BOOK REVIEWS SECTION


This book is a linked set of essays on post World War II environmental politics and urban planning in and around the Pacific Ocean. It spirals out from a study of the ‘healing’ of Kaho‘olawe Island, off Maui, in the Hawaiian islands; then out to Silicon Valley south of San Francisco; and then on to Seattle, the Aleutian Islands, Hiroshima, Guam and (briefly) Okinawa and American Samoa. The author, Mansel Blackford, is Professor of History at Ohio State University, USA.

Some but not all the locations covered by the book are islands, and the introduction frames the quite disparate studies in the context of an oceanic region (like Braudel’s Mediterranean, or the Atlantic) rather than ‘island studies’. It cites Paul D’Arcy and the late Epeli Hau’ofa as proponents of the view that oceans link as well as isolate islands. It is as much about the Pacific Rim as the Pacific Islands.

Of the islands, the text only looks closely at two. The first is Kaho‘olawe, which was subject to an extraordinary series of environmental changes, brought about by indigenous people, waves of settler commercial interests (cattle, sheep and goats), and then restoration as part of an indigenous renaissance in Hawaii. The second is Guam, where the focus is on a series of environmental disputes. There are side references to the Philippines, Okinawa and Samoa. The Aleutian Islands are discussed more generally in the context of Alaskan resource politics and conservation.

The focus is on the United States, and its impact, against a background historical idea of the expanding frontier, leading to conflicts with indigenous people, and a rising consciousness of the natural world that was being lost in the process. That natural world was recovered, domesticated, in suburbanization such as that which the author describes around San Francisco and Seattle. The author repeatedly emphasizes the impact of World War Two, and the resulting US victory, as a key driver of change in the region, which is as true of the South Pacific as it is of the North. The ‘postwar’ framing is shown most painfully in his discussion of urban planning in Hiroshima after the atomic bomb, and pervasively in his discussion of the role of the US Navy in protecting its institutional turf on Kaho‘olawe (which was used as a firing range), and running Guam ‘as if it were a ship’.

The book shows the mixed blessings that the US has brought to these territories. There was exploitation of natural resources, such as commercial fishing and oil in Alaska, but also the growth of federal government concern with environmental conservation in the creation of national parks, and requirements for environmental impact assessments (the latter providing much of the primary data for Blackford’s history). The US absorbed many of the peoples of the region as immigrants, or migrant workers. The US Navy had an ambiguous relationship with indigenous people: taking land, and arguing through the courts to defend its interests; but also insulating other land and indigenous people from some commercial
pressures and exerting some control over immigration and tourism. The US and its expanding, and military, role in the North Pacific invite comparison with Australia’s active role in the South Pacific today. The military have also been important in French colonial rule in Tahiti. Issues of healing are also important for non-American islands and regions devastated by mining (Nauru, Ok Tedi in Papua New Guinea) and nuclear testing in Kiribati. As in Hawaii, indigenous people are active in these processes, and the arguments are often fought out in overseas courts.

The author writes in a warm, non-technical style, and the book is an engaging introduction to the way environmental and business history can illuminate the study of islands and oceanic regions. Blackford’s history of Aleutian fisheries, for example, invites comparison with Judith Bennett’s larger history of forestry in Solomon Islands, which looks at business, politics and the environmental issues. Blackford’s book is a series of disparate cases, without much clue as to why these (rather than others) were chosen. So the book’s short concluding chapter only partly succeeds in bringing together the several themes (indigenous rights, environmental justice, urban planning, business history) that have been examined at different scales, and locations, in the earlier chapters. But the scale of the author’s enterprise, along with the depth of his interests and knowledge, make the book a success. Interesting for a political scientist, like this reviewer, were the author’s remarks about the role of political institutions in resolving the conflicts he identified, and about the role of the state in development. In this case, ‘the state’ often amounted to local and regional government, and the courts; but also to the peacetime navy in the islands, and the military as consumers of the ideas and products produced by Silicon Valley and Boeing on the US West Coast.

The book is beautifully produced, footnoted and illustrated in an old-school publishing way. The canoe on the cover, however, seemed a bit misleading: a US navy vessel might have been more to the point and the period. The map of the Pacific is only diagrammatic (and offers an alternative spelling for the Hawaiian case). Meanwhile, Google Earth could quickly summon up aerial photos of an arid-looking Kaho’olawe, Puget Sound, the Bering Straits national park, and the various bays on Guam that were considered by the US Navy for wharf sites. Google also now shows more detail about the ocean and seabed that link places described in Blackford’s ambitiously wide-ranging study.

Peter Larmour
The Australian National University
Canberra, Australia
peter.larmour@anu.edu.au

This collection of essays by Steven Hillebrink is an outcome of a research project undertaken at Leiden University, where the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) remains a world leader in interdisciplinary, postcolonial, social science research. The text connects with the author’s wide experience as a senior civil servant with the Dutch Government. This is indeed a rare privilege to be able to read, in English, an up-to-date, well crafted book that deals with the mainly legal, juridical, political and diplomatic challenges associated with governing a clutch of sub-national island jurisdictions that share a similar predicament to the United Kingdom’s own Overseas Territories (UKOTs). The ensemble of history, geography, economy and environmental factors that impinge on each particular jurisdiction are invariably unique; and yet the Hillebrink volume is one book that joins a select literature which is now looking at the patterned similarities in ‘island-mainland’ relations that is developing within federalism, paradiplomacy and international political economy.

