

Pouvana'a in his "simplicity, closeness to the poor, sense of family, and rejection of the values of money, alcohol and corrupting morals."

However, Saura also cites surveys that indicate that most young Tahitian students are unsure of exactly who Pouvana'a was. If they can be prided away from their television sets and compact disks, as well as from surfing and canoe racing, long enough to read this book, Saura's effort would certainly help bridge the generation gap. To reach older Tahitians steeped in reading the Bible in their own language, Saura enlisted Valérie Gobrait to make a Tahitian translation. This appears on pages facing the French text, thereby transforming this work into a significant bilingual text. Saura, who teaches Polynesian civilization at the Tahiti campus of the French University of the Pacific, is to be congratulated for this fine biography, and particularly for analyzing the religious context of Pouvana'a's leadership, thereby providing one of the primary keys for understanding political evolution at a crucial point in the emergence of modern French Polynesia. Along with the works of Louise Pelzer, Serge Dunis, Bernard Poirine, and other scholars teaching at the Tahiti campus of the French University of the Pacific, Saura's biography of Pouvana'a reflects well on this new institution, which, however, is slated to fission into independent universities at Tahiti and New Caledonia.

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*Papua New Guinea: The Struggle for Development*, by John Connell. Routledge Studies in the Growth Economies of Asia. London: Routledge, 1997. ISBN 0-415-05401-X, xiv + 354 pages, figures, maps, tables, notes and abbreviations, bibliography, index. US\$85, UK£50.

John Connell sets out to develop a "post-horticultural" geography of Papua New Guinea, taking account of the major social and economic changes since independence and, in particular, of the imputed role of mining as "the critical engine" of economic growth. This is an ambitious and timely endeavor, although readers would benefit from a clearer road map at the outset. Connell is well qualified for the task, having begun research in Papua New Guinea in 1974 and authored numerous articles and monographs. The end product is a solid and well-written work that ranges over many different facets of postindependence development. It is to be regretted that the exorbitant price—US\$85—will severely restrict its readership.

The early part of the book charts Papua New Guinea's progressive integration into the international economy, with emphasis on the constraints of late development—the lack of a sense of national unity, the weakness of the state, difficult terrain, and the poorly educated, dispersed, and culturally diverse population. In Connell's view, late development has ensured continuity with the colonial past rather than giving rise to a distinctive postcolonial economic and political order. The constraints of late development have been compounded by administrative

fragmentation, the complexities of land tenure, fluctuating international commodity prices, rising expectations, and a growing population. Such attempts as have been made to achieve greater self-reliance have been impeded by the dominance of transnational mining capital, continuing dependence on aid, and the dictates of international agencies.

Chapter 3 documents in remarkable detail the mounting pressure of population growth on Papua New Guinea's land resources and subsistence systems, while chapter 4 follows the alternating fortunes of the agricultural sector. This sector remains central to the Papua New Guinea economy, contributing around a quarter of total output, employing about two thirds of the workforce, and earning more than ten percent of export income (56). Producers have reacted to the dramatic slump in prices for most key export crops in recent years by shifting toward local market production. Ironically this restructuring involved the creation of a more adequate domestic food marketing network—largely achieved without government support.

Chapter 5 covers “fish, forests and sustainable development.” The rapacious destruction of Papua New Guinea's forest resources is well documented, as logging becomes an increasingly important source of immediate revenue in underdeveloped rural areas, largely immune from regulatory control and conducive to corrupt dealings involving local leaders, politicians, and the (mainly) Asian companies. For Connell, the disastrous story of the forestry sector exemplifies the enormous challenges of rural development

in Papua New Guinea “under conditions of rapid political change, severe financial and skilled human resource constraints and an entrenched, conservative and oligopolistic bureaucracy” (120).

Connell explores the diverse social and economic transformations wrought by mining and petroleum extraction in chapter 6. While mining may have reduced the extent of uneven development at a national level, it has been poorly linked to other sectors and has raised the overall cost structure of the Papua New Guinea economy. The distinctly ambivalent effects of large-scale mining at local and regional levels are illustrated in a number of cases, most vividly in the tragedy of Bougainville.

Population growth, migration, and urbanization are discussed in chapters 7 and 8. Connell identifies both the “push” and “pull” factors underlying rural–urban migration, the disappointment with rural cash crop incomes and the promise of urban wages and welfare. The growing problem of urban poverty and its manifestation in the rise of raskolism and other dimensions of marginalization are well described. A wealth of useful data is adduced in the discussion of migration, as with that of employment, incomes, and the urban economy. Continuities between colonial and postcolonial periods are again identified, this time in the consistently negative view of urban migration, “as causes of problems, rather than solutions, and hence not as indicators of (or forces behind) economic growth and structural transformation of the economy” (218–219).

The uneven character of postcolonial development, with its antecedents

in the late colonial period, provides the basis for the wide-ranging discussion in chapter 9. Class is shelved as a tool of social analysis in favor of the continuing relevance of more familiar, albeit transformed, patterns of competitive leadership, extended kinship, and gender. These underlying social dynamics are introduced rather late in the book, given their significance to many of the problems discussed earlier. The final two chapters provide further illustration of the progressive entanglement of social and economic forces—old and new, internal and external—and their varied, often disruptive, impacts across a range of contemporary contexts including politics, law and order, decentralization, Bougainville, and the state. Again, one could query the late appearance of this discussion and, in particular, the abbreviated account of the weakness of the postcolonial state. This is particularly so, given the centrality of the postcolonial state as a political and economic actor and the areas of continuity shared with its colonial predecessor—an important, if undeveloped, strand running through Connell's account.

Connell has produced a useful reference book for scholars and others interested in contemporary Papua New Guinea—one to be valued for its empirical data and marshalling of an extensive literature, rather than for any fresh insights into the broader dynamics of recent change. The attempt to combine social and economic dimensions is not altogether successful, but that does not detract from Connell's valiant attempt. Ultimately, the value of this book lies in its richness of detail and the sheer breadth

of ground covered rather than its coherence and focus—much like Papua New Guinea itself.

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*Environment and Development in the Pacific Islands*, edited by Ben Burt and Christian Clerk. National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Pacific Policy Paper 25. Canberra and Port Moresby: Australian National University and University of Papua New Guinea Press, 1997. ISBN 0-7315-2351-2, xiii + 299 pages, map, tables, figures, appendix, notes, references. Paper, A\$20.

The 1990s have seen a burgeoning involvement of nongovernment organizations in the Pacific, along with a new emphasis on small, community-controlled development projects and environmental sustainability. These changes are reflected in this volume, which touches on the major sectors to which Pacific countries have looked for economic growth: forestry, fisheries, mining, tourism, and agriculture. (Manufacturing is significantly not included.) Most of the papers gathered here were presented at a conference held at the School of African and Oriental Studies in London in 1995, funded by the European Union's information organization (ECSEIP).

Both the strengths and weaknesses of the volume grow out of its origin as a conference. It is regrettable that the editors do not tell us more about the conference—how it came about, who