1

**PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT**

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

15000 COUNTY ROAD 55 BURNINGWELL, MINN 55337 USA
TEL: 612/435-7887 FAX: 612/435-7887 TLR: 514000000

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

The Concept of Immigration in the Development of the Nation-State:

A Comparison of Germany and Canada

by

Alice Bruechert, B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

April 24, 1992

1992, Alice Bruechert

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-75910-0

Canada

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
"The Concept of Immigration in the Development of the
Nation State: A Comparison of Germany and Canada"

Submitted by Alice Bruechert,
Bachelor of Arts; Honours in Political Science
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Director
Institute of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May 7, 1992

Abstract

This thesis argues that the reason nation-states conceptualize immigration differently today is that the concept of immigration developed concurrently with the unique formation of the nation-state. The thesis demonstrates the validity of this argument by comparing how Germany and Canada developed their current concepts of immigration during their development as nation-states. In order to achieve this end, the thesis was written as a comparative overview. It consists of five chapters, each divided into a German and Canadian section, dealing with a specific time frame. They cover from the roots of Germany and Canada's concept of immigration during the pre-nation-state time period to their current concepts of immigration discussed in chapter five. This overview explains how Germany and Canada's concepts of immigration can be so different today, although both countries have required foreigners to contribute to their development as nation-states.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of three women who were influential and supportive in my academic and personal development: my grandmother Alice Bruechert (1907-1978), her sister Gabriele Waldert (1902-1991), and my grandmother Ida Golding (1902-1990).

Acknowledgement

There are numerous people without whom the completion of this thesis would never have become a reality. Many thanks to Dr. Jill Vickers and Dr. Stan McMullin for their support when life's tragedies and changes threatened to permanently delay my chances for completing my thesis. Thank you as well to Dr. Tepper for his support in seeing this thesis through to completion. The many friends who gave their support are too numerous to list, but those who deserve special thanks are Eliane Pollard, Jim Hill, Alyssa Ryvers and Scott Green for being there for me in the darkest moments of writing this thesis.

Table of Contents

i	Abstract	
ii	Dedications	
iii	Acknowledgements	
iv	Table of Contents	
1.	Introduction	1
2.	Chapter One: The Roots of the Nation-State and the Concept of immigration	7
	Germany	7
	Canada	24
3.	Chapter Two: The New Nation-State and the Development of an Immigration Policy	40
	Germany	40
	Canada	65
4.	Chapter Three: The Aftermath of World War I to the end of World War II	89
	Germany	89
	Canada	100
5.	Chapter Four: The Aftermath of World War II to 1989	114
	Germany	115
	Canada	131
6.	Chapter Five: The Current Concepts of Immigration in Germany and Canada ..	156
	Germany	156
	Canada	170
7.	Conclusion	178
8.	Appendix A	187
9.	Bibliography	191

Introduction:

The comparative study of immigration systems has one primary obstacle. It is the fact that no two immigration systems are alike. Countries simply conceptualize immigration differently from one another. The concept of immigration, in this case, is being used in its broadest sense. It refers to the country's perception of "outsiders", i.e. non-citizens who enter the country from outside and were not previously subject to its legal system, and the basis on which outsiders are permitted to enter and remain as a result of this perception.

Researchers of international migration attempt to account for differences in immigration systems by emphasizing the different historical, political, economic and social experiences of countries (F. Hawkins, 1991; M. Kritz, 1987; M. Heisler, 1986; H. Bovenkerk et al., 1991; D. Papademetriou, 1988). The central element in all of their work is the importance of the nation-state in determining a country's concept of immigration. However, what most theorists do not do is account for the initial development of the concept of immigration by the nation-state.

The nation-state has been defined in many ways: Huxley and Haddon (1940) said that "the nation is a society united by a common error as to its origins and a common aversion to its neighbours"; while K.W. Deutsch (1953) noted that "some of the most frequently cited objective characteristics of a people do not seem to be essential to its unity" and he criticized theories who said that nationhood was derived from common language, territory, conditions or experience, or on a community of history and memories, and common heritage; E.H. Carr noted that "the nation is not a definable and clearly recognizable entity" (Anderson and Frideres, 27, 1981). Due to the variability of definitions the use of the broadest definition for each aspect of the nation-state was deemed appropriate. This thesis combines F.S. Northedge's definition of the state; a territorial and legal association whose executive body is the government, with E.K. Francis's definition of the nation; the entire state population taken collectively (Northedge, 25, 1979; Francis, 72-72, 1976). One must appreciate that nation-states will define themselves differently as Heinrich von Treitschke noted that there exists two competing forces in the history of the nation's population: "the tendency of every state to amalgamate its population in speech and manners into one single mould: and the impulse felt by every vigorous nationality to construct a state of its own" (Pflanze, 94, 1990). The general reference to "population" suggests that regardless of origin the state in its early stage will accept the people within its borders and attempts to amalgamate them by the use of one language and

manners. Tension, however, arises from the desire of a nationality group to create a state of its own¹. The outcome of the tension between these two forces depends on the circumstances of the union of the nation-state which determines who rules and interests become state policy. This adopts Jean Jacques Rousseau's argument that union takes place for the purpose of preserving and protecting the common interests of the contracting bodies (Rousseau, 78, 1968). Furthermore E.K. Francis noted that as a result of how the nation-state developed, it will emphasize and de-emphasize certain aspects of the state, i.e. immigration, in order to preserve and protect the interests of the contracting bodies (Francis, 81, 1976).

This thesis argues that the reason nation-states conceptualize immigration differently is that the concept of immigration developed concurrently with the unique formation of the nation-state. The interests of those who ruled the nation-state during its formation determined its own concept of immigration. This concept of immigration has been altered, by years of historical political, economic and social change, into state policy and remains the seed of the nation-state's concept of immigration today.

The concurrent development of the nation-state and the concept of immigration can be best illustrated by comparing the experiences of two very different countries; the Federal Republic of Germany

¹ "Nationality group" here refers to a group of people who wish to preserve their own language and culture in the face of pressure to conform to the language and culture of the legal system which they exist under.

(FRG), officially a non-immigrant receiving country, and Canada, an immigrant receiving country. The term "nation-state" will be applied to both countries. Political scientists may dispute the appropriateness of the term for Canada, as Canada has never consisted of one cultural and linguistic group that would identify it as a homogeneous nation. It is, however, appropriate when one considers the previously mentioned definitions of what is a nation-state. And, as this thesis will demonstrate, both Germany and Canada's first leaders, Otto von Bismarck and Sir John A. Macdonald, made few distinctions between the varied ethnic origins of the people who they planned to unify in their ambition to create a cohesive nation. The nation, as the entire state population taken collectively, and the state's concern to protect and preserve its interests of administering it over time would determine the unique concept of immigration each country would develop. Thus, in attempting to make sense of Germany and Canada's concept of immigration the term "nation-state" is deemed to be appropriate.

