

Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, eds. *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States* (Migration and Refugees: Politics and Policies in the United States and Germany, 1). Providence, R.I.: Berghahn Books, 1997. Pp. xvii, 158. \$29.95.

Kay Hailbronner, David A. Martin, and Hiroshi Motomura, eds. *Immigration Admissions: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States* (Migration and Refugees: Politics and Policies in the United States and Germany, 3). Providence, R.I.: Berghahn Books, 1997. Pp. xii, 284. \$45.00.

To compare the immigration history and contemporary policy concerns of Germany to those of the United States is to assert plainly that Germany, despite official rhetoric, is in fact a country of immigration. This is precisely what these two collections of essays (the first and third in a five book series) establish beyond doubt. These volumes contribute to the burgeoning literature on immigration by bringing together a wide variety of experts including historians, sociologists, demographers, political scientists, economists, lawyers, and government officials. This alone is a major accomplishment in the often fragmented and polemical immigration literature. Although the essays in both volumes are primarily descriptive, each makes at least one implicit argument.

Volume 1 offers a cohesive historical contextualization and political framing of "one of the most heavily debated social and political issues in the industrialized West." It is instructive in its examination of the creation of immigration categories and their shift in meaning and political importance over time. This includes a debunking of future demographic predictions based on a critical analysis of standard assumptions and categories regarding race and ethnicity. Volume 3 takes a more policy-oriented approach and offers a range of detailed chapters on asylum, the definition of refugees, family reunification, return policies, readmission agreements, and comprehensive migration policy.

The four historical and demographic chapters in Volume 1 are prefaced by Bade and Weiner's cogent introduction that establishes the grounds for comparison and the political urgency of these issues. Next, Bade's concise coverage of Germany's shift from a country of emigration to a country of immigration without immigration policies ("the German paradox") reminds us of the German government's reluctance to amend outdated policies. Münz and Ulrich contrast the different reception and integration provisions for ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) versus other immigrants, and predict that net immigration will remain around 190,000 per year. This leads them to plead for more inclusive citizenship and naturalization policies.

Reed Ueda's brief history of U.S. immigration locates the distinction between the U.S. and Germany in America's "consensual, voluntary, and democratic" pluralism. He points to Germans in the U.S. as "the classic case of an immigrant group being transformed under the conditions existing in a pluralist democracy."

Ueda's sanguine reading of U.S. pluralism is less convincing, however, when applied to post-1965 America. Bean, Cushing, and Haynes analyze postwar trends and conclude that American concern with immigration issues stems more from concerns about economic uncertainty rather than anxieties over the post-1965 shift in the racial/ethnic composition of immigrants (from European to Asian and Latin American).

The specialized core chapters of Volume 3 are buttressed by Joseph Caren's insightful and frank analysis of the moral and practical elements of the asylum issue in chapter one, and the editors' wide-ranging policy recommendations in the conclusion. The editors point to differences in political culture and institutions that make control easier in Germany. Chief recommendations include a general reduction in the complexity of rules and regulations pertaining to immigration and asylum, and the need to crack down on employers who hire undocumented workers.

Jörg Monar clearly demonstrates that neither country has a comprehensive migration policy, despite purported concern with immigration issues. Reerman lauds Germany's bilateral readmission agreements with neighboring states ("first country concept" and "safe third country of origin") and believes it should be a replicable model. Rosemarie Rogers concurs that new German agreements and laws have been effective, but she warns against the potential for the exclusion of legitimate asylees. She also concludes that return incentive programs have largely failed, and that western industrialized states should avoid temporary asylum because it has a tendency to become permanent. In somewhat redundant contributions, Fitzpatrick and Hofmann both conclude that the definition of refugee from the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees still has merit. It is not obsolete, but incomplete. Hofmann argues that vagueness is necessary, but the convention's emphasis on individual-state relations ignores relevant contemporary causes of involuntary flight, such as group persecution.

These timely volumes deftly illustrate the complexities and dilemmas of the multiply intertwined issues pertaining to immigration: national identity, integration, morality, asylum, state power, international law, and political will. And, in an era of intensifying globalization and supposedly weakening nation states, they clearly portray the powers available to states with the political will to seek tighter controls. Drawbacks of the volumes include some overlap and repetition among chapters and, given the nature of the subject matter, the fact that some data and predictions are already outdated. Since these books were written, the Asian economic crisis has produced new sources of labor migration and human trafficking. The U.S. has further increased its border patrols and passed national legislation limiting aid to legal immigrants. Germany continues to have trouble repatriating Bosnians granted temporary asylum, and expansion of the Schengen zone has resulted in a further tightening of Europe's external borders, but illegal immigration continues. Nevertheless, these volumes provide excellent entry into a rapidly expanding field of inquiry, a field that is dominated too frequently by mediocrity.

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