

stakeholders, shifts in the balance of social forces, the fluidity of coalitions, and contingency. In so doing, it would necessarily draw together the economic, sociocultural, and political dimensions of development and would therefore be more likely to yield more realistic indications of what might (or might not) be possible, why (or why not), and under what sorts of conditions.

That kind of analysis is more likely to be useful in a practical way to donors and member governments. Schoeffel is certainly right about the need for further work at the "micro-level," but at both that and the macro-level, analysis needs to be informed by a greater degree of holism and dynamism than is exhibited in her study.

Nonetheless, this study is useful because it brings together in a concise and well-written way much that is already known, as well as new material. An index would be helpful.

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New Politics in the South Pacific, edited by Werner vom Busch, Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, Ron Crocombe, Linda Crowl, Tony Deklin, Peter Larmour, and Esther Winima-maori Williams. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific in association with the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association, 1994. ISBN 982-02-0115-2, 353 pages, tables, maps, photographs, notes, bibliographies, index. US\$20 (with discount for the Pacific Islands).

New Politics offers an eclectic range of contributions in terms of topics, countries, and authors' perspectives. It is encouraging to see that most of the contributors are Pacific Islanders. Many of the authors are academics, while others are nongovernment activists or politicians. This diversity in authorship is a strength insofar as it is both refreshing and enriching to gain insights from people active in the political and social life of the countries concerned. On the other hand, in a couple of chapters the ideological tone and lack of balance detract from the quality of analysis. The system of referencing is inconsistent, but most authors have relatively comprehensive footnotes or bibliographies.

The challenge was how to organize this disparate collection and tease out an integrative theme. The introduction by coeditor Peter Larmour goes a considerable distance in achieving this task. Larmour identifies new politics as the context in which one can interpret and explain changes in the contemporary Pacific. He argues that new politics is distinguished from traditional and modern forms of politics in several

ways. In particular, he points to the ascendancy of new forms of identity, including gender and ethnicity. He also highlights the emergence and impact of social movements and nongovernment organizations as political actors. Moreover, new politics is characterized by the globalization of issues and movements. The chapters in this book largely focus on internal forces and processes within island states and territories. Yet global influences are evident in the ideas and means of seeking change adopted by Pacific Islanders.

In the second part of the introduction, Sir Geoffrey Henry ponders the political future of the Pacific Islands, notably the continuing tension between traditional approaches and foreign innovations such as parliamentary democracy. He advocates developing a positive blend of the most useful features of traditional, western, and, increasingly, Asian influences. In this process, Henry also proposes that island nations broaden their associations with the outside world while continuing to nurture their indigenous identity and respect the rights of minorities.

Given the diverse material, the organization of chapters, into thematic sections and introductory remarks to these sections highlighting the key issues, is helpful to the reader. In the first section, "Sovereignty Movements," the authors clearly have their own political agendas. This does not detract from the quality of Davianna McGregor's piece on Hawai'i or that of Tarcisius Kabutaulaka on Bougainville and the Melanesian Way, but Hiti Teparii's strident ideological tone in the chapter on French Polynesia is

problematic. Sam Kaima takes a more historical approach, examining the role of several leading figures in Papua New Guinea in raising and shaping nationalist consciousness in rural areas.

In the section "The Politics of Association," Henderson provides a thoughtful analysis of the lessons to be learned from the Cook Islands' and Tokelau's experiences with New Zealand. Eni Faleomavaega gives interesting insights and considerable detail on the evolution of American Sāmoa's relationship with the United States, but he could have been more modest about his own achievements as Samoan delegate to the US Congress.

"The Politics of Non-Government Organizations" are addressed in two chapters by Helen Hill and John Roughan. Hill undertakes a thorough global analysis of the increasingly important role played by nongovernment organizations, with only brief reference to the Pacific Islands. Conversely, Roughan's contribution focuses on the experience of the main nongovernment organization in Solomon Islands and extrapolates from this case study in his assessment of regional NGO activity. These two chapters in particular fit very well with the book's emphasis on new forms of politics.

Jean Drage and Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe undertake studies of the participation and influence of "Women in Politics" in most countries of the region. They highlight the very low level of representation of women in national parliaments and discuss the reasons for this imbalance. Nevertheless, they are quick to point

out that women are both active and influential in other areas of public life, especially in the caring professions and nongovernment organizations.

Different dimensions of "Local and Traditional Government" are examined in the penultimate section. Yaw Saffu and Tony Deklin provide detailed but complementary analyses of the decentralization process in Papua New Guinea and recent attempts to reform the system of provincial government. Fay and Leiataua Vaiao Alailima give a personalized account of the difficulties facing Western Sāmoa's chiefly system in its attempts to coexist with modern government and the commercial economy. A village perspective on national politics by Makiuti Tongia reveals both change and continuity in leadership and campaign strategies in the Cook Islands.

The final section, titled "Politics of Information, Culture and Ideas," appears to be an assortment of chapters that did not logically fit elsewhere in the book. Alex Sword and Werner vom Busch's chapter provides an overview of the current state of the media in the Pacific Islands and goes on to analyze the limits to journalistic freedom posed by government and private sector interference. Jon Jonassen investigates the interaction of politics and culture in his detailed study of the canoe or *vaka* program in the Sixth Festival of the Pacific Arts held in the Cook Islands. The book winds up with a discussion by 'I Futa Helu of traditional and imposed political systems in the Pacific. This is the starting point for his ambitious proposition of principles to underpin a theory for new

political systems adapted to island custom and needs.

This book is a useful adjunct to the library of Pacific Islands generalists, while individual chapters will be of interest to specialists on particular areas or themes. As Larmour notes in his introduction, this book demonstrates examples of new politics operating in the Pacific, yet these work alongside rather than replace traditional and modern types of politics. In this sense, new politics has expanded the range of options, actors, and processes in political life, both in the region and the world.

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