the need to fully grasp the configuration of self in order to handle the confrontation with other. He reflects on the revalorization of "Custom" as a strategy for self-recognition and dignity: "It is in its totality that tradition must give a sense to the life of a Melanesian" (76). But at the same time he sees this reappropriation of the past not as an end in itself but as providing "models for the integration of the traditional and the modern" (76).

Where Maenu'u signals a terrible loss, and where Tetiarahi proclaims the existence of a new, albeit painful, identity, Tjibaou makes a plea for reconciliation, not only between Kanaks and non-Kanaks, but also between the town and the country, the state and the tribe. In so doing he invokes themes which are present in many of the contributions to Renaissance in the Pacific but which he alone has the capacity to translate into one broad and fundamentally generous vision of the world. Now that he has gone one can only hope that we will have more time to linger on his words.

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Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger, by Ranginui Walker. Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987. ISBN 0-14-010153-5, 235 pp, glossary. A\$17.95; NZ\$24.99.

This is an important book, being one of the few published works by Maori on the ferment about race relations in New Zealand during the last twenty years. The Maori demographic resurgence, urbanization, education, new

forms of organization and revival of old ones, together with a consciousness of decolonization overseas, have given rise to increasing Maori protest against loss of identity and the threat of assimilation. Dr Walker has been both a leading participant in that protest and a skilful discussant of its objectives. As an associate professor of Maori studies at the University of Auckland, for many years chairman of the Auckland District Maori Council and a member of the New Zealand Maori Council. and a founding organizer of the Mana Motuhake Party formed in 1980 to contest the four Maori seats in the New Zealand parliament, he speaks with considerable authority. Since 1973 he has contributed a regular column, Korero 'discussion' in the New Zealand Listener, the country's weekly journal of media programs and debate. Nga Tau Tohetohe brings together in a single volume most of the important Korero columns over a span of fifteen vears.

Walker vehemently rejects the official New Zealand ideology, "We are one people," in favor of a biculturalism in which fundamental features of Maori culture serve Pakeha (white) New Zealanders as well as Maori in overcoming inequalities, alienation, and confusion in urban society, and the "excesses of capitalism." Many New Zealanders would agree, and it is fair to say that in terms of recognition and respect for the Maori language, investigation of historic grievances, devolution of authority to Maori institutions, and recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in domestic legislation and in the courts, considerable progress has been made, very much as a result of the

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efforts of Maori leaders like Dr Walker.

In this regard Nga Tau Tohetohe should be read in the light of what has happened in the last few years. Dr Walker suggests that the New Zealand Maori Council, with a former National party candidate (Sir Graham Latimer) as its chairman, had not been very effective to 1987. He might now concede that its actions in the high court and its negotiations with the government over matters such as Maori commercial and subsistence fishing rights, forests, and the privatization of stateowned enterprises have been remarkably effective. Though a long way short of the full Maori claims, these results have shown that the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, which guaranteed recognition of Maori property rights, is not a dead letter but can influence New Zealand's jurisprudence in favor of the Maori.

Dr Walker does not seem to vest much confidence in the treaty, describing it as a "historic muddle" (87) and suggesting that it should either be ratified in domestic legislation or (if that led to compensation claims too great to be supported) that in all honesty it should be amended or repealed (75). Dr Walker does record his satisfaction with the 1983 findings of the Waitangi Tribunal, set up under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, with respect to the threatened pollution of the Motunui reef, but the book regrettably does not include his reflections about the historic amendment act of 1985 that extended the tribunal's jurisdiction retrospectively to 1840—a development that led to the tribunal's farreaching decisions of the later 1980s

and to their influence on high court and government thinking.

It is indeed oddly doctrinaire that the editor of the *Listener* in his 1987 foreword could then still talk of "the rapidly darkening landscape." Dr Walker's contemporary writings of the 1970s and early 1980s do, however, accurately reflect that more pessimistic time—a time when he could write of the founding of the Mana Motuhake Party as "the last desperate attempt of the Maori people to maintain some semblance of pride, cultural integrity and the will for self-determination" (111).

Dr Walker also employs the concept of "institutional racism" introduced in the 1970s by the sociologist Dr Oliver Sutherland. It is a concept of dubious value. "Racism" originally meant holding the view that a particular race or races were inherently and immutably inferior. Such attitudes do exist to some extent in New Zealand and are to be abhorred. But the much more prevalent attitude, which has dominated official policy since 1840 and made New Zealand distinctive, is a powerful white ethnocentrism that holds British culture to be superior but assumes that Maori, far from being inherently or immutably inferior, can and should rapidly attain British standards and share the advantages of the modern, international culture. Many Maori would agree, not least the new minister of Maori Affairs in the National government, Mr Winston Peters. To confuse racism with ethnocentrism and to coin a bastard term like "institutional racism" (meaning something like white majority dominance) only confuses the analysis. Dr Walker can legitimately

condemn white ethnocentrism for its disastrous undervaluing of Maori language and culture, but most Maori, while maintaining and advancing their own culture and identity, want greater not less access to the wealth and power of the immigrant, international culture and, as citizens of the state founded by the treaty in 1840, are entitled to it. If condemnation of the mainstream institutions as "institutional racism" has the effect of deterring Maori from the pursuit of their fair share of state and economic power, the result would be unfortunate, all the more so since the concept is typically advanced by successful white bourgeoisie like Sutherland, already comfortably ensconced in the mainstream culture. The Maori leaders of the late 1980s, using the institutions of the state against vested white majority interests and against the state itself, have shown better what can be achieved.

Nevertheless, the attack on the marginalization of the Maori wrought by colonization has only just begun to regain impetus ("regain" because leaders like Sir Apirana Ngata made inroads on it in an earlier generation), and even were it to continue to gain ground Dr Walker still fairly represents the other dimension of Maori aspirations—reminding white New Zealand that there is another perception of reality in the land, asserting the equal standing with English of the Maori language and the legitimacy of the Maori culture as evolved and defined by Maori, and demanding a significant degree of Maori self-determination (rangatiratanga or local sovereignty under the national sovereignty conceded to the Crown in 1840). In this

regard Dr Walker and Mana Motuhake continue to play a crucial role in the wholeness of New Zealand life. Moreover, if their efforts can ameliorate the disastrous loss of family structure and identity due to urbanization and can show how the anger and alienation of the urban young can be relieved, they will have provided remarkable guidance to a confused and largely impotent majority culture as well.

One final comment. Dr Walker remarks (11) that when his forebears found the islands now called New Zealand they called the North Island Te Ika a Maui (the Fish of Maui); the South Island, Te Wai Pounamu (the River of Jade, or greenstone); and Stewart Island, Rakiura. Why then are we being urged to call them all Aotearoa, which I believe only began to gain currency in the mid-nineteenth century?

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The Abandoned Narcotic: Kava and Cultural Instability in Melanesia, by Ron Brunton. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology no. 69. Cambridge University Press, 1989. ISBN 37-375-1, viii + 219 pp, figures, maps, tables, photographs, bibliography, glossary, index. US\$39.50.

This book peels like an onion. Its skin consists of an appeal for a reconsideration of outmoded cultural diffusionists, specifically W. H. R. Rivers, whose work was perhaps too quickly muted and superseded by social functional-