MEET THE ANZACS!

AMERICAN COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

10¢
THE PICTURE on the cover is that of a young Australian airman serving in North Africa. On one occasion the Blenheim bomber in which he was an observer landed to pick up the crew of another plane which had crash-landed. On their return trip they were shot down and captured by the Germans. This young flyer, however, managed to escape and walked eighty miles through desert and enemy lines until he was picked up by Indian forces, who gave him his first food and drink for two days. As a souvenir of this experience he has an autograph album containing the signatures of his captors.

Insofar as these pamphlets present interpretations and opinions as well as statements of fact, they should not be regarded as reflecting the views of either the Institute of Pacific Relations or its American Council, but solely those of the author.
MEET THE ANZACS!

By W. L. Holland and Philip E. Lilienthal

Far Eastern Pamphlets No. 7

AMERICAN COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • HONOLULU
1942
Distances in Statute Miles
MEET THE ANZACS!

When General MacArthur made his dramatic flight from Bataan to Australia in March 1942 to take command of the United Nations forces in the southwest Pacific, he did more to educate the average American about the Anzacs and the countries “down under” than all our books and school courses have done in years. Since then, American soldiers and sailors in large numbers have gone to Australia and New Zealand and many have written back home about their experiences. More recently other American troops and pilots have fought alongside Australian and New Zealand forces in the desperate struggle against Marshal Rommel’s drive into Egypt.

Our newspapers have been full of the exploits of Australian and American airmen against the Japanese in New Guinea and the Coral Sea. We have read stories of the homely experiences of boys from Main Street and Broadway in getting adjusted to countries where it gets warmer as you go north and colder as you go south; Christmas is a summer holiday; traffic keeps to the left; cricket and rugby take the place of baseball; tea is a national institution and good coffee rare; “grafters” is a complimentary term; and strawberry shortcake is practically unknown.

All this has brought home the close partnership of America, Australia and New Zealand in the war against Japan. The Anzacs’ fight is our fight. Their ideas on how to run the war are close to our own—often closer to American than to British views. Without ceasing to be British, the Anzacs look to America, and we to them, for mutual aid during the war and afterward.

Anzacs and Americans mix well. Sometimes, indeed, they mix very promptly. Only a few months after the first American troops
arrived in Australia, 230 of them had married Australian girls in the state of Victoria alone! The American and Australian military authorities felt that this was carrying international cordiality too far. Regulations were issued to discourage such hasty marriages.

But after the war, a good many American soldiers will bring home brides from Australia and New Zealand. Some of them, indeed, may like these countries so much that they will want to stay there. That would not be surprising, for Australia and New Zealand—young countries, rich and thinly settled—are, like the United States, lands of opportunity.

We have heard more about Australia's queer animals—the kangaroo, emu, koala bear and duck-billed platypus—than of its growing steel and armament industries, its enormous sheep and cattle ranches and its vigorous trade unions. Our notions of New Zealand are even vaguer, but we know it more for its scenery, its big-game fishing (popularized by Zane Grey) and its native Maoris, than for its thriving dairy industries and advanced social legislation.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND—HOW THEY DIFFER

Also we tend to get the two countries confused in our minds. Many a New Zealander in the United States, on saying where he comes from, has had the disconcerting reply, “Oh yes! I used to know another fellow from Australia!” It is true that Australia and New Zealand resemble each other in many ways, as do Canada and the United States, but it is neither accurate nor courteous to lump them together as we sometimes do in our ignorance.

In the first place, Australia and New Zealand are no less than 1,200 miles apart, separated by the stormy waters of the Tasman Sea. In the second place, they are quite different in physical appearance. Australia, about the same size as the United States and a continent in itself, is a geologically ancient land whose moun-
### AUSTRALIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or Territory</th>
<th>Area (sq. mi.)</th>
<th>Population (1940)</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Population of Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>309,000</td>
<td>2,789,000</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>1,303,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>88,000</td>
<td>1,919,000</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>1,047,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>671,000</td>
<td>1,030,000</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>326,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>380,000</td>
<td>598,000</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>323,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>976,000</td>
<td>468,000</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>243,000</td>
<td>Hobart</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>524,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>Darwin</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2,975,000</td>
<td>7,067,000</td>
<td>Canberra</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NEW ZEALAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Area (sq. mi.)</th>
<th>Population (1940)</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Population of Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>103,000</td>
<td>1,636,000</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>163,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mountains have been ground down to stumps. Much of its vast interior is desert and almost uninhabitable, while the northern third of the country lies in the tropics. The typical Australian landscape gives an impression of vast space and sunburnt dryness, like parts of Texas.

New Zealand, on the other hand, reminds the American visitor of the coast regions of northern California, Oregon and Washington. Its two main islands, each about the size of New York state, are rugged and mountainous, with snow-covered peaks and ranges of exquisite beauty. New Zealand has a more temperate climate than Australia and a greater rainfall. Hence much of the hill country is covered with dense subtropical forests, while the lowlands are green with excellent pasture.

There are other contrasts. Australia is the land of the merino
sheep, from whose wool fine textiles are made, and of beef cattle; New Zealand the land of the double-purpose sheep (used for both meat and coarser wool) and of the dairy cow. Australia, like the United States, has a federal form of government, with six states instead of forty-eight; New Zealand, like Great Britain, has a single central government. Australia's manufacturing industries are highly developed; New Zealand has a few light industries but is essentially a pastoral country. Australia's aboriginal people are extremely primitive and live an isolated existence in the back country; New Zealand's 90,000 Maoris are a cultured Polynesian race akin to the Hawaiians, and play a vigorous and respected part in the life of the nation.

HOW THEY ARE ALIKE

Both Australia and New Zealand were settled within the last 150 years, almost entirely by emigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland. At first, these colonies were looked on, and thought of themselves, as outlying parts of Great Britain. Even today, the people of both Dominions speak of Britain as "Home," although neither they nor their parents may ever have been there. But in recent years both countries have developed a national self-consciousness of their own, which is bound to be strengthened by their role in the present war. This feeling is more pronounced in Australia, which is more apt to take an independent line in foreign policy than New Zealand.

Like Canada, both countries are British Dominions—Australia since 1900 and New Zealand since 1907. Politically they are quite independent of Great Britain though they acknowledge allegiance to the same King. Their independence was legally defined in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, but it had been recognized in practice a decade earlier when the British Dominions were granted separate membership in the League of Nations.

There has never been any question that both Australia and New Zealand would fight on the side of Britain. In the last war
the forces of the two countries were combined for the Egyptian and Gallipoli campaigns into the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC). This has not been done in the present war, so technically there are no Anzacs today. The forces of both nations served in the Mediterranean and the Middle East and suffered heavily in Greece and Crete. The Australians, but not the New Zealanders, took part in the defense of Singapore. Today, both are playing a leading part in the battle of the Pacific.

SOUTH PACIFIC STRATEGY

Japan’s blitzkrieg in the winter of 1941-42 left the United Nations with Australia as their only major base in the western Pacific. Surrounded by water, it is not vulnerable to land-based attack except in the north, where only narrow straits divide it from nearby islands. Its great size, however, provides plenty of room for defense in depth. Railway and highway systems are well developed in the south and east, less so in the west and north. Air lines, however, connect all parts of the country.

Australia has a relatively small but highly trained and seasoned army, navy and air force, now supplemented by reinforcements from the United States. Moreover—unlike the colonies to the north, which fell to Japan so easily—it has great manufacturing industries, which are now turning out large quantities of war supplies. These industrial centers are located in the southeast, remote from any danger of land-based attack. In the south, also, are the rich farming and grazing lands which produce far more food than the people of Australia can consume. Thus the defending forces can find many of their supplies at hand, which helps to relieve the strain on trans-Pacific shipping.

