*We are indigenous people of different languages and cultures, descendents of the ancient Mayan people. The indigenous people of Chiapas and all the indigenous peoples of Mexico have been suffering great injustices—plundering, humiliation, discrimination, and marginalization—for several centuries; many other peoples around the world also live in the same situation, in the Americas and beyond. This is a consequence of the violent Spanish conquest and after that, the North American invasions. This left us living in complete misery and on the way to being exterminated. These are the reasons that forced us to rise up in arms on January 1st, 1994 and say, "Enough!”*

***Comandante David, Oventic, Chiapas, 2003***

*Did you hear it?*

*It is the sound of your world crumbling.*

*It is the sound of our world resurging.*

*The day that was day, was night.*

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

*Democracy!*

*Liberty!*

*Justice!*

From the Mountains of Southeastern Mexico

For the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee — General Command of the EZLN

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, Mexico, December 2012

#### Imagine this:

#### You are in a car traveling to a place you have heard about but never been to. This is a first for you. You are on your way to la realidad.

#### The car comes to a halt next to a small building where two people walk out holding guns. We realize that we have just come to an immigration checkpoint.

#### “Los pasaportes porfavor?”

#### “No tengo.” You respond proudly.

#### “What are you? Where are you from?” They ask threateningly

#### \*You pause\*

#### What does this mean?

#### Why are these questions necessary? How to we come to the conclusion of “what we are?”

#### Looking at the guards I respond

*This is who we are.*

*The Zapatista National Liberation Army.*

*The voice that arms itself to be heard.*

*The face that hides itself to be seen.*

*The name that hides itself to be named.*

*The red star who calls out to humanity and the world*

*To be heard, to be seen, to be named.*

*The tomorrow to be harvested in the past.*

*Behind our black mask,*

*Behind our armed voice,*

*Behind our unnameable name,*

*Behind us, who you see,*

*Behind us, we are you.*

*Behind we are the simple and ordinary men and women,*

*Who are repeated in all races,*

*Painted in all colors,*

*Speak in all languages*

*And live in all places.*

*The same forgotten men and women.*

*The same excluded,*

*The same untolerated,*

*The same persecuted,*

*We are you.*

*-Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos*

(Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, insurgent leader for the EZLN, in charge of all public statements, *Our World is Our Weapon*, pg. 103-104, Seven Stories Press: New York, Luke Newell)

#### January 1, 1994, will enter the history books as a date that marks a notable paradox in contemporary Mexico. Just when the country was being inaugurated into the “First World” by joining its northern neighbors in an economic association represented by the North American Free Trade Agreement, an armed rebellion broke out in the southeastern state of Chiapas. In the wake of a cease-fire following 12 days of fighting, a new social movement emerged that contested the direction of the nation’s future as envisioned by the state and its ruling electoral machine, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. The adherents of the new movement are primarily Mayan peasants, both members and sympathizers of the EZLN, and their national and international supporters.

**I ask for justice--not from the governments of the United States and Mexico because they are complicit in this war--but from the people of Mexico and the United States. Look into my suffering and multiply that by hundreds of women, men and children whose voices you do not seem to hear, who suffer on a daily basis the humilation of a low-intensity war which intends to suffocate the very human aspirations for democracy, liberty and [justice](http://www.thing.net/~rdom/rabi4.html%22%20%5Ct%20%22new)."**

#### The Zapatistas welcome people to join them in solidarity – connecting ourselves with them is to connect ourselves with a nonviolent protest against oppressive domination

Maccani 8 (RJ Maccani, senior reporter in NYC, working both for news organizations and resistance groups, from the newsletter, “Solidarity: What does it mean now? May/June 2008,” “Be a Zapatista Wherever You Are,”

<http://www.resistinc.org/newsletters/articles/be-zapatista-wherever-you-are>,)

