IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS OF
AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND SOUTH AFRICA

by

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in
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"Men do not emigrate in despair, but in hope."

Hancock.
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CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF MIGRATION UP TO AND DURING WORLD WAR II

From the beginning of time, man has been a nomad. The Bible tells us of the wanderings of Abraham and his family, which were ordered them by God. Throughout the Old Testament we read of the chosen people leaving their homes, either as a result of famine or attack by hostile tribes. The exodus from Egypt, the wanderings of the Israelites in search of the Promised Land - all these migrations of ancient times are familiar to scholars of the Holy Writings.

From the Bible we also learn of the travels of other peoples, and the great misery and hardship endured by them because outside nations sought their lands. We read of the barbaric tribes from Assyria and Babylonia and lands in the Middle East constantly pushing westward until they reached France, Britain and Western Europe in the third millennium B.C.

These records give evidence that migration is no recent phenomenon. Man has always been a migrant. The main difference between the wanderings of primitive man and
his modern counterpart is that formerly man travelled in tribes, and of late his movement has been primarily individual. The great modern migration of man had its beginnings in the fifteenth century when Christopher Columbus sailed westward to discover a whole new world which was opened to exploitation and finally settlement. Earlier, Marco Polo had traversed the continent of Asia and reached China, but it was merchants and not settlers who were willing to face the difficulties and hazards of travel by this route in return for the fabulous riches of the Orient. Gradually, Europeans ventured around the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn to discover Australia and New Zealand.

The first visitors to America were the Spaniards, adventurers who proceeded to exploit the new land and to drive the Indian from his ancient home in their greed for gold. Australia held no such attraction — her first settlers were prisoners exiled from England to Botany Bay where they established the first white colony on that continent. However, the adventurers and prisoners were soon supplanted by permanent settlers, who in seeking personal, economic, and social stability, enriched their new homeland. This second type of migration — migration for settlement — is extremely important as it forms the basis for colonisation and has been the more significant element in historical
FIGURE I

ESTIMATED INTERCONTINENTAL
EMIGRATION FROM EUROPE
(1846-1932)

(Annual Averages in Thousands)

FIGURE II
CYCLES OF PIG IRON PRODUCTION AND IMMIGRATION (UNITED STATES) 1860-1919

Unit: One Standard Deviation

- - - - Pig Iron

- - - - - Immigration

Year:
1860-1869 1870-1879 1880-1889 1890-1899 1900-1909 1910-1919

movements of population.

The factors which influenced settlement of new lands were many and diverse. Perhaps the most important was the desire for economic opportunity and social equality. In the Old World, the ordinary man had long been held in subjection and led a life little better than a slave. Life was pleasant only for the upper classes, and for certain members of the bourgeoisie. Even the latter class had much to complain about. Although in many cases they were wealthy merchants and traders, they endured social ostracism because of their class inferiority. The lower classes, primarily tenant farmers and factory workers, had no buffer against the bitter abuses of an oligarchical society. They lived on wages which afforded only the barest necessities, and the simplest of luxuries or amusements was beyond their means. Thus among the bourgeoisie and unprivileged classes the economic motive for migration was strong, and it is not surprising that many chose to leave the old land for the unknown dangers of the new. In addition to economic hardships and social inequality there were other significant forces, primarily religious and political persecution, which were contributory to the great migration.

Migratory movements tend to follow a cyclical pattern, parallel to the business cycle. To understand this phenomenon, we must first of all determine what influences the individual
to emigrate, and in what way he is prejudiced towards his country of adoption. Clearly, an individual will not forsake his native land whose institutions he understands, whose language, law and custom are familiar, for a country whose mode of life is strange to him, if he does not feel he will benefit by the change either immediately or in the long run. Therefore, the motivation for migration is greatest when conditions at home become intolerable, or the opportunities in the new land are obvious to the layman. Similarly his choice of a new home will lie in the maximization of the difference between the opportunities offered by the country of immigration and of emigration. Accordingly, excessive immigration tends to occur simultaneously with economic prosperity, and emigration with depression.

However, a problem of cause and effect arises. Is the declining population the cause of depressions, or does emigration increase when the economy is at a low ebb? A declining population causes a decrease in the demand for necessities, and assuming a fixed national income, an increase in the demand for luxuries. Production is therefore determined by fashion, and the risk to the entrepreneur is greater. The demand for capital equipment falls and eventually a depression ensues, which is more severe due to the structural unemployment caused by the unnatural shift in demand. On the other hand,
immigration, by supplying new labour without any increase in wage rates, and increasing the demand for consumption goods, may lead to excessive expansion of the capital goods industries thus intensifying a subsequent depression.

Mass migration in the early nineteenth century was greatly encouraged by the laissez-faire principle which had been adopted after the decline of mercantilism in Europe. The mercantilists, believing that the enrichment of the state was of prime importance, favoured an excess of exports over imports. Thus emigration to them was disadvantageous to the state, as it resulted in a decrease of home production, while immigration was regarded as a double gain because it increased the potential productivity of the receiving country and decreased that of the country of emigration. With the advent of the Classical School, complete liberty of movement for the individual became the aim of the state. This tended to free potential migrants from existing restrictions and to encourage movement into countries of immigration.

Early migration was a movement of rural peoples to seek land holdings in the new world. However, with the spread of the Industrial Revolution from the Old World to the New, the frontiers disappeared, and the immigrant was no longer satisfied to settle in pioneer clearings. The growth of urban areas was associated with the development of an international rural-urban migration in most countries. The result was that,
towards the beginning of the twentieth century, the bulk of immigrants were coming directly or indirectly to the cities. The native urban labourer began to feel the competition of cheap labour provided by these immigrants. The capitalist could exploit the immigrant with lower wages, because even with wages which would be at a subsistence level for the native worker, the immigrant was in the lap of luxury as compared with conditions in his country of emigration. The employer was able to undercut the native by employing immigrant labour. This was severely resented by the native and a demand arose for the limitation of immigration. In addition, labour began to band together against capital, and as its power increased, the capitalist was forced to restrict these wage cutting practices.

There were many factors which militated against the continuation of mass migration and led to restrictions on the volume of migration by both immigrant and emigrant countries. First, the receiving countries reached a stage where they felt they no longer needed more population. If immigration were to continue on the same high level, it followed from the Malthusian theory that the situation would soon result in the pressure of population on resources. This would lower the standard of living in the countries of immigration. This pressure was difficult to understand, because the receiving countries had appeared to contain a never
ending stock of natural resources. But the frontiers had been extended to the limit, and there was no longer new land to be settled. Secondly, many immigrant groups had proved to be unassimilable in the new environment, and accordingly, the natives objected to the arrival of more foreigners. A third factor, mentioned earlier, was the trend of migration to the rapidly industrializing urban centres, resulting in the resentment of the native labourer towards the immigrant who displaced him in his job by accepting a low wage. It was generally agreed that the immigrant provided too much competition in the labour market, and deprived the native of his rightful place in society. Fourthly, an increasing sense of nationalism pervaded the thinking of residents of the immigrant countries. The First World War had made men conscious of patriotism and a feeling of resentment against any foreigner, especially from the enemy countries, was prevalent. Associated with this was the attempt to establish national independence and the subsequent limitations placed upon all international movements, both of materials and of men.

The countries of emigration also were beginning to question the advisability of mass emigration. Economic conditions had improved a great deal, and the European was not so confident that emigration would be advantageous. Opportunities were no longer rampant in the receiving countries and the depression of the early 1930's indicated
that the New World was not the Utopia it had been imagined. The emigrant countries were becoming increasingly conscious of their dwindling populations. The migration which they had welcomed as the solution to their problem of overpopulation threatened to rob them of their youth, their skilled labour, and their manpower in times of war. In addition, the countries of origin realized the considerable financial loss involved in the emigration of those whom they had educated and reared during the unproductive stages of life. It has been estimated that Germany alone had a total capital loss of 200 billion marks through overseas emigration.\(^1\) The loss of its young men was also a serious problem to the countries of origin. The death rate was constantly falling as a result of improvements in medical science and a higher per capita income in most countries. The birth rate, due to the neo-malthusian movement and to an unfavourable sex ratio which resulted from the wholesale slaughter of young men during the First World War, was declining at an alarming speed. The European countries became anxious lest they were committing race suicide.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Emigration 1846-1932</th>
<th>Immigration 1821-1932</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Total (thousands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>5,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>13,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>4,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>10,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain and Portugal</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>6,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia (incl. Poland)</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>2,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>1846-1932</td>
<td>4,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>51,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,754</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Oceania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53,450</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Africa</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Thus it was that immigration tended to fall off considerably in the early years of this century. After World War I, it became evident that the mass migration which had characterized history for the past two centuries was over, and the transplanting of millions of crowded Europeans to new homes had been a temporary phenomenon.

Such was the situation in 1939. However, the Second World War has changed it somewhat. It has been estimated that at the close of hostilities in 1945, there were about 12,000,000 homeless persons in Europe, who had either fled as refugees before the terror of the invaders, or who had been transplanted by the enemy to other countries for labour gangs or other purposes. In 1947, there were approximately 1,000,000 Displaced Persons still in Europe, who for political reasons refused to return to their homeland. Although it would solve the problem for the United Nations if they could repatriate the nationals regardless of their wishes, yet the United Nations has established a policy that no one shall be forced to return to his country of origin if he is unwilling to do so.


