THE POLITICS OF SPACE AND FORM:
Cultural Idioms of Resistance and Re-membering in Cambodia

Monique Skidmore
Department of Anthropology and
Department of Social Studies of Medicine,
McGill University, Montreal.
January, 1995.

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts (Medical Anthropology).

ISBN 0-612-05427-6

Canada

Abstract

The subject of this paper is of cultures of terror, and more specifically of the possibility of resistance in a context of extreme fear. The focus is upon ways in which survivors of the Pol Pot regime devise strategies of embodied resistance, and rebuild notions such as identity and bodily integrity, within a Buddhist framework, to the dominant discourse of terror in contemporary Cambodian society.

The paper problematizes the concept of "order" and questions its validity as a dominant paradigm in anthropology. Further, in searching for new ways of theorizing and writing about resistance and terror, it suggests that a more power conscious analysis of popular religion and ritual may prove enlightening.

A theoretical framework is derived from a review of anthropological studies of terror and political violence. Of particular interest is the concept of "spaces of resistance" and the notions of "spaces of violence" and "bodily resistance" which it invokes. From within this framework the Dhammayietra, or peace walk, is considered as an embodied symbol of resistance and empowerment. It is hypothesized that the Dhammayietra may provide a way in which, through the symbolic "washing-away" of Khmer Rouge memories; through the creation of new collective memories; and through the reclaiming of a physical manifestation (Angkor Wat) of the Buddhist-centered world view, some Cambodians may be able, at least in part, to emerge from the sensorially numb space which they created in order to survive the bodily, intellectual, and emotional assault upon their persons, culture, and religions by the Khmer Rouge.

Résumé

Ce travail parle de culture de la terreur, et surtout des possibilités de résistance dans un contexte de crainte extrême. Il se centre sur les survivants du régime de Pol Pot et sur la manière dont ils mettent un place des stratégies de résistance incarnées et reconstruisent des notions comme celles d'identité et d'intégrité corporelle, dans un contexte bouddhique et au sein de la société combodgienne contemporaine ou règne un discours dominé par la terreur.

Ce travail veut rendre problématique le concept d'"ordre" et met en question sa validité comme paradigme dominant en anthropologie. De plus, en cherchant de nouvelles façons de théoriser et décrire la résistance et la terreur, il propose une analyse de la religion populaire et des rituels qui soir davantage sensible aux rapports de pouvoir.

Notre structure théorique est dérivée d'une revue des études anthropologiques concernant la terreur et la violence politique. Nous en avons surtout retenu les notions d'"espace de résistance" et de "résistance incarnée". Dans se contexte, le Dhammayietra ("promenade pour la paix") est considéré comme un symbole incarné de résistance et de prise de pouvoir. On fait l'hypothèse que le Dhammayietra agit de diverses manières: en éliminant symboliqueument les souvenirs reliés à la période des Khmer Rouges, en les remplaçant par une nouvelle mémoire collective et revendiquant la possession de ce qu'on peut considérer comme une incarnation physique (Angkor Wat) de la vision du monde bouddhique. Il est possible que certains cambodgiens trouveront par ce biais le moyen d'émerger de l'espace sensoriellement engourdi qu'ils ont créé pour être capables de survivre aux aggressions corporelles, intellectuelles et émotionnelles portées sur leur corp, leur culture et leur religion par les Khmer Rouges.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My graduate studies to this point have been largely funded by my husband, Colin Rieger, and also by three Teaching Assistantships and three Differential Fee Waivers awarded to me by the Department of Anthropology, McGill University. I would like to thank those involved for the opportunity to study relatively worry-free throughout this time.

I am pleased to acknowledge the help of my supervisor, Ellen Corin, whose generous guidance and time are most appreciated. Ellen's comments were always kind, positive and detailed, and I am very thankful for the analytical methodology she has taught me en route.

I am very grateful to Jerome Rousseau, not only for his enthusiastic and knowedgeable comments, but also for giving his time to discuss the myriad of details which crop up when one is considering an ethnographic area for fieldwork.

I am also very thankful for the wise comments provided by Allan Young, and for the medical anthropology I have learned from him.

I would like to thank Rose-Marie Stano for her creative efforts at finding funding, and Eric Gagnon of the Cambodia Canada Development Program for kindly giving me access to recent media and NGO information about Cambodia, particularly the CPR literature.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of Colin, Lesley, and my parents. It never fails to surprise me that these four people are always around - through thick, thin, and theses.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS *vii*

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 2: TERROR AND RESISTANCE IN THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE 5

2.1 Terror and the Destruction of Life Worlds 8
- a. Mechanisms by which Life Worlds are Destroyed 8
- b. Breaking Down Bodily Boundaries and Configurations 11
- c. Responding to Terror: Plugging the Holes in Reality 12
- d. Eschatology: The Destruction of Life Worlds 13

2.2 The Spatialization of Power through Violence 14
- a. Physical and Symbolic Space: Individual and Collective Spaces of Resistance 16

2.3 The Politics of Form: Cultural Idioms of Resistance 19
- a. Creating Counter Discourses 19
- b. Historical and Religious Idioms of Resistance 20
- c. Remembering and Re-membering 23

CHAPTER 3: A THEORETICAL FRAME 24

CHAPTER 4: THE CULTURE OF TERROR IN CAMBODIA 27

4.1 The Setting 27

4.2 An Historical Overview 29

4.3 A Culture of Terror 32
a. The "New People" and "Year Zero" Khmer Rouge Ideology . . 32
b. The Destruction of Community, Family, Individal, and Psychological Integrity 33
c. The Refugee Camps: Sanctuaries or Spaces of Violence? 38
d. Vietnamese Occupation, the UN, and the Present Situation . . 39

CHAPTER 5: RESISTANCE IN CAMBODIA: THE DHAMMAYIETRA 42

5.1 Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia 42
a. Collective Ritual and Individual Resposibility 44

5.2 The Politics of Ritual 45

5.3 Dhammayietra 48
a. Dhammayietra I 50
b. Dhammayietra II 51
c. Dhammayietra III 52

CHAPTER 6: RE-MEMBERING AND RECONSTRUCTION 54

6.1 Cultural Idioms of Resistance 54
a. Walking: An Embodied Symbol 54
b. Framing Social Space: The Bodhi Tree 55

6.2 Physical and Symbolic Spaces of Resistance 57

6.3 Bodily Resistance 58

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION 60

APPENDIX 62

BIBLIOGRAPHY 66

ILLUSTRATIONS

page

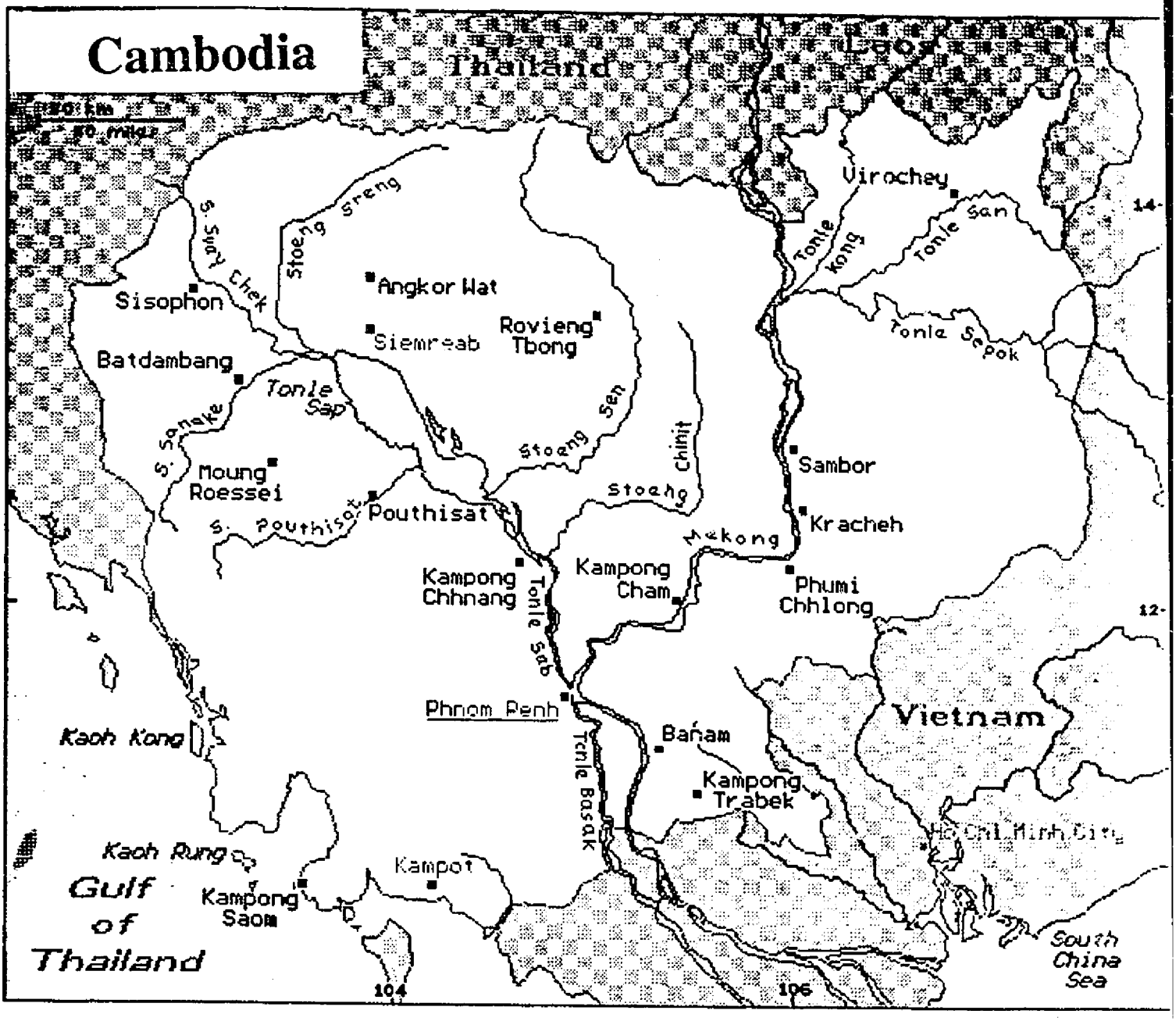
1. Map of Cambodia viii

2. Population Transfers April 1975 34

3. Population Transfers from May 1975-1978 34

4. Map of Cambodia showing combined route of Dhammayietra I, II, and III . . 57

Figure 1: Map of Cambodia



1
INTRODUCTION

> He pointed to Venus, the evening star, hanging low and yellow. "We call it the bandit star."
> "Because it is alone?" I asked.
> "No, because when it goes down, the bandits come out."
> (Conversation between journalist, Court Robinson, and a young Cambodian, Yang Yathana)-The Nation, 25.4.93 B4.

A dominant paradigm in anthropology since its inception has been that of social order versus chaos. Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Marx, structural functionalists, and frustration/aggression theorists have rarely, if ever, doubted the validity of such a paradigm (Sluka, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992; Taussig, 1992; Dirks, 1994), nor sought to see conflict and its resulting chaos as other than the dark side of order. As Jeffrey Sluka poignantly reminds us however, there have been over 164 "significant" conflicts since the end of the Second World War, and not one day of peace (Sluka, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:19). Carolyn Nordstrom and JoAnn Martin elaborate this point by explaining how on average, 90% of all war deaths occur in civilian populations (Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:14). Perhaps it is not surprising then that Michael Taussig asks us to question this paradigm. What if, for just a moment, we envisage order (in the sense of a dominant discourse of the State, i.e. the "state of public order") as an anomaly? If society is conceived of as a modern notion "founded on the conjunction of reason and violence?" (Taussig, 1992:16-17) This leads to a far different view of history and of the "tribal" societies anthropologists have traditionally studied. It is a thought born out of the colonial and post colonial darkness of the Colombian Amazon, where chaos is not the opposite of order because it is an everyday phenomenon, and thus the abnormal is in fact, normal. In many cases, a peaceful, ordered society may not be in the interests of the dominant class, or the goal of the drug lords, paramilitary groups, the military, and the government. Colombia may be, as Taussig has concluded, one example of carefully and consciously "disordered order" (Taussig, 1992:17; 1987:4). These radical thoughts are subjected to ethnographic validation in Nordstrom and

Martin's volume of essays entitled *The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror* (1992). Other ethnographic collections such as *The Violence Within* (Kay Warren, 1993) and *State Organized Terror* (Timothy Bushell et al., 1991) similarly provide the basis for the adoption of a methodological standpoint in anthropology from which political violence and terror can be seen not only as key mechanisms for maintaining a state of disordered order, but more commonly as dominant realities: experienced, expressed, and assigned meaning to, by the subjects of traditional anthropological studies.

As a subject for anthropology, as a cultural construct, and as a lived reality, terror is produced both directly and indirectly. Images of direct violence are flashed via satellite to news broadcasters whom we watch in our homes every day. Indirect violence, however, occurs at both a concrete and a more abstract level. On a concrete level, for example, increases in domestic violence and changing family and social values may in part be due to political violence impinging upon individual lives. On a more abstract level, rumors, gossip and stories, dreams, and silence, play a key role in the inference, reinforcement, and spread of terror in everyday lives. This is the production of a less solid, but equally pervasive atmosphere of violence and terror. Just as important are reactions to terror, both through the creation of new community memories (such as war crime tribunals, and peace marches) and by strategies for managing fear such as humor, denial of the past, hope, or communion with ancestor spirits through dreams. The way in which cultures regain a collective sense of freedom and trust is equally as important as the way in which these same cultures become infused with terror and paranoia.

The subject of this paper is thus cultures of terror, and more specifically the possibility of resistance in a context of extreme fear. Of particular interest is the concept of "spaces of resistance" and the notions of "spaces of violence" and "bodily resistance" which it evokes. The ethnographic data comes from Cambodia, a country whose history has consisted of cycles of war and peace, and whose recent history involves the many deaths of the American bombings, the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979), the Vietnamese occupation (1979-1989), and the ongoing civil war against the re-formed Khmer Rouge. Ethnic violence, banditry, and political killings are everyday facts of existence in contemporary Cambodia where civil war rages on in the countryside. Only a handful of such studies and ethnographies have been conducted in Cambodia in recent times. There is therefore a great need for studies of reactions and resistance to terror,

and of reconstruction on all levels, not only in countries in which violence is ongoing, but especially in Asia where the literature is particularly silent, even though this continent has suffered a huge amount of violence this century (Ugalde and Zwi, 1989). The ethnographic data is more specifically related to a particular strategy of resistance to violence and terror, which involves the reconstruction of life worlds and of community in Cambodia through ritual. It is assembled primarily from publications by the *Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation*, the *Dhammayietra Center*, the *Phnom Penh Post*, the *Bangkok Post*, and *The Nation*. Much of this information is available in the form of monthly or quarterly packages sent to both Government and Non-Governmental organizations who are providing financial or technical help to the Cambodian government.

The primary concern of this paper is reactions to terror. I have been especially interested in the way in which Buddhism significantly contributes to the epistemology of millions of Theravada Buddhists in Southeast Asia. Obeyesekere has written about this at length. His hypothesis that emotional distress and the response of Buddhists to grief and suffering cannot be understood without reference to a religious world view which both constitutes experience and filters responses, is best summarized in the following quotations:

> If they [Buddhists] are afflicted with bereavement and loss..they can generalize their despair from the self to the world at large and give it Buddhist meaning and significance. This happens in other great religious traditions also, but the Buddhist provides special occasions for ontological refection on despair (Obeyesekere, 1985: 140)
>
> ...It is almost impossible for a Sinhala person to use words expressing sorrow without articulating them to the Buddhist tradition (Obeyesekere, 1985:144).

Obeyesekere concludes that Buddhism is central in the lives of many Southeast Asians. Emphasis is accordingly placed in this discussion upon particular ways in which survivors of the Pol Pot regime have responded to violence, and how some Cambodians have devised strategies of embodied resistance within a Buddhist framework, to the dominant discourse of terror in contemporary Cambodian society. It is about one way in which Cambodians attempt to reconstruct coherent frameworks of knowledge and meaning, and rebuild notions such as identity and bodily integrity.

The paper begins with a review of the anthropological writings regarding terror, political violence, and resistance. The way in which terror destroys life worlds is documented, and the corollary to this phenomenon, the immediate and ultimate responses of individuals to terror and violence, is also reviewed. The spatialization of power through violence is discussed, as are the different forms that spaces of resistance can take. The cultural embededdness of spaces of resistance is also described in the second chapter. In chapter three, important ideas drawn from medical, political, and postmodern anthropology in the preceding literature review are articulated in such a way as to provide a theoretical framework from which to explore particular forms of resistance in Cambodia. Chapter four is an introduction to the history and culture of Cambodia, specifically the culture of terror as it exists post-Independence. The testimony of Cambodians in refugee camps and doctors who worked in the camps is included in this section. The significance of Buddhism and collective ritual in Cambodia is described in chapter five. The sociopolitical relationship between Buddhism and Kingship both historically and contemporaneously is also discussed in order to place the Dhammayietra ritual in its cultural context. In the final section of this chapter the three Dhammayietra rituals are documented. A discussion of the Dhammayietra is conducted in chapter six. From within the theoretical framework elaborated in chapter three, the Dhammayietra, or peace walk, is considered as an embodied symbol of resistance and empowerment against those who would perpetuate a culture of terror in Cambodia. The conclusion draws attention to the need for the complexity of levels on which resistance is launched to terror and violence to be recognized and documented. In addition, it is suggested that the diversity, creativity, and cultural embededdness of idioms of resistance can add a further degree of depth and richness to studies which seek to interpret the relationship between affect, resistance, and cultures of terror.