The focus of the book is on what used to be called the Netherlands Antilles: a set of six small islands (five and a half, actually) that were Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and which, unlike Suriname and Indonesia, have preferred not to seek full independence, and remain part of a confederal arrangement called ‘The Kingdom of the Netherlands’. (We note here that the Netherlands, in turn, is a founding member of the European Union.) Aruba was the first of these islands to seek and obtain *status aparte* (separate status as a ‘country’), which was granted in 1986; of the rest, Curaçao, and the Dutch half of Sint Maarten are nearing the end of a lengthy constitutional process to obtain a somewhat similar status. The remaining three – Saba, St Eustatius (Statia) and Bonaire – are now to be ‘integrated’ as special municipalities of The Netherlands.

The book grapples with the position of these islands under the rubric of international law, and more particularly as it pertains to the relationship between their ‘good governance’ and the self-determination of their citizens. Exactly what kind of political animals are these territories? They have been colonies, and they have the right to decolonize. But they are not listed amongst the United Nation’s list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Does that mean that have they been completely decolonized? Are their informed peoples free to ‘choose’ to remain in ‘colonial subordination’? And how does one make sure that they are fully and properly informed? Since these polities are nested in a multi-layered jurisdictional structure, what are the respective obligations and modalities between each of these levels? And who gets to decide, sanction or veto any changes in their respective relationship? With six small jurisdictions preferring to steer clear of each other (there is, for example, no love lost between Aruba and Curaçao); and with populations having voted for a diverse range of constitutional options in respective island-based referenda over the past few years, the situation is enough to challenge any jurist. While many of the parties involved now appear to have agreed that the population of each island has the right to self-
determination, what exactly this right entails “remains a point of contention” (p. 267). And so it is likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

Yet, Hillebrink rises admirably to the occasion. The book engages the reader; it is critical, meticulously annotated (with extensive footnoting) and richly comparative in scope. It provides a sustained argument about the meaning of postcolonialism in contemporary times. It is also refreshing to read a discussion of the situation of the Cook Islands, New Caledonia and Puerto Rico, three sub-national island jurisdictions under the purview of New Zealand, France and the US respectively. In spite of glaring differences, they are selected and presented as the best comparable examples to the Dutch cases. Companions in jurisdictional messiness?

The ‘in-betweenity’ of such places as the Cooks, New Caledonia and Puerto Rico is awkward, because “… it creates a real or imagined responsibility of the metropolis for the internal problems of the territory, which is resented by some, and considered insufficient by others” (p. 347). Hillebrink also identifies the issue of international responsibility for wrongful acts (of omission or commission) entertained by sub-national jurisdictions as a “general problem” (p. 134).

Various puddles of sub-national jurisdiction have emerged as the strong tide of 20th century decolonization has ebbed. These range from former colonies and associated territories to special regions or autonomous zones. These sub-national (mainly island) jurisdictions survive and operate within legal arrangements that are often perplexing, and can be easily dismissed as anachronistic. Many have locally-elected governments that exercise full control over domestic affairs; and yet, they operate within the purview and oversight of a larger, sovereign state. Where however, does one draw the line between ‘self-rule’ and ‘shared rule’ in the context of multi-level jurisdiction? Who, for example, is exactly responsible for the non-payment of debts by a territorial government, its default of contractual (domestic or international) obligations, a lack of local law enforcement, or the maltreatment of aliens in its territory? Concerns by the metropolitan state about its sub-national territory typically include the general quality of governance; level of corruption; judicial policies; offshore financial dealings and (post-September 11, 2001) terrorist financing and border security. The right balance remains elusive and ‘turf wars’ are normal.

No other type of territory has been so affected by the colonial endeavour as have islands. The smaller islands of the North Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean Sea were the first territories to be colonized in the European Age of Discovery; they have suffered the colonial burden most intimately and thoroughly, and have been the last to seek and obtain independence, if at all. When Suriname (Dutch Guyana) was making preparations to achieve full independence in 1975, the leader of the Suriname National Party (and prospective Premier) Henck Arron, contacted his counterpart in the Netherlands Antilles, Juancho Evertsz, and asked him whether he would lead his islanders to join Suriname into full sovereignty. The answer: “If you allow yourself to be hung, it does not mean that I will do the same”.

104
What John Connell calls ‘a lingering pause’ in the assumed irreversible path to full sovereignty has now lingered enough to become itself the subject of keen academic and policy inquiry. Hillebrink’s volume joins those of Betty Sedoc-Dahlberg, Lammert de Jong (in collaboration with Douwe Boersma and separately with Dirt Kruijt) as well as Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers as one the few, recent, English-language, academic publications that authoritatively reviews the evolving Dutch island Caribbean, and makes an important contribution to both island studies and federalist scholarship.

