



Robert M. Carmack, *Anthropology and Global History: From Tribes to the Modern World-System*

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND GLOBAL HISTORY is a cross-disciplinary work that may be of interest to historians, political scientists, economists, and geographers, as well as anthropologists. Beginning in the Paleolithic and moving systematically up to the present, Robert Carmack tackles the great sweep of human history using the world-systems approach of Immanuel Wallerstein. Carmack also includes other approaches related to globalization from a variety of disciplines.

There are very few anthropologists who have the ability (or the desire) to do this kind of work, and the breadth of knowledge required is formidable. The most notable anthropological work in this genre is WOLF (1982), and Carmack begins his book by acknowledging Wolf and others. CARMACK himself has a lengthy professional history of synthesizing ethnography, ethnohistory, and archaeology, and has used a world-systems approach in an earlier text (2002). The current volume, targeting advanced undergraduate and graduate students, is written in an accessible manner.

Carmack's analytical starting point is that societies (or "systems") expand, contract, and remain stable in relation to one another; they are not individual isolates. He emphasizes the systemic interconnections and overlapping networks (political, economic, and ideological) that create stability and change in global historical terms. The earliest societies were bands and tribes. Some of these societies evolved under particular circumstances, giving rise to ancient chiefdoms and then states, empires, and civilizations. In their premodern forms these multiple world-systems had not yet become a single world-system. The true Modern World-System (capitalized) came into being about 1450 CE with the expansion of European capitalism. In each area of the world, engagement with this system involved different forms of incorporation, accommodation, and resistance. In recent centuries, as in the past, the cores and peripheries of the Modern World-System were often in flux.

The chapters of the book cover the major areas of the world in broad brush strokes interspersed with "vignettes" that introduce each chapter, as well as twenty brief "case studies" that provide readers with concrete examples of how the world-systems approach works in specific instances. These examples range from Yanomami tribal peoples of Brazil and Venezuela to contemporary Rwanda. Carmack is particularly concerned with the development of inequality within and between societies and with the ethnocentrism and intolerance that often accompany inequality. One of Carmack's underlying goals is "to present history, past and present, in a form that potentially inspires readers to become more personally involved in the ethical dilemmas and physical dangers that have faced, and continue to face, the diverse peoples of our troubled globe" (4).

Readers of this journal will be most interested in two chapters that involve Asia, especially the chapter on “History of the Modern World-System and Its ‘Oriental’ Civilizations” that discusses China, Japan, and India, including a section on Edward Said’s views of the negative effects of “Orientalism” on Asian cultures. After examining the two major historical trajectories to the modern world—liberal development and radical revolution—Carmack’s final chapters address the present moment.

Carmack argues that post-World War II American global hegemony is now in decline with China ascendant in a multipolar and multicultural world. Despite the potential for international conflict, Carmack is cautiously optimistic in his discussion of “global cultural pluralism.” He contends that there is a “crucial need to seek greater equality and fairness between core and peripheral peoples, and, concomitantly, increased respect for civilizational differences” (368). Yet he is not naïve, acknowledging that political and ideological cleavages could lead to a very different future. He also recognizes that some predictions based on the world-systems approach, including Wallerstein’s prediction of a world socialist government by the mid-1990s (316), have not come to pass.

One of the strengths of these final chapters about where the world is heading is Carmack’s discussion of the work of influential thinkers such as Wallerstein, Samuel Huntington, William McNeill, Bernard Barber, and Janet Abu-Lughod, among others. Will there be peaceful accommodation or a “clash of civilizations”? In this context, Carmack views the world-system perspective as being highly relevant to understanding the present and future of the world. He demonstrates the usefulness of the world-systems approach as an organizing framework, aware that what is gained by employing this approach does not replace the specifics of local history.

Anthropology and World History is, by turns, ambitious, engaging, and challenging. Carmack raises many important issues, resolving some while allowing others to percolate. This kind of global comparative history is not in vogue in much of cultural anthropology today. Many cultural anthropologists prefer micro-analytic ethnographic approaches to macro-historical comparative approaches. Carmack sees these two approaches as compatible rather than mutually exclusive. In arguing for global history, he reminds anthropologists of the larger questions that have animated the discipline from its beginnings. Who are we? Where did we come from? And where are we going?

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