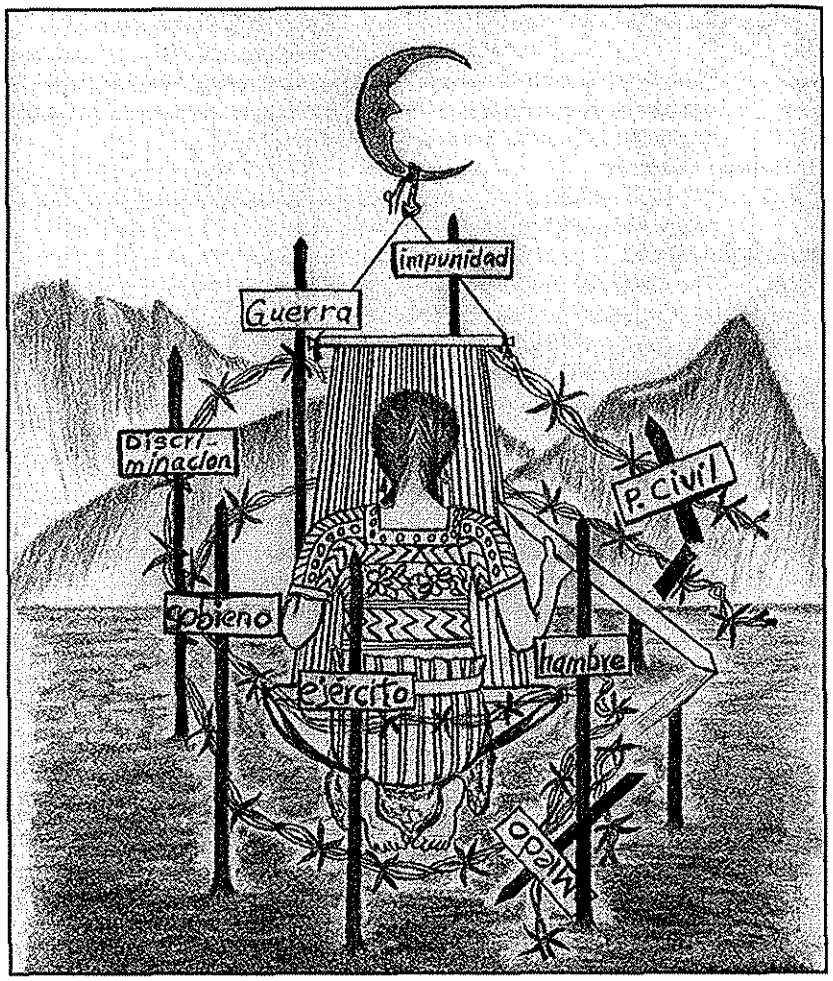

"Weaving Justice," by Sebastian Quinac

Living in a State of Fear

Linda Green

Fear is a response to danger. But in Guatemala, rather than being solely a subjective personal experience, it has penetrated the social memory.[1] And, rather than being an acute reaction, it is a chronic condition. The effects of fear are pervasive and insidious in Guatemala. Fear destabilizes social relations by driving a wedge of distrust between members of families, between neighbors, among friends. Fear divides communities through suspicion and apprehension, not only of strangers, but of each other.[2] Fear thrives on ambiguities. Rumors of death lists and denunciations, gossip, and innuendos create a climate of suspicion. No one can be sure who is who. The spectacle of torture and death, of massacres and disappearances of the recent past have become deeply inscribed in individuals and in the collective imagination through a constant sense of threat. In the *altiplano* fear has become a way of life. Fear is the arbiter of power—invisible, indeterminant, and silent.

What is the nature of the fear and terror that pervade Guatemalan society? How do people understand it and experience it? And what is at stake for people who live in a chronic state of fear? Might survival itself depend on a panoply of responses to a seemingly intractable situation?

In this chapter I examine the invisible violence of fear and intimidation through the quotidian experiences of the people of Xe'caj.[3] In doing so, I try to capture a sense of the insecurity that permeates individual women's lives wracked by worries of physical and emotional survival, of grotesque memories, of ongoing militarization, of chronic fear. The stories I relate below are the individual experiences of the women with whom I worked, yet they are also social and collective accounts by virtue of their omnipresence (see Lira and Castillo 1991; Martín-Baró 1990). Although the focus of my work with Mayan women was not explicitly on the topic of violence,

an understanding of its usages, its manifestations, and its effects is essential to comprehending the context in which the women of Xe'caj are struggling to survive.

Fear became the metanarrative of my research and experiences among the people of Xe'caj. Fear is the reality in which people live, the hidden "state of (individual and social) emergency" that is factored into the choices women and men make. Although this state of emergency in which Guatemalans have been living for over a decade may be the norm, it is an abnormal state of affairs indeed. Albert Camus (1955) wrote that from an examination of the shifts between the normal and the emergency, between the tragic and the everyday, emerges the paradoxes and contradictions that bring into sharp relief how the absurd (in this case, terror) works.

Writing this chapter has been problematic. And it has to do with the nature of the topic itself, the difficulty of fixing fear and terror in words.[4] I have chosen to include some of my own experiences of fear during my field research rather than stand apart as an outsider, an observer. First, because it was and is impossible to stand apart. It soon became apparent that any understanding of the women's lives would include a journey into a state of fear in which terror reigned, and this would shape the nature of my interactions and relationships in Xe'caj. And second, from these shared experiences we forged common grounds of understanding and respect.

Fear is elusive as a concept, yet you know it when it has you in its grip. Fear, like pain, is "overwhelmingly present" to the person experiencing it, but it may be barely perceptible to anyone else and almost defies objectification.[5] Subjectively the mundane experience of chronic fear wears down one's sensibility to it. The "routinization of fear" undermines one's confidence in interpreting the world. My own experiences of fear and those of the women I know are much as Michael Taussig (1992*a*:11) aptly describes it: a state of "stringing out the nervous system one way toward hysteria, the other way numbing and apparent acceptance."

ANTHROPOLOGY AND VIOLENCE

Given anthropology's empirical bent and the fact that anthropologists are well positioned to speak out on behalf of the "people who provide us with our livelihood" (in Taussig's [1978] words), it seems curious that so few have chosen to do so. Jeffrey Sluka (1992) has suggested that the practice of sociocultural anthropology, with its emphasis on a "cross-cultural and comparative perspective, holistic approach, reliance on participant observation, concentration on local level analysis and 'emic' point of view," is particularly well suited to understanding the subjective, experiential, meaningful dimension of social conflict. Anthropologists, however, have traditionally approached the study of conflict, war, and human aggression from a distance, ignoring the harsh realities of people's lives.

