

preparing to force Australia's forestalling strategy. In addition, the logic of this strategy required absolute certainty on Australia's part that it could dictate the outcome of the Forum's deliberations to ensure its view of a SPNFZ would not be captured by those states wanting a more restrictive regime. Not only has Australian dominance of the Forum not been so complete, but also the United States clearly did not endorse a strategy for which it was to be the chief beneficiary. This explanation also understates the domestic factor in the Australian Labor Party's decision to resurrect the regional nuclear-free zone concept so soon after its return to government.

The motivation behind SPNFZ and the details of its ultimate form are open to almost endless interpretation. As Hamel-Green demonstrates with his excellent review of the complexity of island-state attitudes, even the presumed central actors within the region had mixed feelings on SPNFZ. Such ambiguities on a critical and controversial topic predetermine that the debate on SPNFZ will continue. This book makes a major contribution to ensuring the debate on SPNFZ is well informed and that it proceeds with scholarly rigor. Two small technical additions would have enhanced the book—a map of the area covered by SPNFZ and an index. Overall, both academic and lay readers will find this work a useful addition to collections on either contemporary Pacific Island affairs or regional security arrangements.

RICHARD A. HERR  
*University of Tasmania*

\* \* \*

*Overreaching in Paradise: United States Policy in Palau since 1945*, by Sue Rabbitt Roff. Juneau, AK: Denali Press, 1991. ISBN 0-938737-22-8, ix + 244 pp, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. Paper, US\$27.50.

In 1979, the emerging Republic of Palau created the first constitution that prohibited the use, testing, storage, or disposal of nuclear substances. The constitution can be amended only by a consensual 75 percent, reflecting traditional practices. The nuclear-free restriction directly conflicts with the requirements of the United States under a negotiated Compact of Free Association that, if ratified, would grant economic and developmental aid to Palau for fifty years while the United States provided defense. The United States would then require large portions of land for military purposes, and many analysts think the provisions were intended to protect the US interest. US policy is to neither confirm nor deny the presence or passage of nuclear substances, and it has maintained a nonnegotiable stance that Palau must alter its constitution to accord with the compact. Today Palau is the last "trusteeship" of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), a strategic trusteeship administered by the United States since 1945 under the auspices of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Seven plebiscites have been held to resolve the dilemma; all failed to obtain the requisite 75 percent or permit resolution by majority vote.

*Overreaching in Paradise* is a critical review of the plebiscite decade from the perspective of UN decolonization policies and practices and American policy in particular. As a journalist with expe-

rience at the United Nations in decolonization issues, Roff's goals are two-fold: to make public the corruption, violence, and breakdown of law and order that occurred in Palau in the 1980s, a violence she attributes to external pressures placed by the United States; and to elicit an international response to encourage the UN General Assembly to act to ensure Palau's right of self-determination. Roff provides a well-researched overview from a legalistic perspective of US policy and UN concepts; her presentation of Palauan political structure and factionalism is quite limited. This often leads to conclusions that are slanted to support her central theses.

The first two chapters provide a historical perspective of UN decolonization policies from 1945 to 1990 and the early TTPI administration, from the serious neglect of a war-damaged area to the creation of the Solomon Report ("Solomon Game Plan") in response to a 1961 UN report that faulted the United States for neglect. The Solomon Report embodied a plan for the "Americanization" of Micronesians and permanent association with the United States. Roff, along with many Palauans, believes this report became the primary guideline for all subsequent US policies within Micronesia from the late 1960s, when an influx of monies, programs, and Peace Corps took the American presence beyond the district centers. She argues that the plan to annex the TTPI was inherent in the opposition to the Congress of Micronesia's constitutional principles of sovereignty over their lands, in the fragmentation of the Congress of Micronesia, and in the Hilo principles (basis of the Compact of Free Associa-

tion) whereby sovereignty was granted as long as US military needs were met. Roff concludes the United States painted itself into a corner by seeking to maintain too tight a control over an area that would have benefited from a relationship based on loose principles.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyze the three constitutional referenda, seven Compact plebiscites, and the increasingly tense atmosphere within which they occurred. The focus is not on the two constitutional conventions in which the dilemma was first confronted but on legal interpretations of the "Free Association" concept and a renegotiated compact (1983-1984) that granted an investment sum to fund government operations but contained a section permitting the United States to bypass UN termination procedures. Roff's analysis is of interest in view of the recent US termination of the trusteeship over what is now the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands by notification to the United Nations without advising commonwealth representatives of its actions.

The first three plebiscites were marred by firebombings, the assassination of the republic's first president (Haruo Remeliik, 1985), and a scandal-ridden contract to build a power plant (IPSECO). Curiously, although the third plebiscite failed to gain consensus, the US Congress passed the Palau Compact on the premise it would soon resolve its constitutional incompatibility. President Lazarus Salii's administration brought increasing pressure on public workers to approve the compact. Caught in a budgetary crisis, government services were shut down and public workers furloughed after the fifth plebiscite. Roff describes the

atmosphere of economic fear and physical intimidation that produced two plebiscites (constitutional and compact) in which a simple majority was recognized as sufficient. When a suit challenging the legality of a majority vote was filed by a few women, threats to their families and the murder of their attorney's father were the outcome. The breakdown of law prompted four US Congressmen to caution the secretary of Interior on the need to support individual rights and constitutional process before the compact could be considered again, and a report on the investigative team's findings became available in 1989. In 1991 the department asked Palau to set a date by which to resolve its dilemma or to chart its own course.

The last chapter is a brief ethnographic overview of Palauan history and culture in terms of the prospects for compact ratification. A thoughtful reader might wish for a more comprehensive treatment of a highly complex people in a transitional decade.

DEVERNE REED SMITH  
*Republic of Palau*

\* \* \*

*Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of United States Territorial Relations*, by Arnold H. Leibowitz. Dordrecht-Boston-London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989. ISBN 0-7923-0069-6, xxii + 757 pp, maps, bibliography, indexes. \$189.

One should not lightly embark on the task of reviewing Leibowitz' monumental treatise on the remaining eight American-linked island polities in the

Caribbean and the Pacific. This "comprehensive analysis" in sheer bulk covers 701 pages of text, replete with 2692—frequently lengthy—fineprint footnotes citing one-tenth that number of federal statutes alone, over six hundred judicial decisions,—including some not officially reported (eg, 103N30; 151N94)—and containing innumerable references to congressional documents as well as to a wide gamut of published materials and personal informational sources. All these citations serve as textual corroboration and supplementation, and occasionally as cognatic digressions—as example of the last, what is a valid delegation of legislative authority (555N159)? Almost as a device calculated to counter the author's admission of error "on the side of thoroughness" (xv) that results in an intensity of commitment characterizing the text, a well-selected, sensitively annotated, 23-page bibliography graces this tour de force. Notwithstanding the aid of the 59 page-length columns of the concluding index, the miscellany packed within the covers of this single volume is so wide ranging as almost to defy access short of resort to page-by-page perusal, particularly of the extensive footnotes.

The bifurcated organizational format employed in *Defining Status* permits general coverage within an "Overall Framework" of federal relations with the commonwealths, freely associated states, and territories of the United States, and then returning to expound separately on Puerto Rico and the Northern Marianas (commonwealths); American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands (territories); and the Federated States of Micronesia, the