

Americans, apart from those who follow specialized bulletins and information networks on Haiti, realize the degree to which the Bush administration attempted to prevent the democratic election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, sought to subvert him afterward and almost certainly had a hand in the coup that overthrew him.

One of Aristide's worst crimes, in the eyes of the United States Agency for International Development, was attempting to raise the minimum wage from 33 to 50 cents, an intolerable affront to U.S. corporate investors there. (Many Haitian workers make much less — including those who make baseballs for export to the U.S., receiving about 14 cents an hour.)

For this reason alone, every Haitian who wishes to come here should be automatically admitted. (I can assure Dr. Tanton that 99.9 percent of them, and of those Haitians living here now, wish to return to rebuild their country when it becomes possible to do so.) To compensate for any excess population pressure created thereby, and to improve the general social climate, I for one would not object if Bill Clinton, along with ex-Presidents Bush and Reagan, their retinues, Oliver North and several thousand CIA operatives were shipped off to Haiti to live under the kind of conditions that they themselves have done so much to create.

NOTES

¹ That intellectuals can be just as racist as the Klan is well exemplified in Samuel Huntington's "America Undone" in the same issue of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** (Spring 1994). Space won't permit any critical dissection here of his "twin bedrocks of European culture and political democracy." I'll simply mention one of the titular pillars of both in this century: the saintly Winston Churchill who, early in his political career, shortly after World War I, approved the aerial poison-gas bombing of civilian populations in Afghanistan, a technical innovation for which Saddam Hussein has lately been given unjust credit.

² To be sure there are also conflicts within, and among, immigrant groups as well as between immigrant and native working class populations. Working these through is centrally what democracy should be about. The scene in Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* where Italians, blacks, Koreans and whites spew hate epithets at each other is disturbing, but it also illustrates the importance of people being able to yell and scream at, without killing, each other. That's the real difference between Brooklyn and Bosnia (where the *actual* differences among the Serb, Croat and Muslim Slavic populations are much smaller!).

³ Reading through several issues of this journal I have not seen serious concern expressed over the very significant illegal immigration from Israel and the Irish Republic, both countries which I suppose are considered "white," or European, or whatever.

⁴ The destruction of peasant's rights to their historic collective plots is partly what the Zapatista uprising is about. This is closely related to U.S.-Mexico "free trade" under which U.S. agricultural products will flood Mexico. One Mexican economist has told me that between four and five million displaced peasant families — upwards of 20 million people all told — may be streaming northward by the end of the decade (personal communication with Manuel Aguilar Mora).

* * *

Australia's New Age of Migration

by John Nieuwenhuysen

[Dr. Nieuwenhuysen is Director of the Australian Federal Government's Bureau of Immigration and Population Research. Some of the material in this article also appeared in Melbourne's Sunday Age.]

"We are fast approaching the end of the Migration Epoch," says John Tanton in his concluding section headed *End of the Migration Epoch?* Dr. Tanton should recall, however, the traditional salute on a king's death: "The king is dead! Long live the king!"

True, large scale mass permanent migration and settlement has waned as a potential solution to poverty, overpopulation, and dismemberment following wars. Nonetheless, several traditional immigrant-receiving countries, such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, seem likely to continue with planned intakes. (Though in Australia, the current level of this intake is at its lowest ebb for many decades, the program, serving humanitarian — refugee, family reunion, and skilled labor objectives, continues basically to be a politically bipartisan program that will persist in years to come, perhaps at levels higher than the present.)

But more important than this continued planned permanent migration is the growth of **other** types of migration. It is a fundamental omission that Dr. Tanton's article *End of the Migration Epoch?* does not foresee or recognize the replacing significance of these other forms of movement. The point may be illustrated by reference to Australia, but for these purposes Australia is not unique, and the same forces

are at work elsewhere.

Two forms of migration now overshadow Australia's traditional permanent flow of settlers, both through the scale of numbers concerned, and the potential impact on the economy and society.

The first is temporary migration. In 1993, compared with the net 33,500 people who migrated permanently to Australia, there were about 94,000 temporary residents here; 75,000 overseas students; and nearly 2.7 million short-term international visitor arrivals.

These numbers are expected to grow considerably — for example, it is forecast that short-term visitors (mainly tourists) will increase to 7 million a year by 2000. In tertiary education institutions which are becoming more entrepreneurial and successful in attracting overseas students, the implications of continued or expanded international involvement are also formidable. I doubt that many can fully envisage today the enormous consequences of this growth on the future shape of Australia's society, economy, and structure.

The first category — the 94,000 temporary residents — is of special relevance to labor market issues. It includes managers, executives, specialists, technical workers, and (the main group) working holiday makers.

As freer trade grows, and inter-country investment expands, so demands for temporary resident movement will rise.

This expansion countervails the decline in permanent migration. It aids labor market flexibility and provides a means for coping with temporary skill demands. It also carries tensions, however. The availability of temporary skill supplies is sometimes said to undermine incentives for local training, and threaten conditions of work.

But there is no doubt that greater population movement to and from Australia will accompany regional economic integration. Aspirations other than permanent settlement will emerge.