2
TERROR AND RESISTANCE IN THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Recent research regarding terror and resistance has three main sources in anthropology. The first is the postmodernist project. The perceived need to take power into consideration as the primary social phenomenon influencing culture comes particularly from the writings of Foucault and Gramsci. Discourses of power (such as "Science") are not considered uniform representations of a dominant view, but instead are "lumpy", containing and enacting "condensed contestations for meanings and practices" (Haraway, 1993:365). A popular example would be the analyses of the "postmodern body" as a political text as in Donna Haraway's *The Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies: Determinations of Self in Immune System Discourse* (1993).

Coupled to this focus upon the diffusion of power in society (Foucault, 1977), is the perceived need to look at different ways of "doing anthropology". There is a recognition, such as in the introduction of a recent edition of *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* (Good and Good, 1991:137), that the massive amount of violence being inflicted upon individuals at this present moment necessitates new ways of thinking and writing about order and culture in anthropology. An example would be the notion of mimesis in the work of Michael Taussig. In *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (1987), Taussig makes the point that a fundamental way in which power functioned in the colonizing process in South America was via the attribution of characteristics such as savagery and wildness to the Indian populations. The savagery and wildness, Taussig contends, comes not from within the Indians, but from the European "colonizing imagination", the "Heart of Darkness" as exhibited in the work of Conrad and Dante: the black side of humanity, expressed in European nightmares and fantasies as the underworld. In order to rationalize the economic exploitation and physical atrocities visited upon Indians, Taussig believes the colonizers, through a process of mimesis, projected their darkest fears onto the Indians (Taussig, 1987:134), as can be seen through the ultimate example of such nightmarish fantasy, the notion of cannibalism. This is what Taussig calls the "magical realism of a culture of terror", a force so powerful it enslaved both whites and Indians (Taussig, 1987:121). Theoretical concepts such as mimesis

and projection, "text as indications of the way relations of power are inscribed in images...discourse as voice, body as script, action as performance, and representation as (ideal) art" (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:6-7) are thus potential ways in which postmodern insights can form the vanguard of what Taussig has described as the "search for a position" from which to write about repression (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:3).

The second impetus for writing about terror and resistance comes from within political anthropology, where theorists are searching for new ways to understand the impact of macro level international power issues upon the lives of individuals (Corradi et al. 1992:4). Many political anthropologists have begun to examine specific mechanisms by which "life worlds" (Schutz and Luckman, 1973) are affected by increasing means of surveillance, persuasion, government domination, and coercion. Much of this work derives from theorists such as George Orwell and Anthony Giddens. An example would be what McCamant has described in *Domination, State Power, and Political Repression* (1991) as the subconscious fear that, because "Big Brother" is always watching, an individual may be forcibly torn from his or her life world at any time, and thrown into prison by the entity known as the "State" (McCamant, 1991:46). In *State Organized Terror: Tragedy of the Modern State* (1991), Bushell et al. similarly show an awareness of the ever present threat of violent reprisals that can be inflicted upon individuals as represented by the symbols of the State, such as "the political police, their weapons and prisons, and their wider cultural manifestations" (Bushell et al. 1991:9).

The third impetus for the study of terror and resistance is medical anthropology. There is a feeling amongst many medical anthropologists that psychological studies looking for "universal human psychological coping mechanisms" (such as *Speaking of the Unspeakable: Toward a Psychosocial Understanding of Responses to Terror,* Suarez-Orozco, 1990), have the potential to be much richer studies if they were to broaden their analysis to include a recognition of the larger sociopolitical and cultural processes which frame representations of, and reactions to, terror. Psychiatric studies of emotional distress, such as those seeking incidences of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder cross-culturally, can at times be functionalistic, and are almost always too reductionistic: ignoring institutional and cultural manifestations of power, domination, and resistance. Maurice Eisenbruch (*From Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder to Cultural Bereavement: Diagnosis of Southeast Asian Refugees,* 1991) and

Richard Rechtman (*L'apparition des ancêtres et des défunts dans les expériences traumatiques: Introduction à une ethnographie clinique chez les refugiés cambodgiens de Paris*, 1992) both make the point that with regard to Cambodian refugees, studies focusing upon incidences of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder do not adequately take into account cultural idioms or social representations of illness at other than a rudimentary level. A recent example of studies which treat power and domination as marginal issues are: *A Program of Mental Health for Political Refugees: Dealing with the Invisible Pain of Political Exile* by Jorge Barudy, and *Life Experiences, Response Styles and Mental Health Among Mothers and Children in Beirut, Lebanon* by Jennifer Bryce et al., which were published in *Social Science and Medicine* (1989). Barudy's paper uses outmoded anthropological 'culture and personality' theory such as the work of Mead, and also the work of Goffman, particularly the notion of psychological "defenses" to permit psychosocial protection in a culture of terror. Pablo Farias makes the point that traditional notions such as "stress" and "adaptation" (and here we could add "psychological defenses") do not comprise adequate explanatory tools for understanding the emotional distress responses of refugees (Farias, 1991:167). The paper by Bryce et al. hypothesizes underlying pathological reasons why some women respond differently to a culture of terror, ignoring the fundamental reality that cultures of terror can be so extreme as to preclude any real differences in "underlying pathology" of the victims. It seems somewhat irrelevant to discuss underlying "personality makeup" in the face of world-destroying torture and intense pain.

More sophisticated and politically conscious studies, generally involving intensive fieldwork over a substantial period of time, are however being conducted by medical anthropologists. The desire to flesh out psychological and psychiatric studies is often coupled to a recent movement in medical anthropology to expand the "anthropology of emotion". This has been achieved by authors such as Janis Jenkins (*The State Construction of Affect: Political Ethos and Mental Health Among Salvadoran Refugees*, 1991) and Pablo Farias (*Emotional Distress and its Socio-Political Correlates in Salvadoran Refugees: Analysis of a Clinical Sample*, 1991). These authors have attempted to include political and historical processes in their analysis. Terror is seen in this context as a mechanism by which the relationship between affect (emotional distress) and the socio-political situation (contemporary El Salvador) is mediated. This approach is a further development of the work of Catherine Lutz (*Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory*, 1988) who

wrote of the need to analyse emotion as a sociopolitical phenomenon, rather than a psychobiological response at the level of the individual (Farias, 1991:188).

2.1 Terror and the Destruction of Life Worlds

Anthropologists have written about terror and the destruction of life worlds in three major ways. Firstly, many studies document the specific mechanisms by which the frameworks individuals use to order a coherent reality are broken down by terror and torture. Secondly, studies relate the process which follows such destruction, where individuals shun social institutions and networks and try to "plug" the holes which have appeared in their knowledge frameworks. Finally, authors have described the results of those individuals unable to reconstruct shattered life worlds, and the psychiatric and psychological literature overflows with case studies of such people. Very little attention has been paid to the circumstances and processes by which people have successfully reconstructed reality in a meaningful manner.

(a) Mechanisms by which Life Worlds are Destroyed

Carolyn Nordstrom is an anthropologist bridging medical and political perspectives on terror via an examination of the way in which life-worlds (socially constructed knowledge systems) are "forcefully deconstructed" by domination and terror. Nordstrom believes that a culture of terror (Taussig, 1987) is created when "dirty war tactics" are used to "disabilize" the meaning-making structures in the everyday lives of civilians. The focus upon destroying the cultural and social basis by which non-military individuals understand and attribute meaning to the world and their experiences is a fundamental way in which cultures of terror are perpetuated. Without viable socially constructed epistemological frameworks, both the ordering of a coherent reality, and the ability to act meaningfully, are taken away from civilians (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:261). Nordstrom calls this occurrence "maimed culture", and suggests that the disintegration of those social institutions that ground culture can result in a basic questioning of the very tenets and fabric of reality by those individuals so affected (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:268-9).

A recent paper by Janis Jenkins entitled *The State Construction of Affect: Political Ethos and Mental Health Among Salvadoran Refugees* (1991), is concerned with the ways in which a dominant "political ethos" may impinge upon the emotional life of a particular population. Political ethos is defined as "the culturally standardized organization of feeling and sentiment particular to the social domains of power and interest" (Jenkins, 1991:140). Jenkins believes that under circumstances of what Nordstrom has defined as "maimed culture", the notion of "culture" as something which "provides for the working through of grief that guards against depression" (as per Obeyesekere, 1985) should be challenged. In the case of individuals living within a violent "political ethos", the author states that Culture often fails to perform this function (Jenkins, 1991:16). Although the notion of Culture is somewhat opaque, both Nordstrom and Jenkins would appear to believe that knowledge frameworks, by which we interpret our experiences in a coherent manner, can be broken down by intense violence and terror. The result is a population unable to distinguish or decide what constitutes a meaningful, viable reality under such extreme circumstances.

One of the most brutal ways in which life worlds are destroyed would appear to be through the infliction of torture upon bodies. In *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (1985), Elaine Scarry states that intense pain destroys people's life-worlds, their sense of the reality of the physical world, and their sense of self. This occurs when unrelenting pain forces the body to come into focus as the only real object in a world made unreal by the incomprehensibility of the acts being performed upon it. Scarry believes that this phenomenon is "experienced spatially as either the contraction of the universe down to the immediate vicinity of the body or as the body swelling to fill the entire universe" (Scarry, 1985:35).

As the content of one's world is increasingly rendered incomprehensible (i.e. the crossover point when pain is not perceived as something inflicted on the body, rather it becomes the location from which pain emanates), Scarry believes that language is also destroyed. The author makes the point that language is a primary method by which a sense of self is projected upon the world, and thus "the self is robbed of its source and subject" (ibid.).

Amongst the most interesting studies regarding cultures in which terror flourishes are Michael Taussig's *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (1987), and *The Nervous System* (1992). In his

monographs, Taussig envisages terror and fear as culturally constructed objects, and gives many examples of the way in which terror is represented and perpetuated in violent circumstances. One of Taussig's main points is that the "fictions" which we take to be real, (i.e. our world view) become more than just philosophical curiosities when they are used as forceful tools of domination by violent States, groups, or regimes. Based on archival research and fieldwork in Colombia, Taussig concludes that our life worlds, constructed via a process of "magical realism", are undermined by the fundamental elements of cultures of terror: uncertainty and ambiguity (Taussig, 1987:121). Thus cultural and self-referents can be deconstructed by terror through a process wherein stories, rumors, and gossip become "reality" (Taussig, 1987:33). This is what Taussig calls the "intermingling of silence and myth in which the fanatical stress on the mysterious flourishes by means of rumor woven finely into webs of magical realism" which help to create and perpetuate fear and terror (Taussig, 1987:8).

Marcelo Suarez-Orozco has documented the way in which ambiguity was crucial to the "dirty war" campaigns of military juntas in Argentina in the 1970's and 1980's. One of the most effective ways in which the military used ambiguity to cause widespread fear and terror was through "disappearances" as described by Suarez-Orozco in both *Speaking of the Unspeakable: Toward a Psychosocial Understanding of Responses to Terror* (1990), and *A Grammar of Terror: Psychocultural Responses to State Terrorism in Dirty War and Post-Dirty War Argentina* (1992). In his 1990 paper, Suarez-Orozco describes how terror was fed by rumors of brutal torture and large scale massacres. He notes that Argentina was possessed by an "eerie calmness", an atmosphere through which horrific reports spread and thrived due largely to the absence of any corpses (Suarez-Orozco, 1990:368). The author further believes that since the boundaries between the living and dead were unclear for many Argentineans missing family members, the families themselves became unable to act with decision in such uncertain realities. An example of this ambiguity and uncertainty manifest in daily life would be the keeping of the bedroom of the "disappeared" in the same condition for many years as it was at the moment they learned of the "disappearance" (Suarez-Orozco, 1990:361).

(b) Breaking Down Bodily Boundaries and Configurations

Bodies are resources which States and guerrilla forces use as an instrument of terror. Carolyn Nordstrom believes that the body can be visualized as a symbolic text upon which violence is often inscribed in order to transmit messages of power, domination, and terror. Nordstrom agrees with Elaine Scarry's assessment that the body is used as a political weapon by repressive regimes, so that (through the infliction of immense pain), the only reality that can be comprehended is that of the regime. Nordstrom makes the point that severing the body's boundaries serves the dual function not only of impairing the body, but of symbolically dis-membering the body politic. Both of these authors contend that maiming and torture of the body underlies a fundamental mechanism by which repressive regimes use torture and injuring to assert power and dominance not only over individual bodies, but also over the right to define and maintain geographical boundaries. In *Hidden Consequences of State Violence: Spinal Cord Injuries in Soweto, South Africa* (1989), Stephen Cock gives the example that altering the boundaries of bodies (i.e. where bodies begin and end) and consequently bodily configurations, is a frequent outcome of the undeclared war between South African police and black men. Cock notes that the high incidence of spinal cord injuries from gun shot wounds (by the police) shows apartheid, like other forms of "war" to be a violent and disabling system. This example demonstrates one method by which the body is abused by oppressors to symbolize domination of the larger physical sphere.

Suarez-Orozco makes a similar argument when he points out that the Argentinean torture squads deliberately commonly inflicted great pain upon genital areas using electrical prods to provide a symbolic "castration", a message to the population to be docile and quiet- an eunuch population with no "will" or "drives". Suarez-Orozco describes the aim of such horror: "It was as if the obscene rituals of torture conveyed the body politic the agents of the terrorist state wished to create: a state of passive, desexualized, infantile, and obedient subjects" (Suarez-Orozco, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:237-238)

The effects of torture upon bodies is manifold and multilayered. In part this is because those individuals who have had injuries inflicted upon them are fundamentally altered since, as Scarry states, the body "remembers well" the pain and terror inscribed upon it. More specifically, the world-destroying properties of pain are evident in the "referential instability" and "reality conferring" properties of "hurt bodies" (Scarry, 1985:120).

(c) Responding to Terror: Plugging the Holes in Reality

Several authors have suggested mechanisms by which individuals respond to terror, and the havoc it causes at the community, family, and individual levels. Suarez-Orozco, for example, is primarily interested in the way in which individuals respond (universally) when presented with death and terror. He suggests that there are three "universal psychological coping mechanisms": denial, rationalizations, and the internalization and elaboration of terror (Suarez-Orozco, 1990:53, 366). Other psychosocial studies of terror such as Melville and Lykes' paper: *Guatemalan Indian Children and the Sociocultural Effects of Government-Sponsored Terrorism* (1992), suggest that "silence" is another common reaction as individuals become immersed in cultures of terror (Melville and Lykes, 1992:541). Social isolation and the breaking of community, institutional and kin ties become a necessary precaution on the part of persons who lose their trust in everyone as their social and bodily frames of reference are broken down by terror and/or torture.

In *Interpreting La Violencia in Guatemala: Shapes of Mayan Silence and Resistance* (1993), Kay Warren gives examples of idioms of anguish and betrayal expressed by the Guatemalan Maya when confronted with the problem of "the arbitrariness of power" exercised by the military and guerrilla groups. The results have been "uncertainty, divided realities, and strategic ambiguities" (Warren, 1993:48) as well as the necessary "rephrasing" of experiences into "denials" when "silence [was] imposed on rural populations who witnessed brutality and death" (Warren, 1993:47). Warren also documents reactions to violence as expressed by Mayan storytellers after the most violent years of the "dirty war" had passed. Many of these stories refer to the animal "co-essences" of the Maya. The recurring theme of the transformation of female kin from human to animal and back again parallels what Warren describes as their current situation: "betrayal and existential dilemmas". Because women are generally seen as the perpetuators of Mayan culture (holding on more tenaciously to tradition than men), betrayal of immediate family members in these stories is gendered as female, symbolizing an even greater betrayal of family and community life (Warren, 1993:46).

(d) Eschatology: The Destruction of Life Worlds

The results of the destruction of life-worlds and of a coherent sense of self and reality are well documented in the medical anthropological, psychiatric, and psychological literature. Jane Jia-jing Wu describes the frequency of suicide amongst educated women in China whose professional husbands were killed in the Cultural Revolution. The resentment of community members who harbored grievances against their former neighborhood "supervisors" manifested itself during the Cultural Revolution in the humiliation of these women and in the physical violence inflicted upon them. Wu concludes that these women were "suspended": time stood still, horror was absolute, and resistance was impossible:

> Their fragile sense of identity was destroyed by the violent actions of the mobs. Time to them seemed suspended in one moment of tremendous humiliation. They could not see anything beyond their trauma. After one or two episodes of public humiliation, they committed suicide (Wu, 1991:294).

In the case of Cambodia, Hiegel and Landrac, in *Suicides dans un camp de refugies khmers: meurtre du moi et meurtre de soi* (1990), demonstrate that some Cambodians were unable to reconstruct viable frameworks of social knowledge and meaning in the face of acute terror, violence and grief, and thus they committed suicide in the refugee camps on the Thai border. These Cambodians had endured many difficult and dangerous conditions to reach the border camps, but found the process of reconstruction too difficult, especially younger Khmers who had lost their parents, and individuals who had lost a majority, if not all of their family members (Hiegel and Landrac, 1990:114).

The papers by Wu, and Hiegel and Landrac, are but two examples of severe emotional distress documented by psychologists and psychiatrists who work with the traumatized victims of terror and torture. Psychotherapists such as Kinzie and Boehnlein demonstrate what they believe to be very high rates of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder among Cambodian refugees. In those cases in which they intervened, drug therapy was sometimes helpful, but the majority of refugees continued to live in a state where they continually re-experienced their terror and were fearful of the world around them (Boehnlein et al. 1985).