Although the dominant theoretical paradigms utilized in anthropological inquiry over the past century—evolutionism, structural-functionalism, acculturation studies, and Marxism—have examined societal manifestations of violence, the lived experiences of their research subjects have often been muted. When social conflict and warfare have been problematized, it has been in abstract terms, divorced from the historical realities of the colonial or capitalist encounter. Throughout the twentieth century, most studies by political anthropologists have emphasized taxonomy over process; for example, the classification of simple or indigenous political systems, political leadership, law, domination, and intertribal relations (Vincent 1990).[6] Overwhelming empirical evidence demonstrates that state violence has been standard operating procedure in numerous contemporary societies where anthropologists have conducted fieldwork for the past three decades.[7] Despite an alarming rise in the most blatant forms of transgression, repression and state terrorism, the topic has not captured the anthropological imagination (see Downing and Kushner 1988).

In a stinging commentary on anthropology's claim to authority on the subject of Native Americans, Paul Doughty (1988:43) has questioned why monographs have not addressed systematically "the most vital issues that unequivocally affected all Native Americans relentlessly since European conquest," death, discrimination, displacement, dispossession, racism, rampant disease, hunger, impoverishment, physical and psychological abuse. Nancy Scheper-Hughes is insightful in this regard. She writes in her eloquent ethnography (1992:170) of everyday violence in Northeast Brazil that "a critical practice of social science implies not so much a practical as an epistemological struggle." Perhaps this is what lies at the heart of anthropology's diverted gaze. What is at stake, it seems, are the struggles between the powerful and the powerless and what is at issue for anthropologists is with whom to cast their lot.

A number of practitioners today who work in "dangerous field situations" have begun to deconstruct the insidious and pervasive effects and mechanisms of violence and terror, underscoring how it operates on the level of lived experience (Feldman 1991; Lancaster 1992; Nordstrom and Martin 1992; Scheper-Hughes 1992; Suarez-Orozco 1990, 1992; Taussig 1987, 1992*b*). Among anthropologists, it is Taussig who has captured so well the complexities and nuances of terror, giving terror sentience. What is consistently compelling about Taussig's work, despite its sometimes recondite tendencies, is his ability to portray terror viscerally, in effect to take a moral stance against power played out in its more grotesque forms. Recent works by Robert Carmack (1988), Beatriz Manz (1988), AVANCSO

(1992), Ricardo Falla (1983, 1992), and Richard Wilson (1991) have begun to document in Guatemala the testimonies of individual and collective experiences during the most recent reign of terror. In his haunting account of the massacres of the Ixcan in Guatemala between 1975 and 1982, Falla (1992) asks the chilling question of why one ought to write about massacres (and terror). His answer is simple yet provocative: intellectuals can act as intermediaries, can lend their voices on behalf of those who have witnessed and lived through the macabre. Anthropologist as scribe, who faithfully documents what the people themselves narrate as their own histories, that which they have seen, smelled, touched, felt, interpreted, and thought. Not to do so, as Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) contends, is an "act of indifference," a hostile act. Monographs can become "sites of resistance," "acts of solidarity," a way to "write against terror." Anthropology itself is employed as an agent of social change.

THE ROUTINIZATION OF TERROR

While thinking and writing about fear and terror, I was inclined to discuss what I was doing with colleagues knowledgeable about "*la situación*" in Central America. I would describe to them the eerie calm I felt most days, an unease that lies just below the surface of everyday life. Most of the time it was more a visceral than a visual experience, and I tried laboriously to suppress it.

One day I was relating to a friend what it felt like to pretend not to be disturbed by the intermittent threats that were commonplace throughout 1989 and 1990 in Xe'caj. Some weeks the market plaza would be surrounded by five or six tanks while painted-faced soldiers with M-16s in hand perched above us, watching. My friend's response made me nervous all over again. He said that he had initially been upset by the ubiquitous military presence in Central America. He, too, he assured me, had assumed that the local people felt the same. But lately he had been rethinking his position since he had witnessed a number of young women flirting with soldiers, or small groups of local men leaning casually on tanks. Perhaps we North Americans, he continued, were misrepresenting what was going on, reading our own fears into the meaning it had for Central Americans. I went home wondering if perhaps I was being "hysterical," stringing out the nervous (social) system. Had I been too caught up in terror's talk? Gradually I came to realize that terror's power, its matter-of-factness, is exactly about doubting one's own perceptions of reality. The routinization of terror is what fuels its power. Routinization allows people to live in a chronic state of fear with a facade of normalcy at the same time that terror permeates and shreds the social fabric. A sensitive and experienced Guatemalan economist noted that a major problem for social scientists working in Guatemala is that to survive they have become inured to the violence, training themselves at first not to react, then later not to feel (see) it. They miss the context in which people live, including themselves. Self-censorship becomes second nature. Bentham's panopticon internalized.

How does one become socialized to terror? Does it imply conformity or acquiescence to the status quo, as my friend suggested? While it is true that with repetitiveness and familiarity people learn to accommodate themselves to terror and fear, low-intensity panic remains in the shadow of waking consciousness. One cannot live in a constant state of alertness, and so the chaos one feels becomes infused throughout the body. It surfaces frequently in dreams and chronic illness. Sometimes in the mornings my neighbors and friends would speak of their fears during the night, of being unable to sleep or being awakened by footsteps or voices, of nightmares of recurring death and violence. After six months of living in Xe'caj, I, too, started to experience nighttime hysteria, dreams of death, disappearances, and torture. Whisperings, innuendos, rumors of death lists circulating put everyone on edge. One day a friend from Xe'caj, Nacho, came to my house very anxious. He explained, holding back his tears, that he had heard his name was on the newest death list at the military encampment. As Scheper-Hughes (1992:233) has noted, "the intolerableness of the situation is increased by its ambiguity." A month later two soldiers were killed one Sunday afternoon in a surprise guerrilla attack a kilometer from my house. That evening several women from the village came to visit, emotionally distraught. They worried that la violencia, which had been stalking them, had at last returned. Doña Maria said that violence is like fire, it can flare up suddenly and burn you.

The people of Xe'caj live under constant surveillance. The *destacamento* (military encampment) looms large in the *pueblo,* situated on a nearby hillside above town, from where everyone's movements come under close scrutiny. The town is laid out spatially in the colonial quadrangle pattern common throughout the altiplano. The town square as well as all the roads leading to the surrounding countryside is visible from above. The encampment is not obvious from below to an untrained eye. The camouflaged buildings fade into the hillside, but once one has looked down from there it is impossible to forget that those who live below do so in a fishbowl. *Orejas* (literally, ears; also, spies), military commissioners, and civil patrollers provide the backbone of military scrutiny.