Australians are already succeeding in gaining short- (and long-) term employment footholds in neighboring countries. And Australia's entry arrangements are likewise being adapted to cater for professional and technical transients, investors, and students.

Cutting across national boundaries, there is a growing pool and network of interchangeable skilled

people, making the international labor market increasingly mobile.

The second type of movement which dwarfs the scale of net permanent arrivals is internal migration. Between 1986-91, 33.5 percent of the population changed their place of residence. In 1993, Victoria suffered a net interstate migration loss of 31,500 people, and New South Wales 16,100. Queensland gained a net 53,000 people.

There are also widely different population growth rates between the States. In the years 1987-93, Victoria's population growth rate declined from 1.18 to 0.2 percent, and that of New South Wales fell from 1.54 to 0.84 percent. At the same time, Queensland's population growth rate rose from 1.92 percent in 1987 to 2.71 percent in 1993. This was almost three times the national average.

***"Cutting across national boundaries,
there is a growing pool and network
of interchangeable skilled people,
making the international labor
market increasingly mobile."***

This population movement within Australia carries profound implications for service provision and planning in both the private and public sectors. It is also visibly changing the face of urban settlement, as the ribbon of development stretching down the Queensland south coast testifies. The environmental, budgetary, economic, and social results of population growth and decline for regions are also of great significance.

In the light of this vigorous, expanded movement of people, Dr. Tanton's claim cannot be sustained that the end of the "migration epoch" is nigh. Indeed, there is a New Age of Migration — that of temporary and internal movement (coupled with reduced but continuing permanent settlement programs to some countries).

It would be foolish to neglect this New Age or to fail to monitor its path. It is likely to be just as or even more influential in the long run than the 'Bold Experiment' of post-war immigration to Australia and other countries like it.

* * *

Migration — The Challenge of the 21st Century

by Sudha Ratan

[Sudha Ratan, is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia. He is currently working on several projects dealing with issues of international migration and ethnic conflict.]

In "End of the Migration Epoch?," John H. Tanton argues that given the lack of virgin land and untapped resources in North America and the growing animosity towards migrants in the developed countries, international migration in the late 20th and into the 21st century is "no longer a practical option for almost all of the world's people."¹ In this response I will briefly outline why migration is still very much a "practical option" for the world's people regardless of how unwelcome they are. Also, I will identify the forces that are at work in keeping the exodus steady.

The obvious starting point is an examination of patterns of migration flow to determine why and how people are moving *en masse* from one region to another. Tanton (quoting Kingsley Davis) notes that the flow today runs from the developing to the developed world.² In fact, as a recent U.N. Population Fund report points out, nearly 63% of the world's total migrant population of 125 million represents migration between developing countries. The report identifies 35 million migrants in sub-Saharan Africa and a further 15 million in Asia and the Middle East as compared with about 13 million in Western Europe and North America.³ Of these, 19 million are classified as refugees with Iran, the former Yugoslavia, Pakistan, Malawi, Jordan and other developing countries playing host to over 78.9% of these refugees.⁴ Estimates are that population growth is going to lead to increased international migration of about 98 million people per year, mostly in the developing world. The effect of these statistics on the already poor and burdened states in Asia, Africa and Latin America is enormous and is going to increase if the projections made by international organizations are even partially accurate.

Ironically, the greatest hand-wringing about the negative effects of immigration is taking place today in the industrialized West where concern is focused on the inability of these countries to increase population given current consumption levels of about

75% of the world's resources. The recurring theme advanced by these countries is that they cannot be asked to bear the burden of unchecked population growth in the developing world at the expense of their own taxpayers, economies and environments. However, population growth in the developing world is **not** the most important factor per se contributing to outward migration. Given the subsistence living standards of most of the inhabitants of the developing world, large numbers of people have been and continue to be accommodated in these countries despite a limited resource base. Migration takes place when political and economic upheaval makes it impractical and dangerous for peoples and communities to continue to live in their traditional homelands.

Among the political causes of migration are the prolonged wars and civil strife fueled in the 1970s and 1980s by U.S.-Soviet animosity. More recently the trend towards democratization has fueled a spate of ethnic hostilities in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. Depending on the politics of the situation these migrants are variously classified as refugees (Afghanistan), asylum-seekers (Ethiopia, Nicaragua), or illegal immigrants (Guatemala).⁵

Economically, war and civil strife have placed tremendous burdens on state governments in the developing world. In the 1990s the industrialized countries were transferring \$20 billion worth of military supplies to less developed countries, many of which are coping with the legacy of the Cold War — money that could be better spent on the people of these countries. The forces of industrial capitalism have also created massive dislocations in the developing world leading to an annual migration rate of about 30 million people from rural to urban areas within these countries. As "needs-based" agriculture is displaced by export-driven and profit-oriented strategies in these countries, more and more people are being forced into the mega-cities of the developing world in search of work. This migration is further fueled by the ongoing environmental degradation in many of these countries brought on by ill-conceived economic policies aimed at rapid industrialization and export-led growth. Urbanization further exacerbates the environmental problems because city dwellers consume more — more goods and more energy. While 45% of the world's population or 2.4 billion people live in cities today, the estimates are that about 65% or 5.5 billion people