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progress in cases where, among other things, interests converge and recipients have the economic and political ability to carry through. But subsidization has also produced some undesirable outcomes — moral hazards, polluter life extension, and vulnerability to environmental blackmail. Yet, in the end, Darst argues, transnational subsidization can still be an effective tool for addressing transboundary environmental problems under the right conditions. He suggests that its effectiveness can be improved by building upon recipient environmental interests when possible; by ensuring that economic benefits of joint implementation reinforce environmental goals and avoiding situations where economic and environmental goals are at cross purposes; by placing recipients in competition when possible; and by coordinating donor efforts. Furthermore, he cautions against investing large sums of money in problems that will go away on their own or paying for pollution reductions that have already occurred. Finally, regarding theory, Darst concludes that international environmental politics cannot entirely be reduced to Coasian bargaining. The transaction costs of bargaining are high, after the conclusion of the bargain there are still costs for monitoring and enforcement, and donors have limited money. Beyond this, such bargaining does not occur in a vacuum, but is rather affected by larger conditions.

Overall, *Smokestack Diplomacy* is a quite readable book that clearly tells a plausible story. Like Janine Wedel's *Collision and Collusion* (1998), it is a needed cautionary tale about some of the actual and perhaps unanticipated effects of Western aid to former socialist bloc countries in the last decade. To the extent that it uses specialist theory or concepts, these are explained in an understandable way. The production was good, without problems in copyediting or typographical errors, although I would have appreciated somewhat more user-friendly endnotes — for example, headers could have been used to indicate the page range for the notes on a given page of endnotes. More importantly, however, as an anthropologist I would like to have seen more discussion of the people involved in the story being told, beyond state figureheads such as Brezhnev and Gorbachev or the few relatively faceless scientists, and also the relationships between them. In contrast, Wedel (1998) and Weiner (1999), to name two recent works both cited by Darst, provide detailed discussion of people, organizations, and relationships of a kind that did not make it into *Smokestack Diplomacy*. Further discussion about how generalizable the proposed theory was to other contexts might also have been useful. Does it, for example, work best in reference to the former Soviet Union (or perhaps even only its western zones), or are such factors applicable to the countries of post-socialist Eastern Europe or other less well off nations. Most of the former have aspirations to join the European Union, such that this is likely to be a significant incentive for them to address environmental issues of concern to the West.

Yet, in the end, Darst makes a convincing argument based on substantial in-country research, and given its readability and clarity, the book is likely to make it onto the reading lists for many courses. Perhaps it will make it to the desks of some decision makers as well. While this is deserved, I would hope that it does so alongside works that get below the level of state figureheads and discuss the individuals and relationships involved.

References Cited:

Wedel, Janine W.

1998. *Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe 1989-1998*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Weiner, Douglas R.

1999. *A Little Corner of Freedom: Russian Nature Protection from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rainforest Exchanges: Industry and Community on an Amazonian Frontier, by William H. Fisher. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press (2000), xii, 222 pp.

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“Nuance” is the first word that comes to mind after reading Fisher's *Rainforest Exchanges*, because the author satisfyingly integrates change throughout his story of the Bakajá Xikrin, a Kayapó group in the Amazonian State of Pará in Brazil. Most ethnographies integrate the material only at the end of the book. I used it in one of my

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undergraduate classes about the Brazilian Amazon and the students liked the book very much. The material triggered many thought-provoking discussions in class. The book is an outstanding ethnography and also an excellent tool for students to examine all types of issues about indigenous peoples who have to negotiate their interests within a continually changing wider regional, national and global arena. It stimulates students to interact with the instructor and each other in class.

For example, Fisher argues that we should not see the Kayapó as consumers of trade goods allured by their desire for them. Nor should we take the view that trade goods are inherently corrupting to pristine indigenous cultures. Fisher's main contention is that they acquire trade goods into their society based on their social conditions. Thus, we gain a better understanding of why the Kayapó trade their precious natural resources for these trade goods, rather than viewing them either as corrupt Indians who inevitably want to modernize by embracing consumerism, or as helpless victims caught up in a maelstrom of outside interests. Students have differing opinions on this issue. The challenge is to demonstrate to them that a scientific argument, backed by strong supporting evidence, is not just mere opinion, and thus, one opinion is not as good as another. Delightfully, in every chapter, Fisher presents abundant evidence that supports his argument by focusing on the Bakajá Xikrin, among whom he conducted fieldwork on and off for more than ten years, and also by comparing them with other well-studied Kayapó groups.

The Kayapó have interacted with Brazilian society for almost two centuries, and have been involved in trading natural forest products, such as rubber, animal skins and Brazil nuts, for European goods. Over that time they have had to learn to come up with new strategies to gain trade goods in an unpredictable boom-bust economy that is based on the extraction of forest products. Further, they have had to contend with living on an uncertain "hollow frontier," which consists of overlapping social groups competing over extractive natural resources under intermittent periods of legal and administrative control. This type of frontier is contrasted with a solid-moving one based on an expanding productive economy that eventually comes under the firm control of the state as happened in the United States. This hollow frontier in Brazil remains significant today because the Xikrin cannot depend on the underfunded Indian agency, FUNAI, to adequately provision them or protect them from encroaching outside groups, such as loggers, gold miners, ranchers and small farmers. Throughout the past few decades they have become more dependent on trade goods, and the lack of agency support has stimulated the Xikrin to depend on their own abilities to negotiate agreements with loggers and gold miners in exchange for needed goods. The landscape in which natural resources are extracted for trade goods is not merely ecological and economical, but also political in that the Xikrin have different degrees of power to influence their dealings with outsiders depending upon the group in question and the situation, specifically when FUNAI decides to support or thwart their efforts and the agency's own power to do so. In answer to why illegal logging continues on Kayapó land, for example, Fisher writes:

The power of the wealthy in a land where everyone—including it must be said, local government agencies—is impoverished, is hard to overestimate. They retain what amounts to a practical monopoly on means of communication and transportation in the area. Through their political influence elites ensure that local government agencies that could exercise a restraining influence are kept underfunded and essentially irrelevant. (p. 160)

Political processes within Kayapó society also influence the exchange of their natural resources for trade goods. In fact, one of the most beautiful things about this account is that Fisher demonstrates the heterogeneity of interests between the Bakajá Xikrin themselves, according to whether they are chiefs or commoners, men or women, young or old. Instead of viewing the Bakajá Xikrin as a homogenous group that operates by a common cultural logic, Fisher gives numerous examples of the contradictions, tensions and differences of opinion among group members, because he grounds his study in social organization, using a political ecology approach.

