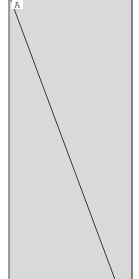
lions but Australasia contained heathen souls Royal Navy patrolled and missionaries evangelized adventurers from Australia and New Zealand clamoured for land in Fiji, prospected for gold in Papua and recruited blackbird (indentured) labour from the Solomons and New Hebrides. When the colonists demanded protection from German or French intrusions into their Pacific backvard, Downing Street created minimal protectorates over some island groups. During the federation debates of the 1890s. Australia briefly considered taking over manageingly) Western Australians voted to join, creattion. Two contrasting patterns of race relations with Islanders. Pakeha (white) New Zealanders,



## Pacific paradoxes

Cooperation and colonialism in Australia's relations with the Islands

DONALD DENOON

From the earliest days of settlement, colo- declaring Maori to be long-lost Europeans, nists distinguished between Asia and the embarked on cultural assimilation; when they of aid. This link was sometimes explicit, as in allowed Australia to establish, for instance, the Pacific Islands: Asia teemed with menacing mil- annexed other Polynesian societies - Cook the 1990s when a minister in the Keating Gov- Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands Niue and Samoa - their social policies ernment held the joint portfolio of aid and Islands which unlike earlier peace-monitoring to save and spare lands to cultivate. While the placed no ceiling on the aspirations of individual Islanders.

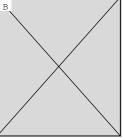
hand, gave the highest priority to creating a term "Pacific paradox" for the phenomenon cess, Canberra has negotiated an Enhanced White Australia, and though Parliament agreed that the more aid was pumped into Island econoto take over British New Guinea as the Austral- mies, the less development occurred, a formula enabling Australia to appoint police, accountian Territory of Papua, Attorney General Deakin pointed to the anomaly that "A 'White because of United States grants in Micronesia mentation of which is currently being delayed Australia' may exist . . . but a 'Black New and French subsidies in Tahiti and New Caledo- by a provocative demand that Australian offic-Guinea' the territory now is and must always nia, the Pacific receives much more aid per capers be immune from prosecution). remain". When war broke out in 1914, German New Guinea and Nauru were also occupied and ment of the Islands, but the New Zealanders administered under League of Nations manwithdrew from negotiations and (rather surpris- dates. If Pakeha sought to merge with Polyneing a continental instead of a maritime federaentrenched difference. Papuans and New Guinelarly when the Australians found themselves ans could not travel to Australia or enter the crystallized and shaped each country's relations towns of the Territory except as domestic workers. Not only were inter-marriage and some inter-racial sexual relations illegal, but Melanesians were allowed only limited access to the education and culture of White Australia Papuan Medical Assistants studying in Sydney in the 1930s had to live in the Ouarantine Sta-

The decolonizations of Australia and New Zealand embodied the same contrast with tregard to the Islands. A novel form of "free association" in 1965 enabled Cook Islanders to live and work in New Zealand, an arrangement also negotiated by the Niueans. The great majority of these people now live in New Zealand, as do many thousands of Samoans. The effect as well as the purpose, of decolonization, was economic integration and political and cultural assimilation. In the 1960s. Australian authorities did propose to resettle Nauru's 9.000 people in Australia, but were turned down (Nauru- leading a multi-national force to disarm pro-Inans hoped that the substantial royalties from donesian militias. Despite a generation of diplotheir guano stockpiles would make them both macy and even a security agreement with term workers to enter Australia. Another theme affluent and independent). Assimilation was Jakarta, "Asia" was once more full of menace, was a desire to create people-to-people links: never an option for Papua and New Guinea, whereas the Pacific Islands were apparently setwhich were administered as one territory after thing down after a burst of instability. Nine expanded volunteer programme, were put forthe Pacific War. A delegation of Papua New years of war over Bougainville's attempted ward as a way to complement government to Guineans, having heard about the Cook Islands agreement, asked if they could become Ausan end, while Papua New Guinea's parliament ommended "an end to the Government's policy tralia's Seventh State in 1966, and a startled had replaced the erratic Prime Minister Bill of processing asylum seekers offshore . Cabinet resolved that Papua New Guinea's destiny must be independence. Planning began sober economist Sir Mekere Morauta. In Fiji, ception within the region that Australia's soon after, and independence was achieved, tensions between Fijians and Indo-Fijians were domestic political considerations are more breathlessly, in 1975. While New Zealand weldefused by a democratic election won by important than broader regional issues". comed Polynesians from her dependencies, Australia cut Papua New Guinea loose to avoid that people were increasingly disenchanted with welcoming these recommendations, are wor-

But it was not intended that relations should be transformed. On the day of Papua New however small and ill-resourced, these sover- would be swallowed by a federation dominated Guinea's self-government in 1973, the Austral- eign states were entitled - even obliged - to by Australia, even with New Zealand and ian Development Assistance Agency came into solve their own problems. being as the vehicle for delivering aid - in the offices vacated by the Department of External

ita than anywhere else on earth.