2.2 The Spatialization of Power through Violence

A recent monograph by Allen Feldman, entitled *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (1991), has been described by Thomas Wilson as "the first ethnographically informed postmodernist history of the symbolic forms and narratives that constructed violent political culture in Belfast..." (Wilson, 1992:962). This work succumbs to a common Foucauldian-based problem of frequently depriving bodies of their capacity for agency, and of many layers of complexity, when they are reduced to the level of "political subjects". It is also somewhat ethnographically bereft, but nevertheless, the monograph is a large step forward in the production of an anthropological theory of violence through the application of postmodernist tenets such as body as text, and social action as performance.

Feldman's argument derives largely from Foucault's conclusion that in all societies, power becomes spatialized, often through the body (Feldman, 1991:8). His ideas are influenced by several social geographers working in Northern Ireland. Feldman makes the point that the particular branch of social theory (from Hegel, through Nietzsche and Lukacs, to Foucault) which has construed the body as the "formation of a political subject", has always linked this conception with "specific spaces and social relations" (Feldman, 1991:9). Following this is the conclusion that bodies are entities over which domination is exercised, and the command of those entities (particularly bodies) which move within politically delineated areas is crucial `for the implementation and maintenance of domination. He thus believes that in Northern Ireland, the body is construed as a political subject "within a continuum of spaces consisting of the body, the confessional community, the state, and the imagined community of utopian completion: United Ireland or a British Ulster" (ibid.).

Nordstrom has also writen about the use of the body to create spaces of domination, especially as a text upon which to inscribe the language of domination. She states that the most destructive aspect of "dirty war tactics" is the production of the "culturally destabilized space" which is created using a "cultural metalanguage encoded on the body and the social geography of the community". Specifically, torture, maiming and injuring create terror by "playing upon a fundamental horror of the body rendered unwhole -absurdly so- that produces a concomitant horror of a cultural reality rendered unwhole" (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:261).

Violence is both the way that power becomes spatialized through the body, and the compass which communities use to construct epistemological maps. These maps embed communities, either "imagined" (Anderson, 1991) or otherwise, in particular spatial and historical webs of meaning and of relation. Feldman lists a number of ways in which, during times of relative stability, Protestant and Catholic communities chart social space, such as: endogamy, "kinship and residence...a calendrical cycle of ceremonial parades, myth, and historical observances"(Feldman, 1991:27). When violence and terror become means to enforce domination however, Feldman argues that violence is the primary force that maps social space. In Belfast, for example, large areas are (or perhaps were) demarcated as an "interlocking binary spatial grid and inside/outside polarities" which took the form: "sanctuary/barricades-interface/adversary community" (Feldman, 1991:35). An example would be a small group of houses (sanctuary) facing a major roadway (the interface) which borders onto several vacant lots or fields (socially demarcated area for violence to occur). The same structure is mirrored on the other side of the vacant lots, but for an opposing group or community.

Feldman makes the additional point that along the boundary of sanctuaries and spaces for violence lies the "interface", a route that is taken by political marches on each side. From walking through these areas, and often just inside another's sanctuary space, claims are laid to territory. Political parades tend to follow a set spatial pattern. The sequence of these marches is most commonly outwards from the physical or symbolic community center, along the interface so that they physically threaten the borders of an opposing group's sanctuary (Feldman, 1991:29). Thus, Feldman finds that "macroterritorial constructs such as the community, the neighborhood, the street, and the parade route reinforce the manner in which geography serves to posit history as a cultural object" (Feldman, 1991:27). We could add to these constructs that of military terminology, as John Darby has noted in *Intimidation and Interaction on a Small Belfast Community: The Water and the Fish* (1990) that in Bandruff, Belfast, strategic terms such as "frontier families" and "beach-heads" allow Protestants to maintain an historical and territorial link with South Belfast, and with a wider battle (Darby, 1990:99).

(a) Physical and Symbolic Space: Individual and Collective Spaces of Resistance

The construction of sanctuaries as described by Feldman is but one means of creating a physical space in which resistance can grow. Jeffrey Sluka's "normal urban landscapes", for example, is another physical space where houses, fences and barricades become the focus of the inscription of both dominant and subaltern renderings of reality through the production of murals upon their surfaces. The painting of political murals in Northern Ireland is seen by Sluka in *The Politics of Painting: Political Murals in Northern Ireland* (1992), as an expression of the Catholic "culture of resistance", and as a propaganda tool for the British Ulsters. The mural painters have found a space from which to resist- walls and houses which have now become part of the "normal urban landscape" in towns such as Derry. Sluka also demonstrates the fact that spaces of resistance can be created temporally as well as physically, as the battle between the soldiers (who deface the murals and shoot the painters) and the muralists is conducted at different times. The soldiers deface the paintings during the day, whilst the muralists work at night, in secrecy (Sluka, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:212).

One of the ways in which dominant groups, States, and other regimes maintain the demarcation of social space which they have achieved through violence is with terror. Taussig writes about control over social space via his notion of the "space of death" which he describes as a space where torturers meticulously "just stop short of taking life while inspiring the acute mental fear and inflicting much of the physical agony of death" (Casement, quoted by Taussig, 1987:39). From within the space of death emanates a "culture of terror"; the space of death is thus the epicenter of cultures of terror, and he describes this in reference to Colombia and Peru. Taussig extends his metaphor of the space of death to include whole areas, or countries engulfed by a culture of terror. For example, just as shamans search for the five continents of the world in the space of death, navigating a course for their patients, so victims of torture and terror (such as Jacobo Timerman) can act as a guide to other people also subjected to acute fear and violence (Taussig, 1987:7).

Taussig does not conceive cultures of terror as uniform creations, however. The essential disorderliness of terror, and its inescapable corollaries of ambiguity and uncertainty allow people, such as the shamans of the Putumayo, to expose the fragmented nature of cultures of terror, allowing symbolic spaces of resistance to come into being. The shamans are instrumental in creating

spaces of resistance to colonial domination in the Amazon and the Andes. They juxtapose symbols and images drawn from the same place as the symbols of domination in South America, in order to shatter the reality postulated by the colonizers.

The power of symbols and images is thus used, in Taussig's analysis, to create counter discourses and to fragment symbolic public spaces to allow resistance a place to develop. Other authors have described both collective and individual symbolic spaces of resistance. Begona Arxtega, for example, uses several of Taussig's tenets when he makes the argument that the body is similar to historical symbols and images in that it constitutes a powerful tool with which to create alternate renderings of reality, and hence to resist a dominant State and its ideology. Although the body is an individual, physical object, in Arxtega's analysis it is used to create a collective symbolic space of resistance. In *Striking With Hunger: Cultural Meanings of Political Violence in Northern Ireland* (1993), Arxtega makes the point that in Northern Ireland, the Republican hunger strikers used their bodies to reject the label "criminal" as opposed to "political" prisoner. The prisoners remained naked and refused to wear "criminal" prison uniforms, and eventually starved their bodies to death. Arxtega believes that the deaths of their bodies by the hunger strikers created a "new space of meaning". He articulates this idea with Taussig, who also believes that the space of death can be a space of transformation. In this case the body is used to transform political prisoners into martyrs for a cause, creating a bright flash point of resistance against the blackness of the culture of terror.

The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina figure in both the analysis of Taussig(1992) and Suarez-Orozco (1992) as an example of the manner by which new collective memories can be created as spaces of resistance. By marching around the Plaza de Mayo, photographs in hand, the Mothers of the "disappeared" reclaim the bodies, identities, and faces of the disappeared and forge new collective memories. Taussig states that the Mothers fill an empty public void with facts which they remove from the "social location" of private memory. They are, he contends, creating an image resonant enough to displace "public and State memory" (Taussig, 1992:27-28). Taussig describes this process thus:

> What the Mothers of the Disappeared do is to collectively harness the magical power of the lost souls of purgatory and relocate memory in the contested public sphere, away from the fear-numbing and crazy-making fastness of the individual mind where paramilitary death squads and the State machinery of concealment would fix it (Taussig, 1992:28).

A complementary method of creating a symbolic space of resistance is also that adopted by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. The Mothers have chosen the most central and public of all Latin American spaces- the central plaza, to walk each week in defiance of the Argentinean military. This space is defined by Suarez-Orozco as the "symbolic center of the republic" (Suarez-Orozco, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:42), and thus their struggle to retain in public memory the names and faces of the disappeared constitutes "one of the most visible political discourses of resistance to terror in recent Latin American history" by subverting the silence and the fear of coming together enforced by the culture of terror in Argentina (ibid.).

Another collective space of resistance similar to the space of collective memory recuperated by the Argentinean Mothers is public dream space. Both collective memory and public dream space have in common the ability to give back to people trapped in a culture of terror the power to dream, remember, and imagine images and events other than those brutally impressed upon them by the dominant discourse. Taussig believes that monuments create public dream space through which "the particularities of one's life make patterns of meaning". These webs of meaning have holes in them however, spaces wherein meaning is reified in objects such as the Incan stonework of Macchu Picchu (Taussig, 1992:46). Objects such as Macchu Picchu are important, Taussig contends, because the "monumentalizing" day-dreams we have in the presence of such edifices "deepen and strengthen ideology". Taussig gives the example of the stonework of Macchu Picchu as a collective space of resistance in that it provides reified meaning for Indians about Indian identity and the nature of the colonial enterprise in South America. Macchu Picchu is thus "a sacred site in a civic religion in which day-dreaming naturalizes history and historicizes nature" (Taussig, 1992:47). An opposite example would be the demolishing of statues of communist leaders in the former Soviet Union- this is the rejection of a once dominant discourse reified in the form of fascist and/or communist architecture.

Many researchers have concluded that silence and increasing social isolation are very frequent reactions to terror. In some cases, simply creating a space in which to survive is a form of resistance. In *Les khmers rouges et les autres* (1993), Hiegel and Landrac state that Cambodians used silence, both in the sense of refusing to express certain emotions such as anger, and refraining from speaking, to create a "sensorially and affectively deadened" inner space in which to exist. This is the construction of an individual, psychological space as a resistance to the attempt by the Khmer Rouge to deconstruct the individual identity of Cambodians. Hiegel and Landrac question in their paper if this inner space of emotional numbness can be wholly or even partially reversible.

2.3 The Politics of Form: Cultural Idioms of Resistance

(a) Creating Counter Discourses

Both Michael Taussig and Jean-Paul Dumont make the point that the creation of counter discourses are evidence that there does not exist a master language of the oppressors. By this they mean that although extreme cultures of terror and of violence may destroy life worlds, social institutions, and community and individual trust, the control and domination of such regimes or States over the minds and bodies of individuals can never be complete or total. Carnival, jokework and humor are examples of counter discourses which they offer to support this idea. Humor is a common and very creative Southeast Asian form of expression, as both Dumont and Pedlar illustrate. In *Ideas on Philippine Violence: Assertions, Negations, and Narrations* (1992), Jean-Paul Dumont describes the reactions of Visayan peasants to government propaganda and hence the "abuse" of power. In the run-up to elections, the government showed *The Killing Fields*, a film documenting the genocidal acts of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia as an example of what could happen in the Philippines if a left wing government was elected. The film was played in even the most remote islands which normally do not boast facilities such as electricity to screen films. The Visayans responded "neither with enthusiasm nor with rebellion but with increased passivity, cynicisms, and witticisms" (Dumont, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:147). An example would be the young man who disemboweled a chicken and pointed to the bloody remains on the ground, and laughingly invited Dumont: "with an ample movement of the arm, to contemplate "the killing fields" (ibid.)"

In Cambodia, humor is created within the framework of a cosmology which incorporates a strong emphasis on ancestor cults, and a Buddhist hierarchy of heavens and hells populated with good and bad spirits, ghouls, and demons. Pedlar has noted that humor is frequently employed by Cambodians to allow them to exist in an atmosphere of which they would otherwise be too afraid. Pedlar gives the example of Cambodians driving along roads in the countryside who often imagine whole hoards of headless ghouls lurking in the forest (due to the number of "abnormal" deaths in recent years). The drivers and passengers compete with each other to produce the most elaborate and ridiculous story (Pedlar, 1989:5). The creation of counter discourses by oppressed people is thus a denial that domination and control exist uncontested in cultures of terror.

(b) Historical and Religious Idioms of Resistance

Michael Taussig has written about what he describes as the politics of form: "If effects of truth are power, then the question is raised...as to what form that counter-discourse should take" (Taussig, 1987:8-9). Having found a space from which to resist, the form that such resistance takes would appear to be a culturally informed choice as much as it is a choice constrained by fear and political boundaries. In *When the People Were Strong and United: Stories of the Past and the Transformation of Politics in a Mexican Community* (1992), JoAnn Martin shows how resistance takes the form of a culturally and historically specific idiom in Morelos, Mexico. Drawing on Walter Benjamin's conception of history, Martin believes that history is viewed by Morelans as "developing around struggles in which each generation is obliged to fulfill its role in an ongoing battle" (Martin, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:178). "Remembering" posits history as resistance when it is used in the following ways, as evidenced in Martin's article:

(i) An "aura of authenticity" is created when certain aspects of history are "remembered" by Morelan storytellers and aggregated with elements of "official history" such as museums, and statues (ibid.). This selective "remembering" is construed as the "truth" as opposed to the truth as told by the dominant political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. Holding on to this truth thus constitutes a form of resistance.

(ii) Morelans use kinship and geographic locale to connect themselves to past heroes and events such as the Mexican Revolution of 1910. By linking themselves

to a time when their forebears were strong and united, Morelans draw upon the mythical strength of their ancestors to continue a wider struggle against political injustice which they believe transcends individual generations (Martin, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:181).

(iii) Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, the son of a former Mexican president, and the namesake of the ruler of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, was the first real contender in postrevolutionary times to seriously challenge the dominance of the PRI. The citizens of Morelos saw in Cuauhtemoc a presidential candidate who embodied glorious times and heroic resistance in Mexican history (when the people were strong and united). One speaker at a political rally stated: "Like in the times when they had said Christ is coming and everyone said that it was not true, now Cuauhtemoc is returning after 500 years to defend the country" (Martin, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:185). Here a collective historical meaning frame is used by Morelans to unite themselves under the banner of a returning Aztec ruler, against a perceived corrupt internal political system.

As religions necessarily utilize a rich and elaborate store of symbols, they can provide a ready-made framework for resistance, especially since the symbols used are referents of strong emotions and morals, imbued with an "aura of facticity" (Geertz, 1965:79-80). Two examples of religious idioms of resistance are provided by Longina Jakubowska (1992) and William Maley (1991). Longina Jakubowska cites revitalization of Bedouin Islamic religious practices as resistance to the Israeli attempt to "de-Arabize" the Bedouin of the Negev, and to the Israeli "politics of separation". In *Resisting "Ethnicity": The Israeli State and Bedouin Identity* (1992), Jakubowska identifies three main ways by which Bedouins resist:

(i) by removing themselves to the margins of Israeli political life, the Bedouin continue a nomadic pastoral tradition of collective land use and ownership (Jakubowska, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:85).

(ii) By refusing to allow the Israeli state to label Bedouin's an "ethnic group" (ibid.).

(iii) In counteracting the identity forced upon them by the Israeli State, Bedouins draw on cultural traditions such as political and civic rule, and "civic community activism" centered around the *hamula*. (Jakubowska, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:100).

With respect to this last point, religion is a major factor in the revitalization of cultural traditions so as to reject a political identity. Jakubowska

notes that Islamic practices and devotion amongst the Bedouin have been considered "questionable" by the Islamic world, and that prior to 1987 there was only one small mosque; Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca was poorly practiced, if at all, and daily prayers were not commonly said. In 1987 however, seven mosques appeared; those who did not observe Ramadan were considered deviant, elderly Bedouin made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and fasting and praying were much more rigidly observed (Jakubowska, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:100-101). Religion has thus formed a central element in Bedouin resistance in several ways:

(i) An increase in Islamic religious practices has increased the perceived differences between Israeli Jews and Islamic Bedouin, and hence additional meaning has been given to religious practices.

(ii) The social significance of religion has increased in Bedouin towns in the Negev, as community leaders adopt the "Muslim framework of self-expression and reference". This Islamic framework finds its most prominent expression in the adoption of the identity of "good Muslims" by the Bedouin. The creation of community level development and self rule is disguised by the adoption of this "good Muslim" identity (Jakubowska, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:101).

(iii) Islam is used as a community force with which to construct community networks and institutions which rely less upon the Israeli state, and hence further marginalize Bedouins from the dominant Israeli-Palestinian political discourse of the region.

In *Social Dynamics and the Disutility of Terror: Afghanistan, 1978-1979,* Maley provides an example of how a threat from outside (i.e. the Russian invasion of Afghanistan) was successfully resisted via a religious framework. In this case Sunni and Shiite Muslims cooperated to defend a common foundation: the values and morals upheld by Islam against the "notorious atheists", the Russians. Maley notes three ways in which religion supplied the framework for resistance:

(i) by providing an ideological basis for resistance

(ii) by providing a common set of positive values to be defended

(iii) the eschatological notion of salvation through martyrdom provided a feeling of indomitability amongst freedom fighters (Maley, 1991:125).

Islam thus fortified resistance in Afghanistan and supplied Afghans with a coherent world view with which to interpret the violence and terror imposed by

the Communist coup and the Russian invasion. This idea of religion, and in particular, ritual as resistance is further expanded in chapter five.

