

"¿Que Sigue?" Death, Rebirth, and Deification in the Zapatista Movement.

INTRODUCTION

'El mañana que se cosecha en el ayer'¹ These words, spoken at the first international meeting for humanity against neoliberalism, summarise effectively one of the key principles of the Zapatista movement. Unafraid to look to the past to find solutions to the problems of tomorrow, the EZLN unapologetically draw upon their experience of 500 years of oppression, first by the Spanish conquerors, and later by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), to effectively affect change through insurrection.²

New Year's Day 1994 was due to herald the entrance of Mexico into the First World with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). As a prerequisite of this agreement the abrogation of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was deemed necessary; an article which had previously guaranteed indigenous land rights. This was the final straw for the Zapatistas, who on this day launched their symbolic rebellion against the Mexican government.³

This movement was identifiably distinct from any other uprising that had come before it, their apparent command of the media and knowledge of the internet led them to be labelled by some as the 'world's first postmodern guerrilla movement.'⁴ Emerging as the figurehead of this

¹ Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General, 'CCRI-CG: Inicio Del Primer Encuentro Intercontinental Por La Humanidad Y Contra El Neoliberalismo', *Enlace Zapatista*, 1996 <<https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/1996/07/27/ccri-cg-inicio-del-primer-encuentro-intercontinental-por-la-humanidad-y-contra-el-neoliberalismo/>> [accessed 23 April 2024].

² Comandancia General del EZLN, 'PRIMERA DECLARACIÓN de LA SELVA LACANDONA', *Enlace Zapatista*, 1994 <<https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/1994/01/01/primer-declaracion-de-la-selva-lacandona/>> [accessed 24 April 2024].

³ Harry M. Cleaver, 'The Zapatista Effect: The Internet and the Rise of an Alternative Political Fabric', *Journal of International Affairs*, 51.2 (1998), 621–40 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24357524>>, p. 625.

⁴ Roy Krøvel, 'Insurgency in the Age of the Internet', *Berghahn Books*, 11.1 (2014), 351–65 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qd0bs.25>>, p. 351.

movement was the mysterious *Subcomandante Marcos*, a mestizo man hiding his identity with a mask. It is his communiqués, stories, and poetic essays which captured the attention of the globe, encapsulating the irresistible idea of the romantic guerrilla hero, hiding in the jungle writing his works on a laptop and distributing them on the Internet, a new platform of ideological liberation in the face of extensive press censorship.⁵⁶ *Subcomandante Marcos* employs a range of characters in his storytelling from *Don Durito de la Lacandona*, a self-obsessed knight errant who claims to be the rightful author of the works of Bertolt Brecht, to *El Viejo Antonio*, a Mayan man who teaches *Subcomandante Marcos* in the ways of indigenous life through personal anecdote and stories from the *Popol Vuh*.⁷ There are striking comparisons to be explored in the traits and biographies of *Subcomandante Marcos* (colloquially referred to as *El Sup*) and *El Viejo Antonio*, particularly in the way their legacies are treated by the Zapatista ruling body, the *Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena* (CCRI).

THE BIRTH OF SUBCOMMANDANTE MARCOS

The ‘official’ birth of this character coincides, in an act of typical Zapatista symbolism, with the day of the EZLN uprising in 1994:

The name ‘Marcos’ they say, is made up of the initials of the towns in Chiapas that the Zapatistas took on the 1st of January: Margaritas, Altamirano, La Realidad, Chanal, Ocosingo, and San Cristóbal.⁸

⁵ Roy Krøvel, p. 358.

⁶ Antigoni Memou, *Photography and Social Movements: From the Globalisation of the Movement (1968) to the Movement against Globalisation (2001)*, JSTOR (Manchester University Press, 2013) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt21215w4.8>> [accessed 17 April 2024], p. 32.

⁷ Subcomandante Marcos and Dinah Livingstone, *Zapatista Stories*, trans. by Dinah Livingstone (London: Katabasis, 2009), p. 13-15.

⁸ Elena Poniatowska, ‘Comunicado: Voices from the Jungle Subcomandante Marcos and Culture’, 2024 <<https://schoolsforchiapas.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Poniatowska-.pdf>> [accessed 19 April 2024], p. 3.