Asia and a somnolent Pacific still seemed credi- Nauru Government, which had not spent wisely ble. The growing violence in East Timor soured its considerable guano profits, when it offered sians, Australian policy preserved and relations between Jakarta and Canberra, particu-them large sums of money in order to be able to



CAption caption caption

secession from Papua New Guinea had come to government relationships. The report also rec-Mahendra Choudhury. Throughout the Pacific,

In Papua New Guinea, Morauta found he had to minded insularity. Every Australian analysis Territories. The Agency's first Director had form a cabinet from the same corrupt politi- assumes that the islanders would enjoy richer been the Administrator of Papua New Guinea, cians who had brought notoriety to the Skate economies, cleaner governance, lon

Government. Fiji's parliament was captured by armed rebels who dismissed Choudhury; in Honiara, another coup evicted Ulufa'alu's Government, and the rebels launched guerrilla warfare across Guadalcanal Island. Partly because of this turmoil, a new relationship has emerged whereby Australians have carte blanche, with the more or less cheerful consent of Island governments, to mediate in Pacific politics - an and half of his officers were carried over from arrangement that is described by Canberra as the Department. Aid was seen through a Pacific regional cooperation, though some prefer to see lens, and the Pacific was seen through the lens it as neo-colonialism. This tacit agreement has Pacific relations. This new form of dependency groups, has a mandate to disarm criminals and reinforced the old stereotype of the Pacific as a to strengthen the police force and other agen-The Australian constitution, on the other recipient of patronage. Economists coined the cies of government, Heartened by its early sucwhich holds far beyond the Australian sphere: ants and bureaucrats in the country (the imple-

In 2001, John Howard's Government arrived In 2000, the distinction between an alarming at an ingenuous solution to the cash crisis of the "process" asylum seekers on the island. The Pacific solution" was also applied to Manus island in Papua New Guinea. The Melbourne writer and academic Jim Davidson has argued that the Government has "treated Pacific Island nations as if they were simply client states; nonwhites can be safely kept off-shore in what have become our very own Bantustans". The most independent and original analysis

of Australia's role in the Pacific was finally launched in 2002 by the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee. (Since no government has controlled the Senate since the 1970s, this inquiry was bipartisan, unhurried and politically astute.) The Committee concluded that Australia's aid programmes should continue, but they aspired to transcend the patron-client nexus. The first recommendation argued for the idea of a Pacific economic and political community, which would establish a common currency, labour market and budgetary and fiscal standards. The Committee also advocated a more flexible approach to labour

Pacific Island governments, however, while their representatives, but the decay of govern- ried about what they see as an inevitable reducment was gradual. Everyone still agreed that, tion in their autonomy and sovereignty, which Papua New Guinea as counterweights. There is Pacific serenity, however, was to prove brief. more to islanders' anxieties than bloodyselves?

The short answer is that Islanders differ profoundly from settler societies on the nature and islanders owned and inherited the land that they on land, value of land. Australians invalidated Aborigi- managed to retain. [??Denoon to add a couple nal land titles through the doctrine of terra nul- of sentences explaining this further]. With war- and Bougainville: Nauru is temporarily solvent. the patron of Island clients for many years to

more fulfilling lives if only they would behave but in each case land sales were the mainstay of paramount and for most of the colonial era this Island bureaucracies are being reinforced. But more like Australians and New Zealanders. colonial revenues. Other forms of land use, nexus gave as much psychological comfort as the "Pacific paradox" remains unresolved. The Why do they persist in behaving like them- such as the agri-businesses Lever Brothers in financial security, and shaped the ways in creation of freehold land might promote ecoing in Fiji, merely codified the ways in which the Pacific crises since the 1960s have centred and help to dissolve parochialism, but only at

It's odd, but does it matter? Yes it does. PG

the Solomon Islands and Colonial Sugar Refin- which islanders imagined themselves. Most of nomic development, permit self-sufficiency

lius; New Zealanders recognized Maori titles; fare no longer possible, land ownership became most asylum seekers have been processed, and come

the cost of social revolution. Because nobody Peace has returned to the Solomon Islands wants that "Pacific solution". Australia will be

