The Ecological Indian: Myth and History

By Shepard Krech III
New York: W.W. Norton, 1999
ISBN 0-393-04755-5

Reviewed by Dean R. Snow
The Pennsylvania State University
Department of Anthropology

Shepard Krech has once again taken on the dragon of contradiction. It is right there in the title, embedded in the contradictions of myth and history. But it is more than that simple dichotomy, for there are contradictory definitions of myth, and contradictory definitions of history too. Indeed ecology has led him into a vast maze of contradictions that would dishearten most serious scholars, particularly in these days of simplistic political correctness.

Krech staked out his position twenty years ago with his publication of *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game*. That book, an edited volume to which I contributed, was a corrective critique of Calvin Martin's *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade*. Martin's book assumed an ideological premise for documented overkill of northern furbearing populations, an assumption that reveals what is perhaps the most difficult contradiction ecologists have to deal with.

Evolution is mindless, the feature of it most detested by creationists. Evolutionary ecology also has a largely if not entirely mindless process as its subject. But when human beings are added to the mix even the soberest ecologists seem to find it difficult to avoid issues of agency and ideology. Worse for the scientists is the popular tendency to ascribe nearly all patterns of human action to conscious intent, a tendency that makes any discussion of ecology ripe for political rhetoric or romantic excess.

Readers of this journal know that all humans find themselves embedded in ecological systems, although they may perceive that embeddedness differently, and those differences are in turn determined in part by cultural tradition. Whether or not a particular person or population behaves in an ecologically responsible manner is a value judgment, one typically made by an outside observer. Outside observers who credit themselves with the wisdom to make such judgments sometimes do so with more formidable scientific skills, or (perhaps more often) just the enviable benefit of hindsight.

People make ecological choices all the time, and they are typically constrained by resource availability and the immediacy of need. Modern individuals, those of us who have the leisure to write or read commentaries like this one, are typically so far removed from critical choices that they (we) cannot accurately assess the effects of specific choices. Is eating an apple a good or bad thing in the grand scheme? Nobody knows. Such a question might be easier to answer in a simpler society, but even here there are many variables that are both important and difficult to measure. For example, should a hunter seek to kill a single buffalo or stampede the whole herd off a cliff. The choice depends upon the hunter's assessment of many variables, including (1) the size of the groups that needs to be fed, (2) their desperation, (3) the effectiveness of his hunting technology, (4) the effectiveness of food preservation techniques, (5) the hunter's perception of the consequences of the two options on future hunting prospects, and so forth. Even in modern society most choices are made in the context of our perceptions of medium term consequences at best. We know that oil supplies are finite, but we also know from experience that being too cautious in the short term can make us look like fools when unexpected new technology makes the whole oil problem obsolete. It is a good thing that the city fathers of preautomobile New York did not invest too much in the long-term problem of horse manure disposal.

Krech starts by carefully distinguishing between ecology and environmentalism, a distinction for which there are unfortunately many deaf ears. He also distinguishes usefully between conservation and preservation. That done, he turns to a sober discussion of Pleistocene extinctions, which neither condemns nor absolves Paleoindians. He then turns to a discussion of the Hohokam, and the collapse of their irrigation systems as a consequence of unintended consequences. One can detect in these examples the basic anthropological principle that no matter what people do it seems like a good idea at the time. It is a principle often overwhelmed by the politics of blame placing.

His chapter on Eden addresses North American (north of Mesoamerica) population size in 1492. Published estimates range from 500,000 to 18 million. They are most often based on questionable extrapolations from very fragmentary documentary sources. In the hands of polemicists the low estimates have served to trivialize American Indians while the high ones have served to exaggerate the effects of post-contact decline. When combined with the notion of Indians as exemplary natural ecologists the high numbers also exaggerate the lightness with which they supposedly lived in their environments.

In my own work I have used known pre-epidemic population densities by ecological zone to project the overall 1492 population densities of America north of Mexico. That leads to an aggregate 1492 population of roughly 3.4 million, a number consistent with the empirical findings of archaeologists. Krech more simply splits the difference between the

extreme estimates to come up with 4-7 million, the low end of which is close enough.