4. Ibid.

There is, therefore, a great problem to be faced by the United Nations in the settlement of these unfortunate peoples. It is hoped that some of the millions who still refuse to be repatriated will succumb to urging and choose to return to their homeland voluntarily. However, there will, of course, be some who will not be persuaded. A number of alternative solutions may solve the problem. One is to settle some of the Displaced Persons in Germany itself to aid in the reconstruction and reorganization of that country. However, these individuals might have objections to this solution for obvious reasons. Then also, the Germans themselves might not react favourably to such a proposal, and although some of the Displaced Persons could be forced upon them while the occupation forces are still in their country, yet the assimilation might not be effective after these forces withdraw.

The second solution is to give the Displaced Persons the opportunity to migrate overseas. This seems to be the more feasible answer to the problem. However, difficulties arise also in this line. The emigrants themselves might be

5. No refugees or Displaced Persons who have finally and definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin, and who do not come within the provisios of paragraph (d) (are not war criminals) shall be compelled to return to their country of origin.
favourable to this idea, but what of the receiving countries? That there are numerous opportunities open to the immigrant in the New World is obvious, but the natives in the receiving countries might not welcome them with open arms. President Truman has declared that the U.S. should take the first step in this direction, by taking its share of the refugees. Other sparsely settled nations have indicated their cooperation with the International Refugee Organization's program of resettlement. If the various members of the United Nations live up to their commitments as to the numbers of Europe's Displaced Persons which they will take, then it is estimated that 443,000 persons, or nearly half of the homeless Europeans will have found new homes in other lands.\(^6\) Canada has planned to take 60,000, the U.S. 50,000, Australia 20,000, and New Zealand 1,000.\(^7\) Whether or not these nations will carry out their promises can be answered only when the time comes.

That the majority of these D.P.'s would welcome the prospect of emigrating to new lands is quite clear. They will not return to their homelands, and the existence they endure in the camps would undoubtedly make them all the more

\(^{6}\) Hamilton Spectator, October 16, 1945.

\(^{7}\) Ibid.
eager to migrate. Certainly the United Nations would be relieved of a responsibility if the D.P's were to emigrate. Not only is the maintenance of the camps a considerable financial burden, but also, administrative, social and moral problems enter in. From the social standpoint, the individual in the camp feels himself a non-entity, without home, independence, or country. If these persons are to be an asset to their countries of adoption, then they must be transferred as soon as possible, before they become too embittered.  

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8. For a description of the conditions to which Displaced Persons are subjected of. The Senate of Canada, Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, [Ottawa, King's Printer; 1947] No. 3, Thursday, April 24, 1947, p. 63, excerpt from letter to Mr. Ian Mackay, from Miss Elsie Moyle, UNRRA, H. North Rhine, Westphalia Prov., Iserlohn, Germany, read by Mr. Mackay.

You will not be at all surprised to learn of course, that things are worse than when you withdrew. The D.P's sit on in their camps and we appear to do little for them. I think that most of us struggle along hoping that occasionally we manage to get something over that helps someone, but it is pretty deadly business. During the early months of winter, most of our D.P's were shunted unmercifully around the country under a plan to hand back as much accommodation as possible to house refugees. Necessary, but hardly humane as some of them suffered five moves in three months. Repatriation in this region topped the zone, and some heavy wars went on to maintain a reasonable standard in repatriation trains. Repatriation was finally stopped until the weather improved, just after Christmas, because several people were frozen to death both on the boat from Lubeck and the trains from Hesslingen. As the Germans take over more and more responsibility for their own economy, the effort to maintain any of the D.P's rights, if you can call them that, is intensified, and life seems to be a constant inquiry as to why this or why that. The D.P's are on exactly the same rations as the Germans, except that their issue of food is regular and that of the Germans is not and very shortly they will be required to pay for their food and lodging and go to work.
However, what is the reaction of the receiving countries to Europe's displaced? Certainly Australia, shaken by the narrow escape she had from invasion during the war, realizes that she is desperately in need of a larger population. However, these problems will be dealt with in later chapters on the individual countries.

What is to be done with the Displaced Persons of the world? It is clear that this is a vital question which should not be answered without a great deal of thought, and careful study. In the following chapters, the steps taken by Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa will be discussed, and their future immigration plans indicated.

9. cf. Chaps. III and VI
CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMIES OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Before examining the Australian and New Zealand immigration policies, it would perhaps be advantageous to outline the geographic and economic aspects of settlement of the antipodes. In this regard, a comparison of Australia and the United States, whose size and standards of living are approximately equal, and whose populations are similar in racial and age distribution, without an understanding of their limitations regarding absorptive and carrying capacity, would be absurd. It is therefore necessary to study the geography and economic development of the countries concerned.

Australia

One of the phenomena of Australian colonization is the transplantation of the British people from a cold damp climate to the hot arid spaces of Australia. Unlike the other continents, the land mass of Australia is extended on an east-west axis, and is therefore unable to embrace a variety of climates. There are, in fact, very few areas where the degree and reliability of rainfall is adequate to promote a lasting settlement. In some cases, towns which

1. cf. Chap III.
were founded during good years of average rainfall were later abandoned when the rainfall declined. The rainfall factor is such an important one in Australia's development that it has been said that the Australian Government does not lease land to settlers, but rainfall. Of equal importance to the prospective settler are the long heat spells which occur periodically in inland regions. Marble Bar has experienced 150 days with the temperature rising continuously to 90°F and more. Knowledge of pressure and wind conditions is also of value, as wind circulation in Australia is unique in comparison with other countries of white settlement.

Australia is generally divided into two regions, Empty Australia and Economic Australia. There has been a great deal of controversy as to the settlement of Empty Australia, but one qualified writer\(^2\) declares that the vast wastes of central Australia are incapable of supporting a white colony for any length of time at a relatively high standard of living. In examining the possibilities of developing Empty Australia, it must be understood that there are two types of areas involved, - desert and sparselands. The latter is suited to pastoral industries, if irrigation can be supplied. The desert, second only to the Sahara in

size, will never be a producer of sheep and cattle relative

to the pastoral lands of Economic Australia. It is,
therefore, Economic Australia which will be regarded as the
principal area for future development and whose industry will
be discussed here in an endeavour to determine the opport-
unities open to immigrants to Australia.

Australian industry may be divided into classes,
primary and secondary. Primary industries include the
pastoral, wheat, dairying and other rural industries, which
were the chief revenue producing factors in the national
income before the recent world war. Secondary industries,
predominantly of the manufacturing type, have been increasing
in importance and the added impetus of World War II has
placed them in first position in regard to the total value
of Australian Production.
### TABLE II

**Net Value of Recorded Production - Australia**

1921-43 (5-year intervals)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>81,890</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>98,295</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>74,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>69,254</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>111,168</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>61,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>44,417</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>46,980</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>41,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bees,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests &amp; Fishing</td>
<td>10,373</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>12,790</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>7,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>19,977</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>24,007</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>13,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Primary</td>
<td>225,911</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>293,240</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>198,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>120,751</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>153,634</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>146,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>346,662</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>446,874</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>305,018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, as mentioned earlier, it is possible to raise sheep and cattle in Empty Australia, yet the majority of the herds are to be found in the narrow coast lands of the southeast and southwest areas, known as Economic Australia. Concentration of the Cattle Industry is found in the states of Victoria and New South Wales, where three quarters of the dairying is carried on. Beef cattle are raised primarily on stations in Queensland from whence they are sent to Victoria and New South Wales to fatten. Transportation of the herds offers no problem since they travel the broad stretches of stock roads which in years of good rainfall provide sufficient pasture for the journey.

Occupying a predominant position in the Australian economy is the sheep industry, whose prosperity exercises a favourable effect on the industries of the Commonwealth. High wool prices increase the supply of money in the hands of an important segment of the Australian economy, and this in turn directly results in the expansion of other industries. Again Victoria and Tasmania, being cooler states, are well suited to the production of wool, while the drier states of Queensland and South Australia produce a vigorous type of sheep, but the wool is defective at the tips. In 1945 there were 120 million sheep in Australia, the majority being of the Merino type. Australia has 25 percent of the world's wool and 72 percent of the world's fine wool exports.4

4. Senior Scholastic, vol.XLVII, Nov.5, 1945, p.10
By far the most important crop in Australia is wheat, constituting 60 percent of the area under cultivation. Since too moist a climate has a harmful effect on wheat, most of this industry is limited to the drier inland regions. Four states, - New South Wales, Victoria, West Australia and South Australia - produce the bulk of the wheat crop, and their average yields are approximately equal. The particular climate of Australia is responsible for the white colour of the flour it produces, which, counteracting any deficiency it may have in baking quality, provides an excellent marketing feature. In addition to wheat, Australian farmers produce oats, maize, barley, cotton, sugar cane and other minor crops, and cultivate vineyards and orchards.