Military commissioners are local men, many of whom have been in the army. In the villages they serve as local recruiters and spies for the army. The program was instituted nationwide in the 1960s and was one of the initial steps in the militarization of the rural areas. The civil patrol system was created in 1982 and by 1985 constituted a rural militia of over one

million men, over half the highland male population over fifteen years of age. The PACs, as they are known, function to augment military strength and intelligence in areas of conflict and, more important, to provide vigilance and control over the local population. Although the Guatemalan constitution states explicitly that the PACs are voluntary, failure to participate or opposition to their formation marks one as a subversive in conflictive zones in the altiplano (see Americas Watch 1986).

The impact of the civil patrols at the local level has been profound. One of the structural effects of the PACs in Xe'caj has been the subordination of traditional village political authority to the local army commander. When I arrived in Xe'caj, I first went to the mayor to introduce myself. I asked for his permission to work in the township and surrounding villages, but midway through my explanation he cut me off abruptly, explaining impatiently that if I hoped to work here, what I really needed was the explicit permission of the *comandante* at the army garrison. The civil patrols guard the entrances and exits to the villages in Xe'caj, he said. Without permission from the army the civil patrols would not allow me to enter the villages. My presence as a stranger and foreigner produced suspicions. Why do you want to live and work here with us? Why do you want to talk with the widows? For whom do you work? the alcalde asked. It was the local army officers who told me it was a free country and that I could do as I pleased, providing I had their permission.

One of the ways terror becomes defused is through subtle messages. Much as Carol Cohn (1987) describes in her unsettling account of the use of language by nuclear scientists to sanitize their involvement in nuclear weaponry, the great effrontery of the modern era, in Guatemala language and symbols are utilized to normalize a continual army presence. From time to time army troops would arrive in aldeas, obliging the villagers to assemble for a community meeting. The message was more or less the same each time I witnessed these gatherings. The comandante would begin by telling the people that the army is their friend, that the soldiers are here to protect them against subversion, against the Communists hiding out in the mountains. At the same time he would admonish them that if they did not cooperate, Guatemala could become like Nicaragua, El Salvador, or Cuba. Subteniente Rodriquez explained to me during one such meeting that the army is fulfilling its role of preserving peace and democracy in Guatemala through military control of the entire country. Ignacio Martín-Baró (1989), one of the six Jesuit priests murdered in San Salvador in 1989, has characterized social perceptions reduced to rigid and simplistic schemes as "official lies," where social knowledge is cast in dichotomous terms, black or white, good or bad, friend or enemy, without the nuances and complexities of lived experience.

I was with a group of widows and young orphan girls one afternoon watching a television soap opera. It was mid-June a week or so before Army Day. During one of the commercial breaks a series of images of Kaibiles[8] appeared on the screen dressed for combat with painted faces, clenching their rifles as they ran through the mountains. Each time a new frame appeared there was an audible gasp in the room. The last image was of soldiers emerging from behind cornstalks while the narrator said, "The army is ready to do whatever is necessary to defend the country." One young girl turned to me and said, "Si pues, siempre están lista que se matan la gente" [*sic*] (they are always ready to kill the people).

The use of camouflage cloth for clothing and small items sold at the market is a subtle, insidious form of militarization of daily life. Wallets, key chains, belts, caps, and toy helicopters made in Taiwan are disconcerting in this context. As these seemingly mundane objects circulate, they normalize the extent to which civilian and military life have commingled in the altiplano. Young men who have returned to villages from military service often wear army boots, T-shirts that denote in which military zone they had been stationed, and their dogtags. The boots themselves are significant. The women would say they knew who had kidnapped or killed their family members, because even if dressed in civilian clothes, the men wore army boots. When my neighbor's cousin on leave from the army came for a visit, the young boys brought him over to my house so they could show me with pride his photo album. As the young soldier stood shyly in the background, Juanito and Reginaldo pointed enthusiastically to a photograph of their cousin leaning on a tank with his automatic rifle in hand and a bandolier of bullets slung over his shoulder and another in which he was throwing a hand grenade. Yet these same boys told me many months later after I had moved into my house and we had become friends that when I first arrived, they were afraid I might kill them. And doña Juana, Reginaldo's mother, was shocked to learn that I did not carry a gun.

In El Salvador, Martín-Baró (1990) analyzed the subjective internalization of war and militarization among a group of 203 children in an effort to understand to what extent they had assimilated the efficacy of violence in solving personal and social problems. While generalizations cannot be drawn from such a limited study, what Martín-Baró found to be significant was that the majority of the children interviewed stated that the best way to end the war and attain peace was to eliminate the enemy (whether that was understood as the army or the guerrillas) through violent means. This tendency to internalize violence is what Martín-Baró has referred to as the "militarization of the mind."

The presence of soldiers and former soldiers in communities is illustrative of the lived contradictions in the altiplano and provides another example of how the routinization of terror functions. The foot soldiers of

the army are almost exclusively young rural Mayas, many still boys of fourteen and fifteen years old, rounded up on army "sweeps" through rural towns. The "recruiters" arrive in two-ton trucks and grab all young men in sight, usually on festival or market days when large numbers of people have gathered together in the center of the pueblo. One morning at dawn I witnessed four such loaded trucks driving out from one of the towns of Xe'caj, soldiers standing in each corner of the truck with rifles pointed outward, the soon-to-be-foot soldiers packed in like cattle. Little is known about the training these young soldiers receive, but anecdotal data from some who are willing to talk suggest that the "training" is designed to break down one's personal dignity and respect for other human beings (see Forester 1992). As one young man described it to me, "Soldiers are trained to kill and nothing more." Another said he learned (in the army) to hate everyone, including himself. The soldiers who pass through the villages on recognizance and take up sentry duty in the pueblos are Mayas, while the majority of the officers are ladinos, from other regions of the country, who cannot speak the local language. Army policy directs that the foot soldiers and the commanders of the local garrisons change every three months, to prevent soldiers from getting to know the people, a second lieutenant explained. A small but significant number of men in Xe'caj have been in the army. Many young men return home to their natal villages after they are released from military duty. Yet their reintegration into the community is often difficult and problematic. As one villager noted, "They [the men/boys] leave as Indians, but they don't come back Indian."

During their time in the army some of the soldiers are forced to kill and maim. These young men, often set adrift, go on to become the local military commissioners, heads of the civil patrol, or paid informers for the army. Many are demoralized, frequently drinking and turning violent. Others marry and settle in their villages to resume their lives as best they can.