Godfrey Baldacchino  
*University of Prince Edward Island, Canada*  
gbaldacchino@upei.ca


Volume 14, No. 2, of *Sustainable Development* is a suite of seven articles brought together by guest editor Calbert H. Douglas to focus on diverse dimensions of island sustainable development. Douglas provides the reader with content related to island sustainable development issues and strategies, sustainability indicators, tuna fisheries and issues pertaining to management of commons, tourism, social development, solid waste and energy. This is a broad array of content indeed.

Douglas leads off the special volume with an editorial. The author identifies key issues related to global change and its interactions with good governance and vulnerability to hazards. He also speaks to assumptions regarding the effectiveness of multi-scale regulation (e.g. federal) on diverse subcultures where many islands retain their own strong identity. There is also discussion of uneven development in scenarios of scarce resources and increasing demand. What he does well himself, and through his collection of manuscripts, is to lay out the stresses that human and biophysical change place on islands, and gaps in capacities that make assessment and adaptation to change challenging. He wisely underscores the conflicts that can arise between stereotypical sustainable development frameworks, and local priorities among people with immediate needs and little buffer against changes in conditions. He is correct to keep coming back to specific points related to hazards and governance. And the reader is enlightened regarding island economic issues throughout the volume.

Understanding that there are limitations in space in the volume, there are a few areas regarding small islands that are still likely to deserve greater treatment. These critiques are provided based on my specific experiences and observations in the Western Pacific, which is noted for its remote tropical locations, relative disconnect from the industrialized world, and cultural diversity.
First, the burgeoning role of local or quasi-local NGOs is quite important, especially in the context of corrupt governments, or those which do not represent all island groups equally. NGOs often self-identify as being less corrupt and more grassroots-oriented, and having a goal to ‘do good’ in relation to specific missions. Funders are also sometimes finding them good outlets for re-granting of their funds at the local scale to allow for local input in dispersing money. This also allows them to avoid government structures. Therefore, NGOs are a growing force in island spaces.

The second area for which space could be made is in the area of biodiversity. Islands are renowned for their endemic species in both marine and terrestrial environments. Many island states are true biodiversity ‘hotspots.’ The ‘coral triangle’ is evidence of this. And, no doubt, cultural and biological preservation are linked. Along these lines, discussion of international funding on islands would be helpful, given the high level of dependency and poverty. Of course, all of this is related to fragmented island physical geography. Generally, what is both ‘good’ and ‘unique’ in islands could use greater play.

A final critique is the use of some language which is more ambiguous than it needs to be. As an example, the author states:

“The main problem that arises within some island states and territories relates to the uneven dimensional typology discussed above and the recurrent cycle of problematic solutions.”

It may prove difficult to decode such a statement.

Another problem is the lack of maps throughout the volume. It is difficult for most persons to picture where all these locations are. The editor and guest-editor should have both recognized this.

Despite these criticisms, this set of readings is useful for both exploring theory and simply for understanding coupled human and biophysical systems better. For example, the discussion of the tuna industry is very useful. One could imagine making that piece the follow-up article to Hardin’s classic “Tragedy of the Commons” in a classroom setting. The obvious links to Hardin’s theory are the international seas and the roles of regulation and voluntary agreement. And management of highly migratory species through multilateral cooperation is of enormous importance to both fish stocks and island economies.

In addition, McAlpine and Birnie’s work on how environmental indicators can be established in communities such as Guernsey provides specific place-based insight, and also delivers some broadly accessible approaches for organizing around the issue. And, several of the articles, such as Chen’s “Development of an Island Tourism Multi-Dimensional Model,” integrate quantitative and qualitative methods in a practical manner.
Book Reviews

I recommend this special volume of “Sustainable Development,” to those who wish to better understand island challenges and opportunities for adaptation in the face of growing external pressures. The collection has value as a stand-alone set, and also is a practical and easy to digest complement for pieces on sustainability theory and community engagement.

William James Smith, Jr.
Department of Environmental Studies
University of Nevada
Las Vegas, USA
bill.smith@unlv.edu


The popular conception of islands is that of separateness, where different rules and lifestyles apply – the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, the island of William Golding’s Lord of the Flies, Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe island. Islands, of course, are physically separate, but in today’s world, for the human communities that live on islands across the world, no island is an island. It is more a matter of how to relate to the rest of the world – sovereign to sovereign, or more likely in one of the diverse, complex, and context specific non-sovereign ways dealt with in this book. The Case for Non-Sovereignty explores a few of the many non-sovereign arrangements that islands and their parent sovereign states have developed, using conceptual models that, in most cases, have to be heavily caveated for unique variations from a proposed norm as a result of specific geographical, cultural, political and historical contexts.

However, notwithstanding their separateness and individuality, islands share many challenges and vulnerabilities. Even for the wealthier, like Guernsey in the Channel Islands where I live, those vulnerabilities are lurking just below the surface, if not exposed and causing trouble. What this book is really about is survivability and sustainability as recognised in the need to retain links with the parent state, rather than go down the sovereignty route.