To many people, Australia is a great producer of gold. After the first rushes of the 1850's, gold mining declined considerably and Australia had to rely on other metals to keep up her mining production. There are however, numerous known mines which can be explored, and experts believe there are still many undiscovered fields which await the prospector. In spite of this, it is doubtful whether Australia can increase her production to a great extent, or whether she can offset the diminishing returns arising from low-grade ores and high cost of manual labour. In addition to gold, Australia is also a producer of coal, having the largest coal fields in the southern hemisphere, yet she produces only 2½ percent of
the world's coal (1930)\textsuperscript{5}. Other minerals found in Australia are silver, lead ores, copper ores, zinc concentrates, tin and tin ores.

The growth of secondary industries in Australia has been rapid in recent times. It would have been more marked if the Australian Government had not sought to protect the infant industries by erecting tariffs, which have encouraged growth in the primary industries at the expense of manufacturing. As mentioned earlier, the recent war has given added impetus to Australian manufacture and she is becoming more and more self-sufficient in this respect. The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Ltd., one of the world's most profitable firms, owning its private coal mines, iron ore leases, limestone quarries, railway lines, steamers and wharves, is an amazing example of big business under a labour government. There are other large enterprises in Australia manufacturing clothing and textiles, machinery, motor car bodies and accessories, glass, furniture, rubber goods and leatherware, to mention a few.

Yet Australia faces serious problems in her manufacturing industries. Water power is not abundant except in Tasmania. Soft woods for pulp are scarce, although there has been developed a process of utilizing hardwood in the

\textsuperscript{5} G. Taylor, \textit{Australia} (Menthuen & Co.Ltd.,London,1940) Chap. 15, p.344.
production of paper. Manufacturing costs are high due to a high level of wages, and to the practice of acquiring protection from the Government by means of high tariffs. Shipping rates from Britain to Australia almost equal those from Brisbane to Perth, which encourages importing manufactured goods from abroad. However, despite these complications, the Australian manufacturing industry is growing rapidly on a proportionate basis as compared with the primary industries in the Australian economy.

Australia, then, has many opportunities in industries for immigrants and she still has much room to expand in the area described as Economic Australia. The tropical lands of Australia could provide a habitat for the white man, providing he was able to adjust his living habits to the environment. However, Taylor \( ^6 \) is of the opinion that the northern part of Australia will not be inhabited by the white man until he is forced to expand into these areas by the overcrowding of the south. As yet, Australians do not have to face this problem, as the Southern States have not and will not reach the saturation point for many decades.

Although Australia boasts a high rate of natural increase, it cannot be concluded that her birth rate is extraordinarily high. Indeed she does not differ in this respect from other Anglo-Saxon peoples, but her exceedingly

6. Ibid., chap.18, p.409.
low death rate, resulting from relative freedom from disease, and a high proportion of the population in the younger reproductive age group, results in a high rate of births per 1,000 population. As the population ages, the crude death rate will increase, and the birth rate, because of an aging population and increased mechanization, will tend to fall, thus causing a decline in the rate of natural increase. Consequently, Australia is greatly in need of immigrants to swell her population and indications are that this need will increase in approaching decades.

However, can Australian industry safely absorb additional population without disrupting her economy? Australia is self-sufficient in the production of food, but she must rely on foreign trade for her manufactured goods. Therefore, if she is to increase her population in large measure, she must be certain that imports of manufactured goods will also be increased. In this event, she must export more. Since Australia is primarily an exporter of agricultural produce, she must guard against the possibility of poor harvests, which would cause a decline in her exports, and a sympathetic reduction in her necessary imports of manufactured goods. It is therefore necessary to keep this in mind when estimating Australia's absorptive capacity. Fantastic figures such as 120-200 million have been suggested as a fitting population for Australia to absorb, but this is based on the assumption that her resources are equal to those of the
United States. That this is an absurd overstatement is obvious, but the fact that Australia can support many more than her present seven millions is equally obvious. Most students of the problem are agreed that Australian absorptive capacity under existing conditions of technology lies in the vicinity of twenty millions. To quote Griffith Taylor, "In this quarter of the continent (economic Australia) the writer expects that some twenty million will dwell, when Australia is developed to the same extent as the United States. If we adopt the lower standards of Europe and elsewhere, and assume that the coal is adequately used for manufactures, then there seems no good reason why this figure should not be doubled or trebled." 7 At this stage, Australia could maintain her present standard of living while fully utilizing her resources and defending herself against invasion.

New Zealand

Lying twelve hundred miles to the southeast of Australia, and completely in the temperate zone, New Zealand, although in many respects similar to her closest neighbour, presents an entirely different picture of geographic and economic conditions. Small in stature, it consists of two main islands and several lesser ones totalling 104,000 square miles. New Zealand, nevertheless, offers diverse scenic

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beauty, perhaps equalled only in journeying from Southern
California to Alaska, visiting the Prairies and Mountain
States en route. Unlike Australia, New Zealand is blessed
with abundant rainfall, sunshine and stability of tempera-
ture, and a chain of mountains forming the backbone of the
islands is the source of swift rivers providing adequate
hydro power. Settlement of the country due to these mountain
ranges is concentrated in the valleys and narrow coast lands,
and is consequently sparse in hilly regions.

New Zealand's industry is almost wholly pastoral.
Indeed it may be said that grass is New Zealand's most
valuable crop, for the production of butter and cheese, wool
and mutton, which justifies her economic existence, is
necessarily maximized, in quality and quantity, by good
pastures. Her sheep population is the most dense in the
world, numbering upwards of thirty-two millions. Before
refrigeration was developed, her main interest lay in the
production of wool, but today New Zealand is the world's
greatest exporter of mutton and lamb and in addition, of
dairy produce.

The Second World War greatly encouraged the growth of
secondary industries in New Zealand, but the effects of pro-
tective tariffs placed on home industry since the beginning
of New Zealand's nationhood have been difficult to eradicate,
and manufacturing continues to be limited to the activities
of small industrial plants. However, a variety of manufactured goods are evident, for example, cloth, hosiery, refined sugar, chocolate, wine, electric and gas stoves, steel office furniture, aluminium ware, milking machines, nails, concrete mixers, paint and radio sets, etc.

Although the diversification of industry in New Zealand is not large, there remains ample room for expansion in the industries which are already well developed. In forty years improved methods of dairy farming have raised per cow production 50 percent and it has been estimated that in another ten years more improved techniques will enable production to increase an additional 50 percent. Therefore, considering the primary industries alone, New Zealand is capable of absorbing and maintaining a larger population while continuing to enjoy the highest standard of living in the world.

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### TABLE III

**Distribution of Labour Force by Occupation**

**New Zealand 1931 - 1945.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>% of Total Labour Force.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Production</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building &amp; Construction</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution &amp; Finance</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration &amp; Professions</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Services</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Force (thousands)</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Realizing the importance of a large population to a nation in her position, New Zealand is taking steps to encourage immigration on a large scale. However, she is proceeding with caution in order to readjust her post-war economy, which has been disrupted by lack of manpower and has suffered due to inability to replace worn-out equipment. There is in New Zealand an acute housing shortage, and the government does not want to invite immigrants to a country where they cannot find dwelling places.

Today New Zealand's population stands at approximately 1,686,000 and her net reproduction rate (1.473 in 1946) is relatively high. It would be difficult to estimate a carrying capacity for New Zealand, but there is no doubt that economically and culturally, she could support upwards of five millions to great advantage.

Having considered geographic, climatic and economic aspects of the Antipodes and realizing the relation between these conditions and the ability of the country concerned to maintain additional population, the question now arises as to what steps these governments have taken to promote immigration to their lands, and to what extent such projects have been developed.

10. cf. ch. III
11. 1948.
CHAPTER III

THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Australia

In the early years of her career as a nation, Australia established an immigration policy which has been criticized a great deal by outside nations. This was a "white Australia" or rather a British Australia policy which has resulted in Australia being described as more British than Britain herself. The policy was formulated out of the desire to keep Australia completely British and, unlike the other Dominions and the United States, free from political, economic and social strife arising from an heterogeneous population.

The advocates of the white Australia policy are determined that their plan is vital to Australia and indeed some have declared that it is a plan of God. They believe that Australia is for the white man as much as India is for the Indian and Japan for the Japanese. It is not selfishness or racial superiority which guides them in their actions, but mainly the idea that democracy, as they visualize it, cannot co-exist with discrimination against any foreign element in the population. They pride themselves in being a most democratic nation and it is the protection of this privilege which they seek in restricting
immigration. They have witnessed the situation in Canada, South Africa and the United States and are determined that their problems of a population originating from a mixture of nations shall not be duplicated in Australia.

It has been mentioned that Australia fears any infringement on her democratic ideals by opening her doors to European and Asiatic nationals. By democracy Australia understands complete freedom and equality of the individual with his neighbour, politically, economically and socially. This implies lack of discrimination against any citizen of Australia in regard to employment, wages, living conditions and intermarriage. Such conditions never have and cannot be realized in a country whose population is composed of persons of different racial origins. For example, if Asians were permitted entry into Northern Australia, their lower standard of living would enable them to undersell their services and the result would be a white landlord-coloured labourer economy such as existed in the Southern United States before the Civil War. Such a situation is demoralizing to both master and servant, because it results in a class society composed of white landlords and overseers, a coloured servant class reduced practically to slavery, a class of poor whites of no social standing who shun manual labour (which they believe is reserved for the inferior races) and a group of half-breeds who are accepted by neither race. Democracy cannot survive where
these conditions exist. Furthermore, contrary to public opinion, statistics show that a tropical environment is not unfavourable to the white man and that his labour is equivalent to that of three Japanese who, because of their labour contributes less, are forced to cut the cost of their services.1

The problem of the assimilation of the Oriental also arises. In other countries he has not been accepted socially in a white community either on his arrival or after two or three generations of residence. A large immigration of these people would result in the establishment of minority group settlements, apart from the whites, which would be a foundation for breeding racial hatred.

