FROM THE CHAIR

No newsletter is ever complete without some message, even if only a short one, from the chair. Here it is, even if I don't have a great deal to say. But I am looking forward to the meetings in Washington, hoping that we can develop another project like last year's highly successful pre-conference on peacekeeping, organized by my predecessors and a hard act to follow.

Nevertheless, membership, which stands at 187 according to the most recent roster I have, is still a problem, especially since most section members are members of other sections and give them higher priority. We need another recruiting campaign. Maybe everyone can recruit a student. We should also be thinking up new projects to attract more attention from other sociologists. Since this takes preparation, I invite everyone to convey to me any ideas or proposals for future activities early enough to be properly presented at section council and for subsequent discussion by the membership.

Our section program for Sunday, August 20, seems in good shape. You will be receiving the details inside the newsletter. But let me alert you to two section activities on the day before. First, I made a group reservation for 50 people to visit the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum on August 19 at 10 a.m., which is when the museum opens. Tour participants should meet at the 15th Street entrance about ten minutes before. This event will NOT appear on the program because section members and companions will have preference and ASA lists only events open all ASA members on a first-come basis. Please reserve your space by dropping me a note (e-mail or snail-mail, as you prefer) any time soon but, in any event, no later than August 1.

The second event is the section reception on Saturday, August 19 - 6:30-8:15, which could not be officially scheduled for section day because of conflict with the ASA honorary reception.

- Kurt Lang

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We encourage our members to submit articles on any subject that may be of interest to Section members. Deadline for submission to the next edition of the Newsletter is September 20th, 1995. Send material to Dana Eyre, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 93943; (408) 656-2831; or via e-mail to DEyre@nps.navy.mil
"Conflict in Chiapas"

- Deborah Billings

During February 19th through the 26th, 1995, I participated in a human rights observer delegation to Chiapas, Mexico, sponsored by Global Exchange. During this time I witnessed a country in great economic, political, and social turmoil in which a complex array of conflicts have manifested themselves.

Since February 9, when President Ernesto Zedillo called for the arrest of numerous activists, many falsely accused of being Zapatista leaders, conflict throughout the region has reached a new high. Most visible to the international eye has been the increased militarization of Chiapas. Fifty-thousand new troops were called to the area to serve as "back-up" to the Judicial Police in their search for Subcomandante Marcos, the most well-known figure within the Zapatista Army. No state of emergency was ever declared yet while I was in Chiapas the Mexican Army continued to move forward, deeper into the Lacandona Forest, in its effort to capture Subcomandante Marcos and to intimidate populations along the way.

During our delegation's trip into the Lacandon Forest, we documented the presence of large convoys of military personnel and infrastructure; members of the Judicial Police were noticeably absent. This observation has been supported by numerous other witnesses working throughout the area. In effect, then, military maneuvers are taking place in Chiapas in direct violation of the Mexican Constitution.

At least 30 communities in the municipalities of Ocosingo, Altamirano, and Las Margaritas (considered bases of Zapatista support by the Mexican army), were completely abandoned by residents fleeing out of fear of a military onslaught. In these communities, furniture and clothing in people's homes were destroyed, stores of corn and rice were left open to the elements and domestic animals that had been left behind, and basic medicines in the sparsely supplied clinics were stomped into the ground by Mexican soldiers.

Access to communities was denied for three days following Zedillo's crackdown but on February 12 areas were open for inspection by the press and international observers. Human rights, medical, and religious organizations from around the world have documented that as many as 20,000 people fled from their homes and are living in the surrounding mountains without blankets and sufficient food. There are many cases of grave illness and a few cases of children suffering from cholera have been documented.

Our delegation received testimonies from residents of ejidos and ranches in the municipality of Ocosingo, including La Estrella, El Calvario, La California, Xante, La Peninsula, Las Tazitas, and Avellani, in which the army has destroyed doors and fences, has strewn corn and beans on the ground, and has stolen coffee as well as machetes and axes. Chickens were also killed and eaten by soldiers.

We also documented cases of intimidation and torture. On February 20, on the ejido La Unidad, the army captured Domingo Hernandez, tied his hands behind his back and forced him to show them the houses of ejido leaders. Large batteries, the only form
of electrical power in the community, were taken by soldiers and given to PRI-party supporters as they lectured about the anti-government stance of non-PRI supporters in the community.

On February 22, Aniceto Hernandez's house in La Unidad was surrounded by military tanks as soldiers accused him of being a Zapatista leader. At 2:00pm, they forced him out of his home and carried him to the local school, where they proceeded to interrogate him about the location of his arms while kicking and punching him and placing a plastic bag over his head (3 times), nearly suffocating him. They left, stating that they were not going to kill him but that they would leave orders with local ranchers to do so. He has since fled from La Unidad, leaving his family and house behind.