I met several women whose sons had been in the military when their husbands had been killed by the army. In one disturbing situation, I interviewed a widow who described the particularly gruesome death of her husband at the hands of the army, while behind her on the wall prominently displayed was a photograph of her son in his Kaibil uniform. When I asked about him, she acknowledged his occasional presence in the household and said nothing more. I was first at a loss to explain the situation and her silence; later I came to understand it as part of the rational inconsistencies that are built into the logic of her fractured life. On a purely objective level it is dangerous to talk about such things with strangers. Perhaps she felt her son's photograph might provide protection in the future. Although I ran into this situation several times, I never felt free to ask more about it. I would give the women the opportunity to say something,

but I felt morally unable to pursue the topic. The women would talk freely, although with great pain, about the brutal past but maintained a stoic silence about the present. Perhaps the women's inability to talk about the fragments of their tragic experiences within the context of larger processes is in itself a survival strategy. How is it that a mother might be able to imagine that her son (the soldier) would perform the same brutish acts as those used against her and her family? To maintain a fragile integrity, must she block the association in much the same way women speak of the past atrocities as individual acts but remain silent about the ongoing process of repression in which they live? Dividing families' loyalties becomes instrumental in perpetuating fear and terror.

LIVING IN A STATE OF FEAR

During the first weeks we lived in Xe'caj, Elena, my capable field assistant, and I drove to several villages in the region talking with women and widows in small groups, asking them if they might be willing to meet with us weekly over the next year or so. At first many people thought we might be representing a development project and therefore distributing material aid. When this proved not to be the case, some women lost interest; others agreed to participate. During the second week we drove out to Ri bey, a small village that sits in a wide U-shaped valley several thousand meters lower in altitude than Xe'caj and most of the other surrounding hamlets. The one-lane dirt road that leads to the village is a series of switchbacks that cut across several ridges, before beginning the long, slow descent into the valley. Fortunately for me, there is little traffic on these back roads. Bus service had been suspended during the height of the violence in the early 1980s and a decade later is still virtually nonexistent, although a few buses do provide transport to villagers on market day. The biggest obstacle to driving is meeting logging trucks head on carrying rounds of oak and cedar for export. With their heavy loads it is impossible for them to maneuver, and so I would invariably have to back up- or downhill until I found a turnout wide enough for the truck to pass. Yet the most frightening experience was rounding a curve and suddenly encountering a military patrol.

On this day in February 1989, it was foggy and misty and a cold wind was blowing. Although the air temperature was 50 degrees Fahrenheit, the chill penetrated to the bone—"*el expreso de Alaska,*" Elena explained. Heading north we caught glimpses of the dark ridges of the Sierra de Cuchumatan brooding in the distance. The scenery was breathtaking: pine, cedar, ash, oak, the wide lush leaves of banana trees, and bromeliads mingled with the brilliant purple bougainvillea in bloom; ivory calla lilies lined the roadway. These hills, the softness of the sky, and the outline of trees

created an unforgettable image. This was the Guatemala of eternal spring, of eternal hope. The *milpas* lay fallow after the harvest in late January; only the dried stalks were left half-standing, leaning this way and that. On each side of the road houses were perched on the slopes surrounded by the milpas. In the altiplano several houses made from a mix of cane- or cornstalks, adobe, and wood are usually clustered together. The red tile roofs seen farther west have all but disappeared from Xe'caj. Most people now use tin roofs (lamina), even though they retain more heat in the hot dry season and more cold when it is damp and raining. The Department of Chimaltenango was one of the hardest hit by the 1976 earthquake in which more than 75,000 people died and one million people were left homeless. Many were crushed under the weight of the tiles as roofs caved in on them. Today, half-burned houses stand as testimony to the scorched-earth campaign while civil patrollers take up their posts nearby with rifles in hand. Although Elena and I frequently saw a number of people on foot, most women and children ran to hide when they saw us coming. Months passed before women and children walking on the road would accept a ride with me. And even then, many did so reluctantly, and most would ask Elena in Kakchiquel if it was true that I wanted to steal their children and if *gringos* ate children.[9]

On this particular day Elena and I drove as far as we could and then left my pickup at the top of the hill at the point where the road became impassable. We walked the last four miles down to the village. Along the way we met local men repairing the large ruts in the road where soil had washed away with heavy September rains. Soil in this area is sandy and unstable. Most of the trees on the ridge above the road have been clearcut, and the erosion is quite pronounced. The men were putting in culverts and filling in the deep crevices that dissect the road; their only tools are shovels and pickaxes. The men are paid U.S. $1.50 per day. This is desirable work, however, because it is one of the few opportunities to earn cash close to home (most work is found on coastal plantations).

As we descended into lower elevations, Elena and I mused over the fact that there are only seven widows in Ri bey, a village of 300 people. In the several other villages where we had visited women, there were thirty to forty widows, or 15 to 20 percent of the population. Perhaps there had not been much violence in Ri bey, I suggested. One of the notable features of the military campaign known as "scorched earth" is that neighboring villages fared quite differently: one might be destroyed while another was left untouched, depending on the army's perceived understanding of guerrilla support.

Elena and I found Petrona and Tomasa and a third woman sitting in front of the school where we had agreed to meet. We greeted the women and sat down in the sun that was just breaking through the clouds. They had brought several bottles of Pepsi for us to share. I asked doña Petrona, a small thin woman with an intelligent face, why there are so few widows in Ri bey, holding my breath as I awaited the hoped-for answer—that the violence there had been much less. She replied that it was because so many people were killed, not just men but whole families, old people, children, women. The village was deserted for several years as people fled to the mountains, the pueblo, or the city. Many people never returned. Dead or displaced, no one knows for sure.

This was the third village we had visited, and each time it was the same. The women, without prompting, one by one took turns recounting their stories of horror. They would tell the events surrounding the deaths or disappearances of their husbands, fathers, sons, brothers, in vivid detail as if it had happened last week or last month rather than six or eight years ago. And the women, Petrona, Tomasa, Ana, Juana, Martina, Isabel, continued to tell me their stories over and over during the time I lived among them. But why? At first as a stranger and then later as a friend, why were these women repeatedly recounting their Kafkaesque tales to me? What was in the telling? What was the relationship between silence and testimony? As Suarez-Orozco (1992:367) has noted, "testimony [is] a ritual of both healing and a condemnation of injustice—the concept of testimony contains both connotations of something subjective and private and something objective, judicial, and political." The public spaces that we were compelled to use to thwart surveillance were transformed into a liminal space that was both private and public in the recounting.