Behind our black mask, behind our armed voice, behind our unnamable name, behind what you see of us, behind this, we are you. - Major Ana Maria of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) at the First Intercontinental Encuentro for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism. Chiapas, Mexico, 1996¶ In their words and in their actions, Mexico's zapatista rebels have developed and propagated a powerful conception of solidarity. Through exploring a bit of their history, as well as the work of several of their supporters and allies within the USA, I seek to share here some of my understandings of what solidarity means to the zapatistas and, thus, what it might mean for those of us who seek to act in solidarity with them.¶ Everything for Everyone, Nothing for Ourselves¶ Perhaps the EZLN got lucky when they picked January 1, 1994 to be the day they would rise up in arms. As the prominent Mexican intellectual Gustavo Esteva describes it, there wasn't much else happening at the time:¶ "Not a plane crashed. No tsunami came. No princess died. No president had any sexual escapade. Nothing happened on earth. The media was empty. They had nothing to present us. So, on January 2, we had a thousand journalists in San Cristobal. CNN was projecting Zapatistas. We had beautiful images with the ski masks and all the emotion. It was perfect for the news. Six hours a day, CNN was presenting Zapatistas."¶ From Mexico's southeastern state of Chiapas, the zapatista cry of "¡Ya Basta!" ("Enough is Enough!") quickly traveled around the globe not only through the corporate media but, unfiltered and direct, over the Internet as well. A virtual army of volunteer translators and web-junkies ensured that anyone who wanted to could engage directly with the communiqués, stories and letters of the zapatistas. In the same moment that the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, the EZLN - in image and word - and the poverty of southern Mexico were catapulted into the consciousness of people around the world.¶ Although they succeeded in liberating over a million acres of land from plantation owners in the first days of the uprising, the zapatistas' rag tag army of poorly equipped peasant soldiers could never have dreamed of matching the violence of the Mexican military. Demanding "work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace," they called on their fellow Mexicans to join them by rising up in arms to depose the one-party rule of the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). In response to this call, the zapatistas instead found themselves confronted by a global "civil society" that echoed their demands but sought to achieve them through nonviolent means. That the zapatistas were not annihilated by the Mexican Army has less to do with their military prowess and more to do with the hundreds of thousands of people who flooded the streets of Mexico City and other cities around the world in support of peace.¶ Taking a cue from the people they had hoped to lead into battle, the zapatistas decided to stop speaking with "the fire" in order to strengthen the path of "the word". And so in the 14 years since the uprising, the zapatistas have hosted countless consultas (mass consultations), encuentros (gatherings for listening and speaking), and other engagements with various segments of a national and international "civil society" that was attracted to them and who the zapatistas recognized as their peers. As Subcomandante Marcos, the spokesperson of the zapatistas, remarked in a recent interview,¶ ".it so happened that we, the EZLN, were almost all indigenous from here in Chiapas, but we did not want to struggle just for our 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." [emphasis added]¶ Since their public emergence, the zapatistas have sought to sustain an open and non-vanguardist style, communicated through the aphorisms "Walking, we ask questions" and "Lead by obeying." Their commitment to struggling not just for themselves, but for the betterment of everyone, is expressed powerfully and clearly in their "Everything for everyone, nothing for ourselves."

#### There is only one road that leads to you to the Chiapan communities or the base of the Zapatistas. That road stretches from the U.S. Mexican border all the way to a small town. The end of the road is called “La Realida” or in English- reality. Here is where the road ends and the rebellion begins.

#### The entrance into the Zapatistas community however, is unlike any other. When you enter you feel something different. It is if you are entering a new realm- one free of the government, of judgment, of difference or inequality. The cause of this, they say is the autonomous zone.

ENLACE CIVIL (nodate) , Zapatista autonomous municipalities AUTONOMOUS MUNICIPALITIES:, ENLACE CIVIL, http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/comment/auto\_munc\_nov98.html