Today, Australia, along with the rest of the world, has discovered that the Japanese are not an inferior race whose knowledge of modern techniques is less than their own. The Japanese are too clever to be allowed to infiltrate into the country. If a large number of Japanese were settled in Australia and racial strife were present, they would not hesitate to appeal to their native country for aid, as the British settlers did in the Transvaal, in the nineteenth century. Japan would undoubtedly seize the opportunity of

establishing herself in Australia. Gibbon reminds us of the lack of foresight displayed by the Roman Empire in allowing the Visigoths entry in Thrace because their lands had been ravaged by the Huns, and because they promised that they would respect the laws and authority of the Empire.

Another agreement advanced by the advocates of the "White Australia Policy" is founded on the differential birth rates of the white and yellow and brown races. It is feared that the birth rate of the immigrant Chinese, Japanese and Indian would greatly exceed the Australian and that eventually the white would be in a minority. It is true that Australia boasts a high rate of natural increase, but this is largely due to a low death rate and comparatively little disease. There is a favourable age composition, with a majority of young married women in the childbearing ages. Especially is this true of North Australia. However, as in all Anglo-Saxon countries, the birth rate is not high and an influx of Orientals would be a serious menace in this respect. It is further pointed out that medically, Australia is one of the cleanest countries in the world, being relatively free from malaria, typhus, yellow fever and plague. This is attributed to an understanding among the inhabitants of quarantine and sanitation, which, it is feared would be difficult to maintain were a large proportion of the population composed of the backward races.

Thus the "White Australia" Policy is designed to safeguard Australian democracy and culture. Australia, emerging from World War II, realizes that she is a Pacific nation and that her neighbours are glancing enviously in her direction. She further understands that Britain is no longer in a position to aid her as she was a hundred years ago; in fact with distances diminishing with every innovation in transportation and communication, Australia must rely solely on her own ability to protect herself. To this end, she must convince the rest of the Empire that a "White Australia" Policy is vital to her existence.

**TABLE IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>British</th>
<th>North Western Europe</th>
<th>South &amp; Eastern Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1921-25</strong></td>
<td>152,290</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>17,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1926-30</strong></td>
<td>100,389</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>14,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1931-35</strong></td>
<td>10,390</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1936-40</strong></td>
<td>14,665</td>
<td>7,304</td>
<td>18,430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Critics of the "White Australia" Policy condemn it, on the grounds that it is selfishness for so small a nation, populationwise, to control a whole continent when it could be more extensively exploited with a large population of different racial origins. They further point out that, since roughly forty percent of the Australian continent lies in the tropics, it is an unfit habitation for the white man, whose health deteriorates in the long run. Since the white man cannot fully utilize the northern part, then he should give the opportunity to do so to the brown and yellow races of India, China and Japan. Furthermore, if the Australian Government is unwilling to allow nationals from the Asiatic countries into Australia, there will come a day when the teeming millions of overcrowded Asiatics will force their entry into the island continent.

With the pressure of population on the resources of the Asiatic nations becoming more and more acute, it is possible that they will eventually be forced to overflow their boundaries. The direction in which they would be most likely to expand is to the south. Therefore, it would behoove Australians to realize that cooperation with Asiatics at the present time would relieve her of future military threat. It would seem Australia faces a dilemma - if she removes the restriction on the immigration of Asiatics, they will eventually outbreed the white element and overrun the
country, and if she continues her present policy, Asia's overcrowded millions may force themselves into her territories. To avoid this disaster Australia must encourage European, not only British, nationals to migrate. These groups would be more easily assimilable than Asiatics and would give Australia the protection of a larger population.

We may say that the "White Australia" Policy still exists, but in a modified form. When it was first adopted at the beginning of the present century, it implied a British Australia policy as has been mentioned earlier. Although Australia still gives the priority of migration to the United Kingdom, yet she has admitted Europeans to a certain extent in the past and is gradually opening her doors wider to European nationals. This could, perhaps, be for two reasons, (a) she understands her position in the world today and is doing everything in her power to increase her population and (b) she realizes, on humanitarian grounds, her duty to the wretched peoples of Europe. Moreover, she is aware that some of these same Europeans could contribute in large measure to Australia's culture and progress. For example, in 1938 Australia expressed her willingness at the Evian Conference to allow the entry of European political refugees. She agreed to accept 15,000 refugees and displaced persons in three years, 1939, 1940 and 1941. Actually the
number admitted between 1938 and 1945 totalled a mere 6,475. ¹

The Australian Immigration policy remained essentially the same from the adoption of the "White Australia" Policy in 1900 until the beginning of the present war. At the present time, she has adopted various positive schemes for aiding immigration, and it may be stated with certainty that Australia's immigration program is far ahead of any undertaken by the other Dominions of the Empire. It was Australia's aim to receive 70,000 immigrants in 1948, and according to a statement made by the Hon. Arthur A. Calwell, Minister for Immigration and for Information in March 1948, Australians could be assured that this figure would be attained.

Australia has concluded two agreements with the United Kingdom regarding immigration schemes. The first, a Free Passage Scheme, provides for the payment by the United Kingdom Government of the full fare of British ex-servicemen and women and their dependents until two years from the date of release from service or from the date on which the scheme came into operation (March 31, 1947) whichever should be the later. ² A second scheme, The Assisted Passage Scheme, is available to migrants whose selection has been jointly approved by Australia and the United Kingdom.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population at end of period (in 000's)</th>
<th>Net Immigration during Period (in 000's)</th>
<th>Natural Increase (in 000's)</th>
<th>Total Increase (in 000's)</th>
<th>Average Annual Rates of Increase</th>
<th>Natural Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-70</td>
<td>1648</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>166.5</td>
<td>335.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-80</td>
<td>2232</td>
<td>124.2</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>191.8</td>
<td>391.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-90</td>
<td>3151</td>
<td>244.3</td>
<td>138.5</td>
<td>382.8</td>
<td>537.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>3765</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>589.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-05</td>
<td>4032</td>
<td>-7.1</td>
<td>-9.6</td>
<td>-16.7</td>
<td>284.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-10</td>
<td>4425</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>334.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-15</td>
<td>4969</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>136.9</td>
<td>407.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>5411</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>371.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>6003</td>
<td>117.4</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>183.2</td>
<td>408.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-30</td>
<td>6501</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>129.7</td>
<td>368.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-35</td>
<td>6753</td>
<td>-10.6</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>-10.8</td>
<td>253.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-40</td>
<td>7069</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>315.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-45</td>
<td>7431</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>375.7</td>
<td>381.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>7519</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>-5.8</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
<td>101.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947 (Jan.-June)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>- .4</td>
<td>- .4</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Tbid, *E.g., cit., p. 4.*
Adults over 19 years of age are required to pay £10 and youths aged 14-19, £5 toward the cost of their passage. The remaining cost of passage and fare for children under 14 is borne equally by the two Governments.  

In June 1947 it became evident that there were more persons available for migration from the United Kingdom than could be absorbed under existing schemes. Accordingly, passage assistance was extended to Empire ex-servicemen and women of pure European descent, who could not apply under the first two schemes because of the residence qualification. In addition, U.S. ex-servicemen who had married Australian girls or who had been based in Australia during the war, were encouraged to return permanently. The contributions towards their passage to be given by such migrants is as follows:  

(a) 19 years or over - 40% of tourist or equivalent class or £30, whichever is lower.  
(b) 14-18 years - 45% of tourist or equivalent class or £32.10, whichever is lower.  
(c) 12-13 years - 50% of tourist or equivalent class or £35, whichever is lower.  
(d) Under 12 - (Australian mother or father) 100% of tourist or equivalent class fare or £35, whichever is lower.  
(e) Under 12 - every other child - 50% of tourist or equivalent class or £17.10, whichever is lower.

7. Ibid. (p. 13)
In addition to the schemes outlined above, which were designed to attract immigrants of British origin or who had fought in Empire or Allied forces during the war, there are also plans for the absorption of Europeans. From enquiries made by the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Committee into the prospects of immigration from Europe to Australia and given in their Report\(^9\), we can understand that Europeans would be willing to migrate to Australia. The committee states that there is plenty of good immigrant material in Switzerland, where the average citizen is intelligent, well-educated and keen. The education is at such a high level that the young person finds it difficult to find a position with the remuneration he is capable of earning. Many thousands of migrants are also available in Holland and the Netherlands Government is very cooperative in this respect. In Denmark the desire for immigration is strong, but the Danish Government is not sympathetic to the idea. There will be great numbers of Norwegians desiring to migrate but passage assistance will be essential here, because most of them are poor. In the case of Sweden, the groups wishing to emigrate are refugees: Estonians, Latvians,

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Poles and Finns, who found asylum in Sweden during the war. The Nationals of all the countries mentioned above would be highly desirable immigrants and it now remains for the final schemes to be enforced.

