

Keith Hart 1

After the disaster

Thomas Love 3

Anthropology and the fossil fuel era

Paul Oldham & Miriam Anne Frank 5

'We the peoples...' The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Gail S. Thakur 10

The art of visual anthropology: An interview with André Singer

Peter Loizos 13

*A filmmaker's journal: An appreciation of Robert Gardner's *The impulse to preserve: Reflections of a filmmaker**

George Paul Meiu 18

Riefenstahl on safari: Embodied contemplation in East Africa

Julian C.H. Lee 23

Why isn't Panesar a Pommie bastard? Multiculturalism and the implications of Cricket Australia's racial abuse policy

LETTERS

Keith Hart 25

Lampposts and non-conformism

P-J Ezeh 26

Cultural heritage protection

COMMENTS

Dwight Read and David Lane 26

Darwinian evolution – broad enough for culture?

CONFERENCES

Heike Drotbohm 27

Travelling spirits: Migrants, markets and moralities

News 28 Calendar 29 Classified 30

Director of the RAI: Hilary Callan

Editor: Gustaaf Houtman

Editorial Consultant: Sean Kingston

Sub-Editor: Rachel Gomme

Design Consultant: Peter Jones, Stuart Russell

Production Consultant: Dominique Remars

Editorial Panel: Robert Foley, Alma Gottlieb, Karl Heider, Michael Herzfeld, Solomon Katz, John Knight, Jeremy MacClancy, Danny Miller, Howard Morphy, Monique Borgerhoff Mulder, Stephen O. Murray, Judith Okely, Jarich Oosten, Nigel Rapport, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Masakazu Tanaka, Christina Toren, Patty Jo Watson

Editorial address: Please read Notes to Contributors before making submissions (www.therai.org/anthrotoday.html). Correspondence (except subscriptions, changes of address etc) preferably via anthropologytoday@gmail.com to: The Editor, ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY, Royal Anthropological Institute, 50 Fitzroy Street, London W1T 5BT, UK, tel. +44 (0)20 7387 0455, fax +44 (0)20 7388 8817.

Copy dates: 15th of even months (February, April, June, August, October, December).

Publisher: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK, phone: +44 (0)1865 776868, fax: +44 (0)1865 714591. In February 2007, Blackwell's programme has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Disclaimer: The Publisher, RAI and Editors cannot be held responsible for errors or any consequences arising from the use of information contained in this journal; the views and opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Publisher, RAI and Editors, neither does the publication of advertisements constitute any endorsement by the Publisher, RAI and Editors of the products advertised.

Information for subscribers: Six issues of bimonthly ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY are mailed free of charge per annum to Fellows and Members of the Royal Anthropological Institute

(registered charity no. 246269). Rates for 2008: Member: €35, £23, or US\$39. Single copy: £9 UK, or \$21 overseas plus VAT where applicable. For further options, visit www.therai.org.uk/joining/index.html.

Institutional subscriptions for 2008: Premium Institutional: £79 (UK/rest of world except N America), US\$133 (N America). Includes online access to the current and all available previous year electronic issues. Visit www.blackwellpublishing.com.

Back issues: Single issues from current and recent volumes available at the current single issue price from Blackwell Publishing Journals. Earlier issues may be obtained from Swets & Zeitlinger, Back Sets, Heereweg 347, PO Box 810, 2160 Lisse, The Netherlands.

Periodical ID: ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY (0268-540X) is published bimonthly. US mailing agent: Mercury Airfreight International Inc., 365 Blair Road, Avenel, NJ 07001, USA. Periodical postage paid at Rahway NJ. Postmaster: send all address changes to ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY, Blackwell Publishing Inc., Journals Subscription Department, 350 Main St., Malden, MA 02148-5020

Journal Customer Services: For ordering information, claims and any enquiry concerning your journal subscription please contact your nearest office: UK (customerservices@oxon.blackwellpublishing.com); Tel: +44 (0)1865 778315; USA (subscrip@bos.blackwellpublishing.com); Tel: +1 781 388 8206 or 1 800 835 6770; Asia (customerservices@blackwellpublishing.com); Tel: +65 6511 8000). Visit www.blackwell-synergy.com for full-text searches and register for e-mail alerts.

