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□ What is the Significance of the Shift in Transnational Exchanges Between the Zapatistas and their First World Supporters, from Humanitarian North to South Solidarity to South to North Anti-Globalisation, Anti-Neoliberal Inspiration Since the Zapatistas' Emergence in 1994?

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□ **CONTENTS**

INTRODUCTION.....p.4

CHAPTER I: The Origins of International Zapatismo.....p.15

CHAPTER II: Inspiration Constructed at La Realidad.....p.28

CHAPTER III: Inspiration Enacted.....p.38

CONCLUSION.....p.48

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....p.51

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INTRODUCTION

The indigenous struggle of Zapatismo originating in Southern Mexico is set apart from the numerous other national indigenous struggles found across Latin America in that it has resulted in unexpected and initially unintended wider transnational consequences. The movement emerged in 1994 with indigenous complaints of inequality and lack of resources as well as a national lack of democracy, but by the later 1990s it went far beyond these initial complaints. In engaging global civil society in intensified anti-globalisation, anti-neoliberal discourse, Zapatismo influenced new social movement activity and large-scale global resistance initiatives in the First World. This thesis from a transnational perspective argues that the Zapatistas provoked a critical shift in solidarity within their global social movement network, characterised by increased South-North flows. The spread of Zapatista ideas emerging from the first International Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism constitute intellectual diasporas that challenged traditional understandings of solidarity within social movement networks that frame solidarity as a predominantly humanitarian exchange. The ideas are present within the People's Global Action formation, the Seattle World Trade Organisation Protests and more recent Occupy Movement. Because of these events Zapatismo can be seen as uniquely far-reaching in its role in catalysing social movement gatherings in the North. The resulting significance is a critical instance of Third World actors becoming increasingly assertive within transnational exchanges related to global struggles. This thesis will examine the catalysing of action by the engagement of global civil society in an unprecedented stance against globalisation and neoliberalism, exposing the significance of the importance of the Global South within Zapatista transnational solidarity exchanges. Firstly the existing scholarship on solidarity exchanges and the Zapatistas will be considered.

The broader topic of the 'Zapatismo' movement and the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation)/The Zapatistas consists of an extensive amount of dedicated literature as well as frequently featuring as a case study within other works in closely related fields. This

preliminary review will focus on the transnational aspect of Zapatismo, examining three key bodies. The first body will discuss traditional North-South understandings of solidarity alongside a second body which features those arguing for academic focus to turn to the recent shift occurring within transnational solidarity and new social movement exchanges; the trend of flows and information from South-North in the place of traditional North-South exchanges that were historically based solely on humanitarian solidarity purposes. This shift constitutes the main source of investigation for this project, in terms of the significance of this important change within the Zapatista network. The final body draws together key thinkers who have examined Zapatismo within an international context; in particular recent scholars who have sought to explain in depth the phenomena of the global appeal of the movement. These scholars theorise the complex construction of the wider Zapatista network which facilitates the possibility of transnational exchanges. The traditional understandings of transnational solidarity which constitute the problematic to which this thesis responds will be explored first.

Solidarity between the North and South has traditionally consisted of humanitarian exchanges between Southern movements or plights receiving assistance from paternalistic Northern donors and supporters. Solidarity processes within the Zapatista network have been found to challenge this traditional understanding of solidarity. It is thus necessary to firstly outline the traditional ideas of solidarity that this case study will go on to counter. Olesen defines altruistic solidarity as a one-way exchange between providers and beneficiaries that is built on the notion of distance between the two parties usually situated in the North and South and the provision of rights or materials (*International* 108-109). It is argued to often be the result of initiatives by activists in the First World but can also be stimulated as a result of direct calls from aggrieved groups in the Third World (109). Olesen notes that whilst more prominent in earlier solidarity movements than their contemporaries, paternalism and

inequality are still present in today's movements (107). For Smith, solidarity networks between the First and Third World are dominated by support for high moral and progressive values such as fairness and social justice, motivated by an ethic of care and social responsibility (as qtd. in Artaraz 89). These values invariably lead to a humanitarian outlook. Christiaens supports that interpretations of solidarity activity within Third World political struggles often continue to conceptualise solidarity movements as a unidirectional effort of Western activists, projecting their own ideals and imagination on overseas movements with whom they had little direct contact (618). Power & Charlip highlight Northern *support* for social change within their work on US solidarity for Central American revolutionary movements during the 60s and 70s as well as a US *desire to help*. In Power's article on US solidarity with Chilean political refugees during the Pinochet dictatorship, there is a primary focus on the successful results achieved on behalf of Chile by the US movement in terms of impacting US-Chile policy and the release of political prisoners (47-48). There is a lesser emphasis however, on what the Chilean political refugees brought to the exchanges within the solidarity process. There is an emphasis within literature on altruistic solidarity of the lesser status of Third World actors, situating them as passive, dependent on receiving support in their struggle and not proactive in their own right within the exchange. The other common theme is a metaphorical distance between North and South within the solidarity exchanges.

In terms of the prominent issue identified within the literature in providing both the motivation and the foundations for this research question, Hatzy and Stites Mor are key in emphasising the current shift away from the early transnational solidarity frameworks of First World humanitarians and Third World unequals (129). First World movements are now increasingly borrowing ideas from external struggles in the Third World, to support or inspire at home movements in a process of increasing mutual construction (131). Transnational solidarity is defined here as "a powerful political resource for accessing public opinion in

different regions of the world” (130). Sarabia, with the focus of ‘Organising Below and to the Left’ questions the differing practices of two Zapatista solidarity groups in the North. In accordance with Hatzky and Stites Mor, Sarabia highlights that transnationalism studies literature on transnational social movements has tended to position network activists in the global North as altruistic actors with little mention of the existence of the reversal of these flows which she states often occur (357). Olesen has approached the topic of third world solidarity versus global solidarity with Zapatismo as an exemplar. Zapatismo is branded as communicating a “global and democratic social critique”. This is compared to solidarity movements within the Cold War period that typically focused their critique around the paradigms of First, Second and Third Worlds (Olesen “Globalising” 255) and the provision of materials and rights. In this way the solidarity focus is shifted from altruism to a process of reciprocity as well as from the First and Third World to the global (258). Andrews offers two key works in the area of South-North argumentation: ‘Constructing Mutuality’ and ‘How Activists “Take Zapatismo Home”’. Andrews’ focus is the *results* of South-North global exchange or “the way in which the Zapatista name legitimates Northerners’ commitment to changing the very system that privileges them” (“How Activists” 138). Noted by Andrews this inevitably deviates resources away from Chiapas. The conflict between Zapatismo’s local and global achievements must be noted but is outside the scope of this thesis. ‘Constructing Mutuality’ provides insights into ‘on the ground’ mutuality, as opposed to the theoretical work of Olesen. Andrews finds that the Zapatistas actively redefined alliances with Northern supporters to shift the balance of power, facilitating an emphasis on South-North exchange. In this sense Andrews implies an intentional shift in the power relations of the exchanges. In delimiting who was included in their solidarity networks, setting new terms for partnerships, and redefining legitimacy in their transnational alliances, as well as fostering a discourse of Southern leadership, they asserted their autonomy from donors (Andrews n.pag.).