But Australia is not only a tough nut to crack. It is a potential nutcracker as well. Japan cannot feel secure in possession of her new conquests in southeastern Asia so long as the United Nations can use Australia as a base for counterattack. As early as April 1942, American planes based on Australia, in a daring exploit,
bombed Japanese positions in the Philippines. When General MacArthur left Corregidor to go to Australia, he promised to come back.

New Zealand occupies a strategic position in the defense of Australia and the south Pacific. Together with the smaller islands to the north—New Caledonia, Fiji, etc.—it forms a chain protecting Australia and guarding the vital supply line between Australia and the United States. More remote than Australia from centers of Japanese power, it would be more difficult to defend because of its smaller size and resources.

**A LONG HAUL**

Because of the immense distances involved, it takes much more shipping tonnage to supply an American division in the south Pacific than one in Europe. Even in peace time the voyage from our West Coast to Australia consumed the greater part of three weeks. The usual route passed through the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Fiji and New Zealand. From Europe, luxury liners came either around the Cape of Good Hope (a voyage of over six weeks) or through the Suez or the Panama Canal (both five weeks). From Sydney, in southeast Australia, the trip to Singapore customarily took three weeks, to Hongkong three weeks, and to Yokohama a month.

There were excellent air connections with other continents. Pan American Airways had connected Australia with the United States by way of New Zealand, New Caledonia, Canton Island and Hawaii. Dutch and British services linked Australia with southeastern Asia and India, and thence with the Near East, Africa and Europe.

But the Japanese seizure of southeastern Asia in the early months of 1942 left open only two major routes to Australia. One, from Great Britain, is around the southern tip of Africa and thence by the great circle route across the southern Indian Ocean to Australia. The other is from the American West Coast by way
of the south central Pacific. The numerous islands in this area provide sites for air bases by means of which long-range bombers can fly from factories in California to the fighting fronts in the south Pacific.

AUSTRALIA

Perhaps the most striking thing about Australia is the contrast between its huge size and its small population. With an area as large as the United States, the country has fewer residents than New York City. Much of the interior is as arid and uninhabitable as the Sahara desert. Large parts of the country are dry grazing lands resembling the American southwest. In the north the climate is tropical; in the south the weather is reminiscent of northern California. Since Australia is in the southern hemisphere, its seasons are the opposite of ours; summer begins in December, winter in June. Little snow falls anywhere, and extreme cold is rare. There are few high mountains, large rivers or lakes. In fact, Australia is the flattest and driest of continents.

THE AUSTRALIAN WAY OF LIFE

American soldiers in Australia are finding that the Australian way of life is fundamentally very much like their own, although there are many superficial differences. Class distinctions are almost unnoticeable; rich and poor, farmer and factory worker, laborer and clerk, mix freely together. Except for the 50,000 aborigines, who live mostly on reservations in the “out-back,” there is no important group which does not share fully in the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship.

Life in Australian cities is not very different from that in the average American or English town. The growth of cities has encouraged the construction of American-style apartment houses, but the vast majority of Australians prefer houses of their own
with red rooftops of corrugated iron and gardens in which they can putter about. If gardening palls on them, they may (in peace time, when gas is plentiful) pile their families into their automobiles and drive to the nearest beach. Like Americans, Australians are enthusiastic worshippers of sun, sand and sea. All of the big cities possess magnificent bathing beaches, and on Sundays their sands are alive with bathers. The brawny lifeguards of Sydney's beaches are famous, as are the airplane patrols which on some beaches warn swimmers of the presence of sharks.

Likewise, life on an Australian sheep station has much in common with that on a ranch in Montana or Texas. Each station is a self-contained unit; the nearest village may be many miles distant. The owners of large stations are called "squatters" (not a derogatory term in Australia), and as a rule their holdings are enormous. Sheep-raising in Australia is big business. Though some of the workers employed, like the shearsers, are highly skilled and unionized, labor is often migratory, moving wherever there is work to be done.

Australians observe the Sabbath more strictly than Americans, and our soldiers have often been disappointed to find movies, sporting events, bars and dance halls closed on Sunday. The Church of England (Episcopal) has the largest number of communicants, but the Roman Catholic Church is well endowed and maintains numerous parochial schools. Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists are also numerous. Primary education is free and compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen, and each of the state universities offers many scholarships.

**CRICKET AND HORSE-RACING**

Australians are enthusiastic sportsmen. Their English heritage has given them a preference for cricket, which may be regarded as the national sport. The greatest cricket player of recent times, Don Bradman, was probably more widely idolized than our own Babe Ruth. Soccer and rugby are also popular, as are golf and
WHAT THEY EAT

Australians and New Zealanders consume approximately:

- 8 times as much tea as Americans
- 2 times as much beef
- 10 times as much lamb and mutton
- 2 times as much butter

but only:

- 1/5 as much coffee
- 1/3 as much pork and veal

sailing. Australian tennis players have done well in Davis Cup competitions, and defeated the United States team for the championship in 1939. A very popular Australian sport is horse-racing, which is carried on from one end of the country to the other. Betting on the races is extremely common, especially on the annual classic, the Melbourne Cup, which attracts the best entries of the country's very fine stables. In fact, betting on anything at all is so popular that it has been called Australia's national vice. The movies (mostly Hollywood and British products) provide the other main sources of amusement.

Tea and beer, as the visitor soon discovers, are the national drinks. Australian beer is excellent, and consumption of hard liquor is discouraged by its high price. Although Australians make good wine, they do not drink much of it. However, they make good use of their abundant meat supply, and put away generous portions—especially lamb and mutton—every day. Nowadays their diet features lamb and mutton more than ever because the American troops stationed in the country prefer beef, pork and green vegetables, which they have bought up in large quantities. In general, Australians are hearty eaters and prefer solid
meals to things like salad and ice cream. In recent years, however, soda fountains—called “milk bars”—have appeared in increasing numbers in the cities, to the delight of dairymen and the disgust of conservative folk.

There is an engaging breeziness about the average Australian which is likely to appeal to the free and easy American. The “Aussie” is usually built on generous lines, and is well able to hold his own with his fists or his tongue or both. Americans like to think that they can, if need arises, swear with the best of them; yet it must be admitted that the Australian, when aroused, has few equals in the art of profanity. In both world wars the Australian soldier has gained a reputation for hardiness and resourcefulness, and his dislike of military discipline and punctilio has endeared him to many a war correspondent in search of colorful stories.

Like the United States, Australia has a colorful and highly developed slang language of its own, which is often unintelligible to the uninitiated. Although, to the American, Australian speech often sounds nasal and similar to that of the London cockney, actually it is a product of the country and owes as little to London as to New York. Illustrative of the Australian pronunciation is the story of the earnest schoolboy who was asked, “What is a bison?” “A bison,” he replied, “is what ya wash ya hands ’n fice in.”

**ART AND THE OUTBACK**

Australia has borrowed certain artistic forms from England and then proceeded to make them her own. National schools of painting and writing have come of age, and both deal primarily with typical aspects of the Australian scene. The “outback” and the lives of its inhabitants provide a wealth of material for both painter and author. Journalism is another outlet of expression, for Australia is well supplied with good newspapers and magazines. Many of the country’s most noted writers gained their first audience through the columns of the daily press. Australia has
contributed its share of famous singers and musicians, outstanding among whom are Nellie Melba, Percy Grainger, John Brownlee and Marjorie Lawrence.

There are two radio broadcasting systems, one under government supervision, as in England, the other managed by private interests as in the United States. The radio has perhaps done more than anything else to bring the residents of the Australian “outback” into closer contact with their fellow-citizens along the coast. This has been a welcome development because formerly there was a danger that the pastoralists of the interior, out of touch with current affairs, might grow away from the rest of the Australian community and remain an indigestible mass within the country, as the Boers have done in South Africa.

