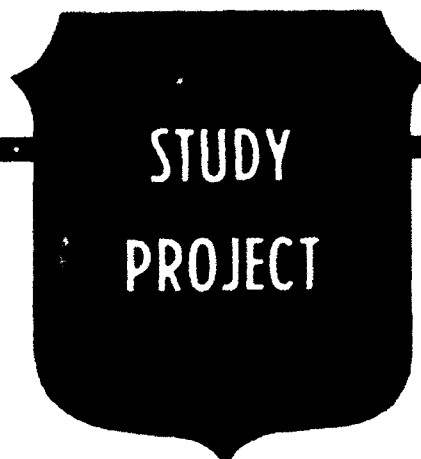


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**ARGENTINA:
NATIONALITY, DEMOGRAPHY
AND SECURITY**

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MAY 20 1993
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BY

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Argentine Army

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USAWC MILITARY STUDIES PROGRAM PAPER

ARGENTINA: NATIONALITY, DEMOGRAPHY AND SECURITY

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013
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ABSTRACT

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This paper focuses on problems that cause tensions between Argentina and its neighbors. The lack of sense of national consciousness, Argentina's mayor prosperity and demographics are putting into motion reactions that affect Argentina's security.

It will examine the influences on the formation of Argentine national consciousness, including demographic aspects, the role of borders, population pressures from bordering nations, immigration, and the dangers to Argentina.

Finally it proposes policies to reduce the emergence of regional conflicts and to strengthen the feeling of national consciousness.

Argentina: Nationality, Demography and Security

Introduction

This essay focuses on problems that cause tensions between Argentina and its neighbors. The lack of sense of national consciousness in the region, Argentina's mayor prosperity and demographics are putting into motion reactions that affect Argentina's security.

The weak sense of national consciousness is directly influenced by demographic factors and the phenomena of space and power.

The word geopolitics is frequently used, lightly most of the times, to express the link between political or economic facts and geographic ones. We increasingly hear the notion that power phenomena take place in a specific environment whose characteristics greatly condition those phenomena.

The national consciousness is of great importance to a country. The demographic situation and relative prosperity of Argentina adds more meaning to it. Leading nations assign such importance to these matters and Argentina is no exception.

National consciousness, a feeling of possession of one's country, which hopefully produces civic responsibility, is not developed yet in the region. For Argentina, this becomes a security or national defense problem, because demographic factors such as population distribution and immigration endanger national consciousness.

This is where Argentina's weakness lies, a weakness at the foundation of any political, economic or social plan with which we try to solve our problems.

Every country attempts to control its borders, but Argentina is losing this control. If it does not regain it, serious internal and international tensions could grow.

This paper will examine the influences on the formation of Argentine national consciousness, including demographic aspects, the role of borders, population pressures from bordering nations, the dangers to argentina, and

policies or recommendations to reduce the emergence of regional conflicts and to strengthen the feeling of national consciousness.

Conditions in Argentina and their Origins.

Argentines and others often ask: What is happening to Argentina? How is it possible that Argentina doesn't do better, having a vast territory, much of it rich and fertile, all kinds of climate, a vast ocean on one of the largest continental shelves in the world, a population of 32 million with a high degree of literacy, and without racial or religious problems?

We are seen as an atypical nation, inexplicable in view of apparent facts, struggling in bewilderment between mediocrity and decadence.

It is generally believed that Argentina reached its summit through the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the first quarter of the twentieth century. What happened after that? and why? Everyone knows what happened to us: Since 1930/1935 we have been in gradual decline at least in the moral, political and economic fields, all of which shook the country.

Four important causes of Argentina's decline stand out:

1. Our national consciousness is still in its formative stages.
2. Our society hasn't taken any responsibility to shape the political leadership.
3. Seventy percent of the country's population occupies thirty percent of our continental territory, and lives in areas that are, geographically speaking, easier for living.
4. A statist economy that has saddled us with money-eating, inefficient industries.

In examining these causes, I will only develop causes 1 and 3 in their most important aspects.

Our national consciousness is still in its formative stages.

A certain weakness appears at Argentina's birth. The Argentine nation

started as a confederation, after a series of attempts and stumbling blocks. The Argentine Confederation is still one of the official titles, according to Article 35 of the National Constitution. As usually happens in a confederation, our nation was formed before its national consciousness. At the beginning, in the large setting, we were clearly American. As San Martin and Bolivar struggled for America's freedom, representatives from the Viceroyalty of River Plate like Charcas, Chicas, Cochabamba and Mizque (although the ones from the Litoral were absent) attended the Tucuman Congress in 1816.

In the small setting our founding fathers were provincials. Little Argentine feeling existed throughout the country as a whole; the real problem of the War of Independence, which ended in Ayacucho in 1824, was that only part of the population took part; the majority were bystanders.

Unlike the U.S. Revolutionary War, our Independence struggle did not serve as a national cement. In 1820 we reached what might be our highest level of discord.

Between 1820 and 1821, the Republic of Entre Rios (Entre Rios, Corrientes and the part of Misiones attached to Corrientes), and the Republic of Tucuman (Tucuman, Catamarca and Santiago del Estero) appeared and disappeared. The Province of Cuyo, created in 1813, was dissolved, and Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis declared their sovereignty. In 1820, Cordoba and La Rioja separated; for a while, they formed the Cordoba of Tucuman Intendancy. On June 20, 1820 there were three governors in Buenos Aires at the same time.

