

the chapter on air transport sees some basis for hope through a discussion that embraces the impact of the Pacific Islands Air Services Agreement, the entry of low-cost carriers, moves to privatization, and questions of needed infrastructure development.

Finally of note is Philip Powell's skeptical contribution ("Too Young to Marry"), asserting that a Pacific economic and political community, as envisioned by Australia and other regionalists, might achieve integration in form but not in substance. Required in the first instance are stronger states, endowed with national legitimacy, and no longer beholden to the levels of external subsidy and assistance currently in place. An imposition of relatively advanced regional institutions on Pacific economies that have no more than partially evolved "would generate inefficient complexity and impede the region's ability to break its underdevelopment bottleneck" (237). Powell's advice to foreign donors keen to further Oceania's regional integration is to look first to a reformulation of national aggregations—decentralizing and federalizing powers, weakening the dominance of corrupt capital city elites, and forcing states to cooperate with indigenous institutions. The Pacific Islands Forum (Dave Peebles take note) should avoid association with Australian assertiveness keen to hurry shared governance in the Islands Pacific.

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Bougainville: Before the Conflict, edited by Anthony J Regan and Helga M Griffin. Canberra: Pandanus Books and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2005. ISBN 1-74076-138-3; xl + 566 pages, tables, figures, maps, photographs, historical chronology, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, A\$85.00.

Events in Bougainville would challenge even the Queen in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* (1873), who sometimes believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast. In 2004 the arch-secessionist Francis Ona, ignoring seven years of peacemaking and the election of an Autonomous Bougainville Government within Papua New Guinea, had himself crowned king of an independent Bougainville. His ally Noah Musingku, another fantasist and creator of fraudulent pyramid schemes, conducted the rites and became Prince David. But when Ona died, he received a state funeral from the state he did not recognize, subsidized (the ultimate insult?) by Australian aid.

Early in 2006, veterans of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and their once implacable enemies in the Resistance united to denounce Musingku's dishonest fund-raising. The Autonomous Bougainville Government demanded that the Papua New Guinea Defense Force arrest Noah and disband and deport his Fijian soldiers. Meanwhile, the Bougainvillean minister for mines in the Papua New Guinea government offered to negotiate with multinational companies to resume copper mining at

Panguna or elsewhere. Evidently anyone who understood Bougainville politics was misinformed.

Happily, this fine volume has been published just in time for those who accept that we need to reexamine most of the assumptions that inform discussions of Bougainville matters. The conflict in question took its present shape with the development of Panguna copper mine, the main source of Papua New Guinea's domestic revenue and an essential element of the country's independence. But landowners resented the environmental damage, the flow of benefits to Papua New Guinea, and the influx of young, single "redskins" to operate the mine.

Panguna provided focus for Bougainvilleans' sense of separateness. Deft footwork by national politicians averted secession, but landowners' grievances festered until 1988 when Ona's militants sabotaged the mine. As violence escalated, so did the claims of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). An inchoate civil war, an economic embargo, and guerilla warfare wrecked the cash economy and social services. The PNG Defence Force, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, and the (anti-BRA) Resistance Movement all fractured. The national government lurched between economic and political crises, but the insurgents failed to win diplomatic recognition. After eight destructive years, a New Zealand-mediated truce initiated the rebuilding of peace. It has taken another eight years of patient negotiation to rebuild a provincial government and restore civil government.

The case for secession rests on the

belief that Bougainvilleans differ from other Papua New Guineans, culturally and ethnically as well as geographically. *Bougainville: Before the Conflict* addresses the question: "Was Bougainville somehow inherently different in the combination of its mini-cultures? Or was it just another slice of Melanesia, a microcosm that reflected the ethnic diversity of Papua New Guinea and the wider region?" (xxviii)

This handsome volume was produced by Pandanus, the leading publisher of Papua New Guinea studies. It is helpfully illustrated. The editors and contributors have lavished affection as well as care on the project; although they ultimately (and inevitably) fail to answer the headline questions, readers will treasure their exhaustive and many-sided investigations. The book's twenty-eight chapters cover natural and social sciences, colonial and postcolonial history, and many participant accounts, mainly by Bougainvilleans.

It is impossible to summarize the richness of these studies, memoirs, and vignettes. James Tanis's reflections ("Nagovisi villages") are unusually eloquent but typical of the analytical and emotional power of these contributions. He left the university to join the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, fought to the end, engaged in peace negotiations, and served as a minister in Bougainville's postwar government. He parted company with Francis Ona when Ona boycotted the peace process. Tanis reviews the prewar circumstances of Nagovisi and the land disputes that led to Ona's supremacy—and his tragic descent into mysticism and irrelevance.

This is not a run-of-the-mill mono-

graph. Like many other perceptive writers, Tanis raises more questions than anyone could possibly answer. He asks about the nature of Papua New Guinea's stake in Bougainville; he ponders Australia's interests in Panguna; and he wonders what unseen forces—global and regional—contributed to the destruction of the environment and years of civil war in Bougainville. And he concludes with the most radical of all questions: “After gaining political independence from colonial masters, do all third world nations enjoy only brief periods of real independence? Must they all then experience civil wars and revolutions and go bankrupt and join the queue awaiting solutions from elsewhere?” (472)

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Ce souffle venu des ancêtres . . .
L'œuvre politique de Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1936–1989), by Hamid Mokadem. Nouméa: Expressions – Province Nord, 2005. ISBN 2-9519371-2-1; 411 pages, appendixes, written in French, bibliography, index. CFP3900.

When Jean-Marie Tjibaou was assassinated on Ouvéa in May 1989, shock waves swept across the Pacific. His face figured on the front covers of the following month's issue of both *Pacific Islands Monthly* and *Islands Business*, while seven months later *Pacific Islands Monthly* declared him “Man of the Decade.” Yet, ironically, many Anglophone Oceanian intellectuals spontaneously wept over the death of his assassin, Djubelly Wéa.

The reason was simple: Wéa was a radical, uncompromising, and an avowed Anglophile who had studied in Fiji. Tjibaou was, in comparison, a somewhat mysterious figure, prone to compromise and with a limited proficiency in English. He navigated in a universe that was unequivocally Oceanian, but was also grounded in the larger realm of the world's colonized peoples, and characterized by a marked attachment to certain aspects of French and European civilizations.

Unlike the vast majority of Pacific leaders of his generation, Tjibaou left an enormous legacy of interviews and speeches, as well as several important writings. He also deeply marked those that crossed his path, for he had charisma, vision, and a remarkable command of the spoken word. A biography by the *Le Monde* journalist Alain Rollat was published shortly after his death (*Tjibaou le Kanak*, 1989), while the French anthropologists Alban Bensa and Éric Wittershheim produced a collection of his speeches, writings, and interviews a decade ago (Jean-Marie Tjibaou, *La Présence Kanak*, 1996). Otherwise, until very recently, there has been little apart from a scattering of articles. The tide is, however, turning. An English translation of *La Présence Kanak* was published a few months ago in Australia (Jean-Marie Tjibaou, *Kanaky*, 2005), while at virtually the same time, this substantial study of Tjibaou's political thought and actions appeared in New Caledonia.

Ce souffle venu des ancêtres is, without a doubt, an important book. It is also, at first sight, a somewhat disconcerting one for Oceanian scholars nurtured principally on the writ-