AUSTRALIA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The war for American independence was partly responsible for the settlement of Australia. Until that time England had transported many of its convicts to America. When that outlet was closed, the English prisons became unbearably overcrowded, and a new outlet had to be found. The first group of convicts arrived in Australia in 1788, and established a settlement on the site of present-day Sydney. Other shipments of both free and convict settlers continued to arrive, and new communities grew up along the southeastern coast. The first settlement in Tasmania was founded in 1803, in Queensland in 1824, and in Western Australia in 1829. Melbourne was founded in 1835, Adelaide in 1836.

The earliest years were devoted to developing the farm lands around Sydney. In 1813, however, the vast inland pastures lying behind the highlands west of Sydney were discovered, and this led to the beginning of sheep-raising on a large scale. During the next years explorers ventured far afield, charting the courses of rivers and appraising the possibilities of the country. Enterprising graziers took their sheep over the divides into the new country in search of free land.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>A SAMPLE OF ANZAC SLANG</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A fair cow: God-awful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beak: magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billabong: water hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy: can for tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloke, cove: fellow, guy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluey: blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob: shilling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosker, bonzer, corker:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fine, swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocky: small farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come a gutser: to flop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crook: ill, out of sorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair dinkum: genuine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honest-to-God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodo!: fine, okay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graft: to work hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1851 gold was discovered in Ballarat, Victoria, the richest known field in the world at the time. The gold rush was on. Scenes like those in California in '49 were repeated in Australia in '51. In ten years the population of the country jumped from 400,000 to over a million. Another outbreak of gold fever accompanied the discovery of fields in West Australia—at Coolgardie in 1892 and in the following year at Kalgoorlie, which is still Australia’s biggest producer of gold.

In the meantime, big things had been happening. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the progress of steam navigation had brought Australia much closer to Europe, which—especially England—offered a ready market for Australian raw materials. Between 1860 and 1900 the population more than trebled. So did
the number of sheep. The acreage under wheat increased seven-fold. Commercial farming took its place beside sheep-raising as a great Australian industry.

OPENING A CONTINENT

Many immigrants who had come to Australia in search of gold remained to work on farms, ranches or in the new factories which were growing up. The cities flourished on the increase in foreign trade. Cart roads gave way to railroads. Irrigation transformed land hitherto regarded as useless. The discovery of artesian water supplies in the interior gave new scope to the ambitions of ranchmen. Scientific crossbreeding produced types of wheat adapted to almost every variety of Australian climate. New methods of refrigeration enabled cattle owners to export huge quantities of lamb, mutton, beef and dairy products as well as hides and wool.

In short, the period between 1850 and the first World War was one of rapid progress. In Australia, as in the United States, the opening up of a new continent gave rise to a national spirit of optimism and self-confidence.

E PLURIBUS UNUM

Until the beginning of the twentieth century Australia was divided into separate colonies, like the American colonies before 1776. Each was jealous of its powers and reluctant to cooperate with its neighbors. But the rapid development of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century created new problems—such as national defense, immigration and tariffs—which could not be dealt with by disunited states. The result was federation.

The Commonwealth of Australia was established by an act of the British Parliament in 1900, and the first Federal Parliament met in 1901. Nevertheless, state loyalties are still strong, and each state still maintains its own representative in England. Every increase in the power of the Federal Government has met with
AUSTRALIA — IMPORTANT DATES

1788 Arrival of first settlers; Sydney founded
1793 Arrival of first free immigrants
1797 Introduction of merino sheep
1813 First crossing of Blue Mountains; opening of interior
1840 Discontinuance of convict transportation to Australian mainland
1846 Initiation of meat preserving
1850 First university founded at Sydney
1851 Beginning of gold rush
1854 First railway
1855 First anti-Chinese legislation
1862 First crossing of continent from south to north
1891 Labor Party appears as political force
1900 The Commonwealth established
1901 Immigration Restriction Act
1904 Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration established
1908 First Labor Government in Commonwealth
1914 First World War; Australia occupies German New Guinea
1915 First steel produced at Newcastle
1939 Australia enters Second World War

opposition from supporters of states' rights. Many Australians look to the government in their state capital rather than to that in Canberra. "Canberra itself," it has been said, "is less a national capital than the monument of a compromise between jealous provincialisms."

The head of the Federal Government is the Prime Minister,
who is usually the leader of the strongest political party of the moment. The Commonwealth Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives, whose members are elected by the voters of the state which they represent. The system of voting by secret paper ballot, now in common use in the United States, originated in Australia. Every citizen over twenty-one years of age is required to vote; failure to do so is punishable by a small fine. Each of the six states has its own legislature and a Premier whose duties correspond roughly to those of the governor of an American state.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Both the Federal and the state governments follow British parliamentary procedure. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet resign when they lose the support of Parliament, and a new cabinet is formed, or else Parliament is dissolved and a general election is held. Thus ministries do not remain in office for any fixed term. One cabinet, under the war-time Prime Minister Hughes, lasted from 1918 to 1923, while in 1941 the Fadden Cabinet was forced to resign after only one month in office.

The Federal or Commonwealth Government handles matters of national importance, such as defense, foreign affairs, foreign and interstate commerce, currency, coinage and certain social legislation. The state governments deal with education, health, justice, railways and other matters of intrastate interest.

In addition to the states, the Commonwealth of Australia includes the Australian Capital Territory (like our District of Columbia) and the Northern Territory on the mainland. Australia has a number of territorial possessions: the mandated territory of New Guinea; Papua; Nauru; the Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands; and a section of the Antarctic continent (about two and a half million square miles). The area of these outlying dependencies is nearly as large as that of continental Australia.

The King of England is also the monarch of Australia, and is
represented by a Governor General, usually British, whose practical role in the Commonwealth Government is very slight. In the same way the King appoints a Governor to represent him in each state. Australia and Great Britain exchange High Commissioners, who act as diplomatic representatives of their governments. The presence of British officials in Australia does not mean that Australia is not completely self-governing, but is merely an expression of the close cooperation with England which Australia has always maintained.

THE ROLE OF LABOR

Three major parties dominate Australian politics. The Country Party represents the pastoral and big farming interests. The United Australia Party has the support of banking, mining, commercial and industrial groups. These are the conservative parties, whose conservatism, however, looks like liberalism by American standards. This is because they dare not be openly anti-labor, since labor is the most powerful organized force in Australia.

The Labor Party, the party of the trade unions, and hence of the working man, is in office today. Although it relies for support on the organized labor movement, it has many adherents among the professional and small shopkeeping classes. Its leader, Prime Minister John Curtin, is a lifelong trade unionist. This is much as if the President of the United States were a prominent member of the American Federation of Labor. The efforts of the Labor Party have been largely responsible for the reputation which Australia has won for being a working man's country.

This reputation was not won in a day. Trade unions first appeared in Australia about 1850, but it was not until the 1870's, with the organization of the Australian Workers' Union among the wool-shearers, that they began to expand at all rapidly. Though the shearers remained its nucleus, the Australian Workers' Union soon included various kinds of unskilled laborers, and it has since held a prominent position in the labor movement.
The early formative period, in which the unions met with little concerted opposition, ended in the late nineteenth century, when private interests secured the support of the colonial governments in a successful effort to crush the pretensions of labor. Powerless against government opposition, the unions thereupon established the Australian Labor Party, in 1891, and set out to win control of the government—with considerable success. The subsequent contributions of the Labor Party cannot be measured solely by its achievements when in office; it has been equally potent as a gadfly in Opposition. If the Labor Party has not been responsible for all of the humanitarian legislation enacted in Australia, it has certainly set the standard and the pace.

AUSTRALIA'S NEW DEAL

Many of the innovations of the New Deal would be considered oldfashioned in Australia, which had its "New Deal" many years ago. The Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, whose functions in some ways resemble those of the National Labor Relations Board in the United States, was founded in 1904. Its power to regulate wages, hours and conditions of employment is much greater than that of the NLRB. More than half of all Australian wage-earners are governed by its rulings.

