

about Torres Strait Island custom and cultural continuity without consideration of the many useful scholarly materials available on the Kiwai, the Cape York Aboriginal groups, and the Torres Strait peoples, all of which examine the process of social change and present-day issues. They would complement and enhance this popular account, and it is unfortunate Singe was not able to take the opportunity during his revisions to examine them.

This new version has many fewer historical photographs than the original. Suitably, some additional ones of contemporary life in Torres Strait have been included. Editorial errors regarding notation of the unnumbered illustrations may cause confusion to the reader. Similarly, the lack of referencing in the text and only a listing of sources at the end of the book by chapter are bothersome (241–246).

In spite of the shortcomings in erudition, the author does portray the Torres Strait Islander predicament. In his new concluding chapter, he is unequivocal regarding the cry for autonomy among younger Torres Strait Islanders and reiterates a pledge by Getano Lui Jr, currently chairman of the Island Coordinating Council: "Total control of seas, total control of air, and total control of our lands" (233).

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Rocking the Boat: New Zealand, the United States and the Nuclear-Free Zone Controversy in the 1980s, by Paul Landais-Stamp and Paul Rogers. Oxford: Berg, 1989. ISBN 0-85496-297-4, xvi + 185 pp, appendix, bibliography, index. US\$29.

If there were any doubts about the views of the National government on New Zealand's antinuclear policy, they were dispelled by Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon's 1991 Anzac Day speech, when he referred to "the constraints of the antinuclear policy." On the eve of a trip to Washington, McKinnon pledged that he would do what he could to convince New Zealanders of the benefits of the alliance. Any skepticism one might have had about the National party's preelection ploy of pledging their allegiance to the nuclear-free legislation had been heightened by the appointment of McKinnon as Foreign Affairs minister, since McKinnon had resigned as Defence spokesperson in protest against National's acceptance of the policy. Yet McKinnon was also now saying that repeal of the legislation was not an option, given the underlying antinuclear stance of public opinion.

These recent events provide some perspective from which to assess the conclusions in Paul Landais-Stamp and Paul Rogers' *Rocking the Boat*. They suggest that "it would appear that the United States, Britain and Australia failed totally in their attempts to overturn the ships-ban" (4) and that "public support for the nuclear ships ban . . . may well be sufficiently strong to prevent a future National Party government reversing the country's nuclear-

free stance" (171). While the clock is still running, and I would be reluctant yet to either confirm or deny the success of New Zealand's actions, Landais-Stamp and Rogers seem justified in concluding in 1989 that a small country held up surprisingly well to the pressures put on it by a large one that opposed its policy.

In focusing on this issue, of the pressures exerted by a large state on a small state in an attempt to bend it to its will, the book makes a contribution. The authors are concerned with "presenting a case-study of three years of intense pressures designed to reverse a foreign policy decision arrived at by a newly-elected New Zealand Government" (2). Among the many books on New Zealand's antinuclear stand (Alves 1985; Bercovich 1988; Camilleri 1987; Clements 1988; Graham 1989; McMullan 1987; Pugh 1989; Thakur 1986) this book is unique, not in presenting an overall case study, but in chronicling the pressures put on New Zealand, primarily by the United States, but also by Australia and Britain. The authors are British, and it is refreshing to see that they not only provide cogent treatment of US pressures but also give more attention to Britain's understated role than most others have given.

Rocking the Boat has nine chapters in addition to its introduction and conclusion. The chapters are not entirely well integrated into a coherent whole, although many parts are valuable and interesting. Chapters 5 through 9 are the heart of the book, covering the first six months of the Labour government, the crisis around the US request for port facilities for the *Buchanan* in January–February 1985,

the subsequent intensification of US pressures for the next several months, and the sustaining of these pressures through to the actual passage of the legislation on 4 January 1987 and the general election of August 1987. These chapters are lively reading, providing a blow-by-blow description of the pressures and responses, seen largely through the authors' excellent coverage of New Zealand newspapers plus some government documents. One wonders at times why the authors did not interview members of the Labour government to pick up the nuances of differences in position between the left and the center in Labour and between Labour and the various parts of the peace movement. Most of the acknowledgments are to peace movement representatives, and although this has allowed the authors to tell some of a previously untold story, one might also have wished to understand more of the other political dynamics, within Labour, and among Labour, the National party, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (most of which has consistently been opposed to the ship-ban policy). One wonders too at the limited emphasis on US machinations around SPNFZ, given that that treaty was a part of the same legislation that contained the port ban.

While wishing for expansion of the analysis in chapters 5 through 9, one might wish that the authors had simply left out chapters 3 and 4. Differing in both style and context from each other and from the rest of the book, they seem entirely out of place. Chapter 3 is an interesting and competent account of US foreign and especially security policy during the 1970s and 1980s;

however, it does not succeed in setting the context for US pressures and thus is largely irrelevant to the book. It makes no reference, for example, to US fears of the "Kiwi virus" spreading to Japan, which was one of the major US fears. (The 3 March 1991 hearing of a US House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee reconfirmed Defense Department views that neither-confirm-nor-deny policies were essential to the US relationship with some countries and could not therefore be changed for New Zealand.) In contrast to chapter 3, chapter 4 is a textbook account of foreign policy options for influence, insufficiently tied to the New Zealand case. It reads as if the writer's thesis advisor had demanded that he situate his case study within some theoretical literature and he had reluctantly complied. While there are other annoying, minor factual, typographical, and grammatical errors throughout the book, it is overall a competent and welcome addition to the literature.

The conclusion analyzes factors in what the authors see as New Zealand's qualified success in developing and maintaining the antinuclear policy, among them the geographical size, small population, and isolation of New Zealand, together with the extensive experience and decentralization of the New Zealand peace movement. The nuclearization of the Pacific and US pressures themselves combined to turn public opinion even further away from nuclear weapons, at a time when New Zealand was already moving toward a more independent and Pacific orientation. The difficulties for a large country of exerting influence on a small ally are effectively juxtaposed against the

fact that the primary US concern was to warn other countries against similar action.

The creation of New Zealand's nuclear-free legislation has been an interesting exercise in the democratic making and sustaining of foreign policy. The authors, correctly I think, identify the significance of grass-roots organizing in the formulation of public opinion, such that even a National government opposed to the antinuclear policy knows that it cannot repeal it. I wish that the authors had looked at the case in terms of reciprocal influence, asking whether New Zealand's actions had any impact on the United States or the rest of the world as well as whether US pressures had any impact on the sustainability of New Zealand's policy. The latter, however, was their stated purpose, which they accomplished. The book on the impact of New Zealand's antinuclear policies, in the broader context of global security, remains to be written.

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The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty: A Critical Assessment, by Michael Hamel-Green. Peace Research Centre Monograph 8. Canberra: Australian National University, 1990. ISBN 0-731508-99-8, vi + 159 pp, tables, notes, bibliography. A\$15.

Events in recent years have tended to overshadow the landmark decision by eight South Pacific Forum countries in August 1985 to limit nuclear access to their region. Nonetheless, the decision