

Volume 1, *Migrations Past, Migrations Future*, edited by Klaus Bade and Myron Weiner, ISBN 1-57181-125-7

Volume 2, *Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Policy; US and German Policies Toward Countries of Origin*, edited by Rainer Münz and Myron Weiner, ISBN 1-57181-087-0

Volume 3, *Immigration Admissions: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States*, edited by Kay Hailbronner, David A. Martin and Hiroshi Motomura, ISBN 1-57181-126-5

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At the time of writing this review (July 1998), reports in the press on the German general election campaign indicate that both the CSU and the CDU are playing the immigration card as one way of trying to claw back their opinion poll deficit with the SPD. The harshness of the rhetoric reflects the abject way in which political parties and their leaders in West European countries have scapegoated foreigners as the cause of a range of social ills from unemployment, increased criminality, and threats to homogenous notions of national identity. Chancellor Kohl has also repeated the oft heard refrain of German policy makers over the years that Germany is 'not a country of immigration'. In fact Germany is the 'country of immigration' par excellence in Western Europe with over 16 million immigrants since 1945, far more than either France or Britain. True these may have been overwhelmingly 'ethnic' Germans, but they are still immigrants. Klaus Bade makes it clear in volume 1 that 'throughout German history the movement of people across borders and the consequent clash of cultures has not been the exception but the norm'.

In the United States, also, concerns have arisen about the dilution of the 'essential' American identity, expressed usually as the ability to speak English and the acceptance of certain values of democracy and the due process of law, a kind of 'civic Anglo-Saxonism'. This has led to demands for greater controls on immigration and the need to ensure that those who do come to settle permanently are willing to fit into American society.

The appearance of this series under the general editorship of Myron Weiner is therefore to be welcomed as a useful antidote to the usually ill-informed debate in both Western Europe and the United States concerning immigration and its new variant the increased numbers of asylum seekers. These three volumes form part of a five volume series on the politics and policies towards migration and refugees in the USA and Germany since the 19th century. The last two volumes are now also in print: vol. IV, *Immigration Controls* and vol. V, *Paths to Inclusion*.

The aim of the series is to provide both a historical and contemporary analysis of the impact that migration has had and continues to have on both these societies. The overall effect is to inform and improve the level of debate by emphasising the historical continuities in the processes of immigration as a structural necessity for industrial capitalist economies both in peace and war. The authors are drawn from a number of specialist areas including law, sociology, demography, history, politics and economics. There is also a prescriptive element to this work in that the aim is not only to educate but also to influence policy-makers in their approach to this question. Certainly the chapters are all well researched, informative and clearly written, and provide a substantial background and stimulating ideas for policy-makers to consider.

Volume I looks at past and present of migration in the two countries with chapters covering both German and US histories of emigration and immigration from the early 19th century to the present. Volume II focuses on the current debates in both countries concerning the new wave of immigration around asylum seekers and refugees, and makes the clear point that policy makers in both countries need to consider this issue as more than just a question of labour market policy. Volume III looks at the divergence in controlling admissions in both countries as a result of different historical experiences.

The editors of the first volume nail their colours firmly to the mast of correcting existing attitudes concerning immigration and integration. In the introduction they refer to Germany's continuing refusal to see itself as a country of immigration (kein Einwanderungsland), and state quite categorically that without

a reconceptualisation of Germany from an ethno-national society

in which citizenship is based on ethnic identity to a society in which membership in the political system is acquired by birth and choice, Germany will not be able to integrate its immigrant population and their children.

The term *Gastarbeiter* is still used, stressing temporariness, even though many within the immigrant communities have been born in Germany or lived there for decades. The major issues for policy makers are to consider integrating elements of 'jus soli' and allowing multiple citizenship in order to come to terms with the multicultural reality of their society. The only omission in the historical survey is the role of imported labour under the Nazis when the whole war machine was heavily dependent on migrant and slave labour.

German policy has remained remarkably consistent for almost a hundred years, in terms of placing difficulties in the way of those who wish to become German citizens. At the same time there has also been a clear policy to allow those who emigrate permanently from Germany to retain their German citizenship, with the ethnic conception of the nation-state and the separation of territory from citizenship always at the core of the idea of German nationality. So that when descendants of ethnic Germans, who emigrated to the Volga area of Russia in the 17th century, returned to Germany after the events of 1989, they were able to become German citizens automatically. In stark contrast, many second and third generation people of Turkish origin born in Germany find enormous obstacles placed in the way of their becoming German.

This notion had been based on the distinction between 'jus soli' and 'jus sanguinis' as the methods by which nationality and citizenship is acquired. Countries such as Britain and France have accepted a 'jus soli' basis for becoming nationals. As Bade notes, the stress in Germany on 'jus sanguinis' placed the

principles of nation and national community above those of civil rights and republic, in strict opposition to the principle of territory (jus soli) embodied in the French republican idea.

Germany has a similar percentage of newer immigrant communities in proportion to the overall population as the Netherlands, France or Britain, but there was, for example, no ethnic Turkish player

in the German World Cup football team, compared to the Dutch, French, English or even United States' teams.