The standard number of working hours per week is forty-four, except in farming and shipping. Employers may not discriminate against union members in favor of non-unionists. On the other hand, unions may be dissolved by court order if found guilty of illegal behavior. Although bickering between employers and labor has always been common in Australia, strikes and lockouts are now comparatively few, perhaps because both parties are required to submit their grievances to courts of arbitration instead of taking matters into their own hands. Today, of course, many of these labor regulations have been set aside in order to meet the war-time emergency.

Although most Australians are decided individualists and be-
lievers in the advantages of private enterprise, they look to their government to provide them with a wide variety of services which in the United States are left to private business. Thus the government operates the railways, the telephone, the telegraph and the electric power services. It supplies water for many purposes including irrigation and stock-raising. It gives allowances to large families with small incomes. In addition to other social services, it pays old-age and invalid pensions and maternity allowances. The government is expected to provide an opportunity for everyone to earn a decent living. “To the Australian the State means collective power at the service of individualistic rights.”

There are few millionaires in Australia, and few paupers. The average money income is low by American standards, but so are prices. Hence real incomes, in terms of purchasing power, are large enough to permit a high standard of living. The Australian soldier's pay is the highest in the world—$65 a month.

**ROADS, RAILWAYS, AIR LINES**

The Australian transportation system is adequate for the peacetime needs of the country, but leaves much to be desired from the point of view of efficient defense. An excellent network of railways and highways serves the more populous regions along the eastern and southern coasts, but in the north and west, and in the interior, travel facilities are scanty. Only recently has it become possible to traverse Australia from north to south, by means of a defense highway linking the railways at either end.

When the railways were originally built, each state constructed its own independent system. The result is that the gauge of the railways varies from state to state. To travel from Cairns in the northeast to Perth in the southwest, it is necessary to change trains five times. There has been much talk of establishing a standard gauge for the whole country, but little has been accomplished.

Australia is well served by motor highways in and between the
main population centers, but in the more remote interior many of the roads are merely rough tracks through the bush. Since the war began, construction of new highways and improvement of old ones has been vigorously pushed in order to speed the movement of troops and military supplies to places where they are needed. Most of the automobiles in use are American-made. Because practically no petroleum is produced in the country, wartime rationing has been so severe that few private automobiles are still able to operate.

Domestic air transport has benefited from generous government subsidies and, like the radio, had done much to overcome the isolation of remote communities in the interior. In the Australian "outback," the trackless wastes lying behind the coastal mountain ranges, planes are used as ambulances. The "flying doctors" of the Australian bush do much to reduce the hardships of life in the sparsely settled back country.

Because other means of transportation are centered in the southeast, where most Australians live, the development of commercial aviation has been of particular importance to the tropical north and to western Australia; hitherto so inaccessible from the big cities. For example, traveling by land or sea, the trip from Sydney or Melbourne to Port Darwin, the principal air and naval base in the Northern Territory, takes at least two weeks, and often considerably longer. The same trip by air occupies two days. Aviation has been a welcome aid in supplying Australia's vast expanses with adequate transportation at moderate cost.

HOW AUSTRALIA MAKES A LIVING

Every other Australian lives in one of the great cities on the rim of the continent—Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, etc.—which carry on a thriving industry and commerce. Only one Australian out of three is a farmer or ranch-worker; the rest are occupied in manufacturing industries, mining, government services, commerce and the like. This may seem surprising in
view of the fact that Australia is famous primarily for its exports of wool, hides, meat and farm produce. However, cattle and sheep-raising do not require a large permanent labor force. Wheat, Australia’s leading crop, lends itself to cultivation by mechanized methods and demands only a small amount of skilled labor.

Nevertheless Australia remains first and foremost a producer of animal, vegetable and mineral products. The country has long depended largely upon its sheep flocks and, in lesser degree, on its herds of cattle. Today Australia produces over one-fourth of the world’s wool. Its sheep ranches—known as “stations”—are often of tremendous size, and many are concentrated in the huge areas where artesian water supplies permit grazing in the otherwise dry interior. Beef cattle, which require far less water than sheep, are raised on marginal lands useful for no other purpose. Large quantities of chilled and frozen lamb, mutton and beef are sent abroad, especially to England.

The other major activity in the interior is mining. With the
notable exception of petroleum, almost every essential mineral is found in Australia. Gold contributes nearly half the value of Australian mineral production. Other important mining industries are coal, lead and silver-lead, copper, bauxite (aluminum), silver, tungsten, tin and zinc. The discovery of tremendous iron deposits near Iron Knob in South Australia was as momentous for Australia’s development in the twentieth century as that of gold was in the nineteenth. Without iron, the enormous expansion of manufacturing industry in recent years would have been impossible.

While wheat, the leading crop, can be grown inland, other farming is largely confined to the fertile coastal plains. Here are the orchards and vineyards and dairy farms which produce far more than Australians can consume. Australian fruits and wine rival California products in the markets of the world, and butter and cheese from Australia supply many larders in England.

**BHP—INDUSTRIAL COLOSSUS**

Although 95 per cent of Australia’s exports are products of its farms and mines, manufacturing industries have come to assume commanding importance in the life of the country. Large-scale manufacturing of iron and steel was begun just before the first World War by the Broken Hill Proprietary Co., Ltd., which now operates two plants in New South Wales with a combined annual output of 1,500,000 tons of iron and steel. The “BHP” has been compared with United States Steel; it is one of the most powerful corporations in the world. With widespread interests including mining, shipping and the manufacture of airplanes, it dominates Australian industrial life.

Manufacturing received a tremendous stimulus during the first World War, when Australia was thrown more or less on its own and could no longer rely on imports from Great Britain. Since then manufacturing industries have expanded at a rapid pace. When the second World War broke out Australia was the only
Four-fifths of Australia's people live in the coastal areas indicated by the diagonal-line shading.
large producer of heavy manufactured goods in the Pacific area south of the equator. Important peace-time products included agricultural machinery, railway equipment and rolling stock, automobiles, electrical apparatus, woolen and cotton textiles, shoes, glassware, foodstuffs, chemicals, etc.—worth more than two billion dollars in 1939-40.

"WHITE AUSTRALIA"

With such an abundance of natural wealth, and with the equipment to convert it into articles of everyday use, Australia, as one might expect, enjoys a high standard of living. Australians are very proud of their way of life, and very much concerned to preserve it against any possible dangers. This concern has expressed itself in various ways.

In the first place, Australians pride themselves on their "Britishness." Ninety-eight per cent of the population, they say, is of British stock. Indeed, Australia, like New Zealand, is remarkably homogeneous for a young and recently colonized country. Australians believe that not only the welfare, but the very existence, of their nation depends on maintaining a white population. They believe that the vast but sparsely settled areas of their continent would, if unprotected, attract untold numbers of people from the overcrowded, impoverished countries of the near-by Orient.

The arrival of thousands of Chinese coolies, hired to work in the mines during the gold rush of the nineteenth century, laid the foundations for the "White Australia" policy. The same considerations that brought about the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act by the United States Congress in 1924 impelled Australia to close its doors to "foreigners" (that is, people of non-British stock). The Australians feared that the presence of people accustomed to low wages and a comfortable existence would drag down the Australian standard of living. There is disagreement on many subjects in Australia, but on the necessity for a White Australia policy the country stands as one man.
Another means of protecting the Australian standard of living has been to impose tariffs against imports of foreign manufactured goods, and to grant subsidies to domestic producers of primary products. In order to encourage Australian industry, the government long ago erected a high tariff wall behind which Australian manufacturers, unable to produce goods as cheaply as manufacturers in Europe and the United States, could be assured of a profitable home market. High tariffs make for high prices, of course, but Australians believe that without them there could be neither high wages nor prosperity for the working man.