It is considered shortsighted and inaccurate to attribute Germany and Canada's differences in concepts to geographical size, or to Canada's multicultural policy, as they conceal the direct intention of the nation-states in adopting their concepts of immigration. The intention behind a country's concept of immigration can be discovered by placing the role of immigration within the context of the prevailing interests at the time of the formation of the nation-state. This dictated the historical pattern that the nation-states took in relation to immigration.

Despite the many political, economic and social changes that have taken place over the years, the primary elements that created the nation-states are still evident in their concept of immigration today.

By examining the FRG and Canada we will be able to answer the question - How did Canada and Germany develop such different concepts of immigration?

Historically, we are at a very important time period for the examination of how countries developed their concepts of immigration. We are now living in a decade where we are witnessing the political union of twelve European nations into the European Community including the FRG, while Canada awaits the changes that an impending Canada-United States and Mexican free trade agreement will have on it. These changes will doubtlessly have an impact on Canada and Germany as nation-states and their immigration policies. It may be true what Martin Heisler suggests in his article "Transnational Migration as a Small Window on the Diminished Autonomy of the Modern Democratic State" that international institutions and agreements have constrained the nation from making decisions regarding their immigration policies alone (Heisler, 163). If so then it is useful to understand how countries conceptualize immigration, before they enter into these arrangements, to be able to later identify how co-operation with these international institutions and agreements have changed the previous concept of immigration.

This thesis has been divided into five chapters and a

conclusion. Chapter one concentrates on the genesis of the nation-state by examining the human will and common interests that led to the formation of the German and Canadian nation states. Chapter two compares Germany and Canada as newly formed nation-states emphasizing how the interests of national rulers and their national policies effected the nation-state's early concept of immigration and its role in their societies. Chapter three compares how national political developments and the eugenics movement affected Germany and Canada's state policy on immigration, between the end of world war I and World war II. Chapter four compares the place of immigration after World War II within the nation-state, in Germany and Canada, noting changes and consistencies with the past. Chapter five compares the current concept of immigration in Germany and Canada emphasizing the pressures of political, economic and social change on the continuation of past approaches to immigration. The conclusion will summarize how the concept of immigration in Germany and Canada is a direct result of the development of their nation-states' interests as a nation. Thus, this thesis is not an indepth study of the German and Canadian immigration systems, but a comparative analysis of how their concepts of immigration were derived from their development as nation-states.

The results of this thesis will provide for the basis of future research in accounting for differences in immigration systems and the role of the development of the nation-state in determining a country's concept of immigration.

Chapter One

The Roots of the Nation-State and the Concept of Immigration

The pre-nation-state time period is significant in helping one to identify interests which serve to unite the nation-state that are later refined to become the foundation for its concept of immigration. There are three broad features which Germany and Canada had in common in the roots of their development as nation-states which effected their concepts of immigration. First, they were formed from disunited pockets of people which had their own governing bodies and particular political interests. Second, they both formed in the shadows of political powers which had a marked interest in influencing them. Finally, they also formed as nation-states due to the activities of nationalists, German ethnic nationalists and Canadian colonial nationalists, who perceived the need to create a political system that would represent their own interests and distinguish them from other countries. The end result in both cases was the emergence of common interests that led to union and the early formation of Germany and Canada as nation-states.

Germany:

The roots of Germany's development as a nation-state can be traced back to the late 1700's, when the disunited German states were still part of the deteriorating Holy Roman Empire. During this time, German nationalist writers, such as Gottfried von Herder and Johann Fichte, were trying to encourage the development of a

German national character which they hoped would assist in the struggle to unite the German people into a nation. These nationalist writers, however, also inspired nationalist sentiments in Prussia deepening their own sense of national pride. When Prussia united the German states, in 1871, under Otto von Bismarck, it determined the future domination of Prussia over the German people.

In the late 1700's Germany consisted of a loose confederation of over one hundred states ruled by absolute monarchs with no central political administration. The once powerful Holy Roman Empire, of which the German states were a part, was in serious decline. The German language itself was in decay (Barracclough, 1962). The sovereigns in the German states had control over both internal and external affairs and suffered from "particularism", a self serving interest in their own state to the exclusion of all the other German states (Barracclough, 1962; Joachimsen, 1967).

Social divisions, not only between the states but between Germans within the same state ran deep. The best illustration of the divisions in the German social structure, is the account of an anonymous German writer, from 1746:

...where there existed no community-feeling between the various ranks and classes of its inhabitants; where no sense of community spirit existed between the highest aristocrat and the lower classes, between the lower classes and the new classes, between the latter and the bourgeoisie and the peasantry; where each class shut out the others, and where each person carved out a position for himself and remained in his own world (Gall, 30, 1989).

Those in political power in the German states attempted to maintain the status quo by remaining loyal to the weakening Empire. In the eighteenth century, however, they came under increasing pressure from Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These two powers were in competition with one another to exert their influence on the German states. In response to these pressures and concerned about the decaying Empire's inability to protect the interests of the German states, German intellectuals began to express their support for national unity (Gall, 1989).

Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), one of the leading intellectuals of eighteenth century Germany made a great contribution to the development of Germany as a nation-state. His most important work was Ideas for a Philosophy of History.

Herder, in promoting German unity, said that in the process of the development of humanity the group is more important than the individual, because the individual alone is not able to achieve the fullest expression of his talents and virtues (Ergang, 1931). This is only possible within a group context. The group which develops humanity, however, is of a certain type being "the national group or nationality...Only a nationality can serve as a pillar to support the structure of humanity" (Ergang, 84, 1931). Within this national organism, according to Herder, there is a creative energy which he called "volksgeist" (the national soul) (Mosse, 1978).

"Volksgeist" -the unchanging spirit of a people refined through history. What gives unity to the life and culture of a people is the persistence of the original juices which are its basic strength (Mosse, 36, 1978).

Herder explained that the combination of actions or influences

upon the volksgeist of a people forms their national character (Ergang,1931). The national character is passed down to succeeding generations through heredity (Ibid.). Herder believed that the "ancient Gaul" could still be detected in the character of the modern day German (Ibid.).

The existence of the national group, however, is not enough to create a nation. Herder argued that other groups or nations must be observed for the national group to become a nation (James,1989). He pointed out that nations which are isolated from other nations have no need to develop their national character. The nations who are confronted with other nations, however, are forced to realize what they are not or do not have (James,1989).

