

Memory Lapse

By Virginia I. Postrel

The Clinton administration's refugee policy is a victory for welfare statism—and for Castro.

"You just can't grasp what it's like to live your life with someone telling you where you can or can't go—what it's like not to have the simple freedom to do what you want, when you want, to go wherever you want. I'm 37 years old, and I grew up knowing nothing but East Germany and knowing I would never know anything else of the world. When I stood in front of the Wall that night, I cried like a baby. I couldn't stop.

"My dream, my real fantasy, is to go to America. I want to water ski in Florida."

—"Sigrid," quoted in the Los Angeles Times, December 17, 1989

WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THE end of history would be so literal? That, five years after the Wall came down, no one would remember how it happened or what it meant? That, five years after the Wall came down, its fall would be as meaningless to the president of the United States as the Monroe Doctrine is to the typical 10th grader?

Five years is not a long time, even in the life of Bill Clinton.

But there are 30,000 Cuban refugees behind barbed wire in the sweltering sun of Guantanamo Bay who can testify that Clinton does not know the meaning of the Berlin Wall. And that he does not know why it fell.

Ever eager to pretend he is John Kennedy, Clinton earlier this year traveled to Berlin and declared, "*Berlin ist frei*" (Berlin is free). "The Berlin Wall is gone," he said. "Now we must decide what we will build in its place." He has decided. Faced with his own Cuban "crisis," he has successfully begged Fidel Castro to build a Wall in the Caribbean.

Bill Clinton is a cowardly man. He is afraid, above all else, of political defeat. Castro has played masterfully to that fear, forcing a change in three decades of U.S. immigration policy and shoring up his government's waning legitimacy in the process. Castro knows that Clinton is terrified of Cuban refugees. They are to Clinton what Willie Horton is to Michael Dukakis—scapegoats for political defeat. Clinton blames violence at an Arkansas refugee camp in part for his traumatic gubernatorial reelection loss. To Clinton, the 1980 Mariel boatlift will always be the Mariel disaster. U.S. immigration policy is driven by fear of "another Mariel."

BUT THE MARIEL DISASTER IS A MYTH. OF the 125,000 Cubans who fled Castro in 1980, maybe as many as 5,000—a mere 4 percent of the total—were prisoners and mental patients Castro wanted to get rid of. Of those, the U.S. government is seeking to repatriate 1,500, slightly more than 1 percent of the total. Yet this tiny fraction is constantly cited as evidence that Mariel was a disaster.

In fact, South Florida absorbed the refugees with some adjustment pains but without long-term trauma. Research by Princeton economist David Card suggests that the influx of Mariel refugees didn't even drive down wages or raise unemployment among existing Miami residents. Instead, the newcomers increased the area's overall wealth. Human beings are valuable, even in crass monetary terms; they produce as well as consume.

The Clinton administration's policy denies that value. And the administration has built at Guantanamo the perfect monument to the linked ideas of welfare statism and anti-immigrant nationalism.

It has seized people with family and ethnic support networks in the United States, with tremendous courage and ini-

tiative, and—based on the record of earlier Cuban refugees—with a high likelihood of self-reliance and low chance of welfare dependency. And it has imprisoned them in a mini-welfare state, where their basic physical needs are met but where they are to remain permanently alienated from the Americans who foot the bill.

The cost in lives is obvious, the cost in money rarely reported. One Pentagon estimate pegs the startup expense at \$100 million, plus \$20 million a month for 45,000 refugees. If Clinton wants to "end welfare as we know it," he could start by releasing these would-be workers into the Miami economy, freeing them to create wealth instead of living off the taxpayers.

As Msgr. Bryan O. Walsh, executive director of Miami's Catholic Community Service and a 35-year veteran of refugee work, told the *Los Angeles Times*: "These are the risk-takers, willing to sacrifice today...to have a better tomorrow. They make the best possible additions to a free enterprise system."

The open society depicted in Walsh's vision of free enterprise is an anathema to welfare statists. And it is equally foreign to the immigration foes who have relentlessly repeated for at least a decade that the free movement of individuals poses a threat to "national sovereignty." Refugees on rafts, they say, constitute an "invasion."

