

skillfully demonstrate the complexity of both the prewar and wartime periods by showing that the categories of “Micronesian” and “Japanese” require a sophisticated contextualization in order to have appreciable meaning. Their treatment of the United States and Americans, however, lacks the same complexity and contextualization, insofar as their analysis of the entire Trust Territory period is only superficially assessed. Their attempt to demonstrate the profound legacy of the Second World War as enacted continually in Micronesians’ political, economic, and cultural dealings with the United States would require another volume, and its cursory treatment here detracts from the strength of their wartime historicization of Micronesia. As the first comprehensive treatment of World War II in Micronesia from the perspective of the Islanders, *Typhoon of War* is a welcome, necessary, and long-overdue contribution to Pacific Islands and world history. Poyer, Falgout, and Carucci deserve praise for enlightening the rest of the world about some of the trenchant oral memoirs of Micronesian peoples whose words and songs have been treated here with the utmost respect and dignity.

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Fiji before the Storm: Elections and the Politics of Development, edited by Brij V Lal. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press at the Australian National University, 2000. ISBN 0-7315-3650-9; xii + 205 pages, tables, figures, map, glossary, notes, references, index. A\$32; US\$30.

The contributions to this collection were for the most part written in the aftermath of the 1999 Fiji general election (which brought the People’s Coalition led by Mahendra Chaudhry to power) and before the coup attempt of May 2000. Half the chapters deal with the election or with political developments leading up to that election; the other half are studies of economic development in Fiji, with one that offers an analysis of women’s roles in politics. The volume was completed and published in the months following the political upheaval of May 2000. The opening and closing chapters, both written by the editor (Professor Brij Lal of the Australian National University), thus incorporate some analysis of the crisis and its long-term implications for Fiji.

This is a volume that traverses the highs and lows, the promise and despair, of Fiji in the last decade of the twentieth century. Appropriately, the first substantive chapter is by Sitiveni Rabuka, the man who did so much to define Fiji’s politics in that decade. In a personal memoir, Rabuka reflects on his political convictions and the factors that impelled him along the path he took, from “soldier to military ruler, politician to practitioner of democracy,” and (at the time of writing) Commonwealth mediator and peace-maker in Solomon Islands.

Inevitably one looks for clues as

to whether or not Rabuka anticipated (if not colluded in) the insurrection of May 2000. However, apart from briefly mentioning the disaffection of defeated Fijian candidates after the 1999 election, Rabuka does not dwell on his loss, or its possible consequences. Instead he emphasizes his ready acceptance of the election result and, more important, his continued support for the 1997 constitution. He describes as “poetic irony” the fact that the two main architects of that constitution (himself and Jai Ram Reddy) were “essentially rejected by the voters.” In his view, the voters also rejected the multiracial vision embedded in the constitution.

How and why voters behaved the way they did in the election of 1999 is the subject of the next two chapters. Brij Lal’s analysis of the election campaign and the subsequent results notes the importance for parties of an active grassroots network and strong party structure. The defeat of both the ruling *Soqosoqo ni vakavulewa ni taukei* (SVT) party of Rabuka and the National Federation Party (NFP) of Jai Ram Reddy may be attributed in part to the dormant or moribund structures of both parties, and to the more effective networks of the opposition parties, especially Labor. Both parties also failed to articulate and convey policies that appealed to the voters, unlike their opposition. Lal also draws attention to the perennial dilemma of parties that “court moderation in a multiethnic society.” They often fall victim to more extremist and racist parties.

The impact of the 1997 constitution, in particular the electoral system, on the election result continues to

attract controversy, especially in the lead-up to a new general election under the same electoral system. Both Lal and Robert Norton analyze the provisions of the new constitution, with Norton closely scrutinizing the workings of the preferential or alternative voting system, which he shows to have had the most effect in the Fijian communal seats, where exchange of preferences between a number of Fijian parties sealed the fate of the SVT. If a first-past-the-post system had been used, that party would have ended up with 18 instead of 8 seats in parliament and would have been the second largest party, behind Labor.