Krech turns to hard-nosed empiricism with chapters on fire, buffalo, deer, and beaver. Here his marshalling of facts is truly amazing. One comes away knowing that much of the 1492 landscape of North America was modified by humans. One also appreciates another set of contradictions. The short-term intents of individual decisions do not often add up to rational consequences, and for good reason. What sense does it make for one group to conserve a resource if a competing group does not? Why worry about killing too many caribou all at once when the children are starving?

Northern hunters and fishermen turned to managing their resources only when state-level political systems gave them the necessary control over long-term consequences. Restrictions on hunting make sense only if they apply to everyone over the long term. The image of Iron Eyes Cody with a tear on his cheek assisted in that process, but modern Indian political imagery contradicts (even mocks) the authentic past here as much as clan tartans do in Scotland. Indians turn out to be human beings more or less like the rest of us.

The evidence is undeniable. Indians participated in the commercialization of deer hunting, which led to drastic depletion of deer populations in some regions. When confronted by rapacious Euro-American competitors on the Great Plains they played their own role in the near extinction of bison. Of course things changed dramatically in the twentieth century. Through it all ideology changed too, in order to rationalize the decisions of the moment. When competing for dwindling resources American Indians often expressed the view that animal populations were capable of reincarnation so long as they had supernatural assistance. Their nineteenth century solution to the decline of the bison herds was the Ghost Dance, not conservation. Only when they acquired the capacity to manage resource exploitation did understanding of reproduction and adaptation resurface as tools for conservation. Witness modern Chippewa fish management.

The bottom line is that much of what modern Americans think they know about ecology and the American Indians is firmly rooted in shallow current ideology. Shepard Krech has challenged his readers to look beyond this comfortable but superficial and ultimately ephemeral understanding, and to deal honestly with the contradictions they encounter. Our minds are capable of understanding the past, even if the processes that got us all to the present were largely mindless.

Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature

By John Bellamy Foster
New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000
ISBN 1-58367-012-2

Reviewed by J. Christopher Kovats-Bernat
Muhlenberg College
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Few serious scholars of Karl Marx would deny that his work is pervaded throughout with an awareness of the impact of laboring-humanity upon nature. How else might he have delivered his critique of the transformation of land into capital, of colonial endeavors, of the degradation of the soil, and of the agrarian question without consideration of the ecology within which each issue is framed? In *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx states the case rather bluntly when he argues that "[t]he worker can create nothing without nature, without the sensuous external world. It is the material on which his labor is realized, in which it is active, from which and by means of which it produces — [I]t also provides the means of life in the more restricted sense, i.e., the means for the physical subsistence of the worker himself". Elsewhere, Marx identifies labor itself as a process in which Man of his own accord "starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature" (*Capital* I, Chapter 7).

The obvious awareness that Marx harbored of the impact of human labor on the environment is not really the subject of *Marx's Ecology*; rather, at issue is the extent to which Marx's analysis of the interrelationship between labor, humanity, and the natural world was informed by ecological sensitivity. For John Bellamy Foster, Marx's concern with the environment was not a mere afterthought to his economic critiques, but rather was derivative of a profound understanding of the relationship between the scientific revolution and the nineteenth-century environment achieved via a materialist conception of nature. This alone is not a new idea. Paul Burkett suggested the political-economic underpinning for Marx's ecological thought in his *Marx and Nature: A Red and Green Perspective* (1999), a work that Foster cites in his Preface as fundamental to his own. What is new, bold, and intriguing about Foster's latest treatment are its two fundamental (and contentious) arguments: that ecology was *central* to Marx's work, and that contemporary Green theory is intrinsically hobbled by its inability to achieve a deeper understanding of humanity's alienation from the earth, due to its failure to transcend idealism and the false dichotomization of Man versus Nature. *Marx's Ecology* is less a reinterpretation of Marxist

socio-ecology, and more a complete reconstruction of it from its very roots.