PG tips year or so ago Professor J. Bradford DeLong, a Berkeley economist, went Plooking for some books in the library and had what he described as "a bad day in the stacks". Unable to find all he wanted and frus-PAUL DUGUID trated by the "very low grade work" that the con-

ventional library asks of users, he denounced its retrograde technology in an article for Wired have been donated. With the Internet, as with because Sterne makes even more of his up as a model for a universal library and as ("Any Text Anytime Anywhere (Any Volune jumble sales, enthusiasm for quantity tends to chapters than of his volumes. Besides the blank many worthy libraries link to its editions with teers?)", February 11, 2003). He asked his read-trump concerns over quality. If PG is a chapters and the torn-out chapter, and many out comment, it is important to emphasize that ers. "Where is my universal online library?" When such questions are asked in Wired, the understand its strengths and weaknesses.

Technophiles often assume that the internet is a library, and some rather gloomy technophobes accept the idea. George Steiner, for etext97/shndy10.txt as Ebook #1079 since example, in his Grammars of Creation, calls it 1997, and "updated" in 2003.) To those who these divisions. Among other difficulties, the plementary. The latter is very good at dealing the "library of libraries". As a further sign of know the book, the choice will be as obvious as PG Shandy inevitably has problems with what acceptance, many librarians have come to call it is unfair. Few books are as conscious of their Hugh Kenner called Sterne's exploitation of themselves "information providers". Yet casual own materiality and I felt it would be interest- "typographic culture", which includes superidentification of the library with the internet or ing to see how a dematerialized medium script, black letter, parallel texts and numerous lion Book Project" akin to PG under way), but of books with information deserves closer examination. Though the most ardent champions of the internet as library realize that we are still some way from DeLong's utopian vision of "Click - whatever you want is there", many assume we are on the right path. DeLong himself pointed to "Project Gutenberg", a widely admired prototype for putting books online, as

answer is inevitably the internet.

Project Gutenberg (PG) began in 1971, when a computer scientist with time on his university's computer and the Declaration of Independence in his backpack typed the one into the other and so began a project to turn paper documents into their digital equivalents. Since then, volunteers from around the world have digi- It is odd because it ignores the divisions Sterne Capricious parentheses become even more far, however, and you are in the terrain of expentitles because there are numerous duplicates) as ble free to anyone with an internet connection. To match the project's iconic name and symuntary work will produce his universal library. There is no reason to deny that PG is valua-

ble. Any computer attached to the internet can time. Nine, chapter 33) as "Chapter 4 XCII". reach these texts, which, being "readable by both humans and computers", support electronic analysis from simple searches for half- to enjoy. Muddling Sterne's volumes and cross-refer to a paper edition, though that is to believe too heavily in progress to accept that remembered quotations to complex pattern chapters will at best undermine and at worst what etexts are most useful for.) The PG vermatching across multiple texts. If you want to simply baffle enjoyable reading. For example, sion does notice the marbled page, the missing or Everyman's, let alone scholarly editions such know what Anthony Trollope wrote about port

Sterne's volume One concludes the final page chapter, the struck-out words, and squiggled diaas the celebrated Florida Tristram Shandy, have or how Jane Austen's characters use the word with a little joke: "if I thought you was able to grammes. Unfortunately, the only way found to winnowed out many of these errors and proinformation. PG is a good place to begin. Being, furthermore, wrapped in the virtue that to yourself, of what was to come in the next Having survived the merged footnotes, parenvolunteer labour confers on human endeavours page, -I would tear it out." Volume Two begins theses, interruptions and asides, is PG's putaand aimed at ordinary readers, PG justly draws with a statement of fact: "I have begun a new tive ordinary reader likely to know what to a lot of enthusiasm. By comparison, it has book . . . ". In the PG Tristram Shandy, these make of "(two marble plates)", "Bravo (crossed drawn relatively little scrutiny. A brief, critical lines conclude Chapter 1.XXV and seamlessly out)", "(one very squiggly line across the page nologies, we undid a century of worthwhile ediencounter suggests, however, that while in begin Chapter 1.XXVI, so the reader has no with loops marked A,B,C,C,C,C,C,D)", "(blank torial work and sucked these errors back into cirmany ways PG does resemble - and improve on idea of what Sterne is talking about. Further-page)", or "(two blank paragraphs)" - which in culation, confusing a new generation of readers - conventional libraries, it also resembles a more, because there are only four major divichurch jumble-sale bookstall, where gems and sions, the epigrams and dedications scattered know that these or "(footnote in Greek Philo.)"

together to suit PG's convenience. At the level prototype of the library of the future, we need to cross-references. Tristram has (or plans)