Not that it was always thus. Starting in 1944 – when Iceland became a sovereign state – there developed an expectation in the 1950s and 1960s during the major period of decolonization, that more small islands would join Iceland in becoming independent. Indeed, some did. We are told that today the United Nations has 39 sovereign island members. However, this is a minority of islands. In Chapter 2, by Kathleen Stuart, there is a list of 116 sub-national islands and island groups. This list sets the scene for the book, because, from the 1980s onwards, sentiment changed to the realization that perhaps economic and social welfare was better safeguarded within the protection of, and relationship with, a much larger parent state, rather than going it alone. The example of
Tuvalu in the Pacific is given in John Connell’s chapter, an island with barely ten thousand people which became independent with as much trepidation as jubilation.

Post credit crunch, the catastrophic collapse of Iceland’s economy, which occurred after this book was written, reinforces the message that perhaps non-sovereignty status is the best option in most cases.

Not that islands are not independent of mind, for they are, and that comes out very strongly through the chapters, with a series of examples of islands constantly trying to negotiate the best deal they can with their parent states without compromising their distinctiveness. There is a suggestion at one point that such arrangements put sub-national jurisdictions in a sort of limbo. But that is to think within the context of a binary conceptualization of existence as either total sovereignty or total assimilation. In today’s globalised, interdependent world, whether for island states or nation states, shared sovereignty, or at least adherence to international laws and regulations, is the norm. The world is a messy place.

What this book provides us with, through its selection of case studies, is a sense of the continuum of non-sovereign arrangements which exist around the world: from the near sovereign island, which can pass its own laws, raise its own taxes, retain its identity, and feel in charge of its own destiny, to the example given by Sandy Kerr in his chapter of the complete suppression by mainland Colombia of the identity of the San Andrés and Old Providence archipelago. Where an island fits along that continuum in large part will depend on what juridical and socio-economic resources it enjoys. There may be context-specific reasons as well; but, in general, the capability of the island community will determine its degree of autonomy.

There are models which are offered to help us structure our thinking and enable comparative analysis of islands. In their chapter, Jerome McElroy and Kara Pearce argue that small island research is emerging using three models: MIRAB (Migration-Remittances-Aid-Bureaucracy), PROFIT or juridical, and the tourism-driven SITES. There is a sense, though, of models which are tentative, although they do provide frameworks through which islands’ social, economic and constitutional realities can be discussed.

In two of the book’s chapters we are introduced to the role of para-diplomacy, informal diplomacy without the formal involvement of official diplomatic channels, as a description of the communication channels that islands are establishing with third parties outside the traditional ‘parent state–dependent island’ structure. This is an acknowledgement that islands can benefit from the opportunities that such linkages bring, but also a reflection of the flexibility of international arrangements in today’s world. And just to update Barry Bartmann’s chapter where he states that the UK Crown dependencies have not been drawn to separate representation beyond their shores, they have all, in the last twelve months, signed agreements with the UK formally allowing them to develop a para-diplomatic function. This approach to international relations appears to be an important way forward for island jurisdictions.
And where very small islands are not able to resource their own para-diplomatic function, some can take advantage of membership of regional island organizations, such as CARICOM and the OECS in the Caribbean, to promote their interests other than with, or through, their parent state.

Although this book was written before the world economic meltdown, it should prove of benefit to island policy makers in helping them to formulate responses to the new challenges they face. For any islands which are toying with the idea of independence, and which have not been put off by the current world chaos, this book offers valuable research based insights into the issues involved for what is a very emotional area of public debate.

This book provides an excellent review of the nature of non-sovereignty for islands, bringing together, as it does, a number of writers focussing on a range of issues. It has given me a mature context within which to view my own island’s relationship with its parent state, and I would thoroughly recommend this volume to any islander who wishes to have an informed and intelligent perspective on their own island’s international relationships.

For me though, the one omission of the book is the view from the metropolis, and I would have liked to have seen at least one chapter with this perspective. We are though given two interesting examples of parent state attitudes. In her chapter, Elaine Stratford contrasts a ‘New Tasmania’, having a very positive view of itself, with a mainland view of Tasmanians as inward-looking mendicants who spend their time plundering their island. And in Gert Oostindie’s chapter, the Dutch view of their Caribbean islands is that they provide few overall benefits yet oblige many responsibilities.

Although not all islands are succeeding, the point made here is that for the vast majority of islands, non-sovereign status is preferable. As this book very much portrays, many islands’ main preoccupation is their relationship with their parent state, but they have also established a legitimate place in global economic and legal structures, with Godfrey Baldacchino being quoted as saying that although islands are likely to stay anchored in their sub-national status, they will be looking to exploit para-diplomatic opportunities. In this recession-hit world, such capabilities are going to become increasingly valuable.

Tony Gallienne
Guernsey College of Further Education
Guernsey, Channel Islands, British Isles
tonyg@np-group.com

This book is an engaging and very scholarly study of the previously underestimated role of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) in the development of European geographical ideas. Kleinschmidt situates his study in the context of the desacralization of dominant theories about kingship between the 13th and 15th centuries. From an earlier focus on the divine right of kings to rule, there evolved the theory that the role of sovereigns was to represent their subjects’ interests and identities. As a result of this change, the belief developed that rulers could use their energies to create new orders in the world (pp. 39-40). Furthermore, by the 16th century, exploration and nautical technology had reached the point that ruling both land and ocean around the world had become a real possibility, rather than merely a commonplace of royal flattery (especially pp. 206-207). One of Kleinschmidt’s themes is Maximilian’s efforts to re-establish both the image and reality of universal rule of the Holy Roman Empire (e.g. pp. 114-115; 166-174).

