

Mike Donaldson and Kenneth Good, *Articulated Agricultural Development: Traditional and Capitalist Agricultures in Papua New Guinea*. Pp. ix, 160. Aldershot, England and Brookfield, Vermont: Gower Publishing Group, Avebury, 1988. US\$38.95.

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This slim volume analyzes the articulation of traditional, precapitalist agriculture and the new capitalist agriculture of cash crops in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Specifically, it focuses on the Goroka Valley of Eastern Highlands Province and the remarkable way in which Gorokans have become major coffee producers in the world economy. The language and categories of analysis are explicitly Marxist. Although "bourgeois" Pacific scholars may be annoyed by the repetition of such phrases as "the rich peasants" and "the rural capitalist farmers," and jolted by references to their following the "*kulak* path," this study is

actually relatively free of the Marxist cant that obscures so many analyses of its type. In fact, this is probably one of the better examples in the literature on the Pacific of how a Marxist perspective can illuminate the way islanders become enmeshed in the world economy.

The Gorokan experience, however, differs from many other encounters of Pacific islanders with traders, commodity prices, and the like, for in this case the islanders have come out rather well. The book analyzes this outcome, outlining how the Gorokans and their neighbors began as smallholder producers of coffee in the shadow of expatriate-owned plantations, then started their own plantations, and now, with the coming of independence, have virtually taken over the entire coffee industry and made coffee the premier agricultural export of Papua New Guinea. Essentially, Donaldson and Good explain this development as stemming from the receptivity of the production-oriented agricultural system of the Highlanders, with its emphasis on sweet potatoes, pigs, and other commodities, and the dynamism inherent in the big-man leadership system, all aided by colonial and postcolonial government policies aimed at promoting indigenous coffee production.

As such, their thesis, stripped of its Marxist language, is not new. The authors castigate anthropologists for a focus on static studies of Highlands societies, yet their own analysis borrows heavily from a variety of anthropological sources: archaeology and culture-history models of the development of Highlands agriculture; social anthropology models of indigenous production, exchange, and leadership systems; and economic anthropology analyses of the Gorokan case itself. However, the authors do perform a valuable service by synthesizing these sources with their own inquiries (which apparently consisted of interviews during the late 1970s and perhaps the early 1980s with government officials, agricultural officers, and their "rich peasant" subjects) and by adding new elements to the discussion, such as a comparison of Gorokan coffee development with analogous, but less successful, cases among various East African groups and a consideration of the inequalities between the rich peasants and small coffee growers and, of course, the plantation workers (which appear to be part of this successful articulation).

The really interesting thing about this study is how the authors seem reconciled (or resigned?) to the Gorokan success in coffee capitalism and the critical role indigenous Gorokan business leaders have played in that success. Where ten years ago Marxist analysts of Papua New Guinea were calling for socialist agriculture based on indigenous models, the authors admit that there is really no socialist alternative to capitalist agriculture "either growing out of the past or . . . on the agenda for the

future" (viii), However, it must be admitted that while Papua New Guineans may be spared the absurdities of collectivization, capitalist agriculture carries, as the authors point out, its own social costs.