

hybrid genre of “faction” as an avenue of expression. Fortunately, Brij Lal has the literary talent to accomplish it brilliantly.

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Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization, by John D Kelly and Martha Kaplan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. ISBN 0-226-42990-3; xiv + 243 pages, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US\$18.00.

Kelly and Kaplan’s book is a collection of essays written between 1991 and 2000 in which they examine the topics of decolonization and nation building. Fiji is their primary focus, but they frame their discussion in terms of the broader context of the world order that developed after World War II. For them, the most significant aspect of that order is the idea of a world community of nation-states characterized by “symmetry, horizontality, and quiescence” (12).

This “UN model” of the world community required a global decolonization process, but, of course, symmetry and horizontality among states, while important ideals, have not become a reality. Using almost any measure—economic, political, military, or symbolic—the relations among nation-states are markedly asymmetrical. The *local*, as it has developed in recently decolonized states, reflects this aspect of the *global*; inequality and lack of “horizontality” between classes, genders, and ethnic groups are the norm.

The authors remind us that it is no accident that deep, horizontal bonds of nationhood have failed to develop in much of the decolonized world. Colonizers defined and maintained differences between social categories. For a variety of reasons, specific to their local contexts, these divisions often continue into the present.

Fiji is an excellent example to illustrate this problem. Out of his need to make the new colony self-supporting and his desire to shield native Fijians, Fiji’s first governor promoted the growth of a sugar industry based on labor recruited in British India. The authors remind us that the thousands of Indians who came to Fiji differed in language, region of origin, religion, and caste and did not identify themselves in terms of the overarching category “Indian” prior to their arrival in the colony. Once in Fiji there was no escaping that identity, but Fijians also differed (and differ) among themselves. In the context of the colonial legal and political systems, however, both Indians and Fijians were treated as blocs and positioned below Europeans.

The relative positions of these two major ethnic blocs were not so much hierarchical in nature as they were laterally distanced. Indians were regarded as units of labor whose legal standing in the colony flowed from their labor contracts. They were forbidden by law to reside in Fijian villages, and there was (and is) very little intermarriage. Though there was interaction and cultural borrowing, a truly creole culture has never emerged.

As the authors point out, during the colonial period officials exhibited

a greater sympathy for Native Fijians than they did for Indo-Fijians. This was sometimes justified by reference to the founding document of the colony, the Deed of Cession, which could read as giving the Crown the obligation of looking after Fijian welfare. A baser reason was the fact that Europeans saw Indo-Fijians as potential political competitors. For their part, Native Fijians felt threatened by the demographic strength of Indo-Fijians, a fear frequently reinforced by European rhetoric. The stage was set, then, for continuing political confrontation.

Four of the essays in the book analyze the ways in which specific strategic decisions reinforced a sense of rivalry. Borrowing from Gregory Bateson, the authors use the term “ethnic schismogenesis” to refer to a process by which decisions and actions motivated by distrust reinforce antagonisms. The cases examined include Indo-Fijians’ refusal in 1942 to participate in the war effort and Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna’s refusal, on behalf of the government, to accept the sugar harvest offered as a gift by Indian cane growers during the sugar strike of 1943. An especially interesting essay focuses on the important role of ritual in establishing a sense of nationhood and the efforts of an Indo-European mystic to formulate a national mythology and ritual observances that could unite the two main ethnic blocs. Sadly, his message failed to connect with either group.

Though it is not equally central in the individual essays, the book as a whole is meant as a critique of Benedict Anderson’s analysis of the rise of nationalism in the modern era. Ander-

son referred to nations as “imagined communities,” meaning that the unity of the nation exists first in persons’ hearts and minds. Anderson saw national identity as a sense of deep, horizontal fellowship emerging out of such shared life experiences as exposure to a uniform educational system, compulsory military service, and national publications, read nearly simultaneously by persons throughout the nation. States have existed for at least 5,000 years, but early states were often amalgams of peoples linked only by their submission to a sovereign. Just as there can be states without nations, so can there be peoples with a sense of nationhood but no exclusive territory or state. It is only in the modern era, and particularly the post-World War II period, that the nation-state has become the norm.

The authors’ principal objections to Anderson’s analysis are that it glides over the process by which the nation-state model was imposed on former colonies, fails to recognize the extent to which his utopian image of deep, horizontal fellowship has been subverted by colonial legacies of ethnic division, and does not give attention to the role of raw political will in the forging (or fragmenting) of nations. (These aspects of nation building are illustrated in the several essays.) Kelly and Kaplan’s argument is adequately introduced in the preface and first chapter, but the second chapter plunges us into deeper, more turbid waters. It analyzes images of space and time in Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (1983, 1991) in considerable detail. If readers’ main interests lie in Pacific history and politics rather than issues of representation, rhetori-

cal imagery, and “chronopolitics” (how other subjects are thought of with respect to our and their positions in time), they may want to skip over this chapter in their first reading and return to it after having read the rest of the book.

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Protection of Intellectual, Biological, and Cultural Property in Papua New Guinea, edited by Kathy Whimp and Mark Busse. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press; Port Moresby, PNG: Conservation Melanesia, Inc, 2000. ISBN 0-7315-3663-0; xiv + 216 pages, table, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. A\$32.00.

Conferences on intellectual property rights have given rise to a number of publications over the last decade. What places this volume apart is that it focuses specifically on the situation in Papua New Guinea. As a World Trade Organization member, Papua New Guinea has obligated itself to develop intellectual property laws. Whimp and Busse's volume provides some insight into the questions such a decision raises for a Third World nation.

The contributors to the volume do not address the *need* for one or more laws on intellectual, biological, and cultural property; that is more or less accepted as a given. The questions raised concern how these laws should be realized, what they should cover, and how the laws should be implemented within the specific context of Papua New Guinea.

The contributions were originally

presented in Port Moresby in August 1997 at a seminar on intellectual property rights in biological and cultural materials. The contributors are from a variety of backgrounds: anthropology, biology, pharmacology, archaeology, ethnomusicology, and law. This clearly indicates the scope of the problems addressed. The development of intellectual property laws in Papua New Guinea has received various stimuli throughout the 1990s: Papua New Guinea's signing of the Convention of Biological Diversity in 1992, its adoption of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property, and its membership of the World Intellectual Property Organization.

The first three chapters focus on the wider context involved in the discussion of intellectual property rights. Busse and Whimp specify the main concepts involved and provide a brief historical overview of English (intellectual) property law. With England and Australia as primary colonial influences in Papua New Guinea, this choice for historical background is logical, although it is more usual to look at United States law as a context for debate. Harroun presents a useful overview of existing approaches to intellectual property rights and the rationale behind their use. Strathern provides a perspective on intellectual property in Papua New Guinea itself, giving specific attention to the communal rights usually held by indigenous peoples. What becomes clear in all three chapters is that intellectual property rights are a western legal concept that does not automatically or by definition fit the Papua New Guinea situation.

In the next four chapters, the vari-