It has been mentioned that Australia has expressed her willingness to absorb 20,000 displaced persons of Europe. The Government of Australia is paying £10 per migrant to the International Refugee Organization, to cover the additional cost of transplanting migrants to Australia as compared with other countries. Migrants in this category must accept certain employments and remain in that employment for at least one year.

However, although it is expected that these various schemes will enable Australia to reach her objective of 70,000 for 1948, one has to consider the emigration from Australia as well. This can only be estimated at best. In 1947 there were 31,950 permanent arrivals to Australia against 20,283 permanent departures, leaving a net gain of 11,661 persons. Mr. Borrie claims that this cannot be taken as a satisfactory ratio, since many of the departures were temporary residents of Australia and were married to British servicemen during the war. Actually the picture looks

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promising for Australia, a country whose "pull" is much greater than its "push".

In conjunction with these various immigration programs, Australia is planning the arrival, settlement and assimilation of immigrants through the Reception Centres, Housing and Farming projects and Social Service Benefits Schemes, in such a way as to assure the newcomers that they are welcome in Australia. Australia has agreed that British settlers, immediately upon arrival, will qualify for the child endowment and other social service benefits, and that non-British immigrants will be able to apply upon completion of one year's residence. To apply for these benefits, an immigrant must state his intention of permanent residence in Australia. Hence, Australia is doing all in her power to encourage immigration on a large scale, because of an acute housing shortage, and inadequate shipping facilities.

However, the "White Australia" Policy still holds, and is only natural, because it is, in Mr. Calwell's words, "the opinion the Australian people have formed owing to the activities of the Japanese Army and the Japanese people in World War II." It would be unlikely that any change of this

12. See Table II.

13. Extract from Hansard, October 6, 1948, - Debate between Mr. Calwell and Mr. Ryan, Member of Parliament for Flinders.
policy would occur within the next 10 years, and the probability of it occurring even at that time is very small. Australia is, therefore, realizing her dilemma and seeking to avoid the possibility of future conquest by the Asiatic nations by encouraging in every way the migration of desirable elements from the United Kingdom, United States and Europe.

New Zealand.

During the first twenty years of her nationhood, New Zealand adopted a rather passive policy of immigration. However, with the discovery of gold near Otago in the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century, a large number of persons were attracted to New Zealand, and subsequently, the Government established several assisted passage schemes, which have been continued in varying measure until the present day. In the beginning, assisted passage was given to persons of European nationality who were single, or married with not more than two children. This encouraged a large number of Europeans, especially Germans and Scandinavians to New Zealand. In later years, when the number of persons of British origin desiring admittance to the Commonwealth increased, assisted passage to Europeans was curtailed. It is evident, therefore, that although New Zealand had encouraged the immigration of European nationals,
she still maintained a British First Policy.

In 1870, the Immigration and Public Works Act was passed, of which the underlying object was the concurrency of large scale immigration and unemployment. The Government hoped by guaranteeing employment through Public Works to increase the flow of immigration to New Zealand. However, this Act did not prove to be too popular, and accordingly, assisted passage schemes were again adopted to induce prospective immigrants. It was found that persons who took advantage of these schemes were not settling on the land as had been hoped but were seeking employment in the urban centres. Accordingly, the Immigration Land Act was passed which provided that immigrants who paid their own passages were entitled to £20 worth of land in any part of the colony that they might select within five years of their arrival. An interesting feature of the Act was that persons or companies who financed the passages of immigrants were to be entitled to grants of land equivalent to the number of persons whom they had assisted. Immigration increased tremendously as a result of the foregoing, and in 1875 the Government was forced to restrict immigration to persons from the United Kingdom.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century most of the available land had been settled as a result of the Immigration Land Act and the Government, therefore, took steps
to encourage the immigration of farm labourers and domestic servants by offering such persons reduced passage rates. However, the heavy immigration of the seventies was not repeated, and consequently, immigration continued at a low level until 1920. In this interwar period, the policy of the government was primarily to foster the immigration of British nationals, and help was especially given to wives and fiancées of New Zealand servicemen overseas, as well as domestic servants, farm labourers, and skilled artisans.

Although New Zealand has maintained a liberal attitude toward the immigration of Europeans, she has pursued a closed door policy as far as Asians are concerned. During the gold rushes of the 1860's a number of Chinese were admitted, and as a result, the Government feared a decline in living standards. Accordingly steps were taken to prohibit the immigration of Asians, and in a series of acts terminated by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1920, New Zealand attempted to exclude, by statute, the entry of persons of Japanese, Chinese or Indian origin. Before the passage of this Act, educational tests had been required, but these were now dropped, and all non-British subjects and people of some coloured race intending to reside in New Zealand were permitted entry only upon receipt of a permit. In addition, a poll-tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants, and it was hoped that these provisions would abolish the importation of cheap coolie labour.
In the present postwar period, New Zealand has maintained a policy similar to that of former years. However, New Zealand authorities state that it would be unwise to allow a great number of immigrants to arrive at present due to housing shortages. For this reason, New Zealand is encouraging the immigration of young single persons, and not family units, because living accommodation in rooms is available for the former. In May 1947, the Governments of New Zealand and the United Kingdom came to an agreement whereby United Kingdom ex-service personnel were granted free passage to New Zealand and civilians were accorded assisted passage privileges. The latter group were to contribute £10 towards their passage, the rest of the cost of transportation being borne in full by the New Zealand Government. There does not seem to be the same need for immigrants in New Zealand as in Australia, due to the size of the country and to the predominance of the pastoral industry. In general, hospital nurses, orderlies, domestics and labourers are being sought in the greatest numbers, as there is an acute shortage of labour in these categories. Lack of shipping facilities will allow only a limited number of immigrants and it is expressly stated that all immigrants will be required to accept certain specified positions and to remain in such employment for a period of at

least two years.

It is evident from the foregoing that the Commonwealth has pursued a policy of a "White New Zealand" with a definite preference for immigrants of British origin. New Zealand has the distinction of supporting a population with the highest living standard in the world, and she is determined to uphold this privilege at all costs. It is with this in mind that she has restricted the immigrations of Asiatic nationals, for their presence in the population has a definite downward effect on the price of labour. However, she has found that Europeans prove to be highly desirable citizens as they are easily assimilable and quickly become New Zealanders. Therefore, on exhausting the supply from the United Kingdom, New Zealand is quite willing to open her doors to persons from the overcrowded European States.

In consideration of the housing, agricultural and industrial position of the antipodes and of the many projects to bring immigration to an unprecedented maximum, it must be agreed that the Australian and New Zealand peoples are realizing the dire need for a larger population and, although they are still giving priority to the United Kingdom, the absorption of a certain number of European immigrants would be advantageous to them. It is especially

15. cf. Chap. II.
### TABLE VI

NUMBER OF INQUIRIES CONCERNING ADMISSION TO NEW ZEALAND WHICH HAVE BEEN HANDLED BY NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE UP TO MARCH 31, 1947.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BRITISH</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servicemen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate Issued</td>
<td>294</td>
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<td><strong>ALIENS</strong></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>2,426</td>
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</table>

significant that both employees and employers are endorsing the schemes, and that the largest immigration project ever undertaken by Australia, is being launched by a Labour Government. Australia and New Zealand have seen the handwriting on the wall, and are determined that they shall not be weighed in the balance and found wanting should aggressive nations seek their lands.
CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Similar only in that they are sister dominions in the Commonwealth family, the Union of South Africa and Australia present, upon examination, a totally different picture of climatic, economic and social conditions. The climate, closely resembling the Southern United States, and the relief of the country, being primarily plateau and mountain, provide the Union with the criteria of a well diversified economic structure. The rainfall is of the summer type, and although it is heavy at certain times of the year, complaints of its unreliability are numerous. However, irrigation projects are in evidence, and the agricultural scene is not greatly defaced by this factor.

Agriculture was, and is, the predominant industry of the Union. In the old days, the Dutch immigrants were landlords of huge estates, which, by inheritance, have been greatly reduced so that today, South Africa is a country of small landowners. There is a strange mixture of the old and the new which is found throughout the Union, for the Afrikaaner hesitates to abolish tradition, and if ploughing with an ox suited the grandfather, it is most certainly good enough for the grandson. However, it
must not be assumed that the Union is a backward nation; modern farm machinery is used in large scale enterprises, but the small farmer prefers to uphold established conventions.

One amazing characteristic of South African agriculture is the great range of husbandry which prevails. There is hardly a crop which is not grown successfully and profitably in the Union, and, in addition, sheep, cattle, and goat herds are found in abundance. The chief cereal grown is maize which is the staple food of the native population and, therefore, commands a large home market. Wheat, oats, barley, rye and teff are also produced, but the conditions of the soil and the climate are not conducive to a good crop.