In terms of International Zapatismo Olesen and Khasnabish are key authors; theorising the construction of Zapatismo's transnational solidarity network and the process through which Zapatismo became significant and created meaning across borders respectively. Olesen stresses the combination of numerous factors or threads that resulted in the formation of the Zapatista transnational network, arguing that should one have been absent the resulting network in its present form may not exist (*International* 15). In an in depth analysis, the three explanatory 'threads' of subjective, systemic and technological explanation within a theoretical framework of globalisation, social constructionism and transnational framing highlight the complexity of the construction of the solidarity network. Within these factors emphasis is placed on Zapatismos' use of 'framing' transnational issues of neoliberal policies, human rights and democracy (25). Khasnabish on the international significance of Zapatismo argues that via political resonance or the process whereby "meaning made in a particular context becomes significant in another" (7), the cries of 'Ya Basta' crossed and transcended national and social borders, creating meaning separate from the initial context in Mexico. Gulewitsch, working with the established findings of Olesen and Khasnabish builds on the framing concept to include frame bridging and frame amplification whilst emphasising the role of collective identity in the construction of transnational solidarity networks. This aspect is critiqued as lacking in emphasis in the two previous works. According to Gulewitsch the collective identity of the Zapatistas is rooted in difference, not similarity (78) and this is the primary facilitator of the global appeal. A study by Dellacioppa is useful in exemplifying the transnational movements inspired by Zapatismo, visualising the results of the theoretical aspects discussed by Olesen, Khasnabish and Gulewitsch. The study covers a multi-racial social movement in Los Angeles that organises undocumented Latino immigrants. The movement draws from Zapatismo in the areas of autonomy, expressive politics and community as a site for social change which allows a

marginalised section of society to challenge traditional citizenship and access political expression (Dellacioppa 120-123). Dellacioppa argues that the spread of Zapatismo in particular the concept of autonomy represents widespread disillusionment with traditional political institutions (123). This body of literature highlights the transnational phenomena of Zapatismo and the ways in which scholars have theorised how an indigenous struggle has extended its reach globally.

This thesis will be positioned within the current and growing body of literature that considers the shift in flows and discourse within solidarity exchanges between the First and Third World via increasing South to North exchange, as opposed to the traditional perspective of North-South humanitarian solidarity exchange. I will further the current work which identifies this shift as present within Zapatismo, by examining the process of this shift in more detail to question the significance. To explore the reversal of North-South flows within international Zapatismo, a transnational methodology is a useful tool.

This thesis will utilise a transnational approach due to the merits of transnationalism in shifting the focus of study away from the nation state and the confines of its borders when examining events, phenomena and actors. The phenomena in this case is the reversal of solidarity flows. I utilise the following definition of transnationalism which is most relevant in direct application to this thesis. “The transnational gives a sense of movement and interpenetration, broadly associated with the study of diasporas, social or political, which cross national boundaries” (Bayly et al. 1442). This led to viewing the topic in the sense of an intellectual diaspora due to the movement of interpenetrative ideas. From this perspective, it is possible to explore the process of the placement of Zapatista ideas in the North. In addition Zapatismo will be approached in relation to its international influence, significance and flows instead of within the confines of Mexican borders. Mexico as the nation state that produced the movement will be utilised to provide the relevant history to support the rest of the thesis yet it will be avoided within further analysis to view the reversal of flows within Zapatismo in the light of the development of a transnational phenomenon, in the place of a national guerrilla movement with a national motivation.

In order to analyse the issue of the significance of solidarity exchange reversal from the perspective of diasporas of ideas, Appadurai’s ‘ideoscape’ theory is applicable as a conceptual framework. The concept of an ideoscape will enable a broad analysis of the processes that facilitated the reversal of solidarity exchanges. The concept of an ideoscape constitutes one of the five dimensions of global cultural flows, from Appadurai’s work on globalisation processes that are used to explain disjunctures in an increasingly complex cultural economy as a result of globalisation. In practice, ideoscape means the global spread of ideas and ideologies typically based on Enlightenment values such as democracy and rights. Ideoscape refers specifically to “concatenations of ideas, terms and images” and “deeply perspectival constructs” (299) that disseminate political ideologies or counter

ideologies that seek to capture state power or a piece of it (Appadurai 299). It is applicable to the Zapatistas as they do not want to capture State power, but to capture the power of civil society by reclaiming public space. Zapatismo can be seen to disseminate both ideologies and counter ideologies within the concept of an ideoscape, radical democracy as an ideology and anti-neoliberalism and anti-globalisation discourse as counter ideologies. Scapes according to Appadurai become the 'building blocks' of imagined worlds (296), meaning that interpretation is individual to the recipient and highly dependent on context. Appadurai also notes that diasporas of intellectuals who insert new meaning into the political discourse increase the fluidity and complexity of ideoscapes (301). The wider network of Zapatistas that facilitate inspiration through the ideoscape process can thus be viewed as intellectual diasporas. I will apply this conceptual framework of an ideoscape in order to analyse the shift in and significance of transnational exchanges that move from humanitarianism to revolutionary inspiration.

In order to examine the significance of the reversal of flows, Chapter One will explain the history of Zapatismo from the Mexican Revolution to the origins of international Zapatismo within the frame of the wider rise of new social movements and globalisation and their increased engagement of global civil society. Chapter Two will seek to expose the presentation of globally applicable Zapatista ideas from both their political discourse and organisational structure, identified at the first Encounter or global meeting of Zapatistas. It will give an overview of the ideas of the Zapatistas by looking at the specific example of the Encounter. Chapter Three in applying the concept of an ideoscape will identify the solidarity reversal process and resulting significance in discussion of the enacted inspiration evident in examples of the People's Global Action 1998, the Seattle Protests 1999 and the Occupy Movement 2011, whereby diasporas of Zapatista ideas from the Encounter are put into action.

CHAPTER I:

THE ORIGINS OF INTERNATIONAL ZAPATISMO

This introductory chapter will outline the background of the Zapatistas, their history and origins as well as outlining the key characteristics of the anti-globalisation movement and associated rise of new social movements. The background of Zapatismo cannot be contemplated without reference to these wider processes of which it is a part. Zapatismo has an evolving nature to be conveyed; from a region specific, land-based movement rebelling against the Mexican government within national borders, to a transnational contemporary social movement contesting global issues and inspiring other movements within its transnational network not merely attracting humanitarian solidarity. Zapatismo as a trajectory can be viewed within a framework of three phases. The first phase consisting of the original Zapatista army headed by Emiliano Zapata, existing in the early 1900s as an agrarian rebellion within the wider entity of the Mexican Revolution. The second as the initial emergence of the armed neo-Zapatismo movement under the EZLN in 1994 that was also based to a large extent upon agrarian or peasant related demands as well as neoliberalism complaints. The third phase of Zapatismo which will be introduced here but discussed in more depth throughout the rest of the thesis consists of the civil movement and associated transnational network which was consolidated in the later 1990s (Olesen *International 3*), capitalising on the global significance of its anti-neoliberal messages. To later analyse the significance of the shift in Zapatista solidarity flows it is firstly necessary to know where these flows came from. This trajectory encompasses the journey from a national guerrilla movement which first attracted solidarity and sympathy to its plight to a globally relevant and assertive movement.