In his introduction, the author states that “Much of the verbal and pictorial sources on the world picture around 1500 focused on the numbers and locations of islands and island worlds in the ocean” (p. xii). This statement, together with the book’s title, lead us to expect considerable material about islands in the main text. And yet, in this expectation, we are disappointed. In the statement just quoted, Kleinschmidt is alluding to the fact that in the early stages of the discovery of the New World, it was unclear whether the lands that had been found were just islands, or whether they were islands as well as a previously unknown continent. The author discusses the reasons for the Portuguese interest in exploring the continents of Africa and Asia, while the Spanish directed their efforts to the new lands to the West, where there were many islands. Nonetheless, the abundance of islands in the latter area cannot be numbered among the book’s primary concerns.

Kleinschmidt’s only sustained engagement with insular themes is in pp. 196-204, where readers come across his analysis of the coat-of-arms of the “XVc Inseln” (1,500 islands) represented in the *Triumphzug* (Triumphal Procession) and *Ehrenpforte* (Triumphal Arch), two series of large prints commissioned by Maximilian around 1507 and designed to memorialize the grandeur of his rule. The *Triumphzug*, preserved in Madrid, Spain (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Res. 254), displays the coat-of-arms on a banner carried by a horseman in a triumphal procession (reproduced on p. 197); while in the *Ehrenpforte*, the coat-of-arms alone is represented (reproduced on p. 199). The coat-of-arms is an invention (that is, there was no established heraldic device of the 1500 islands); but, as it was probably created with Maximilian’s approval, its meaning merits some investigation.

In the *Ehrenpforte*, the coat-of-arms of 1500 islands appears in a row with two other island-related coats-of-arms, those of “Gibraltauris et insularum canarie” (Gibraltar and the Canary Islands), and “Insularum Indicarum et maris occidi” (Indian Islands and the Western Sea). Kleinschmidt maintains that the 1500 islands must have been thought to be “in the southern hemisphere of the oceanic waterways between Europe and Asia” (p. 204), and that it is possible to assume that (p. 206):
“… all three island coats-of-arms were assembled together into one row of the *Ehrenpforte* for the purpose of demonstrating Maximilian’s claim for suzerainty over the island worlds in areas west of the Tordesillas line over which the Spanish rulers were placing themselves in control at the time.”

It is not clear to me under this interpretation how the 1500 islands of the one coat-of-arms differ from the “Indian Islands” of the other, but then perhaps they are not necessarily different. In any case, these island coats-of-arms do clearly indicate the importance of asserting power over distant archipelagoes as part of a claim of universal dominion.

One very useful feature of Kleinschmidt’s book is the extensive bibliography (pp. 269-452). It is arranged by subject, for example on “Medieval views of the sphericity of the cosmos” (pp. 269-271), “The concept of the boundary in medieval Europe” (pp. 295-300), “Medieval descriptions of islands” (pp. 301-302), “Legal theories related to the taking of possession of purportedly unknown islands” (p. 302), “Expeditions to the Canary Islands and the Madeira Group” (p. 344), and “Bristol expeditions and perceptions of Atlantic islands” (pp. 357-359), to name just a few pertinent examples.

A less appealing aspect of the book is its typographical errors. To mention just a few specific instances, on p. 51 we find “showingAfric a” in place of “showing Africa”, on p. 65 “did not contend himself” in place of “did not content himself”, and on p. 91 “clima” in place of “claim”. These errors would be distracting and disappointing in any book, but in this case they detract from the otherwise very positive impression made by Kleinschmidt’s work, and they are difficult to forgive in a book in a well-established series (the book is Biblioteca Humanistica & Reformatorica, volume 63) and with a price that should have enabled a much more careful copy-editing.

Unfortunately for the readers of this journal, this book contains much less material on islands than its title suggests. Yet, the material that it *does* contain is interesting, and the author’s scholarship is so broad that readers interested in late 15th and early 16th century geography, exploration, dynastic politics, artistic representations of kings, and other related subjects, will find material that is valuable to their studies in this book.

*Chet Van Duzer*  
*Los Altos Hills, CA*  
*USA*  
*chetv@aol.com*

*Guernsey in the Twenty First Century* is a big book. Big in the sense that it spans over 7,000 years of history, contains hundreds of references from dozens of academic writers and a multitude of quotes from current inhabitants of the island. It covers the social, economic and political history of Guernsey and considers Guernsey’s place in the increasingly interdependent global economy.

The danger of such a book, trying to cover such a broad range of issues, is that it can easily become a set of lists. However, Gallienne has avoided this trap and produced a book that is accessible and informative. He weaves together the disparate strands of Guernsey history and invites the reader to consider how the lessons of history and the unique nature of the island and islanders can be drawn upon to secure Guernsey’s place in a challenging and uncertain future.