Advertising: Managed from atadverts@gmail.com. 2008: Full page: £532.90. 1/2 page £288.15. 1/3 page col. £197.73. 1/2 col. £100.07, plus VAT if applicable. Repeat discounts. Copy date: 7th of odd months. www.therai.org.uk/pubs/advertising.html.

© RAI 2008. Printed in Singapore by COS Printers Pte Ltd.

Thirty years ago I was discussing the state of the world with a radical philosopher at Yale. She dismissed the Americans of course, the Russians, British, Germans, Chinese and Japanese too. So I asked her where in the world she looked to for hope. And she said 'Mozambique', then and now a plucky little country struggling against capitalist imperialism in darkest Africa. Mozambique qualified because it was insignificant and far away. She knew nothing of the place personally, but it offered a measure of hope without compromising her bleak picture of the world she lived in.

Naomi Klein's *The shock doctrine* (2007) likewise presents a monolithic account of 'neoliberalism' that leaves room for a solution only at the margins. Her account, which comes endorsed by many radical literati including John Le Carré, Arundhati Roy and John Berger, starts with the 'Chicago Boys' in Latin America's Southern Cone during the early 1970s. She covers much the same ground as David Harvey in *A brief history of neoliberalism* (2007). Harvey draws a contrast between the 'embedded liberalism' of the welfare state consensus from the 1940s to the 1970s and the 'disembedded' markets that followed; Klein speaks of neoliberalism as a 'counter-revolution'. Both cover the last three decades or so without attempting to place them in any larger analysis of modern world history. Harvey speculates about inflationary and deflationary routes out of neoliberalism, but Klein appears to see no end to it.

Both authors try to tell One Big Story, the restoration of capitalist power by Reagan and Thatcher (with peripheral support from Pinochet and Deng), but Klein extends hers to include a string of disasters since the millennium (September 11th, the invasion of Iraq, the tsunami, Hurricane Katrina). She represents this sequence as a wholesale looting of public assets by corporate interests in the name of Milton Friedman's free market doctrine. 'Disaster capitalism' generates and feeds off 'economic shocks' and these seem to be multiplying since the time when 'structural adjustment' imposed brutal economic medicine on weak governments. Klein links the CIA's revival of torture to an earlier history of electric shock treatment, drawing an evocative analogy between individual and collective loss of memory.

After the dictators, Klein's narrative takes in the economic warfare launched under quasi-legal auspices in Bolivia, Poland, China and South Africa. Thatcher's revolution was rescued by success against the Argentine generals. Russia's wealth was handed over to the 'oligarchs' for a pittance and then the IMF organized a boot sale of Southeast Asian assets to Western corporations. And Israel's coercive treatment of the Palestinians and Lebanon remains a laboratory for neoliberal repression everywhere. Developments within the United States all point in the same direction.

Does she see any hope of something else, born perhaps of popular resistance to this class warfare? A concluding chapter of two dozen pages (out of more than 500) addresses 'the rise of people's reconstruction'. Neoliberalism's nemesis is – wait for it – Evo Morales! Hezbollah! Factory and farm co-ops in Argentina and Brazil! The French and Dutch rejection of the European constitution (the only reference to the EU in the whole book)! And Chávez of course. As people sort among the rubble of their societies, the final sentence tells us that 'they are building in resilience – for when the next shock hits'. Naomi Klein's

Keith Hart is Professor of Anthropology at Goldsmiths, University of London and Honorary Research Professor in the School of Development Studies, University of Kwazulu Natal, Durban. See www.thememorybank.co.uk. His email is: johnkeithhart@gmail.com.

totalizing vision of the contemporary world renders these scraps of resistance merely symbolic.

