

gepflegt wurde. Während im heutigen Europa die Erinnerung an den Holocaust von zentraler Bedeutung sei, bleibt der Stellenwert des kommunistischen Verbrechens im europäischen kollektiven Gedächtnis noch unklar (S. 958 ff.). Bemerkenswert ist, dass nach Ansicht des Vfs. ein gewisses Maß an Vergessen eine notwendige Bedingung für gesellschaftliche Gesundheit sei (S. 965) – so wäre seines Erachtens ein Neuanfang nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ohne kollektive Amnesie nicht möglich gewesen (S. 82).

Angesichts der Fülle der behandelten Themen fallen die wenigen Fehler nicht auf. Vollständigkeitshalber sollte erwähnt werden, dass Breslau nicht in der Tschechoslowakei liegt (S. 713), nicht Krakau, sondern Lemberg die Hauptstadt Galiziens war (S. 867) und der bekannte Spruch Rosa Luxemburgs nicht „Freiheit ist auch die Freiheit der Andersdenkenden“ (S. 704), sondern „Freiheit ist immer die Freiheit der Andersdenkenden“ lautet.

Insgesamt beeindruckt das Werk durch die Spannbreite der geschilderten Themen, die Kompetenz des Autors und dessen narrative Fähigkeiten.

Andreas Fahrmeir / Olivier Faron / Patrick Weil (Hrsg.): Migration Control in the North Atlantic World. The Evolution of State Practices in Europe and the United States from the French Revolution to the Inter-War Period, New York: Berghahn Books 2003, 322 Seiten.

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Scores of books have been written about migration and about the politics and public debates that produced national migration control laws. Yet we still know surprisingly little about the enforcement of those laws and their effects on migration. We perhaps know even less about the many historical alternatives and failed trajectories of migrant regulation, and how we ended up today with a certain selection of these alternatives that we take for granted as the possible forms of immigration and border control. This book significantly reduces our ignorance. The collected articles analyze the history of modern migration control as a story of ambiguity and complexity, of laws that often had little relation to practice and ad hoc measures that could have deep and wide ranging effects on the constitution of societies. They also show that mobility control was entangled range of policies, technologies and institutions related to citizenship, political change, poor relief, commerce, economic development, humanitarianism, police work and the making of the modern state. In short,

they demonstrate that a historical perspective on migration control begs the question, “how did the regulation of migration become a national project, to be enforced by the state and concerned largely with external borders and immigration, in which migration and migrants are seen as constituting a sphere that is distinct from state and society?” Perhaps most astonishingly, most of the papers also manage to thread a path through the formidable tangle of laws, jurisdictions and complexities while maintaining a clear narrative voice and not losing sight of the larger issues.

The first section of the book focuses on the French revolution. The premise that the French Revolution is the beginning of modern migration control is surely debatable. But the chapters make a strong case for the importance of the Revolution through the very act of situating it in a broad historical context that accounts for pre-revolutionary trajectories and similar developments elsewhere. Peter Sahlins argues that revolutionary measures for mobility control were largely an intensification of old regime institutions, while Oliver Faron and Cyryl Grange place revolutionary alien registration within a broader context of intensified mobility controls throughout urban Europe. Laurent Dubois shows how revolutionary attempts to clarify the distinction between citizen and alien struggled to deal with Africans. And Magrit Shulte Beerbühl looks at the British Alien Act of 1793 as both an appropriation of and reaction to events and policies in France. Taken together, the essays situate French mobility control within a broader spectrum of processes that preceded the Revolution, expanded beyond France, and helped institutionalize

distinctions between nationals and others that would become so crucial in the erection of modern borders.

Part two looks at the administration of migration control laws over the long nineteenth century. As explained in the editors’ introduction, these chapters depict the nineteenth century as an “age of experimentation.” They also question common depictions of the second half of the nineteenth century as an age of free mobility by demonstrating that many controls were designed to regulate rather than restrict mobility and that they were often implemented at local levels and with objects and methods that do not now associate with migration control. John Torpey starts with an overview of the development of passport controls from the French Revolution through the consolidation of German States and into World War One. Articles by Brigitta Bader-Zaar and Andrea Komlosy look more specifically at citizenship laws, domicile laws and other methods to monitor mobility that emerged alongside the abolishment of passports and manorial controls over mobility in the Hapsburg Empire. The other chapters also analyze migration control in the context of jurisdictions, concerns and institutions that are often ignored in accounts based on late twentieth century assumptions. K. M. N. Carpenter looks at the surveillance of workers in early nineteenth century Munich, Gerald Neuman at state migration controls in the United States before the 1860s, David Feldman at the role of voluntary ethnic and philanthropic associations in repatriating poor immigrants from Britain, and articles by Frank Caestecker and Leo Lucassen look at the uneven nationalization of deportation and mobil-

ity control laws in northwestern Europe. One theme that links these chapters was the importance of regulating paupers and potential political subversives. Regulations were forged at a nexus of distinct fiscal and political concerns in which poor relief, banditry and revolutionary activism were all constructed as the diverse manifestations of a failure to create social order. The chapters also document how liberalization helped weaken local migration controls and create a space for the consolidation of centralized regulations.

Part three looks at the politics of labor and commerce in the construction of migration control, going beyond the usual emphasis on policy formation to show how they helped shape actual mechanisms of enforcement. Katja Wüstenbecker looks at local merchant, steamship company and city initiatives to build an infrastructure to regulate migration through Hamburg and all of Germany. Aristide Zolberg looks at the complicated political and legal debates over U.S. immigration control before the 1860s, while Patrick Weil takes this up to the 1920s by looking at the diplomacy, administrative developments and intellectual politics leading to the U.S. quota law of 1924 in comparison with France. Catharine Collomp and Michael Berkowitz focus more specifically on the influence of labor unions and Jewish politics in the context of U.S. migration debates. As a whole, the chapters demonstrate the depth to which migration and migration control is entangled with a other issues ranging from material profits to sociological models to the politics of slavery.

This book sets the terms by which we can understand the history of migration control as a set of institutions and mechanisms

that is not merely a response to migration, but deeply entwined with the very creation of modern migration and the international system. The next step should be to expand the scope beyond the North Atlantic. Inasmuch as migration control is about regulating the participation of peoples in the institutions of modern society, a full understanding of modern migration control must be situated in the context of institutions that distinguished the West from the rest. These include colonial techniques of surveillance and mobility control, Chinese and other Asian exclusion laws, medical and political cordons established across the eastern borders of Europe, the regulation of pilgrimage to Mecca, and the endless debates over the meaning of indenture, coerced labor flows and the limits of private regulation. If there is any aspect of the modern world where many if not most of the foundational innovations took place outside of or at the edges of the North Atlantic, it is migration control.

**Arnold Bartetzky / Marina
Dmitrieva / Stefan Troebst (Hgg.),
Neue Staaten – neue Bilder?
Visuelle Kultur im Dienst staatlicher
Selbstdarstellung in Zentral- und
Osteuropa seit 1918 (= Visuelle
Geschichtskultur, Bd. 1), Köln:
Böhlau Verlag 2005, S. 364 Seiten.**

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„Neue Staaten – Neue Bilder?“ ist der Titel des ersten Bandes einer neuen Reihe,