Zapata and the Mexican Revolution

In terms of the historic origins of Zapatismo the namesake and initial mission of indigenous rights were partly inspired by Emiliano Zapata a key figure from the Mexican Revolution.

Emiliano Zapata was a leftist revolutionary leader, commander of the Liberation Army of the South and killed during the Revolution. As a revitalised myth he achieved somewhat of a posthumous career with his pro indigenous ideals re-enacted (Calderón et al. 19). The earliest form of 'Zapatismo' under Zapata consisted of a regional defensive contingent of peasants fighting against external aggressors of the Reform Laws, expansion of the haciendas¹, and the negative responses of landowners towards their relatively moderate demands (Huizer 398 as qtd. in Khasnabish 93). The demands of the original Zapatistas were based upon agrarian grievances and the inequality of the poor quality of life experienced by the indigenous population under the wealthy 'hacendados'². Rising discontent not only from the indigenous but from other factions invariably led to the Revolution and a period of extended violence and instability for Mexico.

Without delving too deeply into the complex intricacies of the Mexican Revolution and ensuing Civil War itself, Zapata played a key role in facilitating and leading regional revolt in Southern Mexico. His armed rebellion which combined with wider revolt led by separate revolutionary armies in other Mexican states resulted in the overthrow of unpopular dictator Porfirio Díaz in 1911. The revolutionaries broadly fought for a more equal Mexico that would distribute the benefits of recent industrial progress beyond the elite, but each had different personal visions for reform that reflected the ambitions of their followers (Beezley & Maclachlan 2-3). The revolutionary leader Madero was the first official presidential replacement of Díaz, with a moderate and politically based approach to reform. Zapata swiftly revolted against Madero after being unconvinced by his commitment to genuine land reform, which his indigenous followers expected to be realised immediately. This was Zapata's primary motivation as a revolutionary actor within the wider struggle and as a

¹ Large estates or plantations owned by the elite, that dominated the agrarian landscape in Latin America during and post the colonial era.

² Owners of the 'haciendas', powerful land owners who often exploited indigenous workers. Indigenous peasants worked within the haciendas as a form of debt servitude, with no rights and had little or no land of their own.

radical, he was unwilling to compromise on anything less than full reform. Madero was removed from power due to discontent alongside his brief successor General Huerta, another revolutionary leader. Due to a continued lack of common goals in fighting broke out amongst Zapata, Carranza, Obregón and Villa; the remaining revolutionary leaders. Zapata was eventually betrayed and assassinated by orders from Carranza in 1918 (Beezley & Maclachlan 39). The Mexican Revolution ended in 1920 with the presidency of Obregón, although internal violence in Mexico continued for another decade until the country stabilised under the strong leadership of [Lázaro Cárdenas](#) in 1934. Zapata perhaps in part due to his untimely death has been romanticised as a revolutionary purist, spokesperson for the indigenous and renowned for his “commitment to agrarian justice” (Gilbert 128), leaving a legacy of incomplete land reform. It is the unfinished agrarian project of Zapata that the neo-Zapatistas would cite as their project when they emerged demanding fair and equal rights and living conditions for the indigenous people of Chiapas.

From Zapata to the Emergence of Neo Zapatismo

The EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) emerged publically on January 1st 1994 in Chiapas, Mexico issuing their First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle which declared war on the Mexican government. Despite emerging in 1994 the EZLN was originally formed between indigenous communities in Chiapas and non-indigenous urban intellectuals with revolutionary ideals during the 1980s (Olesen “Globalising” 261). Initially the Marxist inspired revolutionaries viewed themselves as the teachers and the exploited indigenous in need of liberation but as the indigenous challenged their worldviews, the indigenous soon became the teachers (Olesen 261). Thus the idea of mutual exchange and construction from below to above has been present within Zapatismo from the beginning.

As per Calderón et al. “the old transformed into the new” (19) when the neo-Zapatistas initially appeared on the national stage. They demanded attention to the on-going issue of land reform, the project started by Zapata as well as drawing focus to democracy and justice. Using selective tradition which intentionally uses the past to shape the present to facilitate cultural and social identification (Williams 601 as qtd. in Stephen 43), the neo-Zapatistas selectively interpreted the Mexican Revolution to apply it to a certain version of the present and used it as a key part of their discourse. Khasnabish supports that the neo-Zapatistas did not seek to reclaim history, but instead sought to “reinvigorate a future of possibility through the use of national and revolutionary myths” (115). The movement was initially suspected as an “anachronism” (Oleson “Globalising” 255), an offshoot from the Cold War era, somewhat dismissed as ‘just another’ armed guerrilla faction in Latin America with revolutionary socialist ideals. Gilman-Opalsky refers to the original or initial Zapatista movement as an ethno-nationalist response to the Mexican governments’ policies towards the indigenous population (n.pag.). Thus initially the Zapatista emergence was viewed as something fairly ordinary given the long history of similar movements in Latin America.

The insurgency in 1994 coincided with the signing of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) encompassing Mexico, the USA and Canada, which the EZLN argued would result in negative effects for the indigenous people of Mexico. NAFTA is a classic example of the neoliberal economic policies that Zapatismo opposes; advocating international trade, privatising national industries, resources and state-run services, lowering the social wage and limiting benefits and workers rights (Callahan as qtd. in Gulewitsch 78-79) and quoted as a “death sentence” for the indigenous by Johnston and Laxer (41). In response to NAFTA sponsored neoliberalism the EZLN initially had ambitious goals of achieving the following, “advancing towards the capital from Chiapas, defeating the Mexican federal army, protecting the civil population in its liberating advance, and permitting the liberated people to

freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities” (EZLN 1994 as qtd. in Olesen *International* 9). The EZLN also demanded control over natural resources monopolised by foreign firms and a greater say in the governance of Mexico (Johnston & Laxer 41). To exemplify their initial demands, to follow is an example of the Zapatistas’ early discourse, which combines national demands of lands and democracy with an indication of their wider critique to come in reference to “independence from foreigners” indicating early globalisation complaints:

“They don’t care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no healthcare, no food or education, not the right to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor independence from foreigners. There is no peace or justice for ourselves and our children. But today we say: Enough is enough!” (EZLN 1994 *The First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle*)

The EZLN anticipated two results from the uprising and their demands, that they would either meet apathy and indifference, or that it would spark a nation wide uprising in Mexico (Olesen “Globalising” 261). Neither materialised with the nation unwilling to join the armed struggle yet not indifferent to the struggles of the indigenous in Chiapas or the broader message of the EZLN (Olesen 261). National and transnational society instead urged the EZLN to come to a peaceful solution and enter into talks with the Mexican government (Olesen *International* 8-9). This resulted after twelve days of armed offensive.

