

the one which interests me mostly, as a technician and craftsman, is the one involving cultural interchange.

Culture and Freedom

Culture is very often a barometer of the state of a nation, because it flourishes only in proportion to the freedom of the society it represents. It was no accident that ancient Greece, which produced in a few decades some of the greatest sculptors, architects, philosophers, poets and dramatists the world has ever known, went sterile immediately after it was conquered by the fascist prototype, Philip of Macedonia. The magnificent Germany of Beethoven and Schubert, of Goethe and Schiller, went dry as the Sahara under Hitler. And can you recall any great Italian or Japanese artist or writer emerging under the regime of the Axis?

New Zealand is a free country. It is one of the freest in the world, and I hope you realise that as fully as I do after having come through nearly a score of other countries. I hope you know how lucky you are to be living in a land not ridden by disease and poverty, not chained to a degenerate ignorance, not crushed between the millstones of civil war. You have a system of social security which many a bigger and richer nation might well envy and emulate; your health programme is superior, and don't let anybody tell you differently; you will travel many a thousand miles before you find the equal of it. Your recognition of the equality of races is without doubt the finest model on the face of the earth. This country, which is so green and fertile for all growing things, so fertile for social advancement, is also fertile for cultural growth beyond anything you have yet realised or imagined.

I think it is a grave mistake for any New Zealander to feel that simply because this country is small, both in area and in population, you cannot contribute uniquely to the spiritual and aesthetic wealth of the world. Ancient Greece, too, was a small country, but it had Plato and Socrates, and Homer, and Euripides and how many others. Norway was small, but it produced Ibsen and Grieg; Finland is small, but it has Sibelius.

The development of great artists depends first, upon freedom to practise an art, second, upon opportunity to do so; third upon incentive.

Cultural Exchanges

You already have the freedom, which is the hardest condition to come by, and the most precious. I hope that soon you will give your people, your students, artists, writers, musicians, the opportunity and the incentive to establish the kind of cultural ambassadorship for New Zealand that Shakespeare and Keats and a hundred others achieved for England; that Smetana and Dvorak achieved for little Bohemia, that Lord Rutherford achieved for you in science. Why should great poems and paintings and symphonies have to be imported to this magnificent Dominion?

I know you are young, and that your major concentration has been upon social development, in which you have succeeded admirably. But along with the new dams you are building at Karamiro, and the new houses which are going up, and the new Symphony Orchestra which you are establishing, how about a new arrangement for exchanging students with America and England

and Russia and China? How about some of you New Zealanders sending one of yourselves around the world, just as a group of Americans have sent me? I don't think there can ever be too many exponents of One World buzzing around said world. In fact, I hope they get to be as thick as flies around a toffee apple.

The point I started to make before getting side-tracked between Auckland and Invercargill is that a society must be essentially free in order to produce a culture worth exchanging with any other. Now one of the principal areas of such freedom is that of speech. And in this area I should like to dwell for a moment.

A Qualified Freedom

The wide havens of freedom of speech sometimes shelter the most desperate enemies of those freedoms. The exact point at which liberty evaporates into licence is debatable, but there have been some classic definitions. One of them—by the American Justice Holmes—is that freedom of speech doesn't give one the right to cry "Fire," in a crowded theatre. Off-hand, it seems to me that freedom of expression should be guaranteed any subject on earth within the realms of controversy. However, there are certain philosophies and practices well beyond the realm of controversy. Murder is one. Rape and robbery are others. So is Fascism. We went to war to prove that Fascism was incontrovertably wrong—that there can be no room anywhere for the other side of that question. The arguing has been done, and the decision is in. And accordingly, I believe we have a right to challenge freedom of the press and radio, as it applies to all persons of unmistakably Fascist orientation, however colourful and sporting their phrases may be.

On the other hand I do not think there can ever be too much energy put behind the reverse—behind the propagation of faith in Democracy. I would like to see programmes of truly democratic import, and books like Willkie's "One World" pushed as hard in advertising campaigns as a title like, say, "Forever Amber." I have nothing against Kathleen Winsor—but sex has been around for a long time, and is in no immediate danger of relapse—whereas Democracy has been plodding uphill all the hundred and sixty years of its existence as a modern form of government. I would like to see as much resourcefulness and brain-power going into the sale of democracy by educational and even advertising methods, as goes into the promotion of a campaign for "Wheaties." Democracy gives you strength, too. And four out of every five love it.

The propagation of democracy is especially important in view of the fact that we live in a dangerous time—a time when the ideal of Mr. Willkie's world is being put to its first great test.

Age of Clear Issues

Whatever else may be said of the time, it is certainly the age of simplification. Issues are clearer than they have ever been. A man is either for peace and progress, which can be achieved only by democratic processes, or he is for reaction, which can only be achieved by suppression and the techniques of tyranny, and which must lead inevitably to war. There are gradations, mutations, and exceptions, but you can

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