

Opening Plenary words of the *Comandantas* and *Comandantes*

Originally published in Spanish by the EZLN

Translated by irlandesa

Words Spoken by the *Comandantas* and *Comandantes* at the Opening of the Plenary Meeting,
September 16, 2005

Words from Comandante David

Compañeros and *compañeras*, indigenous brothers and sisters from Mexico and the world and to all those who embrace the Sixth Declaration.

In the name of the CCRI-CG of the EZLN, we have the following to say:

As indigenous of our country, Mexico, and of our entire continent, we are the ones to whom everything has been denied, even our existence.

From the Conquest to our time, they have humiliated us, they have silenced us and they have tried to exterminate us, but they have taught us, over long years of pain and suffering, to resist. That is why they have not been able to extinguish our struggle, our resistance, our rebellion and our indignation against injustice and subjugation.

The fury and rebellion of the indigenous peoples of Mexico and of all America have been fueled by the conquistadors themselves and by their descendents with their cruelty and barbarity against the indigenous. Our peoples do not forget their history, their sorrow and their struggle. They are kept safely in the hearts and thoughts of all of us who are the first ones of these lands of Mexico and of America. Because the lives and blood of many millions of fallen and massacred indigenous brothers continue to demand justice and liberty. That is why, throughout more than 500 years of sorrowful history, there have been movements, resistance struggles and wars by the indigenous against their oppressors and the bad leaders.

In the case of our beloved country Mexico, from the Conquest until our days it has been stained and cultivated with the blood of millions of indigenous.

Many thousands of indigenous died during the Conquest, and hundreds of thousands were enslaved.

During the War of Independence of eighteen hundred and ten, led by Padre Hidalgo, it was us, the indigenous, who gave the most blood for the independence and liberty of our Patria.

It is exactly today, September 16, 2005, when we remember with pride our indigenous brothers who died and all those who gave their lives because they wanted to give us liberty and independence. But after that war of independence and liberty, we indigenous continued to occupy the same places of slavery, of poverty, of being humiliated and forgotten, the blood of our fallen was ignored, as was the existence of those who had survived.

Thus there was no liberty or independence for the indigenous, only their masters and lords were changed.

We were not included in the laws that were drawn up during those times.

Then the Revolution of 1910, and it was also us, the indigenous and *campesinos*, who gave the most blood and lives for land and liberty, because it was our indigenous and *campesino* brothers who fought with valor and heroism, without fear of losing more than their own lives.

But after that revolution, there still was not any land or liberty for the indigenous and *campesinos*. Those who assumed power in the name of the revolution after the assassination of our General Emiliano Zapata

also forgot about the indigenous. They drew up laws like the Constitution of 1917, and we were not included or recognized in that Mexican Constitution either.

As indigenous and *campesinos*, we are still the same or worse than *jodidos*, because we do not have the right to anything, not to land, health, education, food, a dignified life or to being respected.

And so struggles and revolutions have taken place, and we indigenous and *campesinos* have always stayed the same. Always set to one side, always marginalized and forgotten.

Compañeros and *compañeras*, brothers and sisters, we can no longer allow this sad history that we have been suffering for centuries to keep repeating itself. We cannot allow them to keep mocking us.

All indigenous and *campesinos*, and all honest men and women who inhabit our Mexican Patria, our continent and our entire world, have the right and the duty to change this reality and to build a new history, the history of humanity, the history of the world.

That is why - through this struggle the Zapatistas are engaging in and this great movement we are building with all the indigenous and *campesinos* - we will no longer remain excluded, we will be an important part of history and of nations.

That is why it will be what it will be, and we will conquer the place that belongs to us and which the indigenous, the *campesinos* and all the exploited deserve. The struggle is ours, the Patria is ours and history is ours.

Words of Comandanta Esther

Good evening, *Compañeras* and *Compañeros*.

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

We would like to say a few words to all the women who are here and not here, those who have joined the Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona. We must continue fighting as women in order to defend our rights, because for more than 500 years the bad leaders and the powerful have denied us the right and the place which belongs to us as persons. And they have treated us like objects, and they imposed that on our fathers and grandfathers. That is why now some of our fathers, brothers and husbands tell us we are useless, and that we are only good for taking care of children and taking care of the home and that we are weak, that we do not know how to think or to make decisions. These bad ideas have kept all the women in the countryside and the city dominated.