Military tactics were by and large abandoned after the initial armed struggle in favour of non-violent solutions as the EZLN realised the possibilities of the powerful impact that communicating political messages of anti-globalisation, anti-neoliberalism, pro human rights and radical democracy could have. Gilman-Opalsky supports that the Zapatistas began to use words as weapons to bring about political change (252). It became clear that alternative tactics such as appealing to the national and international community via Internet and media campaigns facilitated more favourable results than an armed struggle. The Zapatistas distinguished themselves from other revolutionary political-military organisations with their deliberate departure away from the military component (Olesen “Globalising” 260) and it

became clear that the EZLN was not following the normal trajectory of Latin American armed movement history (Olesen “Transnational” 180). The armed element of the movement whilst still physically existing became somewhat symbolic. (255). Summarised effectively by Khasnabish, “an armed insurgency became a movement aimed not at conquering society but reimagining and reconstituting it” (5). And so the process of the redefining of Zapatismo towards the constitution of a globally relevant project had begun. Notably despite strong national elements and demands and a lesser prominence of global issues within the early stages, the Zapatistas were already incorporating a transnational critique and preparing the ground for reaching a wider audience by engaging with NAFTA as a key element of their protest as well as internationally relevant concepts of anti-neoliberalism, equality and democracy albeit at this point, in relation to Mexico.

Neo-Zapatismo Incorporates a Global Solidarity Network

The most recent phase of Zapatismo consists of the broader movement of 'Zapatistas' which reaches beyond the confines of the EZLN, consisting of not only those operating from Chiapas but the 'others' in solidarity with the Zapatismo movement who are often situated in the global North (Sarabia 356). The solidarity network initially took the form of humanitarian solidarity and later inspirational solidarity. In terms of the humanitarian solidarity, it was prominent at the beginning of this wider network phase and constituted the first type of transnational exchange. It was employed by international activists and supporters and mainly revolved around offering aid and support to a developing world struggle. Solidarity organisations appeared in multiple countries with the purpose of spreading the Zapatista's plight at home, fundraising as well as acting as an organising body to facilitate travel to Chiapas. In aid visits to Chiapas Western humanitarians developed water, education and sanitary projects and acted as human rights observers and reporters. However despite addressing domestic goals of autonomy in the areas of health, politics and education in order to best meet the needs of the indigenous people it set out to represent, the Zapatistas increasingly began to stimulate a wider social movement network that meant solidarity going beyond humanitarian borders.

The globally relevant concepts of anti-neoliberalism, anti-globalisation and democracy came to feature increasingly frequently within the EZLN rhetoric in comparison to the initial public declaration (Olesen *International* 9) as the Zapatistas took a double occupancy in both the national and transnational frameworks (Gilman-Opalsky n.pag.). The global incorporation of issues separated Zapatismo from other indigenous movements supported by First World humanitarian solidarity as they engaged in a wider critique alongside their critique of Mexico. This aspect of Zapatismo that moved away from humanitarian solidarity was formed during the later 1990s and became overtly significant in Seattle 1999 at the WTO (World Trade Centre) protests, largely inspired by the 1996 Encounter in Chiapas (Olesen *International* 209). From the Encounter onwards the network became more politicised and started to overlap with other transnational networks (Olesen 3). Internet and newspaper media campaigns alongside the International Encounters as communication methods largely facilitated this wider transnational solidarity network of Zapatismo which began the process of solidarity flow reversal as it went on to inspire the People's Global Action and consequent Seattle Protests. The Encounters marked a turning point in the meeting and overlapping of separate movements that went on to have a hugely positive effect on the organisation of global protests.

The trajectory of Zapatismo cannot be completed without considering the wider frame of the rise of new social movements (NSMs) as a whole, particularly the anti-globalisation movement. Zapatismo can be classified as a NSM due to its departure from the origins of an armed guerrilla movement with intentions to overthrow the government. It positioned itself within a spectrum of movements not seeking political power, containing multiple and complex new sociocultural actors participating in the production of society (Calderón et al 19). NSMs first emerged in the late 1960s to early 1970s with the rise of student and anti war movements, markedly different to traditional social movements usually stimulated by the discontent of the working class, shifting the focus of their efforts to “collective or intangible goods that would enhance the quality of life for all sectors of society” (D’Anieri et al. 447). They are said to be a product of a fundamental change in the economic structure (Pichardo 412-13) and involve a multiplicity of themes, conflicts and orientations (Calderón et al. 19) as well as new forms of collective action, with new goals, values, and constituents (D’Anieri 445). NSMs are characterised by consciously “remaining outside of normal political channels, employing disruptive tactics and mobilizing public opinion to gain political leverage” (415). Hellman tackles what she finds to be the fundamental difference between North and South or European versus Latin American new social movements. In Europe they can be ascribed to post-industrial contradictions as opposed to the material demands of Latin America, despite both spheres sharing the characteristic of common distrust of the traditional formations of the Left (Hellman 53). Zapatismo counters Hellman in that it does advocate a new way of resistance after disillusionment with traditional methods of the left, but it is also making material demands as per ‘traditional’ Latin American movements. NSMs expanded to cover amongst others, issues including: urban social struggles, the environmental or ecology movements, women's and gay liberation, the peace movement, and cultural revolt often with a youth or student activist focus (D’Anieri et al. 413). Most recently, new social movements

have increasingly taken on a transnational formation both in their physical existence and organisation across borders as well as the non-national specific issues they contest. The current band of contemporary transnational social movements and gatherings within which Zapatismo falls includes the Occupy Movement, the People's Global Action, Indignatos, and the World Social Forum.

One of the most predominant or overarching recent NSMs is the anti-globalisation movement. Other smaller movements fall within this 'master' encompassing movement due to its broad association. Globalisation is viewed to cause many of the social problems which result in specific issue based NSMs. Various forms of globalisation; economic, institutional, political, cultural and geographical have rapidly increased post World War Two (Beugelsdijk et al. 18-19) with the increasing speed of transport, communications and exchanges. Harvey theorises the phenomena of globalisation as the result of increasing time-space compression. The creation of powerful international institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation, with the goal of facilitating increased economic trade, integration and reliance across borders has been both key and controversial in the globalisation process. Activists within the anti globalisation movement claim that free trade has a negative impact on developing economies, exploiting both the environment and peoples, benefitting only wealthier industrialised nations. The rise of these organisations and the power of the global markets increasingly limit the power and autonomy of the State. Johnston and Laxer use the term 'globalism' as the ideology that coincides with the broader entity of 'globalisation' (40). Since the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, an over-arching ideology of neo-liberal globalism has become the dominant force shaping governance worldwide (Johnston & Laxer 40). The anti-globalisation movement is described by Hintjens as "an entity in constant circulation, mutation, and proliferation, composed of highly varied and organised forms of social energy" (628).

Increasingly linked to the anti-globalisation movement is the demand for global respect of human rights encompassing a broad range of issues including AIDS, bringing Pinochet to justice and debt cancellation (631). The range of issues covered reveals the multifaceted nature of the anti-globalisation movement and indicates how Zapatismo, originally a national indigenous uprising is associated with the movement.

This background chapter has sought to provide an overview of the trajectory of Zapatismo, beginning at the Mexican Revolution and highlighting the difference between the humanitarian aspect of transnational exchanges and the extension of global interaction within the network which will be argued to have involved inspirational solidarity, as well as placing the movement within the wider context of the rise of anti globalisation sentiments and the increasing emergence of new social movements as a partnering occurrence.

