EXCLUSIONISM AND BROTHERHOOD.

Great good or great evil may come from the mingling of East and West. The present aspect of the mingling is that which has been associated with Eastern industries, in that the foreigners and their descendants of that literature or art have no need to be afraid of the benefits of mingling. Their aims are material. But the present mingling is mainly due to the corruption of the British and Indian market. That relationship is not replaced because its working is bound together and rarely brought to view.

In fact, thoughtful people have been confident that this very evil had been overtaken by the exclusion policy. The motive of preserving our social life from the corrupting presence of a servile caste appeared to ground for exclusionism, even when it was apparent that our community would gain in material wealth from the labor of Chinese and other Asians.

In reality, I believe, the great influence has not been overcome by the mingling of Asians to their own lands, there to be employed under conditions that would appear intolerable to an Australian. Conditions are certainly very much worse than the same Asians would be asked to endure if they were admitted freely to Australia.

The effect of the depressing of Eastern workers is not confined to their own lands. It recoils upon our Western communities by at least three channels: (1) By the many millions of profits and interest that Western financiers draw from their foreign investments; (2) By competition of Asians in the world's shipping; and (3) By competition in the world's markets.

Britain is more directly affected than Australia by the financial tribute drawn from the shipping of the East and the tropics. British workers are frequently told that they must provide adequate returns on industrial investments on part of being deprived of the capital necessary for such expansion. "You will drive capital out of the country," they are told when they make new demands. Certainly the British worker will suffer if industrial expansion is seriously checked. Already we have painful examples. For instance, the British-American Tobacco Company, with an enormous manufacturing business in the Far East as well as in British and America—gave notice of dismissal to its Liverpool staff early this year, just after it had announced dividends and bonuses equal to 37% per cent, and a reserve of £2,400,000. Lord Melrose told his shareholders last year that he could dismiss all his employees at the sound of a whistle and still enjoy undiminished profits. For he could rely on the investments in many of these countries, including the wilds of Africa and the Solomon islands. Similarly in Australia, we have seen the British Phib's Shipping Company shift great part of its business from Sydney to Fiji, where cheaper and more docile labor is obtainable.

So the helplessness of colored-workers in the hands of Western financiers tends to make our Westerner worker's also helpless. Goldsmith saw this danger a time when Britain had few foreign investments except in India. In "The Traveller" he wrote of Britain being corrupted by
of the Argentine. The tariffs by which our city industries are artificially maintained make it the more difficult for our exporting producers to compete in the world markets, and the effect is to raise our price standards abroad.

For observations Australia's recovery from the slump now come upon us will be very difficult. If the distress in our people may be tempted to open our doors to the workers in some limited form. Finding that exclusion and protection have failed to thwart the competition of the Albertan workers, they will be swamped by the surplus of workers. Henry Samuel, who recently advised that careful men should be brought into Australia for all the manual toil, enabling us to live as 'gentlemen.'

Almost all the Australians I know who advocate the admission of coloured workers believe them to be here under indenture. That means that they would be robbed of the opportunity of adjusting themselves to Australian standards of life. When indentures were running fast in Samoa the wages of these increased 400 per cent. There are many similar examples. We can see in Melbourne, in San Francisco, and elsewhere, how free Asians have adjusted themselves to Western standards. They are not worse paid generally than our own people. But under indenture their wages would be kept down, they would live in barracks, truly prisoners. They would be definitely a servile class.

We have coloured labourers already in the bonds of indenture in the northern fisheries and in the island plantations of Australia, and East and West have met. However devoted we may be to racial prejudice, we have no right to rob ourselves of the Orientals in the markets and in the markets of overseas shipping. Though we may refuse to have them grow our vegetables, we live by the sweat of their brow even when we draw tribute from investments in Asia and the Tropics.

I cannot regard seriously the suggestion that we should retire entirely within ourselves, leaving Asia to the Asiatics. As well attempt to divide the water of the Tiber and the Yangtze once they have mingled.

We go on mingling. We cannot escape the ill by driving the Asia into Australia, nor by raising tariff barriers against their products. What we can do is to strive that our association with them, whether in their land or in ours, shall be in the spirit of brotherhood.

I have not space in this article to deal with the argument of the alleged ill of intermarriage. I would invite anyone interested in the subject to read the chapter on cross-breeding of races in Sir Ray Lankester's recent book, 'Secrets of Earth and Sea.' From that, one may learn how utterly unfounded is the notion that the offspring of mixed marriages inherits 'the views of both races and the virtues of neither.'

The feelings of race-prejudice have been so well fostered that we who believe in another spirit find it hard to make any advance. A little we can do by personal influence. Our organised workers have a unique opportunity to link up with the Chinese 'immigrants' here. In the way of patriotic duties it should be the following:

1. We should clean our hands of the immigration system, and not let the Japanese and Timorese in the northern fisheries, and upon the railways in New Guinea.

2. We should seek to encourage Asian students to come to our colleges. (The proposed remission of Britain's Indian indemnity balance of £6,000,000 may give a unique opportunity.)

3. We should encourage round-table conferences of all races with Asian peoples.

4. We should assist educational, medical and other missions in the East.

Other methods of promoting the spirit of understanding and self-sufficiency: Until a feeling of friendliness has to some extent taken the place of the present antagonism among Australians, it seems of little use to advocate a change in the immigration laws. My own ideal would be to open the door to all people, and conduct a vigorous campaign of education among the immigrant workers. Keep them away from bondage, encourage them to bring their families, educate them! Under such conditions they would not hinder, but help, the growth of brotherly co-operation, in place of the present strife in our industries.

We have everything to fear from association with Asians on a basis of domination, political or industrial, even though we drive them far from our shores.

We have nothing to fear if our association with them is on a basis of freedom and brotherhood, though we come in closest contact with them in our streets, in our clubs, in our churches, in our homes.

And by excluding them we deprive ourselves of many of the joys that God offers us.

—J. A. BRALSFORD

[We hope to publish in future issues a short series of articles dealing with this vital question from various points of view.—Editor "Fellowship." ]

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**SONGS MILDITANT.**

_Songs militant are fertile seeds, That blossom into valiant deeds._

_Men tremble when a fearless song Challenges the ranks of Wrong._

_Above the impassioned Poet's cry Ever they hear the Martyr's sigh._

—R. H. L.