

Between Two Nations. The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism. Edited by R. J. May. Robert Brown, Bathurst, 1986. viii, 258pp. Australian price: \$A12.95.

Youth and Society. Perspectives from Papua New Guinea. Edited by Maev O'Collins. Monograph no.5, 1986. ii, 182pp. \$A6.00; *Law and Order in a Changing Society.* Edited by L. Morauta. Monograph no.6, 1986. iii, 119pp. \$A9.00; *Women in Politics in Papua New Guinea.* By Maev O'Collins et al. Working paper no.6, 1985. 76pp. \$A7.00. All published by Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University, Canberra.

A PREDOMINANTLY Islamic nation, with a military government, an immense population, and scant regard for the decencies of liberal democracy, Indonesia is treated with the deference due to the bully by its neighbours. Japan and the United States support the anti-Communist regime there as a force for stability in Southeast Asia, but the governments of Australia and Papua New Guinea (like those of Malaysia and the Philippines) are intimidated by it. Loath to antagonize its most powerful neighbour (or to differ publicly on the matter from the United States), Australia acquiesced demurely in the legal charade by which Indonesia annexed Irian Jaya in 1969 and in its invasion of East Timor in 1975; while Papua New Guinea has had to endure repeated infringements of its sovereignty by Indonesian troops, who cross the border between the two countries to harass Irian Jaya refugees and their Papua New Guinea sympathizers.

The people of Irian Jaya (or, as they style it, 'West Papua') are Melanesians, like those of Papua New Guinea. But, as reluctant citizens of Indonesia (their one-time Dutch mentors had been grooming them for independence), they find themselves ruled by people they regard as foreigners, culturally as well as politically. Moreover, they are victims of a government-sponsored resettlement scheme that is bringing in tens of thousands of Javanese. Not only, therefore, are they in danger of being outnumbered, but much of their land is being taken from them. It is colonialism at its crudest. Hence the rise of a militant 'West Papuan' nationalist movement, and a flood of refugees to Papua New Guinea (10,000 of them are there at present). Hence, in turn, the aggressiveness of the Indonesian military in Irian Jaya, and the condoning of their excesses by the government in Jakarta. Since Papua New Guinea belongs to the South Pacific community, New Zealand, along with other Forum nations, has more than a passing interest in the resultant border dispute.

There is, therefore, a more than academic need for a thorough treatment of the border issue. *Between Two Nations* offers just that. It contains a discussion of the nature of border disputes, it traces the history of the present one and, most important, it analyses this dispute in relation to the politics of both Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. It shows that the government at Jakarta is determined to absorb Irian Jaya into the larger Indonesian society; and that the government in Port Moresby is sorely embarrassed by its inability to persuade its neighbour (force is out of the question!) to act more humanely and with consideration for Melanesian sensibilities.

Meanwhile, Papua New Guinea has problems inside its own borders, as well as on them. It is in a state of intense social ferment. Rapid urbanization, increasing population mobility, the growth of the cash economy, the spread of western education, and the introduction of modern administrative methods are all placing a massive strain on traditional culture and social organization. Law and order is a major and well-publicized casualty of this strain. Customary disputes erupt into riots, gangs of unemployed men (*raskals*) terrorize the townships, political loyalties are unstable. On the other hand, new opportunities have arisen for people, particularly women, to obtain positions of influence;

new indigenous self-help organizations have sprung up; and commercial agriculture and mining are creating vast new wealth. Furthermore, and fortunately, as the publications issued by the Department of Political and Social Change of the Australian National University attest, a core of well-trained indigenous academic commentators is emerging to help shape public and government understanding of what is happening in Papua New Guinea. The works under review represent social science at its best: sound scholarship directed to matters of pressing immediate concern — and inexpensively produced. They deserve a wide readership.

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Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific. By Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford. Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1984. viii, 200pp. Index, illus. Price: \$F8.00 paperback.

THIS BOOK presents case studies of protest in five locations in the colonial Pacific. Each has been selected to exemplify a particular form of protest, ranging from the political by the Mau in Samoa to the millenarian among the Huon Peninsular peoples of New Guinea. Micronesia, so often omitted in such surveys, rates a chapter detailing the violent protest against the Spanish in Ponape.

Hempenstall and Rutherford set out to redress the empirical, 'microcosmic' bias of the majority of Pacific Islands historical studies, quoting Greg Dening's criticism of Pacific history's lack of theory. By concentrating on a single issue or theme, the authors hope to provide, at least, a basis for comparison and generalization across Pacific societies. In their introduction they distinguish resistance from protest — the former being simply non-co-operation and the latter being positive action to bring about changes in the system which dominates the colonized. This is helpful, but a more precise definition of protest and dissent is needed if the focus is to be on these concepts as bases for generalization, as the authors appear to have intended. However, in seeking to establish these bases, Hempenstall and Rutherford do not betray the historian's commitment to the unique. They recognize the tension between the particular and the general, avoiding the trap of over-simplifying the past for the political and ideological ends and trends of the present.

Both the introduction and the closing chapter are particularly useful for students, not only of protest, but also of the colonial period. Hempenstall and Rutherford stitch together the studies of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, New Guinea, and Ponape with linking themes and comparisons. Their guidelines for future research point to the complexity of issues relating to protest and dissent, as well as providing a caveat to anyone tempted to perceive such protest in, literally, simple black and white terms.

Events that have occurred since the book's publication highlight the value of the chapter on the 1959 industrial protest in Fiji. In many respects, the coalition of proletarian interests from the Fijian and Indian communities which Rabuka, with the chiefly establishment's acquiescence, overthrew in May 1987, had clearly emerged in the urban setting almost 30 years before, and was broken then by not dissimilar élites. Anyone seeking a better understanding of the current Fijian situation would do well to read this chapter, and savour the ironies, finding, for example, Apisai Tora, then Mohammed and trade union leader of Fijians and Indians, now an avid, if not rabid, supporter of the Taukei movement, the right-wing pro-native Fijian group.