People also spoke of being harassed and intimidated at army checkpoints; many are questioned and detained and if they are carrying food (tortillas or pozole) to the fields with them where they work, many are accused of taking supplies to the EZLN. Women have been harassed and badgered about their husband's whereabouts and many have been forced to cook for soldiers. There are also documented accounts of torture and beatings at military checkpoints.

Thousands of people have been displaced from their homes out of fear of the army as well as the guardias blancas (paid, armed "goon squads") of local ranchers which terrorize the population. They have been particularly dominant in the municipality of Chicomuselo. Members of the Judicial and Security Police are documented as participating in the guardias.

Our delegation was able to meet with two men, falsely accused by Zedillo of being "Zapatista leaders", in their 6X9 foot cell in the Cerro Hueco prison in Tuxtla Gutiérrez. Jorge Santiago Santiago, is the director of Desarrollo Economico Social de los Mexicanos Indigenas (DESMI, A.C.), an organization which has been working with indigenous and campesino communities for over 10 years. He is currently serving as an advisor to the National Commission for Mediation (CONAI); and Jorge Javier Elorrreaga Berdegué, accused of being the head of the EZLN national ideology commission after he produced a documentary video about the EZLN entitled, "Journey to the Center of the Jungle". Both men have been charged with rebellion, sedition, treason, terrorism, and conspiracy although no proof has been offered to support these claims. In particular, Jorge Santiago Santiago is charged with being the middle link between Bishop Samuel Ruiz and Subcomandante Marcos, thereby indirectly implicating the Bishop as part of the Zapatista network. DESMI, AC has also been accused of financing the EZLN with international funds. All of these accusations were made by Salvador Morales Garibay, a supposed defector of the EZLN who has since disappeared after his denunciations to the Public Ministry.

Overall, these arrests have served to threaten not only the Bishop but also all those participating in the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the region as well as throughout Mexico. On February 10, for example, at least 20 officers of the Federal Judicial Police raided the offices of CONPAZ- Coordinating Group of Nongovernmental Organizations.
Working for Peace in Chiapas. NGO workers throughout the region are feeling very pressured in their work which they continue under very precarious conditions.

Bishop Samuel Ruiz Garcia has also been targeted because of his longstanding work with indigenous and campesino populations in Chiapas and his current involvement in CONAI. Under the pretext of honoring the presence of the Mexican Army on February 19, Armed Forces Day, approximately 300 people gathered in front of the Municipal Palace in the Plaza de los Arcos of San Cristobal de las Casas at 10:30 am. This group was made up largely of local San Cristobal business-owners calling themselves the "Autenticos Coletos" (Authentic residents of San Cristobal), and which the local San Cristobal newspaper (Cuarto Poder) referred to as members of the ultra-radical right. They carried signs stating "Peace will be made with the exit of Samuel Ruiz", "Samuel Ruiz Garcia: Leave Us In Peace-- Leave Chiapas!" and "We Chiapanes want reconciliation, Ruiz Garcia is the vision of violence and deceit" as they marched across the street to the Cathedral where at least 100 people had gathered at 9:30 am to create a Peace Belt around the Cathedral and the Episcopal House. Many were members of Cristianos por la Paz and Ciudadanos por la Paz while others were international observers and journalists. The "Autenticos Coletos" threw eggs and stones at those protecting the church; they proceeded to break wooden chairs in the area and used the wood to beat people and to throw at the church. People shouted, "Kill him" and "Leave" in reference to the Bishop.

Numerous windows were broken, egg yolk stained the church walls, and numerous people were wounded. Other aggressors attempted to set the main doors of the Cathedral on fire. Cathedral defenders maintained their peaceful stance and did not participate in any sort of retaliation. It took two hours for the Security Police to finally show up and surround the Cathedral to protect peaceful resistors. They have formed a security belt around the Cathedral ever since.

This violent attack on peaceful supporters of Bishop Ruiz, who has worked with indigenous and campesino populations in Chiapas for over 35 years, illustrates the deeply entrenched social divisions in Chiapan society. Many wealthy landowners, ranchers, caciques, and wealthy and middle-class San Cristobal business-people call Ruiz the "Red Bishop" for his dedication to and work on behalf of social justice for the poor and disenfranchised. On the other hand, Bishop Ruiz has the widespread support, respect, and love of hundreds of thousands of people with whom he has identified his work so closely.