#### In December of 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) revealed the existence of 32 rebel indigenous municipalities, which are known as autonomous municipalities, within the district lines of the official municipalities. The autonomous municipalities are the organization of the rebel peoples of Chiapas for resistance. The war and the militarization prevent the people, in many cases, from going to the municipal seats in order to resolve their immediate problems; the soldiers at the checkpoints assault and interrogate every person suspected of being a zapatista: that is, all poor campesinos. There have been instances of rape against women at the military checkpoints, and also of kidnappings and attacks. The lack of freedom of movement in the state has also forced the appearance of the autonomous and rebel municipalities. Some autonomous municipalities have opened their own marriage, birth and functions registries, because, since 1994, many villages have stopped utilizing official services, because they belong to the civil support structure of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Completely abandoned by state institutions, and without basic services, the indigenous communities of Chiapas have opted to resolve some of their own problems through self-organization. The legitimacy of the autonomous municipalities is based in the Treaty 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), to which Mexico is a signatory, and which recognizes the rights of the indigenous peoples to live according to their uses and customs. In addition, municipal autonomy is recognized in Article 115 of the Mexican Constitution. For the rebel peoples of Chiapas, the creation of the Autonomous Municipalities is also a means for carrying out the San Andres Accords. On February 16, 1996, the Mexican government signed the Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture with the EZLN. These accords were to have been transformed into constitutional changes. But the Mexican government rejected the legislative proposal of the Commission of Concordance and Peace - made up of all the political forces in the Congress of the Union - which they had prepared in December of 1996. The carrying out of the San Andres Accords on indigenous rights is still not resolved, and it is one of the EZLN's essential requirements for returning to the dialogue table. The EZLN maintains that the autonomous municipalities are legitimate, given that they are the results of the application of the San Andres Accords, which the govenrment signed, and which it now refuses to recognize. THE FUNCTIONING OF THE AUTONOMOUS MUNICIPALITIES The autonomous municipalities are made up by the indigenous communities within an area defined by zapatista influence. The communities of an indigenous zone or area are the ones who decide, at an assembly of all their members, whether or not they will belong to the autonomous municipality. The autonomous municipalities, parallel to the constitutional ones, do not receive any financing from the state, nor do they collect taxes. It is the communities who elect their representatives for the Autonomous Municipal Council, which is the authority for the municipality. Each representative is chosen for one area of administration within the autonomous municipality, and they may be removed if they do not fully comply with the communities' mandates. Generally, a Council is made up of a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Minister of Justice, a person in charge of Agrarian Matters, a Health Committee and a director for the Civil Registry. Each members' powers are clearly defined within their appointment, and they function in a collegial manner, with the advice of previous authorities or of the Council of Elders. The Councils are elected and renewed every one or two years, according to the municipality. The activities and the responsibilities of each autonomous municipality are dependent on the will of their members, and on their level of consolidation. They do not manage public resources, and their budget, if it exists at all, is very limited, and due to the cooperation of some of their members. Those who hold a position on the Municipal Council do not receive a salary for it, although their expenses should be paid by the same communities who request their presence, through cooperation among the members. In some cases, members of the Council are supported in their farm work, so they they can dedicate themselves to their [Council] work, and not have to go the fields. The autonomous municipalities resolve local problems of coexistence, relations and exchanges between communities, and they attend to minor crimes. The application of justice is based on customary law. For example, in cases of common crimes, the punishment imposed by the Autonomous Council is reparation of the damages: instead of punishment by jail or fines, a sentence is imposed of working for the community, or for the aggrieved family. In the autonomous municipality of Polho, in Chenalho, where thousands of war displaced are found, the Autonomous Council receives national and international humanitarian aid, and it distributes it to the camps through the Supply Committee. Some autonomous municipalities occupy the Constitutional Municipal building, such as in San Andres, in Los Altos of Chiapas. The autonomous municipality of San Juan de la Libertad, officially El Bosque, met in the official municipal seat facilities until the military offensive against it last June 10. The non-governmental organization, Sipaz, has this to say concerning the autonomous municipalities: "Considered from a western political perspective, the autonomous municipalities make no sense. They have no resources or real power or legal legitimacy, and they are dying, encircled by hunger, diseases, the paramilitary threat and the security forces. However, for the indigenous peoples, they constitute an eloquent symbol of a culture which is resisting and defying the dominant culture, making a reality of a different way of understanding politics and of organizing the economy, society, and even human relations."

#### The question of this debate is why is economic engagement always limited to the government of Mexico when they are not the people who struggled for the land they now live in.

Economic engagement always effects only those who are unable to participate in the conversation. There opinion is wielded completely out of the discussion.