The increasing political fragmentation of indigenous Fijian voters, evidenced by the eight different political parties that fielded candidates in the 1999 elections, has emerged as one of the most significant issues in Fiji’s politics. On the one hand it is the inevitable result and product of democratic politics, yet its consequences pose severe threats to democracy in Fiji. Alumita Durutalo’s article shows how the basis of Fijian political unity lies in fragile and increasingly outmoded structures, created in large part by the colonial state. Attempts to shore up this unity (such as creating a political party sponsored by the Great Council of Chiefs) have served only to undermine the institutions on which Fijian identity is supposedly founded. Moreover, extralegal actions ostensibly carried out to entrench the political paramountcy of indigenous Fijians have only exposed and exacerbated intra-Fijian rivalries and divisions. This outcome was evident after the 1987 coups executed by Rabuka and has been particularly apparent in the

wake of the “civilian coup” led by George Speight.

While elections have tended to fragment and further undermine Fijian political unity, as argued by Durutalo, they also raise questions of identity for other communities in Fiji. In her contribution, Teresia Teaiwa explores the politics of elections in one tiny corner of Fiji: the island of Rabi. The inhabitants of Rabi (Banabans relocated from their home on Banaba or Ocean Island by the British colonial administrators) form a small ethnic minority in Fiji, geographically if not culturally, politically, and economically marginal to the rest of the country. Political categories have been superimposed on the Banaban community. At one time they were part of the indigenous Fijian electorate; now they are part of the “others” category. The chapter analyzes how such categories shape Banaban identity and determine their electoral choices. In scrutinizing the 1999 elections on Rabi, Teaiwa raises issues of empowerment and representation for Fiji’s ethnic minorities—issues not often addressed in the politics of Fiji.

Attention moves away from elections in the second half of the book, with chapters on the Fiji sugar industry and the Lomé Convention, inshore fisheries development, women in politics, and the Chaudhry government’s economic policies. Padma Lal analyzes the challenges facing the sugar industry, which include the uncertainty of land leases and the future of the Lomé Convention under which Fiji enjoys preferential market access to the European Union. Meeting these challenges will demand reforms to both the farming and milling sectors, reforms that integrate scientific, environmental,

socioeconomic, and institutional factors. Developing such reforms will in turn depend on research that applies analytical frameworks linking these factors. To enhance the effectiveness of the Fiji sugar industry’s reform process, Lal proposes an institutional structure that incorporates a more “innovative and holistic” approach to research than is currently being adopted.

Joeli Veitayaki examines problems that have plagued the development of Fiji’s subsistence and artisanal fisheries sector. Despite the valuable contribution of this sector to rural development, it has remained poorly understood and undervalued. As a result, state resources aimed at facilitating and expanding production have often been squandered. Among the factors that Veitayaki highlights as reasons for the high failure rate of development projects in this sector are poor project planning, lack of marketing infrastructure and training, unsustainable fishing practices, lack of motivation and entrepreneurial drive among the indigenous Fijian fishers, and lack of project evaluation. In order to address these failings, Veitayaki argues for more selective and targeted state intervention, based on commercial rather than communal or political considerations.

Chandra Reddy describes the political and economic status of women in Fiji. She highlights some of the factors that have inhibited greater involvement of women in both government and the economy. These include limited educational opportunities and a political culture that excluded women from leadership positions in society. Women in Fiji have gradually over-

come these obstacles, and the 1999 elections saw the appointment of five women ministers and five women senators. However, despite significant achievements, due in part to the efforts of women's organizations such as the Fiji Women's Rights Movement, Reddy notes continuing problems of direct and indirect discrimination. Addressing these will require the combined efforts of government and civil society groups, working in such areas as law reform, domestic violence, and economic empowerment.

The economic policies of the Chaudhry government are discussed in the chapter by Biman Prasad, which shows that while the new government campaigned on a manifesto of sweeping economic change, its policies in office were more in line with those of its predecessor. These included continuing the privatization of some public enterprises, financial liberalization, and concessions to the private sector. It also changed its stance on the promised introduction of a minimum wage and did not initiate policies to redistribute wealth to the poor, such as reform of the tax system. Overall, Prasad argues that the Chaudhry government missed an opportunity to steer Fiji toward an economic path more in keeping with the Labor party's ideals of poverty reduction and economic self-reliance.

