

of compassion and egalitarianism in its policymaking. A generation after the State Sector Act was passed, he seeks reform of the public service. He wants civics taught in schools. And he wants a written constitution that is superior law, as in the United States, that includes both the Bill of Rights and the Treaty of Waitangi.

This excellent book can be read on a number of levels. It is an engrossing biography, but as a memoir it tells much about the New Zealand of Palmer's generation (and that of his forebears). In particular, it is an invaluable insider account of the fourth Labour government that reveals just how much Palmer contributed to the statute book. This is essential reading for New Zealand historians, as well as people interested in political and legal history. It also deserves a wider readership because it suggests reforms for New Zealanders to contemplate.

PHILIPPA MEIN SMITH

University of Tasmania

NOTES

1 Merwyn Norrish, 'The great debate at Oxford Union', in Margaret Clark, ed., *For the Record: Lange and the Fourth Labour Government*, Wellington, 2005, p.153.

2 Raymond Richards, *Palmer: The Parliamentary Years*, Christchurch 2010, p.29.

3 David Lange, *My Life*, Auckland, 2005, pp.204–5.

Judgements of All Kinds: Economic Policy-Making in New Zealand, 1945–1984. By Jim McAloon. Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013. 284pp. NZ price: \$50.00. ISBN: 9780864738974.

Jim McAloon's *Judgements of All Kinds: Economic Policy-Making in New Zealand, 1945–1984* offers a welcome addition to late twentieth-century New Zealand economic history. The book reflects solid archival research and deep engagement with New Zealand's recent past. Readers with a background in economics will presumably find points to engage with, and general historians should consider McAloon's book an essential addition to their library. McAloon tells an important story: New Zealand's transition over the latter half of the twentieth century from a settler economy, based on agricultural exports and a very limited range of markets, to a mixed economy tightly connected to the global world. He places particular focus on the disintegration of the 'post-war settlement', in the face of complex global pressures both regionally and in Europe. The end result is a usefully detailed account of contemporary New Zealand history which unravels many of the myths established by key figures in the events and later generalist historians who have necessarily focused on broad themes ahead of historical specificity. In doing so, *Judgements of All Kinds* reminds us of the need for specialist New Zealand histories capable of offering depth of narrative and

historical accuracy. Although not always attractive to publishers or academic review committees, they represent the building blocks of a sophisticated historiographical tradition.

That is not to suggest that *Judgements of All Kinds* is a dry read. McAloon's commitment to economic history results in an engaging narrative, and the global backdrop to this phase of New Zealand history is highly charged. New Zealand's struggle to manage the transition from a settler economy to a modern nation state, in the context of a world war, the British retreat from Empire and a series of significant global economic crises, is one of the seminal processes in our past and provides ample narrative set pieces. As he admits himself, much of his content is covered in other general stories, but McAloon adds a level of detail that adds essential colour to our understanding.

The key insight of the book is that the popular narrative that positions 1984 as a watershed moment in New Zealand history, while understandable, lacks historical depth. The fourth Labour government's turn from Keynesian to Neoclassical economic policy, along with Robert Muldoon's intransigence in the face of nearly catastrophic economic reality, is the stuff of historical myth; but it is too dependent on the testimony of central actors and too closely connected to the political narratives woven to either sell or resist the changes to New Zealand society. Without appearing particularly exercised about what is a useful general thesis, McAloon implies that James Belich has contributed to the myth by positioning Muldoon's administration as 'recolonisation's last stand' – a desperate attempt to cling to the apron strings of empire despite the arrival of globalization. *Judgements of All Kinds* deploys detailed archival research to point to the long-running difficulties successive New Zealand governments had with Britain, and the complex economic negotiations that went on behind the scenes even as New Zealanders were presented with a public narrative of close ties to 'Home'. He argues that politicians recognized that radical change had become inevitable even as early as the 1950s, as tensions with Britain grew over New Zealand's contribution to their post-war rebuild and their increasing orientation away from Empire and towards Europe. According to McAloon's analysis, both National and Labour were aware of the 'deficiencies of the British market' before 1960, and made practical attempts to diversify New Zealand export markets (often in the face of overt resistance from the UK) for several decades before 1984.