In Peru, at the beginning of 1824, the Army of the Andes, having freed three countries, was neglected and forgotten by our country. What a mess! The newborn Argentina was terribly divided under a weak confederacy.

The weakness continued. For example, in the war against Brazil (1825-1828) Buenos Aires ordered 7600 men from all 13 provinces. This meager 1.4 percent of the whole population (estimated at 550,000 by 1821) was not reached; only 5000

men (0.9 percent) were assembled, and a part of them too late. This led to the disastrous Garcia mission. An Argentine national consciousness had not taken shape, the test of a Republic failed, and the province-states resumed their sovereignty.

The age of Rosas from 1829 to 1852 was interrupted by a period of time of 16 months during which Balcarce, Viamonte and Maza, governed an Argentina. National consciousness continued to develop slowly. Naturally, internal weakness produced external weakness, which showed up in confronting England in the Malvinas (1833), the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation in Tarija (1837-1838), Chile in Magellan (1843-1844), and France and England (1840/50).

After much internal struggle and weakness, the Constitution of the Argentine Confederation was finally sanctioned and sworn in 1853. But the state of Buenos Aires was separated and the political unity of the nation was reached only in 1862. Fifty-two years had gone by since the May Revolution of 1810 and forty-six years since the 1816 Declaration of Independence.

Why such a long time to consolidate?

Argentina didn't emerge from a homogeneous nucleus, as did Paraguay (government of El Paraguay); Chile (Captaincy General of Chile); or the United States of America (13 Colonies). Argentina was formed by a union of provinces that had been created by three colonizing currents that, although Spanish, originated in different centers of power in America:

1. One current from Peru came from the north and founded San Salvador de Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, Catamarca, La Rioja, Cordoba, and Santiago del Estero.
2. Another current from Chile entered through Cuyo, and founded Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis. It reached Santiago (Chile), and tried to extend its control further east.
3. A final current from the east entered through the River Plate and

from the Atlantic Coast. It founded Buenos Aires, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), Asuncion (Paraguay), Santa Fe, Concepcion del Bermejo and Corrientes.

This diversity had a common bond only during the Viceroyalty, since the previous Government of the River Plate, subject to Peru, did not include Cuyo. But the Viceroyalty lasted only 34 years (1776-1810) and was not sufficient time to unite the vast territory. Its excessively centralist structure, mirrored at the lower levels of the Intendances-Governments with regard to the Town Halls, the reaction to one centralization and long distances, deepened localism.

Thus, the new provinces born to freedom, shortly became State-Provinces that had never worked together, and didn't know the advantage of doing so. The scattered population contributed further to this: in the three Intendances that made up the country, about 500,000 inhabitants in 1810, occupied one million square kilometers.

In view of the autonomist groups in the provinces, politics in Buenos Aires could not shorten the organization period. The provinces didn't accept the orders from Buenos Aires because they considered themselves its equals. By 1810, there were 14 cities in the Viceroyalty; then there were capitals of Provinces that had been founded before that of Buenos Aires; the University of Cordoba dated from 1621 and the one of Charcas (Chuquisaca) dated from 1624, while the University of Buenos Aires dates only from 1821.

Once the nation was united in 1862, there was still much to be done as regards organization and national consciousness. Half of the present Argentine continental territory was still controlled by Indians: more than one million square kilometers in the south and about 350,000 square kilometers in the north. Our position in the War of the Triple Alliance () and in the subsequent diplomatic negotiations was weakened by continued internal struggles.

And to this shaky national nucleus, came waves of immigration starting in

1857, and kept growing, reaching large numbers at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, and again between the 1920s and 1950s.

Between 1870 and 1914, 7.4 million immigrants entered the country. In 1914, the country had a population of 7.9 million; therefore, the total immigration in those 44 years, without counting emigration, equaled 94 percent of the population in 1914. This was far faster than immigration that entered the United States. All together, from 1870 to 1954 (85 years), there was a migration of 21.4 million people to Argentina, equivalent to 115 percent of our population in 1954, which was estimated at 18.6 million.

It is important to compare the immigrations of the 1850s with those of the 1885/1890 quinquenium. The 1850s was called the period of National Organization and during it the renowned 80s Generation is born, which later led our country during the quinquenium.

The Decade of the 1850s.

In the 1850s net 5000 immigrants entered Argentina yearly. The estimated total population was only 1.3 million in 1857. As 5000 represents 0.8 percent of 1.3 million, four immigrants were accepted per 1000 inhabitants each year.

The 1885-1890 Quinquenium.

During 1885-1890 there was an average of 100,000 immigrants per year. The total population for the half of the quinquenium is estimated at 3.167 million. As 100,000 represents 3.2 percent of 3.167 million, some 32 immigrants were accepted per 1000 inhabitants each year. Among these people there were previous immigrants and relative of previous immigrants.

Matters were even more skewed, as neither the receiving population nor the immigrants were evenly distributed in the inhabited territory. The immigrants tended to bunch up, and this delayed integration. According to Argentina's 1981/1982 Statistical Yearly Report in 1914, 30.3 percent of the total

population, and 49.4 percent of the Federal Capital was of foreign origin.

