

Keynesian economics against the rising tide of New Right neoclassicism, than as the last gasp of New Zealand's attachment to Britain.

McAloon's discussion of the breakdown in Muldoon's relationships with the Federation of Labour, especially when leadership of the FOL shifted to Jim Knox, and of his imposition of ill-conceived wage and price freezes to manage inflation rates that had risen to 20%, is compelling reading. The chaos of this period of New Zealand's past is made clear, as are the significant global economic pressures that placed the Treasury and government under such intense pressure. His final chapter, which traces the final dissolution of the post-war settlement from 1984 to 1993, acts as a necessary epilogue to the preceding chapters. This last section describes New Zealand's transition under Labour and National governments to a fully neoliberal economy, and provides an interesting critique of accounts that highlight the positive outcomes of the reforms. In closing this way, McAloon hints at future work that will be required to unravel the simplistic narratives of the neoliberal reforms, and the complex ways New Zealand has adapted to the global world.

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*Peace, Power and Politics: How New Zealand Became Nuclear Free.* By Maire Leadbeater. Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2013. 344pp. NZ price: \$55.00. ISBN: 9781877578588.

Peace movement stalwart Maire Leadbeater provides an activist account of how New Zealand became nuclear free and remained that way. She argues that New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy, legislated in 1987, broke ranks with the Western alliance and changed New Zealand's identity as a nation. Leadbeater is deeply interested in revealing how the successful anti-nuclear campaign was waged: who were the 'peace people' who made up the movement, and what were the myriad of tactics that made the anti-nuclear campaign a success? She humbly draws on her own past to answer these questions, beginning with her involvement in the 1960s with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). CND members were Christian pacifists, socialists, students and academics who opposed the visits of nuclear-powered and weapons-capable warships and French nuclear testing above the atolls of Moruroa and Fangataufa in French Polynesia; in its early days this small organization was commonly regarded as a communist or socialist front. From CND, Leadbeater worked alongside the trade-union-based New Zealand Peace Council, the New Zealand branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the United Nations Association of New Zealand. Peace movement numbers began to grow during the Vietnam War, when large numbers of young people joined organizations such as the Progressive Youth Movement and forged the anti-US-military-bases campaign. Protest activities included petitions, marches and meetings, but became more innovative with the

first peace flotillas that set off to breach the Moruroa French nuclear testing zone in the early 1970s. In 1975, a Peace Squadron of boats was formed to picket nuclear warships visiting New Zealand harbours, and these activities were supported by the education and research work of the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies.

In numerous chapters, Leadbeater traces the rise in numbers of people participating in Peace Squadron sea activities and associated land marches, rallies and maritime union stoppages. She explores these activities in the context of the third National government's pro-nuclear stance and commitment to New Zealand's strategic defence alliance with the United States (ANZUS). Peace researchers such as Robert Mann, Molly Melhuish, Owen Wilkes, Bob Leonard, Peter Wills and Nicky Hager (to name but a few) are celebrated for their contributions to public education on the hazards of nuclear power stations and nuclear weapons, as well as exposing New Zealand's facilities that supported United States military and surveillance systems at Black Birch, Harewood, Tangimoana and Waihopai. A crucial campaign that drew in 'ordinary people' was the local body campaign to make NZ nuclear free piece by piece. Beginning with homes, marae, workplaces, churches, then borough and city councils, people created nuclear-free zones across New Zealand in the early 1980s. This mass movement pushed the Labour Party to declare a nuclear-free policy, and the party's electoral victory in 1984 was greeted as a win for the anti-nuclear movement. Leadbeater carefully and critically documents the United States-led pressure on the fourth Labour government to accept a warship visit, the *Buchanan*, in 1985, and back down on its nuclear-free promise. She demonstrates the counterweight pressure from the myriad of peace groups who lobbied for almost three years to gain nuclear-free legislation from the Labour government in June 1987. In the midst of this significant victory, Leadbeater reminds her reader that despite this policy, New Zealand continued (and continues) to house US military bases, which support British and American intelligence sharing for military purposes with a nuclear agenda. The late 1980s is documented as a time when peace movement campaigns normalized New Zealand's anti-nuclear identity, so much so that the National Party pledged to maintain the nuclear-free legislation going into the 1990 election.

This book certainly provides a detailed account of the New Zealand anti-nuclear movement. What I felt was missing was a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the anti-nuclear campaign and other campaigns and social movements that, in one way or another, sought a world without violence. Women-only protests and activities, street theatre and singing groups are described and portrayed in spectacular images through the text, but the historical context of the New Zealand women's movement, and of the feminist ideology that sparked women's activism about violence, is missing. Unions were acknowledged regularly for their staunch support of the anti-nuclear campaign, but this support was neither explained nor historicized. In a series of chapters, Leadbeater does provide the history of the broader Pacific anti-nuclear campaign. Pacific indigenous peoples gathered and identified nuclear testing in the Pacific as the continuance of colonialism: the racist exploitation of indigenous peoples and their resources. Without independence from Western imperialist powers, Pacific peoples argued, they would not be free from nuclear threat, and they forged the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement in the 1980s. Leadbeater gives

valuable attention to New Zealand solidarity, particularly Māori solidarity, for Kanaky, Tahitian, Belau and Bougainville independence movements, and the campaign for a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. The 1987 Fijian coup also receives some investigation. However, I would have liked more explanation of what Māori activists wanted a nuclear-free and independent New Zealand to look like, and the context for peace-movement Māori sovereignty politics.

Leadbeater writes: ‘You can look at the 1990s as a time when the peace movement declined into relative inactivity, or alternately you can look at it as a time when working for peace took new forms’ (p.250). The decline of the peace movement is not investigated, but an economic analysis could have born some fruit. Between the mid-1970s and 1990s, structural unemployment, the working poor and child poverty emerged in working-class and some middle-class communities across New Zealand. State sector workers lost their security of employment and trade unions lost the backing of the state. Ordinary New Zealanders no longer have the resources to wage a peace campaign; they are too busy surviving. This is the tragedy of neoliberalism and other reforms successfully legislated by the fourth Labour government and continued by the fourth National government.

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*Mateship and Moneymaking: Australian Shearing: The Clash of Union Solidarity with the Spirit of Enterprise 1895–1995.* By Rory O’Malley. Xlibris Corporation, Bloomington, 2013. 379pp. Australian Price: AUD\$32.00. ISBN: 9781483600888.

This is an important book with a refreshing approach to the history of industrial relations in the Australian shearing industry. Eschewing the all-too-common hagiography of working-class heroes banded together to confront heartless squatters in order to build a better world, O’Malley sees a constant struggle for those seeking to improve the circumstances of themselves and their families against those who maintain that all who are prepared to work deserve a good living. The latter attitude was succinctly expressed in 1917 by Frank Lysaught, himself a gun shearer: ‘The slow man has to live as well as the fast man’ (p.97). O’Malley argues that working-class people fed into both groups, as shearing contractors, strike-breakers and union stalwarts. The conflict between the Australian Workers’ Union and shearers who sought to improve their earnings by adopting wide combs is used to demonstrate how those contrary tendencies can set working people against each other. The extent to which ‘union solidarity’ and ‘the spirit of enterprise’ are entirely contrary might be questioned – witness how many working people have built lucrative political careers on an early reputation for militancy – but the point is well worth making.

Unfortunately there is some tendency here towards the alternative teleology so favoured by the New Right. According to this view the Harvester Judgement of