In each of the villages where I met with women, it was always the same in the beginning. We would meet in groups of three or four in front of the village health post, the school, or the church, always in a public space. It was three months or more before anyone invited me into their home or spoke with me privately and individually. Above all else they had not wanted the *gringa* to be seen coming to their house. Under the scrutiny of surveillance the women were afraid of what others in the village might say about them and me. And when I did start going to people's homes, rumors did spread about Elena and me. The rumors themselves seemed innocuous to me, that I was helping widows or that I was writing a book about women, yet they had potentially dangerous repercussions.

During one particularly tense period, my visits caused an uproar. One day when I arrived to visit Marta and Alejandra, I found them both very anxious and agitated. When I asked what was going on they said that the military commissioner was looking for me, that people were saying I was helping the widows and talking against others in the community. "There are deep divisions within the community. People don't trust one another," explained Marta. "Families are divided and not everyone thinks alike," Alejandra added.

When I said that I would go look for don Martín, the military commissioner, they became very upset. "He said that he would take you to the garrison. Please don't go, Linda. We know people who went into the garrison and were never seen again." "But I have done nothing wrong," I said. "I must talk with them, find out what is wrong." I worried that my presence might reflect negatively on the women. So I went, Elena insisting on accompanying me, dismissing my concerns for her well-being by saying, "Si nos matan es el problema de ellos" (If they kill us it will be their problem). Fortunately for us, the commissioner was not at home, so I left a message with his wife.

The next day I decided to go to the destacamento alone. The trek to the garrison was a grueling uphill walk, or so it seemed. The last one hundred yards were the most demanding emotionally. As I rounded the bend I saw several soldiers sitting in a small guardhouse with a machine gun perched on a three-foot stanchion pointed downward and directly at me. The plight of Joseph K. in Kafka's *Trial* flashed through my mind, he accused of a crime for which he must defend himself but about which he could get no information. I didn't do anything wrong, I must not look guilty, I repeated to myself, like a mantra. I must calm myself, as my stomach churned, my nerves frayed. I arrived breathless and terrified. Ultimately, I knew I was guilty because I was against the system of violence and terror that surrounded me. I asked to speak to the comandante, who received me outside the gates. This struck me as unusual and increased my agitation, since I had been to the garrison several times before to greet each new comandante and to renew my permission papers to continue my work. On the other occasions I had been invited into the compound. The comandante said he knew nothing about why I was being harassed by the military commissioner and the civil patrol in Be'cal and assured me that I could continue with my work and that he personally would look into the situation. A few days later the comandante and several soldiers arrived in the aldea, called a communitywide meeting, and instructed everyone to cooperate with the gringa who was doing a study.

Later when the matter had been settled, some of the women explained their concerns to me. They told me stories of how widows from outlying aldeas, who had fled to the relative safety of Xe'caj after their husbands had been killed or kidnapped, had been forced to bring food and firewood for the soldiers at the garrison and were raped and humiliated at gunpoint. One brave woman carrying a baby on her back, the story goes, went to the garrison demanding to see her husband. The soldiers claimed he was not there, but she knew they were lying because his dog was standing outside the gates, and she insisted that the dog never left his side. Either they still had him or they had already killed him. She demanded to know and told them to go ahead and kill her and the baby because she had nothing more to lose. Today she is a widow.

It was the hour before dawn on a March day in 1981. Doña Petrona had arisen early to warm tortillas for her husband's breakfast before he left to work in the milpa. He was going to burn and clean it in preparation for planting soon after the first rains in early May. He had been gone only an hour when neighbors came running to tell her that her husband had been shot and was lying in the road. When Petrona reached him, he was already dead. With the help of neighbors she took his body home to prepare for burial. Petrona considers herself lucky because she says that at least she was able to bury him herself, unlike so many women whose husbands were disappeared. These are among those whom Robert Hertz (1960) has called the "unquiet dead," referring to those who have died a violent or "unnatural" death. Hertz has argued that funeral rituals are a way of strengthening the social bond. Without a proper burial these souls linger in the liminal space between earth and the afterlife, condemned in time between death and the final obsequies. And yet these wandering "unquiet souls," according to Taussig (1984), may act as intermediaries between nature and the living, buffeting as well as enhancing memories through imagery of a violent history.

The young woman sitting next to Petrona is her daughter, Ana, who is also a widow. Ana took Petrona's nod as a sign to begin. In a quiet voice she said that she was seventeen when her husband was killed on the patio of her house while her two children, Petrona, and her sister stood by helpless and in horror. It was August 1981, five months after her father had been killed. Soldiers came before dawn, pulled him out of bed, dragged him outside, and punched and kicked him until he was unconscious and then hacked him to death with machetes.

Tomasa was just beginning to recall the night her husband was kidnapped when a man carrying a load of wood with a thumpline stopped on the path about fifty feet away to ask who I was and why I was in the aldea. Don Pedro was the military commissioner in the community. I introduced myself and showed him my permission papers from the comandante of the local garrison. After looking at my papers, don Pedro told me I was free to visit the community but advised me to introduce myself to the head of the civil patrol. Tomasa anxiously resumed her story. Her husband was disappeared by soldiers one night in early 1982. She said that several days later she went to the *municipio* to register his death, and the authorities told her that if he was disappeared he was not considered dead. She did find his mutilated body some weeks later; however, she did not return to register his death until several years later. She was told that she now owed a fine of 100 *quetzales* (approximately U.S. $25) because of the lateness of

her report. Tomasa planned to leave in a few weeks to pick coffee on a piedmont plantation to earn the money to acquire legal title to her small parcel of land and her house.

SILENCE AND SECRECY

It was the dual lesson of silence and secrecy that was the most enlightening and disturbing. Silence about the present situation when talking with strangers is a survival strategy that Mayas have long utilized. Their overstated politeness toward ladino society, their seeming obliviousness to the jeers and insults hurled at them, their servility in the face of overt racism, may make it seem as though Mayas have accepted their subservient role in Guatemalan society. Their apparent obsequiousness has served as a shield to provide distance and has also been a powerful shaper of Mayan practice. When Elena disclosed to a journalist friend of mine from El Salvador her thoughts about guerrilla incursions today, her family castigated her roundly for speaking, warning her that what she said could be twisted and used against her and her family. Allen Feldman (1991:11), in writing about Northern Ireland, notes that secrecy is "an assertion of identity and symbolic capital pushed to the margins. Subaltern groups construct their own margins as fragile insulators from the center."