In 1914, 69.7 percent of Argentines were first generation Argentines. If the 1 million foreigners (25.5 percent of the total) in 1895 would have doubled in 20 years (which is not an exaggeration for those times), in 1914 we would have theoretically one million first generation Argentines, to which we should add the survivors born before that time. Of our total population in 1914 of 7.9 million, more than 43 percent was foreign born.

The foreign contribution to the nation's population practically transformed the country into a Tower of Babel, considering the meager receiving nucleus. In a few decades, large numbers of Italians, Spaniards, French, Russians, Germans, Poles, Syrians, Englishmen, Swiss, Austrians, Paraguayans, Bolivians, Chileans, Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and others arrived with their own culture and with the ideas in vogue in their countries of origin. The small nucleus of the moment could not absorb them, although it earnestly tried to do so by means of schools and military service.

The first Argentine generation born of these successive immigrants, necessarily and naturally carried with their national concepts conveyed by their states of origin traces of various foreign cultures conveyed by their parents. This generation came of age having not always developed an Argentine national spirit. And to this day, there are still first-generation Argentines in the same situation. Immigration was so heavy that it delayed and diluted the development of an Argentine consciousness. To fix this demands additional time, and strong and persevering educational action.

Our present population of 32 million people estimated at 40 million in the year 2000, is not small. Immigrants should be subjected to a selection process, as is the case in other democratic countries. Maybe, the time has come to modify Article 25 of the National Constitution, which establishes that "the Federal Government shall foster European immigration and may not restrict, limit or

impose taxes on the entry to Argentine territory of foreigners who seek to plow the land, improve the industries, and introduce and teach both sciences and arts". Reform would aim at selecting immigrants. Reviewing Argentine history and the development of our national consciousness, we can note:

- Since the beginning of the National Organization period (1862) leaders have felt that they had to build the country.
- In the decade of the 1880s, those born in the 1850s were 30 to 40 years old; in the decade of the 1890s, they were 40 to 50 years old, and in the first decade of the twentieth century they were 50 to 60 years old. Accordingly, this generation strongly influenced the country's leadership during a period of rapid immigration.
- Before the 1850s, immigrants influence on the general population was minimal. Accordingly, the generation of leaders born and raised in this period was little influenced by immigrants.
- The men who led the country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century relied on the human capital of the 3 million immigrants who arrived between 1875 and 1915, but did not successfully integrate them into a single Argentine political culture.

To this day, descendants of some of these immigrants still have difficulty seeing themselves as Argentines because of the following reasons:

- Imperfect integration, a fragmented political culture; language groups have retained their idiom and customs unusually long; not effectively socialized as Argentines; lack of national identity.

The present situation.

Our political culture or national consciousness continues its development and consolidation process, and it is a pressing need to reach a reasonable degree or level for the two following reasons:

- Those confederations that have not consolidated a political culture do not have a guaranteed duration. There is a danger of disintegration, and there are situations, both in the internal and external spheres, that could heighten that danger. It is advisable to correct, as soon as possible, a basic weakness.
- The world proceeds towards a future where nations will group together in common markets, military alliances, or political pressure groups, in order to eliminate their individual economic and political weakness. In participating in these unions, the states will have to protect their special interests, and promote a sense of civic responsibility, that is at the same time an expression of the concept of national consciousness. If this civic responsibility is assumed by most of the population, the leadership produced by it will also assume the civic responsibility and will not make reprehensible mistakes, as it happened in the past, and still happens today; but they will set a good example for the whole country, and the system's nourishment will benefit the nation.

The Maldistribution of Argentina's Population.

Argentina has vast, rich geography, with moderate climate and terrain and easy communications with the rest of the world. But Argentines have tended to settle where life is easiest, and this has led to a maldistribution of population, with the harsher areas underpopulated.

The so called "less demanding area", the northeast quadrant of Argentina, consists of:

- All of Buenos Aires city, the Provinces of Santa Fe, Entre Rios, Corrientes and Misiones.
- The Province of Buenos Aires, partially (there are 227,000 square kilometers and 10,230,000 inhabitants left).

- The Province of Cordoba, partially (84,000 square kilometers and 800,000 inhabitants).
- The Province of El Chaco, partially (57,000 square kilometers and 650,000 inhabitants).
- The Province of Formosa, partially (51,000 square kilometers and 280,000 inhabitants).

The total territory of the "less demanding area" has 759,000 kilometers and about 20 million people. This is about 29 percent of the territory of the Republic and about 68 percent of its total population. Accordingly, the territorial distribution of our population is uneven. This is evident in the following:

- In about 1.6 million square kilometers (a little more than half the continental Republic) there are large empty areas or with little population.
- Fourteen million people (half of the population in 1980) live in seven dense areas of over 300,000 people, thirteen million in five dense areas of over 500,000, and 12 million in just one area (Buenos Aires).

These relatively underpopulated areas have served as a magnet to attract both internal migration and immigrants from neighboring countries.

Demographic Pressure and Borders.

Argentina is the only South American country in which migration pressure is exerted on its borders by almost all of its neighboring countries. Its economic growth, vast open lands, rich fertile soil, and increased opportunities for a better life, have made it the center of attraction for the people of bordering nations who have entered, and continue to enter, in large numbers, often illegally. These people maintain their ties with their countries of origin and become foreign minorities within Argentina. The real problem lies in the

underdevelopment of the periphery of the Argentine state, particularly in certain border areas which come under greater influence of neighboring countries.