* * *

If neoliberalism is a counter-revolution, what was the revolution it overthrew and when did it take place? Perhaps there has been more than one of each. Now that the neoliberal era is manifestly running up against its own contradictions, answers to such questions are vital to any assessment of the prospects for a better world.

In retrospect, the peoples of the world made remarkable gains in freedom and equality after 1945, when they rejected the society that had given them two world wars and the Great Depression. This involved not only the formation of industrial states committed to democratic provision of employment, education, health and transport, but the dismantling of European empire by an anti-colonial revolution, first in Asia, then in Africa. The Cold War, in its own way, was a counter-revolution against all that, and in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Southern Africa it took the form of dirty wars (precursors of the 'war on terror') long after Friedman's experiments in free-market dictatorship had been launched. A second revolution came with the collapse of the Soviet Union and apartheid in the early 90s, a much reduced nuclear threat, the rise of the internet and the emergence of China and India as economic powers. This wave of liberation soon provoked the reassertion of state power after September 11th and a new frenzy of illicit accumulation, not least in Iraq.

What is 'new' about neoliberalism (or 'neo-conservatism' as it is called in America, where liberalism still evokes Roosevelt's New Deal)? The state's pretensions to manage national economies have been progressively dismantled everywhere, while its coercive powers have been expanded. Some were slower than others to catch onto the systematic stripping of public assets for private gain, profit accumulation with no acknowledgment of service, the erosion of civil liberties and the resurgence of racist imperialism.

The overthrow of social democracy in the name of market fundamentalism may have been achieved by coercion in Latin America; the privatization of post-socialism was licensed plunder; small states in regions like Africa that were already being bled by debt interest were brought to heel by the 'Washington consensus'. Maybe the public authorities in the United States have long been less squeamish about employing techniques of intimidation in support of corporate profit. But who persuaded the pillars of European social democracy to roll over without a fight? The wholesale capitulation of national political classes to an obscene logic of self-enrichment still needs an explanation. Neither Klein nor Harvey is much help here.

To take another example from outside Europe, why would the leadership of the African National Congress throw away the legacy of the anti-apartheid movement in order to pander to international capital at the expense of their own long-suffering people? Naomi Klein's chapter on South Africa is desperately thin, drawing on a handful of interviews to force the country into her all-encompassing vision, while ignoring the nuances of its history and place within the evolving world economy.

The rise of a sociological rhetoric of 'embeddedness' in recent years reminds us that Karl Polanyi's stock has never been higher than today. In *The great transformation*, Polanyi (1944) debunked Victorian liberalism as the use of state power to secure the freedom of capital at the expense of all other interests. He condemned the high price the British working classes paid for the dominance of the 'self-regulating market'; but there were also counter-movements within society like Chartism, as the victims of the new liberalism sought to defend themselves. Polanyi sometimes wrote of a 'disembedded' capitalism, but industrial markets remained thoroughly 'embedded' – first, in

their dependence on the state and second through the links they retained with a range of social institutions. Polanyi's real objection was not to the market as such, but to 'market fundamentalism'.

At a recent London conference, 'Rethinking economic anthropology: A human-centred approach', Jean-Louis Laville reminded us of the two lessons to be drawn from the history of the 20th century:

First, market society sustained by a concern for individual freedom generated huge inequalities; then submission of the economy to political will on the pretext of equality led to the suppression of freedom. These two solutions called democracy itself into question, whether in the form of totalitarian systems or, with a similar result, through the subordination of political power to that of money. If we reject both of these options, it is then a question of developing institutions capable of guaranteeing a plural economy within a democratic framework, exactly what is compromised when the rationale of material gain without limit has a monopoly. (Laville 2008)

Laville, following Mauss and Polanyi, pilloried romantic radicals who would reject a caricature of the economy in the name of some future alternative, since all economic possibilities coexist now, including those that have been variously dominant in history. Our task is to build democratic solidarity (*économie solidaire*) through new institutional combinations and with a new emphasis. This means combining the free reciprocity of self-organized groups with the redistributive powers of the state.