Guernsey is, by most counts, a very small island. With an area of only 64 km$^2$ (25 square miles) and a resident population of approximately 62,000, it may seem hard to understand why the island has any significance at all and, indeed, how it has (barring the German occupation during the Second World War) managed to maintain its independence for the last 800 years. Situated only 48 km west from the Normandy coast and 120 km south of England, it is difficult to believe that it has retained its status as a British Crown dependency. Reading this book, though, gives the reader a sense of the obstinacy and resoluteness of the island inhabitants over the centuries.

Tony Gallienne is a Guernsey man, a descendant of a long line of Guernsey men. Reading his book you get a broad sense of what it means to be a Guernsey man. He talks about ‘islandness’ and the determination and ingenuity of islanders, something that is shared with inhabitants of small islands all over the world.

The book gives a powerful sense of how Guernsey islanders have survived over the centuries by using their wits and by embracing the concepts of flexibility and adaptability. From their initial ‘conquest’ of England in 1066, through privateering, knitting, stonemasonry, horticulture, to the current finance industry, Gallienne outlines the ability of the inhabitants of his small island to adapt and change their ways to take advantage of the prevailing economic and political conditions whilst at the same time retaining their sense of independence and their unique, Guernsey, identity.

However, the title of the book indicates that Gallienne’s main concern is ‘what next for Guernsey?’ In tackling this question, he provides the reader with a detailed description of the current situation in the island. His research has been extensive and he quotes the views of a multitude of current island residents including prominent businessmen, current and previous politicians, local historians and ‘ordinary’ islanders. Again, this approach could have led to a list of disconnected comments, but Gallienne presents these views in a skilful, conversational style which engages the reader.
His analysis of the current situation is thorough and intelligent. Although Guernsey is a small community, the issues it faces are complex. It wants to retain its independence but needs to adapt to exist in an increasingly interdependent world.

The island politicians are frightened to allow the population to increase; they are worried about overcrowding and they have put in place policies which restrict the rights of people to live in Guernsey. However, they also wish to attract new businesses to the island and develop the range of industries operating out of Guernsey. At the same time, though, they are concerned about putting up new buildings to house these new industries.

Gallienne explains these conflicting interests in great detail. He has interviewed many of the current politicians, (they are known as Deputies in Guernsey), as well as several of them who used to be in office over the past thirty years. He is not frightened of challenging their views and questioning their perception of how Guernsey should develop.

In any small community, there is a danger that those who are responsible for the ‘way we do things’ can become complacent and resist change. Guernsey is a successful and attractive island and it is easy to be blind to some of the less attractive elements of the place. Gallienne has not been frightened of discussing some of these elements. He tackles issues such as relative poverty, domestic violence, the pumping of untreated sewage into the surrounding sea and the problems associated with alcohol and drug abuse.

Gallienne proposes various future scenarios, but doesn’t pretend that he knows where Guernsey is heading. He presents his ideas in a thoughtful, considered style, and his analysis of the current economic situation is especially strong. Although the book was written before the credit crunch, he warns of complacency and too heavy a reliance on the finance sector.

This is a book that deals with complex issues in an uncomplicated way. Reading it, you get the sense that you are sat in a cosy café, overlooking the Guernsey coastline, drinking coffee whilst listening to someone who has a deep knowledge of his island and who cares passionately about the future of that island.

This is a ‘big’ book that covers in great detail the myriad aspects of Guernsey; its past, present and future. His thoughts and analysis of the issues facing the island should be required reading for all Guernsey politicians and decision makers. Indeed, because of the issues it considers, it could be of interest to anyone who lives in an island community. Although Guernsey thinks of itself as a unique place, many of the problems it is experiencing in this modern, sometimes dangerous, technological world must also be faced by other small islands. This book contains thoughts and ideas are of interest to them.

*Trevor Wakefield*  
*Principal, Guernsey College of Further Education*  
*Guernsey, Channel Islands, British Isles*  
*TrevorW@gcfe.net*

Given the expanding literature dealing with the study of islands, one cannot be blamed for yearning for a publication that somehow brings all this rich, island-inspired scholarship to bear on one particular island territory. The approach would need to be truly holistic: appreciating the legacies of history, geography and culture; considering the economic opportunities of trade, tourism, knowledge industries, agriculture and geostrategic rents; and charting a way towards a future that considers novel political arrangements with metropolitan power. Hiroshi Kakazu performs these tasks, and more, quite admirably in this his latest publication: *Island Sustainability*.

The focus of Kakazu’s research is – obviously to those who know him – his beloved Okinawa. The sprawling archipelago, with just over a million population, is now the southernmost prefecture of Japan, but has had a history quite distinct from that of its current motherland. It was an independent kingdom until 1878. The islands were also occupied by the US military from the end of the Second World War until 1972, and still support a massive US military infrastructure, the largest by far in the whole of Japan. The opportunity is there to present a politico-economic strategy that argues for an international “growth triangle” approach with neighbouring Taiwan and perhaps Kyushu and Shanghai (all three much closer to Okinawa than Tokyo). This approach is then strengthened by a distinct Okinawan champuru culture that cherishes its own identity, its impressive life expectancy: at 86 years for women, “one of the highest in the world” (p. 78), also expressed in a long, sustained opposition to the US military presence. Kakazu wryly also reminds us that Okinawa is the only Japanese prefecture which is currently not suffering population decline. Its prospects for thriving in the information age are encouraging.

