

these nations. The result is a somewhat disjointed proliferation in the number of chapters, some so short that they number only a few pages in length. Perhaps a more thematic approach and a more consolidated chapter structure would have served his arguments more forcefully.

Overall, however, this is a thought-provoking book that both informs readers and encourages them to reflect on more contemporary issues that are outside the scope of this study. The debate that raged during the first half of this century over whether immigration was solely a domestic matter, as maintained by the white settler nations in defence of their exclusionist policies, or one of more international concern, as asserted by the populated nations of Asia such as Japan, China and India, has its parallels in the late twentieth century. Human rights has replaced immigration as the subject of contestation between these protagonists but with the roles now reversed. It is the new nation states of Asia who are among the most vociferous contenders that human rights are a matter of sole domestic concern, while the settler nations of the West support the contention that they are a matter of international scrutiny. And, as to Brawley's concluding doubts that new calls for Asian exclusion among the settler societies of the 1990s cannot be justified on old grounds, he fails to take account of environmental arguments based on an ecosystem's carrying capacity. Hypocrisy, it seems, can always find new raiments with which to cloak itself.

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Background to the Anzus Pact: Policy-Making, Strategy and Diplomacy, 1945-1955. By W. David McIntyre. Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, and St Martin's Press, London, 1995, 464 pp. NZ price: \$89.95. ISBN 0-312-12439-2.

WITH THIS BOOK McIntyre has provided us with the most complete account of the genesis and evolution of the Anzus pact that we are ever likely to get, or need, but his achievement is broader than this might imply. His starting point is the proposition that in forging Anzus, two small and unimportant countries persuaded a third and much larger one to do something which it did not especially want to do.

Much of the ground covered will be familiar to specialists, although they too will benefit from the author's meticulous research. The New Zealand side of the Anzus equation has generally been treated less completely in the past, and McIntyre here presents us with a careful and detailed analysis of New Zealand policy to place alongside the Australian accounts, especially that by Robert O'Neill. Like O'Neill, he discusses the negotiation of Anzus in the context of the Japanese peace treaty and the perceived decline of British power in Asia and the Pacific, but unlike O'Neill, he ranges more broadly in time and place and thus relates Anzus not only to what came before, but to what came after as well.

This is especially valuable for his discussion of the transfer of power in the Pacific in the post-1945 period and, largely though not entirely by implication, of the stresses to which the relationship was subjected in the 1980s. McIntyre sees Anzus as part of a process of change going on within the commonwealth and empire as much as one between sovereign states on opposite sides of the Pacific, and this is a valuable corrective to revisionist notions of American imperialism and those which seek to locate the origins of the treaty in cold war anti-communism. The transfer of power in the Pacific was a

prolonged process, one which Anzus neither initiated nor consummated, and Britain continued to project power in southeast Asia beyond the 1950s, with the active participation of both Australia and New Zealand. Some British politicians and officials seem to have appreciated that Anzus marked a 'parting of the ways' with the Pacific dominions, but this was not necessarily apparent immediately, nor indeed for some time thereafter. In arguing for the existence of a 'dual dependency' after 1951, therefore, McIntyre adds fresh evidence to Coral Bell's earlier argument that the relationship between Australia, Britain and the United States in the postwar era is best viewed as a triangular one, and extends it to New Zealand also.

McIntyre concludes his study with the wry observation that, far from bringing New Zealand a measure of independence in defence, Wellington's abrogation of Anzus in the mid-1980s merely drove the country more deeply in thrall to Australia for its defence needs. After decades of defence on the cheap which the Anzus alliance permitted, even encouraged, Australia remains an American ally, New Zealand merely a 'friend', and the future role and direction of the alliance system which remains is unclear.

It is difficult to do justice to this book in a short review. The research is extensive, the writing clear, the coverage exhaustive. It is a significant work of scholarship, and a book of which anyone interested in the defence and foreign policies of the Pacific dominions, whether critics or supporters, must take account.

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