

Norrgard points out that this regulation of hunting and fishing represents an early example of the government interventions in the economy which characterized the progressive era of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This intervention also corresponds with the beginning of tourism on northern lakes. In their oral traditions Ojibwe peoples retained knowledge of the hunting and fishing rights they had reserved in the ceded territory decades before; government officials, on the other hand, retained little knowledge of those treaties, if they ever had any, and refused to admit such treaty rights could remain. As the author recounts, the willful ignorance or amnesia of state and federal officials about Ojibwe treaty rights at the time provides a backdrop to effective advocacy for treaty rights in the late-twentieth century—also a time when, like their ancestors, many whites did not know, could not remember, or refused to believe that any reserved treaty rights existed. Finally court rulings supporting the continuing existence of treaty rights provided a definitive response to these objections, as in the Voigt case in Wisconsin and the Mille Lacs case in Minnesota, though they did nothing to repair the earlier damage to Native peoples who were prosecuted for carrying out their traditional seasonal round.

In the end, treaty rights to hunt, fish, and gather—defined first in the Ojibwe traditions, reserved in a series of treaties, and later attacked by settlers and settler governments—have helped to illustrate, define, and motivate Ojibwe sovereignty in the Great Lakes region. As Norrgard puts it, “Hunting, fishing, and to a lesser extent, gathering, were the primary means through which Ojibwes articulated and exercised their sovereignty in defiance of state laws” (134). In carrying out traditional seasonal activities, Ojibwe people challenge colonization, asserting the power of their own culture over the disintegrating effect of an otherwise devastating process. Norrgard concludes, “It was through their struggles to challenge colonialism on their own economic terms that Ojibwes have become the resilient and vibrant people that they are today” (135). That the Ojibwe people so stubbornly maintained the usufructuary rights that were ultimately recognized by federal courts means the importance that these seasonal activities carry—helping to define the relationships of the Ojibwe people to their own traditions, to each other, and to the settler world that sought to colonize or destroy them—can only continue.

Bruce White

Turnstone Historical Research, St. Paul, Minnesota

Secrecy and Insurgency: Socialities and Knowledge Practices in Guatemala. By Silvia Posocco. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014. 272 pages. \$49.95 cloth; \$49.95 electronic.

Given the plethora of scholarship on Guatemala’s civil war (1960–1996) from anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, and other scholars, few aspects of it remain unstudied. Yet while the military has received much scholarly attention, we know little about the inner workings, perceptions, or day-to-day lives of the

insurgency forces that fought that war, save for a few memoirs and *testimonios*. Fewer studies still have examined what happened to combatants after the conflict. Silvia Posocco's ethnography of the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (Armed Rebel Forces, FAR) in the northern Guatemalan state of Petén addresses those gaps. Through interviews (long excerpts of which she shares), she examines social relations, ethics, self-government, and other facets of the FAR. Informants punctuate descriptions of a complex organizational hierarchy with accounts of battle, pursuit, and flight. Replete with male and female ex-insurgents' perspectives, *Secrecy and Insurgency: Socialities and Knowledge Practices in Guatemala* provides an in-depth study of guerrilla warfare, composition, and realities during the Guatemalan civil war.

Although Posocco builds her theoretical frameworks (with a particular affinity for Marilyn Strathern) around the performance and deconstruction of ethnographic subjects, she weaves explorations of secrecy and clandestine operations throughout her study. She demonstrates the complex relationship between secrecy and telling by highlighting the ways "telling may be an opaque form of concealment, and silences may be oblique narrative modes" (8–9). Ex-insurgents so masterfully deployed narrative strategies of concealment that it took her a while before she realized that in many of her initial interviews, she was the interviewee, as former guerrillas asked her questions to determine how much they could trust and thus disclose to her. Her interviewees reveal how ethnicity shapes secrecy; apparently indigenous people were better at keeping secrets than ladinos—a claim that K'iche'-Maya Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú buttresses (*I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, 1984, 247).