The “forgotten” people of Mexico are those both left out of, and most affected by economic engagement between “mexico” and the United States.

Structural violence in the form of poverty, famine, inequality and deaths has become rampant since the introduction of NAFTA but this is because of a broader problem. The political sphere is infiltrated with neoliberal policy makers who seek not to help the indigenous population, rather large US corporations.

A necessary prerequisite to increasing our economic engagement is creating a paradigmatic shift in the way that policies are formulated and passed. We must usher in a new wave of non-oppressive systems that incorporate the perspectives of those who truly make up Mexico.

Cuninghame & Corona 1998, Patrick Cuninghame (Sociology lecturer at the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, A Hons degree in History from Edinburgh University, PhD in Sociology from Middlesex University) and Carolina Ballesteros Corona (psychologist and lecturer in pedagogy at the Universidad Pedagogica Nacional in the state of Mexico), A Rainbow at Midnight: Zapatistas and Autonomy, Pg. 14-16

January 1 1994 was chosen by the EZLN’s base support communities as the starting date for armed rebellion as NAFTA, due to be implemented on that day, represented a lethal threat to their collective way of life, land use and indeed existence. Ex-President Salinas’ reform of the Constitution’s Article 27, protecting the ejidos (community-owned collective lands) from privatization, had already opened the floodgates to US agribusiness and Chiapas’ large landowners who increased their use of guardias blancas (hired guns) to force indigenous com- munities off their lands. The removal of all trade barriers and forms of protection for these communities from TNC predators in the name of ‘joining the first world’ was effectively a death sentence. The situation of Mexico’s ‘forgotten’ peoples had been worsening at an even greater rate than the rest of the population since the debt crisis of 1982, with levels of poverty, disease, infant mortality, and life expectancy worse in Chiapas than anywhere else in Mexico. Resistance and organisation by various autonomous campesino (farmer) and indigenous organisations had also been increasing throughout the 1980s. The EZLN slowly emerged over 13 years from the remnants of those organisations who refused to be bought off or intimidated, a hybrid mixture including ex-Maoist guerrillas with roots in the 1968 students movement, such as the mestizo intellectual Subcomandante Marcos. But its founda- tions have been the indigenous traditional practices of the direct participatory democracy and the autonomy of the community assembly. One of the EZLN’s main innovations has been the use of the language of storytelling and poetry rather than political dogma, as epitomised in Marcos’ stories of Don Durito, Old Antonio and the rebellious child Heriberto. Some commentators have tried to present Marcos as the ‘leader’ of the EZLN rather than the CCRI (the Rebellious Indigenous Clandestine Committee), while others see him more as a spokesperson, chosen by the communities to act as a cultural bridge between the indigenous world and that of the Mexican and international antagonist movements who have become its allies. While the EZLN is mainly composed of the indigenous Mayan peoples of the state of Chiapas, it is neither a separatist Chiapan- ecan movement nor exclusively indigenous in its composition or demands. It claims to exist throughout Mexico and to be made up of people from all the main ethnic groups in Mexico, both from urban and rural areas. Following the 1994 rebellion it was described by the Mexican intellectual Carlos Fuentes as a ‘post-modern guerrilla movement... the first rebellion of the 21st century’, because, in stark contrast with the rest of Latin America’s ‘focoist’ tradition of armed struggle, it was not interested in the seizure of state power. Instead, the EZLN’s strategy has been to build a series of alliances with what they term as ‘organised national and international civil society’ made up in Mexico of social movements, such as the inner city Assemblea de Barrios (Neighbourhood Assemblies), and El Barzon (The Yoke). The latter is a move- ment of small and medium scale farmers, business people and general debtors such as mortgage holders, whose struggle to reschedule or cancel their debts has helped to deepen the crisis of the Mexican banking sector. This sector is itself part of an overall tendency towards fragility among Latin American banking which some economists see as the Achilles tendon of the globalisation process. The EZLN’s aim is to help to construct a network of such movements, both nationally and internationally, against the designs of NAFTA in Mexico and of globalised neoliberalism in general, so transforming society ‘from the bottom upwards’ and autonomously from the political and economic institutions of both the state and the market.