Treating families fleeing tyranny as though they were armies spreading tyranny has perverse consequences. It warps our sense of America—of what a free country represents—and of the crucial difference between individuals and governments. And it warps our foreign policy.

After a decade of repetition, we have begun to take the "invasion" metaphor literally, to reason that when threatened with such "invasion," America must repel the

THE REMARKABLE TRAVEL JACKET

A tough wash-and-wear, go-anywhere travel companion
with 10 high-security pockets!



Travellers love it, pickpockets hate it.

When travelling, you need comfortable, practical clothing *and* a safe way to carry your wallet, passport and other valuables. That's why we created *The Remarkable Travel Jacket*, an amazingly versatile jacket designed for comfort, great looks and easy care — plus protection for your valuables.

Travel-tested wash-and-wear fabric for comfort and style.

The secret to *The Remarkable Travel Jacket's* stylish good looks is a special poly twill fabric that resists creasing, even after it's been stored in an airplane's overhead compartment! What's more, cleaning is a breeze. Just wash it in a tub or sink and hang it to dry.

10 secure pockets to foil pickpockets.

What's most amazing about this jacket are its *10 separate high-security pockets*, only 3 of which are visible from the outside. There are also 2 zipper-close and 2 velcro*-close inside pockets, 1 hidden coin pocket, and a pen pocket. Last but not least is a *super-secret* money pocket that only *you* will know how to find.

Designed and made in Europe.

The Remarkable Travel Jacket has been designed exclusively for Willabee & Ward by a venerable European producer of luxury clothing — founded in 1848 and headquartered in France. You will not find this jacket in catalogs or stores. It is available exclusively from Willabee & Ward.

Amazing price beats competition by a mile!

A jacket with all these features would cost \$250 or more. But Willabee & Ward's *Remarkable Travel Jacket* is priced at just \$169 (plus \$9.50 shipping/handling), payable in five convenient monthly credit card installments of \$35.70. Available in tan or navy in men's even sizes 36-52 regular or long. Your complete satisfaction is guaranteed; if not delighted, return in original condition within 30 days of receipt for a replacement or refund. Phone orders normally shipped next business day. Order today!

Available
in Tan or
Navy.

CALL TOLL FREE:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 769-120

©1994 MBI

Satisfaction
guaranteed.

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 769-120

Please send me _____ *Remarkable Travel Jacket(s)*.

Size(s) (Even sizes 36-52): _____ ☐ Regular ☐ Long

Color: ☐ Tan ☐ Navy

Charge each of five installments of \$35.70* to my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____

Exp. Date _____



Name _____
(PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for \$169 plus \$9.50 shipping/handling, a total of \$178.50* for each jacket.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

REASON

Publisher Robert W. Poole Jr.
Editor Virginia I. Postrel

Assistant Editors Brian Doherty, Nick Gillespie
Washington Editor Rick Henderson
Staff Reporter Ed Carson
Editorial Assistants Lisa Garcia, Mary Toledo
Interns Robert Pollock, Lisa Snell

Art Director Barbara Burch

Associate Publisher Bryan E. Snyder
Circulation Director Alyssa Garey
Public Affairs Director Richard J. Phillips

Contributing Editors

Ronald Bailey, Edith Efron, Glenn Garvin,
Steven Hayward, Thomas W. Hazlett,
David R. Henderson, John Hood,
Brink Lindsey, Carolyn Lochhead, Loren E.
Lomasky, Jonathan Marshall, John McClaughry,
Donald N. McCloskey, Michael McMenamin,
Steven W. Mosher, Charles Oliver,
Paul Craig Roberts, Jacob Sullum, Thomas Szasz,
Paul H. Weaver, Walter E. Williams,
Martin Morse Wooster, Cathy Young

Cartoonists

Chip Bok, Henry Payne, Scott Stantis

Volunteer Anthony Brown

Legal Adviser Don Erik Franzen

Editorial and Production Offices

3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Suite 400
Los Angeles, CA 90034
310-391-2245

Washington Office

1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 200 South
Washington, DC 20004
202-457-8577

Advertising Sales

The Townsend Group, Inc.
5301 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, #730
Washington, DC 20015
202-362-9188 Fax: 202-686-9761

Circulation Service

P.O. Box 526
Mt. Morris, IL 61054
1-800-998-8989

Founding Editors

Manuel S. Klausner, Tibor R. Machan,
Robert W. Poole Jr.

Reason is published by the Reason Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit educational foundation. Contributions to the Reason Foundation are tax-deductible. Signed articles in *Reason* reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editors, the Reason Foundation, or its trustees; articles should not be construed as attempts to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before any legislative body. The claims and opinions set forth in paid advertisements published in this magazine are not necessarily those of the Reason Foundation, and the publisher takes no responsibility for any such claim or opinion.



Reason Foundation

Trustees

Bernard Baltic, Frank Bond, William A. Dunn,
Richard Fink, Neal I. Goldman, Stina Hans,
Manuel S. Klausner, David H. Koch,
Robert W. Poole Jr., Harry E. Teasley Jr.,
Walter E. Williams



President Robert W. Poole Jr.
Senior Vice President Bryan E. Snyder
Vice President, Research Lynn Scarlett

EDITORIALS

invader, by force if necessary. So the administration declares the invasion of Haiti a national imperative, not simply to "restore democracy" but, in the words of U.N. Ambassador Madeline Albright, because of "refugees coming to our shores, which clearly have an impact on the economy of the southern states."

We must launch a military attack on Haiti, reason the Clintonites, to stop immigration. We must halt the "invasion" of refugees in fishing boats.

This is madness. And stupidity. And, most of all, amnesia. The administration and its allies, left and right, believe that the best way to overthrow dictatorships is to bottle up their people and starve them with trade embargoes. If the people suffer enough, it is presumed, they will rebel.

The forgotten history of Sigrid's country suggests otherwise. Embargoes didn't bring down Erich Honecker or the Berlin Wall. Mass migration did.

In the summer of 1989, East Germans began to sneak West, first by the hundreds via Hungary, where they could legally go

on vacation, then by the tens of thousands. By August, West German embassies in Budapest, Prague, and East Berlin were packed with refugees. By September, more than 13,000 East Germans were leaving through Hungary; by early October, 17,000 were on "freedom trains" from Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Had Bill Clinton been chancellor of West Germany, he no doubt would have panicked. Fortunately, he was not.

The refugees continued to leave, and they continued to be accepted in the West. By early November, the hemorrhaging was too great. The Wall came down, followed, within a month, by the Communist government itself.

That is how you destroy tyranny. You deprive it of the people on whose labors it feeds—and from whose existence and implied support it derives its legitimacy. You do not allow them to be owned by their rulers, and you do not lock them behind barbed wire.

You let them not only dream of water skiing in Florida. You let them do it. ♦

Population-Control Explosion

By Brian Doherty

There are too many people who think there are too many people.

THOUGH IT WAS ADVERTISED AS A forum for deliberation, the fix was already in on the United Nations' International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo last month. The international popocrats just wanted to stage a media event to rubber-stamp a foregone conclusion to maximal p.r. effect. Sadly, they got away with it.

The headlines on the conference played up the phony conflict over abortion and contraception. By calling the conflict phony, I don't mean to imply that the Vatican and the handful of other countries joining in its disapproval were insincere in their objections to the conference doc-

ument's stance on abortion and other artificial birth controls.

But their objections *did* play a useful role for their opponents, who had no intention of heeding them. Popocrats and the press were able to portray only superstitious reactionaries straight out of the Middle Ages as fighting the self-evidently humane and necessary goal of tripling world government spending on birth prevention to \$17 billion a year. Thus, even the thought that there might be informed secular arguments against centralized population control was shut out of the debate. Cries of "Will no one save me from this meddlesome priest?" echoed through the still Cairo air, but it was howled with a wink. The pope played perfectly his role as Court Reactionary in the judgment hall of world opinion.