Furthermore, the "volksgeist", for Herder, manifested itself in a culture's mythologies, songs, and sagas of a people (Mosse,1978). They are derived from the origins of a people and are maintained through education which Herder considered a key to the development of a national identity (Mosse,1978). He favoured the study of the Middle ages and ancient Greece to place a person in touch with earlier beliefs and in contact with their national history (James,1989).

Language, the vehicle by which knowledge about the national history and culture are passed down, was of great importance to Herder. "Language exemplified the spontaneity of the Volksgeist; it was the 'juice of life' of a people" (Mosse,38,1978). Culture was then viewed by Herder as being defined by and focusing on the national language which is maintained through traditional German

literature (Ibid).

Herder's writings became vital to the German national awakening. Succeeding generations would adopt Herder's thoughts to emphasize and exaggerate the importance of the German language and culture in the fight for national unity and to distinguish Germans from other national groups¹.

When the French Revolutionary armies attacked in 1806, the absolute state monarchies collapsed, bringing a complete end to the Old Empire and defeating the Prussian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. This defeat brought to the forefront the weaknesses within the old social and political order and stressed the need for reforms (Gall,1989).

Initially, the Germans greeted the French as liberators (Barracough,1962; James,1989), welcoming the introduction of the Napoleonic Code which brought social reforms². Once the Germans

¹ Friedrich Schlegel, in 1808, created a theory whereby he traced Aryan-German origins through its linguistics roots. Schlegel maintained that German, Greek and Latin had a common root in Sanskrit, which he referred to as "organic languages" containing the seeds of growth and vitality (Mosse,1978). Similar to Herder, language for Schlegel typified community: "the Germans, ancients, and Indians formed a true organic community, while the others did not" (Mosse,41,1978). Thus, German, Greek, and Latin represented "noble" languages for Schlegel, while all others were "ignorant" (Mosse,1978). This digression from Herder's theory allowed Schlegel to give German a superior position, based on its purity, over other linguistic groups.

² The Napoleonic Code introduced "freedom and security of the individual, equality before the law, abolition of class differences, security and inviolability of property, the separation of the church and state and the separation of justice from administration" (Gall,38,1989). It also abolished serfdom and eradicated the distinction between the middle classes and

realized, however, that French occupation also meant French nationalism and the exploitation of the German states, German animosity toward the French grew (James,1989)³. This drove the German people on the road toward German ethnic nationalism, which as Herder had pointed out nations confronted with other nations are forced to realize what they are not.

In 1808, during the period of occupation, a proponent of Herder's arguments, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, delivered his Addresses to the German Nation in Berlin. In these addresses he called for the political awakening of Germans as a nation.

It is only by means of the common characteristics of being German that we can avert the downfall of our nation which is threatened by its fusion with foreign peoples, and win back again an individuality that is self-supporting and quite incapable of any dependence on others (Fichte,3,1968).

Fichte declared that the way to create a German character was through education, which would bring about a national consciousness and stimulate the development of a national identity (Fichte,1968). Harold James in his book on The Origins of German Nationalism noted that what Fichte had in mind was to have "the state...consciously shape a new political class in its own image. Education could make citizens" (James,43,1989).

The significance of Fichte's thought can only be realized when one considers that the defeated King of Prussia, as James explains, "embraced" Fichte's message. German nationalism was to be revived

aristocracy.

³ French was made the official language from Westphalia to Hamburg (Barracough,1962).

through intellectual revival. The Prussian educational system was reformed under the direction of Wilhelm von Humboldt, who believed that education should emphasize the formation of character, rather than merely provide practical information (James,1989). Thus, education concentrated on the learning of the classical languages because it was believed that the study of these languages would reveal the moral and political character of the ancient world which was highly regarded by the Germans. The objective was to mould the citizens of a new commonwealth (James,1989).

Humboldt's objective was carried out by those he employed to work in the school system. One of these was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who was hired in 1810 to work as a senior assistant master at the Kollegium Fredericianum a secondary school in Berlin. Jahn believed that physical exercise should be part of any national scheme of education (Snyder,1969). For Jahn the "art of gymnastics" which he coined as "Turnkunst" was a means to an end which was to promote national feeling and pride for the fatherland (Snyder,1969). What Jahn wanted more than anything else was to create a university corps of devoted patriots of the "Fatherland" (Snyder,29,1969). Once French occupation would end, in 1815, he would succeed in creating his corps at the University of Jena in the creation of the "Burschenschaft" fraternity⁴.

⁴ The slogan of the group was "Freedom, Honour, Fatherland" and its colours were black, red, and gold. Later, Jahn became the state-leader of gymnastics in Berlin and created gymnastic associations (Turnvereine), consisting of German university and Gymnasium (secondary school) students, that were spread throughout the rest of the Germanies (James,1989).

After the battle of Leipzig in 1813, which ended the "liberation wars", Napoleon's domination over Europe began to wane. The allied powers of Russia, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Prussia met with French representatives at the Congress of Vienna between September 1814 to June 1815 to discuss the new political and territorial structure of Europe (Gall,1989).

Nationalists in the German states hoped that the meetings would bring about a united Germany (Gall,1978). The Congress, however, left the territorial system created by Napoleon in 1806. While Prussia acquired a large stretch of territory on the Rhine (Barracrough,1962), the German states were divided into a loose confederation of 38 states that had no central sovereign (James,1989). G. Barracrough summarized the settlement of Germany in 1815 as part of a European settlement: "it was drawn up partly in the interests of the German princes, largely in the interests of the great powers (Austria and Prussia) and not at all in the interest of the German people" (Barracrough,410,1962). The only pan-German institution to develop was the Parliament in Frankfurt, which was weak and represented the interests of the German sovereigns and free cities (Gall,1989). It had no interest in creating a uniform legal, economic or church system (Barracrough,1962), and allowed the divided states to settle into a period of restoring their old power and suppressing all nationalist agitators. Thus, Germany was to remain disunited which benefitted the political interests of Prussia and Austria.

Despite the setback to national unity, between 1790 and 1815,

there began a revival of German nationalism which could not be easily suppressed. Publicly those with democratic and nationalist sentiments were put down as "disruptive" elements, having their liberal and democratic newspapers censored or banned through the Carlsbad decrees (1819) (James,1989). These same people, however, went underground to form numerous reformist movements and await a time when they could fulfil their goal of bringing about national unity.

Although social and political union were not to be achieved for some time the first move toward economic unification was made by Prussia when it abolished its internal customs duties between its states in 1818. The economic prosperity that followed as a result made the idea of a customs union increasingly attractive to outside states. By January 1, 1834 a German customs union, the "Zollverein", dominated by Prussia, and including 18 states consisting of 23 million inhabitants was created (Gall,65,1989).

