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BOOK REVIEWS

The Tender Carnivore and the Sacred Game

By Paul Shepard. Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 10017. 302 pages. 1973. $9.95.

In *The Economy of Cities*, Jane Jacobs argued that only prehistoric city dwellers could have been smart enough and progressive enough to have invented agriculture some 10,000 years ago. By contrast, Paul Shepard argues in this book that cities are just a further compounding of the evils of agriculture, the invention of which constituted the worst ecological disaster ever to befall this planet. Shepard believes that man's primate forebears and his 2 million years as a hunter-gatherer are the sources of the meaning of human experience, and that man's most cherished qualities and abilities are products of his hunting and gathering existence. The agricultural and industrial societies of recent times—and they are *very* recent in terms of man's evolutionary history—have been the total negation of all that went before. So Shepard advocates the abandonment of upstart agriculture as a rapidly proliferating excrescence on the face of the earth. He would then propose the separation of technology from land use and the perfection of this technology in the production of food and fiber in factories from cultures of one-celled organisms, thereby leaving present agricultural land free for a giant hunting preserve—so that man could return to his true nature!

This is not as ridiculous as it sounds. The first seven-eighths of the 280-page text are devoted to (1) preagricultural hunting as a way of life; (2) 10,000 years of drudgery, war, slavery, and ecological destruction, all resulting from the adoption of agriculture; and (3) the inevitably high current significance of man's having been shaped by the past. Shepard is quite convincing in all of this. The remaining text is about evenly divided between a diatribe against present-day commercial agriculture, also fairly convincing, and an attempt to outline a solution to the overwhelming problems that have been presented. This last effort, covering less than 20 pages, is not very convincing. But Shepard would doubtless reply that the world is too far gone for easy solutions, and that only a far-out solution will work. His is certainly that.

The "tender carnivore" of the title is us, of course, together with our ancestors for millions of years in the past; and the "sacred game" refers to the symbiotic relationship between the hunter and the hunted, and to the resulting psychological and religious (totemic) role of animals in human evolution. That role was clearly so great, in fact, that the real mystery of domestication is not *how* men achieved control of plants and animals, but *why*. "All major human characteristics—size, metabolism, sexual and reproductive behavior, intuition, intelligence—had come into existence [as a result of] and were oriented to the hunting life" (p. 7). The collapse of that life must have affected the very heart of human existence. Why did it occur?

No one knows the answer. All that can be said for certain is that there must have been a powerful incentive, and this reviewer, as an economist, may surely be pardoned for assuming it to have been economic in nature. Man had always hunted cooperatively in groups, and there is no doubt that, during the successive advances and recessions of polar ice, these hunting groups had become extremely efficient. During the last ice age, some species of game animals—the mammoth, to name just one—mysteriously disappeared, a phenomenon that has been referred to as the "Pleistocene overkill" (Paul S. Martin, *Natural History*, Dec. 1967). Thus, in some areas at least, man may have had little choice but to augment the "gathering" aspects of his previous hunting and gathering existence, eventually making a virtue of necessity and actually cultivating the crops.

Shepard is knowledgeable and perceptive, and he writes in a strongly worded style. A few quotations from his attacks on agriculture, especially "industrial agriculture," may give the

flavor: "Agriculture ceased to be voluntary and became coercive some 6,000 years ago, with the emergence of the autonomous, centralized political unit with power to collect taxes, draft workers and soldiers, and enforce law. . . . War emerged with the shift in ecology, which produced the arrogant concept of land ownership and the struggles for resources, space, and power."

On the nature of modern agriculture: "Modern animal science may be defined as the systematic creation of animal deformities, anomalies, and monsters, and the practice of keeping them alive. . . . Mediated by the county agent, technicians of government agricultural agencies, the bureaucrats of subsidy and marketing programs, the industry-dominated farm media, and all the 'agri-businessmen' together create rural Disneyland, a self-contained, self-explanatory, and self-judging sham. . . . The depersonalizing and socially destructive forces of the city can be traced to their true origins: the country."

On economics and the universities: "It can be convincingly shown that forest conservation will be practiced by forest industries and soil conservation by farmers as these become economically imperative, that the decline in natural resources will gradually be leveled by rising economic incentive. Such arguments can be so neatly woven by professionals in the 'resource field' that one is struck with awe and admiration at their beautiful simplicity. The way in which self-correcting means are built in, the aura of destiny and inevitability, the justification of past and present that relieves us of responsibility are more than seductive; they are ravishing. For trapping the modern farmer and his wife within this dialectic we can thank academia—the land-grant universities."

On the Green Revolution: "The Green Revolution is moving to complete the industrialization of the earth's land and sea surfaces. . . . [It advocates that most of these surfaces] be refashioned after Iowa pig farms or Texas cotton ranches. . . . By impoverishing an already fragile habitat with uniform crop plants, it will create balances that cannot be kept, crops that cannot be protected, landscapes so foreign to a desert climate that their precarious existence will require ever-increasing inputs of chemical and mechanical control."

On women and agriculture: "Farming was a lifelong commitment to toil and drudgery in which the wife became part of the taxpayer's property. . . . No slaves were ever more cruelly exiled to hopeless toil. . . . The shame and psychological stress of barrenness, or the debilitating physiological effect of perpetual pregnancy and lactation, were women's share of the life of drudgery. . . . The farm woman [today] has been sold short [in that] she has been removed from the immediate scene of the farm. Her potential human and feminine reactions to the banality and monotonous horror of the new industrial farm are no longer a threat to its continuation. This is the Women's Auxiliary of the Green Revolution."

The solution proposed, to become effective over a period of 50 years or so, does not seem to be physically impossible. But it *is* politically and socially impossible given the present state of the world. Assuming 8 billion people on earth 50 years hence, they would live in 160,000 cities of 50,000 people each, constructed in a broken line inside a 5-mile-wide ribbon around the perimeter of each continent, leaving the interiors of the continents to nature and to the wilderness. Food would be produced in city factories underground, gardens would be permitted because they are horticulture, not agriculture, but eating and recreation would be in clan-sized groups of families—about 25 persons, including six adult males for a proper hunting group. Hunting would be done in groups, on foot, and with hand weapons only; it would be truly hazardous. Children would be introduced gradually to the wilderness, and adolescents to the hunting life.

As to the basic food supply, Shepard insists that microbes can do anything that higher organisms can do in making amino acids, vitamins, sugar, and other nutritional essentials, and that these would not be "artificial" foods, but new sources that already exist in nature. He notes that certain types of yeast produce a ton of pure protein from 2 tons of petroleum on which they are grown. At this rate, "the oil burned to operate the machinery of the present industrial farms would feed more people when channeled through yeasts than the farms now feed, and free the earth's skin from us as parasites" (pp. 261-2).

Present-day problems of violence, of personal alienation, and of environmental disorder seem to be getting worse, not better, and the answers

provided by technology and ideology seem unsatisfactory. Is it possible that we should return to prehistory and make a new start by reaffirming the "pre-man" or "pre-woman" in all of us?

This book is stimulating, even irritating, and should receive more attention than it has so far. Shepard calls himself a "naturalist," an old-fashioned term for a generalist in the natural sciences. His knowledge and insights have made his book controversial—some would say outrageous. But who knows for sure? Perhaps he has given us the only possible "scenario" for the future if the "tender carnivore' is to survive at all.

Ernest W. Grove

The Development of Rural America

Edited by George L. Brinkman. The University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans., 66044. 140 pages. $8.50.

When one keeps hearing that "rural development is an idea whose time has come" without seeing that idea definitively explained in the literature, perhaps he may be forgiven if he appears eager to get his hands on a book bearing the title "The Development of Rural America." On the other hand, you may well say that anyone who judges a book by its title deserves to lose his $8.50.

Rural areas, according to the recent census, continue to have a higher incidence of poverty than urban ones; the expected income of a rural family remains lower; and rural-oriented regions continue to lag behind urban-oriented regions in economic development. These cold census statistics form an abstract, quantitative indicator of an important qualitative problem about prospects for the good life in rural areas.

There is some evidence in the census statistics that rural areas as a whole are tending to grow faster than urban areas, in the sense that income per capita is rising faster and the rural-urban income gap is narrowing. The pace of outmigration appears to be abating. If these growth trends continue, rural America may "catch up" to urban America during the next two or three decades. There is evidence that rural areas are developing in the sense of finding new ways of doing things. For example, rural residents are depending far less on agriculture as an economic base and are finding employment in a broad spectrum of rural nonfarm jobs. And there is evidence that rural areas are achieving progress in the sense that attitudes are changing to embrace a broader spectrum of possible solutions to the rural economic and social problems. For example, some rural areas are adopting a less parochial and more cosmopolitan approach to rural development.

Brinkman and his contributors bring out some of these facts which describe the current rural situation and the outlook, particularly in the chapters by Calvin Beale and George Brinkman. But the descriptive material suffers from failing to cover the total rural development scene and from failing to update the statements to include data available at the time of publication.

Theories which help to explain the accelerated growth rates in rural areas are abundant. The various theories are sometimes overlapping and reinforcing, sometimes they leave unexplained gaps, and sometimes they logically contradict one another. But together they touch upon most of the elements required to describe, explain, and abet rural development.

Some theories embrace the notion that a rural economy will pass sequentially through alternative *stages of growth*. Such theories have proven to have powerful descriptive value but no analytic power. *Market inducements* play a key role in some theories of rural growth. For example, base theory says growth depends on developing an export market for local products, and Keynesian theory says employment varies with aggregate demand. *Resource availabilities* are critical limits to growth in classical growth theories which base growth rates on increases in labor, capital, or land resources. Advances in *technology* which result in more output per unit of input form the basis of some growth theories. Consideration of *spatial relationships* leads to growth theories which depend on transportation prospects, propinquity, or agglomerative economies. *Institutional arrangements* are central in some theories of rural area growth. Such theories may point to the role of local organizations and to the attitudes of local leaders toward the growth process. Finally, there are the holistic approaches to growth which say we can't explain without analysis of the whole *system*.

Brinkman and his contributors fail to face up

to the problem of using theory to help explain the rural development problem and to provide the reader with a framework for understanding how rural areas grow. However, they do seek to describe the rural development process, particularly in the chapters by J. Carroll Bottum and Richard Hausler.

Many rural development strategies are currently in operation at the Federal, State, and local levels, and others are being considered by administrators and legislators. These policies include influences on population growth, migration, labor force participation, job creation, productivity, capital accumulation, market development, location, and institution building. Brinkman and his contributors bring some useful perspective to the policy dimension of rural development, particularly in the chapters by Luther Tweeten, Emery Castle, and Niles Hansen.

With all these facts, theories, and policies floating through the literature of rural development, it may not be too much to hope that one day a definitive book will point the way to describing rural development problems, explaining them, and ameliorating them. When that book arrives, it may well have a title similar to the text currently under review.

Brinkman's text is a collection of papers originally presented to students in an undergraduate course at Kansas State University in 1971. Six of the guest speakers contributed papers to this collection. It is a blue-ribbon list of contributors and there is no doubt that what they had to say was stimulating to the undergraduates in Kansas in 1971. One wonders to whom the 1974 book is addressed? Some of the articles are in simple English for layman audiences, and some employ matrix algebra or symbolic logic that will have meaning only to a limited audience.

But the basic question is: What do these authors have to say to us in 1974? Some of the material has been used constructively by the authors before and is already available to us in print. Some of the material is dated and the authors already have more recent versions in print. Each of the separate contributors to this volume had something interesting and useful to say relating to the rural development problem. But pasting these contributions together and binding them in hard covers doesn't make them into what the publishers called "an integrated approach to rural development." This reviewer is still waiting for a book with a similar title that really meets the publishers' objective.

Clark Edwards

U.S. Trade in the Sixties and Seventies

Edited by Kenneth Jameson and Roger Skurski. D.C. Heath and Company, 2700 North Richardt Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., 46219. 137 pages. 1974. $12.50.

Trade relations among the world countries were different during the 1960's compared with the early 1970's. One obvious reason is the widespread emergence of multinational firms. Currently it is common practice for components of a product to be bought in Germany, the United States, Brazil, and France, and assembled in Taiwan and the Dominican Republic for export. The 1960's were a time of definite trade patterns set by the cold war; in the 1970's a trend can be seen toward normalization of trade with every country of the world (except perhaps Cuba).

The implication of the new turn in world trade is that the economies of the world are becoming less self-sufficient and more dependent on each other for their goods and services. Hopefully the increase in mutual trade would lead to the lessening of protectionism and the effective application of the theory of comparative advantage, thus leading to more efficient management of the earth's resources.

This book is an assembly of papers given at a conference entitled "Emerging International Trade Patterns of the United States," held at the University of Notre Dame in April 1973. It was an attempt to bring together the underlying trading relations between the United States and its world trading partners.

This reviewer was interested to learn about an important aspect of the economic miracle of Japan. Patricia Hagan Kuwayama explained that Japan's success is attributable in large part to government efforts directly encouraging exports. Banks of Japan offer short-term credit against export bills of preferential rates, and tax laws provide for tax exemptions. Furthermore, Japan's domestic market has been more protected against competition from foreign manufacturers than any other industrialized country in the postwar period.

As regards the traditional advantageous trade relations between the United States and Latin America, according to Kenneth Johnson, future trade relations will not be as bright for this country as they have been in the past. During the 12 years from 1960 to 1971, the United States was in a surplus position in trade of goods and services with Latin America—particularly Central America. It seems that a continuous surplus will not be the experience in the future. Johnson documents well the impending decline in the importance of the United States and Latin America to each other's trade—again mainly in Central America.

Roger Skurski contends that postwar American economic policy toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is a history of an almost continuous conflict between the legislative and executive branches of our Government. The most recent example of this is the reluctance of the U.S. Senate to ratify the Soviet-American agreement which was signed in October 1972. Needless to say, there are many complex obstacles preventing a large and rapid expansion in U.S. trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but in almost every case there are forces in operation to reduce the size of these obstacles.

In a paper on the future market of the People's Republic of China, Robert F. Dernberger writes interestingly about that country's economy. China's import demand and U.S. exports are complementary, but China's export supply and U.S. import demand are not. China's imports of producers' goods are severely curtailed by its capacity to obtain foreign exchange from its export trade. Without exception, China's trade policies do not adhere to the "price is right" principle. There is an encouraging note implicit in the paper about the prospects for world peace. Since the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the ensuing agricultural crisis reduced China's demand for producers' goods obtainable in the communist countries, China's trade is reverting to the West from the communist countries and is causing a break in the political relations with the Soviet Union.

Jack Ben-Rubin

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