(c) Remembering and Re-membering

Remembering is used to create a symbolic space imbued with an historical aura of facticity in several of the examples given in the preceding pages. Remembering can have a broader sense of meaning however, than simply a method by which to create a symbolic space of resistance. The term can serve to integrate a variety of different reactions to terror and political violence, and forms of resistance. Carolyn Nordstrom's thesis is an example of this broader sense of meaning of remembering, in which both "remembering" (in the sense of remembering one's past) and "re-membering" (as in symbolically re-membering bodies maimed by war and torture) recreate meaningful life worlds. Although she does not give concrete examples, she hypothesizes that through collective sociopolitical processes remembering "can provide socioconceptual coherency" through the "identification of something rendered whole. i.e. returning the limbs to the body politic" (Nordstrom, 1992:267). If resistance is able to grow to such a level that socio-cultural institutions can be reestablished, Nordstrom believes that "epistemological meaningfulness" can be imparted as "boundaries become reestablished, and bodies and identities are reaffirmed" (ibid.). The example of political marches in Northern Ireland can serve here to demonstrate how participation in resistance marches facilitates "re-membering" by reintegrating and reestablishing identity, and a belief in the ability to act with decisive agency upon the world. During these marches claims are made not only to wholeness and a particular identity, but also to physical territory via a movement from the center of a sanctuary (physical or symbolic) along the interface of an opposing group's territory. The concept of remembering necessarily occurs within a specific space of resistance, and the idiom, or form which the "sociopolitical process" takes is dependent upon the historical, religious, and political circumstances particular to the cultural space in question.

3

THE THEORETICAL FRAME

The review of the anthropological literature has revealed several interesting concepts which may be helpful to consider when analyzing forms of resistance. Three ideas stand out as particularly salient:

(i) the notion of social space being demarcated by violence;

(ii) the notion of spaces of resistance, physical, symbolic, or temporal, and from this the concept of bodily resistance; and

(iii) the notion of cultural idioms within spaces of resistance.

A good starting point is Allen Feldman's idea that power becomes spatialized through violence. Feldman differentiates between times of stability and instability, and believes that in times of stability, other structures map social space such as kinship. At different times, violence may demarcate social space to a greater extent than other mechanisms. Although (or perhaps, because) violence spatializes power, we need not assume that "cultures of terror" are uniform, mono-dimensional constructions. The notion of physical and/or symbolic sanctuaries is useful as it adds a level of complexity to the term "a culture of terror". Feldman's notion of sanctuaries add temporal, geographic, and metaphorical depth to analyses of cultures of terror, reminding us of the uncertainty, ambiguity and unevenness of the terror which emanates from the space of death. As Taussig has pointed out, it is because cultures of terror are fundamentally uncertain and ambiguous that not only can myth and silence intermingle to form reality, but resistance can exploit this non-uniformness to make a place for itself.

It is Taussig's belief that through a splintering of the dominant view of reality, (via the production of counterdiscourses), spaces come into existence in which resistance can dwell. This notion of the fracturing of reality around the edges of the "space of death" articulates well with Feldman's belief that violence spatializes power such that the control of space is a sign of dominance. The review of the literature has revealed that there are many ways of creating spaces for resistance around the "space of death": creating physical spaces, public collective memories, public "dream" spaces, individual psychological spaces, and bodily spaces, to name but a few.

Both Suarez-Orozco and Taussig give the example of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina who are seminal in the creation of new collective public memories to replace the violent collective memories of repressive regimes such as mass graves, public executions, and assassinations. Taussig's notion of "public dream space" makes intelligible the intense feelings individuals can have for particular monuments. He believes that monuments reify meaning, and thus rallying around, or claiming ownership of a particular monument, is also claiming a particular knowledge and meaning-making framework in the midst of a culture of terror.

In the case of Cambodia, Hiegel and Landrac have made the point that to avoid "l'organisation psychique" which the Khmer Rouge attempted to impose upon the population in order to "purify" them, many Cambodians created an inner psychological space. This space into which a great number of Khmer retreated was necessarily sensorially and affectively numb as any type of animated response would likely result in torture or death.

As a space of resistance, the body has been construed as an eschatological space where new meanings are created, such as the notion of martyrdom via the death of Islamic freedom fighters in Afghanistan. Re-membering is an important point made by Nordstrom concerning a possible response to "dismembering" through violence and maiming. Within the space created by bodily resistance, Nordstrom believes that the reverse of the process of 'dismembering' can occur through collective sociopolitical processes as individuals identify with the rendering whole of social institutions (i.e. the body politic). Political parades as described by Feldman in urban Northern Ireland are an example of a culturally and historically specific manner in which the body can be a space (but not necessarily an eschatological space), in which to oppose the hegemony of a repressive group. The body is however a contested space of meaning, and is frequently considered an object to be tortured, injured, and terrorized in the act of asserting domination.

Taussig attributes to the shamans of the Putumayo the ability to juxtapose images of alternate realities and histories so as to, through a process of "montage", shatter the surface of the dominant discourse in cultures of terror. This is the production of a counter discourse which denies that there exists any one master language, and provides individuals with alternate renderings of reality, i.e. a basic framework for the social production of knowledge and meaning. The notion of cultural idioms of resistance is thus an important one as

it suggests that within the cracks of the dominant groups' discourse of terror, it is possible for resistance to form around cultural elements (such as symbols, institutions, myths, etc.), whose meaning-making capacities have not been completely "disabilized" (Nordstrom, in Nordstrom and Martin, 1992:261).

The literature review revealed that religion has been employed in various countries as a cultural idiom of resistance, in part because religion provides a ready-made framework of meaning which coalesces around symbols, objects, and rituals. In the cases of Islamic resistance in Afghanistan and Israel, Mexican politicians who embody glorious aspects of the past, and Philippine peasants who respond with wit and cynicism at government attempts at domination, cultural ways of understanding and giving meaning to the world belie the notion that cultures of terror are uniform spaces of death where dominant discourses exist uncontested.

The writings which have been elaborated in the preceding few pages form a core of articulated ideas which may serve as the basis of an analysis of resistance to terror. The focus of the analysis will be upon religion (and in particular, ritual) as a form of resistance to terror and violence, not only because the literature review has revealed religion to be an important idiom of resistance, but also because of the centrality of Buddhist philosophy in the lives of the majority of Cambodians. Here the focus is upon one form of resistance, the Dhammayietra, or peace walk, which is a ritual that is part of a larger sphere of ceremonial religious healing and which condenses the tenets, morals, and values of Theravada Buddhism into a self-contained format. It is thus an important idiom of resistance to focus upon as it draws upon several centuries of religious and political traditions, and comes out of a set of lived practices which have played a large role in the structuring of cognitive webs of meaning, knowledge, and social space since the fall of Angkor. Following Dirks, who believes that ritual is often a forum for resistance and is a process where meanings are continually remade in the act of participation, the Dhammayietra will be placed within its sociopolitical context so as to take account of power relations defined and enacted within a ritual sphere. The Dhammayietra is also viewed from the perspective of its cultural grounding in the networks of meaning and association as evidenced by the key symbols of the ritual. Finally, the analysis of resistance to terror and violence, and of the reconstruction of life worlds, through the medium of the Dhammayietra ritual, will emphasize the idioms of space and body as a key organizing concept.

4

THE CULTURE OF TERROR IN CAMBODIA

> Do not try to escape. We will see you. We have many eyes, like a pineapple.
>
> - A Khmer Rouge soldier talking to his prisoner, Ven Yem.

4.1 The Setting

Cambodia is one of several nations which comprise Southeast Asia. With a total area of 181,040 square kilometers, it is bordered to the north and west by Thailand, to the northeast by Laos, to the east and southeast by Vietnam, and by the Gulf of Thailand to the south (Wright, 1989:1).

The capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, and the north-western provincial capital, Battambang, are the two main urban areas, although the port city of Sihanoukville (formerly Kompong Som) and the northern provincial capital of Siem Reap (just outside the ruins of Angkor Wat) are becoming urban centers in themselves. This was not always the case however, as Angkor Wat was once at the center of the Khmer world, both cosmologically and in terms of its large population.

Angkor Wat lies to the north of the Tonle Sap Lake. It was dedicated to the Hindu god, Vishnu (Swearer, 1991:42-47). One of the seven wonders of the world, it was built to the dimensions of a Hindu mandala. It is the largest free standing religious structure in the world and featured a complex irrigation and drainage system that allowed rice to be grown to feed one million Khmers. Angkor Wat eventually fell to Siam in the fifteenth century, and the population migrated back to their traditional settlement patterns along the waterways. The process of resettlement was aided by the conversion of the population to Buddhism which meant that the wat (Buddhist temple) became the focus of village life, both spiritually and administratively.

Demographically, the lowlands are generally the domains of the Khmers, the Chinese, and the Vietnamese, whilst the uplands are home to the indigenous populations of Cambodia. The population of Cambodia was estimated to be 9.7 million at the end of 1992 (EIU, 1994: 96). About 90% of the population are Khmer. One of the most important features of Cambodia is its relative homogeneity. The vast majority of the population are rural Cambodians who speak a single language, Khmer. The rest of the population is comprised of approximately 5% Vietnamese, 2.5% Chams, 1% Chinese and 1.5% Khmer-Loeu. The Khmer-Loeu minority groups can be divided into those speaking Austronesian languages (the Rade and Jarai), and those speaking Mon-Khmer languages. The major Khmer Loeu groups are the Kuy, Mnong, Stieng, Brao, Pear, Jarai and Rade (LeBar, 1965). During the Pol Pot era many of the indigenous populations of the northeastern provinces, especially Mondulkiri and Ratanakiri were encouraged, and often coerced, into joining the Khmer Rouge army.

In recent years, after the Pol Pot regime (1975-1979) and the period of Vietnamese occupation, many Khmers have moved to cities where they feel safer from the ongoing civil war than if they were to remain in the countryside. This is in part because of the extremely high number of landmines in Cambodia which has made it the nation with the highest number of amputees as a percentage of the population in the world (Prasso, 1991). As well, many of the refugees who returned from the Thai border were born in the refugee camps, and have scant knowledge of the traditional agricultural and fishing lives of villagers. Instead, this younger generation is becoming educated and living a more urban, capitalistic lifestyle.

This recent history is just one moment, or chapter in a much longer history of violence, slavery, oppression, and forced migrations which extend over almost two thousand years of history in this area of Asia, sandwiched between the significant cultural influences of India and China, and the warring neighbors of Thailand and Vietnam, as the following historical overview illustrates.

4.2 An Historical Overview

Even a cursory glance at the history of Cambodia immediately enables two facts to be seen. The first is that Cambodia's history is one of a warring nation, and the second is that Cambodia has historically been surrounded by hostile enemies on both sides. The foremost expert on Cambodian history, David Chandler, describes Cambodia as lying along a "cultural fault line" (Chandler, 1992:4) between two large regional powers, Thailand and Vietnam. Cambodia gains its name from the ancient Hindu word, Kambuja. From the First to the mid-Sixth century, the Kingdom of Funan in the lower Mekong valley encompassed much of present day Cambodia (Swearer, 1991:42). Around 550 A.D. Chenla, an area in the middle of the Mekong (north of Cambodia) broke away from Funan, and within a short period of time the Kingdom of Chenla (incorporating the Khmer proper) had engulfed the Kingdom of Funan (LeBar, 1965:99). In the late 600's, Chenla split into two. The northern part was known as Land Chenla, and the southern region as Water Chenla. Water Chenla experienced political turmoil, and Java may have invaded during this period.

The next important historical date is 802, the commencement of the Angkorian period (802-1431) consisting of the rule of 25 divine rulers beginning with Jayavarman II. At its most powerful, Angkor controlled "all of modern Indochina south of the Annamite chain, the Khorat plateau and Chao Phraya plain in modern Thailand and parts of the Malay peninsula" (EIU, 1994:90). The picture which Chandler paints of Cambodian history is one of a dynamic, expanding, territorially aggressive nation up to the time when Angkor, a stronghold of Brahmanism, decreased in power in as the population converted to Buddhism and became influenced by Islamic regions of Southeast Asia. LeBar notes of the period from 1432:

> After this period, the Khmer went through a time of vacillating and weakening power, harassed by attempted encroachments from the immediately neighbouring Siamese and Vietnamese. In 1864 the French were accepted as protectors, and in 1887 Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were combined to form the Union of French Indochina (LeBar, 1965:99).

Chandler calls the period encompassing the decline of Angkor and the era of French colonial rule, Cambodia's Dark Ages. During this time the majority of the population were submissive and conservative, as any other kind of action would likely result in starvation or punishment. As Chandler notes of Cambodian history up to independence: "government...was the privilege enjoyed by people freed in some way from the obligation of growing their own food" (Chandler, 1992:2). The Economist Intelligence Unit states that after the Angkorian period, Cambodian monarchs could no longer raise large armies of peasants quickly. Fear of loss of suzerainty to Thailand and Vietnam led King Norodom to sign the treaty of French protection in 1863 (EIU, 1994:90).

After independence in 1953 however, a marked difference in the attitude and outlook of Cambodians was apparent:

> With hindsight, however, it is clear that...when Cambodia was granted independence, it had a profound effect on many Cambodian nationalists, both conservative and radical. In the late 1940s, a new political ideology based on resistance rather than cooperation and independence rather than subordination also took hold among many rural Cambodians, as well as in sections of the Buddhist clergy and among the educated elite (Chandler, 1992:5).

Chandler is referring to the fact that once the Japanese had pushed the French out of Indochina during World War II, and King Sihanouk had persuaded the French government to grant independence to Cambodia, political parties were at last allowed to form, and Cambodian nationalism was freely expressed. This state of affairs did not last however. Elections were called in 1955 and King Sihanouk abdicated in favor of his father, establishing his own political party. This party, aided by the Cambodian police, murdered, harassed, intimidated and cheated their way to power in the elections. For the next fifteen years, Sihanouk ruled exactly as he pleased:

> By treating Cambodia as a personal fief, his subjects as children, and his opponents as traitors, Sihanouk did much to set the agenda, unwittingly, for the lackadaisical chaos of the Khmer Republic and the horrors of Democratic Kampuchea (Chandler, 1992:190).

One of the political parties to emerge in opposition to Sihanouk was the Cambodian Communist party. The Communists formed the KPRP or Khmer People's Revolutionary Party and by 1952 it was estimated that one third of Cambodia was under the military control of the KPRP (Wright, 1989:4). In 1970 Sihanouk's royalist regime was overturned by the armed forces, led by General Lon Nol, who formed the government. Sihanouk's rebuttal of the U.S. and his forging of a secret alliance with North Vietnam, coupled with the destabilization of the Vietnam War upon the Cambodian economy aided not only his own demise, but also strengthened the support of the Communist Party. The following five years were a period of civil war in Cambodia, with the U.S. giving a large amount of military aid to the government. At the same time, a US-Vietnamese joint invasion of Cambodia was attempted in 1970, and saturation bombing on outlying areas of Cambodia in 1973 by American B-52's (Vickery, 1984:14, 15, 25).

In early 1975 the fighting between the KPRP and Lon Nol's government moved from the rural areas to encircle Phnom Penh. Saloth Sar (or Pol Pot as he came to be known) wanted to take Phnom Penh without the aid of the Vietnamese, and thus on the 17th of April, 1975, two weeks before the fall of Saigon, the Khmer Rouge as they were to become infamously known, marched into the capital of Cambodia. The week following April 17th saw the expulsion of two million Khmer into the countryside to form collective farming units. This "doctrinaire experiment" aimed at self-sufficiency for Cambodia, using only indigenous technologies and natural resources. Cambodia was renamed Democratic Kampuchea (EIU, 1994:91-92). The workers in the collective agricultural units worked an average of ten to twelve hours a day, every day of the year (Pok, 1989:49). In the first year of the regime there was adequate food, but it is conservatively estimated that in the following two and a half years one million out of seven million Cambodians died of starvation, illness, or disease, or were killed outright (EIU, 1994:92). As the situation in Democratic Kampuchea became more desperate, Pol Pot began a purge of his own ranks, and it is estimated that 100,000 people were killed (Chandler, 1992:212-217).

The Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in 1978 and installed a new communist government which was to remain in power for a decade (EIU, 1994:92). By 1982 however, the Khmer Rouge were once again a well equipped

army which moved into Cambodia from Thailand and began retaking rural territory (Chandler, 1992:235).

In 1992 Cambodia was officially placed under "partial sovereign control" of the United Nations, and UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) was established, with its main aims being to disarm the various warring factions, and provide a safe environment for free elections (EIU, 1994:89). The CPP, or State of Cambodia (SOC) as it later became known, went to the polls in 1993 with Sihanouk back at the helm of this Phnom Penh based party. The royalist Funcinpec party won the election, despite the fact that the CPP is believed to have used murder, violence and coercion to win many of its votes, reminiscent of Sihanouk's first political party in the 1955 elections (EIU, 1994:89-90). Cambodia became a constitutional monarchy in September 1993, with Sihanouk once again the monarch.

4.3 A Culture of Terror

From the brief overview of Cambodian history provided above, it can be seen that a political climate of fear (and thus a contemporary culture of terror) began in Cambodia's recent history prior to the granting of independence in 1953 when a policy of political oppression was translated into murder, violence and coercion of Sihanouk's opponents. Even before independence Eastern Cambodians were subjected to Khmer Rouge recruiting and American bombings. The Khmer Rouge regime from 1975-1979 was perhaps the most traumatic and terrifying period in Cambodia's entire history, although terror of the Vietnamese succeeded in driving many thousands of Cambodians to refugee camps on the Thai border. In these camps violence was a constant reality, and fear a daily experience.