As mentioned above, thousands of people have fled from their communities out of fear of the army. Thousands more are being forcibly expelled from their communities as political divisions become more entrenched and manipulated by PRI-party supporters. PRIistas, including landowners, ranchers, and indigenous caciques (local bosses) are using Zedillo’s hardline posture as a pretext for persecuting opposition (often PRD-Democratic Revolutionary Party-supporters) within their own communities.

On Saturday, February 18, 1995, 111
PRD supporters were meeting in the community of Paste, 20 minutes outside of San Cristobal, when they were attacked by approximately 550 PRI supporters wielding clubs and stones. That same evening PRD members and their families (approximately 600 people or 120 families) were forced out of the community. At least 12 people were beaten and wounded. They are presently in Chactoj, approximately 5 km from Paste, attempting to garner justice and return to their community.

**Effects on the Guatemalan Refugee Population**

In Chiapas there are still about 20,000 refugees living in camps throughout Chiapas, in addition to thousands more who reside outside the camps as undocumented. Organizing for the Guatemalan returns continues although at a slow pace. Some Guatemalans want to stay in Mexico and rent land on which to farm. The Mexican government is threatening, however, to stop refugee status and credentials and COMAR (the governmental refugee organization) is threatening to cut off food aid and documentation, especially if people continue to work with NGOs.

**What can we do?**

Perhaps most importantly will be to continue to pressure for demilitarization of Chiapas so that peace negotiations can begin once again and to maintain a constant international presence in the area. We also must be vigilant of US support for military actions in Chiapas as well as throughout Mexico and must denounce any transfer of weapons, infrastructure, and technical assistance. There are many parallels that can be drawn between the current situation in Chiapas and the counterinsurgency tactics used in Guatemala, beginning in 1982. However, unlike in Guatemala, there is worldwide attention being paid to Chiapas and international accompaniment can make such a difference. Few were documenting the destruction and massacres taking place in the Guatemalan highlands and the military acted with impunity. This must not be repeated in Chiapas.

For more information about participation on upcoming delegations, contact Global Exchange
2017 Mission Street #308, San Francisco, California 94110;
1-800-497-1994; globalexch@igc.org

Sarah Hernandez and I will be presenting a paper at the August ASA meetings entitled, "Somos los Autentico Coletos' of Chiapas (We are the Authentic Coletos of Chiapas): Race and Class in the Current Conflict in Chiapas." Section on Marxist Sociology Refereed Roundtable on Topics in Racial-Ethnic Violence.

**LINKS in the "Web"**

A brief survey of electronic resources that may be of use to members of the section. Since this is the first time the Newsletter has published this, I've included a few "web sites" that are primarily links to other sites. However, the Web has a large number of sites that are empty of content or "under construction" and most of us that use it regularly need sites with real content. So if you have found sites that have useful content, please let me know and I'll publish them here. In no particular order, I've found the following sites to be useful or interesting.

- DPE
The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional has an unofficial Web page, maintained by others, at http://www.peak.org/~justin/ezln/. The site is bilingual and “dedicated to the women and men of the, and to the memory of Emiliano Zapata.” It includes text of EZLN communiques.

The RAND organization maintains a site with information about the organization and its research at http://www.rand.org/ where you can also order copies of RAND publications directly.

Look at http://198.80.36.91/ndu/library/defnexus.html and you will find “your connection to military and military related organizations on the WWW” at a site run by the National Defense University Library. The site includes links to U.S. military organizations, but also a wide variety of links to civilian and international organizations, including ones as diverse as the Air Weather Association, the United States Institute of Peace, and the Uppsala Univ - Dept of Peace & Conflict (under construction). Although it includes lots of links, it also includes some full text (e.g., War Powers Act of 1973) resources. The international military links resource is diverse, though mostly focused on NATO, it also includes the New Zealand Force Health site, at http://forchth.army.mil.nz/

The “Planet Earth Home Page” at http://www.nosc.mil/planet_earth/everything.html -- includes lots and lots of stuff, as you might suspect from the modestly named site. At a subsite -- defense link http://www.nosc.mil:80/planet_earth/defense.html -- you’ll see a large number of defense related links, but the everything_html site includes a wide range of links.

At http://www.site.gmu.edu:80/~edibona/ you’ll find the “The Terrorist Profile Weekly “ run by an “office computer slave” in the Department of State. He republishes DoS profiles of various groups taken from the publication “The Profiles of Global Terrorism.”

I’m including the Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Arms Control site because I’m an alum, however, the site, at http://www-lerland.stanford.edu:80/group/CISAC/ is a little thin on content.