The book is a collection of nine key chapters, which the author has developed and presented in a variety of island studies and regional studies fora in recent years. They represent Kakazu’s accumulated scholarship of late and his third major book since his pioneering *Sustainable Development of Small Island Economies* (1994), which presented a rigorous economic case for geostrategic rents. The author is quick to acknowledge his collaborative endeavours with “ISISA, UNESCO-INSULA, JSIS and JSIE” (p. 13): for the uninitiated, these would be the International Small Islands Studies Association, UNESCO’s International Scientific Council for Island Development, the Japan Society for Island Studies, and the Japan Society of International Economics respectively.

Of course, such a book is as much about its author as its subject matter. Dr Kakazu was born in Okinawa, studied in the UK and USA, and has had a distinguished career with various positions in Japan, including Vice-President of Okinawa’s own University of the Ryukyus. He is a co-founder of ISISA, Vice-President of UNESCO-INSULA and President of JSIS. The text represents the author’s own sincere but critical and grounded
ruminations about how best can and should Okinawa develop, and what are the major challenges and bottlenecks in this regard.

Insightfully, Kakazu adopts a ‘neutral’ stance with respect to the geographic givens of his focus. Okinawa may be seen as a remote, island archipelago, divested of the powers of jurisdiction that he enviously observes in similar, but much more autonomous, island territories as Åland, Azores, Hawaii and the Isle of Man (p. 290) as well as the Cook Islands and Tokelau, in the Pacific. The Japanese government is loath to promote a ‘one country, two systems’ approach (e.g. p. 66) that has so far worked fairly well for Hong Kong in its dealings with China. But Okinawa is also blessed with the flora and fauna to make it ‘the Galápagos of the Orient’, and is excellently placed in the centre of a bustling and promising economic region: the map on the book’s cover expounds this. Moreover, Okinawa is different enough, and remote enough from ‘mainland Japan’, to have its own special legislation to support specific incentive programs for development.

Kakazu is aware that, for his development plan for Okinawa to succeed – moving from large scale dependency on transfers from Tokyo to self-reliance – there are a number of “thorny” policy hurdles to overcome. These include: “US military bases, regional security, territorial disputes, various regulations, the liberalization of Okinawa’s economy and ... the decentralization and autonomy of local government” (p. 178). Interestingly, Kakazu is a firm believer in the devolution of some policy capacity to the level of the Okinawan prefecture; he also opines that various regulations at the national level (such as those relating to cabotage) are too protectionist and reduce overall price competitiveness. His thrust is to exploit Okinawa’s strengths – location, natural and cultural heritage, knowledge capital, networks, infrastructure – in a more liberalized global economy, while cognizant that excessive income inequality must be addressed, and carrying capacity respected.

Since he is a professional economist, we cannot fault the author for scattering an innumerable number of graphs, charts, equations and figures in his text. Sadly, these are not fully self-explanatory and most require some background knowledge. The text is also riddled with those spelling and grammatical mistakes that follow from less than perfect proof reading. The text also lacks an author and subject index. Perhaps such deficiencies are a function of this being a ‘print on demand’ publication. The book is very affordable to the buyer; but this comes with some loss to the overall quality of presentation. (I am now told by the author that he is working on both the corrections and the index: on demand publication permits these changes.)

Such failings do not detract from the book’s main success. Island Sustainability is a well thought-out compilation that critically reviews the prospects for sustainable small island development from multiple and interdisciplinary perspectives, all with a sharp island focus.

Godfrey Baldacchino
Island Studies Program
University of Prince Edward Island, Canada
gbaldacchino@upei.ca
The third volume in the series on The Pacific World (Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500-1900) contains 26 chapters that have been published elsewhere. Scholars expecting “state-of-art” research on aspects of Pacific Island cultures and societies might be disappointed, as none of the contributions were commissioned for this book (as is the case with the other volumes in this series). That being said, the book should be treated as a reader, perhaps aimed at an undergraduate student audience with an interest in the Pacific Islands or for those who wish to sample a range of anthropological, historical, and “cultural studies” topics and issues pertaining to the region.

A fair review should thus focus on the relevance of previous works (notwithstanding their date of publication) and how the book organizes these readings according to specific themes. The latter are well summed up in the introduction, which happens to be the only original writing. It also discusses related issues that are not specifically addressed in the following chapters. An extensive select bibliography containing recent references, more than makes up for some of the older reading selections.

The volume sets out three objectives: 1) to present the history of the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands from initial settlement to the establishment of colonial regimes at the end of the 19th century; 2) to describe Pacific Islander-European interactions from the former’s perspective; and 3) to show that Pacific Island history can best be understood through multidisciplinary approaches. As the introduction states, chapters were selected to provide “a representative cross section of the different eras, disciplines, themes, and geographical areas that are encompassed within Pacific Studies.”

Part One – Exploring and Colonizing Oceania – features four chapters that include studies of ancient navigation and an indigenous creation story. Ben Finney’s description of the Hōkūle’a journey from Hawaii to Tahiti provides a personal account of the trials and tribulations experienced aboard one of the world’s most famous reconstructed Oceanic sailing vessels. Reference to archaeological chronologies obviously reflects the state of knowledge prior to the 1980s. Fortunately, more updated information is provided in Geoffrey Irwin’s contribution written almost two decades later.