CHAPTER II:

INSPIRATION CONSTRUCTED AT LA REALIDAD

This chapter will seek to expose the key ideas conveyed by the Zapatistas by using their first International Encounter in La Realidad, Mexico as an example. The ideas of the Zapatistas identified within the example of the Encounter are conveyed to a wide global audience and later constitute political diasporas that travel to the First World via the global activists that receive the ideas. The Zapatista ideas present at this Encounter became responsible for stimulating the reversal of solidarity flows and the move away from ‘just’ humanitarian sympathy, to the dissemination of new revolutionary inspiration provided by the Third World or the ‘South’ to the First World. I argue in this chapter that the globally applicable and transferable Zapatista ideas present at the Encounter can be identified within two categories. Firstly, the content of their political discourse; anti-neoliberalism, anti-globalisation and radical democracy as master ideas with humanity, justice and tolerance as sub ideas. The second category includes elements from their defining organisational strategies; consensus based, inclusive, leaderless and proactive action. Zapatismo has acquired positive acclaim for its implementation of *doing*, in terms of proactive moves to meet their needs at home as well as their proactive international discourse which encourages united action to be taken up abroad. This combined with the content of the political discourse provides a unique combination, which goes some way to explain how an indigenous movement became a source of inspiration. This chapter will introduce and explore a critical point within the Zapatista solidarity network development, the meeting at La Realidad in 1996. It was the first Intercontinental Encounter between the original Mexican Zapatistas and the activists who had come to associate with the cause, and a turning point where the important ideas of the Zapatistas in terms of relevance to a global audience became explicitly clear. These globally transferable ideas of anti-neoliberalism and anti-globalisation later facilitate the critical

reversal of solidarity exchanges. La Realidad can be seen as a starting point for the reversal of solidarity flows whereby the South or the Zapatistas became a source of inspiration that would later be realised in the North, in developing a critique that linked their own experiences in Mexico to global civil society.

The Meeting Place of Ideas

The First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism at 'La Realidad' a village in the Chiapas region attracted three thousand activists from forty-three countries. The EZLN submitted a call to global civil society to join them in Mexico for this first Encounter with propositions for follow up Encounters on each continent. The call was made to "all who force themselves to resist the world crime known as neoliberalism and aim for humanity" (Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos 1996). The result was a conference where actors from vast cultural and political backgrounds discussed the problems presented by neoliberalism and proposed how one might struggle against it for the benefit of humanity. The agenda consisted of four 'tables' around which groups would discuss the economic, political, social and cultural impacts of neoliberalism. The primary aim of the Encounter was to debate neoliberalism without the aim of forming a united political front, in order to facilitate the sharing of ideas without the restrictions that a political front brings (Olesen "Transnational" 187). As well as interactive discussions the delegates also heard the words of Subcomandante Marcos in various declarations. The ideas of the Encounter were not only heard by the activists present at the event but were also disseminated online. Participant Paul Kingsworth states that the delegates returned to their countries with new ideas and new ways of thinking about the future (as qtd. in Khasnabish 235). This chapter will now seek to outline in detail these 'new ideas' shared with the delegates that returned to their countries with them by examining the content of the Encounter rhetoric. The ideas disseminated within the Encounter were not new for the Zapatistas, and had circulated via the Internet in the years previous to the event, but I argue that La Realidad was the point where the wider relevance of the ideas became established with a direct contact between the Zapatistas and global activists, increasing the resonance of the ideas. It also represents a physical moment where all the primary ideas and organising strategies were incorporated. The concrete possibility of the

South becoming an assertive actor in a critical transnational response to globalisation became clear after *La Realidad*.

Political Ideas From La Realidad

The first category of *La Realidad* ideas consisted of politically based discourse involving ideologies and counter ideologies. Gilman-Opalsky supports that the Zapatistas constitute a political organisation and movement, occupying a political public sphere (248-255) and disseminating political ideas. The two primary counter ideologies or critiques of anti-neoliberalism and anti-globalisation are inherently linked, as neoliberal policies have a lot to do with and are facilitated by globalisation. For example, large multinational corporations exploiting free trade opportunities as well as benefiting from typically neoliberal privatisation are able to operate internationally because of developments provided by globalisation processes. As a result the two terms often go hand in hand or are used interchangeably within the Zapatista critique. In the following quote from *La Realidad* the interconnectedness of the two criticisms is clear.

“With the name of globalisation they describe this modern war which assassinates and forgets...The lie about the victory of neoliberalism instead of humanity, it offers us stock market indexes, instead of dignity it offers us globalisation of misery, instead of hope it offers us emptiness, instead of life it offers us the international of terror” (EZLN *La Realidad* 1996).

On neoliberalism, the Zapatistas originally presented neoliberalism as the primary cause of indigenous people’s problems in Mexico due to the liberalisation of the economy which predominantly benefited large and usually foreign corporations as mentioned in Chapter One. At the Encounter, the Zapatistas frame this neoliberal ‘injustice’ more broadly, ascribing neoliberalism to the *World’s* social and political problems (Olesen “Transnational” 187). Thus the critique is extended beyond Mexico and as a result resonates with the global audience. At *La Realidad* the Zapatistas state that it is “not possible for neoliberalism to become the *world’s* reality without the argument of death served up by institutional and

private armies” (1996). So not only does neoliberalism and its institutions ‘serve up death’ for indigenous Mexicans, but for global society.

Anti-globalisation and anti-neoliberalism constitute the ‘counter ideologies’ discussed by Appadurai (299). As a remedy to the injustices presented by globalisation and neoliberalism, radical democracy is presented as an idea or ideology to protest these injustices. Radical democracy for the Zapatistas is evident firstly within the organisation of the Encounter itself, as well as the statements made during the meeting that encourage participation in resistance. Via the implementation of radical democracy the Zapatistas propose to struggle against neoliberalism and globalisation, combating the injustice of the global economy. Their interpretation is the following, “democracy is the exercise of the power by the people all of the time in all of the places” (EZLN 2000 as qtd. in Khasnabish 156). The Zapatista idea of democracy is based on three key dimensions: ‘broadening’ meaning the extension of democratic values to increased societal areas, ‘delegation’ highlighting the creation of autonomous spaces with authority to govern separately from the State and finally, ‘deepening’ referring to the empowerment of civil society through social action (Olesen “Transnational” 182-183). The ideas of ‘broadening’ and ‘deepening’ democracy can be found in the following from the Second Declaration of La Realidad with the emphasis on the possibilities of rebellion anytime, anyplace and by anyone.

“In any place of the World, anytime, any man or woman rebels to the point of tearing off the clothes resignation has woven for them..any man or woman, of whatever colour, in whatever tongue, speaks and says to himself..to herself..enough is enough!” (EZLN La Realidad 1996).

