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Volume Title: Immigration and the Foreign Born Volume Author/Editor: Simon Kuznets and Ernest Rubin Volume Publisher: NBER Volume ISBN: 0-87014-360-3 Volume URL: http://www.nber.org/books/kuzn54-1 Publication Date: 1954 Chapter Title: Front matter, preface, table of contents Chapter Author: Simon Kuznets, Ernest Rubin Chapter URL: http://www.nber.org/chapters/c4971 Chapter pages in book: (p. -11 - 0)

Immigration and the Foreign Born

SIMON KUZNETS

and

ERNEST RUBIN

OCCASIONAL PAPER 46

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NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH, INC.

1954

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Library of Congress catalog card number: 54:10869

PRICE: \$1.50

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(Resolution adopted October 25, 1926 and revised February 6, 1933 and February 24, 1941)

Preface

This paper originated as part of a study of the international economic relations of the United States begun in the later 1940's. It seemed important to examine not only the flows of goods and of capital, but also that of people. Indeed, immigration and emigration may well be the international flows that had the most profound impact upon the growth, and, for a long time, also upon the short-term movements of this country's economy.

Before this flow of people across the boundaries could be analyzed, the checking and reconciliation of immigration and emigration data with the census data on resident foreign born had to be carried through. This difficult task was undertaken by Ernest Rubin. It was brought to completion along the lines set forth in detail in Part III and the appendixes, for the preparation of which Dr. Rubin is largely responsible. It was possible and seemed useful to subject the tested series to an analytical examination that would reveal the broad findings—at least as clues for further exploration. This was done in Part II, for which Simon Kuznets is responsible.

Although the substantive findings are preliminary and cannot be treated at adequate length, a brief summary may be useful to guide the reader and to indicate the broad questions suggested by the record. We are indebted to George Soule for preparing a draft of the summary that constitutes Part I of the paper.

The advice of Professor Dorothy S. Thomas of the University of Pennsylvania, who reviewed the paper, led to the checking and revision of the mortality calculations for 1870–1900. We are indebted to Professor Thomas for her advice; to Miss Lillian Epstein and Miss Elizabeth Jenks for assistance in the analysis in Part II and in the calculation of the annual series of foreign born; and to

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Moses Abramovitz, Daniel Creamer, Solomon Fabricant, Clarence D. Long, and Geoffrey H. Moore for their careful reading and comments on the manuscript.

The paper reveals how deeply wars and restrictive legislation have cut into the pattern of population growth. Indeed, the change in the whole climate of international relations has been so drastic that it is hard to imagine a return to the unprecedentedly wide and free movement of people in the world—a movement which enabled millions in their prime working years to migrate and thus take advantage of better economic opportunities and contribute markedly to the growth of their country of destination.

Although this movement, like many other historical processes, is unlikely to recur in the same form, we can learn much by examining and analyzing it. Partly because the supply of data is inadequate and partly because the processes touched so deeply upon the life of the country, dispassionate and methodical study has been rather rare, and some of the most conspicuous aspects of the processes still await analysis. An understanding of these past processes and of the implications of the decisions made about them is of great *practical* importance, today perhaps more than ever. Decisions about immigration, like those about the public domain, internal improvements, industrial organization, and protection, were among the basic secular decisions-basic in that they were farreaching, and secular in that they were important for the longterm development of the economy. Although such decisions cannot be reversed easily, and often cannot be reversed at all, retrospective understanding of their consequences may forestall haste in future decisions and stimulate foresight where it is obscured by overconcern with the apparently pressing problems of the day.

These comments are made because the obvious relation between proper analysis of the past, conforming to canons of objectivity and respect for fact, and intelligent social decisions is so often overlooked. Even a hasty survey of the data in this field and a glance at the implications of some of the findings reveal the vast need for a methodical quantitative analysis of this aspect of the country's past growth. Little analysis of this type, as far as we know, is to be

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found in the literature. To such an analysis, the often tedious and sometimes statistically daring type of work undertaken here is a prerequisite.

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Simon Kuznets Ernest Rubin

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