#### Revolution is a lie. The notion that social movements exist as a transformative struggle for progress ultimately reifies and creates the same oppressive systems they claim to have overthrown. True autonomy only exists in the moment of insurrection- the timeless place around which history and the state have no control.

 (Hakim Bey, Anarchist, 1991, The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism, <http://hermetic.com/bey/taz_cont.html>)

Uprising, or the Latin form insurrection, are words used by historians to label failed revolutions--movements which do not match the expected curve, the consensus-approved trajectory: revolution, reaction, betrayal, the founding of a stronger and even more oppressive State--the turning of the wheel, the return of history again and again to its highest form: jackboot on the face of humanity forever.¶ By failing to follow this curve, the up-rising suggests the possibility of a movement outside and beyond the Hegelian spiral of that "progress" which is secretly nothing more than a vicious circle. Surgo--rise up, surge. Insurgo--rise up, raise oneself up. A bootstrap operation. A goodbye to that wretched parody of the karmic round, historical revolutionary futility. The slogan "Revolution!" has mutated from tocsin to toxin, a malign pseudo-Gnostic fate-trap, a nightmare where no matter how we struggle we never escape that evil Aeon, that incubus the State, one State after another, every "heaven" ruled by yet one more evil angel.¶ If History IS "Time," as it claims to be, then the uprising is a moment that springs up and out of Time, violates the "law" of History. If the State IS History, as it claims to be, then the insurrection is the forbidden moment, an unforgivable denial of the dialectic--shimmying up the pole and out of the smokehole, a shaman's maneuver carried out at an "impossible angle" to the universe. History says the Revolution attains "permanence," or at least duration, while the uprising is "temporary." In this sense an uprising is like a "peak experience" as opposed to the standard of "ordinary" consciousness and experience. Like festivals, uprisings cannot happen every day--otherwise they would not be "nonordinary." But such moments of intensity give shape and meaning to the entirety of a life. The shaman returns--you can't stay up on the roof forever-- but things have changed, shifts and integrations have occurred--a difference is made.¶ You will argue that this is a counsel of despair. What of the anarchist dream, the Stateless state, the Commune, the autonomous zone with duration, a free society, a free culture? Are we to abandon that hope in return for some existentialist acte gratuit? The point is not to change consciousness but to change the world.

#### Indigenous narratives deconstruct national hegemonic discourses which marginalize the ethnic other

Moreno 2010, Zenaida Moreno, Michigan State University Presented on April 22nd 2010 Symposium 2010 – Indigenous Narratives: Deconstructing the National

Another aspect that adds to the special value of indigenous literature is its capacity to question and problematize national discourses of homogeneity and harmony. In Indigenous Movements and their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala (1998), Kay Warren has observed that Mayan discourses challenge the “monoethnic, monocultural, and monolingual images of the modern nation” (5). I propose this ethnic and linguistic homogeneity is also defied by the writings of indigenous authors from Chiapas. By publishing their fictional narratives in Mayan languages indigenous writers demonstrate, in an official way legitimized by the printed word, that the country is inhabited by distinct ethnic groups whose stories and necessities are different from those of the dominant cultural group –the mestizo or ladino. Furthermore, in exposing the heterogeneity of the nation-state, the literary production of indigenous writers from Mexico and Guatemala promote cultural diversity as well as a reassessment of cultural and economic inequalities. Discourse of Mexico and Guatemala as Articulated by their Ethnic Other Additionally, indigenous narratives construct counter narratives which deconstruct national discourses that marginalize its ethnic other. This paper analyzes two of the short stories from Todo cambió (2006), by López Gómez, and the novel El tiempo principia en Xibalbá (1985), by de Lión, to illustrate how the state and the Catholic Church marginalize and oppress the Mayan sectors of society

Ricky and I advocate the use of personal narratives as a method to deconstruct the prevailing hegemonic discourses as a necessary prerequisite to any policy of U.S. economic engagement toward Mexico.

#### Thus the Role of the ballot is to endorse the performance that best changes the context of public assumptions and expands what is considered relevant to deliberation.

