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Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner (eds), **MIGRATION PAST, MIGRATION FUTURE: GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES**, Providence/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997, xvii + 158 pp., npl.

Rainer Münz and Myron Weiner (eds), **MIGRANTS, REFUGEES, AND FOREIGN POLICIES: U.S. AND GERMAN POLICIES TOWARD COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN**, Providence/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997, xvi + 368 pp., npl.

These two books are a result of a two-year study on refugee and migration problems and policies in the United States and Germany, the world's two largest recipients of immigrants

since World War II, organized by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences with financial support from the German-American Academic Council Foundation. They are the first two volumes of a five volume set, which contain the final versions of research contributions prepared and discussed within three working groups composed of participants from both countries and scientists of different disciplines and government officials. One working group dealt with immigration, admission and border control policies; another focused on absorption and integration of immigrants in the U.S. and Germany; and a third examined the connection of migrant and refugee flows with foreign and international policies towards countries of origin.

As the title *Migration Past, Migration Future* of the first volume indicates, one might expect that general aspects of changes and developments of migration patterns and processes will be examined. However, the different histories and concepts of the US and Germany as immigration countries and their related immigration policies are the main concerns. Klaus J. Bade (Chapter 1) and Reed Ueda (Chapter 2) examine and present the historical factors which led to the divergent concepts of citizenship in Germany and the US and investigate the related integration effects upon immigrants in both countries. Rainer Münz and Ralf Ulrich (Chapter 3) and Frank B. Bean, Robert G. Cushing and Charles W. Haynes (Chapter 4) offer a demographic population projection on the future ethnic composition of Germany and the US and discuss the likelihood of ethnic conflicts evoked through immigration issues.

Bade describes the historical transformation of Germany from a predominantly transatlantic emigration country to one which receives substantial continental mass migration flows. The German citizenship law established in 1913, based on the *jus sanguinis* principle, is still valid. Among other aspects, one reason for the ethnonational conception of citizenship was to enable German migrants living abroad to retain and inherit German citizenship and their 'Germanness' in general, while the acquisition of German citizenship by foreigners should be limited. Bade pleads for the overdue redefinition of the German citizenship law which is the main hindrance for the self-definition of Germany as an immigration country. He considers this reorientation both as a requirement of actual reality and as a necessity for normative reasons. Bade argues that xenophobia in Germany is 'not the inevitable consequence of immigration and integration, but rather an avoidable result of the lack of political structuring these processes' and 'an aggressive response to the lack of migration policies' (p. 30). However, in contrast to Bade, it should be noted that reforming the law of citizenship and introducing immigration legislation in Germany are hardly a panacea against xenophobic tendencies.

Ueda characterizes the US as an 'Immigration Country of Assimilative Pluralism' which was mainly caused by the dual historical experience of the US in being the first immigration country in the modern world and the first democracy that led to a self-concept of nationhood, with its emphasis on heterogeneity. This was in contrast to the European nation-building process where the aim of consolidating homogeneous ethnic nations was on the agenda. After a concise overview of America's immigration history, Ueda goes on to illustrate the system of assimilative pluralism with a case-study of German immigrants in the US.

In considering post-war immigration to Germany, Münz and Ulrich present detailed data about the number of immigrants and refugees in Germany differentiated according to nations of origin, the regional distribution of foreigners, their employment by economic sectors and branches, and their naturalization rates in the past. Furthermore, the authors conceptualize post-war immigration to Germany in six phases. Finally, they try and predict the ethnic composition of Germany in the early part of the twenty-first century, with the result that even if there were no further immigration at all, the number of foreigners among the total population would still almost double within the next thirty-four years. This view supports Bade's conclusion but with a different argument concerning the democratic self-legitimation of the political system. 'It is hard to imagine the workings of local affairs and municipal politics in cities where one in three or one in two inhabitants had no right to vote or to be elected' (p. 109). With the use of statistics Bean, Cushing and Haynes demonstrate

the conversion of the US from a mainly biracial (black and white) society to a multi-ethnic one. After some critical remarks on basic assumptions of population projections on the country's future racial and ethnic composition, they discuss the various concerns being formulated in the face of this development: fear of interethnic conflicts; growing job competition; increased costs of the welfare and education system.

The articles in the second volume, entitled 'Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Policies', focus on two problems. First, they analyse how past specific or general foreign policies of the US and Germany have influenced the several flows of migrants and refugees, regarding both policies as directly aimed at a regulation of immigration and foreign policies with mainly other objectives which had unintended consequences in triggering migration flows and immigration pressure on these countries. Second, they examine and evaluate the manifold conceivable policy instruments to prevent unwanted migration, that is, what kind of policies (in the form of aid, incentives, threats or sanctions), under which conditions, are appropriate to influence countries of origin or even motivate their governments to ameliorate the economic and social situation, to improve democracy, to respect human and minority rights and to abstain from internal or external violence so that people are no longer pressed to go abroad.

An example of a refugee stream as a predominant unintended consequence of a policy is given by Hans-Jürgen Axt in Chapter 1, where he describes the foreign policy of both Germany and the EU member states towards the disintegrating Yugoslavia. He argues that Germany's rash and unconditional decision to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states on account of historical ties and domestic public pressure and – somewhat idealistically – in the name of self-determination, without *inter alia* the initial support of other EU members, led ultimately to the escalation of the conflict and to one of the largest waves of refugees since the end of World War II.