Transportation systems were developed to assist the growth in trade and road construction, which was begun under Napoleon, was extended. The increased use of the river systems required the building of canals, and steamers became important to the movement of goods. The railway system was the most important transport system to be built. By 1835 the first railway line, between Furth and Nuremburg, became operational. From this point on railway lines began to connect the many German states (James,1989).

Economic union, however, did not bring political union, between 1815-1848, Prussia was seemingly disinterested in unifying

Germany, and was more interested in its particularist concerns⁵. Barraclough states that German liberals, at the time, actually thought that Austria was more likely to unify Germany, while the conservative rulers of small and medium German states, fearing Prussian hegemony, also looked to Austria to support the old order and resist the unification movement (413,1962).

Despite the political impotence of German nationalists, who experienced a decline in the 1820's due to repression, nationalist sentiments re-emerged in the 1830's and 1840's (James,1989). These new nationalists tried to distinguish themselves from their predecessors. They chose to replace education and the classics with "people" and the gothic and began to increasingly emphasize their ethnic national spirit, in other words the qualities that set them apart from other nations (James,1989).

The Germans defined their nationalism by looking at other developing nations in eastern Europe such as the romantic nationalism of the Slavic people. James explains that the Germans felt that "because German nationalism was first - the first romantic nationalism that depended on the power of the intellect to provide a synthesis of the world's previous development - it had a superior claim" (James,51,1989).

The position of superiority held by the German nationalists

⁵ Barraclough points out that some historians believe that Prussia had every intention after 1815 of eventually unifying Germany. The historian Joachimsen suggests that Prussia may have had it in mind, but their real interest only became evident after 1848 when Austria began to demonstrate more interest in German unity (75-6,1967).

over the people of eastern and southeastern Europe was to be expressed again later, once Germany had achieved national unity, in their attitude toward migrant workers from these areas.

Aside from the nationalist struggles, life for Germans within the German states, between 1815 and 1848, became increasingly worse⁶. German states had excessively high population levels which contributed to high unemployment and the number of Germans pauperized through economic difficulties was growing daily⁷. The situation became so unbearable that many Germans opted to emigrate⁸.

Friedrich List, a young economist, was commissioned by the Württemberg government to determine the causes for emigration. List came to the conclusion that the fundamental cause was "a deep discontent, that is, oppression, lack of freedom in their present status as citizens of the state and community" (Walker, 24, 1964)⁹.

⁶ In the 1770's a working man could earn enough to sustain his family, by 1830 his wife and three children also had to work to survive (Gall, 71, 1989).

⁷ In the 1700's the German states had encouraged population growth, but by the early 1800's there were too many people to be absorbed by the economy.

⁸ Emigration from the German states existed prior to the 1800s, but the first mass emigration occurred in 1816 (Walker, 1964; Marschalck, 1973). The majority of emigrants came from Rhenish Prussia, the Rhenish Palatinate, Baden, and Württemberg where a famine had exaggerated already high unemployment and poor living conditions (Walker, 1964). The two popular destination points were America and to Odessa in Russia, two countries which actively advertised for immigrant settlers.

⁹ By the time the emigration stopped in the midsummer of 1817 an estimated 20,000 Germans had gone to the United States, 15,000 to Russia (Walker, 31, 1964). An estimated 2,500 went to Poland

By the mid-1840s emigration became a "German national phenomenon", moulding into the psyche of the German people the perception that the German states were places from which people wanted to emigrate, as opposed to immigrate (Walker, 1964; Marschalck, 1973). The number of those emigrating from 1840 to 1846 was approximately 20,000 per year, in the year 1847 the number rose drastically by four or five times that number (Walker, 80, 1964). The sense of impending crisis brought on by economic insecurity was driving thousands to leave.

The response of governments to emigration was weak relative to the size and importance that emigration took as a national phenomenon. The states, which assumed that once a person emigrated they were no longer a subject or a responsibility of the state, came increasingly under pressure (Walker, 1964)¹⁰. Cooperation between the states for an effective policy, however, depended on Prussia, but the Prussian government was against emigration and was of the opinion that licensing and regulating agents would only serve to encourage emigration (Walker, 1964).

The Prussian refusal to assist in the creation of a social policy on emigration became another indication that there was a need for radical reform of the political and social constitution of

(Walker, 33, 1964). Emigrations slowed considerably in the 1820's but grew again in the 1830's, during a cholera epidemic, and continued to rise into the 1840's. (Walker, 1964; James, 1989).

¹⁰ The domestic populations of the states and foreign governments abroad began to demand that German states create social policies to protect their emigrants.

Germany. Liberals, indignant at the mismanagement of emigration by state governments, used it as an example of a freedom denied (Walker,1964). The right to emigrate became a part of the liberal cry for political, economic and social reform to lead to national unity.

Uprisings, which began in 1847, to bring about revolutionary change and national unity succeeded in March 1848 in South-West Germany. A radical minority group of democrats, socialist-revolutionary in character, who were a splinter group from the liberals, created alliances with their counterparts in other German states to bring about revolutionary change (Gall,1989). They favoured change "from below" (the lower classes), as opposed to "above" through those in power who had been ignoring their demands for reforms. The revolution would lead to the Offenburg decrees which in May 1849 declared that:

The German sovereigns have shown their determination to repress freedom and their betrayal of the people and the Fatherland is plain for all to see...It is the duty of German families to stand on the side of freedom in order to give complete reality to the principle of sovereignty of the people (Gall,iii/96,1989).

When the revolution first broke out in March 1848 the revolutionaries met at the St. Paulskirche in Frankfurt, where the first attempt to create a German nation-state were discussed. They wanted to form constitutional governments, responsible to its people, in all of the German states, and a German parliament which would unite the German states (Gall,1989). Lutz Hoffman noted that the revolutionaries acknowledged that the German states contained many foreigners. For that reason in the St. Paulskirche they

defined a German as anyone who lived within German territory, nationality for them was not to be based on origin or language, but included as part of the political organization¹¹. Furthermore, they were disinterested in "Germanizing" the non-German population, which according to paragraph 188 of their constitution stated that people of non-German origin and language had equal rights to the practice of their language¹². This, it must be remembered was expressed by the common German people who lacked state political power under their sovereigns.

At the same time that the revolution took place in South-West Germany, there was a rebellion on the 18th of March in Berlin, in Prussia. The rebellion forced the King to concede to the demands of the revolutionaries and agree to national unity. A Prussian National Assembly met in May, and Prussia was to become a constitutional monarchy (Gall,1989; Joachimsen,1967). On 28 March the National Assembly elected the Prussian King "Emperor of the Germans", but Frederick William IV rejected the invitation because he felt he could only be appointed through the agreement of the other princes (Ibid.).

