" by the harsh repression, APPO has taken major steps towards reemerging publicly as the important resistance force in the state once again.⁵⁷ Such a crisis of politics, according to the Other Campaign, requires an Other politics.

Viewing the crisis of electoral political systems from the USA, to France, to Italy, to South Africa, the need for a globalized Other Campaign aimed at fundamentally challenging these limits, even while building an alternative politics from the Bottom to the Left, rings out clear. Apart from the general appeal of the Sixth Declaration, it is worth examining it's impact within the two organizational processes described above and the potential which they have for carrying the process forward. Peoples' Global Action and the World Social Forum. To date, it appears that neither process has successfully risen to the challenges posed by the Declaration. This seems like a shame, since both are already existing global networks which could perhaps be very useful vehicles through which to further globalize the Zapatista call. Indeed, one of the main aims of this article is precisely to encourage discussion within these two networks about the importance of the Sixth Declaration and how to globalize it.

⁵⁷ A very useful English language site covering the political situation in Mexico, including the last elections and the ongoing struggles in Oaxaca, is www.narconews.com. The site also contains links to several Spanish language sites. An English language book documenting the struggles in Oaxaca, *The People Decide: Oaxaca's Popular Assembly* by Nancy Davis, will be available shortly and can be ordered from this site. An English language site specifically about Oaxaca is <http://elenemigocomun.net/> and the declaration from APPO's Constitutive Congress can be found at <http://elenemigocomun.net/505>. For information about grassroots international human rights delegations to Oaxaca, see <http://cciodh.pangea.org/index/index.shtml> A very useful article that relates the electoral fraud, the struggles in Oaxaca and the Zapatista Other Campaign is Esteva (2006).

As described above, PGA has been in a prolonged period of inactivity as a global network. There have been recent efforts to reinstate a global process, with a small meeting held in India in autumn 2005, hosted by an array of Indian peasant movements. At this meeting, which took place shortly after the Zapatista 6th Declaration was issued, there was an informal but unarticulated general enthusiasm for opening a dialogue about possible convergence processes between PGA and the Zapatista 6th Declaration⁵⁸. However, since then there has been very little concrete progress in this direction. Still, it is worth noting that in the final session of the Zapatista Encuentro which took place in Chiapas during the new year, a session which was dedicated to organizations from around the world to make proposals in relation to the global process proposed in the Sixth Declaration (the Intergalactica), Mexican and US activists made a joint call for a binational No-Border Camp which clearly cited the PGA Hallmarks. Spokespersons for the camp appealed for EZLN support⁵⁹. There were also several organizations involved in the current anti-G8 mobilizations present at the Encuentro, as well as individuals involved in the PGA process. However, while it is to be expected that any progress towards a possible convergence in the future should be slow (both PGA and the Zapatistas have very slow internal decision making processes due to their collective and participatory nature), there is nonetheless some hope that such a process could still occur. In many ways, with its emphasis on autonomy, decentralization and explicitly confrontational politics, if PGA is able to reactivate itself as a global network, it could be especially well suited to take up the Zapatista invitation.

Let us now turn to the World Social Forum. Interestingly, and in a process that seems highly oblivious of the debt the global movement owes to the Zapatistas, the fact that the Zapatistas are armed has made them unwelcome at the World Social Forum, since the Forum's Charter explicitly forbids the participation of armed groups. The fact that the Zapatistas are not allowed to participate at the World Social Forum has meant that the document has perhaps had less impact within this organizational space

⁵⁸ Background to this meeting can be found at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/conference2005/index.htm> and a report at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/conference2005/summary.htm>.