Other ideas identified within the rhetoric from La Realidad consist of humanity, justice and tolerance, which all relate strongly to an overarching idea of respect for human rights. They are not directly political but these secondary ideas are closely linked to the anti-globalisation and anti-neoliberalism sentiments. The Zapatistas associate the two processes as directly in opposition of human rights, and identify them as the root cause of current issues such as

poverty and inequality in both the Third and First World. So the promotion of humanity, justice and tolerance is framed as in direct opposition of globalisation and neoliberalism. The relationship between the idea of anti-neoliberal economics and human rights is evident in the following quote from La Realidad.

“Millions of women..youths..indigenous..homosexuals..human beings of all races and colours participate in the financial markets only as a devalued currency, always worth less and less, the currency of their blood turning a profit” (EZLN 1996).

Organising Ideas From La Realidad

Zapatista ideas relating to hierarchy, organisation and action (consensus based, inclusive, leaderless and proactive) constitute the secondary set of defining Zapatista ideas exemplified within the Encounter.

A critical moment of La Realidad in terms of the presentation of organisational ideas was the closing statements. Highlighted here is the idea of proactivity in terms of going forwards with the struggles discussed throughout the Encounter. At the end of La Realidad, the Zapatistas posed the rhetorical question: “What next?” and responded with their proposals. They rejected an “organigram of titles, positions and tasks but no work” (EZLN 1996) or a decreasing force. Instead they proposed the following:

“An echo that breaks barriers, and a network of voices that resist the war the Power wages on them, a network that covers the five continents and helps to resist the death that Power promises us” (EZLN 1996).

By ‘Power’, they are referring to the dominant neoliberal capitalist global order. Primarily, the Encounter is urging for a continuation of protest by civil society and a new revolutionary alternative in response to the common threats presented to humanity by neoliberalism. New revolutionary refers to an alternative resistance, to the transnational uprising of civil society in protest against international institutions, instead of the traditional form of revolutionary exchange, in which one nation would inspire another to revolt against the nation state either

in total revolution or involving a section of society. This is the main message that the Zapatistas intend for activists to take back to their respective countries, to organise and resist at home in whatever formation that may take, around anti-neoliberal sentiments. This is confirmed by activist Fiona Jeffries who states her interpretation of the Zapatistas' departing message, "We're doing our thing here, you gotta do your thing there, we all gotta do our own thing and hopefully that will coalesce in powerful ways" (as qtd. in Khasnabish 235). In this sense, the Zapatistas encourage individuals to continue reflecting on what neoliberalism and the current order means to them, the impact on their personal situation, and what can they feasibly do at home against 'Power'.

The collaborative and inclusive nature of Zapatismo is related to early origins of a meeting between the indigenous population and urban intellectuals whereby the non-indigenous were accepted as such and multiple worldviews were expressed (Gilman-Opalsky 245). This is something that is recreated within the wider movement, with extreme all-inclusive and acceptance-based rhetoric as one of the most defining features. For example: "behind our masks is the face of all the forgotten native people, persecuted homosexuals, despised youth and beaten migrants". In this way, the Zapatistas declare themselves as advocating for all. In terms of inclusivity, the following quote from the Encounter exemplifies the expression of this idea. "The network is all of us who resist". In addition to inclusivity, good government councils are utilised within the indigenous Zapatista communities as a method of governance to "rule by obeying". Based on traditional indigenous methods of community organising, the EZLN in Chiapas operates within a scheme of democratic and collective values (Olesen 174). In modern Mayan culture, the authorities receive orders from the directive of community assemblies and they are recalled if they do not obey. As a result the political leadership is driven from bottom-up (Olesen 174). Finally, the Zapatistas reject the leftist traditions of vanguardism and hierarchy in favour of

respect for difference, democracy and the local (Olesen “Transnational” 179) with explicit expressions at the Encounter that reject themselves as leaders of the wider network existing around them. “This network..does not have a leading or decision making centre, leadership or hierarchies” (EZLN La Realidad 1996). Olesen highlights that this rejection of vanguardism is what sets Zapatismo aside from previous international resistances. The Zapatistas are successful in promoting a universal ‘join us’ message to a diverse set of people within their wider network via frame expansion (Olesen “Transnational” 181). The ideas of inclusivity, leaderless and consensus-based actions and decisions are all aspects of the movement that will reappear in later anti-globalisation, anti-neoliberal manifestations via activists in the North.

To conclude, the globally relevant ideas of the Zapatistas communicated at the Encounter have been illuminated. Anti-neoliberalism and anti-globalisation as counter ideological sentiments are framed within the Encounter as issues that matter to all the “brothers and sisters”. Anti-globalisation ideas that began in response to the Mexican government and NAFTA are consciously expanded at the Encounter to be all-inclusive. New ideas of organising are discovered, and implemented via discussions and debate without the imposition of hierarchy or a political union. As a consequence the possibility of an all-inclusive struggle is reinforced. Locally relevant resistances by civil society are encouraged in order to voice opposition to global processes and reclaim public space by employing this democratic ideology. Action is put forward as a more viable option than “surrendering”. As a result of the ideas conveyed at the Encounter, the First World began to question: if they are resisting in the Third World, why aren’t we resisting at home? The final Chapter will discuss three examples of First World new social movement events that constitute a transference of ideas. These events are a result of ‘enacted inspiration’, occurring not entirely but partly as a result of the ideas or possibilities provided by the Encounter.

CHAPTER III: INSPIRATION ENACTED

Having examined the key globally relevant ideas from the Encounter in Chapter Two, Chapter Three will analyse examples of enacted inspiration in the First World via these ideas within the People's Global Action, Seattle World Trade Organisation protests and more recently, the Occupy Movement. In applying the ideoscape concept these events can be seen to include a transfer and embrace of the Zapatista ideas identified within the previous Chapter. In utilising the ideoscape to examine the transfer of ideas an attempt can be made to understand one of the many "complexities of the current global cultural economy" which was Appadurai's intended outcome for the application of 'scapes'. This First World implementation of Zapatista ideas represents the critical shift in solidarity flows away from humanitarian North-South exchanges. Zapatista ideas consistently reappear as intellectual diasporas, generating new outcomes in new contexts and positioning the South as increasingly relevant within the global exchanges. The PGA is widely recognised among both activists and scholars to be Zapatista inspired, a critical First World engagement with and

continuation of the Encounter project initiated in Chiapas. Seattle made use of the vast incorporation of different activist groups, a concept piloted by the Zapatistas at the Encounter in emphasising the idea that it was possible for differences to successfully unite around a very broad common goal, in this case anti-globalisation. The protests succeeded in shutting down World Trade Organisation talks. A later movement but one where there is also evidence of influence from Zapatista ideas is the Occupy Movement, where the intellectual diaspora appears in its organisational methods as well as within the similar political agenda of updated anti-neoliberalism in response to the 2008 financial crisis. The breadth of examples within this Chapter has been selected to display the wide applicability and continuing relevance of Zapatista ideas after the First Encounter. Callahan supports that by the late 1990s the Zapatistas were very concretely linked to other movements against economic globalisation and neoliberalism (as qtd. in Gilman-Opalsky 259). The breadth of examples displays that the ideas present at the Encounter did not result in an isolated secondary event, but multiple diasporas of action which enables firmer conclusions to be made about the significance of the reversal in solidarity flows.

