

nonetheless. It is created by the sharp decline in the standard of living of scientists and engineers and by the collapse of the military-industrial complex and the uncontrolled conversion of industry from military to civilian use.

Today the envisaged growth in labour emigration is not considered very serious. Quotas on immigrants from Russia have been cut by Australia, Belgium, Finland, Spain, Germany, England and France due to high unemployment rates in those countries. Some economists maintain that immigration has a negative impact on GNP growth and on the personal income of the local people and that it deprives the local population of jobs.

Another factor which can affect emigration and labour migration negatively is the rise of nationalistic activities, the emergence of nationalistic parties and groups, and the support of these tendencies by the local population in Western Europe.

In general, the position of the West regarding labour migrants is becoming more pragmatic. There are two main approaches. The first imposes exact quotas on migrants. It would allow the West to keep immigration in close correspondence with national plans for economic, scientific and technical development. For example, the new Immigration Bill of the USA creates good opportunities for qualified specialists. The quota is 140,000 people per year. Requirements for this category are that the immigrant be a qualified and licensed worker, a scientist, or a person working in modern branches of industry connected with the use of science, such as protection of the environment. The US will accept only those people who are able to satisfy the economic needs of country.

The second option involves the improvement of the conditions of life for potential emigrants in their motherlands. This option is relevant particularly to specialists who are engaged in the production of weapons and who are highly valued abroad. Employment projects are approved when they can use the potential of weapons spe-

cialists in the interests of the West. Thus, for example, negotiations have been concluded between Russia, the European Community and Japan about establishing in Moscow (and later, possibly in Kiev) a Labour Exchange for specialists in nuclear weaponry. Similarly, the USA promised 50 million dollars to assist and support Russian scientists. With this project, the USA will save 4 billion dollars.³¹

The opinion exists that it is in the interest of the Western countries to promote technical and economic assistance and participate in investments to create new economic structures in Russia. European experts have emphasized the need to finance projects involving the conversion of industry from military to civilian use and to give technical assistance and train specialists. Similarly, the USA and other countries are creating an international scientific centre in Moscow which will attract scientists now engaged in the manufacture of nuclear bombs, ballistic missiles and other dangerous weapons for work in civilian projects. According to an agreement signed by the Department of Energy of the USA and the Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Physics, 120 Russian scientists will be engaged in American research projects every year. The Department of Energy will pay the scientists US \$90,000. Expenses for similar research with American scientists would cost the American government US \$10 to \$15 million dollars, and America has invested US \$25 million in the creation of the American-German-Russian Scientific Centre for nuclear research. The funders of the Strategic Defence Initiative in the USA have instituted a program for obtaining technology and specialists from Russia. This project involves the purchase of Russian technology in 50 scientific branches, especially those where it is believed that the USA lags behind the USSR. The employment of 1,000 Soviet scientists and engineers will cost America only US \$550 per person each year. It could save the USA more than US \$4.5 billion.³² As far as we know, nobody in Russia

has tried to evaluate the full consequences for Russia of all these projects.

One cannot judge present Russian migration processes apart from their connection to world migration patterns. According to O. Stark's "balance theory,"³³ and the theory of the optimal world distribution of the factors of production under the influence of the price mechanism, general world profit is created as a result of labour force migration. We believe that such theories may well explain the rules governing world migration. However, the term "general world profit" seems to be a philosophical abstraction. Given the existence of national borders, losses or profits caused by the international movement of the labour force can be evaluated only in terms of given nation-states.

Conclusion

The total social transformation which the states of the former Soviet Union are going through today has generated a sharp intensification of migration processes, which have assumed new forms, contents and features in the 1990s. In the last few years we have witnessed ethnic migrations, repatriations of deported peoples, the homecoming of the Soviet army from Eastern Europe, various streams of refugees, and high levels of emigration, particularly of Jews and Germans.

The subject of migration used to interest only a narrow circle of specialists. Today, however, migration is an extremely important social, political and economic process. Not surprisingly, therefore, it has recently attracted the attention of many politicians in the former Soviet Union and abroad. Specifically:

- From an *economic* point of view, the high rate of immigration to Russia has negative consequences for the country. Refugees are being settled at the cost of billions of roubles—mainly Russia's. As long as the basic economic problems of Russians living in Russia remain unsolved, forced migration will aggravate a

very tense situation in the country regarding employment and housing, and will make it more difficult to implement political and economical reforms.