⁵⁹ An English language brochure about this camp can be found at http://deletetheborder.org/files/ZINE%20A_eng.pdf. The English version of the call read out at the Zapatista Encuentro can be found here <http://deletetheborder.org/node/1860>. These and other materials are also available in Spanish at <http://deletetheborder.org/node/1631>.

than it might have, regardless of whether it may or may not have inspired specific organizations which are active in the forum, as it almost certainly will have. Despite the fact that the Zapatista Other Campaign and the Sixth Declaration are entirely political rather than military processes, it nonetheless seems unlikely that the 6th Declaration and its global appeals will have substantial impact within the Forum unless there is some questioning of the decision to explicitly ban armed groups. Perhaps the document actually provides a good opportunity to reopen that discussion. On a more optimistic note of the Forum's potential with regard to the Sixth Declaration, the inclusion of the Sixth Declaration and the invitation to the upcoming international encuentro in the above cited Bamako Appeal Debate reader prepared for the Forum in Nairobi is an important step. Another important instance was the handing over of Zapatista maize seeds by African peasant organizations, which took place during the Nairobi World Social Forum as part of the Via Campesina launch of a global land reform campaign⁶⁰ .

However, it is important to emphasize that, although existing organizational processes such as PGA or WSF may well play an important role within the Zapatista global Other Campaign, the emerging dynamics will not be determined by these organizational processes but by the new relations and organizational processes that emerge from the Zapatista encuentros themselves, which are set to develop their own autonomous rhythm. And, these dynamics appear to be getting off to a very strong and inspiring, if slightly mysterious start.

The main English language website to follow the Other Campaign has links to Other Campaign related materials in 8 languages, interestingly, including Farsi⁶¹. Already before the recent international encuentro in Chiapas, a decentralized process of preparatory meetings and other activities had taken shape throughout much of Europe, South, Central and North America in response to the Zapatista call. Between July 2005 and July 2006, 19 different activities were reported in 16 cities from 9

⁶⁰ See http://www.viacampesina.org/main_sp/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=229&Itemid=1 for a report in Spanish.

⁶¹ See www.narconews.com . A related, though separate indication of the international reach of Mexican struggles is an interesting call for solidarity for the movements in Oaxaca from the Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign by Jamal Juma, available at <http://stopthewall.org/worldwideactivism/1333.shtml> .

countries⁶². Importantly, this included several within the US, involving close overlap with those involved in the migrants struggles there. Many of those involved in the Zapatista Other Campaign in the USA, what has been dubbed "la Otra Campana en el Otro Lado - the Other Campaign on the Other Side", are (perhaps unsurprisingly), Mexicans living in the USA. Whilst most of these meeting and initiatives have been fairly conventional processes of solidarity, some of them have gone further, employing the language and perspectives of the Other Campaign to engage in activities relating to local issues. Two important examples of this have been a local consulta organized by an immigrant organization Movement for Justice in El Barrio, in Spanish Harlem, New York ⁶³ and 2 different border camps against the US and Mexican border⁶⁴ . From these meetings and activities, a number of proposals have emerged for how the future Intergalactic Encuentro should be organized and what its contents should be⁶⁵.

The first *Encuentro entre los Pueblos Zapatistas y los Pueblos del Mundo* (*Meeting Between the Zapatista Peoples and the Peoples of the World*) took place over the New Year of 2007⁶⁶. Several thousand people attended, about half from Mexico and the other half from close to fifty countries from around the world⁶⁷. The meeting was held in one of the five autonomous Zapatista Caracoles, Oventic - Corazón céntrico de los zapatistas delante del mundo [The Zapatista Heart Before the World]. The meeting was an opportunity for the Zapatistas to present their grassroots achievements of autonomy and self government through the Juntas del Buen Gobierno [Councils of Good Government] to people in

⁶² For a list of countries, and links to reports from these meetings, see: <http://www.zetainternacional.org/esp/el-intergalactico-va/actividades-previas.html> . For a list of Other Campaign related websites from outside of Mexico, adherents to the Sixth Declaration, and Chiapas solidarity collectives worldwide, see <http://www.zetainternacional.org/esp/enlazate.html>

⁶³ See Maccani (2006) available at <http://zapagringo.blogspot.com/2006/08/other-campaign-in-spanish-harlem.html> .

