

appear to have chosen sexual labor. “Good girls” need “bad girls” in order to define themselves as good, making it hard for the two groups to unite.

The production of militarized masculinity for Filipino soldiers, and masculinity’s relation to the patriotic promises of national belonging, form the heart of Theresa Cenidoza Suarez’s essay, “Militarized Filipino Masculinity and the Language of Citizenship in San Diego.” Naoki Sakai analyzes representations of romantic love in colonial contexts, showing how such tropes both express and conceal unequal power relations. Insook Kwon’s startling essay “Masculinity and Male-on-Male Sexual Violence in the Military” investigates the sexual victimization of low-ranking South Korean soldiers by their superiors in rank. The sexual violation of men by men, combined with continuing contempt for and persecution of homosexuality, makes it nearly impossible for victims to speak while at the same time highlighting the stark inequalities of power behind sexual violation. Shifting to an analysis of femininity, Fumika Sato asks, “Why Have the Japanese Self-Defense Forces Included Women?” and finds that the selective recruitment of women in military ranks can bolster, rather than challenge, military agendas. The penultimate essay by Patti Duncan, “Genealogies of Unbelonging,” charts the legacy of militarized sexual labor in the production and dispersal of mixed-race children. Duncan’s complex analysis connects the marginalization of Amerasian children in Korea to the exploitation and powerlessness of their mothers. The conclusion by Walden Bello returns briefly to the

questions raised by local antimilitarist groups and suggests the possibility of demilitarized zones and alternative security frameworks, based on diplomacy rather than armed intervention, for the Pacific region.

The only thing lacking from this fine volume is a vigorous conclusion, one that would pull together the many threads and point the way forward for both scholars and activists. A volume of essays on different locations and themes is necessarily somewhat fragmented; one longs for a concluding essay that pulls back from the dense thicket of particulars to cultivate a bigger picture. Given the dearth of critical scholarship on the military in Asia and the Pacific, a solid conclusion could have helped other researchers to integrate the powerful material in these essays into a more coherent articulation of the pressing work that remains to be done.

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*Looking North, Looking South: China, Taiwan, and the South Pacific*, edited by Anne-Marie Brady. Singapore: World Scientific, 2010. ISBN 978-981-4304-38-2, xvi + 298 pages, tables, references, index. Cloth, US\$94.00.

As someone old enough to remember the mythology of the “Russian threat” in the Pacific, I’m a little suspicious of the burgeoning literature on China’s increasing influence in the South Pacific. But this collection of essays, from a 2008 conference at the Uni-

versity of Canterbury, brings together a variety of stimulating views by academics and government officials from Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, China, and the United States, along with the doyen of Pacific studies, the late Ron Crocombe.

The essays include valuable data and contrasting perspectives on the growing importance of aid, trade, and investment from Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the Islands region, and on the impact such activities have on Australian, New Zealand, and US policy.

One problem, however, is that many Asia specialists do not know the Pacific Islands well. In the opening essay, Bertil Lintner, a noted commentator on Asian affairs, repeats a number of often-contested clichés: Melanesians have “no real concept of nationhood” (11); Solomon Islands is a “failed state” (12); and Papua New Guinea is “a tribal society with little or no national cohesion” (12). His suggestion that Chinese are “rapidly replacing” the Indian community in Fiji (26) is exaggerated, despite Indo-Fijian emigration since 1987 and over-staying by visiting Chinese workers.

Lintner argues that “China is the expanding, seemingly unstoppable power, in the Pacific” (30), while US Defense Department analyst Tamara Renee Shie calls for increased US engagement with the Islands, arguing that “should the United States continue to remain passive in the face of a growing Chinese presence, China may not only woo the South Pacific, but possibly win it” (157).

However, the suggestion that China's rise is “unstoppable” raises more questions than it answers.

There is little if any discussion in these essays about the internal contradictions of China's economic and social transformation and whether domestic challenges—rising proletarian expectations and labor unrest; massive environmental and energy problems; unresolved questions over Tibet, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Uyghur nationalism—will affect its capacity to maintain international outreach. As Beijing encounters financial pressures in coming years, will it maintain its efforts in relatively marginal regions like the Pacific Islands or focus its diplomacy and aid on more strategic regions in Africa and Southeast Asia?

In the face of China's “unstoppable” role in the Islands, are the United States, France, Australia, and New Zealand simply going to sit by if their core strategic interests are challenged? The increasing militarization of Guam, with the homeporting of nuclear-attack submarines in Apra Harbor, suggests otherwise. Cheng-yi Lin's statement that “the South Pacific has become a strategic base for observing US and Japanese military activities in the Pacific” (120) skates over the fact that those activities are largely confined to the north Pacific, not the south.

One of the better essays, by Jian Yang, gives a more measured analysis of China's role in the region, concluding that “China's policy towards the South Pacific is not mainly driven by its security strategy” (259). The significance of a PRC telemetry station established in Tarawa in 1998 (the source of many a “China-threat” story) was challenged when the facility was rapidly closed as soon as Kiri-

bati changed diplomatic relations to Taiwan in 2003. Bald comparisons of increased Chinese military spending with US strategic budgets often ignore the capacities of China's neighbors like India, Korea, and Japan, or US allies like Australia.

