

covered in chapter 4 is an example. Yet for all the vigor imparted in citing case after case of mismanagement and neglect, "dismal" is how the writer characterizes the long-standing litany of misdeeds. This and other "conclusion" paragraphs that end each chapter stand in graphic disparity to the preponderance of evidence put forward. When understatement colors conclusions, the chapters end on a whimper rather than a roar and do nothing to project an attitude that something can and must be done now to redress Native Hawaiian grievances.

At places in the handbook specific recommendations might have enabled the text to better live up to its title. The chapter on sovereignty declares that Hawaiians "should fully embrace . . . international human rights doctrines," but sadly, suggestions for how to accomplish this are missing. The opportunity to serve as the catalyst for problem solving, the hallmark of most handbooks, is not seized. Assertions of rights to fish, gather, practice religion, and draw water are characterized in the handbook as challenges to the law that were unsuccessful in attaining positive standing for the Native Hawaiian. Victories are few and far between. Because restrictions in the law abound, a prescriptive guideline or a processual method for applying the law in future cases would bolster the book's analytical passages. Instead they are described and reported as they occurred, testaments to the irrelevance of a system that seems to oppose rather than support justice for Hawaiians.

The handbook is substantive in several ways. For a legal reference guide of this sort to attempt to cover as many topics as it does is commendable.

The book is a beginning point for exploring rights issues along dual paths: the traditional and the contemporary, the native and the foreign, the self-determining and the assimilative, the legal and the moral.

The rostrum of cases and explanations of chapter topics and subtopics will well serve the legal community of Hawai'i. Of course, the underlying hope is that enlightened attorneys will in turn positively affect the delivery of legal services to Native Hawaiians. The handbook can demonstrate to the legal community that there is need for cultural sensitivity when serving as counsel on behalf of the Native Hawaiian in what is often an overwhelming, tension-filled, and financially draining experience.

This text is properly a primer on self-determination, not a "how-to manual" for achieving the right to exist as a people. If Native Hawaiians require a guide to case law as it pertains to the native peoples in American society, they will find this handbook a valuable resource.

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Mining, Politics, and Development in the South Pacific, by Michael C. Howard. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991. ISBN 0-8133-8170-3, x + 251 pp, tables, notes, bibliography. US\$28.50.

Mineral wealth in the generally resource-poor Pacific Islands can play a significant role in their political economies. Yet, as Michael Howard argues in his most recent book, the social

science literature on mining rarely “goes beyond narrow economic factors to look at the broader social, political, and economic context” (5). The structural interaction among mining companies, financial investors, government agencies, local landowners, and migrant workers particularly interests Howard, and his conclusions about the impact of mining on long-term economic development (and ecosystems) are not optimistic.

Some might blame this pessimism on Howard’s political orientation. His previous work, notably *The Political Economy of the South Pacific to 1945*, which he co-authored with Simone Durutalo, used a neo-Marxist approach, complete with Pacific modes of production, notions of dependency, and class analyses within a hierarchical world system. The collapse of Stalinism in eastern Europe has damaged the already contested appeal of Marxist “totalizing,” but entirely leaving out class analysis or insider-outsider power asymmetries from studies of political economy risks creating another kind of “partial text.” In fact, the mining industry in the Pacific Islands rather lends itself to Howard’s angle of vision.

Howard’s previous research on labor relations, transnational corporations (see for example his 1983 article in *Foreign Forces in Pacific Politics*), the impact of international mining on indigenous peoples, and his work as advisor to the Banaban council on Rabi, provide him with excellent preparation for this study of the dynamics and legacy of Pacific Island mining. The result is a very useful overview, with separate chapters devoted to Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon

Islands, New Caledonia, and the Phosphate Islands (Nauru, Banaba, Makatea, and Angaur). Much of his text amounts to densely detailed company history, tracing the ups and downs of mineral exploration and extraction in the islands, but his running commentaries on the politics and social relations involved, along with his introduction and conclusion, address some major themes.

Mining in the islands, like many other commercial activities, began in a colonial context. Expatriate regimes often looked to mining as a key source of revenue, but firms lobbied for financial relief whenever world price reductions or competition threatened their profits. A pattern of sometimes disadvantageous cooperation developed, whereby lowering duties or taxes and even providing subsidies might cut government income from mining to a minimum. Moreover, the constraints of this structure pressured colonial governments to help companies to suppress local complaints about land rights, ecological destruction, low wages, job discrimination, poor working conditions, or immigrant-indigenous ethnic conflicts. In essence, the system extracted raw materials from enclaves into which technology, capital, and labor were shifted from mainly external sources, and any benefit to either the government or the inhabitants was usually indirect at best.

Moves toward decolonization have not ended the dilemma, as indigenous elites inherited the same economic structure. Howard’s examination of the alliance between Fijian chiefs and expatriate firms against labor militancy—including that by Fijian commoners

—suggests why he is no longer teaching in postcoup Fiji. He strongly hints, for example, that Emperor Gold Mine Manager Jeffrey Reid helped to finance the destabilization of the Bavadra government in May 1987. In his long chapter on Papua New Guinea, he shows that despite government efforts to address the concerns of local landowners, such as Rabbie Namaliu's Development Forum approach that brings together all parties, both national and provincial government leaders continue to give in to the powerful wishes of transnational corporations and to the temptations of dipping into the Mineral Resources Stabilization Fund to pay for current expenses and political patronage. Papua New Guinea has not only agreed to allow the dumping of toxic chemicals from Ok Tedi into the Fly River but has lost the Panguna mine on Bougainville to resentful secessionists.

In contrast, difficult negotiations in the Solomon Islands have discouraged several mining undertakings, a result that Howard regards as a blessing for that country. His intricate political analysis of New Caledonia is predictable: French mining policies have contributed to the territory's ethnic bipolarity and delayed its independence. Nauru, which managed to wrest control of phosphate mining from foreigners on independence, now finds its people suffering from serious health problems, social inequities, and environmental destruction. Banabans, somewhat like Bikinians, were manipulated away from their island, and the new "gold rush" of the 1980s has encouraged the tendency of indigenous leaders to concentrate on short-term

gains at the sacrifice of long-term planning.

Howard argues rather convincingly that mineral wealth, to a large extent, has not contributed to overall, balanced development of the islands. Moreover, he blames not only self-serving outsiders but also what he calls "precapitalist social relations" among the indigenous peoples, whose leaders dissipate the national mineral wealth instead of escaping from dependence on it. Andre Gunder Frank would have blamed capitalist penetration itself for creating those dependent class contradictions. Perhaps Howard is less orthodox than we thought, if no less provocative. Along with other recent works on the impact of mining in the Pacific Islands, such as *The Phosphateers* by Maslyn Williams and Barrie Macdonald, this comparative survey is recommended reading for those who would reevaluate the supposed boon of subterranean treasure.

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Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom, by Michael J. Field. Auckland: Polynesian Press (distributed in the United States by University of Hawaii Press). Revised and reprinted 1991. ISBN 0-908597-07-x, xviii + 262 pp, maps, photographs, bibliography, notes, index. US\$24.95.

When *Mau* first appeared in 1984, it brought to the attention of non-Pacific history scholars, and the general public, the story of the most dramatic episode in Western Samoa's history. On