PROTECTION FOR FARM AND FACTORY

Protection has not, however, been limited to manufacturing industries. Farmers have increasingly demanded, and received, assistance from the government in the form of bonuses and subsidies. Typical is the case of cane sugar, which is produced in tropical Queensland. White labor is used exclusively, whereas most cane-sugar countries use cheap "native" labor. This high-cost production is maintained by large government subsidies to Australian producers, while the importation of foreign sugar is forbidden. The domestic price of sugar is fixed by the government at a level which will ensure a reasonable return to the producers, while the surplus is dumped abroad at a price which in 1939 was less than one-fourth of the domestic price. Only thus could it compete with the cheaper product of such countries as Java and Cuba.

In Australia, as in the United States, there is considerable rivalry between different interests for government protection or aid in one form or another. In general the clash of interests is between the industrial communities in the cities and the farmers and ranchmen in the country. But all are agreed on the necessity for protection. The question is not whether there should be protection, but who is to receive it.

Australia has always been extremely dependent in many ways
on its mother country, Great Britain. Most of its imports are products of British factories; most of its exports go to the British Isles. And foreign trade means a great deal to a country like Australia, which produces so much more than it can consume at home. In the years before the war Australia tried to increase its exports to countries around the Pacific basin. This was not easy, however, for North and South America are themselves large exporters of wool, wheat and meat, while Asia lives largely on rice and has little use for these products.

**AUSTRALIA AS A PACIFIC POWER**

For many years Australia had no real foreign policy of its own. It was content to leave the formal conduct of its foreign relations to Great Britain, which had the necessary facilities and experience. One of the first major disagreements between these two members of the British Commonwealth occurred at the Peace Conference after the first World War, when Australia insisted upon retaining control of the islands off its northern coast which it had seized from Germany during the war. These islands, so important in the defense of Australia, played a prominent part in war news in 1942.

In the 1930's, as Great Britain became increasingly preoccupied with developments in Europe, Australian national interests no longer appeared to be completely identical with those of the mother country. An Australian Prime Minister has described Australia's attitude toward the Pacific as follows:

> In the Pacific we have primary responsibilities and primary risks. The problems of the Pacific are different [from those of Europe]. What Great Britain calls the Far East is for us the near north. . . . I have become convinced that in the Pacific Australia must regard herself as a principal providing herself with her own information and maintaining her own diplomatic contacts with foreign powers. I do not mean by this that we are to act in the Pacific as if we were a completely
separate power; we must, of course, act as an integral part of the British Empire. But the primary risk in the Pacific is borne by New Zealand and ourselves. With this in mind I look forward to the day when we will have a concert of Pacific powers, pacific in both senses of the word. This means increased diplomatic contact between ourselves and the United States, China, and Japan, to say nothing of the Netherlands Indies and the other countries which fringe the Pacific. I see no reason why we should not play not only an adult, but an effective part in the affairs of the Pacific.

Australia’s first foreign diplomatic representatives (all appointed after the outbreak of war in Europe) were sent to the United States, Japan and China—Pacific nations all.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

The outbreak of war with Japan in 1941 ended a long period of watchful waiting. Even after the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the Australian government tried to remain on good terms with Japan, although its attitude was opposed by organized labor, which favored a policy of collective security. Great Britain and the United States at this time were pursuing a policy of appeasement in the Far East, and so was Australia, which could scarcely have defended itself against Japan single-handed. But Australia welcomed the stiffening of the Anglo-American attitude toward Japan after the latter joined the Axis in 1940, and the Commonwealth Government has ever since been in the vanguard of the anti-Japanese coalition in the Pacific.

Political storm clouds in Europe were not lost on Australia, which began to step up its defense production even before the actual outbreak of war in 1939. At that time, Australia unhesitatingly ranged herself on the side of Great Britain, and the country’s industrial machine was thrown into high gear. An increasing flood of munitions and heavy armaments began to leave Australian factories for use abroad as well as at home.
AUSTRALIAN WAR PRODUCTION

AIRCRAFT

TRAINERS

1939
First Wirraway produced

1942
Wirraways and Tiger Moths 100-200 per month

BOMBERS

1939
None

1942
Beaufort torpedo bomber, Wackett bomber, quantity production

LIGHT TANKS

1939
None

1942
Mass production

ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS

1939
Negligible

1942
3.7-in. guns, quantity production

SHIPS

DESTROYERS

1939
None

1942
Three being built, one launched

MINESWEEPERS

1939
None

1942
Many in service, 48 to be built in 1942

FACTORY WORKERS

IN WAR INDUSTRY

1939
5,000

1942
200,000

Dec. 1942
518,000 planned

ALSO PRODUCED: Airplane engines and propellers, machine guns (5 types), trench mortars, 25-lb. howitzers, anti-tank guns, rifles, shells, ammunition, optical instruments, corvettes, cargo ships.

CHIEF DEFICIENCIES: Fighter planes, heavy tanks. Production of these begun in 1942.
As in the United States, war production in Australia was expanded by building new plants and even more by converting existing factories from peace-time to war-time uses. This change-over was effected rapidly. Occasionally, where private initiative was lacking, the government constructed munitions factories of its own. By the time hostilities had reached its own shores, Australia was producing almost every kind of modern weapon, except large naval vessels and certain types of airplanes. But despite the amazing growth of its armaments industry, many military supplies must still be brought in from abroad.

Therefore, when the course of the war thrust Australia into the front lines as United Nations headquarters in the southwest Pacific, the Dominion was much more than a geographical base. It was a mighty arsenal and producer of all sorts of military equipment. In addition, it is the home of a people which has vowed to fight to the last man and the last shilling. Probably five out of every six Australians are either in the armed services or working in war industry.

AUSTRALIA FIGHTS

In 1939, the Australian army consisted of about 2,300 men, reinforced by a national guard of 35,000. By 1942 there were more than half a million men under arms—the equivalent, in proportion to population, of an American army of nearly ten million. Both the navy and the Royal Australian Air Force have increased their material strength enormously and are now a valuable part of General MacArthur’s command, besides serving on other fronts as well.

Of one thing Americans may be sure. By throwing in their lot with the Australians, they are joining forces with a fighting nation, not simply trying to save a helpless people. The Australians have already made great and valuable sacrifices in men and money, and have had to bear a heavy burden of war in the Libyan, Greek and Malayan campaigns. They have done yeoman service
and placed us in their debt by holding off the enemy with inferior forces and equipment while we in the United States were mobilizing our resources for war. Today our troops under General MacArthur can repay this debt by coming to the aid of Australia and preparing it as a joint American-Australian base for an offensive against Japan.

NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealanders too are a fighting people holding a key position. Lying some 1,200 miles southeast of Australia, New Zealand dominates the vital supply line between Australia and the United States. New Zealanders realize that they are fighting not only for their own safety but also for that of the United Nations. They therefore welcomed the arrangement by which New Zealand was included in the United States Navy's South Pacific command.

Sometimes called the most British country in the world after Great Britain herself, New Zealand is geographically almost the exact antipodes of Britain, for it lies just west of the 180th meridian, the opposite number of the meridian of Greenwich. This puts it on the other side of the international date line and so, like Australia, it is a day ahead of American time.