(a) The "New People" and "Year Zero" Khmer Rouge Ideology

During the Khmer Rouge regime the terror in Cambodia was (as it is now), spatially and temporarily uneven, everywhere differing in intensity. In the first two years for example (1975-1976), religion was not abolished in many parts of Cambodia, and there were far fewer deaths than in the following two years. In general, it was worse after 1977 everywhere, especially in the Eastern Zone which was the least terrorized area until 1977-78 when it became the most heavily oppressed area of the country (Kiernan, 1991:210-211). The Khmer Rouge

ideology was significantly influenced by Maoism, especially the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

The strong anti-intellectual and xenophobic quality of Khmer Rouge ideology resulted in a specific hierarchy of ethnic groups and social classes targeted for assimilation and annihilation. Different "classes" of people, and different "zones" of Cambodia thus experienced the culture of terror in varying degrees throughout the 57 months of the regime. One third of the Cham minority were killed, and key aspects of cultural identity such as their language, dietary proscriptions and hair length were disallowed. Vietnamese, Chinese and Lao minorities also suffered very high death rates, although the Cham were said to be "disappeared" as a people by Ben Kiernan (Keirnan, 1991). Of the ethnic Khmer, Cambodians from the "Eastern Zone" bordering Vietnam were given blue scarves to wear as identification, and were killed wherever this was possible (Kiernan, 1991:224). What began as a purge of pro-Vietnamese and pro-Sihanouk cadres in the Communist Party became a purge of all those Cambodians, particularly those who lived in provinces bordering Vietnam, with "Vietnamese minds". The urban Khmer were the next group targeted for genocide by the Khmer Rouge. Similarly, different areas of the country under the control of different groups in the Communist party treated their prisoners along a sliding scale of brutality. It would be fairly safe to contend that a culture of terror existed throughout most of Cambodia from the time when the Khmer Rouge emptied the cities of the urban population, and their plans became known to the majority of Cambodians.

(b) The Destruction of Community, Family, Individual, and Psychological Integrity

The traditional Cambodian social structure of decentralized administrative village units centering around a wat, or Buddhist temple was already shattered by the war in Indochina. Huge numbers of refugees had flocked to the cities. After seizing power the Khmer Rouge needed to tighten their control immediately as they feared the possibility of rebellion by educated and wealthy urban Cambodians. The forced relocation of the population from the cities and into collective farms was the major strategy for controlling the population. But it was not the only reason, as other forced relocations occurred all over Cambodia as Figures Two and Three illustrate:

Figure 2: Population Transfers April 1975 (Kiljunen, 1984:12)

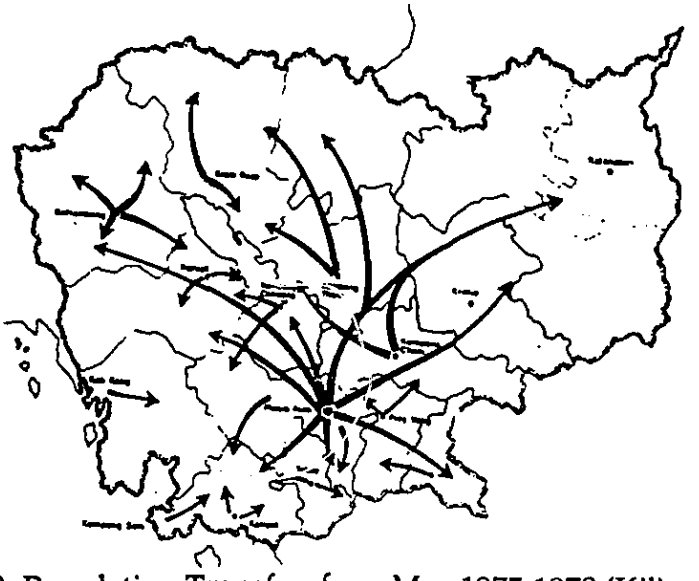
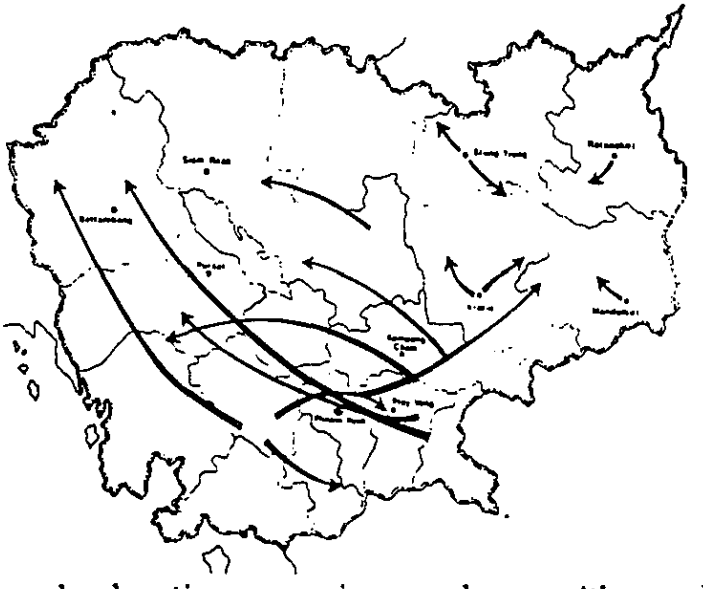


Figure 3: Population Transfers from May 1975-1978 (Kiljunen, 1984:13)



These forced relocations were in accordance with a policy of physical and psychological disorientation which aimed at removing a sense of community, of geographical identity, of historical continuity, and of physical and emotional attachments to people and places:

> Relocating involved a total uprooting of the community, physically and psychologically. It meant a severe break with the past. Usually people could only take with them what they could carry...the eradication of the traditional village social structure and the attendant disorientation enabled the KR [Khmer Rouge] to skip directly to a more advanced stage of collectivisation (Burgler, 1990:37).

Khmer Rouge ideology posited a new community with no history, hence the term "Year Zero" to designate 1975 (the period of Angkor is however consistently mentioned in Khmer Rouge speeches at this time). Classes were to be leveled through the use of physical labor on the collective farms, by which all people would learn egalitarianism, and urban residents would no longer be "parasites" feeding off the peasantry (Kiljunen, 1984:10). The urban dwellers were labeled the "New People" and life for them was generally harsher than the "base" or "old" people. The collective farms thus served the purposes of enabling the socialist revolution to take a Great Leap Forward quickly, to control the population much more tightly, and to reconstruct or "build" personalities appropriate to the type of human being required by the Khmer Rouge in order for the Revolution to provide a "glorious future" for Cambodia.

There was therefore a chain of new social relations and conditions which impinged upon all levels of Cambodian society. The destruction of traditional social structure and the inculcation of a sense of collectivity as opposed to individuality took a myriad of forms. The concept of family was abolished, and people lived in large shelters on the collective farms. Sexual relations were highly regulated. Marriages were conducted en masse, and there are even a few reported cases of forced marriage, although Burgler reminds us that arranged marriages were common in Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge regime (Burgler, 1990:37). Meetings between married couples were restricted and non-marital sexual relations were forbidden (Kiljunen, 1984:17-18). The Khmer Rouge wished to induce qualities of self reliance, self discipline, and asceticism. To this end, interpersonal relations were also discouraged. Political education took the form of weekly "life style" meetings in which self criticism and criticism of others in the collective farms were encouraged. Everyone was effectively urged to become a spy (Burgler, 1990:36)

Khmer Rouge ideology maintained that Cambodians undergo a personality restructuring. These changes required:

> inculcating new values under a discipline unknown to modern Cambodia...Angkor [literally "the Organization", a synonym for Khmer Rouge leadership] continually exhorted cadres to discard individualistic traits and replace them with a collective spirit (Burgler, 1990:38).

Quoting a top party official, Burgler relates the fact that Cambodians needed to be "tamed", so that "men" became "machines". The major focus of Khmer Rouge personality restructuring was therefore manifested as an attempt to strip Cambodians of their sense of (personal) individuality and (collective) identity. In destroying Buddhism in all its forms (derobing of monks, smashing of effigies, etc.)(Yem, 1989:112); in forcing the population to wear black (Houn, 1989:134); in uprooting them from their homes, ancestors, and guardian spirits; in forcing them to live silently in communal huts (Pok, 1989:149) and in removing all personal effects and sentimental items (Houn, 1989:139), conformity was enforced, and individualism shattered. The place of a person within a particular cosmological, societal, and familial world was abolished as effectively as the Khmer Rouge could manage. Emotions of all forms were discouraged and punished, except love for the Organization, and unremitting loyalty to the revolutionary cause.

A steady stream of violence also characterized the lives of Cambodians at this time. People who were not seen as strictly conforming to Khmer Rouge ideology mysteriously disappeared from their beds at night and were never seen again. Within the communes, the Khmer Rouge regularly tortured those who did not cooperate completely. A Filipino social worker in the Community Mental Health Services unit at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center related to Joanna Scott the life history of one of her patients who, upon refusing to reveal her full identity to the Khmer Rouge, was repeatedly wrapped and tied in a plastic sheet until she fainted, and was then revived by throwing water on her (Scott, 1989:155-156). Starvation was perhaps the most common form of torture during this regime however. Houn describes the constant hunger:

> The people were in a terrible condition. They got sick. Their bodies swelled from lack of food and they got diarrhoea and stomach pains from eating strange things- roots, leaves, insects, rats, anything they could lay their hands on (Houn, 1989:142).

The "eyes of the pineapple" was a metaphor used by the Khmer Rouge to instill terror in their captors and an attitude of resignation and fatalism. The Khmer Rouge told the commune and village members that they had spies everywhere, and that no action, no sound, would go unheard or unpunished since the Khmer Rouge had as many eyes as a pineapple (Burgler, 1990). As a result, many Cambodians, numbed by fear, did not attempt to escape, even those

who were not too weak from starvation to do so. The numbing effect and the hopelessness of escape was vividly explained by Heng Houn, who had lived in Battambang when the Khmer Rouge arrived there and ordered the government soldiers to march out of the city. Within a few days the rest of the civilians were forced to walk to labor camps in the countryside:

> Before long we came to a place called Thmar Kaul and there, in the ditch alongside the road, I saw the bodies of the military. Pol Pot had killed them, many, many of them. Too many to count. Too many to bury one by one. I heard later that they had used a tractor to get all these bodies into a ditch (Houn, 1989:137).

Terror, violence, starvation, and torture were thus considered acceptable methods by the Khmer Rouge for achieving the Great Leap Forward, psychic reorganization, and for bringing about the "glorious future" which Cambodia deserved.

It is very difficult to write about "the terror" in Cambodia because the reports of Pol Pot's atrocities were falsified and exaggerated before the Vietnamese Occupation, and in the run up to the Thai elections of 1976 (Esterline and Esterline, 1990:268), and suppressed thereafter (Shawcross, 1983:234; Burgler, 1990:1-4). Noam Chomsky and other academics have demonstrated a significant campaign of bias and falsification regarding Western journalistic accounts of this period, roughly mirroring official U.S. foreign policy (Chomsky and Herman, 1979).

(c) The Refugee Camps: 'Sanctuaries' or 'Spaces for Violence'?

At the beginning of the Khmer Rouge period, the wealthiest and most educated urban Cambodians headed for the Thai border. Within the camps they made applications to other countries as political refugees. The refugee camps were considered sanctuaries from violence but this often did not appear to be the reality. Within the villages controlled by the Khmer Rouge, Cambodians were inundated by constant propaganda. One of the most common forms of propaganda was the engendering of a deep racial hatred towards the Vietnamese. The terror generated by the Khmer Rouge was in large measure the reason why so many Khmers fled to refugee camps when the Vietnamese invaded - they feared the Vietnamese even more than the Khmer Rouge, and like the earliest inhabitants of the camps, believed the camps to be safer than remaining in Cambodia.

Although the refugee situation has been portrayed negatively, and some refugees in the camps may have turned rumor and hearsay into actual events that happened to themselves in an attempt to gain asylum in a third country, the photographs of authors such as Hall and Getlin, and the reports of NGO workers would suggest that terror was an everyday experience for many people in the camps. Getlin and Hall describe the scene in the largest camp, Site 2, as darkness falls:

> The threat of shelling attacks on the camp is greater in the evening, and many families pack bags of belongings in case of a sudden evacuation. There is a nervous, uncertain air among the Khmers as the dirt roads begin to empty. Mothers keep a close eye on their children, and fathers watch the streets for violence. Many hospital patients leave the hospitals, carrying their IV bottles, for the relative safety of their huts and family...In the camps, the three hospitals begin to collect the evening's harvest: victims of child abuse, wife beating, drunken brawls, and simple brutality (Hall, 1992:74-75).

Hall documents the way in which many Cambodian men in Site 2 frequently took second or third mistresses, and used prostitutes regularly. She notes large increases in child abuse, rape, assault and theft, and that murders occurred almost on a daily basis (Hall, 1992:48, 29). Everyone in the camps was aware of the deaths because loud, disjointed music was played along the path the coffins were carried on their way to the outside crematorium (Hall, 1992:34-35).

The large number of Khmer refugees seeking help for trauma-related symptoms, similarly suggests a prevalent and prolonged culture of terror. Mental illness was reported within the camps, both because of the physical violence within the camps, and the fear of the unknown violence that the refugees may encounter when the camps closed and they were relocated in Cambodia. Many of the refugees were born in the camps, and had no knowledge of actual conditions in Cambodia. The Khmer Traditional Medicine Center and the Khmer People's Depression Relief Center gave traditional medical care in the camps to thousands of Cambodians. There were also western psychiatrists working in the camps. According to Dr. Paul Jones, coordinator of CAMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) in Site 8, many patients presented with somatic complaints and with denial. Hunt reports that medics working in the refugee camps reported hundreds of complaints of "anxiety disorders...chest pains, severs headaches, breathlessness, sleeplessness and continual feelings of unexplained fear and worry" (Hunt, 1991) as the time for the closing of the border camps drew nearer. The continual waiting, lack of employment, poor sanitary and living conditions, ensured that the nervousness, uncertainty and violence of everyday life and its ensuing mental illnesses continued in the refugee camps until they were eventually closed, and their inhabitants taken by train and truck back to Cambodia.

(d) Vietnamese Occupation, the UN, and the Present Situation

The Vietnamese occupation brought mixed reactions from Cambodians. Many Khmer Rouge soldiers attempted to pass for non-Communists in order to avoid the Vietnamese. These people were often decapitated or dismembered by Khmers who had seen them commit atrocities upon their families (May, 1986:239-244). Someth May, a Cambodian survivor, describes this period when the population were attempting to adjust to the idea of freedom and the responsibilities that came with trying to re-adopt former ways of life. The hatred engendered by the Khmer Rouge, however, ensured that things would never be the same again for Cambodians: "As yet there was no law and order, and as yet there were not many crimes, revenge excepted" (May, 1986:245).

Families searched for remaining members, foraged for food (trying to avoid Khmer Rouge booby traps) and began journeys back to their homes. But the violence was to escalate in Cambodia as banditry and armed holdups became common. This situation still exists in Cambodia where an unwritten

curfew exists on the roads between dusk and dawn. In Battambang, Cambodia's second largest city, the generators are turned off at 9 p.m. every night. Korkhet Chantaiertlak reported that:

> Many city residents said people rarely left their homes after the power supply was stopped because robberies and murders were rampant in the city. They said killings happened nearly every night and the bursts of gunfire could be heard all over the city (Chantalertlak, 1992).

This situation was alleviated somewhat upon the arrival of the UN peace keeping force. With the retreat of the Khmer Rouge to the Northwestern and Southern areas of the country, safe areas were finally established, such as Phnom Penh, where there was little chance of either direct fighting or land mine fatalities. The UN force was however a temporary measure to allow elections to be held, and the latest reports from Cambodia give no evidence of a cessation in the atmosphere of political terror. At the beginning of the rainy season (April-May, 1994), Government heavy equipment such as tanks became inoperable, and the Khmer Rouge launched an offensive, retaking the town of Pailin, and effectively sealing the Thai-Cambodia border. Areas of the countryside are clearly still in the midst of the culture of terror produced by warring Khmer Rouge and Government forces. The fighting is at its worst in five years. Since April, 1994 the Khmer Rouge have embarked on a policy of kidnapping and frequently killing foreigners in an effort to destabilize the government internationally. Eight tourists were killed in 1994 and there are reports confirmed by Khmer Rouge defectors that Australian and American citizens will be beheaded if found in Cambodia, and money paid to their captors (Murdoch, 1995:6). General lawlessness and landmines in the countryside have allowed terror to be perpetuated even in areas not presently contested by the Government and Khmer Rouge. Unpaid, often marauding armies from both sides often kill and terrorize citizens. Banditry, ethnic violence (particularly towards the Vietnamese) are still dominant realities in Cambodia. As the Khmer Rouge retake territory, and with King Sihanouk having only a small period of time to live due to cancer, there is no real cessation of people's fears. Cambodia is now, as it has been since prior even to Independence, a society in which fear and anxiety are the most powerful weapons of the Khmer Rouge. There are however, sanctuaries for some people in Phnom Penh, and the Buddhist Sangha

in particular has taken advantage of this opportunity to organize resistance to the violence and terror.

5

RESISTANCE IN CAMBODIA: THE DHAMMAYIETRA

"China, Champa, the ocean, and the land of

Cardamoms and Mangoes"

-The border of Jayavarman II's kingdom. Undated inscription, K. 989 Stele from Prasat Ben.

As a framework for meaning and experience for a majority of Cambodians, Theravada Buddhism includes canonical doctrine in the form of the Pali canon, and a series of practices in which veneration of the Buddha and respect for the Sangha (monkhood) often occur at a communal level. Buddhist ritual is commonly oriented toward individual ends, consistent with the Theravada Buddhist stress upon personal responsibility for previous and present deeds, but is most often performed collectively, and has traditionally been the main reason for villagers congregating in significant numbers.