Christopher Mitchell in Chapter 2 presents an impressive overview of the impact of several US policies on migration streams from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. After describing the range of corresponding movements in the US, he examines the various kinds of US policies at different times towards the several states of the region, and concludes that 'U.S. immigration policies have usually been led or greatly influenced by economic, societal, or foreign policy interests that have enjoyed higher political priority than the issue-area of migration' (p. 59).

The variable immigration policy towards Mexico was due to the demand for cheap labour in the US economy, though in relation to foreign policy migration was often merely an unintended consequence or accepted side effect of the predominant goal of exerting hegemonic influence in the region (for example, sponsorship of oppressive regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador; encouragement of civil war in Nicaragua). Sometimes enabling immigration was at most a complementary tool of higher-ranking foreign interests (for example, to undermine the internal and external support of Cuba, or to bolster the non-communist Dominican regimes). While past migration restrictionist policies 'have tended to exert effects only over short periods of time because they have been, for the most part, deliberately formulated for specific and limited purposes' (p. 60), recently because of growing public discontentment with US migration policies in the last fifteen years, significant changes are under way towards a substantial restriction of immigration.

Chapters 3 to 6 deal with different specific aspects of migration in the East European countries and the states of the former Soviet Union. Christian Dornis in Chapter 3 focuses on the range and potential of immigration and emigration in Russia and the relating causes. The connection with foreign policies of the US and Germany is made here more indirect and appealing: for the sake of international security 'it is in the self-interest of Western countries to help Russia solve or at least moderate its migration problems' (p. 108).

In Chapter 4 Volker Ronge sketches the history of German emigration and settlement in Eastern Europe, especially in regions of the former Soviet Union. He explores – as an example of predominant intentional policy – the privileged status of ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) regarding emigration in German legislation, which was recently supplemented

with policies aimed at providing more political and financial support to the countries of residence of ethnic Germans, and presents figures about resultant movements. Ronge concludes that the exceptional treatment of German coethnics in comparison with other immigrants is not simply an outcome of ethnonational politics and the application of the principle of *jus sanguinis*, it is also designed to compensate these minorities for the collective discrimination that they experienced during and as a result of World War II and under totalitarian socialist regimes. He concludes with some remarks on how this special policy might serve as a model to devise a general German immigration policy. Surprisingly, however, he does not use the criterion of normative justice emphasized before, to warrant compensation for suffered disadvantages.

In Chapter 5 Barbara Dietz and Klaus Segbers evaluate the German policies in reaction to the external migration potential of excluding ethnic Germans. They assert that the constitutional revision of the German asylum law and the subsequent agreements with the neighbouring East European states were aimed at limiting not only migration, but also, in a more implicit and silent manner, the economic aid to East European countries in the course of German reunification.

Elmar Hönckopp in Chapter 6 gives a brief sketch of German policies regulating new labour migration, especially from Eastern Europe, of project-tied contract workers, seasonal workers, border commuters, new guest-workers and foreign nurses. He evaluates whether the main goals of these new programmes are likely fulfilled to avoid permanent immigration, in contrast to what was experienced with the recruitment of guest-workers in the past, and to assist East European economies by the transfer of skill and income.

Chapters 7 to 9 are less concerned with the consequences of particular policies of Germany and the US. Rather, they refer more to subject areas and policy fields in the context of the relationship between migration and foreign policies. Myron Weiner in Chapter 7 presents a magisterial overview of refugee migration since the end of World War II and tries to identify the determinants for the increase in the number of refugee flows worldwide in relating them to different causes – interstate wars; ethnic conflicts; non-ethnic civil wars; and oppression under authoritarian regimes. One interesting finding is that the average number of refugees per conflict, resulting above all, from recent ethnic conflicts, has been increasing more than the number of conflicts and countries involved. This is an outcome of the growing violence due to easier availability of arms in the world market and greater use of antipersonnel mines.

Philipp Martin in Chapter 8 deals with economically motivated migration and assesses economic instruments which would affect countries of origin, namely: trade; foreign investment; and aid. He concludes that the most promising policy to reduce migration pressure by stimulating the economies of the sending countries is the expansion of free trade, but that all three policies which might decrease migration under certain circumstances are likely, in the long run, to increase it in the short term on account of temporary economic restructuring processes.

Barry Posen in Chapter 9 elucidates the adequacy of different military remedies (military punishment of the assailant, creation of safe zones and safe havens, and the enforcement of truces) in relation to various refugee causes (genocide, ethnic cleansing, fear of occupation and primitive armies which exploit the non-combatant population), and argues that in debates on military intervention it is often overlooked that the success of each policy requires the commitment of both substantial military and complementary political resources which are often greater than a single country in the name of its own national interest is willing or the international community is able to provide.

Finally, in Chapter 10 the editors evaluate the whole spectrum of possible policies to prevent and influence unwanted migration. They conclude that in both countries (the US and Germany) the institutional arrangements are not adequate to address the connection between foreign policy and migration streams. This is because immigration is regarded mainly as a domestic issue, and the responsible authorities do not have much influence on foreign policy deliberations. However, more conceptual thinking and cooperation are

needed, since each case of movement requires careful analysis of what policy is appropriate.

In sum, both books present a lot of interesting insights, facts and statistics on several aspects of different issues according to different approaches. But as is often the case with books containing conference contributions, the systematic and theoretical coherence is not one of the strong points. However, as the authors themselves indicate, further research is needed, in our view, especially to complement by theoretical considerations the internal dynamics of migration streams and to trigger the structural factors. There are some interesting remarks in Chapters 2 and 8 on the significance of transnational migrant networks and transnational communities under changed global circumstances as regards communication and transportation to explain the course and direction of migration flows.

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