want insights, perceptions, answers. We want the author’s personal voice, her own judgments and assessments, as a historian, advocate, and Native American. We intuitively feel that Parker has a valuable contribution to make in this arena, but because of real or imagined limitations, she has chosen to remain silent in this work.

MELODY KAPILIALOHA MACKENZIE
Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation

Yash Ghai and his fellow authors have supplied us with a text that will be an essential handbook for those who are called upon to give constitutional advice to Pacific Island states and a valuable source for those interested in comparative constitutions and government. (I was unwise enough to lend my review copy, along with a pile of island constitutions, to a colleague engaged on a constitutional consultancy. I had to insist on the return of the volume to complete this review.)

Yash Ghai draws on wide experience as a constitutional adviser to island states and on extensive research. He sets out the kinds of decisions that had to be made before the independence constitutions in the Pacific could be drafted and the varying procedures that have been followed in preparing and drafting these constitutions, including the extent to which local leaders and people have been involved. He then proceeds to analyze the systems of government that have been adopted.

Yash Ghai’s general survey is complemented by a chapter in which the late C. J. Lynch uses his own practical experience in island constitutions to illustrate their form and drafting characteristics. Other specialists make contributions on particular aspects of constitution making. Guy Powles considers the relationship between executive and public service. Peter Larmour analyzes the land tenure provisions in island constitutions and discusses land tenure problems in Melanesia. Neroni Slade examines the role and use of senior law officers. And Peter Bayne provides a critical review of the approaches taken by Pacific courts in making constitutional decisions.

There are contributions on constitutional and related issues in particular island states. With the authority of a former prime minister, Sir Julius Chan speaks of the shortcomings of the constitution of Papua New Guinea. Tony Delkin describes the procedures followed by, but not the conclusions of, the General Constitutional Commission, which has made a series of reports reviewing that constitution; while Utula Samana discusses the vexed issue of decentralization in Papua New Guinea as it arose in the establishment of the government of Morobe Province. There are chapters on the constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia (Alan B. Burdick), the development of the customary land trust concept in Fiji (J. N. Kamikamica and T. L. Davey), and the
constitutional and traditional political system in Tonga (Laki M. Niu).

The majority of Pacific Island states were once dependencies of Commonwealth countries. They have also used constitutional advisers from those countries. Understandably, then, the majority have based their constitutions on the parliamentary, or Westminster, system of government. On the other hand, Belau and the Federated States of Micronesia, two of the three associated states formed out of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, have used the precedent of the American presidential system. The third of these states, the Marshall Islands, has chosen the Westminster system and called on the assistance of a New Zealand adviser, Alison Quentin-Baxter, to put it in place. C. J. Lynch compares the ways in which the two models have been developed in the Pacific constitutions and suggests factors that may have influenced the Marshall Islands decision. The 1964 United Nations Mission to the US Trust Territory, chaired by New Zealander Frank Corner, pointed to the dangers of separating the legislature from the executive and thereby depriving elected representatives of the experience necessary to make them into responsible ministers (Report to UN [T/1628] 1964, 37). On the other hand, Burdick shows that members of the FSM Congress have an active role in the semiautonomous agencies that have been established with executive powers. Yash Ghai contrasts this development with the limited position of the back-bencher under typical Westminster systems. He makes only a passing suggestion that a committee system might be explored as an option.

Ways of adapting the classical constitutional models must continue to be debated as the Pacific Island countries seek to evolve systems of government that are consonant with both their needs and their cultures. The effectiveness of the Westminster system as an instrument of democratic government has depended on the existence of a developed party system and an opposition that can become an alternative government. Many of the island states do not have formal political parties. Where they do exist, they are not policy oriented. As Yash Ghai says in his concluding chapter on the operation of the parliamentary system in the Pacific, “There is a strong emphasis on gaining power rather than implementing a mandate” (360). The result is likely to be instability and weak government. Sir Julius Chan complains, “In order to stay in office the Prime Minister of the day has to spend a quite disproportionate amount of time and energy keeping individual politicians ‘happy’ ” (247).

Developments in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, the Solomons, and Fiji suggest that the most destabilizing issue an island government can face is the handling of local customs and values along with traditional land rights. Peter Larmour deals with the conflict that governments have to face between honoring commitments for the return of alienated land and the need to encourage foreign investment with its contribution to economic and social development. A New Zealand reviewer can perhaps be forgiven for comparing the demands now being
made by the Maori people for reparation for past and continuing breaches of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, particularly in relation to land. This problem threatens to disrupt the New Zealand political scene, and there are Maoris and Islanders who see themselves as having common cause.

This book brings together a wealth of experience and perceptive research. This reviewer might question points of emphasis in material that falls within the range of his experience, but the essentials are accurate. Frequent references to constitutional provisions do call for ready access to that pile of constitutional texts. There is an index to particular constitutional provisions, but the general index does not list the places in the text in which there are references to each island country.

Yash Ghai and his fellow contributors, the Institute of Pacific Studies, and the University of the South Pacific are to be congratulated on this important addition to the university’s list of publications on Pacific government and politics.

C. C. Aikman
New Zealand Law Reform Commission


In October 1977, an ordinance was signed prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages on Moen Island. A few months later, the district center and capital of Truk (now Chuuk), the most populous state in what would shortly become known as the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), was officially “dry.” In Silent Voices Speak, the authors record the interplay of forces that led to the enactment of prohibition on an island with a widespread reputation for drink-induced mayhem. But the book is far more than that; it is a clear-eyed look at the effects of prohibition on the community and, in the final analysis, a challenge to the ethnocentrism that colors the general public’s perceptions of prohibition in such island communities.

This is not the authors’ first foray into the problems of alcohol in Chuuk. Weekend Warriors, published by the Marshalls in 1979, is an ethnographic description of what could be called the subculture of youth drinking on Moen. In this earlier book, the authors painted a vivid picture of the rituals that make up drunken behavior while illustrating the pain and suffering that often result for families and society at large. Ten years after their fieldwork for this earlier volume, the Marshalls returned to Chuuk to study the effects of the prohibition that had been in force for more than seven years by that time.

The “silent voices” of the title are the voices of women who, as in most other parts of Oceania, have traditionally been denied a public role in community affairs. For a year or so prior to the