

to recognize the role of particular individuals in shaping the course of a country's development has limited their ability to understand how and why some countries have been able to develop while others have not.

In spite of all this quibbling, this reviewer finds MacIntyre's book an excellent addition to his library and strongly recommends it to those who are interested in the question of how and why certain policies are adopted as well as how such policies have worked in bringing about rapid economic growth in industrializing Asia.

CHUNG H. LEE
Center for Korean Studies
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Regional Security in the South Pacific: The Quarter Century 1970–95. By Ken Ross. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 100. Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1993. 194 pp.

This study, by a New Zealand official long involved with assessments on the South Pacific, provides a wide-ranging survey of a topic whose modest salience on global security agendas belies its considerable complexity. With decolonization virtually completed, the contemporary South Pacific political community is now internationally diverse — by what it expects from a wider world in meeting its needs, in constitutional and political composition, and through orientations to varying forces and contrasting powers encircling its rim. So far as security assessments are concerned, such diversity is further complicated by a turbulence increasingly generated from non-military pressures, be they demographic, resource, environmental, or economic in origin.

For those unfamiliar with the South Pacific, the study provides a thumbnail sketch of the region's post-1970 decolonization, and essential information about what the author regards as amongst its three most important, if contrasting, security difficulties: New Caledonia's unfinished decolonization; a conflict of unresolved autonomy, if not outright secession, on Bougainville; and the problematic constitutional and social implications of the racially-biased political system that emerged from Fiji's 1987 military coups. Enough is said about why each of these cases comprises continuing security dilemmas for the region, a reference point

in each identified as leadership dynamics, including the tragic implications of its denial in New Caledonia since the 1989 assassination of the highly respected pro-independence coalition head, Jean Marie Tjibaou.

Amply, but selectively stocked with references to related works, the study provides numerous leads that are fruitful for future assessment. It is maintained that of economic vulnerability, resource and environmental protection, and national stability, it is the last which is "the weak reed, the one with most likelihood to undermine the stable situation that has evolved in the early 1990s". Some brief references notwithstanding (pp. 172–74), a corollary of that assessment goes undebated, namely, the possible criteria, circumstances, or justifications for external "intervention", however conceived, and where a crisis of national stability deteriorates to levels where the likelihood of such involvement moves from the possible to the probable. Although Ross sees a posture of benign interest being followed by outsiders concerned about the regional security of the island states, intervention in some form or another, later if not necessarily sooner, cannot go ignored as a discernible item of security analysis.

Ross pins considerable faith upon the legitimacy of the political systems of the South Pacific, and the capacity of informal consultative mechanisms, evolved through regional political systems such as the South Pacific Forum, to provide pragmatic solutions to internal and regional difficulties that breed tensions. Major power influences of a now departed Cold War have proven either negative (nuclear testing), or slight (occasional episodes of major power aid and commercial diplomacy) in the South Pacific. The influence of the United Nations, with the exception of some fact-finding over Bougainville and scrutiny of decolonization processes, has been minor. To the extent that they have done so, it has been via initiatives such as environmental and fisheries protection. Ross sees the South Pacific as having already developed what others have prescribed, for example, the coagulative "building blocks" approach to sub-regional security advanced by Desmond Ball.

Because of its ambitious compass over time and the subject material, the tone of this study is often restless. This means that some key themes, after being touched upon with pertinence, are then left suspended or incompletely discussed. Because the "South Pacific" has widened in political membership and accumulated a record of its own in international experience, the task of a brief, yet comprehensive analysis, avoiding the pitfalls of undue selectivity, becomes all the more daunting. Hence, transnational economic activities, at times nefarious and involving governments via tax haven and money-laundering activities, are not fully assessed as security risks. Nor is the region's mixed picture

on human rights, civilian police functions, the rule of law, or the capacity of the news media to perform effectively, adequately debated. More discussion is also needed about what has happened to Australian policy in the South Pacific, in particular whether Canberra's pretensions to perform as the region's dominant middle power, will continue generating tensions between such "constructive commitment", as Canberra would term it, and that country's wider security interests. Over original proposals to develop a nuclear-weapons-free zone for the South Pacific, and in a 1990 controversy regarding the incineration of chemical weapons on Johnston atoll, smaller South Pacific island states saw Australia put its relations with the United States ahead of its commitment to South Pacific priorities. The discussion that Ross provides on both Papua New Guinea's continuing legitimacy and economic problems and the Bougainville conflict is informed and pertinent, but here also little is said about the Australian dimensions concerned.

The primary value of this study is its worth as an introductory overview of security in the South Pacific and as an initial research tool. While Ross provides cautious optimism about a continuation of pragmatic accommodation within constitutional rule to moderate the region's tensions, he would acknowledge that a stability that leaves the region's substantial agenda of social and economic needs unattended is likely to prove cosmetic.

RODERIC ALLEY
Department of Politics
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

***Co-operating for Peace.* By Gareth Evans. Allen and Unwin, 1993. 224 pp.**

The world's primary global security organization, the United Nations, is facing challenges unimagined by its creators. At the same time, the United Nations bureaucracy has grown to incredible proportions while the mission challenges are great. Against a rapidly changing international environment, featuring new and virulent forms of ethno-nationalism as well as the ever present eye of television, Australian Foreign Minister