When asked about the present situation, the usual response from most everyone was "*pues, tranquila*"—but it was a fragile calm. Later as I got to know people, when something visible would break through the facade of order, forced propaganda speeches, or in my own town when a soldier was killed and another seriously injured in an ambush, people would whisper fears of a return to la violencia. In fact, the unspoken but implied second part of "pues, tranquila" is "ahorita, pero mañana saber" (it's calm now, but who knows about tomorrow). When I asked a local fellow who is head of a small (self-sufficient) development project that is organizing locally if he is bothered by the army, he said no. They (the army) come by every couple of months, and search houses or look at his records, but he considered this "tranquila."

Silence can operate as a survival strategy, yet silencing is a powerful mechanism of control enforced through fear. At times when talking with a group of women, our attention would be distracted momentarily by a military plane or helicopter flying close and low. Each of us would lift our heads, watching until it passed out of sight, without comment. Sometimes if we were inside a house, we might all step out onto the patio to look skyward. Silence. Only once was the silence broken. On that day doña Tomasa asked rhetorically, after the helicopters had passed overhead, why my government sent bombs to kill people. At Christmas Eve Mass in 1989, twenty-five soldiers entered the church suddenly, soon after the service had begun. They occupied three middle pews on the men's side, never taking their hands off their rifles, only to leave abruptly after the sermon. Silence. The silences in these cases do not erase individual memories of terror but create more fear and uncertainty by driving a wedge of paranoia between people. Terror's effects are not only psychological and individual but social and collective as well.

Despite the fear and terror engendered by relentless human rights violations and deeply entrenched impunity in Guatemala, hope exists. Refugees, widows, the internally displaced, Mayan groups, and human rights groups have organized in response to the repression.

One of the collective responses to the silence imposed through terror began in 1984 when two dozen people, mostly women, formed the human rights organization called the GAM (Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo). Its members are relatives of some of the estimated 42,000 people disappeared in Guatemala over the past three decades. Modeled after Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, a small group of courageous women and men decided to break the silence. They went to government offices to demand that authorities investigate the crimes against their families. They also turned their bodies into "weapons" to speak out against the violence. As they marched in silence every Friday in front of the national palace with placards bearing the photos of those who had disappeared, they ruptured the official silence, bearing testimony with their own bodies about those who have vanished.

In 1990, Roberto Lemus, a judge in the district court of Santa Cruz del Quiche, began accepting petitions from local people to exhume sites in the villages where people claimed there were clandestine graves. Family members said they knew where their loved ones had been buried after being killed by security forces. While other judges in the area had previously allowed the exhumations, this was the first time that a scientific team had been assembled under the auspices of the eminent forensic anthropologist Dr. Clyde Snow. The intent of the exhumations was to gather evidence to corroborate verbal testimonies of survivors so as to arrest those responsible. Because of repeated death threats, Lemus was forced into political exile in July 1991. Snow has assembled another team sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science that continues the work in Guatemala at the behest of human rights groups. There are estimated to be hundreds, perhaps thousands, of such sites throughout the altiplano. The clandestine cemeteries and mass graves are the *secreto a voces*—or what Taussig (1992*a*) has referred to in another context as the "public secrets," what everyone knows about but does not dare to speak of publicly.

In Xe'caj, people would point out such sites to me. On several occasions when I would be walking with them in the mountains, women would

take me to the places where they knew their husbands were buried and say, "Mira, el está allí" (Look, he is over there). Others claimed that there were at least three mass graves in Xe'caj itself. The act of unearthing the bones of family members allows individuals to acknowledge and reconcile the past openly, to at last acknowledge the culpability for the death of their loved ones, and to lay them to rest. At the same time it is one of the most powerful statements against impunity because it reveals the magnitude of the political repression that has taken place. These were not solely individual acts with individual consequences; they are public crimes that have deeply penetrated the social body and contest the legitimacy of the body politic.

Thus the dual issues of impunity and accountability stand between peace and social justice in Guatemala, as has been the case in Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, and El Salvador (see Wechsler 1990). Amnesty therefore becomes both a political and an ethical problem with not only individual but social dimensions as well. "To forgive and forget" the Guatemalan human rights ombudsman (and as of 1993, president of Guatemala) suggested is the only way democracy will be achieved in Guatemala. In a newspaper interview in 1991, Ramiro de León Carpio said, "The ideal would be that we uncover the truth, to make public and to punish those responsible, but I believe it is impossible. . . . [W]e have to be realistic." Certainly the idea of political expediency has a measure of validity. The problem, however, turns on "whether that pardon and renunciation are going to be established on a foundation of truth and justice or on lies and continued injustice" (Martín-Baró 1990:7). Hannah Arendt (1973:241) has argued against forgiveness without accountability because it undermines the formation of democracy by obviating any hope of justice, making its pursuit pointless. While recognizing that forgiveness is an essential element for freedom, Arendt contends that "the alternative to forgiveness, but by no means its opposite [which she argues is vengeance], is punishment, and both have in common that they attempt to put an end to something that without interference could go on endlessly." Self-imposed amnesty by the military, which has come into vogue throughout Latin America in recent years, forecloses the possibility of forgiveness. Without a settling of accounts, democratic rule will remain elusive in Guatemala as has been the case elsewhere in Latin America. Social reparation is a necessary requisite to healing the body politic in Latin America.[10]

NOTES

1. Connerton (1989:12) has defined social memory as "images of the past that commonly legitimate a present social order." In Guatemala, fear inculcated into the social memory has engendered a forced acquiescence on the part of many Mayas to the status quo. At the same time, a distinctly Mayan (counter)social memory exists and is expressed through indigenous dances, especially the dance of the Conquista, oral narratives, the relationship with ancestors maintained through the planting of corn, the weaving of cloth, and religious rituals and ceremonies.

2. Fear of strangers is not a new phenomenon in Guatemala. In the late 1940s, Oakes (1951), in her study of Todos Santos, reported that local people were reticent to talk with the few strangers who came to the community, and she, too, was treated with suspicion at the beginning of her fieldwork. And with some, Oakes never developed a rapport of trust, a common experience for most field-workers. Since the last wave of violence, however, community loyalties have been divided and a level of distrust previously unknown has permeated social life. A climate of suspicion prevails in many villages. Carrescia's two ethnographic films made a decade apart (1982, 1989; before and after the violence) in Todos Santos document some of the profound changes wrought by systematic state terror.

3. The field research on which this chapter is based was conducted in three geographically contiguous *municipios* in the Department of Chimaltenango, Guatemala. I use the fictitious name of Xe'caj to refer to all three municipios and Be'cal and Ri bey as pseudonyms for the aldeas where I worked. My intention is to provide a modicum of protection for the people with whom I worked. In 1993, the situation in Xe'caj remained politically charged.