What is attractive about Foster's endeavor is his logical, methodical, and thorough treatment of the development of materialism as an ideology, beginning with a clear elucidation of its most general claim that the origins and development of all things is wholly dependent upon both nature and a certain level of physical reality ("matter") that is both independent of and prior to thought. As a complex worldview, philosophical materialism is regarded here as *ontological* (asserting the dependence of social reality upon physical reality), *epistemological* (asserting the independent existence and causal activity of at least some of the objects of scientific thought), and *practical* (asserting the organic role of human agency in the reproduction and transformation of social forms).

It is from this fundamental framework for understanding materialism that Foster begins in the first chapter the rather Herculean task of tracing its development, passage, transformation, and relationship to ecological concerns through 2000 years of philosophical thought and scientific interpretation. He begins with the philosophy of the Athenian citizen Epicurus (who was the subject of Marx's doctoral dissertation) and attempts to construct a virtually unbroken evolution of materialist and ecological thought from the teachings of the other Greek atomists, through the works of Thomas Hariot, Francis Bacon, John Evelyn, Isaac Newton, and finally Charles Darwin and Marx himself.

If there is a weakness in Foster's analysis, it lies in this first chapter, where at times he seems to retrofit contemporary ecological thought onto the works of thinkers from antiquity. Why should we suppose that the Epicurean philosophy of nature "tended toward an ecological worldview" simply because it originated with the principle of conservation (which was wholly and exclusively consumed with the expulsion of divine explanations of natural phenomena)? Why point to Lucretius' presumption that human beings are not radically distinct from animals, and to his mere allusions to "air pollution due to mining" and "to the lessening of harvests through the degradation of the soil" as evidence of real ecological *thought* in any contemporary sense, as Foster suggests? Their observations derive from a materialist vantage, to be sure; but in the absence of any greater discussion concerning how these environmental realities impact the human or social condition or the fate of nature, they remain just that — simple observations.

The real strength of *Marx's Ecology*, and its greatest value to contemporary ecological thought, begins to emerge in Foster's arguments concerning the materialist conception of history. Herein lies a powerful deconstruction of Malthusian population theory that highlights the refutations Malthus makes to his own claims when he is forced to concede that there are occasions in which food production increases geometrically to match a geometric rise in population (as happened in North America during his time). Foster goes on to introduce a sharp and specific critique of Malthus beyond his unsupportable premise of arithmetical food ratios, as did Marx as early as 1844. The "preventative" and "positive" checks on population growth that Malthus suggests (perhaps as a downplay of the logical inconsistencies of his theory) lead to his claim that the "progressive increase in pauperism" meant that the poor ought not be entitled to even the smallest relief; so his support for the abolition of the Poor Laws of England makes perfect sense. Malthusian theory is predicated upon the assumption that the privileged classes exercise greater "moral restraint" in procreation as a result of unequal and uncertain property relations, and therefore harmony between population growth and food supply is more efficiently attained in those societies built upon material inequality. As a result, Foster situates Malthusian theory as the social philosophy of the bourgeoisie, the proletarian notion, and rationalization for the construction of the workhouses.

Given this, Foster maintains that Malthus' proposed solution to the problem of the rural poor was their dispossession from the land and their conversion to proletarian wage-laborers; and so his response to the issue of hunger and destitution in Ireland in 1817 was to suggest the removal of the peasantry from the land, and their displacement into manufacturing towns. Marx would observe the effects of such thinking in 1844 when he constructs an alternative vision of the European proletariat: "The Irishman no longer knows any need now but the need to *eat*, and indeed only the need to eat *potatoes* — and *scabby potatoes* at that, the worst kind of potatoes. But in each of their industrial towns England and France have already a *little* Ireland" (*The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*).