It is, however, no longer as obvious as it was for Mauss, Polanyi and Keynes where the levers of democratic power are to be located, since the global explosion of money, markets and communications over the last quarter-century has severely exposed the limitations of national frameworks of economic management. We are clearly witnessing the start of another long swing in the balance between state and market. Central banks are pumping liquidity into failing asset markets. The rapid switch by the 'masters of the universe' from market triumphalism to the public begging bowl would be surprising, if it were not so familiar. Before long, a genuine revival of Keynesian redistributive politics seems to be inevitable. But the imbalances of the money system are now global, as the financial rescue operation recently performed on failing American banks by the 'sovereign funds' of some Asian and Middle Eastern governments shows. Society is already taking the form of large regional trading blocs, and the inability of the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank, IMF, WTO) to serve any interest beyond that of Western capital has long been obvious. The strength of any push to reform global institutions will depend on the severity of the current economic crisis. A return to the national solutions of the 1930s is bound to fail.

* * *

The shift of economic power from the West to Asia is palpable. But it is too early to write off the United States, which remains the world's largest economy and may soon reap the economic benefits of a lower exchange rate and the sell-off of overpriced assets. Rather than demonizing US imperialism as the source of all our woes, we should distinguish between the American government, corporations and people. The main opposition to the monopolistic privatization of the cultural commons by firms like Microsoft consists of other US corporations (Sun, HP, IBM) and American activist networks in the free software/open source movement (with intrepid assistance from Scandinavia). American voters turned Bush into a lame-duck president and are now galvanizing world politics again through their choice of presidential candidates.

It will not do to place our trust for democratic renewal exclusively on small-scale initiatives in Latin America. The new combinations of money, machines and people

Harvey, David 2007. *A brief history of neoliberalism* (2nd edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klein, Naomi 2007. *The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Laville, J.-L. 2008. 'Towards a theory of plural economy: In the footsteps of Mauss and Polanyi'. Available at: http://www.rethinkingeconomies.org.uk/web/w/www_26_en.aspx

Polanyi, Karl 1944. *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our times*. Boston: Beacon Press.

emerging today must be addressed squarely. For all her vivid writing and journalistic effort, Naomi Klein's monochrome synthesis promotes only a politics of evasion and despair. The world society that has developed in the last half-century has some features never seen before and many that are perennial. Any way forward will be worked out by China, Europe, the USA and regional leaders such as Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa. They will build on an existing diversity that is hardly illuminated by catch-all phrases like 'neoliberalism' and 'American capitalism'.

We are in the middle of an economic disaster, all right. So far the politicians, bankers and CEOs who got us into this mess seem to be surviving, even prospering. But before long, people everywhere will be asking loudly 'What happened to our money, our jobs and our houses? How did we let them get away with it? How can we make sure it doesn't happen again?' Things are likely to become a lot more turbulent yet, and debates about political economy will then need much more historical substance than literary fashion seems able to offer at present. ●

Anthropology and the fossil fuel era

Guest editorial by Thomas Love

Thomas Love is professor of Anthropology and Environmental Studies at Linfield College, Oregon. He specializes on rural livelihood in the Peruvian highlands and adjacent Amazonia, as well as in his native US Pacific Northwest. His current focus is on the social and cultural implications of oil consumption patterns in these regions. His email is tlove@linfield.edu.

Humanity today faces several converging crises, but our prolific use of fossil fuels, particularly oil, underlies and links together several of these, including pollution and global warming. Our need for continued access to fossil fuels drives many of the conflicts we see today, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere. Should growth in demand continue to outpace a declining supply, we shall be forced to make difficult choices about our ways of life.