But this is not true, we women can indeed organize ourselves, hold positions and make decisions, just like men. That is why I am telling you that we shall keep fighting together to defend the rights we deserve as women and as human beings.

If we do not do anything, our daughters and granddaughters will continue to live the way it is now in our country, because the majority of women are not taken into account, we are not respected, we do not have dignified work. That is why many women leave to look for work in other countries like the United States. There they receive mistreatment, humiliation, contempt, exploitation, death, and their rights are often violated by their employers.

But this situation in our country cannot continue like this if we want women to have secure work, a fair salary, dignified and respectful treatment.

In order to achieve this, time is necessary, and sacrifice, responsibility, patience and resistance. Like this work and organization we are beginning together, there will be many problems and obstacles. But we cannot leave the struggle because of this, because it is not about just trying it for a while. It is going to take

years to achieve what we want, and because of that we must be firm and strong and always seek solutions to the problems we will be encountering.

That is why it is now the hour to unite our strengths in order to achieve our objective. Courage, then, *compañeras*, workers, teachers, doctors, artists, lesbians, intellectuals, young people, housewives and all sectors of society. Do not become discouraged, because there is no other path left to us than that of continuing to fight together, men, women, young people, girls and boys, old ones, so that we may be taken into account in our country Mexico.

But we also want to talk a bit about the struggle of indigenous women. We, as indigenous women, are also struggling for the same circumstances, because we suffer from triple exploitation, for being women, for being indigenous and for being poor. Because we are women, they do not take us into account, we are humiliated, despised. Because we are indigenous, we are discriminated against because of our clothing, color, language and cultures. Because we are poor, we do not have a right to health, to education, and they forget about us. That is why we decided to organize and to fight together in order to get out of this situation. It does not matter to us if there is persecution, incarceration, kidnapping, even death if it is necessary. In spite of all this, here we are, and we shall continue fighting, and we are not going to surrender nor sell ourselves for the little bit of charity the bad government gives, let alone to hold some government position.

Thank you to the struggle that gave us this space to participate, to unite our strength and to struggle together, men and women, because without the men or without the women, the struggle would not move forward. That is why the participation of everyone is very important, without distinction as to race or color.

Lastly, I just want to tell you to join our strengths together in order to achieve democracy, liberty and justice for all.

Words of Lieutenant Colonel Moisés

Garrucha Meeting

Good evening to all the *compañeros* and *compañeras*, and so, as *compañero* Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos said, I am speaking in the name of my *compañeros* and *compañeras* from the political-military wing. The *compañero* and *compañera comandantes* and *comandantas* are the organizational political part, those who guide us on our path of struggle. We are the soldiers of the people who left our fathers and mothers and everything. There are insurgent *compañeros* and *compañeras* who have now left their families forever, because they died while carrying out their duties. Those of us who are still alive are striking blows against the bad government, the exploiters, and we are not going to stop striking out at those bad, exploitative governments. We, the insurgents and *insurgentas*, are here out of conscience. The great payment that we will receive someday is that of one day seeing these people - which are called Mexico - being free. That is why we are a political-military army which took up arms in order to look after and defend our *compañeros* and *compañeras* of our peoples in struggle.

You have seen that while fighting, we have spoken truly and clearly about how they exploit us, how they humiliate us, and by organizing against that, and by fighting against that, repression comes. They do not want us to learn to make a new politics and another way of doing politics. That is why we are defenders of our organized peoples who are struggling politically.

It is exactly what we are doing now with these peoples who are here and those who are not here now, we want to fight politically and peacefully. We are not a militaristic army, we use arms to defend ourselves, in order to conquer liberty, justice and democracy.

Politically we understand that the people of Mexico should have democracy, and that is what we are organizing and we are demanding be practiced.

We had to form an army of the people in order to make it real and make democracy really of the people. We are very otherly, it is a different kind of army, crazy but good for the people.

Willing to go all the way, to die if it necessary, by the people and for the people and of the people of Mexico. It is so much like that that the EZLN practices democracy with its villages and regions, it consults with its villages on its initiatives of struggle. That is what it did in '93, we asked if we should begin our struggle. It has done so on several occasions, and now it did so with the Sixth Declaration and the great majority of our peoples said yes.

