

cent Minister of Foreign Affairs would normally goad to madness.

The influence of the various Foreign Offices is often overlooked; such institutions have tenacious memories, and are frequently seized with views differing violently from those of their chiefs. Looking at the situation broadly, one must frankly realise that the close mutual friendship of England and France is not necessarily the one above others that either would prefer. France has flirted with the idea of a United States of Europe: Would England be of those States?

Their colonial policies differ; and in the domain of manufactures and commerce they have always been rivals. The natural question is, How can anyone expect two peoples so dissimilar in character and manner of thought, and whose aims are so often opposed to live together in more than temporary accord?

The obvious answer is that life, whether individual, national, or international, has become vastly complicated. The very fact that the relations between England and France are more intricate than perhaps those between any other two of the great nations of the world means that it is of the utmost consequence to both that they should be friends, not enemies. King Edward once said: "I know of no two countries whose prosperity is more interdependent."

Politicians.

A WORD in conclusion on politicians: Mr. Baldwin recently wrote: "If disaster comes, if bloodshed comes, as it often has in our history, the politicians always escape. The worst that can happen to a politician is loss of office; and the men who give their blood are generally those whose hands had nothing to do with the laying of the train that led to the explosion." Is it asking too much of the nations that they should select for their responsible spokesmen those who are resolved to see the best in other nations and maintain constant loyalty to the international ideal of peace. When a politician like Poincaré hitches his wagon to the slogan, "Delenda est Germania," he was a public nuisance. When, like M. Briand, he has humour he may do much good.

I sincerely hope that the Disarmament Conference of 1932, upon which all eyes will turn, will find both great countries unanimous in their desire to promote the peace of the world by diverting into productive channels some of the terrific expenditure on armaments to-day.

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IN Australia and New Zealand we should understand and recognise the emergence of this nationalism. Our own new environment and life, afar from the Old Country, prevented our falling into the mistake of England that the people of the U.S.A., taken as a whole, were, or are, only a crude or primitive or undeveloped section of the English people. This was, and too often still is, in certain circles, a judgment under which we ourselves smarted. We should feel, too, that there are lessons in American history of great value to us: the problem of racial relations, of colonist and aborigine specially interesting to us because of our contact with the Maori; certain parts of the constitution, though rather as foils to our own than models. The period of reconstruction after the Civil War with its lessons for the legislation of the last few years; the use of arbitration in settling political disputes; the attempt at political isolation; and the use and abuse of a high tariff.

Co-operation.

FINALLY there is the shifting of the centre of international politics nearer the Pacific, our awakening to the fact that we might be endangered by alien powers against whom it would be difficult to guard except in co-operation with other countries on the Pacific with similar interests and ideals, and the realisation that of these countries the U.S.A. is incomparably the greater.

Private and quasi-public co-operation in Pacific affairs is now well established and necessitates on the part of New Zealanders, if they are to pass a reasoned judgment on proposals, an intelligent comprehension of American ideals, interests and policy that they cannot form without a knowledge of the history and social economy of America.

Modelled on American Colonies.

WHILST marked by notable differences, especially with regard to trade and native policy, New Zealand is the colony of the New Empire which was most consciously modelled on the old American colonies. The foundation motives were very similar; the New Zealand Association and the New Zealand Company were the first of the more modern attempts to apply the old chartered company system in a modified form, shorn of most of the political functions of the old, without their commercial monopolies and subject to strict control especially as regards intercourse with the natives; there was frequent invocation of the spirit of Elizabethan maritime enterprise by the founders of these associations; the Mayflower compact was in the minds of the pioneer expedition of Wellington settlers when, in September, 1839, they voluntarily agreed to a code of laws drawn up for the government of their colony, the Charter of the New Zealand Company granted in 1841 invited comparison with the Charters granted to Penn and Baltimore; Gladstone in his very

lengthy speech on the Constitution Act of 1852 based his support of it mainly on the belief that the powers given the colony "are so many approximations to the old colonial system of the Empire," and in the spirit and manner of the Massachusetts Company the Canterbury Association in 1851 delegated its authority to a Management Committee resident in the settlement itself.

The special pleas for the planning of colonies overseas which we find in writers of the early 17th Century in reference to America are repeated in writers of a century ago in reference to New Zealand—the necessity for new supplies of naval stores and raw materials for industry, new outlets for manufacturers, and the conversion of the heathen to Christianity.

A Transplantation of English People.

JUST as in America, and consciously to a far greater degree, the colonisation of New Zealand was a transplantation of English people and English society, English culture and civilisation—a momentous thing for the new land itself, for the home country, and perhaps for the world, taken into account with the similar movements in Australia and Canada.

The ideal of Wakefield was to cut a vertical slice out of English society to establish it in New Zealand, to transplant a shoot of the old tree to grow more vigorously in the new soil and under more genial skies.

The possession of sea power enabled England to establish these colonies and in each case the conditions in the homeland that occasioned the migrations were similar. In both cases the colonisation followed and was rendered easier by an industrial revolution. In the later 18th century as in the 16th there were agrarian, industrial and commercial changes which favoured the development in the English people of the motives, the methods, and the means of establishing overseas colonies.

Enclosures of land, development of manufactures, the growth of towns, and the habit of co-operation, the accumulation of capital seeking profitable use, a general spirit of enterprise marked the years that saw the birth of the American and the Australasian colonies in the two ages.

Policies Regarding Aborigines.

THE policies of the colonists in respect of the aborigines, however, showed marked differences, but the difference in the attitudes adopted toward the natives is a rough measure of the moral progress made in the intervening two centuries.

Social Structures.

THE social structure of the two groups of colonies has tended to follow the same line of development. At first the English class system was reproduced without, of course, the princes and the peerage. I have already referred to the ideal of Wakefield; but circumstances were against the perpetuation of the rigid class divisions of the old land—the religious freedom, the abundance of land, the very sense of spaciousness itself liberating the spirit, the unequal balance of the sexes, the more pronounced adventurous streak in the pioneer stock, the sense of oppression suffered in the old land, the character of their occupations—all tended to promote a much higher degree of mobility, both vertical and horizontal, in colonial society. Not that class distinctions passed away, but they were smoothed down, and class was associated rather with individual qualities and achievement than with inherited status.

Wakefield revived in New Zealand in the 19th century the idea of colonies associated with particular ecclesiastical systems; but neither in America where the religious motive was very powerful in the founding of some of the colonies, nor in New Zealand was a State Church the ultimate outcome.

Constitution and Government.

THE constitution and government of New Zealand were influenced by the political experience gained during the existence of the Old Empire of the thirteen colonies. The post of Governor was no longer given to placemen or poor relations with no interest or training for the work. The very first colonists in New Zealand clamoured for self-government as early as the American colonists of the 18th century had done. Unlike the British, but similar to that of the United States, the constitution of New Zealand is largely a written one, and, just as in the United States, the Supreme Court of the Dominion is competent to interpret its provisions. Moreover, the Act of 1852 provided for a kind of federal system. Political life in New Zealand and in many of the States in America, particularly in the Middle West, has been subject to the same kind of criticism in respect of its preoccupation with local affairs, its neglect of external relations, and provision for spiritual, intellectual, and artistic sides of life.

Travel.

CASUAL travel and reading and the movies do much to make us acquainted, but so many when travelling carry their prejudices with them overseas and confine their observations to tourist routes, and books, newspapers, and pictures are so often apt to give partial and distorted views. But the more of our young people we can help to live abroad for a time in intimate touch with the youth and teachers of other lands, the better for international understanding. But we should send those who have attained to some

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