Newt Gingrich probably won’t need this, though I use it alot, the UN site at gopher://nywork1.undp.org/1 ..it includes a pretty big chunk of the paper churned out by that prolific paper factory, including, for example, all Security Council resolutions from 1974 forward.

The Program on Peacekeeping Policy at George Mason University maintains a site at http://ralph.gmu.edu/cfpa/peace/peace.html with lots of reasonably up-to-date information on peacekeeping and good links to regional peacekeeping information.

COPRED’s home page is located at http://www.igc.apc.org:80/copred/ and has the two most recent issues of Peace Chronicle on-line.

Yahoo is perhaps the most famous Web site; it has moved from Stanford and is now at http://www.yahoo.com/ Travel down thru the politics and parties & groups menus and you’ll find the White Nationalist menu, with a scary site at http://stormfront.wat.com/stormfront/
“A resource for those courageous men and women fighting to preserve their White Western culture....” a useful selection of their literature.

Peacenet, at http://www.peacenet.apc.org/peacenet/ is a “world-wide computer network serving organizations and individuals working for positive change in the areas of peace, social and economic justice, human rights and the struggle against racism.”

Announcements

At the Peace and War Section mini-conference in LA, it was decided that it could be useful if section members were linked up via an internet list server, so that we could be made aware of important section activities, developments, and announcements of professional concern. Such a list will allow members to receive information in a timely, inexpensive way involving minimal labor. If you would like to be on this list, please forward you email address to Greg McLauchlan (secretary-treasurer) at gmclauch@oregon.uoregon.edu Please note: this list will only be made available to transmite important announcements and other time sensitive information of interest to a broad spectrum of section members. It will not become a source of electronic peace and war junk mail! Please send you address.

- Greg McLauchlan

The Journal of Political and Military Sociology celebrated it's 20th year of service to the discipline with the publication of a cumulative index. It is available for $25.00 from JPMS, c/o Sociology, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115.

Family Values and Tenure: A Proposal

- John MacDougall

I would like to make a suggestion about how to make family values -- and also simple justice -- more of a reality in our own institutions. I propose that we change the tenure rule so that faculty who are parents of children up to college age can stretch out their careers without being penalized.

The problem is that being a parent -- I speak from experience--is an enormously time and energy consuming enterprise, yet it happens for many academics at the pre-tenure stage of their careers. This is the most demanding time for them professionally as well as emotionally. Trying to get tenure and being a parent--often single mothers, full time--not only imposes enormous stress for the individual faculty member, but can also damage the morale of departments, even of entire schools. Behind this lies a broader cause--the profound devaluing of parenting in our society.

My proposed solution--at least a partial one--is that faculty who are parents (single or joint) of children of any age through high-school graduation should have the right to stretch out their pre-tenure years as follows. Upon presenting valid documentation of their parent status, they would have the right to do two things. First, they could add two years to the year they go up for tenure for their first child, and add half a year for each additional child, with a maximum of 3 years additional years. Second, these faculty members could designate specific years/semesters of service before tenure consideration as
ones where they will be judged only for teaching, not for either research and publication, or university/community/professional service; in addition during these years/semesters they could refuse to teach any new course and this would not be held against them.

Some comments. a) I assume that even in research universities, the official job faculty are hired to do is primarily teaching, so I am not proposing that faculty be excused from their basic teaching obligations. b) My proposal would not affect the institutions' sabbatical rules. c) It may, of course, impinge on AAUP tenure and promotion (or other) guidelines -- in that case perhaps schools that follow AAUP guidelines should lobby for appropriate changes at the national or campus level. d) Administrators and senior faculty may worry that my proposal will increase costs and hamper institutional flexibility. This may be true to a degree. However, "think there will be major net benefits in the long term: individual faculty who take advantage of my proposals will have much better morale, and so to will their departments, colleges, and even entire institutions.

**Publications Available**

Copies of "Organizational Designs for the Future Army" and "What We Know About Army Families" are available from David and Mady Segal, respectively. For a copy, write them via e-mail (Segal@bss1.umd.edu) or regular mail at the Department of Sociology, 2112 Art/Sociology Bldg, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742

**ASA Combined Book Exhibit**

The 1995 ASA Combined Book Exhibit is an ideal way for authors or small publishers with limited promotion budgets to display their books at the 1995 Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. If you are interested, contact Nancy Sylvester, at the ASA offices, (202) 333-3410, fax (202) 785-0146, e-mail ASA_Executive_Office@MCIMail.com

**SECTION DAY: SUNDAY AUGUST 20th**

Feeling a void in your life?

**CONTRIBUTE** to your section newsletter - preferably by email! DEmore@nps.navy.mil -- I've got blank space to fill and you've got ideas, announcements, information, and suggestions.