Another useful contribution, which documents Chinese aid and loans to the Pacific, is from the Lowy Institute's Fergus Hanson. He argues that this aid, while increasing, needs to be kept in perspective: it is equivalent to amounts provided by New Zealand, Japan, or the European Union, but nothing compared to the billions of dollars in grants and investment flowing to the region from Australia, France, or the United States.

A key theme throughout the collection is the (now waning) regional rivalry between Taiwan and China. But the neat assumption that choosing Taipei over Beijing is a sign of closer alliance to the West is challenged by evidence of a more complex reality.

In recent years, for example, Solomon Islands, a key supporter of Taiwan, has also been building diplomatic links with Iran and the Arab League, while joining Vanuatu to call for an end to the US embargo of Cuba. None of the essayists clearly explain why there is such diversity among the US Freely Associated States: Palau has been aligned with Taiwan since 1999, the Federated States of Micronesia has been with China since 1989, and the Marshall Islands has switched diplomatic relations from the People's Republic (1990–1998) to Taiwan after 1998. A quick look at UN General Assembly resolutions on strategic and nuclear issues shows that the China-aligned Federated States of Micronesia

usually votes with the United States, while Marshall Islands has a more independent voting pattern.

Key essays explore the tensions between “old Chinese” (*laoqiao*), or indigenous populations, and “new Chinese” (*xinqiao*), as new migrants, seafarers, and workers in the garment and sex industries transform long-established Chinese communities in the Islands.

For some contributors, a series of riots over the last decade affecting Chinese communities across the region (in Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, and Timor Leste) do not count as evidence of potential roadblocks to PRC influence. Indeed, some suggest that these clashes may lead Beijing to expand its role in the region, even by deploying troops to protect Chinese citizens. In his study of the 2006 riots in Honiara's Chinatown, Taiwan-based academic John Atkinson argues that “a riot targeting the Chinese cannot be taken as evidence of particularly intense anti-Chinese feeling; rather it is evidence of the granting of ‘permission’ [to riot]” (177). Some shopkeepers in Chinatown may beg to differ.

Sadly, this volume had no Islander contributors, who might have explored how locals are engaging with or resisting the latest in a long line of great powers in the region. The late Ron Crocombe starts to unpack this issue, looking at the apparent confluence of values between Chinese and Islanders (such as accepting hierarchy and authority, saving face, and avoiding open criticism). He also highlights tensions between some Asian and Islander values (on savings and consumption, production and education,

and ceremony and relaxation), though without exploring whether or not these stereotypes exist across populations in the twenty-first century.

Crocombe argues that elite Islanders look to China “not for its communist philosophy but for its success in economic development and maintaining its own ‘traditional’ political system” (46).

This highlights a central weakness of the book: the core question of political economy is largely unexplored. Are some Pacific leaders increasingly attracted by economic models from Asia that involve capital controls, government intervention, and reliance on state-run enterprise, rather than the Washington consensus of trade liberalization and privatization? Will Forum Island countries be able to increase market access in Australia and New Zealand, while at the same time these two largest Forum members negotiate free trade and investment agreements with China?

For a measured analysis of the regional strategic balance, scholars may need to look more at these economic factors, rather than observe the perambulations of the Chinese navy in the Pacific.

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*Ña Noniep*. Feature film, 108 minutes, DVD, color, 2009. Written, produced, and directed by Jack Niedenthal; distributed by Microwave Films. Marshallese with English subtitles.

*Yokwe Bartowe*. Feature film, 90 minutes, DVD, color, 2010. Written by Jack Niedenthal; directed and produced by Jack Niedenthal and Suzanne Chutaro; distributed by Microwave Films. Marshallese with English subtitles. Both films can be ordered from <https://www.bikiniatoll.com/bikini/cart/RMI%20Movies.html>. US\$7.99 each including shipping within the United States or Canada; US\$15.99 including shipping outside the United States and Canada.

Two recent films offer Marshallese versions of the familiar coming-of-age story. Both films follow the journey of a young male resident of the Marshall Islands as he experiences a crisis that sets him down the wrong path. *Ña Noniep* centers on Liki (Randon Jack), a gifted boy of middle-school age who, because of tragic events involving adults in his family, becomes the target of another family’s thirst for revenge. *Yokwe Bartowe* focuses on Bartowe (Lyel Tarkwon), a college-age man instructed to watch his young sister as she swims in the ocean. Momentarily distracted by the piercing cry of a gull, Bartowe turns his attention back to the water and finds only a rubber ball. Lijiamao (Billma Melson), his beloved sister, has apparently drowned.

Although both narratives focus on the common theme of individuals struggling to find themselves in a confusing world, the films offer a Marshallese flavor. Yes, we see a