

main bases of New Zealand economy, can rise above drudgery and insecurity just about as far as it utilizes co-operation—at present universally in the manufacture and marketing of butter and cheese, and to a growing extent now in Maori farm-development schemes with the joint use of machines and stud stock.

The Maoris form, a minority with full equality of representation, a position which they have held since 1867. Half-castes exercise an individual option of voting in Maori constituencies or in the general ones, and their representatives are fully voting members of the House of Representatives.

This is essentially the basis of the New Zealand pride in the national relationship to the Maoris. On these facts, of course, the position is exceptional—even compared with United States territories, such as the Territory of Hawaii, whose delegates to Congress have no voting-power.

The Maoris share Polynesian talent for politics with a greater articulateness and diplomacy than the average New-Zealander. Their representatives in Parliament have for the last forty years made a common stand on the necessity of economic and educational rehabilitation of the Rural Maori. Their differences on the direction of this effort have not hindered the development of better educational and health services than possessed by Rural European - New-Zealand, or the launching and operation of several major schemes for farm development that are envied by many European-New-Zealand farmers.

Since the Maori cannot live without Government aid and enterprise, the major political decisions of the individual and his representatives have not lain between socialism and capitalism, but between different forms of political organization and different methods of administration. The majority of the Maoris live in village communities which no longer have any considerable attachment to the vanishing tribal political structure. They come into the national political field as individuals, and their representatives belong to the major national parties—in the 1943 elections all the Maori electorates returned Labour candidates.

Yet some other political aggregations among the Maoris have existed on a different basis. One type of political and economic reorganization is headed by the leaders of a Maori Christian Church—the Ratana Church. With the strong religious attitudes of the Rural Maori, even the satisfactory operation of the Maori diocese of the Anglican Church does not prevent interest in the Maori-founded church. Because of the unsatisfactory nature of local government in the Maori villages, the potential for growth of this type of organization is considerable.



The local units of administration and self-government in Maori villages have not been particularly well conceived and are in a state of undecided change. This does not reflect on the personnel of the Native Department, which is outstanding even in comparison with such an organization as the United States Office of Indian Affairs. The weakness lies essentially in a vague and shifting definition of the nature, power, and responsibility of Maori local organization. A full inquiry into the vitality of the village committees is needed. There is need also for more knowledge of the nature of the Maori church and of the tribal political aggregations. Only on the basis of such knowledge is it possible to decide what aspects of the reintegrative units of Maori political society could be used for the democratic process. In the past, the Government has been wary of all of them.

Although a sound basis of fact and a clear formulation of political intentions is needed for many administrative decisions in the economic and political programmes, Professor Horace Belshaw has pointed out that at least one more problem facing the Maori must be solved immediately and expeditiously: the returning Maori soldier must be provided with a farm or a job of satisfactory status, tenure, and income. The alternative would be a burden of disorder which