It is easy to give orders, but we did not do it like that, because it would not be a democracy that way, they were consulted as to whether they were in agreement with the initiative. With this new plan we are carrying out, together now, in the Sexta, there is something I would like to tell or recount to you. It is not very easy for me to tell you, but that is how it is when you really fight and one is willing to go all the way. That is what I want to talk to you about, but I'll see if I can.

I, Lieutenant Colonel Moisés, came to the mountains to prepare myself to be an insurgent, and - as it is when someone arrives to be part of the insurgent ranks - you learn, and later you are given command responsibility in order to teach others. For many years, my commander was our unforgettable Compañero Subcomandante Insurgente Pedro.

One day he said to me - I do not remember the exact date, but it was in 1993 - he said to me, or he called to me: "Moy, come here," and I went to where he was, in his house, in one of the barracks we had, but this one I'm telling you about was the "Collective" barracks. I came, and he said to me: "Listen, Moy, since we're going to go out in public now in order to start our struggle for National Liberation, if anything happens or happens to me, you'll be my second in command. I'm putting you in charge of the *compañeros* and *compañeras* and to continue the fight, continue the work. Just like me," he told me, "I'm the second in command for *compañero* Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos." What do you think happened? I don't really feel like telling it, because it's not a story, it's not a story I really want to tell, it's very painful and distressing and mixed up with anger and sadness. When you are close to a *compañero*, and he's your commander, to see a faithful *compañero* die who you have lived with for a long time is like something...no, better that I don't tell you...

But our commanders, those who know how to honor their given word, they honor it at first if circumstances allow, if not, they fulfill their duty.

I remember the last time Subcomandante Insurgente Pedro and Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos saw each other, and I was there. I personally heard the last directions Subcomandante Marcos gave to Subcomandante Insurgente Pedro. Sub Marcos said to Sub Pedro: "Pedro, you are my second, remember, so be careful you don't die," Subcomandante Marcos said, and Subcomandante Pedro answered: "We'll take care of each other, *compañero*." Those were the last words exchanged between Subcomandante Marcos and Subcomandante Pedro.

Subcomandante Pedro was very happy, I remember he gathered together the insurgent *compañeros* and *compañeras* of the First Regiment, and he told us: "*Compañeros, compañeras*, now we're going to come out publicly, now they're going to know who we're fighting for, the people of Mexico."

We have to organize with them, the workers, and then he said, it's where I came from, because he was a worker, he wasn't indigenous, but he turned into an indigenous person with us and he died among the indigenous. A worker who was loyal to us is no longer with us physically, but he dreamed this, what we are doing here, he dreamed of being here with workers, *campesinos*, indigenous, teachers, students, neighbors, artists, and many others, he told us. This dream he dreamed, what he dreamed is what we are doing right now, and that is why I am speaking for him, because for us he is not dead, just like the great poverty and inequality we suffer have not died. For us he is not dead, and we have even triumphed, for us he is not dead, because what has to be built continues and we have even built what has to be built, for us he is not dead, because he will live among the living of the peoples of free Mexico. But for there to be free living beings in Mexico, you have to know how to give your life when it's necessary, and that is exactly what

happened. He fell in combat on the dawn of the first day of January of the year of 1994 in Las Margaritas. He is with us there in a place where we have his body buried, his corpse, but he is here with us, and we want him to be with the *compañeros* and *compañeras* who have joined with the Sexta and with all the others.

As our commanders taught us, the one who follows, follows, and in this case it fell to me to continue the work that was left when *compañero* Subcomandante Insurgente Pedro fell.

I also remember that I wanted to speak to *compañero* Subcomandante Pedro when I reached the place where he had fallen, and I said to him: "What happened, Subcomandante, what happened?" He answered me with a silence. It hurts to see and lose a loved one of struggle who was at the same time your commander, but, as I told you, those of us who continue, will continue.

That is how we were made, organized, as soldiers. We are prepared for those events.

Like today, *compañeros* and *compañeras*. You know several of the *compañeros* and *compañeras* *comandantes* and *comandantas*, but someday we will not see them again, according to our circumstances in the struggle, the missions to be carried out, for the word given to struggle for a free Mexico.

Several of the *compañeros* and *compañeras*, *comandantes* and *comandantas*, are going to go to work in the Other Campaign. They were asked to make the decision to work in the Other Campaign voluntarily, because it is they and the people who we take care of. We, the insurgents, are also going to go out, but not voluntarily, by orders. If they say to us *compañero*, *compañera*, you're going to go out to work in the Other Campaign, or they tell us, *compañero*, keep taking care of our peoples and organize them better, the resistance, we will do that. Whatever it is, we will carry out our orders.