The People's Global Action emerged a short two years after the Encounter in Chiapas with three hundred delegates from seventeen countries creating a coalition uniting against neoliberalism and its institutions, this time in Geneva. Olesen supports that the PGA traces its lineage to the intercontinental encounters in Chiapas 1996 and Spain 1997 ("Globalising" 189). Likewise to the Encounter, PGA encouraged the incorporation of vast differences within the network with the actors including Brazilian peasants, Dutch squatters and American anarchists (Woods 95). The PGA had two primary goals, one to provide mutual support to the separate movements, and secondly to provide a coordination mechanism for large-scale global protests against neoliberalism, including Seattle which they became a key part of organising (Woods 95). In this sense PGA is an extension of the Encounter in that it

seeks not only to facilitate debate but to coordinate action. The dominant presence of the counter ideology of anti-neoliberalism within PGA can be attributed to the key process present in the ideoscape theory, the global spread of political ideas as a result of increased global interactions. Political ideas have travelled via the Zapatista network from Chiapas to Geneva as fluid diasporas in a continuation of the protest against neoliberalism.

Woods supports that PGA was a route towards the original Zapatista vision of “a World where many Worlds fit” (96). In the PGA’s fifth hallmark direct links with Zapatismo are obvious in the organisational philosophy based on “autonomy and decentralisation”. This can be seen as a grassroots approach taking place on the transnational instead of local level (Woods 101). Taking the operational as well as the counter-ideological ideals from Zapatismo, with an emphasis on the aspect of proactivity there is visible evidence of enacted ideas which constitutes solidarity flow reversal. By First World events incorporating Zapatista inspired ideas, the solidarity exchange is not based on humanitarianism but a much more equal positioning. The PGA represents the results of the intellectual diasporas provided by the Zapatistas and is theoretically explained via the ideoscape with ideas shared due to increased contact between actors as a result of globalisation. The transfer of proactivity, the inclusion of multiple movements and employment of resistance in physical meetings of broad based anti-neoliberal, anti-globalisation representation demonstrate a continuation of the Zapatista ideas. The PGA meetings also paved the way for Seattle as a continuing diaspora of inspiration.

The direct link between Chiapas and Seattle is highlighted by Ross, “the Zapatistas were players on a much larger battlefield and Chiapas became a mandatory way stop on the road to the resistance that exploded in Seattle 1999” (as qtd. in Olesen “Transnational” 189). Ross confirms that despite rejecting a vanguard position, this is what occurred as the beginning of the alter-globalisation movement began to organise around the Zapatistas and

their ideas after the first Encounter (as qtd. in Olesen 189). This in part, can be seen as due to their insistence of diversity of both people and methods within the resistance and struggles (Olesen 189). By refusing to dictate as to best or preferred methods, civil society was attracted to this new, open way of organising variations of revolution with the sole flexible condition of an overarching goal of resisting neoliberalism and promoting humanity. This goal united developing countries with the West in a globally applicable struggle which became visible at Seattle. Paradoxically this manifestation of anti-globalisation ideas via the exchange of ideas as an ideoscape, is facilitated by the very process the ideas contest as the 'scapes' both facilitate globalisation flows and exist as a result of globalisation.

At Seattle a diversity similar to that present at the Encounter and PGA is found. Whilst a predominantly US led movement the protests included hundreds of activists from grassroots movements on every continent who joined US and Canadian citizens. Tens of thousands including "regular looking folk to steelworkers and yuppies" (Solnit 89) rose up in direct action against corporations and governments with graffiti, slogans such as "This is A Free Protest Zone", street theatre, human blockades and processions. There were some incidents of non-peaceful demonstration including property damage, which caused debate amongst activists. Aside from the events in Seattle, sister demonstrations took place at other major locations worldwide. Protestors were against "a global economic system based on the exploitation of people and the planet" which encompassed global warming, sweatshops, poverty, genetic engineering and war (Guilloud Call to Action Direct Action Network). The protests frame globalisation as something that negatively impacts the entirety of society including both First and Third Worlds. This goes back to the statement made at the Encounter, "how does the power against which we rebel affect you?" (EZLN 1996 as qtd in Gilman-Opalsky 259). Seattle demonstrates an engagement with this sentiment, and the spread or ideoscape of the proactivity idea that was encouraged at the Encounter, of initiating

anti-neoliberal, anti-globalisation struggles relevant to contexts at home. Despite the possibilities of different meanings being reworked via an ideoscape dependent on the receiver, the humanity and justice meanings taken and implemented at Seattle are markedly similar to those present at the Encounter, evident in the sentiments of the ‘exploitation of the people’ and a continuing idea of anti-repression. It expands the ideoscape from the poetic origins of the general Zapatista ideas to name the specific exploitations of the people, sweatshops for example.

The Direct Action Network (DAN) was one of the main organising bodies of the WTO protests. They advocated mutual respect for a variety of nonviolent protest styles to reflect the different groups and communities participating. This demonstrates evidence of the embrace of the ideas of respect and tolerance linked to the core idea of inclusivity. Dixon strongly rejects the myth that Seattle was altogether something new. He states “our efforts in Seattle closely followed in the footsteps of militant movements in the global South, which have led the global revolt against neoliberalism” which clearly places the Third World as the initiators of global revolt, with the Global North following those ideas closely. He references the Zapatistas directly, appraising them for bringing together protests that began in the 1980s into coherent ideas with their emergence in 1994 (105).

The Direct Action Network’s “Call to Action” literature is critical in exposing activists’ motivations and the ideas present at Seattle. There is evidence of the transfer of the humanity idea at play with:

“We live in an industrialized country that exploits other nations and other peoples for the sake of comfortable living conditions in the US. We have a responsibility to understand the reality of the global economy beyond our own lives and speak out against these policies.” (Guilloud A Call to Action Direct Action Network).

As well as Western concerns of environment, labour rights and food safety, there is also recognition present of a responsibility for humanity. This is a case of First World actors further engaging with the wider global relevance and impact of globalisation and the idea that

action can be taken everywhere, by everyone, not only in the most affected developing countries of the Third World. This is evidence of an idea at least partially inspired by a 'for humanity' diaspora from the Encounter. The Zapatistas predominantly brought awareness to issues such as humanity and First World actors are evidenced by events such as Seattle to have responded.

From the reflective perspectives of key activists and organisers of the protests in the account "Battle of Seattle" a sense of the novelty and significance of Seattle for First World activists can be understood. "The world felt the tremor of this courage and witnessed a new face of the United States" (Mittal n.pag.) This implies that Seattle was a new production, produced by a new type of ideas leading to this 'tremor of courage' in protesting. Mittal advocates that the success of Seattle was characterised by the diversity of civil society groups and the diverse range of strategies employed in both the organisation and mobilisation of the protests (2). Dixon states that Seattle was a call for ordinary people to participate in events shaping their nation. This statement in particular has resonance with Zapatista ideoscapes of participatory democracy, with Seattle promoted as providing "local alternatives for local people" (78) against corporate globalisation and free trade that benefited firms and damaged cultures. PGA is once again highlighted as being a participant in making Seattle happen, noted by Dixon as paving a complementary road to Seattle (78). Thus the Zapatistas must also be incorporated in that road. Solnit acknowledges Global South movements, which he states initiated and continued to lead global justice efforts (36). In the Call to Action notice (DAN), the anti- globalisation critique and promotion of action for change via new forms of resistance is clear, as is the reference to the idea of 'misery' imposed by globalisation, which was oft used in the Encounter.