A border is an area where the mutual influences of two or more states come together. It does not have a precise depth. Within that area, however, a line is established which determines the legal separation of the sovereignty of neighboring countries, which is the boundary. Peace between two states is contingent, among other considerations, upon the mutual recognition of boundaries and their stability. But that stability depends on demographic, cultural, economic and political factors in the border regions. If these change, we may expect that eventually the borders will come under pressure to change.

It is important to point out that a bunch of factors (like fertile soil, low population, possibility of finding jobs) and demographic pressure together conform the situation in Argentina's borders.

Argentina's Borders.

Triangular shaped Argentina has only three points of the compass to worry about:

- Northern border: along the north of Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, and Uruguay.
- Western border: Chile.
- Eastern border: the Atlantic Ocean.

The Northern Border.

Argentina's northern border extends from the Chilean boundary in Catamarca province to the River Plate. It touches Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay. Along this line, Argentina's border provinces are Salta, Jujuy, Formosa, Chaco, Misiones, Corrientes, Entre Rios and Buenos Aires.

The names of the bordering countries' provinces are of some importance, so let us learn them: in Chile, the Antofagasta Region; in Bolivia, the departments of Potosi, Tarija and Chuquisaca; in Paraguay, the whole country; in Brazil, the

southern regions (the states of Parana, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul); in Uruguay, the whole country.

The Border with Chile.

In 1980, the Antofagasta region of Chile had an estimated 313,000 inhabitants in its 125,300 squares kilometers, which translates into a density of 2.5 inhab/km².

Salta and Jujuy totaled 1,071,000 inhabitants over 208,000 km², with a density of 5.1 inhab/km².

Until the year 2000 these ratios will not change dramatically, so it is not expected that demographic pressures in Chile will be felt in this region.

The Border with Bolivia

The same provinces of Salta and Jujuy that border on Bolivia also flank its departments of Potosí, Tarija and Chuquisaca, and in 1980 they had approximately 1,800,000 inhabitants, with a density of 8.5 inhabitant/km² (Bolivia).

The demographic pressure here is not currently relevant, but it may become so by the year 2000. At that time, Bolivia will have 10 million people in its territory of 1.1 million km², with a general density of 9.2 inhabitant/km². But the three mentioned departments could reach 3.2 million with a density of 15 inhabitants/km² as opposed to the 8.8 inhabitants/km² of Salta and Jujuy, whose population will reach 1.8 million that year. In addition, we should add to the foreseeable influences of the Bolivian population, which may be transmitted by Brazil, coming from the direction of Corumba - Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

The Border with Paraguay

In this region are the Argentine provinces of Formosa, Chaco, Corrientes, and Misiones.

In 1980, Paraguay had a population estimated at 2.9 million inhabitants with a density of 7.1 inhabitants/km² over its 407,000 km² area. However, it would be more realistic to consider separately the two regions of the country which are

divided by the Paraguay river.

In the West, there were slightly more than 80,000 inhabitants in 246,925 km², resulting in a density 0.3 inhabitants/km², and in the East, 2.8 million in 159,827 km², with 17.6 inhabitants/km².

On the Argentine side in 1980, Formosa faces the Western area of Paraguay with 292,000 inhabitants over its 72,000 km², and a density of 4.1 inhabitants/km². That same year, the four provinces of the Northeast: Formosa, Chaco, Corrientes and Misiones, which border the Eastern region of Paraguay, had, in their 290,000 km², 2.2 million people and a density of 8 inhabitants/km². The population pressure of Eastern Paraguay is felt primarily in the Eastern parts of Formosa and Misiones.

It is estimated that in the year 2000 Paraguay will have around 7 million inhabitants and a general density of 15 inhabitants/km². The larger part of the population will probably be located as it is at present, to the east of the Paraguay river, attracted by the current economic conditions and the prospect for development arising from construction work and agreements between Brazil and Argentina. A vigorous growth is also taking place in the western region, which is now divided into five departments. The population of the Paraguayan Chaco will likely grow, perhaps around the year 2000 and beyond, when large amounts of money resulting from the sale of energy, after paying off construction costs are invested there. Until then, it would seem advisable to estimate that its current population could, conceivably, increase fivefold, reaching the half million mark and 2 inhabitants/km².

Conceivably, then, the eastern region would have 5.5 million and a density of 34 inhabitants/km². Our northern region could reach some 3.3 million inhabitants and a density of 11.6 inhabitants/km², so Paraguayan population pressure could increase by the year 2000. Paraguay, may also feel an additional Brazilian influence and immigration taking into account the differences between

the Brazilian and Paraguayan demographic concentrations along the border of those countries between Iguazú and Guayrá.

Faced with the prospect of the settlement of the Paraguayan Chaco beyond the year 2000, and in order to preserve a healthy balance, Argentina should encourage settling of the open lands to the west of the provinces of Chaco and Formosa, the east of Salta, and north of Santiago del Estero. It is not settled by Argentines, it will be settled by someone else.