5.1 Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia

Buddhism arose in fundamental opposition to Hinduism in India- against the nature of the sacrifice, and the concept of the self (Collins, 1982:84). A lack of 'self' is the primary way in which Buddhism is distinguished from Hinduism, but there are many other ways, such as the absence of a God in Buddhism. There are two main kinds of Buddhism- Mahayana and Theravada (Sinhalese, or Hinayana), although in Nepal and Tibet a Hindu-influenced form of Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism is practiced, and in Japan another variant, Zen Buddhism, exists. Theravada Buddhism is divided into the Thmayyut and Mohanikay sects in Cambodia (LeBar, 1965:99)

Although Theravada Buddhism is once again the official state religion of Cambodia (after its abolition during the Khmer Rouge era), it does not encompass the entire religious domain. A minority of Cambodians are Cham Muslims, Christians, and some Vietnamese are Mahayana Buddhists. The

upland non-Khmers can be loosely categorized as adherents of Buddhist and/or animist traditions. Animism is a pervasive fact of spiritual and practical life in Southeast Asia, especially outside the large cities- it cuts across all social classes, and even the most devout monk believes in the existence of spirits, even if he does not openly propitiate them. As May Ebihara has noted:

> Shrines for nak-thaa [spirits] are found on Buddhist temple grounds; life-cycle ceremonies combine offerings to spirits as well as invitation of monks, and even the most devout Buddhists...make obeisance to both Buddha and the spirits (Ebihara, 1966:190).

There may be some followers of Cao Dai religion (originating in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam), and Hindu elements are quite visible in the religion of Cambodia. Tambiah notes that two Sanskrit Brahmanical forms of Hinduism, Saivism and Vaishnavism, heavily influenced Cambodian religion and Mahayana Buddhism also influenced Khmer civilization when it was introduced by the eighth century by the Srivijaya and Sailendra dynasties of Sumatra (Tambiah, 1970:26).

Despite the wide range of religious beliefs and practices, there is no doubt that Theravada Buddhism as it is practiced in Cambodia, is a pervasive fact of life for the majority of Cambodians. The total field of religious beliefs thus includes ancestor cults, demons, and spirits which inhabit the heavens and hells of Buddhist cosmology, as well as the veneration of the Buddha. This world view also allows Cambodians access to different levels of reality such as the world of dreams, the world of the ancestors, and the world of spirits. Cambodians draw upon this world view to both comprehend violence, and to provide an idiom for their experience of a culture of terror and the space of death. Psychiatrists have documented Cambodian attempts at expressing distress and reworking their life world epistemologies from within this cultural frame as evidenced by: relatives, both alive and dead, stepping out of their dreams and into their everyday lives, as well as ancestor's, *?aap* (disembodied female skull with entrails dangling behind it), sorcerers, and vengeful spirits visiting the refugees who report to clinics suffering extreme emotional distress (Eisenbruch, 1991:675).

(a) Collective Ritual and Individual Responsibility

May Ebihara makes reference to the fact that many Southeast Asian scholars frequently cite the individualistic nature of Buddhism, where each individual is responsible for a personal tally of merit and demerit through one's cycle of rebirths. Ebihara has however concluded that in Cambodia, merit-making[1], although oriented towards individual ends, is generally achieved interpersonally and collectively (Ebihara, 1966:186-187):

> No matter how much independence may be treasured, [each individual] is inextricably bound with others in this life. Buddhism realizes this elemental sociological fact in its precepts which urge harmonious, courteous, and generous relationships with others...Buddhism thus can and does encourage integration into a society where the family, village, and nation are the only institutions that can command much loyalty or influence behavior to any significant degree (Ebihara, 1966:188-189).

Ebihara's conclusion suggests that a theoretical distinction may be made with regard to beliefs and practices as Theravada Buddhism is lived in Cambodia. Responsibility for one's eventual Enlightenment is posited at the level of the individual. Merit accrues if the total sum of one's deeds in all previous lives as well as the present incarnation, exceeds the total of demeritorious acts. However, merit making is often performed collectively in accordance with the Buddhist values of harmony and compassion in interpersonal relationships.

The ethnographic work of Stanley Tambiah in Northeast Thailand also shows that a great deal of Buddhist ritual activity occurs at a communal level. Tambiah demonstrates that collective rituals are an integral part of the cyclical Buddhist, animist, and agricultural traditions of Southeast Asia (Tambiah, 1970:152-153). For example, Tambiah has stated that in Theravada Buddhist villages, the important and highly visible activity of merit-making, done in a collective context is:

> ...by far the most conspicuous religious activity in the village. In this sense merit-making as a collective ethic directed to a community institution- the wat and its monks- provides occasions for residents of a village to assemble periodically (Tambiah, 1970:57).

---

[1]The accumulation of merit via "Right" thoughts and deeds improves one's Karmic debt and hence ensures a better rebirth, and eventually, the attainment of Enlightenment.

Manning Nash's observations of Burmese village life would seem to add weight to the views of Ebihara and Tambiah. Nash found that his informants would often make a distinction between rituals aimed at the level of the individual, and those performed at a communal level. Nash notes that collective rituals dramatize a feeling of embededdness in a particular collective frame. Under peaceful circumstances, a feeling of communal 'embedding' results in what he has described as the transcending of "local organization", and the formation of "a religious community...of the villages of Upper Burma" (Nash, 1966:113).

The preceding authors would agree that collective Buddhist rituals in Southeast Asia have traditionally been the most frequent manner by which villagers have collectively, and publicly, joined together. Ritual is thus a significant mode of creating a collective space in which important themes can be enacted, transformed, or created. In this sense, collective ritual can be seen to hold healing potential for Buddhists since it constructs a religiously and culturally recognizable collective space in which to reforge social and interpersonal ties previously broken by violence and ensuing terror.

5.2 The Politics of Ritual

Ritual is a traditional subject of description and analysis in anthropology. As Dirks reminds us however, anthropologists have almost always written about ritual *or* resistance, rather than ritual *as* resistance. The functionalist underpinnings of the main school of ritual analysis in anthropology (e.g. Van Gennep and Gluckman) do not allow the concept of "order" to be problematized. For most ritual specialists in anthropology, ritual has been about establishing and reaffirming a social order. The different agendas involved in the ritual process went unaccounted. For Dirks however, ritual is fundamentally about power and authority:

> We hear only about carnival or the charivari, about rituals that involve reversal and inversion, not about rituals that are about power and authority of both secular and sacred kinds. And we evaluate the politics of ritual only in terms of a discourse on resistance that seeks out contestatory and confrontational upsurges by the lower classes (Dirks, 1994:486).

Rituals change and emerge, often as sociopolitical processes and events change and emerge, and an understanding of ritual may allow a level of understanding of a particular sociopolitical process which would be otherwise unavailable. Even though some ritual participants undoubtedly wish to impose a particular version of "order" upon a wider group, participation in ritual can also be conceived of as a form of resistance to the prevailing dominant power relation in which they are enmeshed. Dirks quotes Jean Comoroff who found that in South Africa, which she describes as "violently established" and "violently maintained": "ritual provides an appropriate medium through which the values and structures of a contradictory world may be addressed and manipulated" (Comaroff quoted in Dirks, 1994:487).

Ritual is thus for Dirks primarily about two things:

(i) a forum for resistance and the contestation of power, and

(ii) a forum where identities can be constructed or reconstructed (Dirks, 1994:499)

This last point accords well with Carolyn Nordstrom's hypothesis that "sociopolitical processes" can provide "socioconceptual coherency", rendering bodies and identities symbolically whole once more. An alternative view to that of traditional structural anthropologists is an interpretation of ritual as a sociopolitical process- a collective space in which resistance to a dominant power can occur. Collective Buddhist rituals in Cambodia can then be attributed the potential properties of political resistance and personal and collective healing in the form of reconstruction of identities.

Stanley Tambiah has written about the complex relationship between Buddhism, politics, and violence in Sri Lanka. In his earlier works, (Tambiah, 1976; 1984) Tambiah explained that the order which Buddhism seeks to impose upon the world is a cosmological order in which the earth is but one of the Buddhist realms of existence, which constitute a hierarchy of worlds from most corporeal (the hells) to the incorporeal state of Enlightenment, or nirvana. This world must be ruled by a King, a cakkavati, or wheel turner, so as to ensure an ordered environment in which monks can get on with the task of showing, by example, the Path to Enlightenment. The King is thus sanctioned to be a "world conqueror" so that the conquered people can adopt the Buddhist principles espoused by the "world renouncers", the monks (Tambiah, 1976). Tambiah has however noted that historically a large number of Buddhist saints, gurus, and other "holy" people have affected the sociopolitical situation of their time, and

numbers all of these people in his description of how Buddhism and Politics interact on many levels to bring about a desired state of existence on this earth (Tambiah, 1984).

In contemporary Sri Lanka this relationship between religion and politics has become integral to the formation of a "nationalist perspective", the boundaries of which are increasingly demarcated by violence. Tambiah shows in a recent work how an array of groups with differing agendas seek to manipulate religious and historical images of the past to forge this nationalist perspective:

> And the ideologies of the society, the activist "scholar-monk, the popularist "literary" circles, the vote-seeking politicians, and the creators of rituals of national development and television dramas unite to image and propagate this vision of a (utopia) past that could be a prospective (utopian) future (Tambiah, 1992: xiv)

Ritual thus becomes in Southeast Asia, not only a forum for resistance and potential healing, but also a complex sociopolitical phenomenon where various levels of doctrine and practice are employed by different groups with individual agendas. It is from within this politically informed context that a new ritual, the Dhammayietra, will be described. The ritual is new in that every ritual reinvents itself at each performance. Dirks has noted that the "political permeability" of ritual means that although it is "patterned activity", the possibility exists for "a succession of contested performances, readings and tellings" (Dirks, 1994:499). In the following description and analysis of the Cambodian Dhammayietra and the agendas which coalesce to enact the ritual, the focus is upon the potential healing abilities of the performance of ritual, and its possible basis as a resistance strategy to terror and violence. Although many other ways exist in which to interpret the salience of the Dhammayietras, collective Buddhist rituals in Southeast Asia have traditionally provided important sites for the construction of identity, and thus the Dhammayietra may represent a singificant attempt to reintegrate personal and collective identity within a culturally familiar Buddhist idiom.

5.3 The Dhammayietra

At the end of the Khmer Rouge period there were seven monks found still alive in Cambodia, 25,000 having been killed, including the Supreme Patriarch who was more than eighty years old (Mekloy, 1992). (This statistic is not verified by Vickery who believes there was no campaign to kill monks by the Khmer Rouge) (Vickery, 1984:179-180). Since that time however, the number of nuns and monks has increased markedly and the Buddhist Sangha has effectively mobilized large groups of Cambodians, NGO's and other bodies into "Non-violent coalitions" from the relative safety of Phnom Penh. Wat Meas Po in Phnom Penh is the center of this activity.

There are many groups involved in organizing and participating in the Dhammayietras. At the international level, the United Nations has been involved in providing canned food for the participants of the Dhamayietra. The Food Aid organization of the United Nations System, through its World Food Programme (WFP), responded to the request for food by the leader of the walk, Samdech Preah Maha Ghosananda. The Country Director of the WFP, Scott Leiper wrote that his organization sees the Buddhist Sangha confronting the violence in Cambodia as a step towards improving the quality of life of the poorest and most remote of the population, and thus the Dhammayietra comes under the United Nation's mandate (Leiper, 1994:1).

The Dhammayietra fits within the framework of a series of peace marches and peace seminars organized in various war torn countries by international Non-Governmental organizations who are committed to the global peace movement which began in the 1960's. This would include NGO groups such as *Community Aid Abroad* and *Nonviolence International*, and religiously oriented groups such as the *International Network of Engaged Buddhists* which has its headquarters in Bangkok, and the *International Fellowship of Reconciliation.* The interests of many of these groups are represented in Cambodia by Yoshua Moser, "a Buddhist who has had experience running similar [peace] seminars in Sri-Lanka and various other countries" (INEB, n.d.: 1). Moser is Southeast Asia staff for Nonviolence International, and a "pre-walk coordinator" (Bernstein and Moser, 1993). Many of these groups have sent personnel to participate in the walk. The concept of walking for peace is thus a convergence of forms of resistance that has occurred in other cultures, and as such it is supported by the international peace movement. Dr. Chandra Muzzafar, for example, an Human

Rights activist and Inter-faith Communicator in Malaysia wrote to the organizers of the Dhammayietra suggesting that the "real" objective of the Dhammayietra is "the unity of human hearts" (CPR, 1992). The notion of walking for peace has however been reappropriated by Buddhists. Maha Ghosananda interpreted walking as a culturally familiar theme in Buddhist countries, and thus the peace walk was named the Dhamma Yietra, or Dhamma Walk, and given Buddhist meaning and significance.

A number of groups or institutions are interested in performing the Dhammayietra. It can be viewed from the perspective of the Cambodian monarchy, the Sangha (Buddhist monkhood), and the feminist movement. From the viewpoint of the monarchy, since the introduction of Buddhism to Southeast Asia, Buddhism and Kingship have been linked as the two necessary prerequisites for order and eventual enlightenment. The monarchy has continued to follow this agenda, and as such King Sihanouk has repeatedly and publicly made his support for the Dhammayietra widely known. He has used the newspapers as a medium of his expressions of approval, and called a public holiday when Phnom Penh women decided to hold a "night Dhammayietra" on International Women's Day following the success of Maha Ghosananda's Dhammayietras.

At the level of the Sangha, the Buddhist hierarchy undoubtedly seek to strengthen Buddhism in Cambodia. Before the Khmer Rouge regime the Sangha and the monarchy were the only major institutions in Cambodia. Venerable Maha Ghosananda, who is also the head of the *Inter-Religious Mission for Peace in Cambodia and the Whole World.*, leads each of the Dhammayietras, accompanied by many monks and nuns. Ghosananda was nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize, as is dubbed the "Buddha of the Battlefield". Although the peace walk has been conducted in other countries and is officially "non-denominational", the activist policies of Ghosananda require monks to "teach" and show through example how Buddhist principles can be applied on a national scale.

The night Dhammayietra was inspired by the original Dhammayietra, performed in parallel with it, and was organized by NGO's such as the women's NGO, *Khemera*, and conducted by 17 local organizations. The feminist agenda merging with Buddhist philosophy is evident in statements by Sochua Leiper, president of Khemera: "We want to use our religion to teach people about our rights and responsibilities to one another. Our method is nonviolence", and by Maha Ghosananda who led the night Dhammayietra: "We must treat all women

as our mothers, love, respect, and serve them. So you must love, respect, and serve one another. And each one of you can become a Buddha" (Bernstein, 1994:1-2). The whole event was filmed by another women's group, the *Khmer Women's Voice Center* (ibid.).

The planning and management of the Dhammayietras is done by the Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation (CPR) which was established to facilitate world peace. The CPR was co-founded by Elizabeth Bernstein with the goal of providing leadership to the general populace by way of "Active Nonviolence". The CPR have performed several large-scale public ceremonies hoping to heal the population of the wounds they have suffered in the last twenty years.

At the community level, a consequence of the Dhammayietra has been collective participation in rebuilding social structures and institutions. Community groups such as the *Ponleu Khmer: A Citizen's Coalition for the Constitution*, consisting of 29 local groups, have been empowered to lobby for legislative and constitutional reforms, for the equality of women, and for many other causes (CPR, 1993a:1). The Ponleu Khmer was formed as a direct result of the Dhammayietra (CPR, 1993a:3). There is thus no doubt that a variety of agendas exist in relation to the Dhammayietra, but here the focus will be upon the healing potential (at both an individual and community level) of the Dhammayietra with regard to the possibility of reconstructing life worlds and "re-membering" both the physical body and the body politic.

(a) Dhammayietra I

Dhammayietra literally means "Pilgrimage of Truth", and can most simply be described as a peace march. The aim of the Dhammayietra is to bring peace to the world using the principle of active non-violence. Dhammayietra I began on the 12th of April, 1992 when 350 monks, nuns and lay people (mostly members of the CPR) escorted hundreds of refugees from Aranyaprathet on the Thai-Cambodia border to Phnom Penh. The journey took thirty days and traversed 350 km through three provinces being shelled by the Khmer Rouge (CPR, 1993a). The Walk was preceded by a week of preparations at Wat Taphyra in Thailand and the schedule of the preparations and the Walk itinerary are reproduced in the Appendix.

Permission from the Thai and Cambodian governments was not forthcoming two days before the walk when over 100 refugees from the border camps decided to cross from Thailand into Cambodia in order to participate in the walk (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:2). The Walk itself began around two or three am most mornings to avoid the 45° C temperatures during the day (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:3). Bernstein and Moser report that almost all refugees were united with lost family members as the Walk passed through small villages on its way to the capital (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:2). The walkers were joined by villagers who would walk for part of the distance, often bringing rice and mangoes for the walkers (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:3).

The physical act of walking was accompanied by pouring water over villagers as the walkers passed by, and the walkers often had their feet washed by the people who had come out to support them. The monks said the "Tuk Mon" water blessing for those they met along the way - thousands of people lined the Dhammayietra route. In the evenings the walkers would sit and chat under Bodhi trees, and each day a Bodhi tree from Sri Lanka was planted "as a symbol of seeding reconciliation and compassion in communities along the route" (CPR, 1992). The walk ended on the highest Buddhist holy day, May thirteenth, when over one thousand people joined the procession as it walked through the streets of Phnom Penh (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:4).