¹¹ "Jeder ist ein Deutscher, der auf dem deutschen Gebiete wohnt...Allerdings ist der Begriff 'Nation' ein viel weiterer geworden als früher. Er hat sich voellig geaendert, die Nationalitaet ist nicht mehr begrenzt durch die Abstammung und die Sprache, sondern ganz einfach bestimmt durch den politischen Organismus, durch den Staat" (Hoffman,68-9,1986).

¹² "Den nicht deutsch redenden Volksstaemmen Deutschlands ist ihre volkstümlische Entwicklung gewaehrleistet, namentlich die Gleichberechtigung ihrer Sprachen, soweit deren Gebiete reichen, in dem Kirchenwesen, dem Unterrichte, der inneren Verwaltung und der Rechtspflege" (Hoffman,69,1986).

The rejection by the King of Prussia was a signal that the constitution which the National Assembly had drawn up, had failed. It symbolized the failure of the revolution itself. The old ruling forces and the monarchist armies slowly regained control over the states, as the revolutionary forces of the liberals, democrats and republicans could not agree with each other (Gall,1989; Barraclough,1962). Conflicts emerged between property owners and the propertyless. The liberal ministries were replaced by conservative ones, parliaments were dissolved, and the constitutions revised (Gall,1989). It seemed that all hope for the creation of a German nation-state were lost. The emigrant supporting newspaper the Deutsche Auswanderer reported in 1850:

Now everything has changed; now Germany's fate lies in the hands of diplomats, who have no understanding of the needs of the people...(Walker,152,1964).

All interest in national unity, however, had not come to an end. In 1853 Duke Ernest II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha established a literary and political association (the National Association) to foster the national spirit and keep alive the concept of constitutionalism (Valentin,1949). Such associations spread throughout all of Germany. National unity, however, was not to come from the choice of the people (from below), but through the decisions of the great powers, Prussia and Austria (from above).

The revolution of 1848-1849 made the Prussian "Junker" aristocracy aware of its vulnerabilities to the nationalists, who, if they acquired the necessary political support, could threaten Prussia's position in Germany (Barraclough,1962). Otto von

Bismarck-Schoenhausen, a Junker himself, was fully aware of the tenuous position of Prussia with regard to the nationalists. He was sent as an envoy to represent the interests of Prussia at the Frankfurt Assembly where he met other German representatives as well as the Austrian representative, Schmerling. In 1861 Schmerling began to adopt a more liberal policy and support reforms to the German confederation (Barraclough, 1962; Joachimsen, 1967). This was a direct threat to Prussia's power to influence the German states and the social order enjoyed by the Junker aristocracy. The threat was reinforced when in 1863 the Austrian Emperor called for all the German sovereigns to meet for a congress in Frankfurt to create a stronger federal authority (Barraclough, 1962; Joachimsen, 1967). Bismarck, in the meantime, had been made Prime Minister in 1862 and was solely responsible to the king. He perceived the threat to Prussia's influence and began to make plans for war with Austria, which broke out in 1866 (Barraclough, 1962).

When Prussia defeated Austria it confirmed Prussia's supremacy over Austria in their competition to influence the German states. This left Prussia to decide on how best to resolve the issue of nationalism. The German Confederation was then dissolved and replaced by the North German Confederation, founded on April 16, 1867, which is considered by historians the first step toward actual German unity, as the Confederation extended Prussia's influence to the Main (Gall, 1989). Bismarck became the Chancellor of the North German Confederation and retained the power to control the parliament, while remaining solely responsible to the King of

Prussia, who was the head of state, and not at all to the parliament.

The constitution of the North German Confederation provided provisions for a possible unification with the South German states. The south German states were closely linked to northern Germany through military alliances and economic ties. When war broke out with France in 1870 a sense of national indignation swept through all of the German states which sided with Prussia. The military pacts between the German states were then placed into action, while new agreements between the monarchs and the governments were signed. One of the significant aspects of the agreements made between northern and southern Germany was that in the event of unity, southern Germany reserved the right to decline certain regulations that they did not wish to adopt (Joachimsen, 85, 1967). This right was to be placed in practice when, after national unity, Prussia formulated regulations for the control of foreigners (i.e. outsiders entering Germany).

France was defeated and on January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, the German Empire was established "from above" as the Prussian state monarchy and other state monarchies, along with their aristocracies agreed to national unification. Thus, unification was established, not according to the common interests of the German people, but the common interests of the state monarchs and their aristocracies who as we have seen were in the practice of ignoring the interests of the people.

National unity, because it was introduced from above by

Prussia, meant the old social order in Prussia did not have to be changed and the interests of the German people in their demands for radical reforms did not need to be addressed. The fact that Prussia completed unification by winning the war can be reasoned to be a defense of their own particularist interests and traditions which they were not prepared to disown once they had achieved German national unity. Thus, the Prussian Junker aristocracy in 1871 became the dominant political force not only in Prussia but for the rest of German society. The succeeding chapters will demonstrate how Prussia, under Bismarck's leadership, dominated the formation of the national concept of immigration.

Canada

The origins of Canada's formation as a nation-state can be traced to the end of the seven years war between the French and the British in 1760. The majority of the land was then still largely unexplored, occupied by Indians, and in the East there were a few settlements of French people living in Quebec and in Nova Scotia. One hundred years after the British had taken possession the people in the British North American colonies began to feel threatened by: dwindling economic and military support from Britain; the end of the reciprocity treaty with the United States and considerations in the United States of annexing the British colonies. To protect the interests of the people in the colonies nationalists in the colony of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia moved toward political union. The end result would be confederation and the birth of

Canada as a nation.

When the British signed the 1763 Treaty of Paris with France, it ceded to Britain all of the lands, islands, places and coasts formerly owned by France¹³. It meant that all the people living on the lands also came under British rule. This included the French people living in Quebec and Nova Scotia, as well as approximately 26,000 Indians (Mackenzie and Laing, 108, 1938). While the British were compelled to find a means of governing the French people in Quebec, they viewed the Indians as heathens and barbarians to be excluded from their plans for the colonies, unfortunately space does not permit an in depth discussion of this important aspect of Canada's development.

The first attempt by the British to govern the people of Quebec came with the introduction of the Proclamation of 1763. The intention of the proclamation was to transform Quebec into an English-speaking colony. In 1763 there were but 600 English settlers, primarily consisting of merchants, and 90,000 French people living in Quebec (Cook, 5, 1963). The proclamation was to attract English speaking immigrants who would over time overwhelm the French speaking population. This, was in effect the first immigration policy to exist in the area later to become Canada¹⁴.