The Border with Brazil

By the year 2000, Brazil will have some 180 million inhabitants in its 8.5 million km², which translates into a density of 21 inhabitants/km². The number 180 is very large when it represents millions of inhabitants, more if the number is related with the growth rate of Argentina (the lowest growth rate in South America, 1.1 percent), and the age of its population (one of the oldest nation and in permanent decline). It is likely that the annual growth rate of 1.9 will decline, as the rate tends to decrease while along with economic development. If we accept one estimate of 300 million Brazilian for the year 2075, Brazil's population pressure will influence the rest of South America and possibly other continents.

Brazil's southern region (the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul) with 577,000 km², will have 40 million inhabitants and a density of 70 inhabitants/km², flanking the provinces of Misiones and Corrientes with 1200 km of easily passable borders. Both Argentine provinces will have 1.9 million inhabitants and a density of 15.9 inhabitants/km² and we must presume an increase in Brazilian immigration across this border.

An important center of production and influence has been established at Itaipu, on the Brazilian-Paraguayan boundary, but only 17 km from the border with Argentina. The significance of Itaipu's electric power already emerges from the following statistics:

- Its rated power of 12,000,000 kw with 18 turbines, is half that of the rest of Brazil's hydroelectric generating plants currently in operation.
- The total rated electric power production of Argentina, in 1992, was 17,059,000 kw capacity.

This large power plant which will power populations and industries in the Southern-Southeastern and Midwestern regions, requires that the Brazilian strategy promote the creation of at least a substantially industrialized demographic center in the vicinity of Foz do Iguazu. According to this pattern, the Brazilian city nearest the dam, Foz do Iguazú, has grown rapidly. In 1980 it had almost 170,000 inhabitants. This population is likely to reach the million mark by the end of this century. With the export of electricity and the political development comes the export of political influence over Argentina and Paraguay. Brazilian population pressure on Bolivia and Paraguay will increase in the future by the action of the 40 million inhabitants which in the year 2000 will live in the states of Sao Paulo and Matto Grosso do Sul. This pressure may be partially and indirectly transmitted to our northern border.

The Border with Uruguay

In the year 2000, Uruguay will have approximately 4 million inhabitants in its 187,000 km², with a resulting density of 22 inhabitants/km².

On its Western front, the Argentine provinces of Entre Ríos and the extreme South East of Corrientes will total about 1.2 million inhabitants with a density of 15 inhabitants/km². As in Bolivia and Paraguay, Uruguay can be a transit corridor for Brazilian migrants. Rio Grande do Sul in the North East, with approximately 13 million inhabitants in the year 2000, is located in an area with no intermediate obstacles.

The pull of Argentina and the push of Brazilian population pressures will have substantial influences over Uruguay, more if considering the economic

agreements by MERCOSUR.

The Western Border

It extends along the Andes ridge from the North of Argentina's Catamarca Province to the intersection of the Beagle Channel with the Cape Horn meridian. Argentina's bordering provinces are Catamarca, La Rioja, San Juan, Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego, including the islands and parts of islands located to the East of the Cape Horn meridian; the Argentine Sea, and the Argentine Antarctic Sector. In the year 2000, Chile will have 17 million and a general density of 21 inhabitants/km². In the South, almost 0.5 million inhabitants of the area of General Ibáñez and Magallanes, in addition to the province of Chiloé, in the lake region, with 263,000 km² and 1.9 inhabitant/km², will have as neighbors over 0.8 million of the provinces of Chubut, Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego, also with a very low density: 1.6 inhabitants/km² over its 490,000 km².

The central Chilean region, from the area of Coquimbo to the province of Antofagasta, will have a relatively high density: 60 inhabitants/km², which corresponds to 14 million inhabitants in 223,000 km². If we remove the four high-density provinces of Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción and O'Higgins, the density in the rest of the region mentioned in the previous paragraph would range between 15 and 40 inhabitants/km², with an average near 30 inhabitants/km². The Argentine provinces in the proximity of this region, San Juan, Mendoza, Neuquén and Río Negro, will total 3.8 million inhabitants in their 535,000 km², with a density of 7 inhabitants/km².

The Northern Chilean territory (encompassing the regions of Tarapacá, Antofagasta and Atacama) with slightly more than 1 million inhabitants spread over 262,000 km², will have a density of 3.8 inhabitants/km². But on the border we are discussing, we have only included Atacama, with 78,267 km², 265,000 inhabitants, and a density of 3.4 inhabitants/km² as opposed to Catamarca and La

Rioja with 528,000 inhabitants, 190,000 km² and a density of 2.8 inhabitants/km². The differences in demographic concentrations in the Chilean regions as opposed to the correspondent regions in Argentina, will probably continue toward the year 2000 larger in the Center and almost non-existent in the North and South. However, the population in the South of Argentina includes a large percentage of Chileans. The 1980 Census reported that Chubut had 16 percent Chileans; Santa Cruz, 38 percent; and Tierra del Fuego, 62 percent. The three provinces totalled 24 percent. Present day estimates set the general average between 30 percent and 32 percent with a decline in Tierra del Fuego and increases in Chubut and Santa Cruz. Almost all foreigners there are of Chilean nationality. They maintain their nationality and generally pass it on to their children. In general, the strong feeling of Chileans for their country, permit that although the Chilean change to the Argentine citizenship, they continue to feel as Chileans (this change is only made for convenience).