Things do not improve when we look beyond handled it. The answer is badly, but the PG typographic forms of aposiopesis. Given the Shandy raises problems that go well beyond challenge, some of the editorial decisions are those particular aspects of the digital book. understandable, but some are not. To take one Occasionally Project Gutenberg does note example, the PG text folds the footnotes into the provenance of the text offered (some of its the text, silently transforming them into parenetexts for Defoe are notable for this), but gener-thetical sentences. This interpolation plays For all their faults, libraries are not generally ally not. The initial Declaration of Independ- havoc with Sterne's parentheses and causes made up higgledy piggledy out of sandwichence etext turns out to have been taken from a further chaos when confronted with the various wrappers and untraceable editions. patriotic sandwich wrapper. (Silent changes asides which Sterne put in square brackets, have apparently been made since 1971.) For the because PG also puts these in parentheses. The PG Tristram Shandy all we get is "thanks to wonderful polyphony that Sterne created typo-Stephen Radcliffe for the kind loan of his graphically, with multiple narrators, interrupbooks!" These appear to include an odd four- tions and asides, and the occasional prim volume edition of Tristram Shandy that I have editorial comments and corrections from below claims for copyright protection. Consequently not been able to trace in conventional libraries. all disappear in an unintelligible mishmash.

tized texts for this collective endeavour. Now created and imposes its own. Sterne's book troublesome when the PG transcribers finally sive early editions, which few volunteers will some 10,000 texts (it is hard to say how many appeared in five parts made up of two volumes notice some of Sterne's more obvious ploys. be willing to "shred the binding off . . . and feed each, except for the last, which had only one, to Awareness dawns slowly. Early Shandean the sheets into a scanner", as one magazine well as audio books and music scores are availa- a total of nine volumes. Most later editions quirks like the famous black page are omitted in describes the process. In between the recent and wisely recreate those divisions in some form silence. So are the early cuts that Sterne used the venerable which is PG's natural terrain for because Sterne made much of them. PG's does facetiously to point a moral. As the book classics like Tristram Shandy, lies a swamp of bolic Ur-text, Magna Carta was recently added not. Someone (it is hard to tell whether this is progresses, the transcribers get the point and cheap, bad editions which, for most purposes, as the 10,000th addition. With enough volun- PG or its original), however, decided to call its replace the woodcut fingers with angled are best forgotten. PG may unfortunately be teers, DeLong suggests, similar collective, volume reasonable decision given the lack bringing some of these back from their Sterne's Volume One, chapter 1 appears as of unconventional sorts on the computer key-deserved obscurity. "Chapter 1.1": the final chapter (Sterne's vol- board, but one that only makes sense if you have the paper edition in hand to know what Tristram Shandy, R. C. Bald noted that the ">>" might signify. (Given the eclectic volume majority of such errors "originate in some popuclaims to provide editions for ordinary readers and chapter divisions, it is very difficult to lar nineteenth-century edition". We do not have form the least judgment or probable conjecture deal with them is to add yet more parentheses. duds are blessed alike by the vicar because all across Sterne's nine volumes are bundled are not Sterne's work at all, but editorial

insertions unique to this edition? Sterne's novel is extremely funny. This edi-

tion would provoke new readers more to puzzle ment than smiles. It will make many Shandeans weep. It no doubt took a lot of effort to get the text on line and it feels unkind to interrogate a of chapters, things are yet more confusing, voluntary effort in this way. But as PG is held there is more to books than a digital scanner can chapters on holes, sleep, sash windows, and detect or the standard keyboard represent and In an attempt to sample this, I recently even a "chapter on chapters". All this makes that the easy elision between the library as an looked at its version of Tristram Shandy. (This little sense in a book that appears to be just four institution and the internet as a self-organizing storage device can be problematic. The institution and the technology are interestingly comwith quantity, the former more adent with matters of quality. The internet can make innumerable texts readily available (there is now a "Mil-PG restricts quality control to proofreading. If the edition against which proofs are read is bad itself, there is no recourse (nor is the problem contemplated in PG's disclaimer of "defects" or solved by the trend towards HTML editions).

> Such editions are unfortunately part of PG's bread and butter. The project seeks to be free of copyright encumbrances. The current, awful intellectual property regimes allow most editions of the past ninety years to make some PG has to reach back further. Reach back too

> Commenting on a TLS article about errors in modern "readers" editions such as Penguin's duced more readable texts. It would be a great pity if, in frustration at the "low grade work" of libraries: out of desire to have our own universal online library just a click away; and by failing to distinguish between institutions and techwho are indeed, as PG proponents like to remind us, more at ease (but perhaps less