¹³ The Treaty, however, also relinquished to France the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon which were formerly acquired by the British from France in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

¹⁴ The proclamation also promised to establish English law and representative government to attract English people living in the British colonies to the south. However, neither those in the American colonies nor people from Britain were interested in immigrating (Cook, 5, 1963).

The proclamation failed, however, due to the lack of English people emigrating from Britain and the south. To replace the proclamation the Quebec Act of 1774 was introduced. It recognized the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and legalized its right to collect tithes from members. It also gave recognition to French law, particularly civil law as it pertained to landholding, seigniorial dues and marriage rites. In addition, the Act extended the boundaries of the colony to the Ohio and Upper Mississippi rivers.

The Quebec Act, however, did not provide the French with a representative assembly. Instead, the governing body consisted of an appointed governor and an appointed advisory council consisting of both English and French-speaking members as well as Roman Catholics. In addition, the English-speaking merchants were unhappy with it because they wanted representative government¹⁵.

When the American revolution broke out in 1775, Britain and its American colonies went to war. At the end of the war, which Britain lost, the 1783 Treaty of Versailles defined Canada's boundary to the south. The greatest contribution, however, that the American Revolution made to Canada was in providing the first large scale British immigration to Canada, then called Quebec, which developed Canada's bicultural character. By the end of the

¹⁵ The lack of representational government, the inclusion of the Ohio valley region into Quebec, and legal recognition to the Roman Catholic church angered many of the protestants in New England and in the other American colonies. This placed the Quebec Act on their list as an "Intolerable Act" which encouraged the American colonies to revolution (Cook et al., 9, 1963).

war approximately 100,000 Loyalists had left the American colonies and some 40,000 of them went to Quebec and Nova Scotia (Cook et al.,14-6,1963). The Nova Scotian population, prior to the American Revolution, was 17,000. During and after the revolution approximately 30,000 Loyalists went there and also settled along the Bay of Fundy (Cook et al.16,1963). The latter mentioned settlement contributed to the establishment, in 1874, of another British colony, that of New Brunswick with its capital in Fredericton.

The movement of the Loyalists into Quebec and Nova Scotia not only changed the population composition of these areas, but the political structure as well. The Loyalists, accustomed to representational government, demanded that it be introduced in Quebec. The British government, under pressure, ignored the geographical and economic factors and divided Old Quebec according to sociological and cultural differences by the Constitution Act of 1791 (Ormsby,279,1958). This created Upper Canada, primarily settled by the English, and Lower Canada primarily settled by the French which deprived Upper Canada of an ocean port. The Act established British laws and institutions in Upper Canada, while Lower Canada was permitted to retain French civil law, seigniorial tenure and the legal rights previously granted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1774. Meanwhile, it introduced elective assemblies to both of the Canadas.

The first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, who, while serving in Canada from 1792 to 1796, explained

in a letter to a British Member of Parliament, Henry Dundas, the necessity for encouraging the growth of an English population in Upper Canada.

The Colony of Upper Canada...should contain...those ...British Customs, Manners, & Principles in the most trivial as well as serious matters, should be promoted & inculcated to obtain their due Ascendancy to assimilate the Colony with the parent state...Great Britain is to maintain her Possession of Canada (Zaslow,46,1967).

In order to ensure that it remain part of Britain Simcoe stated that it was "absolutely necessary" to establish the frontier government in the area of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron in order to make it "unassailable." This was to be carried out by the loyalist emigrants whose attachment to Britain and aversion to the United States Congress would create a powerful Barrier against any attempts to undermine the government (Ibid,47). In addition, Simcoe said that he anticipated emigration from the northern parts of Great Britain. These people were to "settle" and "cultivate the land" and by having as many of them as possible settle they would provide the "Image of the British People" in the colony and ward off any hostility or attempts to take over (Ibid.47). Thus, settlement of the land which still belonged to Britain, according to Simcoe's description, was an English policy to ward off the possibility of those in the United States acquiring the rest of British North America¹⁶. It was in Simcoe's words to end "the

¹⁶ Simcoe recommended that a corps of troops be raised who would be employed for civil purposes in the colony for the construction of public works, such as buildings, roads, bridges, and communications by land and on the waters (Zaslow,48,1967). In other words have troops available who could both settle the colony and if necessary defend it against unwanted aggressors from the

contest of the natives of Great Britain with the subjects of the American States" for rights to North American territory (Ibid.).

It was also hoped, by the British, that by exposing the French to the "superior" British laws and institutions they would eventually willingly adopt English laws and permit themselves to be assimilated (Ormsby:6). This, however, did not occur, the French instead began to use their numerical superiority in the Lower Canadian Assembly to protect their own interests. Thus, the French refused to acknowledge conquest by the English, and the English refused to acknowledge the distinctiveness of French cultural values which only served to frustrate the English.

The English soon realized their error in having divided Quebec and ideas began to circulate on how to reunite the Canadas. In 1810, Sir James Craig suggested to either abolish the representative part of government in Lower Canada or increase, through immigration, the English-speaking representation by establishing the Eastern Townships as new counties.

Craig's suggestion for populating the Eastern Townships was assisted by English immigration into Upper and Lower Canada. Into the 1800s the number of loyalists immigrating from the American colonies to the Canadas and Nova Scotia were dwindling. But, it was not long, however, before the wars in Europe came to an end and people began to arrive directly from Britain. In 1820 the British government, trying to reduce the number of unemployed in Paisley, Glasgow and other regions provided incentives for people to

south.

immigrate to the colonies. The government promised free land as well as personal, repayable cash loans to prospective emigrants (Cowan,5,1978). This encouraged the immigration of 3,000 people who settled in the Rideau or Lanark settlements (Ibid)¹⁷.

In the 1820's and into the 1830's, the population of Upper Canada, the Eastern Townships, Montreal and Quebec continued to grow as British immigrants flooded into the settlements. Each year the number of immigrants grew larger: in 1828 there were 12,000; in 1830 there were 30,000; and in 1832 there were 66,000 (J.M.S. Careless,148,1991). They came primarily from England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland and unlike the earlier immigrants in the 1820s they arrived without any assistance from the British government (Cowan,6,1978). The Canadas were not the only areas to receive many immigrants. Between 1815 to 1838, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland received well over 100,000 new immigrants (Careless,148,1991). The growth in the English population increased their domination over the area of the Canadas, to the detriment of the French, which served to increase French hostilities.