For example, chiefs are placed in an increasingly difficult position of having to supply trade goods to influence and maintain the respect of their followers. In order to retain their position they actively work to limit the avenues for commoners to obtain trade goods on their own, and they use manufactured items to encourage people to work for them in gardening, hunting and fishing activities. Yet commoners do not like the exercise of that influence over them as the chiefs have gained power and wealth in recent years. They especially do not like the growing economic and power disparities that they see between themselves and chiefs, and actively resist attempts by the chiefs to make them work for "the common good," which they see as adding to chiefly provisions. For example, chiefs control the means of production for making manioc flower and for the larger hunting, collecting and fishing expeditions. They also try to make commoners work in the collective gardens. No one willingly works in these gardens because it takes away time from ones' own subsistence activities, and they know that the chief will control the product. Women especially resist because it undermines their control over their labor, time and product, and increases male authority, along with that of the chief. Yet, people must work in collective activities organized by the chief if they want to remain in good favor and be able to receive the trade goods that the chief controls. Despite the increasing wealth and power of the chiefs, commoners are still able to put pressure on chiefs to redistribute their wealth, especially in the ritual naming ceremonies for children. By complying, chiefs gain prestige, yet they find

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themselves in a difficult moral situation according to Xikrin standards. Fisher states:

The expectations created by the Xikrin social organization put chiefs in a position where they must supply goods to commoners but simultaneously are de-authorized from converting surplus produced by commoners into the means of social control. (p. 125)

Fisher points out the different perceptions between commoners and chiefs about the redistribution process. Chiefs emphasize how they are redistributing goods according to the "morality of kinship," for the good of the community, yet commoners calculate the generosity of chiefs in terms of who "pays well" (p. 187). The chief's role is viewed differently between commoners and chiefs reflecting the changes in recent years. Fewer men aspire to be chiefs because of the increasing contradictions of the position. They must be able to negotiate relationships with outsiders and among their own people as able leaders who can coordinate both secular and ritual activities, which involve these trade goods. In order to obtain trade goods they must sell the natural resources within Xikrin land holdings and be able to control the negotiations with outsiders, in order to maintain the respect of commoners.

Tensions and contradictions exist between men and women, also, because women perceive that recent changes are affecting them negatively. They only obtain some foods, especially game, through their relationships with men, especially their spouses. This becomes significant with the rise in female-headed households in recent years and with the increasing self-sufficiency of young men who are able to acquire trade goods from the chiefs. Further, some chiefs now hire poor Brazilians to work as gardeners, which undermines domestic production by women because of the potential breakdown of the chiefs' reciprocal obligations to them. Women actively resist chiefly authority to redistribute by appealing to FUNAI to give goods directly to individual workers, including women, rather than to the chiefs. They also refuse to work enthusiastically in the chiefs' collective gardens, despite the encouragement of their male kin, because only the men would receive the trade goods for their cooperation. Fisher points out that women do not oppose the influx of trade goods into their society, but they resist their increasing dependence upon men and the chiefs for trade and subsistence goods. Thus, we should see the divergence of men's and women's opinions and initiatives "as part of a complex interplay of contradictory social trends rather than as something given by a cultural charter for masculinity or femininity" (p. 192).

These examples only scratch the surface of Fisher's highly readable and nuanced text. He reminds the reader of the importance of recognizing that a political ecology approach must include the social, historical and political as well as the natural environmental. It is only through using such an approach, he argues, that we can truly understand why such groups as the Kayapó continue to allow the extraction of natural resources upon which their livelihoods depend, and to assist them in coming up with viable alternatives. Fisher makes the case that any solution-making process must recognize the external and internal political economies involved.

Democracy and Development in Mali. Edited by R. James Bingen, David Robinson, and John M. Staatz. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press (2000), 352 pp.

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In May 1998, Alpha Oumar Konaré, president of Mali, was granted an Honorary Doctor of Humanities degree by Michigan State University (MSU). In light of President Konaré's commitment to learning, MSU held a one-day academic symposium to celebrate both the commitment and the achievements of the president and his wife. Some of these presentations are assembled in this volume, *Democracy and Development in Mali*, which emphasizes the scholarly work of MSU faculty and present and former students. The only contributions by non-MSU affiliated persons are by Adame Ba Konaré (a noted historian and the president's wife), Cheick Oumar Diarra (ambassador from Mali to the United States), and David Rawson (then ambassador from the United States to Mali).

One might ask whether honoring a president might lead to a volume of limited usefulness, one that would inflate Mali's achievements or discuss only the positive. While it is indeed true that no harsh critics of Konaré's administration are included, the pieces generally represent very sound scholarship. They include articles by some of the foremost scholars of contemporary and historical Mali, among them people I systematically turn to for my own background reading. As I perused the book, I realized that I had in fact read a significant number of these pieces in earlier report form and found them important and useful. The articles here feature the latest thinking on the specialties of the authors are by no means puff pieces to please politicians.