"It is time to raise the social and political cost to those who aim to increase the destruction and misery caused by corporate globalization, as movements in other parts of the world have... to simplify and dramatize the issues of corporate globalization and to develop and spread new and creative forms of resistance. This will help catalyse desperately needed mass

movements in the US and Canada capable of challenging global capital and making radical change and social revolution” (Guilloud Direct Action Network as qtd. in Solnit 109).

Thus following on from the PGA, Seattle exposes a broad implementation of the Zapatista ideas including their fundamental promotion of different resistances and an engagement with humanity. “Radical change and social revolution” implies likewise to the PGA, not only the focus of debate from the Encounter but action. In the transfer of political images, Appadurai highlights the potential complications within the ‘master terms’ that feature within ideoscapes such as democracy. The reasoning being that terms echo from place to place, potentially meaning very different things depending on the translation with the condition of variable “synaesthesia” (300). Yet, the Zapatista understanding of democracy in the sense of the mobilisation of all the people in all the places has been translated directly in the transfer of the ideoscape, with a very similar understanding visible in the Seattle action.

Occupy Wall Street presents the final evidence for this thesis. It supports the inspirational aspect of the Zapatista’s political discourse that re-emerges once again in the First World, theoretically via the concept of an ideoscape or political ideas embedding in new contexts, and physically via intellectual diasporas of activists who interpret and apply the ideas. Occupy literally seeks to occupy public space, protesting against inequality caused by neoliberalism and its associated financial institutions. Nail highlights that the media reported the Occupy movement “came out of nowhere” based on the assumption that neoliberalism is the only mainstream, accepted state of political ideology and anything else is from “nowhere” (20). Nail affirms that the Occupy movement did not in fact come from nowhere as perpetrated by the media, nor was it an isolated instance of resistance – but it had fundamental roots in the alter-globalisation movement. Nail argues that this too, did not come from nowhere and supports a direct link from Zapatismo to the formation of the PGA, which initiated the alter-globalisation predecessor to the Occupy Movement (20-21). This demonstrates a continuation of an engagement with Zapatista ideoscapes and the way in

which ideas have been consistently spread and reformulated to form new but familiar threads. The link with Zapatismo is traced via three political strategies that can be linked to Zapatista ideas: horizontalism (non-hierarchism), consensus decision-making and the deliberate use of masks for political meaning which has not been discussed in this paper previously but is another defining feature of the EZLN (21). Occupy represents the continuing applicability of Zapatista ideas and presence of diasporas of ideas.

To conclude, key ideas and organisational strategies from Chiapas, to Geneva, Seattle and New York have been exemplified as re-emerging. The First World actors receive and apply ideas that become situated in their own contexts as explained by the theoretical concept of an ideoscape or the global spread of ideas. These intellectual diasporas contributed to the formation of PGA, the WTO protests and Occupy Movement. Therefore the Zapatistas' political discourse and organisational methods have provided inspiration that has been absorbed, built upon and manifested in the First World. The span of time from 1998 to 2011 within which the diasporas of ideas appear emphasises the resonance of the ideas first publicly communicated by the Zapatistas. The echo appears in the emergence of firstly the PGA which utilises the idea of including multiple social movements and the pursuit of anti-neoliberal ideas, followed by the Seattle protests which publically criticised globalisation and its institutions in an unprecedented manner via the organisation of vast sectors of civil society with separate struggles. The final event the Occupy Movement voiced strong anti-neoliberal sentiments, emerging in a post economic crisis order whereby activists once again reflect on justice, the current global economic order and consequences for them. These movements all have a common Zapatista theme of uniting individual differences under a wider 'master struggle'.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the significance of the shift in transnational exchanges between the Zapatistas and their international supporters, from humanitarian North to South solidarity to South to North anti-globalisation, anti-neoliberal inspiration is the impact this shift has had on First World events due to intellectual diasporas of Zapatista ideas. The visible presence of Zapatista ideas within these events as discussed in Chapter Three places the global South as an assertive actor in this instance of solidarity exchanges and flows, moving away from traditional solidarity labels of recipients of humanitarian support. The domestic Zapatista project in Chiapas still receives humanitarian aid yet they have extended their identity and purpose beyond this paradigm. I argue that the South-North exchanges go beyond mutual construction (Hatzky & Stites Mor) and reciprocity (Olesen) but that via the transnational exchange of ideas which are implemented, the South becomes a source of inspiration. The unprecedented gatherings of the PGA, Seattle protests and Occupy Movement exemplify the far reaching consequences of the solidarity flow reversal that occurred within the neo-Zapatismo movement as it expanded transnationally via the global spread of globally relevant ideas from its emergence in 1994 via the theoretical process of ideoscapes. Instead of the previous sympathetic humanitarianism directed at the Third World from the First World, what is present in the reversal of flows within the Zapatista network is the development of a global humanitarianism. This refers to a mutual recognition of both individual and group struggles, specifically those linked to the consequences that are increasingly ascribed to globalisation. First World actors are encouraged to redefine what it means to be an activist with increasingly broad sectors of society partaking in a global struggle and recognising that they are not removed from the consequences of neoliberalism and globalisation.

Using the conceptual framework of an ideoscape to theorise the spread of global ideas and a transnational methodology which leads to the focus of political diasporas, this thesis identifies a process of new revolutionary inspiration within the Zapatista network. In this

process, the South as the dominant actor in the international exchange of flows and ideas inspires a resistance not against the nation state, but against wider global processes. The First World receivers interpreted and applied political ideas and organising methods that became situated in their own contexts. This was not an attempt to copy the Zapatistas or apply their methods regardless of context but reapplying inspiration where applicable, as per Appadurai's building blocks of imagined worlds. The Third World can thus be seen as a proactive creator and sharer of political discourse. The Zapatistas do not provide concrete solutions for the World's problems aside from promoting radical democracy via participation, but they revolutionised the act of civil society speaking out with an unprecedented unity of diverse actors and action stimulated from the local and reaching the global. The significance is not of tangible results produced or not produced, but the process of promoting anti-neoliberal anti-globalisation messages to the global stage and encouraging further thought, achieved by framing them as global issues not issues that only impact the developing World. This thesis has drawn together a multiplicity of examples and action to expose the significance of this solidarity flow reversal process, whereby the South, in this case the Zapatistas, have not only asserted themselves as independent actors and avoided paternalistic Northern influence (Andrews), but have initiated far reaching consequences with their political ideas travelling to and embedding in the First World. A visible thread of common ideologies and methods travel via intellectual diasporas from Chiapas, to Geneva, Seattle and Wall Street. The core significance of the reversal of solidarity flows is that the Zapatistas brought the Global South to the frontline of promoting global justice and incorporated the North via inspirational ideas into the struggle against neoliberalism and globalisation.

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