Our duty is to carry out the exploration of the land where we are going to take our *compañeros* and *compañeras* of our peoples, we are the soldiers, there are always those who go as vanguard. Vanguard is what we call those who go on ahead and see what the land is like ahead that we don't know yet. And the task of the one who goes as vanguard is to discover what is there. Whether the land is swampy, rocky, thorny and other circumstances which the vanguard observes, and he informs us of that so we know what to do and how to do it.

We know you understand vanguard as being the person who is going to lead, or those who know how to fight or the one who commands, and that they are the only ones and they are right and those who know more and who are, therefore, the leaders.

We do not understand it like that, the vanguard for us is like I just said, the one who goes to learn the land, unknown land for us, and it is necessary to go to that land in order to advance the struggle, that is our work, the military, the exploration of land.

We are already organized, reorganized and everything, for this work. The leadership succession is already in place.

The work of the vanguard of exploring the land for the Other Campaign has fallen to *compañero* Subcomandante Marcos. He will be the first to leave, and, after him, we will also follow, taking turns in order to do the work. *Compañeros* and *compañeras*, it has already been planned and decided.

The *compañero* second in charge to Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos is now ready. He is being guarded and looked after by us, the insurgents and *insurgentas*.

Compañeros and *compañeras*, the mission of struggle has fallen to *compañero* Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, we are entrusting you with very much. All you can do for his security, because he is going to leave and be out of our control, but we will remain very alert.

We know who the ones are who want there to be deaths, and that it would be better for them if those who are struggling were to die, and especially, especially if it were the Zapatistas who were to die. They are planning that, how they are going to kill us. That is why I am entrusting you with so very much, *compañeros* and *compañeras*.

If that happens, our struggle will not be stopped, we are ready and prepared for that.

Listen well, *compañeros* and *compañeras*, our departure is political, ideological and peaceful, our initiative does not speak with bullets, but with words and thoughts and ideas.

Men and women of the national and international press, well, we could also call you *compañeros*, *compañeras*, if you join the work of the Sixth Declaration. But if you don't join, just be good communicators, say what is said, and don't make things up.

Listen well, then, our *compañero* Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos is going to depart, without arms, he's going to go with only what God gave him, and our initiative is political, peaceful, it's about ideas and thoughts and words.

Any attempt which the bad government and the exploiters make to do away with the struggle is going to fail, that is why we are staying, our liberation struggle will continue.

Compañeros and *compañeras*, *compañero* Subcomandante is not going to lead the people, we are not commanding, nor do we believe we are the vanguard of a struggle, that we're the best and the only ones. He is not going to promote armed struggle, he is going for what the poor people of Mexico want, political and peaceful struggle.

He is taking nothing other our word, which we want to join together with all our poor brothers and sisters in struggle in Mexico.

We, the soldiers of the people, have nothing. All we have is the aim of struggle, all of our equipment and arms are not ours, they belong to the people, we take care of them and use them for the struggle.

And so *compañero* Subcomandante Marcos is not taking anything. We trust in you, *compañeros* and *compañeras*, that you will be able to provide what is needed for the work we are entrusting you with. Well, there are some little things he'll be taking - you know which thing, right? - don't have bad thoughts. He's going to take his pipes, chewed up, obviously, which is now part of his life, his faithful *compañera*, inseparable for him. He's also going to take his beat-up computer so he can write us and tell us how his exploration of the environment is going. Today we are entrusting you with what he's lacking in his work.

One more time we are telling you that we are not going to provoke actions of war so there can be more deaths, not that, we are not seeking that. On the contrary, we want living lives, not deaths.

Compañeros and *compañeras*, we are giving everything: our top chiefs from our poor peoples, you will soon see, *compañeros* and *compañeras*.

Well, *compañeros* and *compañeras*, people of poor Mexico, it is our hour, it is the hour for the poor to together say *ya basta!*

Men and women, everyone, fight for this Patria, the one that gave us birth and which others wish to take over. We will not allow it, we will defend it as our loved ones fallen in battle have taught us. Today it is up to us, no one will do it for us, except we ourselves.

No one will come to liberate us from this ruinous state in which the criminals have placed us.