While this constitutes Marcos's official birthday, Ilan Stavans in his article *Unmasking Marcos* claims that his ritual birth began decades earlier, in the massacre at Tlateloco Square. This massacre of hundreds in 1968 was the tragic consequence of a series of demonstrations led by the student body of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM).⁹ Stavans describes how this event prophesied *Subcomandante Marcos*:

It was UNAM's student body, some 30,000 strong, who led the protests which were brutally crushed in the massacre at Tlateloco Square. El Sup, although not Guillén, was born during that massacre – a ritual birth, an origin in which his whole militant odyssey was prefigured.¹⁰

The 'Guillén' referred to here by Stavans is the name of the person who will later take on the role of *Subcomandante Marcos*. It is intriguing then, that Guillén would end up a student at UNAM nine years after this horrific event.¹¹ Marcos's births are both symbolic and ideological, his character being a personification of the achievements and causes of the EZLN uprising. *Subcomandante Marcos* is the result of a very deliberate and careful thought process, so detailed by *El Sup* in his final address as the official spokesperson for the EZLN in 2014:

Apenas unos días después, con la sangre de nuestros caídos aún fresca en las calles citadinas, nos dimos cuenta de que los afuera no nos veían. Acostumbrados a mirar desde arriba a los indígenas, no alzaban la mirada para mirarnos. Acostumbrados a vernos humillados, su corazón no comprendía nuestra digna rebeldía. Su mirada se había detenido en el único

⁹ Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos the Man and the Mask* (Duke University Press, 2007), p. 13-14, 29.

¹⁰ Ilan Stavans, 'Unmasking Marcos', *Transition*, 69, 1996, 50 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2935239>>, p. 61.

¹¹ Nick Henck, p. 13-14, 29.

mestizo que vieron con pasamontañas, es decir, que no miraron. [...] Empezó así una compleja maniobra de distracción, un truco de magia terrible y maravillosa [...] Empezó entonces la construcción del personaje llamado “Marcos”.¹²

The tone of this statement is almost that of a confession of guilt, that the construction of the character *Subcomandante Marcos* was to purposefully deceive a global audience. Though, as the people to whom this communiqué is addressed, it is we who are guilty; of ignorance; of racism; of searching for an icon in which we could see ourselves. The CCRI, identifying the desires of their audience, constructed a figure through which their aims could be communicated. Just how successful this character was, however, took them by surprise. According to Gustavo Esteva, *El Sup's* ‘mesmerising impact’ on the public had not been completely anticipated by the EZLN, and the mask which was employed to avoid the creation of a personality cult had the opposite effect.¹³

THE STORIES OF EL VIEJO ANTONIO

Esteva describes the Zapatista movement as being neither a ‘fundamentalist or messianic movement.’¹⁴ While their political structure may seek to eliminate any notion of this, the Zapatistas do not attempt to disguise the fact that they are an army and adhere to the traditional pyramid structures of such an organisation.¹⁵ In the literature of *Subcomandante Marcos* however, there is an exaggeration of the messianic, and the archetype of the prophetic Mexican revolutionary is embraced. This is seen to its superlative in the stories of *El Viejo Antonio*.

¹² Subcomandante Galeano, ‘Entre La Luz y La Sombra.’, *Enlace Zapatista*, 2014
<<https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2014/05/25/entre-la-luz-y-la-sombra/>>.

¹³ Gustavo Esteva, ‘Celebration of Zapatismo’, *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 29.1 (2005), 127–67
<<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23263127>> [accessed 21 April 2024], p. 137.

¹⁴ Gustavo Esteva, p. 130.

¹⁵ Subcomandante Galeano, ‘Entre La Luz y La Sombra.’