⁶⁴ For more information about the border camp that will take place in November 2007 in Calexico/Mexicali see <http://deletetheborder.org/nobordercamp>. For information about the Campamento Cucapa (in Mexico itself) see <http://detodos-paratodos.blogspot.com/search/label/cucap%C3%A1s>, <http://nomadicsoundsystem.com/cucapa/> or <http://intercontinentalcry.mahost.org/why-should-we-be-part-of-the-cucapa-encampment/> .

⁶⁵ Proposals written before the international encuentro can be found at <http://www.zetainternacional.org/esp/el-intergalactico-va/propuestas.html> .

⁶⁶ Reports of the meeting can be found at: <http://www.zetainternacional.org/esp/encuentro-diciembre-2006.html> .

⁶⁷ Reports have varied from 2500 to 5000 people

struggle from different parts of the world, as well as for the Zapatistas to learn about struggles in other countries. Topics presented included: autonomy and other forms of government; the other education; the other health; women; communication, art, culture and the other commerce; and land and territory. The final session was devoted to hearing proposals from around the world as to how to build for the Global Intergalactic Encuentro, which will happen at some point in the future, in some location, both of which will be determined collectively by the global networks active in the process. In addition to this the results of an international consultation period around the Sixth Declaration were shared, albeit very briefly, with the participants at the meeting.

Interestingly, the strongest participation from outside Mexico probably came from the USA (and Canada), the Other Campaign on the Other Side. As a result of this, close to 100 people from throughout the two countries, are now in email communication with one another. As has already been mentioned, this process is linking closely with the migrant struggles that are emerging in the USA, with many active in both processes. From Canada, many of the participants were indigenous people, especially from youth organizations, communities which are currently involved in major struggles in Canada. On a more critical note, there was virtually no one present from Africa, Asia, or the Arab world and Middle East. And, perhaps needless to say, many of the proposals about the Intergalactica were quite chaotic, confused and still very much half-baked. The process is just beginning, after all. Frustratingly, the Zapatistas remained mysteriously quiet about their own proposals for the Intergalactica, proposals that judging by the how the Other Campaign has developed to date in Mexico, are almost certain to be very highly thought out and inspiring. A second meeting will follow in July 2007, this time visiting all five of the Zapatista Caracols. And from there, the Intergalactica will slowly get created....

The impact of the global call has yet to be seen. The whole endeavor is nothing but an uncertain gamble, and may well fall on deaf ears. If people throughout the world do not respond to the call, it will surely amount to nothing beyond Mexico where it has already had a major impact. However, the Zapatistas are confident in the fact that they are a firmly rooted local struggle, a struggle that has proven its self to be not just empty words and wishful thinking, but the hard earned reliability of real struggle, with all the limitations, disappointments, setbacks, imperfections and

contradictions that such struggle entails. People listen to and respect such experience, without holding it in awe and the pre-Intergalactica encuentros are exactly this, moments to listen and build respect. At any rate, we can be thankful that they were confident enough to issue the invitation in the first place. Perhaps its effects will be limited to Mexico, where, as has been described above, they have already had a major impact among the country's diverse, oppressed and marginalized but dignified population.

To a large extent it is now out of the Zapatistas' hands. They have set the ball rolling. We have all been invited to participate in the elaboration of another of the legendary Zapatista Intergalactic Encuentros, and to deepen our global networks on the basis of building direct inter-community relations. The invitation clearly recognizes the urgent need and historic possibilities for going beyond nation state structures. It is up to all of us if we are collectively able and committed enough to respond.

And we are telling those men and women who are of good heart and intent, who are in agreement with this word we are bringing out, and who are not afraid, or who are afraid but who control it, to then state publicly whether they are in agreement with this idea we are presenting, and in that way we will see once and for all who and how and where and when this new step in the struggle is to be made. (Zapatista 6th Declaration)

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