A great deal of fuss has been made in recent years throughout Western Europe and the United States concerning 'economic migrants'. The suggestion is that many of those seeking asylum in the West are not genuine refugees but merely seekers after a better life and should therefore not be allowed to enter or remain. The authors point out that had such notions and restrictions been in place in the 19th century most of the waves of German immigrants to the USA would have been refused entry at Staten Island and sent back on the first available ship to Hamburg or Bremerhaven. The distinction between 'economic' and genuine migrant is often hard if not impossible to distinguish.

In contrast to Germany, Ueda categorises the United States as an 'immigration country of assimilative pluralism'. It is important to remember, however, that the USA has operated a strict system of quotas and also until 1946 made it very difficult for certain categories of immigrants, for example, Chinese to enter the country, instituting a policy of distributing quotas according to a hierarchy of nationalities ranked in grades of 'assimilability'

The chapters on the experience of immigration in the USA are thorough and informative, describing the process of urban growth, the fluid social structure, and the continuously expanding cultural pluralism produced by mass immigration which provided a setting in which ethnic Americans could find niches for self-assertion and acculturation. This process led to a form of liberal nationalism whereby a civic self-identity was valued beyond ethnic identity and with the separation of church and state allowed the development of a collective concept of immigrant nationhood.

But there is little discussion of the major exception to the notion of assimilative pluralism, namely the experience of African-Americans who remain an unresolved issue in terms of a notion of assimilative pluralism. Although on the issue of exogamy the US statistics have slowly started to change in terms of black-white marriages from 1.6 per cent of all marriages involving African-Americans in 1968 to 8.9 per cent in 1988. The authors issue a caveat that such marriages probably reflect changing behaviour of higher socio-economic groups since the rate for lower socio-economic groups remains very slight.

Volume II considers policy concerning asylum seekers and refugees and provides details of those major areas of flows into the respective countries over the last 30 years. The authors in this volume examine the way in which foreign policy has begun only recently to interlink with trade policy, and to consider further the root causes in the sending countries. There is a useful chapter on the impact of German foreign policy towards the former Yugoslavia, in light of the subsequent war there and its effects on Germany, particularly in terms of creating a large number of refugees who then sought to escape the fighting by going to Germany.

Withdrawal of economic co-operation has been used by the US, for example, to exert pressure on Mexico to control illegal emigration into the US. Furthermore there is the conflict between on the one hand humanitarian concerns, and on the other growing antagonism within the receiving countries towards large numbers of new entrants. Both countries have, therefore, instituted new regimes of control in order to try to minimise the numbers of people attempting to enter their borders. At the same time they are actively involved in international organisations, trying to apply a range of policy instruments, from emergency assistance, development aid, trade and investment to stem the flow of migrants and asylum seekers at source. For both the US and Germany there is an urgent need to consider the movement of people within a much broader policy framework, which the authors conclude has started but needs to be expanded further.

Volume III covers admission policies, political asylum and the crisis of controls. The theme that runs throughout this volume is that immigration controls in most major receiving countries in the West have 'serious shortcomings either in concept or in implementation, or at times both'. The authors address these issues directly and examine policies that range from active encouragement of immigration to those that attempt total exclusion. There is also discussion of the ethics of immigration and humanitarian issues. Technicalities of control receive analysis, as do the mechanisms by which sending states may seek to limit the number of new immigrants by a series of measures such as temporary work visas.

The role of the family and immigration is examined, and in particular the vexed question of family reunification. All Western

countries are obliged to respect the importance of the family, but difficulties arise in deciding who is family in terms of allowing dependent relatives entry. There is a further issue concerning the responsibility of family members to each other, which has provoked the fierce debate in the German election campaign mentioned above. The CSU in Bavaria has introduced proposals in the Bundesrat calling for the deportation of the entire immigrant family where underage members are found guilty of offences, even if the offenders or their parents were born in Germany.

Two chapters on the current situation of refugees raise pertinent questions concerning the continuing validity of the 1951 UN Geneva Convention definition of a refugee and the protection that states should afford them. In response to current charges that it is anachronistic, Fitzpatrick stresses the continuing importance of the principle of 'nonrefoulement', whereby refugees should not be forcibly returned to the site of persecution. She also criticises the common practice of states to erect even more onerous barriers of access to asylum seekers. Many of the current provisions in European Union member states have been questioned by the UNHCR, as breaching the spirit if not the letter of the 1951 Convention.

Another area covered in this volume is the differences between the two countries in terms of their approaches to the question of immigration controls. The US has placed emphasis on clearly established terms and conditions of admission pre-arrival and on arrival usually through the requirement of a visa. These visas tend to distinguish between those who are coming on a temporary basis and those coming permanently. Germany on the other hand has not considered itself a 'country of immigration' and so has relied more on a system of work and residence permits, with progression from one temporary status to another more secure status over time. One reason for this is the highly centralised system of labour market control available in Germany through the Labour Ministry.

In the concluding chapter, the authors call for better observance of the principle of family reunification, a fairer system of admissions procedures, and the need for more bilateral and multilateral agreements to govern this increasingly important area of international relations. Exclusively domestic answers to the asylum issue are doomed to failure.

The overall contribution of these volumes, then, should make

policy-makers more aware of the long term benefits of the presence of immigrants to most societies whatever their origins. The authors are to be congratulated on such a comprehensive analysis, and for proposing a more humane and tolerant approach to this issue which has so often lacking.

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