The French Canadians in 1837 protested against English control which developed into a mass uprising that aimed to create an independent republic. The uprisings supported the claims of the

¹⁷ The enticement of land to attract immigrants was also exploited by investors who bought the colonial lands and then sold them at a profit. The Canada Company of Upper Canada became most popular for this activity, after ten years in business they sold 100,000 acres of land to settlers (Cowan,12,1978).

English merchant members of the Constitutional Society of Montreal, in December 1837, that:

...The rights, the interests and the property, of Provincial Inhabitants of British origin, have been, jeopardized, by the designs of a revolutionary French faction, madly bent upon their destruction...
(Ormsby,16,1969)

And that re-union was the only solution. In addition, the actions of the French supported a belief in English Canada which was initiated by Louis Joseph Papineau that French Canadians were "disloyal" (Ormsby,14,1969).

Lord Durham, in 1838, was assigned by Britain to go to Canada to write a report that would make recommendations as to how to resolve the constitutional problem. He arrived with a strong awareness that a change in colonial affairs was necessary and convinced that a federal union of all the British colonies was the best solution (McDougall,381,1941): one that would include not only Upper and Lower Canada but Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as well. After talks with the different representatives of the colonies, however, he discovered that there was little support for his large scale Federal Union.

Lord Durham, as a result of his findings, in his report to the British Prime Minister Melbourne made two recommendations. He recommended that responsible government and a legislative union of the Canadas be created with the aim of making it an English province¹⁸:

¹⁸ Durham estimated that there were approximately 550,000 English people in the two Canadas and only 450,000 French people (McDougall,159,1969).

...that in any plan, which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English Province; and that, with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population (Robert McDougall, 151, 1969).

Durham also assumed that through emigration from Britain the English population would be increased over time which would further ensure British domination over the colony (Ibid, 159).

Union, however, did not disguise the division in the two cultures as was revealed by the 1844 election results. The Lower Canadian seats in the Assembly were predominantly French, while those of Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships were predominantly English. Ormsby noted that it was then that a "quasi-federal" system began to emerge which was primarily the result of the survival of French, producing the bi-cultural nature of the union (120, 1969).

It was in this time period, just after the 1844 election, that the Governor's power began to be seriously challenged in favour of giving Party leaders with the largest majority support control over the government¹⁹. The result being that the governor became a figurehead and set the pattern for a responsible government ruled by the majority elected party.

In the 1850s, the government of the province of Canada decided to begin efforts to advertise for immigrants abroad. This occurred at the same time that the British government in 1855 stopped

¹⁹ Members of the Reform party under Lord Sydenham in 1840 had already planned to reduce the powers of the Governor and subordinate the council to the assembly, but Sydenham was able to prevent it (Creighton, 252, 1957).

appropriating money for "emigrant agents" to help British emigrants to go to the colonies (Cowan,16,1978). This no doubt caused a great deal of concern as immigrant labour was found to be of vital importance to development projects on canals, railways and buildings, and to the interests of the professional, business and commercial classes. Furthermore, immigration was perceived as a means of acquiring income, through the sale of government land, needed for canal and railway construction (Gates,24,1934). In addition, there was still an interest in Upper Canada to increase the English population over and above the French to ensure English political dominance and there was growing concern over the rapidly growing population in America.

The first attempts at advertising for immigrants involved sending out publications on Canada, but when all efforts to increase the immigration failed the government began to look at other inhibiting factors. A.C. Buchanan who was an emigrant agent calculated that approximately 41 per cent of the immigrants arriving in Quebec and Montreal in 1856 went to the United States (Gates,27,1934)²⁰. A number of factors also served to decrease immigration: in the 1850s prosperity in Britain had increased, there was a decrease in the Irish population²¹, and the Crimean war was on (Cowan,3,1978).

²⁰ In 1857 it was estimated that out of a total of 72,251 immigrants, 37,034 went to the United States (Gates,27,1934).

²¹ In 1847 there was a potato famine in Ireland which led thousands to emigrate to the British North American colonies (Gallagher,47,1935).

The concern that immigrants were going to the United States led the government of the province of Canada to pass an Act in 1858 to regulate and control agents who tried to entice immigrants away from Canada (Gates,1934). The Act, however, was difficult to enforce and seemed to have little impact.

In 1859 the province of Canada sent "emigrant agents" to England, Germany, Norway, France, Belgium and Switzerland to encourage immigration to Canada of small farmers and agricultural labourers (Gates,30,1934). Despite their efforts immigration did not increase and the province of Canada continued to need people to immigrate.

Paul Gates noted that the chief Canadian impediment to immigration was that their land system was less liberal than the American and that the United States provided more economic opportunities for labourers and capitalists due to greater industrialization (37,1934). It is important to note that the province of Canada's land system was devised under British control. This lack of self-determination was part of the basis for the need to create a nation that could set its own national policies.

There is little evidence to support the idea that Canada as a nation developed any earlier than in the late 1850s to early 1860s. H. Duncan Hall noted that the inhabitants of British North America seemed content to have the status of self-governing colonies of Britain (74-5,1920). Nationalist feelings began to develop as the colonies began to experience mounting internal and external pressures. Internally, in the province of Canada, discussions over

constitutional change were causing more uneasiness (D.Creighton,285,1957). Economically, the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States which had brought a measure of prosperity to the colonies was about to expire in 1865 (F.R. Scott,386,1942). In addition, the British were no longer offering economic preferential treatment as they adopted "free trade" and decided to pull their militia out of the colonies (Ibid)²². This was to leave the British colonies vulnerable to potential outside attacks, while externally there was talk that the Americans were interested in annexing the British colonies (Hall,75,1920). Meanwhile, the progress of American settlements to the West were threatening to take over the prairie region (F.R. Scott,386,1942).

These concerns contributed to serious discussions that a British North American federal union should be created. In 1858, the liberal conservatives which consisted of French Canadian Roman Catholics under the leadership of George E. Cartier and the English-speaking Tory and moderate groups under John A. MacDonald began to expound the need for British North American nationality (Creighton,285,1957). One of the proponents of nationalism was A.T. Galt who became the minister of finance for the conservative

²² Free trade meant that Britain would no longer show favouritism to its colonies in trading goods over and above other foreign countries. This was part of anti-imperialist perceptions that the British North American provinces were more of a drain on Britain's economy than a benefit (R.L. Schuyler,463-9,1922) nI 1864 the British discovered that they could have used the almost 15,000 regular troops stationed in British North America to support their claim to defend Denmark when Prussia attacked them. This caused them to immediately order the reduction of the troops in Canada and to argue that the provinces should try to organize their own "national defence" (C.P. Stacey,189,1955).

government on the condition that the general federation of the British North American provinces be part of the party's platform (Creighton, 286, 1957). Galt was quoted as having said that he desired the provinces to become "a nation worthy of England..." (Scott, 388, 1942). Cartier questioned during the confederation debates "Shall we be content to maintain a mere provincial existence...when by combining together we could become a great nation?" (Scott, 389, 1942).