Throughout *Marx's Ecology*, Foster returns time and again to the antagonism between town and country that is fostered by the capitalist system. The book's most compelling and indeed its most critical chapter deals with the "metabolism" (*Stoffwechsel*) between humanity and nature — the process by which humans mediate their relationships to the earth. What is interesting here is Foster's dialectical analysis of the development of Marx's critique of capitalist agriculture from his sharp criticism of Malthus' arithmetical approach to food yields, to the introduction of Justus von Liebig's soil chemistry — an event that prompted Marx to consider seriously the conditions that underlie a sustainable human relationship to nature. Foster argues that from 1830-1880, the growth of the fertilizer industry and the development of soil chemistry launched a "second agricultural revolution" close-

ly linked to the demand for increased soil fertility to support capitalist agriculture. After this, the fundamental disruption in the metabolic relationship between humans and the earth is characterized by the dual exploitation of worker and soil: "[A]ll progress in capitalist agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the worker, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time is a progress toward ruining the more long-lasting sources of that fertility" (*Capital* I, Chapter 15). Herein lies the very crux of Foster's argument — that Marx's view of capitalist agriculture, and of the metabolic rift in the relationship between humanity and the soil, leads logically to the wider concept of ecological sustainability.

Foster bolsters his claims in later chapters by suggesting the further dialectical development of this ecologically-minded materialism in the works of Charles Darwin and the ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Though Foster correctly cites the influence that Malthus had on Darwin's work concerning natural selection, he is careful (and prudent) to point out that Darwin's intellectual debt to him is rather limited, though the effect that Darwin's articulation of Malthusian metaphors had on the reception to his doctrines is noteworthy. Darwin's reluctant adoption of the term "survival of the fittest" (first coined by Herbert Spencer with respect to the evolution of societies) in the 1869 edition of *On the Origin of the Species* contributed even further to Malthusian interpretations of his theories. Now emerges the specter of social Darwinism, justifying the biological and social superiority of the bourgeoisie, and validating the legitimacy of the law of "might makes right". By the time Lewis Henry Morgan publishes *Ancient Society* in 1877, expounding a materialist social evolutionary theory, ethnological speculation has already emerged as an ally to the ecological-materialist cause.

Foster argues convincingly in his last chapter that there is an ecological-materialist bent to Morgan's delineation of society into varying stages of development from Savagery to Barbarism to Civilization; stages essentially marked off by developments in subsistence strategies and cast in largely ecological-materialist terms of societies' metabolic relationships to the earth. But anthropologists will take issue with some of Foster's claims in this chapter, especially his curious, *non sequitur* contention that Morgan's evolutionary scheme of Savagery-Barbarism-Civilization is still in general use in anthropology today, though with the terminology altered to reflect the negative connotations of the original categories. His argument that "Savagery" is today equated with hunter-gatherer societies and that "Barbarism" is now equated with horticulture reflects his unawareness that most ethnologists abandoned the mainstream use of this social evolutionary model almost forty years ago, and many others long before that.

The tasks undertaken by *Marx's Ecology* are titanic ones. Foster argues that Marx's politico-economic philosophy finds its roots in ancient Greek thought, is transformed into a dialectical synthesis through its relationship to political economy, socialism, the scientific revolution, and nineteenth-century ethnology, and is finally forged into an ecologically-oriented materialism. His scholarship on all of these matters is exhaustive and truly beyond reproach. The reader should however take Foster's promise to rectify this eco-materialism with contemporary Green theory (he states this goal rather clearly in the Introduction) with a grain of salt; his treatment of developments in socio-ecological thought since the mid-twentieth-century is both brief and disappointing. But despite its rather insignificant faults, *Marx's Ecology* is a compelling, thought-provoking read that effectively and authoritatively pries open a space in the rather over-published realm of Marxist theory for a debate concerning the relationship between materialism and ecology. It should offer a catalyst to a serious reconsideration of the common assumption that Marx's work has little to offer ecological discourse, beyond novel and sporadic secondary observations of the environmental effects of capitalist development.