Part Two – Historical Dynamics of Island Societies – addresses the themes of ecological adaptations, social and political evolution, and regional histories. Patrick Kirch, an archaeologist who has devoted much of his career documenting early human impact on island ecosystems in the Pacific, is represented here. However, readers might benefit from a more recent publication, particularly the author’s subsequent contributions in historical ecology. The latter approach highlights the challenges in disentangling the effects of natural processes from those induced by humans. Five chapters explore aspects of social and political evolution, including a contribution by the noted Maori scholar, Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). Although written in 1926, the value of [oral] traditions to reconstruct the
past continues to find supporters, even among archaeologists. If these traditions are subjected to problems of reduction in cultural content and interpretation once they are translated and written down, they can still provide useful data that may on occasion converge with other lines of evidence. While tradition can certainly be manipulated, as Niel Gunson argues, the same is true of narratives based on other methods of inquiry. Reference to Irving Goldman’s study of status rivalry and cultural evolution in Polynesia is rather curious, given the volume’s asserted goal of being faithful to the field of Pacific Studies. For example, Goldman omits Fiji “because of its Melanesian affiliations.” Although the tripartite classification of Oceania is still very much engrained in both popular and scholarly literature (even in the introduction to this volume and the accompanying map!), use of the labels Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia has for some time now been criticized primarily by those who teach Pacific Studies. Space precludes a detailed discussion of this issue.

There are other, somewhat troubling, expressions (which perhaps could be excused given the original date of Goldman’s publication in the mid 1950s). For example, under Sexual Practices, Goldman refers to “sexual orgies…” Elsewhere in the paper, combat is said to have become “more cruel.” Less emotional terms that nevertheless need to be revised include the physical character of islands: Niue is not an atoll, but a raised coral island; the distinction between a volcanic and a “high” island is not clear.

Regional histories address the issue of inter-island voyaging. Countering earlier views of Pacific Island societies as being largely isolated following initial settlement until their discovery by Europeans, the occurrence of exotic materials at archaeological sites has been interpreted by some archaeologists as evidence for long-distance trade. As a result of environmental and social factors, these trade networks expanded or contracted, but regional contacts in one form or another persisted throughout the post-contact period and the establishment of colonial governments. Evidence for the existence of past regional histories is also supported by ethno-historical and oral traditions, indicating that the sea acted more as a highway for communication rather than a barrier. Epeli Hau’ofa’s inspirational view of the ocean in the lives of Pacific Islanders, which appears in the volume’s last chapter (Part Five – The Pacific Past Revisited), is illustrated by several examples in this section, including Adrienne Kaeppler’s description of exchange patterns between Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, Bronislaw Malinowski’s classic study of the Kula of Eastern New Guinea, and William Lessa and M. L. Berg’s writings about the Yap Empire.

Part Three – Culture Contact – offers a good selection by historians and anthropologists. Marshall Sahlins, Greg Dening, Ian Campbell, and Francis Hezel write about European-Pacific Islander encounters from throughout the region, as well as the social impact of “foreign” indigenous groups (Sahlins in relation to Fiji). Campbell suggests that first contacts between Europeans and Pacific Islanders resulted in the emergence of a third culture, a culture of contact that developed by trial and error.

Part Four – Responses to Pre-colonial European Influences – further develops the theme of culture contact by showing that Pacific Islanders were active agents in contact situations, not merely bystanders or victims of a “fatal impact”. In other words, they were well
capable of manipulating outsiders and taking advantage of situations. From an epidemiological standpoint, however, debate continues regarding the power of indigenous agency. In several cases, first censuses appeared nearly a half century after first European contact. It was during this initial phase that dramatic demographic changes presumably took place. Donald Denoon examines the issue of depopulation from a biological, social, economic and political perspective. In regards to the question of population numbers just prior to contact, Denoon categorically says that these are unknowable. This reviewer is more optimistic, as shown by recent advances to measure past populations in the Pacific by way of proxies, such as settlement demography, dating curves, and carrying capacity approaches. Used together, they provide independent cross-checks on population estimates. Results indicate that declines varied in intensity from island to island, and also from place to place in the case of the larger landmasses as a function of initial population density at the time of contact, with denser settlements suffering the greatest decline because of the higher risk of contagion (Denoon notes that post-contact plantation barracks and mission schools also provided contexts for the rapid spread of communicable diseases).

One might quibble as to why this volume was written for a series that puts a time bracket between 1500 and 1900. Perhaps more striking is the absence of French contributors, given the historical importance of France in the region. Several French scholars, most notably anthropologists and archaeologists, now also write in English. Finally, despite the inclusion of some antiquated writings, the volume succeeds in presenting a varied selection of papers that covers a broad range of topics which should definitely appeal to social scientists focusing on Pacific Island cultures prior to 1870.

Frank R. Thomas  
Pacific Studies / Oceania Centre for Pacific Studies, Arts and Culture  
University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji Islands  
thomas_fr@usp.ac.fj