Of increasing importance is the production of sugar and cotton, which is to be found in Zululand, and the Eastern Transvaal. Rainfall and lack of railway transportation have been detrimental to its rapid growth, but the climate necessary for a good cotton crop especially, is also the one where, unfortunately, malaria is prevalent. Therefore, until sufficient irrigation can be supplied, railways built, and medical science can discover a method of freeing tropical lands from malaria, the production of cotton in the Union will not be profitable, but it is believed that the Union can, and will become a great cotton
producing area.

South Africa is also a producer of a variety of fruits, ranging from apples and pears, to oranges, lemons and grapefruit, to figs, apricots and grapes, which are respectively peculiar to temperate, sub-tropical and tropical environments. As a consequence of the extent to which grapes were grown by early settlers, the wine industry developed. It has since that time fluctuated considerably with the business cycle, until today, it is again a flourishing industry.

As mentioned earlier, the Union can also boast of its success in sheep, cattle and goat farming. The sheep breeding industry has the longest history, still retaining first place among the agricultural pursuits of the Union, and placing South Africa the fourth largest sheep producer in the world. Merino wool is produced, and its fine quality brings an excellent price in the wool markets. Dairying, poultry farming for the production of eggs, and pig breeding are popular. However, the latter has of late experienced a decline.

The industry for which South Africa is best known, the ostrich feather industry, is still of considerable importance, but fluctuates with the changing of milady's fashions. Nevertheless, whether a market exists or not, ostrich farming is maintained, for to dispose of the ostrich would be to deprive

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the South African veld of its most colourful figure.

The study of the South African economy is, however, not complete without the consideration of her gold and diamond mining industries. Until the discovery of the great gold area known as the Rand, South Africa was a non-entity among nations, and it was this factor which was instrumental in transposing the Union from colony to nation in the eyes of the world.

Although on the surface the Rand is a series of parallel ridges running east-west some ninety miles through the vicinity of Johannesburg, geologically it is a vast rock system spreading over 17,000 square miles in the Transvaal and Orange Free State areas. Directly or indirectly, the Rand supports one half of the Union's population, both white and black, and its failure, therefore, would be disastrous to the Union.

In the early twentieth century the price of gold was determined by the Bank of England and by 1934 this price was proving to be too low for many a marginal mine. It was at this time that a saviour appeared in the figure of the United States Government who raised the price of gold to 35 dollars

2. "Gold!", Fortune, October, 1946, p. 110. In 1945, $34 million went into white gold mining wages and salaries and $52 million into black wages. In the period 1936-45, the average annual profits were $148 million; in 1940, they reached an all-time high of $190 million.
an ounce thus re-establishing the gold mining industry as a money-making proposition. Today, the gold magnates again face a crisis. The cyclical nature of gold mining appears inevitable, as it is an increasing cost industry, and therefore must rely on a periodic increase in the price of gold. There are, nevertheless, other methods of counteracting this phenomenon.

At the present time, gold is being mined only to a depth of 3,600 feet, and it has been estimated that the possibility of mining to a depth of 12,000 feet exists. Technical difficulties are encountered with this suggestion, for at the present level artificial cooling is necessary to enable the human body to withstand the extreme heat and humidity. The Rand now maintains the largest artificial cooling apparatus in the world.

A differential tax scheme has been outlined by the government for aiding marginal mines and encouraging the opening of new ones. This would draw funds from the larger mines which could be used to subsidize the lesser ones. The plan has not been widely acclaimed, for the Randlords are a powerful clique who care for nothing except their own enrichment.

Increased mechanization of the mines has been the vogue of late, yet the manual labour of the Bantu is still the backbone of the industry. His exploitation results in fabulous profits to the owner. In many cases he fulfills
the role of a supervisor but the colour bar prohibits the
equalization of wage rates with those of whites in similar
occupations. The plight of the Bantu will be discussed
more fully below.

Until the discovery of the great diamond bed in
Tanganyika in 1941, the Premier Mine near Kimberley was the
world's largest diamond producer. However, in spite of
this diamond mining has not attained the popularity enjoyed
by the gold mining industry, due undoubtedly to the fact
that it is controlled by Britain's diamond cartel. In 1947
the cartel succeeded in buying out the Tanganyika mine,
thus regaining its former position as sole owner of the
diamond fortune.

The South African economy is, therefore, primarily
directed along agricultural and mining lines. But, in spite
of this, she has in recent years progressed considerably in
the manufacturing sphere. Prior to the Second World War,
the Union depended almost entirely on imports of manufactured
goods from Britain, the United States, and the nations of the
Commonwealth to satisfy consumer demand, but the difficulties
of trade and the shortages which accrued during the war years
made her realize that she must become more self-sufficient
in this regard. During the war, South Africa contributed
immensely to the Allied production of the tools of war, and
it has been estimated that the number of bombs which she
produced and delivered to the North African frontier closely approximated the number dropped on London during the Battle of Britain. She has, therefore, determined that her manufacturing industries, which attained such prominence during the war years, shall not be relegated to a minor position now that peace has come. South Africa is hopeful of becoming the workshop of the continent.

To this end, she is welcoming the investment of American as well as British capital in her territories. The American entrepreneur has always been conscious of the extensive market for his product in the Union, and he is becoming increasingly aware of the advantages of producing near his market. A great many of the large American firms are building plants in the Union, for example, General Motors Corporation, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, Firestone (S.A.) Limited, and Julius Kayser, manufacturers of hosiery. Canadian firms are also operating in the Union, namely, Aluminium Limited of Montreal, and Massey-Harris Limited, who has a working arrangement with South African Farm Implements Manufacturing Limited of Vereeniging. Certain other factors are contributing to this expansion. In the first place, the immigration program is encouraging large numbers of workers from Britain and Europe to come to the Union. This will provide the skilled labour needed for the secondary industries, as well as increasing the home market. In the second place, hydroelectric
power and coal are abundant, and many local industries are available for sub-contracting and supplying raw materials.

Protection of infant industries has been the policy of the government until recent years, but now the trend is to increased efficiency and standards of production so that the Union can compete successfully in the world market. However, South Africa's immediate aim is self-sufficiency, and she is approaching this end in the manufacture of agricultural implements and of steel, both of which industries are now producing half of the country's needs.

There is one factor which retards the progress of the secondary industries in the Union, and that is the shortage of skilled labour. It has been mentioned that a great many workers have been encouraged to migrate to South Africa, but there is still room for a great many more. Indeed, the Union would be able to absorb a larger population engaged in primary pursuits, as well as in the secondary industries. The United States has long regarded South Africa as an excellent market for her exports. South Africa is well-nigh unique in that she possesses no dollar deficit, and the importers may purchase any product in any quantity they see fit from the United States without government import or exchange permits required. Completely unrestricted trade is, indeed, the aim of the government, for they believe that an expanding world economy depends upon freer exchange of the world's goods
than characterized the 1919-1939 period. Moreover, the Union does not have to fear any shortage in foreign exchange for she produces 50 percent of the world’s gold.

The reader will perhaps, at this point, believe South Africa to be, at least geographically and economically, the Utopia sought by a prospective immigrant. There is no doubt but that her resources are plentiful and are allocated along many lines, and that her climate is pleasant. But there is one flaw in the pattern — a racial problem, which has two components. On the one hand, there is the master-slave relationship of white man entrepreneur and black man labourer. On the other hand, exists a silent bitterness between the Afrikaaner and the British immigrant which can be compared to the English-French relationship in Canada. This factor has been directly influential in limiting the Union’s advancement, for there is no doubt that progress has been retarded by its presence.

Of the Union’s eleven million inhabitants, approximately two million are white, one million are Indian and Cape coloured (Euroafricans) and eight million are Bantu. The white element is the only one allowed the franchise. Therefore, eighty percent of the population has no voice; yet this is a democracy. Of every hundred whites, fifty-

five are Afrikaaner, thirty-five are English, five are Hebrews, and five are other Nationalities.

Before the era of the white man, the negro lived under fairly socialistic conditions which were periodically disrupted by tribal warfare. He gained his livelihood from the land, which was owned by none, and used by all. There was no buying or selling of land, only borrowing or lending, and thus the white man, on his arrival, easily effected a loan of the land from the unsuspecting native who foolishly expected its return. This resulted in the natives being driven to small reserves to deteriorate with inactivity, or migrating to the towns to be despised and exploited by the master race. The majority chose the latter course.

The Bantu is permitted to engage only in menial unskilled occupations, and is debarred from any educational facilities. He is the backbone of South Africa's industry and mining, yet he must subsist on a mean wage of fifty-three cents a day. If he undertakes to work in a mine he must leave his family on the Reserve, and move to the compounds near the mine where he will live with ten to twelve other natives in one room. Moreover, once he has signified

his intention of being employed either on farm, in factory or in mine, he is bound to stay. Failure to do so is a prison offense. In an attempt to ameliorate his lot, he may join a native trade union, which although lawful, is not recognized as a negotiating agency under the labour laws.

However, the white overlord is not brutal primarily from the sheer cruelty of his nature. He realizes only too well how greatly he is outnumbered by the Bantu and how dependent the economic structure of his country is on native labour. He understands, moreover, the threat to a slave economy through increased mechanization of industry and he feels that native emancipation would mean his downfall, for this would inevitably imply education for the Bantu.