Antonio met *Marcos* in 1984, one year after the then Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional (FLN) entered the Lacandon jungle with the hope of establishing a revolutionary vanguard and enlightening the local ‘campesinos’ in the theories of Marxism-Leninism.¹⁶ Through a series of stories *El Viejo Antonio* teaches *El Sup*, at this point an unnamed Capitán yet to be cast in the role of *Marcos*, about the ways of life and cosmologies of the local autochthonous communities. *Antonio* acts as ‘un puente’ (a bridge) between the guerrillas and the communities. This role as ‘un puente’ is one that *Marcos* himself becomes; between the Zapatistas and the outside world.¹⁷ *El Viejo Antonio* died in the same year of the Zapatista uprising and *El Sup*’s birth, and it was only after his death that the communiqués featuring his stories were distributed.¹⁸

Perhaps the most significant of these stories is the first, released on the 13th of December 1994. *The Story of the Questions* details the first and second meetings of *El Sup* and *El Viejo Antonio*. In this story, *Subcomandante Marcos* begins by explaining the history of Emiliano Zapata to an inquisitive *Antonio*, who listens attentively and eagerly. Upon the completion of this biography, *El Viejo Antonio* wastes no time in asserting that *Marcos*’s understanding of Zapata’s biography is a fallacy. *Antonio* then offers an alternate historiography; beginning with a story about the gods Ik’an and Votán, the Mayan gods responsible for the creation of night and day, following this prologue *El Viejo Antonio* describes the origin of Zapata:

‘Zapata appeared here in the mountains. He wasn’t born, they say. He just appeared. They say that he is Ik’al and Votán, who arrived here on their long road and, so as to not frighten good people, became just one.’¹⁹

¹⁶ Subcomandante Marcos and Dinah Livingstone, *Zapatista Stories*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Kristine Vanden Berghe, ‘Nativismo Y Alter/Natividad En Los Relatos Del Viejo Antonio Del Subcomandante Marcos’, *Caravelle* (1988-), 78.1 (2002), 197–209 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40854856>> [accessed 24 April 2024], p. 197.

¹⁸ Subcomandante Marcos and Yvon Le Bot, *El Sueño Zapatista* (Chiapas: Plaza y Janés, 1997), p. 64-65.

¹⁹ Subcomandante Marcos and Dinah Livingstone, *Zapatista Stories*, p. 94-95.

Zapata now becomes the gods of night and day and is referred to from this point onwards in the story as ‘Votán Zapata’ and ‘Ik’al Zapata’. After recounting this tale, *El Viejo Antonio* retrieves from his backpack a photograph of Emiliano Zapata from 1910, intended as a gift for *Marcos*.²⁰ The order of events here is crucial. In less than a paragraph, the words of *El Viejo Antonio*, published posthumously by *Marcos*, have deified the already venerated Emiliano Zapata. This deification places immeasurable significance on the gifting of the photograph to *Marcos*. It is no longer just a photograph, but a piece of religious iconography. In doing so, *El Viejo Antonio* has played the role of ‘creator’ himself, having written a new cosmology for the Zapatista movement to follow. Kathleen Bruhn affirms in her article *Antonio Gramsci and the Palabra Verdadera: The Political Discourse of Mexico’s Guerilla Forces* that ‘the figure of the Mexican revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata replaces Christ [...] as the “image of one like us”’.²¹ The significance of this iconography is not lost on *Marcos* or the CCRI, and from his earliest appearances he reflects the archetype of the Mexican revolutionary.

The story indicated *Marcos*’s understanding of the importance of this archetype of the Mexican revolutionary. From the very early days of the uprising, *Marcos* appeared in public as a guerrilla on horseback with his chest crossed with cartridge belts in an X, exactly like Zapata.²²

Subcomandante Marcos’s deliberate efforts to mirror the aesthetics of Zapata, now contextualised by Bruhn’s analysis, demonstrate a conscious effort by the EZLN to create a

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Kathleen Bruhn, ‘Antonio Gramsci and the Palabra Verdadera: The Political Discourse of Mexico’s Guerrilla Forces’, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 41.2 (1999) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/166406>>, p. 34.

²² Antigoni Memou, p. 37.

prophetic figure through which their message can be transmitted. Bruhn offers a further examination:

Marcos embodies the Gramscian idea of an intellectual being somebody who transmits ideas between the government and civil society as a whole.²³

Subcomandante Marcos's embodiment of the 'Gramscian Intellectual' seems adherent to the sentimental vanguardism that *El Viejo Antonio* sought to dispel in the early formation of the EZLN. However, *Antonio* embodies his own kind of intellectual vanguard; for him, civil society is *El Sup* and 'the government' is the indigenous communities and traditions to which he belongs. It's vital to remember that these are not the verbatim words of *El Viejo Antonio*, and the writings come from a singular author, *Subcomandante Marcos*, making 'it possible to consider them the output of a unitary actor making deliberate strategic choices.'²⁴ Whether these writings are composed solely by *El Sup*, allegedly the only Zapatista with mastery of the Spanish language²⁵, or written in collaboration with the CCRI, there *is* a messiah in the Zapatista movement. A conspicuous and purposeful effort has been made to draw similarities between the EZLN and historical revolutionary movements and figures in order to verify and contextualise the legitimacy of their demands.