McAloon is particularly good at problematizing New Zealand's post-war relationship with Britain. Rather than highlighting the traditional narrative of New Zealand politicians making cloying journeys 'Home' to beg for access to British markets, he draws out the frustration felt during the 1950s and 1960s by successive governments exposed to British attempts to stop New Zealand developing bilateral trade agreements even as it opened its own markets to European countries in direct competition with New Zealand primary producers. The complexity of the relationship only grew over time, with New Zealand beginning a 'fundamental reorientation' of its trade policy after 1956 alongside internal policies that aimed to diversify the local economy. It becomes apparent that the era of 'Golden Weather' during the 1950s is as nuanced and open to historical interpretation as any in our past. Small but significant boosts to the economy, such as that provided by the Korean War, were offset by

fundamental weaknesses related to the unravelling of the settler economy. Balance of payments deficits in 1957–1958, leading to Nordmeyer's Black Budget of 1958, reflect a nation struggling to adapt to life without close imperial ties.

The detail offered for this period of our past reveals insights at home as well as abroad. McAloon points out that between 1960 and 1967 the number of companies on the New Zealand stock exchange grew by 25%, across retail, distribution, financial services and other non-manufacturing enterprises. This was actively encouraged by New Zealand governments, who were acutely aware of their dependence on a narrow range of export products and markets. Farming expanded due to the conscious application of scientific management techniques, but so did the urban economy, with significant growth of white-collar jobs. Motivation to diversify was heightened by Britain's successive attempts to enter the EEC, and collapses in international wool markets that led to balance of payments crisis in 1966–1967. Devaluation of the dollar followed. When Britain did gain access to the EEC in 1973, against New Zealand's strong protests, McAloon suggests it came as an anticlimax, so long had it been anticipated.

Judgements of All Kinds provides a welcome addition to the historiography on 1950s and 1960s New Zealand, but becomes very useful indeed for the period from the 1970s through to the changes associated with 1984 and the fourth Labour government. McAloon avoids a stridently revisionist tone, but does an excellent job of outlining the long-running structural weaknesses in the New Zealand economy that followed Britain's entrance to the EEC and the subsequent global oil shocks of 1973 and 1979. The end of the long post-war boom, and the development of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, meant that any New Zealand government would have had considerable difficulty managing the economy, and McAloon provides a compelling narrative of the country's decline into inflation, budget deficits and growing unemployment. He is also adept at connecting local economic conditions to global processes like the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of pegged exchange rates and the more general decline in productivity of the major industrial powers.

His treatment of Muldoon – such a crucial figure in the period running up to the 1980s reforms – benefits from the passage of time and reassessments by historians like Philippa Mein Smith. Although a deeply divisive and problematic figure in our history, Muldoon comes across as a more complex figure than received tradition allows, both in his peculiar mix of aggression and personal commitment, and his innovative but often misguided attempts to protect New Zealand from changes in the global economy. In the final analysis, his autocratic impulse to take on both the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance jobs 'broke him' at the same time as it alienated him from his colleagues and parliamentary constituency, and led New Zealand to the brink of bankruptcy. That said, in McAloon's account, Muldoon is presented as 'more of a reformer than is often appreciated', moving towards a more open and lightly regulated economy, intensifying attempts to diversify trade markets and encouraging the restructuring of industry. Although Think Big was misguided in a general sense, some of the projects had merit and the scheme didn't stand alone, being partnered with deregulation of the textile and car industries, and a reduction in protections for state-owned railways. While things certainly started to unravel in Muldoon's second and third terms (1978–1984), this period is perhaps better viewed as the last stand of

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.

JAMES SMITHIES

University of Canterbury

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