This circumstance does not favor Argentina from the political viewpoint nor from that of its national security and eventually, it could become complicated:

- From the political point of view, the minorities from a neighboring nation that settle in a border area may contribute to destabilize national control, something which would eventually lead to boundary changes. In the case of Chilean immigrants, the problem is more important, because they occupy not only bordering areas but are spread in all the Patagonia region.
- From the security standpoint, in a hypothetical conflict over Patagonia, South of the Colorado river, the hypothetical enemy could have many collaborators in our own territory.

Immigration

There are both positive and negative sides to immigration. The positive aspects for the country may be highlighted as:

- More labor available.
- Lower labor costs.
- An increase in population.

Instead of these advantages, Argentina has other kind of problems with the immigration of its neighboring countries. Every country attempts to control its borders, but Argentina is losing this control. If it does not regain it, serious internal and international tensions could grow.

The problem has several causes. Firstly, many border areas are underpopulated, as most Argentines live where the living is easiest and jobs better. As a consequence, the immigrants usually work in those places where the work is harder and poorly paid.

Secondly, the Argentine economy offers many Chileans, Bolivians, Paraguayans, Uruguayans, and Brazilians jobs at a much higher rate of pay. Thirdly, legally, under Argentina's Constitution, these immigrants cannot be kept out. The Constitution, in fact, was deliberately designed to encourage immigration.

It seems to be that what we are watching, then, is a normal and natural flow of immigration to better jobs. This is happening all over the developed world (e.g. Mexicans in the U.S., Algerians in France, Turks in Germany). Then, which is the problem with Argentina? The problem appears when other factors like underpopulated regions in the border areas, linkage with the homeland, better resources and jobs, lack of national consciousness, relative prosperity of Argentina, lack of control in border areas, and effective laws on immigration, are put together with immigration. As a result of this situation, the problem is, what happens when the population of these mostly border areas consists of non-Argentines?

Let me explain here how the different factors work. For example, in the South (Patagonia), Chilean workers dominate in coal mines, sheep ranches, oil

fields, and fishing in the South. They occupy the lower labor categories, such as field workers, sailors, miners and well laborers. In the Southern states ("estancias"), one typically finds that the owner of the establishment is an Argentine of English or Welsh origin, an overseer who is Argentine, and field workers or sheep shearers who are mostly Chilean.

And the Chilean workers are not powerless. For example, during the Chilean-Argentine clash over the Beagle Channel (1980), coal production almost stopped as Chilean personnel walked off the job. Approximately 65 per cent of the workers there are Chilean, and some have gradually reached positions of responsibility and influence. Something similar happens in fishing. I have witnessed in Ushuaia (Tierra del Fuego) idle factory ships waiting for Chilean laborers. Similar labor situations occur with Paraguayan and Bolivian workers.

Paraguayan immigration normally flows to Buenos Aires in search of the construction jobs. It is difficult to know exactly how many Paraguayans are currently in Argentina. Some estimates put the number above 1 million (the "Clarín" newspaper, August 16, 1992). However, in recent times, after Argentina implemented dollar convertibility and achieved stability, the inflow has become an avalanche. Currently, these immigrants populate most of the work sites, and in many of them they represent up to 90 percent of the work force. They lack social coverage and earn minimum wages under the table. Some Paraguayans become "contractors", the peak of the immigrant's social scale. The construction companies summon the contractors to carry out a project for a given amount of money and make them responsible for the labor. It is estimated that there are approximately 200 Paraguayan contractors in the Argentine construction enterprise. Several own trucks, which periodically cross the border loading and unloading Paraguayans at sites in Buenos Aires, Rosario, Mendoza, Córdoba, and different locations in the country. Some pay wandering bricklayers (called "golondrina", which means "swallows") in Paraguayan currency, thus obtaining

larger profits. Others pay in dollars or in Argentine pesos. The backdrop of this profitable business is poverty. In the attempt to escape poverty and secure a roof and a job for themselves, thousands of Paraguayans cross the Argentine border every week. The new source of labor force for Argentina is probably Perú. Bolivian immigration is the most nomadic in nature since, due to the type of work Bolivians carry out, they are forced to move from one place to another.

Typically, they harvest crops, low level, hard jobs in which the whole family participates. Crops are harvested throughout the year, thus forcing the mobility of the family unit. The wages earned are the lowest in comparison with other categories of immigrants, which makes it the most desirable work force to contract. Other characteristics such as their passivity, the fact that they do not /?/ and are hard working, are all pluses for Argentine farmers. These immigrants spend all their money buying clothing and utensils, unlike the Chilean and the Paraguayan immigrants, who usually send money to their families.

Rural immigrants from neighboring countries who worked in Argentina are usually recruited and organized by big business contractors at the border ports and signed contracts for periods of two to seven months. Argentina was regarded as a better place to live and work by the rural poor from neighboring countries. In 1973, nearly two million immigrants (legal) from neighboring countries made up between 27 percent and 3 percent. (The population was 28 million). Of these, the largest group consisted of immigrants from Paraguay (35 percent of the total), followed by immigrants from Chile (28 percent), Bolivia (16 percent), Uruguay (15 percent), and Brazil (6 percent). According to Argentine sociologist Juan Manuel Villar, in 1980, the largest concentration of immigrants from neighboring countries was in Greater Buenos Aires, into which an estimated 40 percent of the total had moved, followed by the Northeastern regions of the Gran Chaco and Mesopotamia, where 17 percent lived; the pampas, where 12 percent lived; Patagonia, with 12 percent; the Northwest, with 9 percent; and Cuyo, with

5 percent.