Despite a few other observations about ethnic relations—such as one ex-guerrilla's assertion that many mestizos opposed the exploitation and destruction of indigenous people—Posocco's explorations of ethnicity and indigeneity may fall short of what readers of this journal would like. Gender, on the other hand, surfaces in many passages. Recounting their memories of equal relations based on sharing everything, FAR members explain how men and women both took part in cleaning and cooking. Recognizing that some women were physically stronger than some men, the FAR sought to match tasks with talent and abilities rather than gender. Though short-lived, "marriage by arms," whereby a couple would commit to each other during the war, was one institution the FAR crafted to uphold sexual morality and gender equality. As rules and moral codes relaxed over time, an ethos of respect between genders came to define social relations. Sexuality was more intractable, however. When combatants learned that one officer was gay, they became so angry that the leadership had him transferred. As much as the FAR sought to introduce radical changes, social life within the organization mirrored society more broadly.

Some of the most valuable contributions come from Posocco's explorations of how guerrillas experienced the Peace Accords and postwar society. Reconciliation was partial. While former insurgents in Petén could forgive soldiers who simply followed orders and only served for a few years before leaving the military, they held high-ranking military officers responsible for human rights abuses. At least one informant emphasized guerrillas' and soldiers' shared socioeconomic positions as *campesinos*, who had little in common with military officers who associated with the rich. Such perspectives

resonate with historian Kirsten Weld's findings at the National Police (PN) Archives in Guatemala City (*Paper Cadavers*), where ex-guerrillas and police officers who were archenemies during the war found common ground in their shared subjectivities as they came to know each other after it. Ties often ran deeper than combatants knew. After the war, one high-ranking military officer recognized a guerrilla commander as one of his best friends in school. Unlike activist-archivists in Weld's study, who realized they had underestimated the National Police during the civil war, ex-insurgents were convinced guerrilla training bested that of the Army. The guarded approaches that marked exchanges between ex-insurgents and military officers after the war was informed by guerrillas' sense that the 1996 Peace Accords did not accomplish the guerrillas' goal of establishing a more just and equitable nation. With the confidence that they could still win the war, or at least forge a better country, many insurgents admitted being reluctant to surrender their weapons and sign the Peace Accords. "If it is for the good of the country (*pais*), that's fine, but if this turns against us (*si esto llega a dar un giro*), we will be those responsible for it (*culpables*), because believe me, many things can be done with a rifle in hand (*porque creeme con un fusil en la mano, se pueden hacer muchas cosas*)," explained one ex-guerrilla (195). For guerrillas, handing over their rifles induced feelings of vulnerability, powerlessness, and, Posocco argues, dismemberment.

In addition to providing a venue for ex-guerrillas to articulate their perspectives (however cautious and reserved) of the war and life after it, Posocco also centers Petén in the recent past. Largely absent from national and international narratives, Petén has long been on the periphery of the Guatemalan state. Most residents of the region are similarly marginalized in their shared experience of displacement and migration. Few Peteneros were born in Petén. In light of the nature of insurgency, a sense of displacement among the ex-combatants that Posocco interviews is not surprising. In this vein, her study opens a window onto understudied geographic and demographic subjects.

Perhaps because of the topic, the book itself is often impenetrable. Packed with jargon, dense theoretical explorations that are not clearly connected to empirical data, and loosely defined terms like *socialities*, *merographic*, and *catechrestic*, this book can be a difficult read. Although the lengthy excerpts from interviews are one of the book's strengths, they suffer from unnecessarily excessive bilingual representations, such as suffering (*sufrimiento*), indigenous people (*los indígenas*), and elderly man (*viejito*) which break the flow of prose and thus interviewees' insights (113). In addition to the contrived exoticism raised by keeping words in Spanish for which suitable English cognates exist, unnecessarily inserting words in Spanish creates a sense of otherness that ultimately weakens arguments, as Daniel Alarcón and others have asserted. Further complicating these passages, some incorporate Posocco's responses and field notes without paragraph breaks, making it hard to distinguish her voice from the interviewees'. While undergraduate students may struggle with this book, scholars and graduate students familiar with Guatemala and ethnography will find former insurgents' lengthy narratives and Posocco's analysis of them insightful.

David Carey Jr.
Loyola University