4. Taussig's (1992*a*) powerful treatise on the nervous system draws the analogy between the anatomical nervous system and the chaos and panic engendered by the tenuous social system. He notes that across the fibers of this fragile network, terror passes at times almost unnoticed, and at others it is fetishized as a thing unto itself. In this essay, Taussig is preoccupied with the "mode of presentation" of terror in social analysis. He concludes, "This puts writing on a completely different plane than hitherto conceived. It calls for an understanding of the representation as contiguous with that being represented and not as suspended above or distant from the represented, . . . that knowing is giving oneself over to a phenomenon rather than thinking about it from above" (10).

5. See Scarry's (1985) discussion on the inexpressibility of physical pain. While she contends that it is only physical pain that can be characterized with no "referential content," "it is not of or for anything," I would argue differently. The power of terror of the sort that is endemic in Guatemala and in much of Latin America lies precisely in its subjectification and silence.

6. There were exceptions, of course. Lesser (1933), Hunter (1936), and Kuper (1947), for example, were producing politically and socially relevant ethnography during the same period. These studies concerned with the impact on colonialization on marginalized people were marginalized, however.

7. A partial list of countries where state terror has proliferated since the 1960s would include Indonesia, Chile, Guatemala, Kampuchea, East Timor, Uganda, Argentina, the Central African Republic, South Africa, El Salvador, the Philippines, Haiti, Burundi, Bangladesh, Brazil, and Uruguay.

8. Kaibiles are the elite special force troops of the Guatemalan army trained in counterinsurgency tactics. An excerpt from an address by general Juan José Marroquín Siliezar to a graduating class of Kaibiles on 6 December 1989 is revealing. "Kaibil officers are trained to forget all humanitarian principles and to become

war machines, capable of enduring whatever sacrifices, because from now on, they will be called Masters of War and Messengers of Death." As reported in *El Grafico*, 7 December 1989.

9. Rumors of foreigners and strangers eating children are not limited to the women of Xe'caj. Anecdotal data from other parts of Guatemala have reported similar rumors. Scheper-Hughes found some of the same concerns among the people of Northeast Brazil. She also notes the prevalence of Pishtaco myths among Andean Indians (1992:236–237), who believed that Indian fat, in particular Indian children's fat, was used to grease the machinery of the sugar mills. And in the 1980s, a biological anthropologist working among Andean people found his research stymied because of rumors that the measurement of fat folds was actually a selecting process designed to choose "the fattest for their nefarious cannibalistic purposes."

10. On June 23, 1994, the Guatemalan government and the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity) rebel alliance reached an agreement on the establishment of a truth commission to investigate past human rights abuses. The document calls for the formation of a three-member panel to study violations of human rights related to the armed conflict beginning in 1966 to the present. The stated goal of the commission is to "clarify with objectivity, equity and impartiality the violation of human rights, linked with the armed confrontation." The investigations will take place over a six-month period, with an option to extend for another year. The biggest obstacle to justice in the accord, however, is the prohibition of the commission to name the specific perpetrators of human rights abuses. It is this point in particular that has been widely criticized by the civilian sector and popular organizations in Guatemala because it undermines the possibilities of dismantling the structures of impunity.

REFERENCES

Adams, Richard
1970 *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944–1966.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Agoson, Marjorie
1987 "A Visit to the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo." *Human Rights Quarterly* 9:426–435.

Aguayo, Sergio
1983 "Los posibilidades de fascismo guatemalteco." *Uno sumo* (21 marzo): 11.

Alavi, Haniza
1973 "Peasants and Revolution." In *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, ed. K. Gough and H. Sharma, 291–337. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Americas Watch
1986 *Civil Patrols in Guatemala.* August. New York: Americas Watch Report.
1990 *Messengers of Death: Human Rights in Guatemala.* November 1988–February 1990. New York: Americas Watch Report.

Amnesty International
1981 "Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder." *New York Review of Books*, March 19, 1981, 38–40.
1982 "Guatemala: Massive Extrajudicial Executions in Rural Area under the Government of General Efrain Rios Montt." Special Briefing. July.
1987 *Guatemala: The Human Rights Record.* New York: Amnesty International.

Anderson, Kenneth, and Jean-Marie Simon
1987 "Permanent Counterinsurgency in Guatemala." *Telos* 73 (Fall):9–45.

Arendt, Hannah
1958 *The Human Condition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1973 *Origins of Totalitarianism.* New York: Harvest.

Association for the Advancement of the Social Sciences (AVANCSO)
1988 *La politica de desarrollo del estado guatemalteco, 1986–1987.* Cuaderno no. 7. Ciudad de Guatemala: Inforpress.
1992 *Donde está el futuro? Procesos de reintegración en comunidades de retornados.* Cuaderno no. 8. Ciudad de Guatemala: Inforpress.

Barry, Tom
1986 *Guatemala: The Politics of Counterinsurgency.* Albuquerque: Resource Center.

Bolton, R.
1981 "Susto, Hostility, and Hypoglycemia." *Ethnology* 20(4):261–276.

Brecht, Bertolt
1976 "The Anxieties of the Regime." In *Bertolt Brecht Poems, 1913–1945,* ed. R. Manheim and J. Willet, 296–297. London: Methuen.

Burleigh, Elizabeth
1986 "Patterns of Childhood Malnutrition in San José Poaquil, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Camus, Albert
1955 *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays.* New York: Vintage.

Carmack, Robert, ed.
1988 *Harvest of Violence: The Mayan Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Carrescia, Olivia
1982 *Todos Santos Cuchumatán: Report from a Guatemalan Village.* New York: First Run/ICARUS films.
1989 *Todos Santos: The Survivors.* New York: First Run/ICARUS films.

Cohn, Carol
1987 "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs* 12(4):687–718.

Connerton, Paul
1989 *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coronil, Fernando, and Julie Skurski
1991 "Dismembering and Remembering the Nation: The Semantics of Political Violence in Venezuela." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33(2):288–337.

Doughty, Paul
1988 "Crossroad for Anthropology: Human Rights in Latin America." In

Human Rights and Anthropology, ed. T. E. Downing and G. Kushner, 43–72. Human Rights and Anthropology. Report 24. Cambridge: Cultural Survival.

Downing, Theodore E., and Gilbert Kushner, eds.
1988 *Human Rights and Anthropology.* Report 24. Cambridge: Cultural Survival.

Environmental Project on Central America (EPOCA)
1990 *Guatemala: A Political Ecology.* Green Paper 5. San Francisco: Earth Island Institute.