Spaces of Hope

By David Harvey
Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000
ISBN: 0-520-22577-5 (cloth)
ISBN: 0-520-22578-3 (paper)

Reviewed by Terri LeMoyne
Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Geography
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga
Chattanooga, TN 37403

The global landscape is characterized by a stratification system where unemployment, alienation and despair for the masses is juxtaposed with enormous power and wealth for elites. As a result, there has been a deterioration in our confidence to create a better future for the world. David Harvey addresses these issues in his book, *Spaces of Hope*. He attempts to inspire an array of future possibilities by reviving utopian vision. To that end, he focuses on two levels of analysis: globalization and the body. His task is to metatheoretically synthesize these discourses in a theory he calls Dialectical Utopianism.

Harvey draws on the writings of Karl Marx, highlighting Marx's often ignored ideas on geography. Harvey argues that a more politically sophisticated theory emerges by under-

scoring and updating Marx's geography to more accurately explain the long-standing domination of the bourgeoisie over workers. He uses the city of Baltimore, Maryland as his case study.

At the macrospatial level of analysis, Harvey considers two questions: (1) Why has globalization entered our discourse (as opposed to the concepts of imperialism or colonialism), and (2) How is globalization used politically by elites? In addressing the first question, Harvey traces the use of the globalization to the broad geographical reorganization of capital. Through territorialization, de-territorialization, and re-territorialization national boundaries have lost most of their meaning. In addition, many other factors, including the loss of American hegemony, the immediacy of technology transfers, hyper-urbanization, environmental degradation, corporate mergers, fragmentation of production, etc, have also facilitated and accelerated this process. As a result, we now find ourselves in a global economy that has coupled 19th century capitalist values with the 21st century trend of drawing everyone into the path of capital.

In addition, globalization is both a political project and a utopian vision forged by American elites since World War II. Harvey prefers substituting the term globalization with uneven development, because this allows a revitalized socialist avant-garde to seek uneven conditions of opportunity for political organizing and action. Socialists could then concentrate on various worldwide anti-capitalist movements, and implement Marxian traditions to uncover commonalities within worldwide multiplicities and differences.

To accomplish this task, Harvey cautions us that we must focus on interactions and relations between actors and agents across and within scales. In this way, socialism could then connect issues that appear to be unrelated (e.g., AIDS, the environment, etc.), and ascertain class issues within anti-capitalist concerns. To fully execute this project, Marxian concepts that are conducive to forging alternative visions should be preserved, while lesser Marxian constructs must be abandoned. For example, by focusing on multiple scales, socialism would no longer be concerned with the unsuccessful creation of a unified, homogenous socialist person. Instead, human rights could be reformulated using the more suitable Marxian idea of species-being.

At the microspatial level, Harvey implements a dialectical approach to the body. The body is not a privileged site for emancipation, but is a relational entity, that is created, defined, sustained, and dissolved in space and time. In addition, spatiotemporality defined at the global level intersects with bodies that function at the micro level. As such, bodies actively create alternative systems, and act to connect emancipatory politics. Capitalists promote false consciousness by perpetuating the belief that there is no alternative to the free market, thus censoring contradictory belief systems. It is therefore imperative that we view the body as embedded within these various socio-ecological processes, and body politics must focus on escaping a capitalism that coerces and constrains the actor.

By way of slowly assembling his argument for dialectical utopianism, Harvey casts a critical eye at past utopian solutions, illustrating their tendency to deteriorate into authoritarianism and totalitarianism. Harvey is also disparaging of degenerate utopias (e.g., Disneyland, shopping malls) that perpetuate consumer culture over more productive social critique. But more cogent to his thesis, he advances Adam Smith's capitalism as a utopia whereby human desire and needs can be harnessed by the hidden hand of the market. This utopian vision does not spontaneously occur, but is authorized by the state and all of its institutions. Through time, the free market has become reified, and we must acknowledge that we have both created and legitimized it, and we can then devise a more egalitarian, alternative vision.

As a solution, Harvey calls for constructing an explicitly spaciotemporal utopianism that uses the free market as a starting point for alternative visions. Harvey sees dialectical utopianism as rooted in our present, while simultaneously pointing toward different paths for human uneven geographical developments. He stresses the importance of a collective willingness to transcend the socio-ecological forms imposed by uncontrolled capital accumulation, class privilege, and inequalities of political-economic power, through human imagination.