THE FIRST DEATH OF SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS

It can be said that the life of *Subcomandante Marcos* was tragically short, lasting just over a year. From his first public appearance, an obsession developed over the true identity of the

²³ Kathleen Bruhn, p. 42.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁵ Gustavo Esteva, p. 137.

masked man; as Stavans describes, ‘unmasking *El Sup* became a sport’.²⁶ The process of this unmaking had many participants, most notably the Mexican government itself. Upon seeing this masked figure the Mexican people made of him a god²⁷. It was unanimously believed without this mask; *El Sup* was nothing. Carlos Monsiváis, quoted in Nick Henck’s book *Subcommander Marcos the Man and the Mask* says, ‘Marcos without the ski mask is inadmissible, is not photogenic, is not a living legend.’²⁸ As a result of this concerted effort, the ‘true’ identity of Marcos was revealed to the world on the 9th February 1995.²⁹

Desenmascarar. What the Mexican government performed was an ancient ritual at the heart of the nation’s soul: the unmasking. Quetzalcoatl was unmasked by the Spaniards, Sor Juana by the Church, and Pancho Villa by a spy. To unmask can mean to undo, or to destroy, but it can also mean to elevate to a higher status.³⁰

The Zapatistas did not anticipate that in the unmasking of *Subcomandante Marcos* a martyr would be created, and it seems had no desire to make one of him. Referring to the spoiled identity of *Marcos*, Esteva writes the following:

It will not, like Cid or Che, win battles after death; it will not be used as a credential for legitimising power.³¹

²⁶ Ilan Stavans, p. 56.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁸ Carlos Monsiváis, cited in Nick Henck, p. ii.

²⁹ Antigoni Memou, p. 34.

³⁰ Ilan Stavans, p. 56.

³¹ Gustavo Esteva, p. 138.

The response to the unmasking was immediate but short-lived; within hours the streets of Mexico City were filled with over 100,000 people protesting in solidarity with the Zapatistas, shouting ‘Todos somos Marcos!’.³² Despite the scale of this initial support, the Mexican government’s aims of the unmasking were eventually realised, and *El Sup* faded away from public attention. The first death of *Marcos* occurred through the unveiling of the mask, and with this, the ending of the illusion of this prophetic revolutionary.

Our revels are now ended. These our actors, as I foretold you, were all spirits
and are melted into air, into thin air.³³

Prospero’s words provide a fitting description for what happened to the character of *Subcomandante Marcos*, though instead of melting into thin air, *El Sup* ascended to the cloud. While his mask had been removed, the illusion of *Marcos* was able to continue via the Internet. Continuing to release essays, communiqués, and stories onto the Zapatista website, for the first time in Mexican history, the effects of the ritual ‘desenmascarar’ were able to be subverted through the adoption of this new technology. Oliver Froehling explains the advantages of this platform in his article *The Cyberspace “War of Ink and Internet”*:

The construction of a neutral space in which gender, nationality, class, and
race do not matter – a thoroughly androgynous world in which physical
appearance matters not.³⁴

³² Antigoni Memou, p. 34-35.

³³ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Barbara Mowat, Micheal Poston, and Rebecca Niles (Washington DC: Folger Shakespeare Library) <<https://www.folger.edu/explore/shakespeares-works/the-tempest/read/>> [accessed 23 April 2024], p. 135.

³⁴ Oliver Froehling, ‘The Cyberspace “War of Ink and Internet” in Chiapas, Mexico’, *Geographical Review*, 87.2 (1997), 291 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/216010>>, p. 292.

