Kuehling’s objection to Fortune’s work is that his description of Dobu Islanders made them appear as exotic others with an alien mindset. Her own data, more humane and less hierarchical (colonial) in its approach, reveals Dobu people who are less “other” and more comprehensible than Fortune portrayed them. What is neglected in her analysis, however, is history. Kuehling repeatedly takes Fortune to task over discrepancies of data. However, she seems to neglect the seventy years that had elapsed between the publications of their respective monographs. Indeed, there are points in the argument where this time lapse is clearly the most economical explanation for the authors’ differences.

This omission is not entirely Kuehling’s. To a great extent this problem is a product of the approach that she adopts, and is endemic to many other, similar accounts. The identification of a gift economy as the object of analysis (as opposed to a capitalist, commodity economy) makes it hard for an account to accommodate history framed in terms of the latter in the remit of the former. Indeed, Kuehling is to be commended for her courage in pushing her “gift analysis” into a frankly historical frame. The very power of the notion of gift exchange to make her ethnography seem directly comparable to Fortune’s raises questions about where and how historical developments make themselves felt and how they are experienced by all parties to the ethnographic encounter.

In summary, this is a provocative and useful book. Experts in the details of Massim exchange will find much to interest them, while those less immersed in the particular literature will enjoy a sensitive and frankly written ethnographic account. Revisiting old sites and old ethnography is a valuable enterprise, and Kuehling’s account is constructive and insightful. If the ethnography finds its limits in terms of history, it remains valuable in starkly raising the problem—something that its engagement with Fortune makes it well placed to do.

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Recently in Noumea, I was chatting with a friend who was bemused by recent reports outlining Australian visions of an integrated Pacific community. As we discussed proposals from Canberra for closer economic relations and even a single regional currency, she asked: “Do you think Australians will adapt easily to the Euro?” It’s a salutary reminder that your vision of the Pacific community is sharply affected by where you’re located within the region!

Redefining the Pacific? Regionalism Past, Present and Future, edited by Jenny Bryant-Tokalau and Ian Frazer, brings together papers from the 39th Otago Foreign Policy School, held in New Zealand in 2004. Some edited collections date very quickly, but this book retains its utility for scholars
and policy makers alike (though not students, given its price). With contributions by then New Zealand Foreign Minister Phil Goff, Secretary of Defence Graham Fortune, Andie Fong Toy of the Forum Secretariat, and academics from New Zealand, Fiji, Hawai'i, and Europe, the book covers key issues on the regional agenda: “failed states,” transboundary security threats, fisheries, the Pacific Plan, the relationship between the European Union and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States; and regional interventionism.

The editors argue that the new Pacific regionalism is a step beyond earlier initiatives that created the South Pacific Commission, the South Pacific Forum, and the University of the South Pacific. They suggest that in past years “states were too protective of their national sovereignty, too occupied with nation building to start thinking of some supranational structure or community. Their efforts at co-operation were largely aimed at enhancing national interests without diminishing national sovereignty” (11).

As shown with Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), the new regionalism allows for greater Forum intervention in areas of national sovereignty. But Michael Powles’s chapter on the “Pacific Plan for Strengthening Regional Co-operation and Integration” highlights a number of contested areas. Is the new Pacific community to be a community of states, of economies (like Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC]), or of peoples? What are the boundaries of this new Pacific community, and can it truly incorporate the remaining Pacific colonies? What is the role for civil society in defining the values and aspirations of the regional community?

Throughout the 1990s, Pacific governments and nongovernmental organizations were represented at a series of international summits—in Rio, Vienna, Barbados, Copenhagen, and Beijing—which started to map out global visions for a post–Cold War world. But the 1994 Barbados Program of Action, with its vision of sustainable development in Small Island Developing States, is rarely discussed in contemporary analyses of Pacific regionalism. Island-centered programs have been swamped by donor-driven policies of economic liberalization and good governance, while the human security agenda has been subsumed by greater focus on transboundary security (highlighted by Australian government concerns about gun running, drug smuggling, or the movement of asylum seekers or terrorists through porous Island borders).

For a wider audience, one interesting feature of this book is the lack of contributions from Australian academics or policy makers, and the attention given to New Zealand perspectives. Even though the Howard government’s trade and security agenda is driving regional integration, Canberra’s policy has often been formed by more global interests, in contrast to Wellington’s focus on the Pacific.

Contributions from Jonathan Fraenkel, Elise Huffer, and Terence Wesley-Smith make insightful critiques of the “failed states” paradigm, which sees Australia surrounded by an “arc of instability.” They argue for
a greater focus on Pacific culture and Islander concerns, suggesting that the new transnational security agenda has often failed to address key threats to human security such as climate change, violence against women in the home or community, the transport of toxic and nuclear wastes through the region, or the bio-piracy of intellectual property.