In addition to the Native question, there exists another racial problem, that of the Briton and Afrikaaner. On the arrival of the British in South Africa, the descendents of the original Dutch settlers made the Grand Trek northward and founded the Transvaal and Orange Free State. As indicated earlier, the majority of their huge estates, born from this Trek, have now deteriorated into miserable cabbage patches, giving rise to a class of poor whites, who know nothing but agriculture and who are too proud to compete with the negro in the labour market. Indeed, social custom has made it undignified for a white man to be employed in the unskilled ranks, an unfortunate yet inevitable result of a slave economy.
It has been estimated that five percent of the European population are poor whites. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to seek a solution to the native problem until the British-Afrikaner relations are improved.

It has been suggested that there is only one solution to the native problem - immigration on a large scale. To begin with, there is a serious shortage of skilled labour in South African industry which could be adjusted by one of two methods, or by both. The first method is by lifting the colour bar. This would eventually result in the emancipation and subsequent education of the native, which would be a serious threat to white domination. However, the situation cannot remain unaltered; the native's position must be ameliorated. How can this be effected without the native overrunning the country? The answer is through the alternative method - large scale immigration.

If white immigrants were to settle in the Union in large numbers, they would not, perhaps, succeed in outnumbering the natives, but they could establish a more favourable ratio of whites to blacks in the population. This being the case, the whites could then afford to grant civil rights and


liberties to the Bantu without fear of his becoming too dominant. In addition, large scale immigration would be, in itself, an important method of eliminating the acute skilled labour shortages.

The Afrikaaners are opposed to this solution. They resent, even now, the large proportion of Britishers in the population. Therefore, they are extremely hesitant about allowing the immigration of large numbers of Europeans, as they fear this would place them in the position of a minority group. Hence, the Union faces a dilemma. In the long run, there can be only one choice - immigration. South Africa needs immigration for economic maturity, she needs immigration for social stability, and finally, she needs immigration for cultural progress.
CHAPTER V

THE IMMIGRATION POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA

From the time of their entrance into the British Commonwealth of Nations, South Africans have adopted an open-minded Immigration Policy, relatively free from regulation. This has been due partly to their early history, partly to their economic situation and partly to the racial distribution of the population. The two latter courses have been discussed in some detail earlier and their history is common knowledge. The parallel between South Africa and Canada in this aspect is striking; the acquisition by Britain of territories held by other European powers was bound to bring in its wake problems arising from a population composed of two nationalities, retaining national customs, law, language, and culture. Of necessity, therefore, South Africans have been impelled to adopt a liberal policy of immigration.

The immigration policy of the Union is accordingly simple in nature, and wide in scope. South Africa will admit a person of any nationality, with the possible exception of Asiatics, whose numbers must be limited.

1. cf. Chap. IV.
However, certain immigrants are classified as prohibited because of illiteracy, crime records, insanity, ill health, and in general any person whose presence would be undesirable in the Union. If such an undesirable person were to gain entry into the Union, he would be immediately deported, and he would be deprived of any interest in land or any business he had acquired during his residence in the Union. In 1937, the Aliens Act, supplementing the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 was passed, providing for the admission of a person upon receipt of a permit from the Immigration Board and whose qualifications were satisfactory to the Union. To qualify for a permit an individual must be of good character, and must give the impression that he is likely to become readily assimilated with the European inhabitants of the Union. In addition, he must be willing to pursue an occupation in the Union in which there are not a sufficient number of persons already engaged. These requirements are further subject to certain more specific restrictions imposed by the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913.

The foregoing, therefore, gives evidence that the immigration policy of the Union was designed to foster

2. Act No.22 of 1913, Immigration Regulation Act, Chap.II, Sec. 4.
### TABLE VII

**VOLUME OF IMMIGRATION TO AND EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA**

**FOR SELECTED YEARS - 1920-1944**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
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<th>Departures</th>
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<td>European</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Total</td>
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4. Based on data from *The Statesman's Year Book*, (London, McMillan and Co., Ltd.). Figures for 1920, from the 1922 Year Book; for 1925 from the 1928 Year Book; for 1931 from the 1933 Year Book; for 1934 from the 1936 Year Book; for 1941 from the 1943 Year Book; for 1944 from the 1947 Year Book.

5. Data not available.
large-scale immigration. The rules and regulations outlined in the Act to be followed by the Immigration authorities are not severe, and the list of prohibited persons is not duly restrictive. From the list, it is clear that all races shall be deemed desirable with the possible exception of Asians. However, even they shall be allowed entrance under certain circumstances. 6

There are, in fact, strict regulations concerning the admission of Asians to the Union, but these are in the form of Statutes passed by the individual states and not by the Federal Government of the Union. In the Orange Free State, the law maintains 7 that no Arab, Chinaman, coolie, or other Asiatic person may settle or remain within its borders for longer than two months without having obtained permission to do so from the State President. Furthermore, no such person shall be permitted to hold title to any fixed property 8 or to become a merchant or farmer 9. Similarly, the other three States refuse entrance to Asians who have not received a permit for admittance to

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6. Act No. 22 of 1913, Immigrants Regulation Act, Chap. II, sec. 5, sub-sec. 1, clause (d).
8. Ibid., sec. 7
9. Ibid., sec. 8.
the State. In the Transvaal, several Acts have been passed requiring the registration of Asiatics lawfully resident within the borders of the State. Any child of an Asiatic who is lawfully resident shall be required to register within one year of his attaining the age of eight years and if not shall register himself within one year of reaching the age of sixteen years. It is absolutely essential that all Asiatics possess the certificate of registration as they may be requested to produce on demand, or prior to receiving a trading licence. In addition, no Asiatic who is the lawful holder of a certificate of registration, and who was lawfully resident shall be prohibited from entering the State if he is under a contract of service. Although the above legislation was enacted by the Government of the Transvaal, it was later adopted as the policy of the Union with the passing of the Immigration and Indian Relief Act of 1927.

In spite of the foregoing, the Union would prefer to restrict, even further, the admittance of Asiatics, in order to maintain strictly a population of European origin. Indeed, with the passing of the Indian Relief Act of 1914, the Government of the Union undertook to provide free passage to Indians desiring to quit the Union and return to India. In such cases the Indian should be accompanied by his wife and family, and should not be permitted to re-enter the Union.

earlier than one year or later than three years after his departure.

Such was the pre-war immigration policy of the Union, completely liberal in its scope and yet maintaining, above all, a population of desirable composition. The Union was aware of her need of an increased population, but she was also wisely aware of the problems arising from the aboriginal element. This element, of necessity, was employed in the unskilled ranks, and therefore a social stigma attached to a white man labourer. Accordingly, the Union had to assure herself of the availability of occupations suitable for the white man to pursue. It was with this in mind, therefore, that the Government of the Union announced at the close of World War II, that she was indeed willing to absorb her share of immigrants, but owing to her social organization she would be forced to proceed with caution. In addition, she maintained a duty to her ex-service personnel, and their rehabilitation would be her first thought. In accordance with this policy, the Department of Land has placed 1,394 lots at the disposal of ex-soldiers, permitting 15,500 families to settle on farms. In addition

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to the ex-service personnel awaiting rehabilitation, there were at the close of hostilities, some 6,000 nationals to be returned to and settled in the Union.

Notwithstanding her commitments to her own nationals, South Africa is prepared to consider applications for admittance into her territories of United Kingdom military personnel and in particular American ex-servicemen who had trained in South Africa or who, while stationed there during the war, had married South African women. In addition, the Government of the Union would welcome skilled workers and individuals in professional ranks, but only in accordance with the needs of her economy, and the absorptive capacity of the Union. However, persons in this latter group would be subject to the decisions of a selective Committee on Immigration. Individuals who had applied for entrance and who had been accepted would be allowed to continue into the Union, but the Committee would reserve the right to refuse the admittance of any individual whom it deemed undesirable, and of any group whose entry would endanger the high standard of living by exceeding the absorptive capacity of the economy. If, however, an individual not possessing these requirements had become

13. Ibid.
prejudiced to his previous position and to whom rejection
would be disastrous, acceptance of application would be
forthcoming.

When the Smuts administration was defeated in the
last election, and the new coalition government of the
Nationalist and Afrikaaner parties came into power, many
wondered whether the immigration policy of the Union would
remain unchanged. The new government has decided that its
policy will be, as before, to assist the entry of qualified
persons whose presence will be an asset to the development of
the country. They do not plan to foster state-aided immi-
grantion but will adhere to the ordinary immigration law which
has been enforced.

In general, the Immigration Policy of the Union is
designed to maintain the present high standard of living to
which her white population is accustomed, and to this end
it seems it would be advantageous to encourage immigration
on as large a scale as is economically possible.

14. Weekly Newsletter to the South African Embassy in Ottawa,
No. 459 (State Information Office, Pretoria), Sept. 13-20,
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the preceding five chapters that Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa offer diverse economic opportunities for immigrants, and that the Governments of these countries, being aware of this advantage, are encouraging immigration on a large scale to their lands. Mention has been made in passing of the ability of these countries to absorb additional population, and now it would be fitting to digress a little to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of large scale migration, from the point of view of the countries of immigration and emigration.

