

The White Peril: Foreign Relations and Asian Immigration to Australasia and North America 1919-78. By Sean Brawley. University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1995. 387 pp. Australian price: \$34.95. ISBN 0-86840-278-8.

WESTERN REFERENCE to the relationship between the European settler societies of Australasia and North America with those of Asia has been governed by metaphors of colour: the *yellow peril* to embody the continent's teeming millions and the *red peril* to signify the threat of communism. Sean Brawley gives us a new epithet to conjure with — the *white peril*. Yet what the author precisely means by this metaphor is somewhat ambiguous and never really explained in the text. Does the title refer to the *peril* posed to the homogeneity of white settler societies by the prospective influx of Asian migrants? Or does it refer to the threat these same societies posed to world peace during much of the twentieth century by their racially exclusionist policies? In any event, both scenarios are explored in Brawley's book.

The White Peril provides a long overdue comparative study of attitudes and policies towards Asian migration in Australasia and North America 1919-1978. In particular, the author examines the effect of such policies on the relations between states from the peace conference that concluded World War I to the repeal of the last such exclusionist legislation in New Zealand. Using the White Australia Policy as a yard-stick to measure the extent to which immigration policy can determine a nation's foreign relations, Brawley explores the development of similar practices in the other white settler societies of the United States, Canada and New Zealand. In the process, he explains how such policies became dispensable as national integrity superseded racial integrity as the primary concern of governments during the intense military and ideological struggles of the twentieth century. As such, the comparative nature of this study constitutes both its main strengths and principal weaknesses.

Brawley offers a revisionist interpretation of the importance that Asian immigration played in shaping and directing events in the Pacific basin up until the 1960s. He argues that exclusionist policies markedly contributed to the failure of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 to establish a lasting fellowship among nations, were instrumental in the Pacific's slide towards war during the 1930s, and played a significant role in undermining the intent and purpose of the United Nations in the post-war era of ideological rivalry and Cold War. More especially, the book makes a notable contribution to modern historiography by exposing the full extent of the racism inherent within Anglo-Celtic society. The hypocrisy with which such nations have so often cloaked both their domestic and external actions is revealed in opposition to the inclusion of a racial equality clause in the League of Nations Covenant, in de facto recognition of Japanese expansion in China, in covert support of South African apartheid.

At the same time, the study's weaknesses are, in a sense, the mirror image of its strengths. Historians have undoubtedly underestimated the importance of exclusion in motivating Japanese expansionism prior to World War II, but readers may be excused if they remain somewhat sceptical as militarism, economic rivalry and the pivotal role of certain individuals are treated as more minor determinants. In all fairness, Brawley does mention these other factors *en passant*, but the emphasis he places on migration in making his case might lead one to believe that this was his view. It is simply a question of scale and keeping the argument in proportion. Another problem arises from the sweep and breadth of the study as it ranges over large geographical areas and a considerable time period full of turbulent events. Brawley adopts a comparative chronological approach to his study when this may not be the best way to present the material, given the necessary depth of understanding required to appreciate both the domestic and foreign concerns of

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