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Paper Tiger: New Zealand's Part in SEATO 1954-1977

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a democratic government made it difficult to conduct a rational foreign policy, especially when public emotion ran counter to national interests.

Barnet points out that during the first years of the republic, existence and trade were so intricately tied to events in Europe that there was little difference between our foreign and domestic policy. His description of late eighteenth-century America is reminiscent of what we face today, with our economic and military interests comingled with the rest of the world. In fact, several analogies can be made: presidential use of force without declaring war; manipulation of the press to sell foreign policy; media portraying themselves as fact-finders while selling their version of the truth; hobo armies taking over the streets; and the presidents' sometimes successful attempts to read the will of the people. After the Vietnam War, the national security community relearned the importance of public opinion and the necessity of the people's backing in any military operation. Secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger epitomized this when he declared, "the armed forces will not fight wars that the American people will not support."

Unfortunately, when the author discusses the 1970s his objectivity slips. His last two chapters contain personal opinions and errors that weaken his otherwise excellent analysis. Barnet's concluding chapter introduces topics not formerly discussed, such as the "growing awareness of the suicidal consequences of

even so-called conventional wars," and the "potentially catastrophic consequences of man-made ecological degradation." Important as these issues are, they are forced into his conclusion.

Up to the Kennedy years, however, this is a compelling work. Mr. Barnet has done an excellent job of combining different events and personalities into a coherent thesis. *The Rockets' Red Glare* will show the military professional how and why the principle of the will of the people originated, and that it continues to be important in any national strategy.

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Pearson, Mark. *Paper Tiger: New Zealand's Part in SEATO 1954-1977*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs with the Ministry of External Relations and Trade, 1989. 135pp. (No price given)

For almost twenty years, the South East Asian Treaty Organization (Seato) played a prominent role in the Western alliance's approach to Southeast Asian security problems during an era in which that region was fraught with instability and conflict. Yet, what is surprising is that the contemporary academic literature on this now moribund alliance is limited indeed. With the exception of the excellent book by Leszek Buszynski, *SEATO: The Failure of an Alliance Strategy* (1983), there are few historical

narratives and analyses of Seato. Moreover, despite Buszynski's solid scholarship, he labored under the constraints of not having access to government primary sources.

Mark Pearson, an officer with the New Zealand Ministry of External Relations and Trade, has provided a welcome contribution to our understanding of Seato. *Paper Tiger* provides an excellent analysis of the forces behind the creation (and the subsequent evolution) of this alliance, albeit largely from the limited perspective of New Zealand. Moreover, his work has the singular advantage of being based on the records of the New Zealand Ministry of External Affairs, although it does not include the files from the Ministry of Defence. Despite this limitation, Pearson has succeeded in writing a clear and in-depth assessment of the alliance's history. Also original is his treatment of the evolution of problems associated with the numerous alliance defense plans. Thus, the work's value should extend beyond those who are interested principally in New Zealand's diplomatic history, to include students of Southeast Asian affairs.

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Hicks, George, ed. *The Broken Mirror: China After Tiananmen*. New York: Longman, 1990. 526pp. (No price given).

The Tiananmen crisis—the sudden emergence of the Chinese pro-democracy movement, its bloody

suppression in Beijing, and the political repression and leadership changes immediately following the massacre—was a milestone in the turbulent history of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The events of April-June 1989 and their domestic and international repercussions have become the subject of analysis by journalists and academics. This is one of the first scholarly works to address the significance of this crisis.

Edited by George Hicks, a Hong Kong-based economist, *The Broken Mirror* contains twenty-seven essays, many of which were written by distinguished scholars. It contains five parts: an examination of the participants in the Tiananmen crisis (students, intellectuals, the leadership, and the military); the historical and cultural background of communism, political culture, the socialist economy, authoritarianism, and ideology; the reaction of the international community, with a focus on the West, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; the changes in domestic and foreign policy subsequent to Tiananmen (with an emphasis on the suppression of human rights and the diplomatic moves to counter Beijing's international isolation following the massacre); and the exploration of the long-term implications of the Tiananmen crisis for the future of communist rule in China. Two useful appendices are included and a chronology of major documents and statements relating to the crisis, as well as a "who was who" during Beijing Spring.