Nations are like enterprises, only on a much enlarged scale. The entrepreneur goes into business for the sole reason of making a profit, and in order to maximize this profit, he must maximize the efficiency of his operations. After careful consideration, he comes to the conclusion that with his certain size of plant, a particular combination of labour and machinery is the most efficient for his type of production, and he will strive to operate at this level. He calls this his maximum point of efficiency where the position of optimum production is reached. In like manner, a nation
must determine its optimum point. This will be achieved when the real income per capita of the population with a given amount of capital and resources is at a maximum. In other words, a country is at its optimum point when the marginal product per worker is equal to his average product. While marginal product is greater than average product, the country is experiencing the situation of under-population, and conversely, when marginal product is less than average product, the situation of over-population exists. To quote Meade, "If the payment of wages to labour, equal to the marginal product of labour, would not absorb as much as the total output of the community because output per head is greater than the marginal product of labour, the population is greater than the optimum. If, however, output per head is less than the marginal product of labour so that there would not be a sufficient output to pay labour a wage-rate as great as its marginal product, the population is too small." 1.

In what stage of population growth do Australia, New Zealand and South Africa lie? Clearly they are not over-populated. Have they attained the optimum point, or are they in the process of reaching it? The point of optimum population is a rather vague term, indeed, a nation rarely knows when she is in this happy state. However, in consideration of

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the fact that a greater population density in these areas would make for a higher standard of living, it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that these nations of the Commonwealth are approaching their optimum point.

To repeat what has been emphatically stated in previous chapters, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa need a larger population. It has been seen that these countries have a low death rate and a low birth rate, and that the birth rate is not likely to increase in succeeding decades. It is a well-known fact that the prosperous individual rarely has a large family, due principally to a knowledge of methods of contraception and to the desire to give to his children the highest standard of living possible. Therefore, in countries where high standards of living obtain, birth control is exercised extensively, and accordingly a low birth rate is in evidence. In addition, New Zealand is said to have the highest abortion rate in the world, due to an inadequate knowledge of contraceptive methods on the part of a large percentage of the population, to the desire of many young couples to establish themselves economically, and to the severe social stigma attached to unmarried mothers which varies directly with the height of civilization attained.

It would, therefore, be inadvisable for Australia, New Zealand and South Africa to rely on natural increase as the sole means of enlarging their populations. They must, accordingly, turn to immigration as the solution to their
problems. This is at best a greatly inferior method to natural increase in population enlargement. However, if immigration were conducted on a grand scale the problem might be solved, and if the birth rate could be stimulated, so much the better. However, other equally serious problems might arise as the result of disequilibrium of production and consumption functions which would be a direct result of unregulated mass migration.

History has shown that in a young country where population expansion is found, capital investment is heavy and the economy flourishes. Over-production is not necessarily followed by depression, for if the capitalist overestimates his market, he will not be forced to sustain the loss which usually occurs when a large quantity of stocks accumulate in his warehouse. The population is constantly expanding, and therefore, if the entrepreneur overproduces, the excess quantities of goods are quickly taken up by the increase in consumer demand. In addition, the capitalist is willing to invest in a young country for the risk involved is not usually great, while the profits are. The advantages of immigration to a young country are obvious because capital is plentiful, the mistakes of entrepreneurs are not disastrous, and economic opportunities are many.

However, do the old countries benefit by large scale emigration? Prior to the period of heavy emigration in the nineteenth century, the European countries were exceedingly
overpopulated, with low standards of living and great unemployment. They welcomed emigration schemes, visualizing relief for their overcrowded millions. However, the group which entertained the desire for emigration was the youth of the country, who wished to quit the old land for the obvious excitement and economic advantages of the new. As a consequence of this exodus of young men, there developed a surplus of young women in the population and the age distribution shifted in favour of the older groups. As mentioned earlier, the birth rate declined as a result of these factors and of the neo-malthusian movement, and in addition, because of the slaughter of young men in times of war. Consequently, emigration did not prove to be as favourable as had been imagined, for although great numbers were emigrating, the rate of natural increase, while decreasing, was still positive. In addition, the age composition of the population was becoming unfavourable as an increasingly large percentage of persons were included in the older age groups. Thus the European countries hastened to restrict emigration which threatened the survival of the race if continued on the same large scale.

It was apparent, therefore, that while emigration relieved the population pressure for a number of decades,

nevertheless, it could not be a permanent solution to the problem. The volume of immigration or emigration is never greatly effective in populating or relieving population pressure unless it is continuous. In the long run, the size of population of a country is determined by internal factors such as economic conditions and social customs. The European nations would, therefore, be forced to adopt birth control as a means of relieving their population pressure.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing that immigration and emigration are not advantageous. On the contrary, a redistribution of the world’s population is very desirable in many cases. With the present saturation level of Europe as the criterion, Griffith Taylor suggests the following distribution of the world’s population:

### TABLE VIII

#### POSSIBLE FUTURE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S WHITE POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population in Millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North American</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentine</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siberian</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australiasian</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Isaac is apprehensive of these results, however, they do indicate the absorptive possibilities of the regions named. Immigration and emigration are advantageous to the countries concerned, but these countries should not rely solely on such measures to increase their populations or to relieve population pressure.

What of the future of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa? The economic, social and cultural conditions of South Africa would greatly improve if large-scale immigration to the Union were practised. However, the fate of the Union is not dependent on the volume of immigration to her shores, for she does not face a crisis if her population is not enlarged. It is true that the disadvantages of her heterogeneous population would be lessened by increasing the number of whites in her territories, but her salvation does not depend on this factor. Even with this stigma, South Africa has managed to attain a high standard of living and secure for herself an important position in the Commonwealth family. Therefore, the future of the Union looks promising regardless of her numbers, but it could be made even more brilliant if desirable immigrants were to arrive in large numbers.

4. cf. Chap. IV.
In considering the future of Australia and New Zealand, however, a much more severe problem is in evidence. These nations, especially Australia, are grossly underpopulated, and would benefit immeasurably both economically and socially if their numbers were increased. Their dependence on an agricultural economy as a means of livelihood, and on foreign trade to supply the goods for consumer consumption has been discussed, and in addition, it is maintained that under these conditions the antipodes can safely absorb a larger population if their industries are expanded. Moreover, it is expected that Australia and New Zealand could enjoy an even higher standard of living under increased technological conditions if large numbers of immigrants were admitted. The question may now be asked - Can Australia and New Zealand satisfactorily expand their economies to maintain a larger population? It is asserted that they can. A great many American entrepreneurs are expanding in these countries, and the future of industry seems assured. Time was when the American businessman sidestepped Australian tariff and quota barriers by sending his unfinished product to his Canadian subsidiary for assembly and packing, from whence it was exported to Australia. However, when Canada was divorced from the sterling bloc, and

5. cf. Chap. II.

the Canadian dollar brought to par with the American, this method was no longer a means of evading Australia's tariff barriers, and the American entrepreneur decided that his interests would be best served by producing near his market. Indeed, the expectation of a large flow of immigrants to Australia was one of the principle reasons for his decision. In addition to the expansion of American enterprise in Australia, there has, of late, been the desire of British Empire industries to disperse to areas of comparative safety, and Australia and New Zealand are duly receiving their share of such industries.

It is evident, therefore, that large-scale immigration to the Antipodes is feasible and that their economies would greatly benefit by such a measure. There is, however, a political reason behind the Government's increased interest in immigration projects. To the north of Australia, only a few hours' distance by air, lies a huge land mass, which maintains half the world's population at a deplorably low standard of living. Moreover, these peoples, especially the Japanese, are becoming more and more industrialized, and are realizing their dire need for more resources. In addition, their pressure of population on their limited resources is becoming increasingly acute, and eventually they must expand. Australia with its abundant resources and limited population is the solution to their problem of overpopulation. Moreover, India
is rapidly making the transition from primitive to industrialized economy, and her population pressure is even more severe than is Japan's. Unfortunately, it appears that India does not care much for the Empire, and Australia may well fear aggression from this direction. The question may be asked at this point - Are India and Japan in a position to be aggressive? There can only be one answer. If these nations continue to acquire knowledge of modern industrial techniques, they will simultaneously become learned in modern warfare. Japan has given evidence of this, and the situation could easily be repeated in India. Australia and New Zealand have so little population and much resources; India, Japan and China have so much population and little resources. The outcome of such a situation is inevitable in the long run. Therefore, for self-protection if for nothing else, Australia and New Zealand need immigrants.

In conclusion, a word must be said about the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The events of the past few decades have led even the most ardent lover of the Empire to admit that the downfall of his beloved British Empire is imminent. It is sad, but true. However, in true British fashion, the individual aforementioned is not down-hearted, and rightly so. For the downfall of the Empire does not preclude the continuation of the Commonwealth. What
is to hinder the nations of the Empire establishing a precedent and uniting themselves in a unique Commonwealth of Nations, whose members shall retain their individuality while remaining subject to no parent nation? The ideals and practices of a beloved parent are perpetuated in the lives of her children. An analogy could be found in the British Empire, as the bonds between the sister nations of the family are still strong. Moreover, the children are young and full of life, while the parent is decrepit. The children, therefore, are more able to uphold and glorify the family name. The realization of this principle and of common good of the family can only be found in union. In theory it is possible, and time will tell whether or not it is practicable.
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