Lara 1998 Maria Pia (professor of philosophy at Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico) Moral Textures feminist narratives in the public sphere P. 113

It is in the process of understanding the ‘alter’ – as opposed to an ego – that the ‘hearer’ comes ‘to see things in a new way’. It is this performative interaction that I call an ‘illocutionary act’. Such a performance can be considered successful when these claims or criticisms change the ‘context of public assumptions about justification’. In this way, they become ‘truth canidates’. Bohman argues hat disclosure, then, is ‘audience-relative’, and that its truth content lies in its verification through further reflection on what is disclosed. Disclosures, in other words, cannot be self-verifying or self-justifying; they can only legitimate themselves through the filter of public opinion. The important of Bohman’s conceptualization is that he views ‘disclosure’ as having a pragmatic twist; by doing so, he shows that in disclosing new possibilities, critics are not only announcing a new way of thinking about justice, but also that ‘they are addressing an audience and expanding what it considers relevant to deliberation.’ With this cultural interpretation of ‘disclosure’, Bohman envisions new patterns for freedom: Such an open relation permits reflective agents to change these conditions, even if one piece at a time. All critics open up fields of meaning and action of a culture by introducing new themes or facts – they change them. The world here is the cultural background and context that informs institutions and their taken-for-granted understandings. Only a public can create a world, in organizing itself and the larger public around these new understandings. Such innovative publics make democratic deliberation a dynamic and historical process.

#### Structural violence outweighs – its relegation to the sidelines means debate is a crucial space to expose its horrors.

Christie ’01 – Daniel J. Christie was a professor of psychology at Ohio State University, edited by RV Wagner and DA Winter. [Englewood Cliffs, New¶ Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2007. “Structural Violence”. 2007. [http://academic.marion.ohio-state.edu/dchristie/Peace%20Psychology%20Book\_files/Section%20II%20-%20Structural%20Violence%20(Winter%20%26%20Leighton).pdf](http://academic.marion.ohio-state.edu/dchristie/Peace%20Psychology%20Book_files/Section%20II%20-%20Structural%20Violence%20%28Winter%20%26%20Leighton%29.pdf)]

Direct violence is horrific, but its brutality usually gets our attention: we notice it, and ¶ often respond to it. Structural violence, however, is almost always invisible, embedded in ¶ ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experience. ¶ Structural violence occurs whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal, ¶ economic, or cultural traditions. Because they are longstanding, structural inequities ¶ usually seem ordinary—the way things are and always have been. But structural violence ¶ produces suffering and death as often as direct violence does, though the damage is ¶ slower, more subtle, more common, and more difficult to repair. The chapters in this ¶ section teach us about some important but invisible forms of structural violence, and alert¶ us to the powerful cultural mechanisms that create and maintain them over generations.¶ Johan Galtung originally framed the term “structural violence” to mean any constraint¶ on human potential caused by economic and political structures (1969). Unequal access ¶ to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence. When inner-city children have inadequate schools while ¶ others do not, when gays and lesbians are fired for their sexual orientation, when laborers¶ toil in inhumane conditions, when people of color endure environmental toxins in their ¶ neighborhoods, structural violence exists. Unfortunately, even those who are victims of ¶ structural violence often do not see the systematic ways in which their plight is ¶ choreographed by unequal and unfair distribution of society’s resources. Such is the ¶ insidiousness of structural violence.¶ Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it is also dangerous because it ¶ frequently leads to direct violence. The chronically oppressed are often, for logical ¶ reasons, those who resort to direct violence. Organized armed conflict in various parts of ¶ the world is easily traced to structured inequalities. Northern Ireland, for example, has ¶ been marked by economic disparities between Northern Irish Catholics—who have ¶ higher unemployment rates and less formal education—and Protestants (Cairns & Darby, ¶ 1998). In Sri Lanka, youth unemployment and underemployment exacerbates ethnic ¶ conflict (Rogers, Spencer, & Uyangoda, 1998). In Rwanda, huge disparities in both ¶ income and social status between the Hutu and Tutsis eventually led to ethnic massacres.¶ While structural violence often leads to direct violence, the reverse is also true, as ¶ brutality terrorizes bystanders, who then become unwilling or unable to confront social ¶ injustice. Increasingly, civilians pay enormous costs of war, not only through death, but ¶ through devastation of neighborhoods and ecosystems. Ruling elites rarely suffer from ¶ armed conflict as much as civilian populations do, who endure decades of poverty and ¶ disease in war-torn societies.Recognizing the operation of structural violence forces us to ask questions about how ¶ and why we tolerate it, questions that often have painful answers. The first chapter in this ¶ section, “Social Injustice,” by Susan Opotow, argues that our normal perceptual/cognitive¶ processes lead us to care about people inside our scope of justice, but rarely care about ¶ those people outside. Injustice that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to ¶ someone we love or know is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are ¶ invisible or irrelevant to us. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts ¶ to everyone; moral exclusion is a product of our normal cognitive processes. But Opotow¶ argues convincingly that we can reduce its nefarious effects by becoming aware of our ¶ distorted perceptions. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, ¶ communication, and appreciation of diversity.¶ One outcome of exclusionary thinking is the belief that victims of violence must in ¶ some way deserve their plight. But certainly it is easy to see that young children do not ¶ deserve to be victims. The next two chapters in this section address the violence ¶ experienced by children. In the first, “The War Close to Home: Children and Violence in ¶ the United States,” Kathleen Kostelny and James Garbarino describe the direct and ¶ structural violence which children in Chicago and other urban areas of the United States ¶ endure, paralleling that experienced by children who live in countries at war. Children ¶ who endure these environments often become battle weary, numb, hopeless, and/or ¶ morally impaired. But children not only suffer directly from violence, they also suffer ¶ from the impaired parenting and communities which poverty inflicts. The authors ¶ describe how community and family support mechanisms can mitigate these effects. For example, home visitation and early childhood education programs provide crucial family ¶ and community support.¶ While Kostelny and Garbarino focus on community intervention techniques, Milton ¶ Schwebel and Daniel Christie, in their article “Children and Structural Violence,” extend ¶ the analysis of structural violence by examining how economic and psychological ¶ deprivation impairs at-risk children. Children living in poverty experience diminished ¶ intellectual development because parents are too overwhelmed to be able to provide ¶ crucial linguistic experiences. Schwebel and Christie’s discussion concludes that ¶ economic structures must provide parents with living-wage employment, good prenatal ¶ medical care, and high-quality child-care if we are to see the next generation develop into¶ the intelligent and caring citizens needed to create a peaceful world.¶ If children are the invisible victims of society’s structural violence, so are their ¶ mothers. In the chapter “Women, Girls, and Structural Violence: A Global Analysis,” ¶ Diane Mazurana and Susan McKay articulate the many ways in which global sexism ¶ systematically denies females access to resources. From health care and food to legal ¶ standing and political power, women and girls get less than males in every country on the¶ planet. Mazurana and McKay argue that patriarchy-based structural violence will not be ¶ redressed until women are able to play more active roles making decisions about how ¶ resources are distributed.¶ Patriarchal values also drive excessive militarism, as Deborah Winter, Marc Pilisuk, ¶ Sara Houck, and Matthew Lee argue in their chapter “Understanding Militarism: Money, ¶ Masculinism, and the Search for the Mystical.” The authors illuminate three motives fueling excessive military expenditures: money, which, because of modern market forces,¶ leads half the world’s countries to spend more on arms than on health and education ¶ combined; masculinism, which leads societies to make soldiering a male rite of passage ¶ and proof of manhood; and the search for the mystical, as men attempt to experience ¶ profound human processes of selfsacrifice, honor, and transcendence through war. Like ¶ William James, these authors argue that we will need to find a moral equivalent to war, in¶ order to build lasting peace.¶ The global economy that drives weapons production and excessive militarization ¶ produces structural violence on a planetary scale, especially in developing countries, ¶ which Marc Pilisuk argues in his chapter “Globalism and Structural Violence.” As global ¶ markets grow, income disparity increases around the world. Relaxed trade regulations ¶ and increased communication networks are creating powerful multinational ¶ conglomerates that derive huge profits from exploiting underpaid laborers in developing ¶ countries. The result is horrific structural violence to workers who toil under brutal ¶ conditions. Globalism also produces a monoculture, in which people throughout the ¶ world learn that “the good life” is based on consumer values. Pilisuk shows how ¶ nongovernmental organizations at the local level can organize globally to reclaim ¶ workers’ dignity.¶ Finally, Brinton Lykes’s chapter, “Human Rights as Structural Violence,” shows how ¶ structural violence is invisible when human rights are conceived simply in civic and ¶ political realms. She argues for the expansion of human rights to include collective, ¶ cultural, and indigenous rights, which guarantee people their traditional culture and relationship with their land. Using two case studies, Guatemala and Argentina, she shows ¶ how collective rights help people heal and reclaim their cultural identities.¶ Lykes’s discussion, as well as each of the chapters in this section, help us see the ¶ limitations of psychology as it is traditionally conceived, that is, the study of individuals ¶ and their responses to their environments. These papers require that we examine the ¶ political and economic institutions that psychologists typically ignore. In this respect, the ¶ thinking in both Sections II (Structural Violence) and IV (Peacebuilding) of this book go ¶ beyond traditional psychology, illuminating the sociological, economic, political, and ¶ spiritual dimensions of violence and peace.¶ As insidious as structural violence is, each of these papers also point out that it is not ¶ inevitable. Learning about structural violence may be discouraging and overwhelming, ¶ but all the authors in this section note that the same processes which feed structural ¶ violence can also be used to address it. Reducing structural violence by reclaiming ¶ neighborhoods, demanding social justice and living wages, providing prenatal care, ¶ alleviating sexism, organizing globally while celebrating local cultures, and finding nonmilitaristic avenues to express our deepest spiritual motives, will be our most surefooted ¶ path to building lasting peace.

#### Our advocacy means that we’re fighting on the side of the Zapatistas – we choose to affirm solidarity with the Zapatistas.

Freire ’05 – Paulo Freire, PhD and philosopher, who advocated critical pedagogy [Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, 2005 – first published 1970, “PEDAGOGY ¶ of the ¶ OPPRESSED”, <http://www.users.humboldt.edu/jwpowell/edreformFriere_pedagogy.pdf>]

This solution cannot be achieved in idealistic terms. In order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world ¶ from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform. This perception is a necessary but not a sufficient ¶ condition foi\* liberation; it must become the motivating force for ¶ liberating action. Nor does the discovery by the oppressed that they ¶ exist in dialectical relationship to the oppressor, as his antithesis— ¶ that without them the oppressor could not exist4—in itself constitute ¶ liberation. The oppressed can overcome the contradiction in which they are caught only when this perception enlists them in the struggle to free themselves. ¶ The same is true with respect to the individual oppressor as a ¶ person. Discovering himself to be an oppressor may cause considerable anguish, but it does not necessarily lead to solidarity with the oppressed. Rationalizing his guilt through paternalistic treatment ¶ of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in a position of ¶ dependence, will not do. Solidarity requires that one enter into the ¶ situation of those with whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture. ¶ If what characterizes the oppressed is their subordination to the consciousness of the master, as Hegel affirms, true solidarity with the oppressed means fighting at their side to transform the objective reality which has made them these "beings for another." The oppressor is solidary with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the ¶ oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who ¶ have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in ¶ the sale of their labor—when he stops making pious, sentimental, ¶ and individualistic gestures and risks an act of love. True solidarity is found only in the plenitude of this act of love, in its existentiality, in its praxis. To affirm that men and women are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a farce

#### Debate is key—it brings a new form of communication and activism

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Instead of running for office, the EZLN sought to influence the decision-making process by exposing political corruption and promoting their needs via the media. The Zapatistas wanted shifts in policy, not mere personnel changes. If a corrupt president were to be ousted, he would simply be replaced by another one, with the same ideas and schemes. In 1994, the Zapatistas began using email lists, Usenet groups, listservs and websites to disseminate communiqués written by Marcos. Initially, the Mexican media refused to cover Zapatista events or publish their communiqués. The denial of access to traditional media outlets did not deter the group. Further, new forms of communication would allow them to side-step traditional practices.