In his essay on energy and human evolution, the late David Price noted how human beings use energy as heterotrophs, in other words by capturing and storing autotrophs (which in turn store energy from solar radiation). Humans differ from both autotrophs and other heterotrophs in their abundant use of extrasomatic energy, i.e. capturing and storing energy outside of the body. Following Leslie White, Price argued that humans have used this energy to sustain life in ever denser settlements requiring plenty of cheap energy. Once energy becomes scarce, humans have problems: 'if there are survivors, they will not be able to carry on the cultural traditions of civilization' (Price 1995: 1).

Humanity is already in ecological overshoot (Catton 1980). No known alternatives have the quality and usefulness of our current energy base. A barrel of oil contains the

energy equivalent of about 25,000 hours of human labour; the average citizen of an OECD country now lives materially better than the wealthiest elites a century ago. People around the world, especially in India and China, are stepping up their consumption of fossil fuels.

From the mid-19th century onwards, petroleum (literally 'rock oil') and other fossil fuels took over from horsepower, wood, whale oil and coal. With their apparent abundance, we quickly found a multitude of uses for them. Modern civilization is built on cheap fossil fuels, which accounted for 88% of the total commercial energy consumed in 2005, with oil alone constituting 39% of that total. Oil is at the hub of the world economy. Humanity's seemingly insatiable demand for it has transformed human life and cultures in producing and consuming societies alike. The price of food and agricultural products, petrochemicals and plastics, the cost of anything transported by air or over land rises with the price of oil. Rising oil prices contribute to inflation and influence monetary policy and interest rates, and in turn affect US, UK and other countries' foreign policies. The appeal of the US dollar as a world currency is being reduced as US domination of world oil markets diminishes, and access to oil has become a matter of national security deemed to merit military intervention.

Oil is so vital to our growth economy today that we find it almost impossible to imagine a world without it. Whilst the notion that we are near the peak of world oil production is still being debated, with oil prices doubling in 2007 to now surpass an all-time high of US\$100 a barrel, the stresses and strains of inelastic supply are beginning to show and are not easily resolved. Escalating oil prices are already encouraging development of alternative energy sources, but this hardly helps us deal with oil's scarcity in the short, medium and even long term.

We are in the last days of cheap oil. Based on 13 models, Figure 1 shows how world oil production is predicted to peak between 2008 and 2010 at 77.5-85.0 million barrels per day (Foucher 2007). Decline in the rate of production after 2010 means that we need to find large new deposits every year just to stay even, let alone fuel the growth in demand we are experiencing. We are now consuming oil at four times the rate it is being discovered; coupled with increasing domestic demand in the oil-producing and other non-OECD countries, this portends serious shortages in the near future. Figure 2 adds natural gas and coal to this analysis, along with population growth trends, to demonstrate how humanity faces an imminent crisis of peaking fossil fuels (de Sousa 2008).

No known combination of alternative fuels can be scaled up quickly enough to avoid major supply shocks in the short and medium term. Since alternatives to oil can be used to produce electricity, rather than primarily liquid

Fig. 1. World oil production from 1990 and as forecast through to 2020 AD.

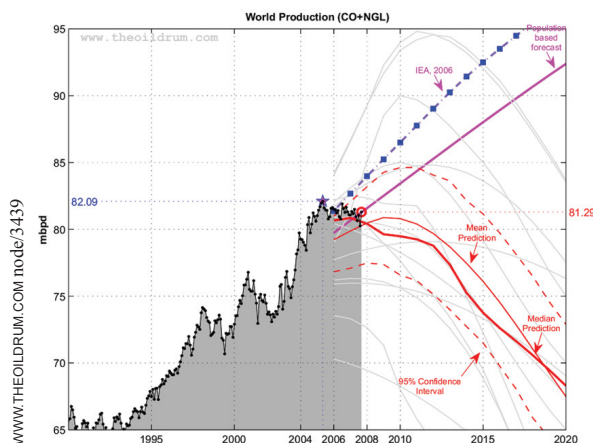


Fig. 2. Consumption of conventional fossil fuels per capita, actual and as forecast through to 2100 AD.