New Zealand is predominantly a country of small towns. The largest city, Auckland, has only about 220,000 people and Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin have from 83,000 to 160,000 each. Everyday life is very much like that in the more settled parts of Australia. In the country, the typical figure is the "cocky" or small farmer, who is often considerably in debt to the banks or finance companies. Large estates of the Australian type are rare, although there are sheep stations in the wild mountainous country known as the "back blocks." The cooperative movement is well developed among the dairy farmers, who maintain efficient cooperative butter and cheese factories.
New Zealand has a very high standard of living, although such luxuries as washing-machines and refrigerators are not so common as in the United States. Incomes and wage rates seem low when converted into dollars—a semi-skilled factory worker earns about five or six pounds or $16 to $19 a week. But prices are likewise low, especially rent and food prices, so that in terms of real goods and satisfactions the New Zealander has a standard of living close to that of the most fortunate sections of the United States. Thanks to a liberal system of government loans, a large proportion of New Zealanders own their own homes, most of which, even in the cities, have good-sized yards and gardens; there are very few apartments. New Zealand shares Australia’s attitude on the subject of immigration.

LOWEST DEATH RATE IN THE WORLD

There is a remarkable degree of social equality, extremes of wealth or poverty being rare, and class differences non-existent. Largely because of well-organized machinery for social welfare, the country is notably healthy. The national death rate is the lowest in the world, and, thanks to a famous system of prenatal and infant care, babies born in New Zealand have a better chance of surviving than in any other country. Like the Australians, the New Zealanders are devoted to outdoor life. Rugby football rather than cricket is the great national sport, and there is intense pride in the exploits of the all-New Zealand team, the “All Blacks,” which has played against Britain and the Dominions.

In the arts and sciences New Zealand has not yet won any great world renown. Its two most distinguished representatives have probably been Katherine Mansfield, the writer, and Lord Rutherford, the great physicist. David Low, the London cartoonist, is another celebrated New Zealander, whose creation, “Colonel Blimp,” has become a world figure.

The typical New Zealand accent is closer to British speech than the Australian, and in general the New Zealander has
Key to inset map showing land districts: 1, North Auckland; 2, Auckland; 3, Gisborne; 4, Hawke's Bay; 5, Taranaki; 6, Wellington; 7, Nelson; 8, Marlborough; 9, Westland; 10, Canterbury; 11, Otago; 12, Southland.

Courtesy of American Geographical Society
stronger sentimental attachments to the “old country.” Some critics in fact insist that New Zealanders tend to idealize an England that passed away thirty years ago. Others complain that New Zealand suffers from cultural mediocrity and a complacent small-town outlook as a result of staying so emotionally tied to Britain’s apron strings. That is perhaps a result of the Dominion’s isolation, small population, short history and social equality; but the faults, if they exist, are offset by the great natural and social advantages enjoyed by the common man in New Zealand.

New Zealand is some 6,000 miles from California and about 6,500 miles from the Panama Canal. On a normal peace-time voyage it can be reached by steamer from San Francisco or Los Angeles in sixteen days, or by Clipper plane in four days. The Dominion consists of two long narrow islands (North Island and South Island) which stretch over a thousand miles from north to south. These, together with the smaller Stewart Island and a few outlying groups (notably the Chatham, Auckland and Antipodes Islands), amount to about 104,000 square miles, a little larger than Great Britain or than New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined. But New Zealand’s population of 1,500,000 is less than that of the city of Philadelphia.

"BRITAIN’S DAIRY FARM"

Its surrounding seas give New Zealand a temperate climate, with plenty of rainfall and sunshine throughout the year. This makes the country extremely fertile and well suited for dairy farming; in fact, it has been called Great Britain’s outlying dairy farm. Snow falls but rarely in the settled lowlands and then only in the south; frost, however, is common. In many ways New Zealand scenery reminds Americans of the Pacific Northwest, even to the big trees, called “Kauri.” Other trees, being excellent for masts and spars, were highly valued by the old American and British whaling ships which operated from New Zealand in the early nineteenth century.
Like Japan, which it resembles in many respects (but only geographically), New Zealand is rugged and forest-covered over much of its area. The North Island has four high volcanic peaks and the South Island’s spectacular range, the Southern Alps, ranges from 8,000 to 12,000 feet. Like Japan, too, New Zealand has its Fujiyama in Mount Egmont; has suffered several serious earthquakes (the last one occurred in June 1942); and has numerous hot springs or “thermal regions” and geysers rivaling those of Yellowstone.

**THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ZEALAND**

Though first sighted in 1642 by the Dutch navigator Tasman (who gave his name to Tasmania), New Zealand was not really discovered and charted until Captain Cook visited it in 1769-70 and described the native Maori people. These remarkable people of Polynesian stock came to New Zealand probably six or seven centuries ago by prodigious feats of seamanship in open canoes from somewhere in the central Pacific. Even today they speak a language practically the same as Hawaiian. At the end of the eighteenth century American and British whalers established stations at several points on the New Zealand coast and in 1814-15 the first English missionaries arrived from Australia. These missionaries under the leadership of Samuel Marsden did a remarkable job of educating and converting the Maoris, in sharp contrast to the whalers, who did little but kill or demoralize them with firearms, liquor and European diseases.

Although efforts at settlement began in 1825, it was not until 1840 that the first group of British immigrants arrived under a definite colonization plan and established the town of Wellington, now the capital. In the next few years similar organized groups from England and Scotland settled the districts of Nelson, Canterbury and Otago, in the South Island, and Taranaki in the North. New Zealand was settled in a rather well-planned manner, and under the leadership of Edwin Gibbon Wakefield an effort
NEW ZEALAND — IMPORTANT DATES

1642 New Zealand discovered by Abel Tasman
1769-77 Charted by Captain Cook
1792-1814 Whaling and sealing stations established
1832 Samuel Marsden, first missionary, arrived
1832 First British Resident appointed
1840 Treaty of Waitangi ceding New Zealand to Britain
1840 First group of English settlers arrived
1853 Representative government established
1860-70 Wars against Maori tribes
1882 First shipment of frozen meat overseas
1891-1906 Period of progressive social legislation
1907 New Zealand constituted a Dominion
1914 New Zealand forces occupy German Samoa
1935 First Labor Government

(not wholly successful) was made to transplant a cross-section of English life. New Zealand was never a convict colony, though a few released or escaped convicts from Australia came over to settle.

New Zealand became British in a somewhat unusual manner. It was not conquered or yielded under pressure, but was voluntarily ceded to Queen Victoria by the Maori chiefs, over 500 of whom signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This treaty still governs many land rights of the Maoris and has often been invoked by the tribes in New Zealand courts.

Despite many sincere efforts by the government to protect the Maoris, many of their lands passed into the hands of the white settlers, often for only a few guns and blankets. Not being used to Western ideas of property, the Maoris, like the Indians in America, often failed to realize what was involved in the sale of...
land, and English speculators or land companies often took dishonorable advantage of the Maoris' ignorance and desire for guns.

Bitter disputes often arose and the resentment they aroused contributed much to the Maori wars which disfigured New Zealand history in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Maoris had had a long tradition of bloody warfare and massacres among themselves and fought stubbornly against the British forces before they were subdued. In one crucial fight a besieged Maori force answered the British commander who offered them quarter in words that are still a watchword in New Zealand today: "Ka whaiwhai tonu, ake, ake, ake!" (We shall fight on for ever and ever!)

MAORI COMEBACK

As with other native peoples in the Pacific, European diseases such as measles, influenza and tuberculosis took a heavy toll of the Maoris during the last century. For a time it was feared that the race would die out, but around the end of the century their numbers began to increase again, rising from 40,000 to about 90,000 today. Only about half are now pure-blooded Maoris. The great majority live on their own tribal lands in the northeastern part of the North Island, though fair numbers work as farm laborers, sheep-shearers and lumberjacks. Maori units have served with distinction in this and the last war.

The country was governed for a few months in 1840 as a dependency of New South Wales (Australia), but was then made a separate colony under the British Colonial Office. In 1853 a system of representative government was authorized, and the first session of the General Assembly (Parliament) was held the next year. The first responsible cabinet ministers were appointed in 1856. The colony at first had six provincial legislatures with limited powers, in addition to the central government, but the provinces were abolished in 1876.