The editors’ introduction seeks to place recent regional initiatives in a historical perspective. But in a book subtitled “Regionalism Past, Present and Future,” there’s little reference to the past, or to the ways previous efforts to build Pacific regionalism have helped form contemporary initiatives. Clive Moore’s magisterial study New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History (University of Hawai‘i, 2003) highlights the importance of looking across time and space to understand how today’s regional boundaries fail to reflect the cultural links that unite the peoples of the region. Thus, many people in Jayapura may disagree with Frazer and Bryant-Tokalau’s contention that the boundaries of the Pacific region are limited by “Papua New Guinea in the west” (1). In 2006, Australia’s ambassador to the United States, Dennis Richardson, attacked proponents of self-determination for the Indonesian province of Papua, saying, “Papua is part of the sovereign territory of Indonesia and always has been.” His extraordinary statement ignores the debate over Indonesian claims of sovereignty in the 1950s and the many ways that West Papuans were part of the early attempts to develop pan-Pacific regionalism. West Papuan leaders Marcus Kaisiepo and Nicolas Jouwe attended the first South Pacific Conference in Suva in 1950; there were West Papuans studying at the Fiji School of Medicine and the Pacific Theological College in Suva throughout the 1960s; and a church delegation came from Dutch New Guinea to the Malua Conference of Churches and Missions in Sāmoa in 1961 (the initial meeting that led to the founding of the Pacific Conference of Churches).

These legacies of history have important implications for the new Pacific regionalism. Even though the Pacific Plan makes regional security one of its central pillars, it makes no mention of self-determination, even though past conflicts in New Caledonia and Bougainville affected regional security throughout the 1980s and 1990s. As both Islands are moving toward referenda on their future political status in 2015, the issue of self-determination in Melanesia will force its way onto the regional agenda again.

Another weakness of the collection is that few contributors go beyond critiquing Canberra’s regional agenda, to discuss more positive Island-centered initiatives. One of the few chapters in the book that presents a broader vision comes from Timothy M Shaw of the University of London, who draws comparisons between Pacific regionalism and other regions like the Caribbean. Shaw describes a range of initiatives by Small Island Developing States (SIDS) to leverage their small size onto the international stage, through the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), the programs of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Barbados Program for Action, and SIDSNet. These initiatives do not fea-
ture in “Pacific 2020” or other policy documents emanating from Canberra or Washington, yet provide an important global backdrop for improved regional coordination.

Shaw highlights the resilience of Island cultures in the face of globalization, and outlines areas where Pacific voices have positively contributed to better global standards: the role of Fiji’s Satya Nandan in developing the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the International Seabed Authority; the creation of the Rarotonga treaty for a nuclear free zone at the height of the 1980s US-Soviet arms race; or AOSIS efforts to influence the current debate on climate change and environmental refugees.

Despite these gaps, *Redefining the Pacific?* provides valuable insights into recent efforts to build a stronger regional community, at a time when the Pacific Islands Forum is trying to implement the vision of the Pacific Plan.

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In recent years several anthologies have reached the bookshelves (most prominently *Exploration and Exchange: A South Sea Anthology, 1680–1900*, edited by Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas [University of Chicago Press, 2000]), greatly empowering the reader’s interest in the Pacific, and condensing a seemingly endless flood of primary documents on Oceania’s pasts. Richard Lansdown’s collection is part of this tradition, with a notable difference: he limits his scope to Western representations of the Pacific from the early sixteenth century to contemporary times. His educated choice is clearly stated in his admirable introduction. While his concern remains with the outsider or Euro-American view of Oceania, his introduction reveals an intimate familiarity with the most pertinent issues in contemporary study of the Pacific. Lansdown reminds his readers that the Islands were settled long before Ferdinand Magellan’s arrival, and proceeds to discuss the most accepted theories regarding this nautical feat. Likewise, he chronicles how European attitudes toward the Pacific took shape several centuries before reaching this ocean, and investigates how ideas of “insularity” evolved during the early modern expansion. Deeply convinced that the Pacific’s vast seascapes isolated Oceania’s indigenous inhabitants from one another, Europeans often overlooked the numerous connections among Island societies, which frequently stretched over hundreds of miles of open sea.

Last but not least, Lansdown engages the thorny subject of contact between Euro-American and indigenous societies, reminding his readers that issues of victimization and human agency are commonly interrelated and permeate the sources.