Harvey argues that despite their oppression, actors are endowed with imagination. This is the same imagination that is employed today in the perpetuation of capital, and it must be harnessed and used differently through dialectical and intellectual inquiry. It is here that we use our species-being, by working out our responsibilities to ourselves, each other, and nature. These alternatives entail discursive regimes, systems of knowledge, and ways of thinking that combine to define novel types of imagery and modes of action.

In addition, we are all engaged in the web of life. Harvey prefers this metaphor to the more traditional concept of linearity. This allows for our embeddedness in an ongoing dialectical process whereby individuals and collectivities affect the world through their actions. This metaphor is a sensitizing concept allowing us to better understand the consequences of our actions, various unanticipated consequences, and self-and socially created barriers.

Harvey calls for an insurgent politics that occurs within various theaters. These theaters involve thoughts and practices at various levels of analysis, whereby advances in one theater must be accomplished in remaining theaters — otherwise any advances will degenerate. No one theater is privi-

leged over any other, although some of us may be more expert in any given theater. Therefore, there must be collaborative and coordinating actions in all theaters.

David Harvey challenges us as global citizens to be as fearless and brazen as capitalists have been. We cannot passively accept our current social problems, but must be willing to advance into the unknown, forging new directions and spaces. By way of illustration, Harvey paints his vision of what the new future might bring. Harvey's intention is not to convince us to reproduce his vision, but merely to demonstrate conceivable alternatives. In fact, what emerges is a culmination of options, choices, and human potential.

This is an important book and should be of interest to all human ecologists. It is one of those rare academic contributions that is both creative and optimistic, in a time of overwhelming postmodern cynicism. Reading *Spaces of Hope* reminded me of the promise held by the social sciences; a promise that we often too readily dismiss.

Briefly Noted

Edited and Compiled by William S. Abruzzi
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Muhlenberg College
Allentown, PA 18104

River of Lakes, A Journey on Florida's St. Johns River
by Bill Belleville
University of Georgia Press: Athens, GA, 2000
ISBN 0-8203-2156-7 (paper)

First explored by naturalist William Bartram in the 1760's, the St. Johns River stretches 310 miles along Florida's east coast, making it the longest river in the state. The first "highway" through the once wild interior of Florida, the St. Johns may appear ordinary, but within its banks are some of the most fascinating natural phenomena and historic mysteries in the state. The river, no longer the commercial resource it once was, is now largely ignored by Florida's residents and visitors alike.

In the first contemporary book about this American Heritage River, Bill Belleville describes his journey down the length of the St. Johns, kayaking, boating, hiking its riverbanks, diving its spring, and exploring its underwater caves. He rediscovers the natural Florida and establishes his connection with a place once loved for its untamed beauty. Belleville involves scientists, environmentalists, fishermen, cave divers, and folk historians in his journey, soliciting their companionship and their expertise. *River of Lakes* weaves together the biological, cultural, anthropological, archaeological, and ecological aspects of the St. Johns, capturing the essence of its remarkable history and intrinsic value as a natural wonder.

Earth, Air, Fire and Water: Humanistic Studies of the Environment
edited by Jill Ker Conway, Kenneth Keniston, and Leo Marx
University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, MA, 1999
ISBN I-55849-220-8 (cloth); ISBN I-55849-221-6 (paper)

Written in a clear, accessible style with a general audience in mind, the essays in this volume offer fresh approaches to thinking about environmental issues.

When we consider the forms of environmental decline most urgently in need of attention-eroding soils, shrinking forests, expanding deserts, acid rain, ozone depletion, air pollution, poisoned water supplies, the loss of biological diversity — it may seem logical that scientists should be the people mobilized to tackle these problems. Yet to devise effective solutions for today's environmental threats, we must situate them within their larger historical, societal, and cultural settings. Amelioration requires not just scientific knowledge but also changes based on law and public policy, on institutional structures and practices, on habits of consumption, and on countless other facets of daily life.