Masked or not, the Zapatista's embracing of this new technology allowed them to continue, and emphasise, their war of words.³⁵ It is this emphasis on ideological warfare which allowed *Subcomandante Marcos* to become the first hero of the Internet, proselytising the Zapatista's aims and struggle to an increasingly wider global audience.³⁶

THE SECOND DEATH OF SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS

Unlike his first death, the second death of *Subcomandante Marcos* was completely self-inflicted. On the 25th of May 2014, a transcription of a meeting was released as a communiqué on the Zapatista website. In this communiqué *El Sup* announces his own death; what follows is akin to a public denouncement, and execution of the faceless face of the EZLN. This death also marks a tectonic structural shift within the leadership of the Zapatista movement, as *Marcos* himself describes:

El de clase: del origen clase mediero ilustrado, al indígena campesino. El de raza: de la dirección mestiza a la dirección netamente indígena.³⁷

The CCRI had identified that in the character they had created also existed the most fanatical extreme of the cult of individualism and vanguardism. In comparison to the first stories featuring *El Viejo Antonio*, we see a dramatic shift in the treatment of the theme of the heroic revolutionary; according to them, 'El caso es que el *SupMarcos* pasó de ser un vocero a ser un

³⁵ Antigoni Memou, p. 32.

³⁶ Domínguez Garrido and Alexander Halavais, 'Mapping Networks of Support for the Zapatista Movement: Applying Social-Networks Analysis to Study Contemporary Social Movements', 2013, 175–94 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203954317-14>>, p. 5.

³⁷ Subcomandante Marcos and Subcomandante Galeano, 'Entre La Luz y La Sombra.'

distractor.³⁸ The character once used as a mouthpiece for the Zapatista movement had now become counterproductive, ‘Marcos, el personaje, ya no era necesario.’³⁹

There is optimism in the tone of this communiqué, as the EZLN no longer felt they had to rely on the voice of a ‘mestizo’ for the problems of their indigenous communities to be taken seriously.

Y ha sido eso precisamente, el que los indígenas manden y que ahora un indígena sea el vocero y jefe, lo que los aterrera, los aleja, y finalmente se van para seguir buscando alguien que precise de vanguardias, caudillos y líderes. Porque también hay racismo en la izquierda, sobre todo en la que se pretende revolucionaria. El *ezetaelene* no es de éstos. Por eso no cualquiera puede ser zapatista.⁴⁰

What’s being detailed here is the transition of leadership from *Subcomandante Marcos* to Subcomandante Moisés who, unlike *Marcos*, is indigenous. To be noted is the notion that it is no longer possible for anybody to be a Zapatista. Roy Krøvel claims in 2014 that what unified the Zapatistas was their common interests as Mexicans and peasants, rather than a shared indigenous identity.⁴¹ Krøvel’s statement seems to stand in opposition with the Zapatistas’ new philosophy, which now aligns more strongly with Kathleen Bruhn’s assertion made in 1999 that, ‘in the Zapatista lexicon, indigenous identity replaces class.’⁴²

After this handing over of power is established, the second death of *Subcomandante Marcos* begins. In the days leading up to this announcement, a member of the EZLN, named

³⁸ Subcomandante Marcos and Subcomandante Galeano, ‘Entre La Luz y La Sombra.’.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Roy Krøvel, p. 362.

⁴² Kathleen Bruhn, p. 33.

Subcomandante Galeano, had been assassinated, and it had been deemed necessary for him to be resurrected:

Pensamos que es necesario que uno de nosotros muera para que Galeano viva. Y para que esa impertinente que es la muerte quede satisfecha, en su lugar de Galeano ponemos otro nombre para que Galeano viva ya la Muerte se lleve no una vida, sino nombre solamente, unas letras vaciadas de todo sentido, sin historia propia, sin vida. Así que hemos decidido que Marcos deje de existir hoy. Lo llevarán de la mano sombra el guerrero y lucecita para que no se pierda en el camino, Don Durito se irá con él, lo mismo que el Viejo Antonio⁴³

The death of *Subcomandante Marcos* is understandable in the transition to a completely indigenous leadership. Why then is it deemed necessary that the death of *El Viejo Antonio* takes place alongside *Marcos's* when he represents the symbolic founder of the EZLN?⁴⁴ The answer to this question is found in a communiqué released by Subcomandante Moisés, the new voice of the Zapatista movement, in May 2017.

Viejo Antonio, el mismo nombre lo dice, Viejo Antonio. O sea que ya pasó.

