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Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial. Edited and translated by Susanne Jonas, Ed McCaughan and Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez.

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#### Reviews

learning without trying. Interest is generated in the subject matter, and the interest level is kept high. If the reader feels uncertain at first, or is unable to understand certain parts, subsequent readings will help to strengthen understanding of the region and its prehistoric occupants.

Those Who Came Before will delight the novice, the amateur or the learned individual. A few hours becoming familiar with the book will be time well spent. For the price of the volume, the reader can visit the scenic, splendid southwest again and again.

Gary L. Fogelman Indian-Artifact Magazine

**Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial.** Edited and translated by Susanne Jonas, Ed McCaughan and Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez. San Francisco, CA: Synthesis Publication, 1984. 301 pp. \$9.95 Paper.

*Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* is an important book. It is an especially important book for American readers because it provides a vivid and shocking picture of U.S. foreign policy in the 1980s, and in particular, its impact on Guatemala. The book records a portion of the proceedings of the Permanent People's Tribunal on Guatemala, which was held in 1983 in Madrid, Spain. *Guatemala* is one of several books which attempts to explain the current state of Guatemalan society, adding another voice of opposition to U.S. foreign policy. A cursory reading of this book may lead readers to dismiss it as typical, leftist jargon. I am confident, however, that with a closer, more careful reading most Americans will concur with the editors that American foreign policy in Guatemala is illegitimate and must be changed.

*Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* is divided into two parts. Part 1 provides a profile of the country, and the second part consists of presentations and testimony from Guatemalans to the Permanent People's Tribunal. In the introduction, Marlene Dixon and Susanne Jonas attempt to explain why the U.S. has intervened to support 30 years of military dictatorship in spite of ever increasing popular resistance and rebellion. Their explanation is economic. U.S. intervention in Guatemala, and the third world in general, is profit motivated; it seeks to ensure the continuation of favorable market conditions for U.S. based corporations

and investors. Their analysis is Marxist, and one that Audrey Bronstein, editor of *The Triple Struggle: Latin American Peasant Women*, shares: "with the vast influx of American aid, and the support of the Guatemalan army, the moderate agrarian reforms of President Jacobo Arbenz were reversed."

In Part 1 of *Guatemala*, the net effect of U.S. foreign policy on Guatemala is presented through the eyes of numerous Guatemalans, lay people and experts, people who have lived most of their lives in Guatemala and who have experienced first hand the brutality and terror of a military dictatorship. Since 1954, Guatemala has undergone several coups, and while each new regime has embodied characteristics which set it apart from the others, each regime has suppressed civil and political rights, inhibiting the formation of opposition parties and union organizations. The Tribunal estimates that since 1954 between 50,000 and 100,000 people have been murdered by the military; in Guatemala, an individual's right to life has been suspended. This book effectively portrays the hopelessness and horror that such a system produces.

Another aspect of *Guatemala*, which makes it an exceptional, and hence invaluable book, is that the contributors attempt to analyze conditions in Guatemala in relation to race as well as class. Torres-Rivas, in "Profile of Guatemala," presents what seems to be a classical Marxist interpretation of society. The social and political problems plaguing Guatemalan society "originate in the very nature of economic growth," a style of growth "concerned exclusively with the accumulation of profit." Yet he further argues that part of the problem in society is racism, and in a bold move challenges Marxist theory and practice.

It is not enough to denounce its material bases [racism] without denouncing its daily manifestations. . . . The struggle against racism is the foundation of the struggle for democracy. (Torres-Rivas, p. 22)

In the second section, "The Indians and Their Cultures," the contributors to *Guatemala* link Guatemalan to other third world and U.S. Native Indian struggles. The Guatemalan government, in an attempt to root out indigenous cultures, has targeted the Indian population as "guerrilla sympathizers," but the villages which have been destroyed have had no connection to the guer-

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rillas. Arturo Arais and Richardo Falla level charges of ethnocide and genocide, which they contend have become the basic cultural policy under Rio Montt, who at the time that the book was published was President of Guatemala. Vietnam War tactics such as ''scorched earth'' and ''strategic hamlet'' have been used to destroy and/or force assimilation of the indigenous population. Strategic hamlets, like the U.S. Indian reservation policy, remove a nation's population from their land. Further, by breaking their traditional connection with the land, the government creates a cultural disjuncture which attempts to subvert Indian values and destroy their identity as Indians. Fifteen years before, Eduardo Galeano, in *Guatemala: Occupied Country*, exposes what he called the ''Premonition of Vietnam.'' ''Assassination teams'' and napalm are commonplace in Guatemala, especially in small native villages.

*Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* not only portrays the reality of life under conditions of state violence, but also demonstrates how such a violent-torn society continues to function, that is the state is upheld by international aid. The U.S., Israeli, and Argentine governments have funded and continue to fund the military dictatorship(s) in Guatemala. Jonas, an American specialist on Latin America and an editor of the book, presents systematic and incisive arguments substantiating U.S. complicity in Guatemala. Jonas makes sense out of what can appear to be contradictions in the Reagan administration's foreign policy; this chapter alone is worth the price of the book.

An important criticism of *Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* is that race oppression is generally subsumed into class oppression. An analysis of the issues of race and racism, as they pertain to Guatemala, would be a valuable contribution to the literature. Another criticism of *Guatemala* is that the numerous, personal testimonials may be tedious reading. Furthermore this volume does not connect militarism and violence against women. Sexual violence and war go hand in hand. Throughout the book much of the testimony on the military makes clear the sexually violent nature of war. An Indian peasant and former Guatemalan army member, Pedro Ruiz, testifies to this connection. He was taught by the military to rape women and to feel contempt for peasants and their culture.

Since the issue of U.S. government and CIA intervention in

Guatemala is kept far removed from the public due to the silence of mass media and Congress, *Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* is important reading. The book is well organized and lends itself to unconstrained reading.

Howard Adams University of California, Davis

**Lewis and Clark Among the Indians.** By James P. Ronda. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 310 pp. \$24.95 Cloth.

The literature of North American exploration is vast and includes government reports, journals, memoirs, letters, and histories that date from the early sixteenth century. Among the many noteworthy expeditions, none has captured the imaginations of the general public or historians of the American West more than the Corps of Discovery of Meriweather Lewis and William Clark that traveled from St. Louis to the Oregon coast and back in 1804– 1806. "In ways that defy rational explanation," writes James P. Ronda, professor of history at Youngstown State University, "the picture of Lewis and Clark struggling up the Missouri and across the mountains to the great western sea continues to stir our national consciousness" (p. xi).

The expedition has been studied and described from a number of perspectives: as an epic in human endurance, as a scientific enterprise, and as an exercise in Jeffersonian diplomacy. In all of these, the spirit of adventure runs high. Much of the drama occurs through the meetings with various groups of American Indians, as mysterious to the explorers as the lands they occupied. Many of the standard accounts about Lewis and Clark have naturally directed their attention toward the potentially dangerous encounters with Indians. The perspective has been one of viewing the lives of the natives through the eyes of the expedition's principals. The tone of such standard works as Bernard Devoto's The Course of Empire (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952) has been occasionally biased or derogatory in portraying Indians. To redress what he perceives as an imbalance in historical scholarship, Ronda writes a detailed and sophisticated analysis about what happens when people from different cultures