On the other hand, a very negative evaluation of forced migration and its consequences is not warranted. The growing number of able-bodied workers could help improve the demographic situation in Russia and help restore and develop neglected districts of the country. This could happen if the immigrants are welcomed, accepted, and employed—conditions which do not presently exist.

For the countries of the “near abroad,” the migration of the Russian-speaking population involves the loss of engineering, scientific, and technical specialists. Emigration will thus stimulate a decline in economic production.

In Central Asia, where Islamization is well under way, the emigration of Russians could heighten conflict between the remaining ethnic groups. In these areas the Russian people traditionally played a conciliatory role.

- From a *demographic* point of view, the role of migration has changed considerably in influencing the structure and size of the population of Russia. Due to the sharp fall of the birth rate and increase of the death rate, migration is becoming a key factor affecting the size of the population of Russia.

Concerning internal migration, one notes first that the pattern of rural-urban migration has altered. In 1992, for the first time in many years the number of people who moved into rural areas was greater than the number of people who moved out of them.

Movement between the countryside and the city can become routinized by socioeconomic reforms. The stream of rural people to urban areas is influenced by the privatization of land on the one hand and, on the other hand, the growth of unemployment, housing prob-

lems, difficulties in obtaining food and ecological conditions in the cities.

Inter-regionally, return migration from the North, Siberia and the Far East is gaining strength. This modification of internal migration patterns will diminish the size of the labour force in these remote regions and will jeopardize economic development there. On the other hand, the return of these people to their former places of residence will cause additional unemployment and labour unrest in the Russian heartland.

Inter-urban migration is characterized by population movement from small to large cities. With the development of market relations, big cities have started to attract business people, the unemployed and criminals. The removal of administrative restrictions on inter-urban migration will turn big cities into centres of social tension.

- From the *ethnic* point of view, we are witnessing a unique process involving population redistribution of a sixth of the world's land surface. The policy of ethnic cleansing, which is being practised by most ex-Soviet republics either overtly or covertly, urges non-native people to move to their titular republics—mainly Russian speakers to Russia. Forcing Russians out of social, political, economic and cultural life in the former republics has become a routine practice.

In the next four to five years Russia must be prepared to receive even more Russian speakers from the ex-Soviet republics and from ethnic administrative districts in the Russian Federation. According to various forecasts, between 400,000 and 3 million Russians may be expected in this period.

- From the *political* point of view, increased regional separatism poses a real danger to Russia's sovereignty as a distinct historical subject. It is spread by local ethnic elites in the national administrative dis-

tricts and autonomous republics in the Russian Federation.

Migration has become both a cause and a consequence of separatism. In some districts of Russia, such as Tatarstan, Chechen-Ingushetia, Dagestan, Tuva and Northern Osetia, priority is given to the rights of the titular nationality rather than to general human rights. The autonomous republics are increasingly seen as nascent states for their titular ethnic groups.

- Regardless of the fact that the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation passed a bill on refugees in 1993, and despite the Russian Federation signing the UN Convention of 1951 and its Protocols of 1967, the legal regulation of migration is not working. The Russian administration has not taken a definite position on protecting the rights of its citizens who are outside Russia and this obviously affects the conditions of life for Russian speakers in the “near abroad.” The conclusion of bilateral and multilateral international treaties between states has a beneficial effect. Aside from protecting human rights in employment and education, and ensuring social protection for people of non-titular nationalities, they regulate duties and rules for accepting migrants and mutual compensation between states.

The settlement of 75 percent of forced migrants and refugees in southern Russia has led to the aggravation of social tensions there. The most serious consequences of forced migration lie not in the number of crimes committed by or against refugees but in the potential danger of the refugee milieu as a source of widespread armed conflict.

- Just a few years ago Russia was a closed system with very limited emigration. But the situation changed dramatically in the 1990s. In the next three to five years the level of emigration will probably remain stable at about 100,000 people per year. It will be controlled by