(b) Dhammayietra II

Dhammayietra II began on the fourth of May, 1993, on the eve of the UN-sponsored elections involving around 300 monks and nuns and 50 lay people. The participants walked for seventeen days from Angkor Wat to Phnom Penh. The walk is described by Bob Maat et al. thus:

> The walkers usually began their daily treks at four or five in the morning, depending on the amount of fighting in the area they were about to enter. Even as early as four AM in town or countryside, families would wait outside their homes with buckets of water, candles and incense sticks. As the monks and nuns filed past, two by two, they would bless the people with water and words of peace "May peace be in your heart, your family, your village, our country". In return, many walkers had his/her feet blessed or washed by those waiting alongside the road...The incense sticks were extinguished in the water as a symbol of dousing the flames of war, as prayers for well being were being exchanged. (Maat et al. 1993:2)

The day before the walk commenced saw a battle between government and Khmer Rouge forces engulf the walkers who were beginning their morning meditation. The fighting lasted for four hours and a grenade landed in the meditation hall where most of the walkers were hiding, including Maha Ghosananda, the leader of the walk. The grenade did not explode, and Ghosananda said of the episode: "Our mission was to end the war and suffering by peaceful means. We all had to overcome a test of our faith before we could begin our march. That was our karma and we all had to see it through" (Cusick, 1993).

The decision to proceed with the walk was made after a bus load of walkers from all over Cambodia, as well as a busload from Thailand arrived on May third. The walk itself passed through heavily mined areas where the UN Peacekeeping forces didn't venture more than 500m from their bases (Maat et al. 1993:1-2). Along the route soldiers laid down their weapons and asked Ghosananda to bless them so they would be protected from the enemies' bullets (ibid.). The Walk entered Phnom Penh with almost 3,000 participants which expanded to nearly 10,000 in the walks conducted around the city in the following three days (May 22-24) (CPR, 1993b).

(c) Dhammayietra III

Dhammayietra III left Battambang on the 24th of April, 1994 and finished on May 16 at Angkor Wat. In the three days before the walk "the Dhammayietra...walked around the city...and each morning city residents...placed buckets of water and incense sticks by the side of the road, waiting to receive the blessing from the walk as it passed" (CPR, 1994). Like the previous march, pre-walk training included landmine awareness, meditation, first aid, and talks about the goal of nonviolence (ibid.). Descriptions of the walk appeared in the Nation:

> About 450 monks, 250 nuns, and 100 lay people began in Battambang. From Sisophon there were about 350 monks, 150 nuns, 50 lay people and 10 foreigners. About 800 finished the last leg. Several hundred locals pushed the total to 1500 as the procession approached Angkor Wat. (Fox, 1994).

And in the Phnom Penh Post:

[Dhammayietra III] departs from Battambang province on 24 April and will travel along route 10 to Pailin, then along the Thai border to Yeath Ath, Nimit, and Sisophon, Thmar Pouk and Samroung. The march will finish one month later in Angkor Wat where walkers will celebrate the highest holy day of Buddhism, Vesak Puja on May 24, after their 430 km journey (Channo, 1994).

The Khmer Rouge recaptured the town of Pailin on April 19th. Extensive fighting along the route led the walkers to detour around Chroey Sna mountain on their way to Sangke Vea in the Bavel district of Battambang province. In front of the mountain on April 30th they were caught in fighting between government and Khmer Rouge forces. One monk and one nun were killed, and four Cambodians were injured. The six foreigners were detained by the Khmer Rouge but were released after a few hours. The Khmer Rouge soldiers apologized to Maha Ghosananda claiming that they also wanted peace and had not meant any walkers to be injured (CPR, 1994). The final leg of the journey is described by Bronwyn Curran before the final closing ceremony complete with balloons and orchestra at Angkor Wat:

Villagers kneeled by the roadside behind tables laden with water offering water from the tables. Leading monks threw water over women and girls who knelt with clasped hands and bowed heads. The marchers were greeted at Wat Dam Nach in Siem Reap town by Maha Ghosananda, who had gone earlier, standing underneath a double rainbow. "But there's been no rain today. It must be a sign of peace," exclaimed one nun (Curran, 1994).

6

RE-MEMBERING AND RECONSTRUCTION

Through the idioms of space and body introduced in the theoretical chapter, the Dhammayietra can be interpreted from within a Buddhist framework as a culturally patterned form of resistance which has the potential to reconstruct life worlds, symbolically re-member bodies, and resist "terror's talk" (Taussig, 1992) in a number of physical and symbolic terrains. A focus upon two key symbols of the Dhammayietra, walking, and the Bodhi tree, will illustrate the way that a familiar Southeast Asian idiom can enact and reframe public space in Cambodia.

6.1 Cultural Idioms of Resistance

a. Walking: An Embodied Symbol

The Dhammayietra is a way in which ordinary Cambodians are able to both physically and symbolically walk in the footsteps of the monks. The idea of walking is deeply embedded in the Buddhist religion. Over 2500 years ago the Buddha gathered monks, nuns and other Indians together to walk in long processions for peace (Maat, 1993). Intervening personally, the Buddha solved a conflict over the Rohini River between the Sakyas and the Koliyas, and prevented an attack upon the kingdom of Vajjis by King Ajatasuttu by teaching peace and non-violence (Venerable Vos Hut Khemacaro, 1990:4).

Accompanying the physical act of walking in the Dhammayietra is a richly symbolic and affective language which finds expression in bodily metaphors. Walking, for example, becomes an embodied act of 're-membering' and hence of resistance within a Buddhist framework when it serves as a representation of wisdom and compassion walking together. In reaffirming such basic Buddhist values as wisdom and compassion, the Dhammayietra reconnects Cambodian Buddhists to a cultural anchoring: the Buddhist axis of their society, repressed by the Khmer Rouge, but waning in significance long before Independence. Venerable Maha Ghosananda said of the Dhammayietra:

Wisdom and compassion must walk together. Having one without the other is like walking with one foot. You may hop a few times, but eventually you will fall. Balancing wisdom with compassion, you will walk very well- slowly and elegantly, step by step (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:2).

The Dhammayietra is thus a cultural idiom of reconstruction, but more specifically, it is a religious idiom of resistance and healing (in the sense of rendering bodies symbolically whole). The Buddhist nature of the Dhammayietra - of wisdom and compassion walking together to produce peace- is also evident in the Pali scripts, where the "pair Lokesvara (compassion/father) and Prajnaparamita (intelligence/mother) give birth to the Buddha (Enlightenment, thought to be the child of wisdom and compassion)" (Chandler, 1992:67). Here wisdom and compassion produce the incarnation of peace and happiness- the Buddha himself. Just as King Jayavarman II (the first Angkorian King) thought himself to be the embodiment of the union of wisdom and compassion, so Maha Ghosananda seeks to make each step taken on the Dhammayietra a physical manifestation of wisdom and compassion, with the inevitable mating resulting in peace. The Dhammayietra is thus symbolic of the Path to Enlightenment, and thus of Buddhism.

b. Framing Social Space: The Bodhi Tree

The planting of a Bodhi Tree is an important daily aspect of the Dhammayietra ritual. H.L. Seneviratne and Swarna Wickremarante have written about the Bodhi tree as one of the three key symbols of the Buddha (the other two being sacred relics, and images), and its veneration in the cult of Bodhipuja as evidence of a collective representation of educated, unemployed Sri Lankan youth (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980). The authors posit that these youths are "frustrated" and "oppressed", and since these feelings are socially generated, so the response transcends individuals (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980: 739-739). Further, the worship of the Bodhi tree for "this-worldly merit" has been adopted in Sri-Lanka because of what Victor Turner has described as the *charisma* of the monks who lead the rituals, and the feeling of *communitas* generated in collective veneration of the Tree (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980: 739).

Although it is likely that the Bodhi tree was a revered structure prior to the advent of Buddhism, the paper by Senerviratne and Wickremarante reveals much of the symbolism for which the Bodhi tree (Ficus religiosa) is venerated by Buddhists:

(i) The Bodhi Tree is a symbol of the Buddha. The overwhelmingly prevalent traditional form of Bodhi worship has been its veneration as a caitya (a representation of the Buddha) by virtue of it being a paribhogika object (something that has been used by the Buddha).

(ii) The "orthodox monkhood" insist on the equivalence of the Bodhi with the Buddha for the purpose of veneration and remind inquirers of the Buddha's own statement that the Bodhi is a symbol (caitya) whose worship is equivalent to the worship of the Buddha himself (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980: 741).

(iii) The Bodhi Tree symbolizes Wisdom or Enlightenment, referring to the fact that the Buddha attained Enlightenment (nirvana) sitting in meditation at the foot of the Tree: "Myth and legend portray in great vividness the Bodhi luxuriantly growing on the banks of the river Neranjara: the Buddha, sitting in meditation at its foot, resolving never to arise until he reached Enlightenment; the advent of the ferocious forces of Mara (death) and their attempt to break his determination; and the Buddha's heroic victory over these forces of evil and the attainment of nirvana" (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980: 736).

(iv) The great magical power of the Bodhi comes in part from "the Buddha's superhuman expression of gratitude to the Bodhi by gazing at it for a week without a single wink of his eyelids" (Senerviratne and Wickremarante, 1980: 738).

(v) The Bodhi is the "lordly" tree of the forest (vanaspati) and is both capable of attracting "waves of power" towards it, and radiating the waves outwards.The Bodhi Tree is thus the physical manifestation of that potentness.

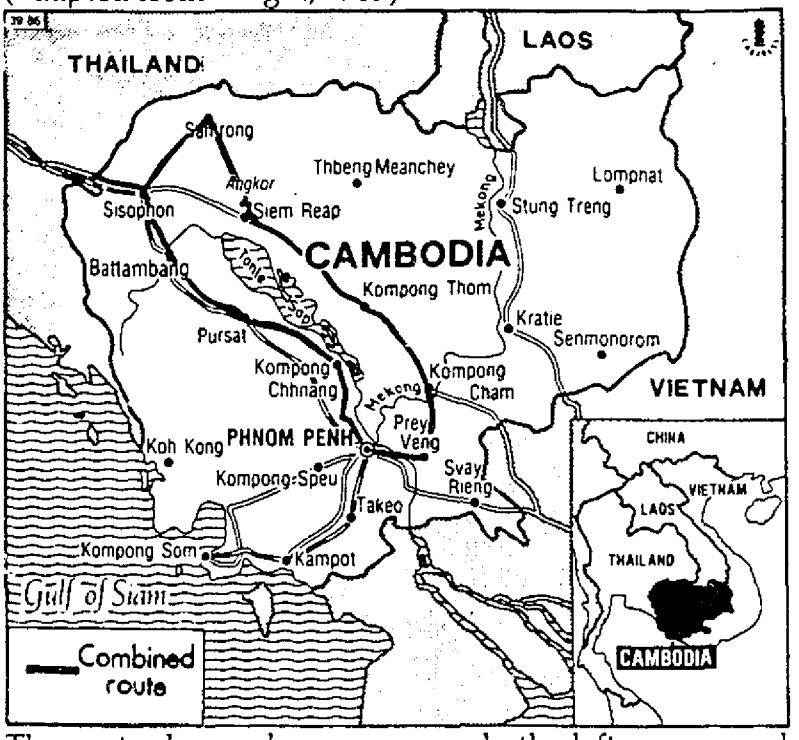
The Bodhi tree clearly is a potent object of Buddhist power and meaning, and the national and NGO discourse regarding the Dhammayietra overflows with metaphors of "shade" and of "seeding reconciliation". The Theravada metaphor of shade is taken from the Bodhi tree. Bernstein notes that along the route of the Dhammayietras, groups would congregate in the evenings under Bodhi trees, and Maat has described how a Bodhi tree (imported from the heartland of Buddhism: Sri-Lanka) was planted daily along the route of the Dhammayietras. Bernstein and Moser note that the Trees were planted as a

symbol of bringing shade to an "emotionally parched battle ground" (Bernstein and Moser, 1993:3).

6.2 Physical and Symbolic Spaces of Resistance

The following map illustrates the combined routes of the three Dhammayietras:

Figure 4: Cumulative route of Dhammayietras I, II, and III:
(adapted from Wright, 1989).



The route shown above covers only the left upper quadrant of Cambodia which is the area encompassed by, and nearest to, Khmer Rouge strongholds. The Khmer Rouge have bases to the Northwest and South of this quadrant. The Dhammayietra forges past the 'interface' and into Khmer Rouge-controlled territory (i.e. the Khmer Rouge 'sanctuary'). Both walking through this area, and planting Bodhi trees along the route, makes a physical claim upon the area encompassed by the route. The Dhammayietra II began from the physical center of resistance, Phnom Penh, areas of which could be called sanctuaries (such as wats and monasteries). Departing Phnom Penh, walkers traversed the socially demarcated space for violence (which now encompasses most of the countryside) to the symbolical center of Cambodia (Angkor Wat) and hence connected the physical and symbolic centers of resistance.

The reclaiming of Angkor Wat by the peace movement can be interpreted as the reclaiming of what Michael Taussig has called "public dream space", one of many ways in which symbolic spaces can be used as forms of resistance. Angkor Wat is an object containing a reified framework of Buddhist knowledge and meaning. It is of immense spiritual importance to many Cambodians. Although the Khmer Rouge have stolen many artifacts from within the complex, and trip-wired the ruins, all warring armies have shelled around the area. The Khmer revere the monument so much that Cambodia is the only country to have a building (Angkor Wat) on its flag.

But monuments do not necessarily need to be made of stone to reify meanings and emotions, and as we have seen, the Bodhi tree also concentrates many Buddhist cosmological and spiritual beliefs. By planting trees along the routes of the Dhammayietras, these Bodhi trees, or "reified patterns of meaning" connect cities to one another, and to Angkor Wat. It is thus the establishment, in the space of violence, of an enduring symbol of the Buddhist epistemological knowledge framework.

Within the symbolic collective space established by the ring of Bodhi trees, other forms of symbolic space such as collective memory and public imagination may be re-established by the performance of the Dhammayietra. The Dhammayietra does not remind Cambodians of particular collective memories, rather, it creates new memories for the future. The Dhammayietra does not remind the participants of past atrocities, instead it creates a temporal and epistemological break from the disordered life worlds of the inhabitants of a culture of terror. It is thus an attempt to supersede memories of a terrible past. The peace walkers are selecting images of their religious past such as the birth of the Buddha, and the magical potency of the Bodhi Tree, to give force to this process of creating new cultural memories: memories of solidarity and of walking the Path to Enlightenment in the footsteps of the monks.

6.3 Bodily Resistance

Arxtega has shown how political prisoners in Ireland rejected the identity of 'criminal' as opposed to 'political' prisoner by using their bodies as a form of resistance (remaining naked and eventually starving their bodies until death.) As an example of embodied resistance, the Dhammayietra sends a symbolic message to the Khmer Rouge (in the opposite way that torture and maiming

send a symbolic message to the body politic). The individuals walking are denying the right of the Khmer Rouge, the Vietnamese army, the American bombers, and the government troops, to injure their bodies and to force a "crippled" bodily configuration and identity upon them. By walking, the Cambodians may be rejecting the label of "dismembered" thrust upon them by bullets, bombs, and landmines, and are potentially able to assume a new identity, that of "re-membered". Through a sociopolitical process (in this case a Dhamma walk), there is the potential for identity (particularly a Buddhist identity) and notions of bodily integrity to be reestablished, and reinforced. "Socioconceptual coherency" can be achieved when bodies and identities are rendered whole once more. Walking is thus instrumental to the process of "re-membering".

Rendering "whole" does not only refer to bodies however. As Nordstrom has written, it is the identification with something rendered whole that allows people a basic framework from which to reconstruct their networks of comprehension and meaning (life worlds). In the case of Cambodia, Heigel and Landrac have documented the way in which Cambodians adopted a particular "psychic" mien in order to survive psychologically the reorganization of their minds into the "People of Year Zero". Hiegel and Landrac ask the question whether the survival strategies adopted by Cambodians can be reversed when they feel that imminent danger has sufficiently passed. The Dhammayietra is perhaps one way in which, through the symbolic "washing-away" of Khmer Rouge memories; through the creation of new collective memories; and through the reclaiming of a physical manifestation (Angkor Wat) of the Buddhist-centered world view, some Cambodians may be able, at least in part, to emerge from the sensorially numb space which they created in order to survive the bodily, intellectual, and emotional assault that the Khmer Rouge ideology represented, and the forms of direct and indirect violence which continue to envelop Cambodia. In-depth interviews with Dhammayietra participants would be necessary to test the validity of this hypothesis.

7

CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated several of the many levels, and a small part of the complexity with which cultural idioms, and physical, psychological, and symbolic spaces are created as forums for survival and resistance. A good example of such a complex process is the example given by Heigel and Landrac, that in resisting the Khmer Rouge, Cambodians were becoming in some ways the people that the Khmer Rouge wanted them to become. When forms of resistance become synonymous with forms of domination, cultures of terror truly become what Taussig has described as an "epistemic murk". This paper has attempted to highlight the fact that anthropological models need to become more sophisticated in order to more adequately deal with the experiences of the millions of people living in violent conditions. The articulation of geographical, sociopolitical, medical anthropological, and postmodern approaches is one way in which to build a more sophisticated, multilayered analysis of both terror and resistance.

Hiegel and Landrac's paper also points to the need for an analysis of cultural idioms of resistance to be very specific. Religious and ethnic differences in the same "culture" may create very different survival and resistance strategies. The Chams of Cambodia, an Islamic minority targeted for genocide by the Khmer Rouge, did not appear to have adopted the retreat into a psychological inner space as did many Khmer. Instead, they formed into small guerrilla groups which conducted raids at night upon Khmer Rouge food sources.