In 1907 New Zealand became a Dominion and in practice po-
Politically independent of Great Britain. Today it even has dependencies of its own, as it administers the Ross Dependency (in Antarctica), the Cook, Union and several other South Pacific islands lying between Samoa and Tahiti. It holds a League of Nations mandate over Western Samoa and shares with Australia and Great Britain a mandate over the equatorial phosphate island of Nauru.

The Dominion is governed today by a Parliament with an appointed upper chamber (the Legislative Council) having very limited powers, and an elected lower house (House of Representatives) of some eighty members including four Maoris. In normal times elections are held every three years and the majority party forms the government, with a Prime Minister and a cabinet of usually twelve other ministers, customarily including a Maori.

The nominal head of the government is the Governor General, representing and appointed by the King of England, but he must accept the advice of the Cabinet, and the real head is of course the Prime Minister. The whole system of government and parliamentary procedure resembles that of England though there are certain important differences. All persons over twenty-one are entitled to vote and are required to register on the electoral rolls though not compelled to vote. New Zealand was one of the first countries to grant votes to women (in 1893), long before the United States and England.

LABOR COMES TO POWER

New Zealand began its political life with Conservative and Liberal parties on the English model, but these rapidly began to differ from their English counterparts. The Conservatives later called themselves the Reform Party, and the Liberals the United Party. In 1931 the two groups combined to form the National Party, opposed to Labor. The Labor Party began about 1905, grew rapidly after 1919, came into power in 1935, and has held office ever since. There is also a very small left-wing Democratic
Labor Party (only two members in Parliament), which split off from the larger party in 1940. At the outbreak of war in 1939, a special War Cabinet of five ministers was formed, including two Opposition (National Party) members. On July 1, 1942 the government was enlarged into a coalition administration with a War Cabinet of seven Labor and six Opposition members.

The Labor Party won a decisive victory in 1938, being re-elected with a two-thirds majority. In outlook it is essentially "social-democratic" rather than "socialist" in the theoretical Marxist sense, and won its support on a very progressive, even radical, program of social reform and state economic control. This may seem rather surprising in what is mainly a nation of small farmers with only a relatively small industrial working class. But actually New Zealand has had a long tradition, even under conservative governments, of social reforms and state control far in advance of many other progressive nations at the time.

**NEW ZEALAND'S PROGRESSIVE TRADITION**

Such things as government ownership of railways, telegraphs, radio, hydroelectric power, municipal ownership and operation of public utilities and hospitals, government life and fire insurance, old-age pensions, government loans at low interest to farmers and home-owners, compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes—all these have been taken for granted by New Zealanders for several decades without any fear that private enterprise and ownership were being seriously menaced or that the country was on its way to Communism. Thus the Labor Government's new schemes were mostly reviving and continuing a tradition that had somewhat weakened in the previous twenty years.

Nevertheless the new program was far-reaching. The central Reserve Bank was nationalized and made much more powerful. A forty-hour week was enforced in most industries. Prices paid to farmers for staple export products were fixed. A vigorous program of public works and housing was begun. Wage cuts were
restored and the position of trade unions strengthened. Old-age pensions and family allowances were increased. A comprehensive Social Security Act provided for unemployment and sickness benefits, invalids' and widows' pensions, and a nation-wide free medical, maternity and hospital service.

The Labor Party normally draws its support from the trade unions, which are well organized and influential, and from city workers and public service employees. In recent years, however, the party's far-reaching program has also won the support of many small farmers and professional people. Most of the party leaders and members of the present government are working men who have come up from the ranks of the trade unions.

Though it opposed conscription in 1914-18 the party is wholeheartedly united behind the present war. Indeed, in the League of Nations New Zealand had long taken a vigorous line of denouncing appeasement, often in opposition to Britain and other Dominions. The present Prime Minister is Peter Fraser, successor to the former leader Michael Savage, who died in 1940. The party's ablest financier and intellectual leader is Walter Nash, Minister of Finance and now New Zealand Minister to the United States.

SHEEP—COWS—HOGS

How do New Zealanders make a living? Mainly off the land, by raising sheep, cows and hogs, and by processing farm products (wool, frozen meat, bacon, hides, tallow, butter and cheese) for export, chiefly to England. The three great staple exports—wool, butter and lamb—have a high reputation among British consumers. Agriculture is mostly combined with sheep-raising or dairying and the principal crops (wheat, oats, hay, potatoes and turnips) are not exported but consumed locally.

Mining (coal and gold mostly) is on a rather small scale and the absence of large or easily workable iron deposits, together with the small domestic market, has prevented the development
of any heavy industries. What factory industry does exist is mostly concerned with such things as meat-refrigeration, butter and cheese-making, tanning, the manufacture of shoes, blankets, farm implements, flour, clothing, foodstuffs, and assembling automobiles from imported parts.

**FOREIGN TRADE ALL-IMPORTANT**

Much of this industry has grown up behind a tariff wall, but tariff protection has been less important for New Zealand than for Australia. Most manufactured goods must be imported from Britain, the Empire and the United States, and are paid for from the sale of New Zealand exports. Foreign trade is thus all-important; in fact, New Zealand has the highest overseas trade per head in the world. Being so dependent on foreign markets, New Zealand has suffered severely from depressions, more particularly as it has a large burden of national debt to be paid in London from the proceeds of its exports. It was partly in an effort to mitigate this insecurity from foreign price changes that the Labor government introduced its scheme of guaranteed prices for staple dairy products.

In peace time over three-quarters of New Zealand's trade was
with Britain and the Empire. Some 12 to 15 per cent of the imports came from the United States (mainly automobiles, trucks and gasoline), but only 5 to 7 per cent of New Zealand exports were sold here, largely because of the high American tariff on butter, cheese, wool and meat. Since 1939 most of New Zealand's trade has been under special war controls, with the British government buying up most of the staple commodities. The shortage of shipping, and especially the loss of refrigerated ships, has seriously damaged the export trade. One consequence of this has been a great increase in exports of cheese, which does not require refrigeration.

New Zealand's close ties to Britain have been most evident in the field of foreign policy and defense. Except for the pre-war differences in outlook between the New Zealand Labor government and the British government on the problems of Ethiopia, Spain and appeasement of Germany, New Zealand followed the British lead and showed little sign of having a policy of its own. This was partly because the Dominion realized that its protection and prosperity depended on British naval power. Today, however, with British power in the Pacific temporarily in eclipse and Japan rampant, New Zealand realizes that it must depend on American rather than British naval power. How important it considers its new ties with America is shown by the fact that for its first appointment of a minister abroad, New Zealand sent to Washington one of its ablest cabinet ministers, Mr. Walter Nash, who serves on the Pacific War Council.

**NEW ZEALAND AT WAR**

This does not mean that New Zealand is sheltering passively behind American protection. Far from it. Long before Pearl Harbor a New Zealand cruiser helped to cripple the German pocket battleship *Graf Spee*, and a substantial war production program had been set on foot. Thus far some 60,000 troops have been sent abroad, to the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and about
14,000 New Zealanders have been killed, wounded or captured, mostly in Greece and Crete. Every able-bodied man between 16 and 66 is compelled to serve either in the armed forces or in civil defense work. The personnel of the home air force exceeds 10,000 and the country is sending its full quota of about 5,000 men a year to the Empire air training schools in Canada.

It is estimated that war expenditures for 1942 will total some $425,000,000, or three-fifths of the national income, and three times the amount spent in 1940. New Zealanders are being taxed far more heavily than Americans. The basic income tax starts at a rate of 12½ per cent on incomes as low as $640 and rises to 90 per cent for incomes of $12,000 and up. On top of this are heavy surtaxes, national defense and social security taxes. The forty-hour week and the normal Arbitration Court rules concerning wages and overtime have been dropped in all war industries. Workers on construction jobs must work fifty-four hours a week at a fixed wage of about $16 a week plus travel and food. Workers in key war industries may not be fired and may not quit or transfer to other jobs without government permission. Non-essential enterprises, such as retail shops, are not permitted to hire new labor. No one of the twenty-eight United Nations is applying itself more wholeheartedly to the task of beating the Axis than New Zealand.