Falla, Ricardo
1983 "The Massacre at the Rural Estate of San Francisco, July 1982." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 7(1):43–45.
1992 *Masacres de la Selva: Ixcan, Guatemala, 1975–1982.* Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala.

Feldman, Allen
1991 *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Forester, Cindy
1992 "A Conscript's Testimony: Inside the Guatemalan Army." *Report on Guatemala* 13(2):6, 14.

Franco, Jean
1986 "Death Camp Confession and Resistance to Violence in Latin America." *Socialism and Democracy* (Spring/Summer):5–17.

Fried, Morton H.
1967 *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology.* New York: Random House.

Gough, Kathleen
1968 "New Proposals for Anthropologists." In *Social Responsibility Symposium. Current Anthropology* 9:403–407.

Hertz, Robert
1960 "Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death." In Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand,* 29–88. London: Cohen and West.

Hooks, Margaret
1991 *Guatemalan Women Speak.* London: Catholic Institute for International Relations.

Hunter, Monica
1936 *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa.* London: Oxford.

Hymes, Dell, ed.
1969 *Reinventing Anthropology.* New York: Pantheon.

Jonas, Susanne
1991 *The Battle for Guatemala: Rebels, Death Squads, and U.S. Power.* Boulder: Westview.

Jordahl, Mikkel
1987 *Counterinsurgency and Development in the Altiplano: The Role of Model Villages and the Poles of Development in the Pacification of Guatemala's Indigenous Highlands.* Washington, D.C.: Guatemalan Human Rights Commission.

Kafka, Franz
1937 *The Trial.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Kuper, Hilda Beemer
1947 *An African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi of Bechwanaland.* London: Oxford University Press.

Lancaster, Roger N.
1992 *Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.

Lesser, Alexander
1933 *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study of Cultural Change. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology* 16. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lira, Elizabeth, and Maria Isabel Castillo
1991 *Psicología de la amenaza política y del miedo.* Santiago: Ediciones Chile America, CESOC.

Lovell, George
1992 *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala.* Kingston, Ontario: Queens University Press.

Manz, Beatriz
1988 *Refugees of a Hidden War: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Martín-Baró, Ignacio
1989 "La institucionalización de la guerra." Conferencia prenunciada en el XXII Congreso International Psicología. Buenos Aires, 25 al 30 de junio.
1990 "La Violencia en Centroamerica: Una vision psicosocial." *Revista de Psicología de El Salvador* 9, no. 35:123–146.

Mason, J. W.
1973 "A Historical View of the Stress Field." *Journal of Stress Research* (June): 22–36.

Mersky, Marcie
1989 "Empresarios y transición política en Guatemala." Unpublished manuscript.

Montejo, Victor
1987 *Testimony: Death of a Guatemalan Village.* Willimantic, Conn.: Curbstone Press.

Nordstrom, Carolyn, and JoAnn Martin, eds.
1992 *The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.

Oakes, Maude
1951 *Two Crosses of Todos Santos.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pages Larraya, F.
1967 *La Esquizofrenia en Tierra Ayamaras y Quechuas.* Buenos Aires: Ediciones Drusa.

Parsons, Talcott
1972 "Definition of Health and Illness in the Light of American Values and Social Structure." In *Patients, Physicians and Illness,* ed. E. Gartly, 107–127. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Paul, Benjamin, and William Demarest
1988 "The Operation of a Death Squad in San Pedro La Laguna." In *Harvest of Violence,* ed. R. Carmack, 119–154. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Peteet, Julie
1991 *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Recinos, Adain, and Delia Goetz, trans.
1953 *Annals of the Cakchiquels.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Redfield, Robert
1930 *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rosset, Peter
1991 "Non-traditional Export Agriculture in Central America: Impact on Peasant Farmers." Working Paper 20. University of California, Santa Cruz.
Rubel, Arthur J., Carl W. O'Nell, and Rolando Collando-Ardon
1991 *Susto: A Folk Illness.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.
Sahlins, Marshall, and Elman Service, eds.
1960 *Evolution and Culture.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Scarry, Elaine
1985 *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Scheper-Hughes, Nancy
1992 *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.
Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Margaret Lock
1987 "The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1(1):6–41.
Sluka, Jeffrey
1992 "The Anthropology of Conflict." In *The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror,* ed. Carolyn Nordstrom and JoAnn Martin, 190–218. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.
Smith, Carol A.
1990 "The Militarization of Civil Society in Guatemala: Economic Reorganization as a Continuation of War." *Latin America Perspectives* 67(4):8–41.
Sontag, Susan
1977 *Illness as Metaphor.* New York: Vintage.
Stohl, Michael
1984 "International Dimensions of State Terrorism." In *The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression,* ed. M. Stohl and G. A. Lopez, 43–58. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood.
Stoll, David
1992 "Between Two Fires: Dual Violence and the Reassertion of Civil Society in Nebaj, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University.

Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo
1990 "Speaking of the Unspeakable: Toward a Psycho-Social Understanding of Responses to Terror." *Ethos* 18(3):353–383.
1992 "A Grammar of Terror: Psychological Responses to State Terrorism in the Dirty War and Post-Dirty Argentina." In *The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror,* ed. Carolyn Nordstrom and JoAnn Martin, 219–259. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.
Taussig, Michael
1978 "Nutrition, Development, and Foreign Aid." *International Journal of Health Services* 8(11):101–121.
1984 "History as Sorcery." *Representations* 7 (Summer): 87–109.
1987 *Colonialism, Shamanism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1992*a* "Why the Nervous System." In Taussig, *The Nervous System,* 1–10. London: Routledge.
1992*b* "Terror as Usual: Walter Benjamin's Theory of History as a State of Siege." In Taussig, *The Nervous System,* 11–36. London: Routledge.
1992*c* Public Secrets. Invited lecture before the Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, 13 February.
Turton, Andrew
1986 "Patrolling the Middle Ground: Methodological Perspectives on Everyday Peasant Resistance." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13:36–48.
Uzzell, D.
1974 "Susto Revisited: Illness as Strategic Role." *American Ethnologist* 1:369–378.
Vincent, Joan
1990 *Anthropology and Politics.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Wechsler, Lawrence
1990 *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers.* New York: Penguin.
Wickham-Crowley, Timothy
1990 "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America." *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(2):201–216.
Wilson, Richard
1991 "Machine Guns and Mountain Spirits: The Cultural Effects of State Repression among the Q'eqchi of Guatemala." *Critique of Anthropology* 11(1):33–61.
Wolf, Eric
1966 *Peasants.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
1969 *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century.* New York: Harper and Row.