Perhaps the saddest irony of the events of May 2000 is that Fiji was poised to reap the very significant economic benefits of a period of sustained political stability. Faith and confidence, shattered after the coups of 1987, had been restored, and an honest and democratically elected government was in power. However

the "madness in May," as described by Brij Lal in his concluding chapter, swept away Fiji's hopes for economic and political progress, at least in the foreseeable future. Lal seeks to explain why the crisis erupted (and dragged on) as it did, giving particular attention to the question of what motivated and mobilized the coup-makers and their supporters. While politically popular, "the cause" of indigenous Fijian paramountcy is ultimately a chimera. Lal concludes that the "solutions" to Fijian grievances cannot be achieved or realized by excluding and denying the rights of Fiji's other communities. Coexistence is the only option.

This volume may be read as a political and economic commentary on Fiji at the end of the 1990s. But it is also a valuable reference point for where Fiji is heading as the new century begins. Will the lessons of the recent past inform the steps taken in the immediate future? Some of the chapters obviously fit more easily into this context than others, but on the whole it is an interesting collection that balances a variety of issues and perspectives. Readers may well take issue with some of the arguments put forward. For this reviewer, Biman Prasad's analysis failed to take into account the decision by the Chaudhry government to impose import quotas for rice, a move that directly challenged the previous government's commitment to free trade. The chapter by Padma Lal would have perhaps benefited from some analysis of the political challenges facing the sugar industry. And it would have been of interest if Joeli Veitayaki had addressed the question of whether corruption con-

tributes to the many problems he describes in the fisheries sector. But these are minor issues that do not detract from an otherwise timely and constructive volume. One question puzzled this reviewer, and that is why the map of Fiji did not include the island of Rabi. As Teaiwa's piece reminds us, small as Rabi is, it deserves a place "in the Fijian sun"!

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Law and Order in a Weak State: Crime and Politics in Papua New Guinea, by Sinclair Dinnen. Pacific Islands Monograph Series 17. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. ISBN 0-8248-2280-3; xvi + 248 pages, maps, tables, photos, notes, bibliography, index. US\$40.

Currently a research fellow in the Department of Political and Social Change at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University, Sinclair Dinnen is a former head of the Crime Studies Division of the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea and lecturer in law at the University of Papua New Guinea. In those capacities he spent much of the 1990s at close quarters to Papua New Guinea's much publicized "law and order" problem, engaged with the chronic remedial efforts of the state and with the opportunity to directly observe the problem at the grassroots level through his own fieldwork.

He has drawn on these experiences in this book, which is an ambitious attempt to move beyond the spectrum

of analytic approaches, ranging from orthodox criminology to political economy models, which have previously dominated academic literature on Papua New Guinea's "law and order" problem. After a general introduction, a handy historical overview traces colonial and postcolonial attitudes to "law and order" as well as sketching relevant aspects of Melanesian social organization and the politics of exchange usually characterized by the term "gift economy." A central theme of the author's argument is set up in this chapter: not only has the imposition of state on a previously stateless society been a failure in terms of the ideals of modernization (the replacement of "traditional" undifferentiated social institutions with differentiated institutions typifying western capitalist societies) but the "state" cannot be analytically isolated from the "society" on which it attempts to impose order.

Following this chapter a short discussion explains and argues for the three analytic perspectives adopted, mostly on the ground that concentration on one perspective risks losing insights gained by the use of others. Dinnen proposes a synthetic approach in which the economic contexts of group and individual behavior are examined from the broadly "materialist" perspective; the "social foundations of human behavior" (40)—particularly in the context of transition from pre-state, pre-capitalist social forms—are examined from the "culturalist" perspective; and the role of the institutions of state and civil society in relation to crime and disorder are examined from the "institutional" perspective. In regard to the "cultural-