Earth, Air, Fire, Water seeks to redirect our thinking about environmental issues by locating them in the behavior of human beings — in the institutions, beliefs, and practices that mediate between people and that obscure the beautiful nonhuman world we refer to as "nature." The book opens with a section on the elements and the ways humans have understood them in the past. There follows a section devoted to social institutions and the ways in which we can learn from current and past efforts to study the interaction between people and nature. The concluding section analyzes the culture of modernity and how the human imagination has changed in response to the arrival of modern technology.

Saving the Gray Whale: People, Politics, and Conservation in Baja, California
by Serge Dedina
The University of Arizona Press: Tucson, AZ, 2000
ISBN 0-8165-1845-9 (cloth); ISBN 0-8165-1846-7 (paper)

The center of heated controversy and the darling of ecotourists, gray whales migrate yearly along the coastline from Alaska to Baja, California. At one of the southern points in their route, the San Ignacio Lagoon, the place where the

whales mate, where mothers and their young seem at play, and where the best whale-watching in the world takes place, a saltworks may be built by Mitsubishi and the government of Mexico. The future of the whales may be in jeopardy.

This corporate move is so controversial that it has brought together celebrities like Pierce Brosnan, activists like Robert Kennedy, Jr., and scientists like Stephen J. Gould, in protest. Now, like-minded money managers are boycotting investments in Mitsubishi in an attempt to force the company to reverse its plans.

Saving the Gray Whale discusses the international politics of gray whale conservation as well as the local angle. A geographer who has spent twenty years exploring the backroads and surfing the coastline of Baja, California, and who lived in a trailer on the San Ignacio Lagoon, Dedina interviewed fishermen, tour operators, and politicians to uncover behind-the-scenes information about the struggle to protect the gray whale.

Nature and Culture in the Andes
by Daniel W. Gade
University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, WI, 1999
ISBN 0-299-16120-X (cloth); ISBN 0-299-16124-2 (paper)

Nature and Culture in the Andes reveals the intimate and unexpected relationships of plants, animals, and people in western South America. Throughout his quest to understand this geographically diverse region, Daniel Gade integrates the imagination of an expert geographer with the research skills of a natural and cultural historian. He presents a holistic vision of the Andes, and of the world, that broadens the perspective achieved solely by objective scientific methods of inquiry.

In a series of essays that illustrate the convergence of nature and culture, Gade demonstrates how traditional scientific preconceptions have hindered critical thinking. He suggests looking beyond the obvious to see the true complexity of ecological relationships. He shows, for example, that highland Incas, who were thought to be incapable of functioning in the jungle, have in fact cultivated coca in warm forested valleys for generations; that agriculture and human activity, as well as climate, have contributed to the absence of trees in the Andes; and that llamas and alpacas are not — as popular knowledge has long maintained — sources of milk for Andean people.

Environmental Crime: The Criminal Justice System's Role in Protecting the Environment
by Yingyi Situ and David Emmons
Sage Publications, 2000
ISBN 0-7619-0036-5 (cloth); ISBN 0-7619-0037-2 (paper)

We and our environment are at risk. Air, water, and soil pollution; hazardous waste; global warming; acid rain; and reduction of the ozone layer threaten the natural environment and endanger people's health. Within the last decade, environmental violations have been defined as crimes with violators viewed and prosecuted as criminals who face criminal sanctions if convicted. This accessibly written book examines the accelerating criminalization of environmental wrongdoing.

Designed as a textbook for environmental crime and environmental law courses at the undergraduate or beginning graduate levels, *Environmental Crime* is comprehensive, logically organized, and highly accessible. It explores the nature, causes, investigation, prosecution, and prevention of environmental crime. Special emphasis is placed on the human, economic, social, and psychological impacts of environmental crime by corporations; criminal organizations; the government; and individuals. Examples throughout the book cite issues relevant not only to North America but the world. A final chapter is devoted to global environmental law, and a review of promising approaches used by other nations in fighting environmental crime.