**ANZACS LOOK AHEAD**

Being intelligent, wide-awake people, the Australians and New Zealanders are already thinking about the position which they will occupy in the changed world after the war. This is no time for detailed prophecies, but it seems clear at least that in the future the destinies of the two Dominions will be much more closely linked with other Pacific nations, and less with Great Britain. In particular, their contacts with the United States are likely to be very much closer in the future than they have been in the past.
Just as Americans have watched "the Far East draw nearer" at alarming speed, so Australia and New Zealand have been convinced by the grim evidence of Japanese aggression that the Far East is for them the "Near North." They will not easily forget the lesson. Both have been confirmed in the belief that in their own interest and in that of the world they must maintain close and friendly relations with the United States. They hope, too, that Americans will realize now, and remember after the war, that America also has an interest in strengthening its ties with its sister democracies in the south Pacific.

There may, of course, be opposition to that process. On both sides of the Pacific, it may be impeded by local vested interests, isolationist sentiment, imperial ties, economic competition, jealousy and distrust. Yet it seems possible, and certainly desirable, that the habits of cooperation and the friendships which the common war effort is creating may be continued to serve the purposes of peace as well as those of war.

CLOSER TIES WITH UNITED STATES

It is too early to foresee just what forms such cooperation might take. But in the field of national defense, it is easy to imagine measures under which the two Dominions would make air and naval bases freely available to the United States. America might also play a greater role in the government of some of the smaller Pacific islands which provide air bases of strategic and commercial importance to all three countries. Other obvious steps are improvement of shipping and air services across the Pacific and relaxation of certain restrictions on trade and financial operations. Not least important in forging ties of good neighborhood are the development of better air, telephone and news services, and freer exchange of teachers and students, books and magazines.

Both Australia and New Zealand are likely, also, to be drawn into closer relationships with their Asiatic neighbors to the north. Conditions in Europe may make it impossible or unwise for the
Dominions to rely so greatly in future on Britain for their economic welfare. At the same time the newly awakened countries of Asia will be industrializing themselves, and this will create a demand for new sources of food and clothing which Australia and New Zealand can supply—provided they are willing to accept Asiatic goods in exchange.

Before the war, they were beginning to build up commercial and political contacts with the Netherlands Indies, which will be greatly strengthened by the war-time cooperation between the Dutch and the Australians. There will probably also be closer association with China and India, both political and economic. Japan's treachery and aggression will leave a legacy of hatred and suspicion among its enemies, but it is quite possible that a reformed Japan could quickly recover some of its pre-war trade with Australia. In a peace-time economy Japan needs wheat, wool and dairy products, and in fact its trade with Australia was growing rapidly in the pre-war years.

MORE SETTLERS NEEDED

Finally, both Dominions after the war will have to face anew the old problem of European immigration and closer settlement. This is no easy matter, as both countries have discovered, for it is not a question of notifying the crowded nations of Europe, "Here is some empty land; send some people to colonize it." Australia and New Zealand have thoroughly learned Adam Smith's dictum that "of all baggage man is the most difficult to be transported." Settlement schemes, they have found, are among the most hazardous and costly of all public works. Modern colonists require vast amounts of capital not merely for their own farms but for all the roads, railways, canals and public utilities that are needed to open up new land today. Much of this new capital will probably have to be borrowed from abroad, and it may well be that Great Britain and the United States can cooperate in supplying it on reasonable terms.

46
For despite all the difficulties involved, there will be a real obligation on the part of Australia and New Zealand to increase their population very considerably. The war has shown their need for man power both for defense and for economic development. It is true that there have been fantastic exaggerations of the populations they can support, usually disregarding the fact that it is not the “vast empty spaces” that will be filled (any more than the spaces of Nevada or North Africa), but the already populated areas that will be more closely settled.

Nevertheless it is not unreasonable to expect that, provided capital can be secured and world trade restrictions are lifted, Australia’s population could be quadrupled and New Zealand’s quintupled within the next forty or fifty years. Certainly unless some such vigorous drive for European immigration is revived, Australia and New Zealand cannot expect to continue their present policies of “white settlement” and Oriental exclusion without incurring the justified criticism and perhaps open hostility of the crowded millions of Asia to the north.

ANZACS AND AMERICANS

We are often told that the world is shrinking. The railway, the steamship, the airplane and the radio are reducing space in terms of time. Certainly this is nowhere better demonstrated than in the Pacific. Seven thousand miles of intervening water vanish in a twinkling as the American turns the dial of his radio and hears first a voice from Washington, then one from Melbourne on the other side of the globe. Perhaps the radio reporter describes a bombing expedition in which American and Australian pilots shared the honors; perhaps he speaks of the curiosity with which an Australian crowd watched an exhibition baseball game by American soldiers. Americans and Anzacs are learning to fight together, to play together and to work together.
WHAT TO READ

Australia


AUSTRALIA. By W. K. Hancock. Scribners, New York, 1931. Excellent, readable standard work.

AUSTRALIA, HER HERITAGE, HER FUTURE. By Paul McGuire. Frederick Stokes, New York, 1939.

AUSTRALIA’S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST. By Jack Shepherd. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1940.


AUSTRALIA: OFFICIAL HANDBOOK. Australian National Publicity Association, Melbourne, 1941. Excellent handbook with photos and maps. Also available from the Australian News and Information Bureau, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York.

AUSTRALIA. Monthly mimeographed illustrated bulletin of the Australian News and Information Bureau, New York. Free. Includes good index to current magazine and newspaper articles on Australia.

New Zealand


NEW ZEALAND’S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST. By Ian F. G. Milner. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1940.

NEW ZEALAND’S LABOR GOVERNMENT AT WORK. By W. B. Sutch. League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 1940. Pamphlet.
Other Pamphlets Published by the

AMERICAN COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

OUR FAR EASTERN RECORD 35 cents
Vol. II, edited by Fawn Brodie
A reference digest on American policy.

CHINA: AMERICA'S ALLY 15 cents
by Robert W. Barnett
A discussion of the strategic importance of the Chinese army, and the political and economic forces which support it.

KNOW YOUR ENEMY: JAPAN 5 cents
by Anthony Jenkinson
The answers to ten vital questions concerning our enemy in the Pacific.

ASIA'S CAPTIVE COLONIES 10 cents
by P. E. Lilienthal and J. H. Oakie
The effects of colonial rule and the growth of nationalism in "Southeast Asia." The importance of this rich source of raw materials in the future.

Forthcoming:

ALASKA, by Julius C. Edelstein 10 cents

129 East 52nd Street
New York, New York
WALTZING MATILDA

This folksong is the "Tipperary" of Australian soldiers. For glossary, see page 14.

Once a jolly swagman camped by a billabong,
Under the shade of a coolibah tree,
And he sang as he watched and waited till his billy boiled,
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Waltzing, Matilda, waltzing, Matilda,
You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me.
And he sang as he watched and waited till his billy boiled,
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Down came a jumbuck to drink at that billabong,
Up jumped the swagman and grabbed him in his glee,
And he sang as shoved that jumbuck in his tucker bag,
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Waltzing, Matilda, etc.

Up rode the squatter, mounted on his thoroughbred,
Down came the troopers, one, two, three,
"Where's that jolly jumbuck you've got in your tucker bag?
You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Waltzing, Matilda, etc.

Up jumped the swagman, leaped into the billabong,
"You'll never catch me alive," said he,
And his ghost may be heard as you pass by that billabong,
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Waltzing, Matilda, etc.