These immigration flows may have serious negative consequences, however. For example:

Immigrants from very poor areas may be carriers of serious diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis and AIDS.

Immigration weakens national cohesion in the country in general and in regions such as the South (Chileans), Northwest (Bolivians) and Northeast (Paraguayans and Brazilians), in particular.

It strains the already scanty infrastructure serving the Argentine border population.

It occupies empty spaces, sometimes damaging the economic potential of the area. This is the case in Misiones, on the border between Brazil and Paraguay, where the felling of trees by immigrants has led to deforestation in some places. The most important points related to security are:

It establishes populations in areas that are difficult to control and access, especially areas of thick vegetation. When such settlements can be located, they may already have up to 500 inhabitants scattered in the woodlands. These settlements can become the focus of political-military tension when they are forced to move to the border. (That is the case of the so-called "Movement of the Landless" in the province of Misiones, on the border with Brazil).

When immigration and the establishment of small populated areas is legal, their settlements are located near the border, close to their home countries. These centers, linked with their mother country, have a bearing on the Argentine security.

Immigrants help the flow of drugs, mainly on the Bolivian and Paraguayan borders.

Several factors combine to make a greater migratory flow and impact in the next few years, thus increasing tensions and the need to establish tougher border

control and security measures. The ever-growing leakage over borders, the social dangers of disease and drugs, the environmental damages, and trade agreements which erase borders, all point to the possibility of an every closer and more realistic era of regionalism. In the case of Argentina, however, with its geographic location, economic level and national consciousness, these cross-border movements tend to create conflicts.

Policy Proposals

To foster a cohesive and patriotic political culture, the national government has an urgent need to:

- Encourage internal migration to occupy the territory more evenly including settlement in regions that are geographically more demanding.
- Promote civic education of all Argentines.
- Argentina's population growth is and will be much slower than all its neighbors, except Uruguay. Thus, it is an aging population that needs immigration. Immigrants are drawn by improved living standards and better job opportunities. They are permitted to enter due to faulty control measures arising from a shortage of staff or to legal errors, and an insufficient infrastructure on the borders.
- The leakage of its borders make Argentina a focus of political, economic and social tensions, made even worse because our territory is the focus of national ambitions on the part of other countries (the case of Chile in the Southern region) with deep historic roots.
- One of the most important security measures is a regional agreements to control illegal immigration and avoid unilateral actions which could turn into conflicts.

Policy Recommendations

Argentina must do at least three things, and do them quickly. First of

all, it must increase the security and control of its borders by strengthening the Immigration Office and National Guard. Besides, it must reform Article 25 of the National Constitution; this reform would aim at limiting and selecting immigrants.

Secondly, it must build up its outlying provinces so they are not partial vacuums. It must develop adequate infrastructure in education, health communications, and services to facilitate Argentine settlements of underpopulated border areas.

Finally, Argentina must better integrate its diverse people in a common political culture to inculcate a feeling of patriotism, justice, prosperity, good feeling.