Hay cosas que quizá se puede rescatar ahí pero ahora los tiempos cambian.⁴⁵

⁴³ Subcomandante Marcos and Subcomandante Galeano, 'Entre La Luz y La Sombra.'

⁴⁴ Kristine Berghe and Bart Maddens, 'Ethnocentrism, Nationalism and Post-Nationalism in the Tales of Subcomandante Marcos', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 20.1 (2004), 123–44 <<https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2004.20.1.123>>, p. 127-128.

⁴⁵ Subcomandante Moisés, 'Qué Sigue I: Antes Y Ahora', *Enlace Zapatista*, 2017 <<https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2017/01/18/que-sigue-i-antes-y-ahora/>> [accessed 17 April 2024].

Three years after the transition to a unanimously indigenous leadership structure, we see the abandonment of a key indigenous figure in the history of this movement. The reasons for this are outlined by Subcomandante Moisés as a lack of science.

Por ejemplo, sólo para que me comprendan lo que les estoy diciendo, ninguna de las compañeras bases de apoyo de hace 33 años, que le entraron pues a la lucha, nunca soñaron que su hija o hijo iba a manejar un ultrasonido.⁴⁶

He goes on to tell of an event where the doctors, ‘health promoters’, in the community made a mistake using this new technology, a mistake that could not be blamed on capitalism. *El Viejo Antonio* did not have the knowledge for this, and what the Zapatistas were lacking was a modern knowledge of science.

El Viejo Antonio pues no tuvo la oportunidad porque ya pasó, pero gracias al Viejo Antonio que tuvo resistencia, rebeldía en que no los mataran pues.⁴⁷

El Viejo Antonio's importance is still recognised and is credited with the survival of the Zapatista movement. Nonetheless, his knowledge is still considered outdated and, for perhaps the first time, the CCRI are no longer able to find the solutions to the problems of today by looking to the past.

⁴⁶ Subcomandante Moisés, ‘Qué Sigue I: Antes Y Ahora’.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

THE REBIRTH OF SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS

Given the eccentric ceremony surrounding the symbolic death of *Subcomandante Marcos*, and his reincarnation as Subcomandante Galeano, it came as a surprise to many that in October 2023, he was suddenly resurrected. In a communiqué released on the 30th of October 2023, *Marcos* announces the death of Galeano: ‘Murió el SupGaleano. Murió como vivió: infeliz.’⁴⁸ This resurrection preceded a significant milestone of the Zapatista movement, its thirtieth anniversary, which occurred on the 1st of January 2024. In the lead up to *Marcos*’s rebirth, the Zapatistas had been facing increasing hostilities from cartels and paramilitary groups, to the extent of being on the verge of an all-out war.⁴⁹ *Marcos* is resurrected as *Capitán Insurgente Marcos*, the rank he held when the FLN first entered the Lacandon jungle, perhaps alluding to this version of *Marcos* being from before his meeting with *El Viejo Antonio*. This resurrection then, is not something to be celebrated, but a reflection on the CCRI’s belief that a future and extended conflict is inevitable. Yet again, it is necessary to employ the rallying body of the Mexican revolutionary, though this time without the lessons learned from *El Viejo Antonio*. *Marcos*’s role is still being revealed, having only released a handful of communiqués since his resurrection, now with a new signature: ‘ἩΑΤΙΡΑΟ ΙΕ’.⁵⁰



‘ἩΑΤΙΡΑΟ ΙΕ’, Enlace Zapatista

⁴⁸ Capitán Insurgente Marcos, ‘Segunda Parte: ¿Los Muertos Estornudan?’, *Enlace Zapatista*, 2023 <<https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2023/10/29/segunda-parte-los-muertos-estornudan/>> [accessed 22 April 2024].

⁴⁹ Alejandro Santos Cid, ‘Winds of Change for the EZLN: The Second Death of Subcomandante Marcos’, *EL PAÍS English*, 2023 <<https://english.elpais.com/international/2023-10-31/winds-of-change-for-the-ezln-the-second-death-of-subcomandante-marcos.html>> [accessed 17 April 2024].

⁵⁰ Capitán Insurgente Marcos, ‘Segunda Parte: ¿Los Muertos Estornudan?’.

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