March on then, *compañeros* and *compañeras!* Let us all go towards the liberation struggle! Live for the patria or die for liberty!

Words of Comandante Tacho

Compañeras and *Compañeros*.

All those who have joined the Sixth Declaration.

In the name of the CCRI-CG of the EZLN and of the support base *compañeros* and *compañeras* of the rebel Zapatista peoples, we are speaking our word.

We have spoken truthfully to the political class and the leaders, we have clearly told them what they are and what they are like. As for those who have felt hurt and offended by this, they will certainly try to come after us, because they do not like anyone telling them the truth. The politicians of the political parties who have been in power have committed many crimes against the people of Mexico.

As for the PRI, they are responsible for their actions in the massacre of 1968, where people were massacred for demanding their rights.

As they are responsible for other repressions and persecutions of other social and student movements.

In the countryside, the same federal and state officials used repressive force in order to crush and dislocate indigenous *campesinos* in different parts of the country. But there was more, they also incarcerated and assassinated *campesinos* unjustly. They are still being deprived of their liberty, and they are in their graves and in high security jails as if they were criminals, while the real criminals continue enjoying their freedom with large quantities of salaries, disguised as pensions.

This same PRI party, headed by Carlos Salinas, made the reforms to Article 27 of the Constitution for the purpose of burying the ideals of our General Emiliano Zapata. All this was, and is, in order to carry out the neoliberal plans to finish delivering our national sovereignty into the hands of the powerful moneyed ones.

That is why we say there have been many crimes. Because they themselves prepared this plan and right now they are continuing to carry it out with the FTT, Plan Puebla Panama and NAFTA.

These treaties demand that the Mexican government reform the laws which guarantee these plans.

This has been the dirty work the PRI has been up to behind the backs of the Mexican people.

And to top it off, their colors are those of our flag, and they say they are revolutionaries, but the truth of it is they aren't at all.

Because revolution means real change for the good of the people.

For them, on the other hand, revolution means looting the wealth and selling off the patria.

Those who are continuing this neoliberal plan, continue now with another color and with another name, but they are carrying out the same plan, and it's the National Action Party - PAN.

It is not true that it's a government of change. Their plans are worse for our peoples, because once again they are promoting structural reforms so they can continue selling off what is left of the rest of our national sovereignty.

The change they told us so much about is just promises. It would seem that more than 15 minutes have passed, and the problems and demands of the people are still unresolved, just as they were demanded before these last 5 years.

We cannot expect anything for the people from these politicians and these political parties. They have sown much despair, much mistrust, because we were once again mocked through words and promises.

Because the current government of that change did the same things as the previous ones did.

With Carlos Salinas de Gortari and that dream of entering the first world and with his family solidarity and with the February 9, 1995 betrayal, there was no improvement.

With Vicente Fox with his opportunities with little shops and the famous change and nothing.

And now with this *señor*, the commissioner for peace Luis H. Álvarez. The program is being used to wage a counterinsurgency campaign accompanied by some corrupt persons who pass themselves off as leaders and representatives of the PRI in different places in our region.

With the leftovers from Martha Sahagún and from Vicente Fox when they travel to other countries to lie in the name of the Mexican people that there is democracy in Mexico now, there isn't any poverty now and blessed peace now reigns.

That business about poverty being finished is just lies. Proof of that is that there is deep discontent among workers in the countryside and in the city, and they are saying no to privatization of electric energy and no to privatization of social security.

And what more can we say about the PRD? We have a list of what they've done to us.

They deceived us that they were a party of the left and that they were fighting for the demands of the people.

We believed they were a referent for opposition against the state party system.

But we realized we were wrong, that it wasn't true.

Another thing they did was that they made an agreement with the PRI, PAN and the PRD against the Cocopa law. If they were capable of doing that - after centuries of our being denied - what would they do with the selling of our national sovereignty?

In addition to this, everything the PRD itself has done in other states, but especially in Chiapas, which everyone already knows about through previous communiqués. The PRD is now a business, because those who make up Manuel López Obrador's team are *Salinistas*, and they have a lot of experience with manipulation and corruption. That's why they became expert politicians. That's why they know where to fit in, and so we don't expect anything.

Because of all this, we have seen that the three main political parties have the same plans and interests, but how good that they are doing that now.