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ANNEX I

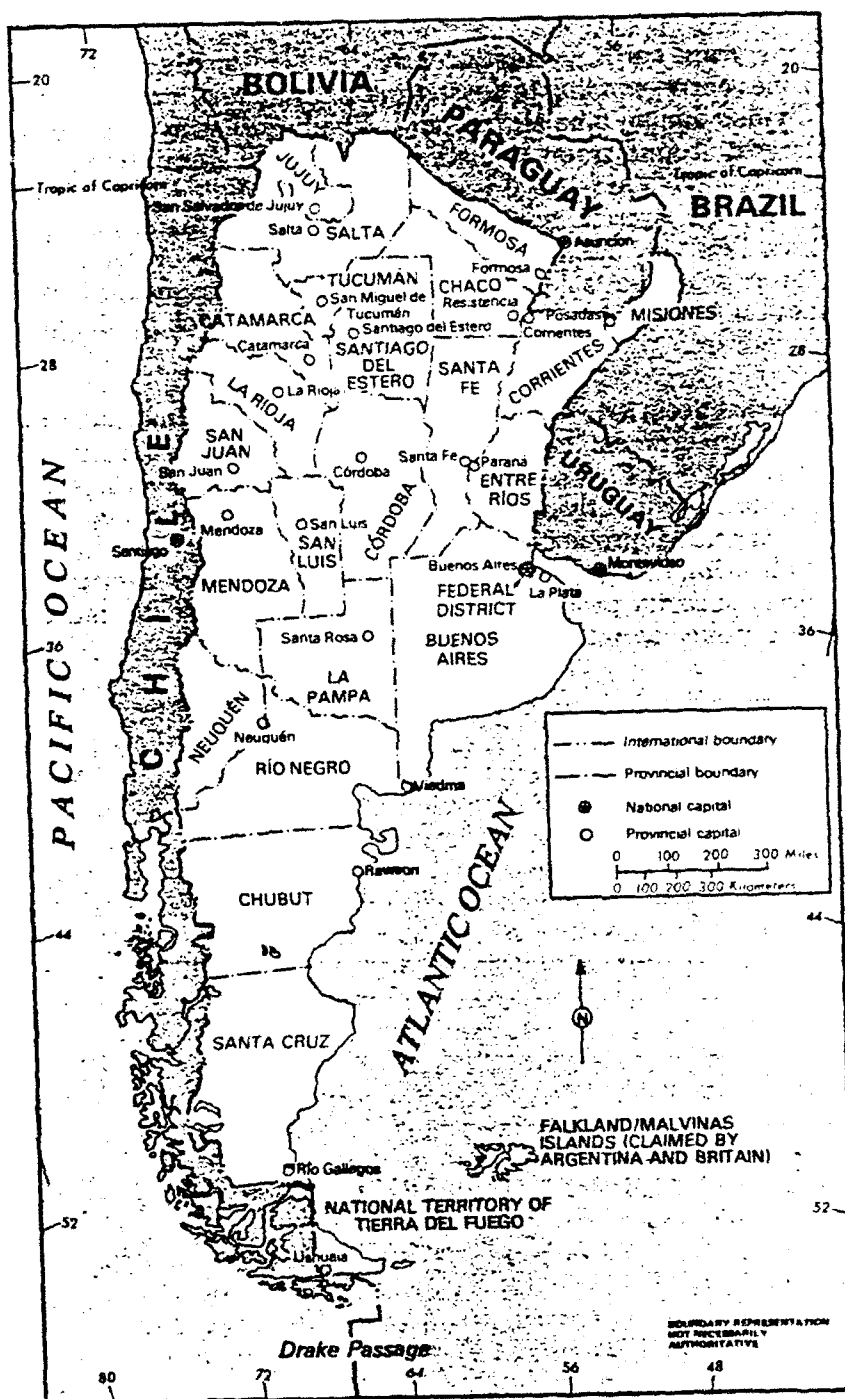


Figure 1. Administrative Subdivisions, 1985

ANNEX II

Argentina: A Country Study

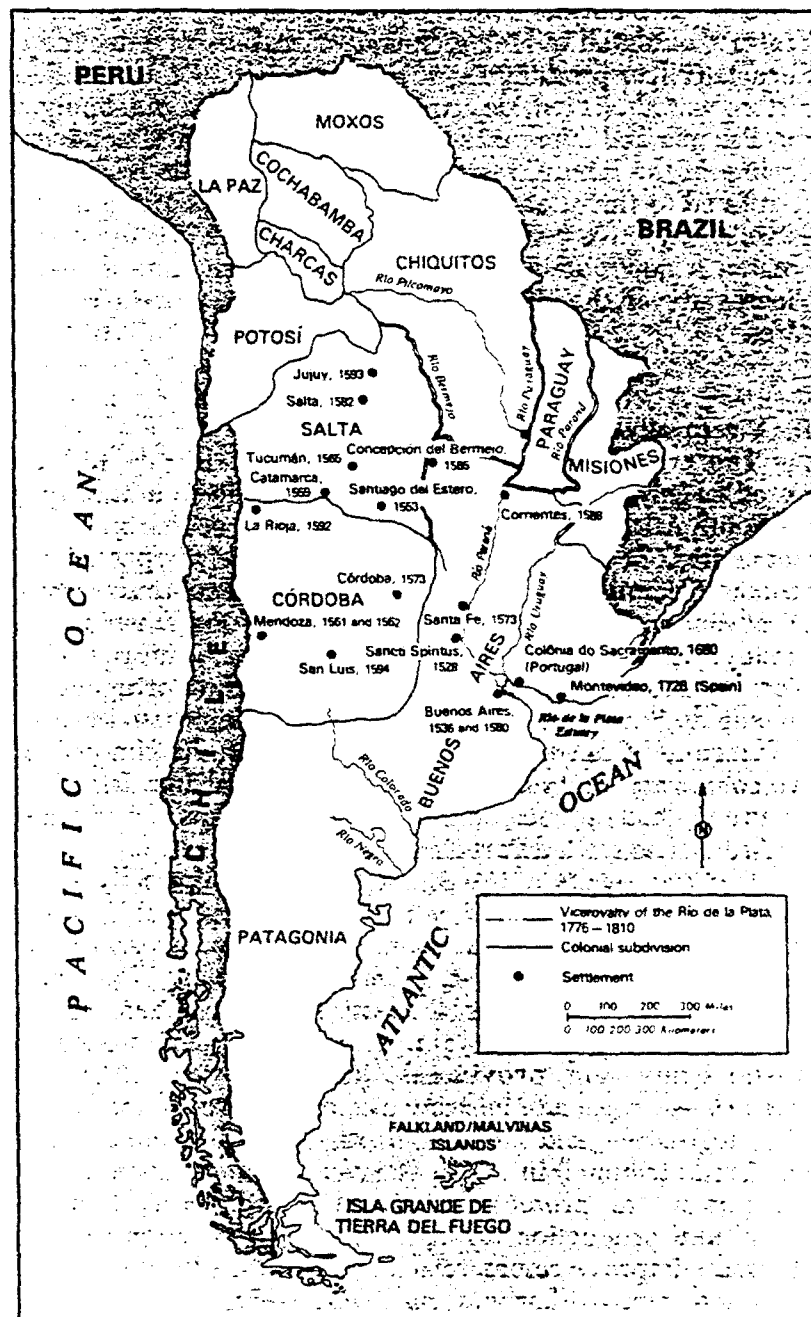


Figure 2. Early Colonial Settlements and the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata