

Klaus J. Bade and S. Ilan Troen (Eds.), *Zuwanderung und Eingliederung von Deutschen und Juden aus der früheren Sowjetunion in Deutschland und Israel*
Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1993, 191 pp.

Klaus J. Bade (Ed.), *Das Manifest der 60 - Deutschland und die Einwanderung*
Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1994, 231 pp., DM 14.80 p.b.

The first of the two books is about the immigration and absorption of Germans and Jews from the former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel. It collects the 25 contributions to an October 1991 conference held in Israel. Most of the authors are social scientists. In addition there are a few civil servants and a few church-based NGO people, most of them German. The aim of the conference was to share information among scientists of various disciplines, between science and administration, and between Germans and Israelis as a precondition for a better understanding of divergent views, experiences, and policies. A number of areas were selected for special treatment: the political and administrative handling of immigrants and immigration; housing; cultural and social absorption; occupational absorption. They are flanked by two brief historical overviews at the beginning and four reports from ongoing research in the back of the book. Immigration for settlement is something that has always been a part of Israeli as well as German society. However, Germany remained a net immigration country virtually throughout the post-war period while Israel was a net emigration country for most of the 1970s and 1980s. In both countries the recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union are legally recognised as citizens, and in both countries they do not know the language and are culturally quite distinct. They objectively share little else but the religion with the society they migrate into, protestantism in the German case, Judaism in the Israeli case. However, even their religious practices are at variance with local practice - in Israel the immigrants are conspicuously secular, in Germany they are bewildered by the secularism of German society. The book places these two cases of recent, large scale, sudden immigrations of citizens side by side but it does not provide an explicit comparison. Neither does it make reference to other, similar cases in recent history such as the return of a half million Portuguese from the colonies in 1975 or of a million French from Algeria in 1962. It does, however, recall the citizen immigrations into Germany and Israel after 1945 and 1948, respectively. The book's most interesting aspect, perhaps, is the juxtaposition of German and Israeli approaches to the immigration issue. The German contributions are marked by a very clear 'us-and-them' view of the immigrants. It is

exclusively the German position *vis-à-vis* the immigrants and prospective immigrants that is made the topic of the contributions. Israeli contributions tend to stress or at least to imply a community existing between immigrants, Israelis, and even the not-yet-immigrants. These chapters deal with or at least hint at the migratory experience and its handling by the immigrants. The others deal exclusively with the handling of the immigrants and the immigrations.

The book's four main sections primarily provide the stories of measures taken to come to terms with the immigration or to help the immigrants to come to terms with their new situation. All measures are assumed to be beneficial, none are critically evaluated. In most papers it remains unclear what exactly the problem diagnosis was and why the measures taken were an adequate answer to the problems.

As is often the case with conference volumes, the chapters have a common topic but otherwise lack cohesion. Many aspects of the problem are addressed but the information remains impressionistic. Far more questions are raised than answered. Nonetheless the collection can serve as a useful introduction for a reader looking for ideas on how societies may absorb relatively large immigrations.

The united Germany has problems. One of them is the handling of migration and its consequences'. This is how the second book, 'The Manifesto of the 60: Germany and Immigration', starts. Its title proclaims the book as a political document but in the text the authors' politics remain less than explicit. It is revealing that the wording in a self-declared manifesto does not differ from a social science text. The only difference between them appears to be the absence of footnotes in the manifesto. The ten authors are complemented by 50 further signatories. Almost all of the 60 are full professors. Their disciplines and their politics vary widely. Conspicuously missing are economists and anthropologists: there is only one of each and neither is prominent in the field of migration research. The manifesto is made up of ten sections. Each is a summary of a larger essay which appears later on in the book and is attributed to an individual author. Together the essays are three or four times as long as the manifesto which runs to under 13,000 words. Only two of the essays make any reference to other literature. The book's main point and main plea is more or less clearly repeated by most authors: the German government should stop declaring that Germany is not an immigration country, should face the facts and accept the challenge, and grasp the chance to make immigration an area of creative political thinking and policy design.

The sequence of sections and essays, respectively, is an ostensibly logical one. The first section describes the way German politics East and West have dealt with migration during the 'lost

decade of the 1980s'. This serves as an exposition of the problems, namely that immigration took place while it was taboo to describe it as such. The author, Klaus Bade, attributes the popular anxiety over immigration and to the subsequent violence and murder to the government's resistance to acknowledging the factual immigration and to their failure to formulating appropriate policies. This causal inference remains unsubstantiated both in the manifesto and the essays. While this particular link may be immediately plausible others are less so. This is perhaps most true of the second section by Peter Opitz. It is entitled 'Frame of Reference I: World Population and World Migration'. Here, simple but forceful assertions about the causes of international migration replace all argument. The migrants are portrayed as making migration decisions exclusively on the basis of (deteriorating) local conditions and a generalised image of wealth and well-being in the West. In other words, Opitz seems to think that migrants do not worry about how they will do after emigration, they just migrate. Or alternatively he assumes them all to be refugees, although the Editor in the introduction explained that the book would deliberately exclude refugee situations and deal with non-refugee migration only. The third section is by Rainer Münz and carries the heading 'Frame of Reference II: Population and Migration in Europe'. It provides a historical sketch of European migration and a scenario of further migration driven by demographic trends inside and around Europe. In section 4 Meinhard Miegel explores 'The Future of Population and Economy in Germany' and concludes that in spite of an aging population immigration is not actually necessary to maintain the German economy's prowess for at least another 35 years. Immigration should therefore be selective and give preference to the young, highly motivated and skilled. This flies in the face of assertions by various other contributors lamenting the aging of the population and vaguely deducing from it a demographic need for immigration. The next two sections by Dieter Oberndörfer and Friedrich Heckmann, respectively, deal with perceptions of ethnic diversity and with its role in the settlement process. Basically they plead for tolerance, calmness and patience to let the process of acculturation run its course. Sections Eight and Nine by Otto Kimminich and Michael Wollenschläger, respectively, address the same issues from a legal point of view. The former is about group rights in international law, the latter about legal obstacles to swift and effective integration of immigrants. In between there is Section Seven by Ursula Boos-Nünning about the education of immigrant children and support for their parents in furthering it. In the final section Claus Leggewie - in tune with the editor - asserts that while German policy denies its occurrence, immigration for settlement is in fact

taking place, and that this contradiction leads to insecurity on the part of both the immigrants and the inhabitants of the immigration country and ultimately to tension between the two groups. Germany therefore urgently needs to adopt a new set of policies that acknowledges the salient facts. These policies should include rapid legal equalisation with German nationals, and the regulation of the quantity and quality of immigration. The responsibility for these policies should rest with a ministry of immigration and should be internationally coordinated. This order of sections, proceeding from the global to the subnational, and from causes of migration to the absorption of immigrants is clearly meant to reflect the migration process. It portrays migration as something that is decided elsewhere, and thus as an intrusion one has to come to terms with. The intrusive character of migration is also reflected in the conspicuous absence of immigrant activity from the authors' thinking. Only Heckmann's contribution hints at an active role of immigrants in shaping German society and their own position in it. All other sections adhere to the image of the immigrant as a passive object formed by policies. The policies in turn seem to be regarded as more or less functional in terms of more or less stated goals, but neither as shaped by interests nor as benevolent, indifferent or adversarial towards specific social groups. An alternative order might have been to address the ways and means of creating absorption capacity in the context of current and potential policy. If supplemented by a demonstration of how a demand for immigration is being created within the German economy the immigrants could have been shown to be filling vacancies. The creation of demand is a complex topic and trying to write about it in a popular manner might have helped, if nothing else, to make more obvious the lack of research in this area. Another alternative would have been to write a genuine manifesto, i.e. a coherent statement on absorption and migration policy that sketches not only the current situation and the desired changes but also sets out a course of action towards achieving the goals and overcoming the obstacles to be encountered in the process. But overt politics, apart from formulating demands, are clearly something the authors shied away from.

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