That way the people of Mexico will realize that any party which comes to power is not going to resolve anything. They have also demonstrated that they only agree with the people every 6 years when they begin their political campaigns to seek the presidency, a governorship, a seat in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate.

But after this, when any of these gentlemen reach power they forget everything, except the lucrative salary they receive every month and everything they steal and keep until the end of their term.

We are sure of all that, but for the Mexican people they are demonstrating quite clearly to us that what they are interested in is making money.

We have already seen that the PRD is no longer a party of the left, because when the Cocopa law was voted on and approved, it made agreements with the corrupt PRI-PAN parties, and they then showed us their complicity, and they did not pay any attention to the need for so many years for the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights and culture, it is not decades they have denied us, but centuries. And the PRD did not pay any attention, and they betrayed the hope of millions of Mexican indigenous, denying us our rights, our culture which belongs to us as the Mexican indigenous we are, deceived by those parties and those politicians.

And the engineer Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas. One May 15, 1994, if I remember correctly, he also committed himself to doing something for our demands and to being steadfast with the Zapatista cause.

So, what can we expect of these *señors*? That is why it is worthwhile to join our forces and to fight together so the impossible will be possible and to go to great effort to make another form of doing politics.

That is all our words.

Thank you very much.

September, month of the Patria

Words of Comandante Zebedeo

Compañeras and *Compañeros*

Everyone who has joined and those who will be joining the Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona, in the name of the CCRI-CG of the EZLN and in the name of the men, women, young people, children and old ones, support bases, we address you.

Compañeras and *compañeros*, we would like to tell you that in these almost eleven years of struggle against the forgetting, against marginalization and against extermination, "here we are." We have not surrendered, nor have we sold out. We will not sell out, nor will we surrender, because we are quite convinced that our struggle has just causes for the poor of Mexico and of the world.

The living conditions of workers from the countryside and the city - and for the teachers, workers, students, housewives, doctors, truck drivers, *campesinos*, day workers, unemployed, indigenous, street children, religious persons, intellectuals, homosexuals, lesbians and artists - are increasingly worse, with pain, poverty, hunger, deaths from curable illnesses and contempt against this great majority.

While the exploiters are increasingly fewer in number and richer, because they are hoarding the wealth of our nation.

Faced with this indiscriminate appropriation by the rich, we are obliged to speak our words in this Sixth Declaration for the purpose of joining our struggles, in order to walk together without regard to color, creed or race.

We are workers from the countryside and the city who have the physical circumstances and the knowledge to produce and to make what our society needs. Seeing this immense capacity of the men and women of the countryside and of the city, we are capable of creating wealth to support our country. That is why we believe that the solution for this great injustice we are suffering is on our side and it is in our hands, because we have already seen that we can't expect anything good from the government.

Throughout these centuries of mockeries and deceptions, the wealthy have enriched themselves at the cost of the workers of the countryside and the city.

In the countryside we suffer from low prices for our goods, and in the city they suffer from unemployment and low wages.

On this long path, we have all separately sought a solution, and the response to all of this has been mockery, deception, repression, incarceration, torture and disappearances.

These black histories of struggle which we have passed through were not the best path, and they should not be repeated.

Do we have to repeat another 500 years of resistance against the forgetting and marginalization? Do we have to continue to be willing to put up with more years of corrupt politicians and those who sell off our Patria? If what they showed us was that when we fought against injustices and for our rights we were accused and persecuted like criminals and traitors to the Patria.

This is what really happened, and it continues to happen in our country, and we should no longer keep allowing them to continue with their projects of death.

Because the hour has come to unite our forces, our struggles, our thoughts, our ideas, our hearts, our faith, our hopes of some day experiencing a real change in our lives.

We know the risks and the cost this can bring to us Zapatistas, but we have decided to take them.

It does not matter what happens if that is the price that is needed for doing away with injustice.

We also recognize the experiences of all your struggles, of all the organizations and the social movements that each of you have had during this time which has now passed, and we believe each organization had the capacity to plan and organize a movement.

You have had experience in the organizational practice of each movement which each organization had, and we must make these experiences greater from this day forward.

Once again we repeat our call to struggle together in the face of a common enemy, taking into account the long bridge of resistance and not falling into conformity, into competition, into divisionism and into corruption.

We should never allow the enemy's desires to be realized.

We should struggle and we should impose the desires of the exploited.

These have been our words