

versalism and indigenous notions of cultural identity and sovereignty. The Europe Pacific Solidarity findings reveal that ultimately, many Ma'ohi regard the nuclear tests as "a breach of trust" (124) between Paris and the Polynesians. Not even a geiger counter can erase that kind of scar.

DAVID A CHAPPELL
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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Bougainville 1988-98: Five Searches for Security in the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea, by Karl Claxton. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence, 130. Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1998. ISBN 0-7315-2750-X, xix + 193 pages, figures, maps, bibliography, notes. Paper, A\$23.

Ten years of armed conflict on Bougainville Island have produced, together with more serious consequences, a substantial body of literature describing and analyzing the situation. The treatise under review is one of the most recent of such publications pouring out of the Australian National University. It offers a perspective, deriving from developing world security theory, different from those that have dominated most writing about the Bougainville conflict.

A key to Claxton's argument is the identification of five "stakeholders" whose interests and activities should be considered in order to expand understanding of the course and possible future of what has frequently been described as the most tragic dis-

turbance in the Pacific since the Second World War. ("Stakeholder" is reportedly a popular term in Australian discussions of public management issues. American usage is rather different; contrast Ackerman and Alstott, *The Stakeholder Society*, 1999.) Stakeholders in the Bougainville conflict, according to Claxton, are the state of Papua New Guinea (PNG); political elites at transnational, national, and local levels; "bits of nation," including churches, nongovernment organizations, media, and the like; communal groups like clans and villages; and individuals. Their goals are, respectively, maintenance of sovereignty; political survival; creation of civil society; subsistence; and safety.

After an introductory chapter and a second describing the background and history of the war, Claxton lays out his theoretical perspective. He recognizes that many different groups' securities are simultaneously at stake in Papua New Guinea (33), and argues that a stakeholder approach has both theoretical and practical advantages for understanding conflict in developing nations. Reader response to this chapter will depend on individual interest in what may well be unfamiliar material drawn from the field of strategic studies, but subsequent chapters provide concrete applications of theory to Bougainville.

Bougainville's secessionist sentiments antedated 1998, but took their present form only after armed conflict began among landholders in the area surrounding the vast copper mine at Panguna. Claxton makes the interesting point that the great threat to sovereignty is "the crisis's potent *symbolic* demonstration of the essential

contestedness and weakness of the PNG state's authority over its citizens" (49, emphasis added). Here and elsewhere (eg, 56, 99) he seems to contest the argument advanced by others of a "domino effect" that would have the *practical* result of the state's political disintegration—a point worth further debate.

According to Claxton, the goal of political elites at whatever level in this conflict is their own survival in exercising power. Thus at the national level, those politicians most active in dealing with Bougainville have been "individuals with particularly strong personalities occupying insecurely tenured positions" (60). His discussion of national political infighting will present a challenge to readers not already well versed in PNG affairs. In considering local politics in Bougainville, he shrewdly observes, "the pressure of war appears to have compressed the period between moments of initiation of new generations of local elite while precluding the emergence of a commonly accepted local elite truly representative of the whole province" (91). One can only agree that intergenerational conflict in Bougainville presents a particularly thorny problem for those wishing to see peace and stability in the near future.

"Bits of nation"—a term Claxton has paraphrased from Colin Filer's "bits of state"—are elite bodies that are not concerned with their own political survival in the narrow sense of directly maintaining leadership positions. Churches, nongovernment organizations, media, students are all, according to Claxton, striving "to foster a more functional overall political and social environment" (114). He

sees nongovernment organizations as particularly important in this effort. Communal groups, like clans, on Bougainville are "neither favourably placed nor usually inclined to adjust smoothly to greatly changed political and economic circumstances" and seek "physical and psychological exigencies of *subsistence*" (125, emphasis in original). Here Claxton takes more notice of those cultural factors that a number of observers have emphasized in analyzing the conflict. He also notes that activities of ordinary Bougainvillean individuals have been largely ignored in academic or journalistic accounts of the conflict, but their concerns with personal safety are clearly seen in the behavior of refugees, whether fleeing to government care centers or beyond the island to the Solomons and elsewhere (134).

In his concluding chapter Claxton returns to questions of theory but also makes the very practical point that "all the stakeholders that have attempted to operate in the colonial and post-colonial situations faced on Bougainville have been consistently weak" (144). This makes prospects for successful resolution seem rather dim but, as the author notes, this gloom "does not negate the need to better understand" such situations (151).

A review should at least suggest a readership for the work being considered. Claxton's book cannot be recommended to those seeking an introduction to what has taken place in Bougainville during the past decade. Such an audience is unlikely to enjoy the theoretical sections and would bog down in the dense details in the more specific chapters. They would be better served by the Fall 1992 spe-

cial issue of this journal or Anthony Regan's article in the November 1998 issue of *The Journal of Pacific History*. Those better acquainted with Bougainville might be inclined to skip over material they already know, or be put off by some infelicities in Claxton's style (eg, the proliferation of acronyms), perhaps deriving from the work's origins in a doctoral thesis. However, they could certainly profit from considering the provocative nature of some of the author's arguments. They can also appreciate the 41-page bibliography he provides. Anyone seriously concerned with PNG and Bougainville affairs will, at the very least, want to examine the book to see what Claxton's perspective can add to their own understanding.

EUGENE OGAN
Honolulu, Hawai'i

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Dreadlocks: In Oceania, volume 1, 1997, edited by Sudesh Mishra and Elizabeth Guy. Suva: Department of Language and Literature, University of the South Pacific. No ISBN, 199 pages, illustrations. US\$10.

In 1994 I edited my first issue of the Australian journal *Meanjin*. It was a special issue on the Pacific and, looking back on it now, there are undoubtedly things I would do differently a second time around. One thing that has stayed with me, however, as a high point of that issue was a series of interviews conducted by Gillian Gorle with William Takaku, then director of the National Theatre Company of Papua New Guinea, John Kasaipwalova, the well-known Trobriand poet, and Steven Winduo, a younger poet

from the Sepik region. Among the questions Gillian put to each of these writers was: "What are your views about English as a medium of expression?"

William Takaku described the loss of linguistic diversity in Papua New Guinea as a tragedy. He argued that while the use of English was clearly only going to increase, it was also going to destroy the country's literary potential in the process. "The expressions [of our mother tongues] are much more . . ." he said, obviously searching for a word. "In English they will come out inside-out or back-to-front, they won't make sense." Then there was the problem of audience. Takaku described his audience as being in the villages. "So how can I use English?" he asked.

John Kasaipwalova, on the other hand, had this to say: "It's exciting. I would put it this way—it's a tool. Our own traditional languages are beautiful tools, but they're stone axes. Suddenly you're given a tool that is a bulldozer. . . . It has the potential of reaching out to a massive audience." The problem, as he saw it, was "being able to know that the words you use do justice to what you want to express, whether they are the right ones, because that is not your native language."

And then there was Steven Winduo, who as a member of the younger generation, educated in New Zealand and the United States, found himself with a different set of problems. "I've probably avoided this question," he replied, "because when I answer it I become hypocritical in a way. You see . . . to me, writing in English is like writing in my own language." While acknowledging that there was