This discussion has only scratched the surface of the rich store of cultural symbols and long and varied religious history possessed by Theravada Buddhists (who lie at the crossroads of Indian and Chinese culture). Dreams, gossip, rumor, and humor would appear to be common cultural idioms through which Cambodians react to many situations. As well, the ayurvedic medical system has, as Obeyesekere noted, become "more than a system of physical medicine because its underlying ideas have permeated religion and ritual" in Indianized cultures such as Cambodia (Obeyesekere, 1968:210). All of these idioms of expression and experience could be more fully investigated in order to build an anthropological analysis which more adequately reflects the diverse

and culturally configured ways of representing terror, and of defining strategies of resistance and of reconstruction.

Only one particular reading of the political situation in which the Dhammayietras occur has been described, and this has been an overall positive reading that points to healing potential in collective ritual. There are of course many different ways in which the Dhammayietra could be analyzed, such as its function as a reinforcement of the social order posited by Buddhism and Kingship in Southeast Asia. This paper has however attempted to problematize the concept of "order" as a dominant paradigm in anthropology. In searching for new ways of theorizing and writing about political violence and terror, a more power conscious analysis of popular religion and ritual may prove enlightening.

APPENDIX

The following Dhammayietra I schedule is reproduced from literature from the Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation received by the Canada Cambodia Development Program.

"Every step is a prayer, each step is a meditation. Each step will build a bridge."
Somdech Preah Maha Ghosananda
For the Healing of Cambodia, Dhamma Yietra

Dhamma Yietra Schedule

08-12.4.92 Walk preparation in Ta Phraya, Thailand

12.4.92 Official beginning of Dhamma Yietra from Aranyaprathet, Thailand across broder to Poipet, Cambodia.

date	destination	kilometers
13.4	Ph. Namit	26.5
14.4	Sisiphon	25.8
15.4	- visit to Angkor Wat	
16.4	and to Siem Reap,	
17.4	by vehicle -	
18.4	Ph. O Samet	19.2
19.4	Ph. Cruuy Sdau	17.3
20.4	Wat Chumpu Von	13.0
21.4	Battambang	26.4
22.4	- rest day-	
23.4	Ph. Pray Cheik	15.9
24.4	Ph. Pray Toch	16.0
25.4	Mong	16.6
26.4	Ph. Kralaom Phluk	15.2
27.4	Ph. O Ta Paong	21.7

date	destination	kilometers
28.4	Ph. Bang Khnar	12.4
29.4	Pursat	17.6
30.4	- rest day -	
01.5	- rest day -	
02.5	Ph. Pray Titu	19.5
03.5	Krakor	16.0
04.5	Ph. Thkaol	12.0
05.5	Ponley	19.2
06.5	Ph. Chheu Neak	20.4
07.5	Kompong Chhnang	13.5
08.5	- rest day -	
09.5	Ph. Ta Nec	17.7
10.5	Sala Lek Pram	23.0
11.5	Odong	15.0
12.5	Ph. Prey Sdei	17.4
13.5	Kh. Prek Phnou	10.0
14.5	- contingency -	
15.5	- extra -	
16.5	Phnom Penh	15.0

Dhamma Yietra will travel by foot along National Highway 5 from Poipet to Phnom Penh.

DHAMMA YIETRA PREPARATION WEEK AT WAT TAPHRYA

Daily Schedule

04:00 Wake-up
04:30 Meditation
05:00 Walking Practice
06:30 Breakfast
07:15 Free time
08:30 meditation
09:15 morning session
11:30 lunch for precept holders
12:00 lay lunch
12:30 free time
15:00 meditation
16:00 afternoon session
17:00 free time
18:00 light evening meal
19:00 evening session (speakers)
20:30 free until following morning

08.4

18:00 refreshments and light meal offered
19:00 introduction and brief orientation

09.4

walking practice - 5 km.
more introductions
full orientation
welcome by Maha Ghosananda
Health Precautions - ARC staff
traditional khmer entertainment in evening

10.4

walking practice - 10 km.
small group discussions on group maintenance
19:00 slide show on Cambodia and repatriation 30/3 - Susan Walker

11.4
walking practice - 15 km. (complete dry run)
Land Mine Awareness Training - LMAP staff
more small group discussions
19:00 videos

12.4
walking practice - 5 km.
more small group discussions
15:00 leave for opening event in Aranyaprathet
16:30 walk to the border with supporters (6.7 km)
18:00 cross border into Cambodia
19:00 arrive at Wat in Poipet, Cambodia

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G.
(1991) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London; New York: Verso.

Arxtega, Begona
(1993) Striking With Hunger: Cultural Meanings of Political Violence in Northern Ireland, *in* The Violence Within, K. Warren (Ed.) Pp. 219-254.

Barudy, Jorge
(1989) A Programme of Men al Health for Political Refugees: Dealing With the Invisible Pain of Political Exile. Social Science and Medicine, 28, 7. Pp. 715-727.

Bernstein, Elizabeth
(1994) International Women's Day in Cambodia: A Giant First Step. Cambodia: Dhammayietra Centre. March 11.

Bernstein, Elizabeth and Y. Moser
(1993) Washing Away the Blood. Cambodia: Dhammayietra Centre.

Boehnlein, J.K; J.D. Kinzie; R.Ben; J.Fleck
(1985) One-year follow-up of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder among survivors of Cambodian concentration camps. American Journal of Psychiatry, 142, 8, August. Pp. 956-959.

Bryce, Jennifer W. and Walker, Neff, and Ghorayeb, F. and Kanj, M.
(1989) Life Experiences, Response Styles and Mental Health Among Mothers and Children in Beirut, Lebanon. Social Science and Medicine, 28, 7. Pp. 685-695.

Burgler, Roel A.

(1990) The Eyes of the Pineapple: Revolutionary Intellectuals and Terror in Democratic Kampuchea. Nijmegen Studies in Development and Cultural Change. Volume 3. Germany: Verlag Breitenbach.

Bushell, P. Timothe, and Vladimir Shlapentokh, and C.Vanderpool, and J.Sundran

(1991) State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression. Colorado: Westview Press.

Chandler, David P.

(1992) A History of Cambodia. USA and Australia: Westview Press.

Channo, Mang

(1994) Pailin March Presses Ahead. Phnom Penh Post, 22nd of April- 5th of May.

Chantalertlak, Korkhet

(1992) The Road to Battambang: The Cambodian City of Battambang is in a State of Flux, as it Rapidly Develops into a Capital of Trade and Investment. The Nation. January 26.

Chomsky, Noam and Edward Herman

(1979) After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology. Boston: Southend Press.

Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation

(1992) Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation. January-March.

(1993a) Cambodian Peace on the Move...Peace on the Move in Cambodia. May.

(1993b) Update on Dhammayietra II. June 15.

(1994) Update #2 from Dhammayietra III. April. 24

Cock, Stephen
(1989) Hidden Consequences of State Violence: Spinal Cord Injuries in Soweto, South Africa. Social Science and Medicine. 29, 11. Pp. 1147-55.

Collins, Steven
(1982) Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravada Buddhism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corradi, Juan E., Weiss Fagen, P., and Garreton, M.A.
(1992) Introduction: Fear: A Cultural and Political Construct, *in* Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America, J.E. Corradi, P. Weiss Fagen, M.A. Gearreton, (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 1-12.

Curren, Bronwyn
(1994) March: Rainbow Greets Finale at Angkor Wat. Phnom Penh Post. 20th May- 2nd June, Pp. 19-20.

Cusick, Patrick
(1993) Maha Ghosananda, a True Peace Maker, Bangkok Post, May 30.

Darby, John
(1990) Intimidation and Interaction on a Small Belfast Community: The Water and the Fish, *in* Political Violence: Ireland: A Comparative Perspective. J. Darby, N. Dodge, and A.C. Hepburn (Eds.). Belfast: Appletree; Ottawa, Canada: University of Ottawa Press.

Dirks, Nicholas B.
(1994) Ritual and Resistance: Subversion as a Social Fact *in* Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Dirks, N.B; Eley, G. and Ortner, S.B. (Eds.) USA: University of Princeton Press. Pp. 483-503.

Dumont Jean-Paul

(1992) Ideas on Phillipine Violence: Assertions, Negations, and Narrations,*in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. C, Nordstrom and J. Martin, (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 133-154.

Ebihara, May

(1966) Interrelations between Buddhism and Social Systems in Cambodian Peasant Culture *in* Anthropological Studies of Theravada Buddhism, M. Nash (Ed.). Cultural Report Series No. 13. USA: Yale University: Southeast Asia Studies. Pp. 175-196.

Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)

(1994) Indochina: Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam. Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit Limited.

Eisenbruch, Maurice

(1991) From Port-Traumatic Stress Disease to Cultural Bereavement: Diagnosis of Southeast Asian Refugees, Social Science and Medicine, 33, 6. Pp. 673-680.

Esterline, John H. and Esterline, M.H.

(1990) How The Dominoes Fell: Southeast Asia in Perspective. Second Edition. Maryland, USA and London: University Press of America.

Farias, Pablo J.

(1991) Emotional Distress and its Socio-Political Correlates in Salvadoran Refugees: Analysis of a Clinical Sample. Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 15. Pp. 162-167.

Feldman, Allen

(1991) Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, Michel

(1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fox, Thomas

(1994) Ghosananda: Still Walking, Talking Peace. The Nation. May 27.

Geertz, Clifford

(1965) Religion as a Cultural System, in Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach. (1979), Lessa and Vogt, (Eds.). new York: Harper and Row. Pp. 78-89.

Good, Byron J. and DelVecchio Good, Mary-Jo.

(1991) Introductory Editorial. Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 15. Pp. 137-138.

Hall, Kari R.

(1992) Beyond the Killing Fields. Hong Kong: Asia 2000.

Haraway, Donna

(1993) The Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies: Determinations of Self in Immune System Discourse", *in* Knowledge, Power and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, M. Lock and S. Lindenbaum (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 364-410.

Hiegel, Jean-Pierre and Landrac, Colette

(1990) Suicides dans un camp de réfugiés khmers: meurtre du moi et muertre de soi. Nouvelle Revue d'Ethnopsychiatrie, 15. Pp. 107-138.

(1993) Les khmers rouges et les autres. Nouvelle Revue d'Ethnopsychiatrie, 22-23. Pp. 41-68.

Houn, Heng

(1989) These Vietnamese Are No Better Than Pol Pot *in* Indochina's Refugees: Oral Histories from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. J. Scott (Ed.) North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, Inc.

Hunt, Paul

(1991) Camps Offer Little Aid For Worsening Mental Health. Bangkok Post. January 11.

International Network of Engaged Buddhists

(n.d.) Buddhism and Reconciliation Workshop.

Jakubowska, Longina

(1992) Resisting "Ethnicity": The Israeli State and Bedouin Identity,*in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. C. Nordstrom and J. Martin, (Eds.) Berkeley, CA:University of California Press. Pp. 85-105.

Jenkins, Janis

(1991) The State Construction of Affect: Political Ethos and Mental Health Among Salvadoran Refugees. Culture, Medicine andPsychiatry, 15. Pp. 139-165.

Khemacaro, Yos Hut

(1990) Human Rights Education and Reconciliation through Theravada Buddhism. The Bridge. Winter.

Kiernan, Ben

(1991) Genocidal Targeting: Two Groups of Victims in Pol Pot's Cambodia,*in* State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression. Bushell, T. et al. (Eds.) Colorado: Westview Press. Pp. 207-226.

Kiljunen, Kimmo

(1984) Kampuchea: Decade of Genocide. Report of a Finnish Inquiry Commission. Kiljunen, K. (Ed.).London: Zed Books.

LeBar, F.M. and G.C. Hickey and J.K. Musgrave

(1965) Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia. New Haven, Conneticut: Human Relations Area Files.

Leiper, Scott

(1994) Food Support for Dhammayietra. Phnom Penh. Arpril 7.

Lutz, Catherine A.

(1988) Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Maat, Bob S.J., E. Bernstein, and Y. Moser

(1993) A Moment of Peace: A Glimmer of Hope. Thailand: CPR. Pp. 1-3.

Maley, William

(1991) Social Dynamics and the Disutility of Terror: Afghanistan, 1978-1989, *in* State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression. Bushell, T. et al. (Eds.) Colorado: Westview Press. Pp. 113-134.

Martin, JoAnn

(1992) When the People Were Strong and United: Stories of the Past andthe Transformation of Politics in a Mexican Community,*in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. C.Nordstrom and J. Martin, (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 177-189.

May, Someth

(1986) Cambodian Witness: The Autobiography of Someth May. J. Fenton (Ed.). New York: Random House.

McCamant, John F.

(1991) Domination, State Power, and Political Repression, *in* State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression. Bushell, T. et al. (Eds.) Colorado: Westview Press. Pp. 41-58.

Mekloy, Pongpet

(1992) Rebuilding a National Religion. Phnom Penh Post. February 23.

Melville, Margarita, B. and Lykes, M.B.

(1992) Guatemalan Indian Children and the Sociocultural Effects of Government-Sponsored Terrorism. Social Science and Medicine, 35, 5. Pp. 533-548.

Murdoch, Lindsay

(1995) Guerillas' Desperate Plight Sparks Kidnap Campaign: Khmer Rouge Hunts Foreigners. The Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, January 5.

Nash, Manning (Ed.)

(1966) Ritual and Ceremonial Cycle in Upper Burma, *in* Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism, Cultural Report Series No. 13. USA: Yale University: Southeast Asia Studies. Pp. 97-116.

Nordstrom, Carolyn and Martin, JoAnn

(1992) The Culture of Conflict: Field Reality and Theory, *in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. C. Nordstrom and J. Martin (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 3-17.

(1992)(Eds.) The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 3-17.

Nordstrom, Carolyn

(1992) The Backyard Front, *in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror. C. Nordstrom and J. Martin, (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 260-276.

Obeyesekere, Gananath

(1968) Theodicity, Sin and Salvation in a Sociology of Buddhism *in* Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology: Dialectic in Practical Religion. E.R. Leach (Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 7-40.

(1985) Depression, Buddhism, and the Work of Culture in Sri Lanka, *in* Culture and Depression. A. Kleinman and B. Good (Eds.). England: University of California Press.

Pedlar, John

(1985) Reportage: On The Road, *in* Countries in Crisis: Cambodia: A Matter of Survival. Great Britain, Harlow: Longman. Pp. 5-6.

Pok, Meach

(1989) The Eyes That Watched Me. *In* Indochina's Refugees: Oral Histories from Laos, Cambodian and Vietnam. J. Scott (Ed.) North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, Inc.

Frasso, Sheri

(1991) Mine War Creates Land of Amputees. The Nation. November 12.

Rechtman, Richard

(1992) L'apparition des ancêtres et des défunts dans les expériences traumatiques: Introduction à une ethnographie clinique chez les refugiés Cambodgiens de Paris. Cahiers d'Anthropologie et Biometrie Humaine (Paris), X, 1-2. Pp. 1-19.

Scarry, Elaine

(1985) The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World. NewYork: Oxford University Press.

Schutz, Alfred and Thomas Luckman

(1973) The Structures of the Life-World. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

Scott, Joanna C.

(1989) Indochina's Refugees: Oral Histories from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, Inc.

Seneviratne, H.L. and Swarna Wickremarante

(1980) Bodhipuja: Collective Representations of Sri Lanka Youth, American Ethnologist, 7, 4. Pp. 734-743.

Shawcross, William

(1983) Cambodia: Some Perceptions of a Disaster, *in* Revolution and Its Aftermath in Kampuchea: Eight Essays, D.P. Chandler and B. Kiernan (Eds.). New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. Pp. 230-258.

Sluka, Jeffrey A.

(1992) The Anthropology of Conflict,*in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror, C. Nordstrom and J.Martin (Eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 18-36.

(1992) The Politics of Painting: Political Murals in Northern Ireland, *in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror, C. Nordstrom and J.Martin (Eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 190-218.

Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M.

(1990) Speaking of the Unspeakable: Toward a Pychosocial Understanding of Responses to Terror. Ethos, 18, 3. Pp. 353-383.

(1992) A Grammar of Terror: Psychocultural Responses to State Terrorism in Dirty War and Post-Dirty War Argentina, *in* The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror, C. Nordstrom and J.Martin (Eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 219-259.

Swearer, Donald K.

(1981) Buddhism and Society in Southeast Asia. Pennsylvania: Anima Books.

Tambiah, Stanley J.

(1970) Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(1976) World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against an Historical Background. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(1984) The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(1992) Buddhism Betrayed? Religion, Politics, and Violence in Sri Lanka. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taussig, Michael P.

(1987) Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(1992) The Nervous System. Great Britain: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.

Ugalde, Antonio and Vega, Rodolfo R.
(1989) Review Essay: State Terrorism, Torture, and Health in the Southern Cone. Social Science and Medicine, 28, 7. Pp. 759-757.

Vickery, Michael
(1984) Cambodia: 1975 - 1982. Boston: South End Press.

Warren, Kay
(1993) Interpreting La Violencia in Guatemala: Shapes of Mayan Silence and Resistance, *in* The Violence Within, K. Warren (Ed.). Colorado: Westview Press. Pp. 25-56.

Wilson, T.M.
(1992) Formations of Violence; the Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland. [Book Review] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, *in* American Anthropologist, 94, December. P 962.

Wright, Martin (Ed.)
(1989) Countries in Crisis: Cambodia: A Matter of Survival. Great Britain, Harlow: Longman.

Wu, Jane J.
(1991) Suicides and Suicide Survivors of the Cultural Revolution, *in* State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression (Bushell, T et al. (Eds.) Colorado: Westview Press. Pp. 289-302.

Yem, Ven
(1989) All The People of Khmer Were Very Troubled *in* Indochina's Refugees: Oral Histories from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. J. Scott (Ed.) North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, Inc.