The objective was to create a federal union of the people from the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with room to accommodate the other British North American colonies later. In doing so the nationalists at the confederation conferences in Quebec and Charlottetown hoped to elevate the status of the British North American colonies to that of a nation. Rather than being subordinate to Britain the nationalists wanted to make the federal union a "partner" or "ally" with Britain (Scott, 390, 1942). They wanted to establish national institutions that would deal with national matters such as defence, trade, and communications (Hall, 76, 1920). National unity was also growing out of the desire to be freed from having decisions on their future decided by Britain²³. In addition, confederation was viewed to be the best means of preventing the annexation of the provinces to the United States (Scott, 390, 1942).

The Fathers of Confederation agreed that the association with

²³ F.R. Scott used the example where the Imperial Parliament in negotiating the Reciprocity Treaty failed to obtain the opinion of Nova Scotia statesmen (393, 1942).

the British Empire was to be maintained which, along with the idea of the federal union, was supported by the British (Stacey, 189, 1955). The British, however, disagreed with Macdonald's suggestion for the colonies to be renamed the "kingdom of Canada" (Scott, 394, 1942). Instead of the term "kingdom" the name "Canada" was given to the union and its rank as that of a "Dominion." The new constitution was presented in the form of a British statute over which Canadians were not to have any power to amend (Hall, 77, 1920). Thus, the supremacy of the Canadian parliament was not dependent on provincial consent but on imperial grant which took effect on July 1, 1867 (Scott, 407, 1942).

This section has demonstrated that the roots of Canada as a nation-state concentrated primarily on establishing British supremacy in the remainder of Britain's North American territory. Immigration to the colonies played a primary role in the pursuit of Britain's interests. Emigration from Britain, as well as the loyalists from America provided Britain with the means of countering the potential of French domination of the colony. The presence of the English also protected the territory from being annexed to the United States. In later years, the people of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were united by economic concerns introduced by British withdrawal of support, the end of reciprocity with the United States and the possibility of annexation. The common concerns and the desire to protect their own interests led the colonies to unite in 1867 creating the beginning of Canada as a nation-state.

This chapter has illustrated how Germany and Canada in their pre-nation-state form were slowly transformed by dominating political powers around them from divided pockets of people to nations with common goals. Nationalist groups formed within both which brought about the creation of their nations. The German ethnic nationalists, on the one hand, were introspective in finding reasons to unite based on their common language, history and customs. The Canadian nationalist, on the other hand, looked outwards and saw their common need to unite based on common experiences under British rule and in opposition to being annexed to the United States. The actual success of the nationalists aspirations were, however, hindered by external dominating powers. In Germany, domination by the Prussian state under Bismarck's direction to the exclusion of the interests of the people, and in Canada the residual constitutional attachment to Britain would affect their concepts of immigration.

The most striking difference between the two countries is in the extent to which the geographical segments of each country, that united, were integrated prior to official union. Germany, was already well populated and was united in large part prior to union in 1871, having already established the customs union of the Zollverein between many of the German states, railways and a growing industrial sector. Canada, a settler society dependent on immigration, lacked: a population proportionate to its size and aspirations of being a nation on equal terms with Britain; economic cohesion; a railway and, being largely focused on cultivating the

land, industry was yet to be developed. These differences would have an impact on their later concepts of immigration.

Chapter Two

The New Nation-State and the Development of an Immigration Policy

The establishment of Germany and Canada as nation states occurred respectively in 1871 and 1867. The first nation state governments which evolved were a direct reflection of the political history of the people involved. The German political system, under Prussian domination became an autocracy. The Canadian political system on the other hand, with the history of its people having democratic representation, was based on democratic rule introduced by Britain. In this pre-World War I era the national policies of each country attempted to resolve and develop those elements of the nation-state that had been left unresolved in the pre-nation-state period. This chapter will concentrate on the area of German and Canadian national policies which affected their concepts of immigration, in an age influenced by rising theories of racial superiority.

Germany:

The new nation-state that emerged in Germany was not formed according to the interests of the liberals and democrats who had been fighting for national unity. Instead, it was by the agreement of the 22 princes and three free cities, under the guidance of Prussia that Germany was united and became a nation state. The political power structure that Bismarck developed maintained the old order of the dominance of the Prussian aristocracy, while

limiting Parliamentary powers, rendering it ineffective in social or political change. As a result, political tensions emerged between the political interests of the people and the state. The concept of immigration evolved from a combination of these tensions and the growing belief among intellectuals in German-Aryan racial superiority.

The 1871 constitution of the newly united Germany established Germany as a confederation of states, under the domination of Prussia and their King, William I, who became the first Emperor of Germany. Prussia's control was ensured by the existence of the Emperor whose representative in the national parliament was the Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was solely responsible to the Emperor and could not be restricted by parliament or its parties. The Chancellor made the decisions on policy outlines, which allowed him to direct the civilian policies of the state. In addition, a provision in the constitution stipulated that the Prussian Junker delegates in the upper house of the German parliament had effective veto powers (James, 88, 1989). The lower chamber of the parliament was convened by universal, equal, direct, adult, manhood suffrage, its legislative powers were limited. The consent of the lower house was required to pass legislation, which included the state budget, but it had no control over the Chancellor or the royally appointed Imperial ministers. Thus, the parliament was not the primary political decision maker, but was forced to take second place behind the Chancellor and the Kaiser.

G. Barraclough points out that:

the new state was designed not to represent the will of the German people but to maintain, as in generations past, the subjection of the people to the will of a privileged minority (Barraclough, 425, 1962).

Thus, Germany was a "Chancellor Dictatorship" (Gall, 209, 1989). In a sense Germany was an "incomplete" nation-state because it fell under complete Prussian control and was directed by the elites and not the will of the people.

The political system devised by Bismarck may have seemed manageable when Germany was established, but the challenges which emerged after 1871 were to slowly erode his political position and eventually the foundation on which it stood.

In 1866-1867, prior to unification, Bismarck remarked: "My highest ambition is to make the Germans into a nation" (Pflanze, vol. II, 95, 1990). It was noted by the author Otto Pflanze that what Bismarck meant by "German nation" was not the German-speaking people of Europe but those of the German Reich or Imperial Germany (Ibid.) He was most concerned that Germans demonstrate more particularist loyalties to "dynasty, origin, region, party, and factions rather than to the nation as a whole" (Ibid., 96). Bismarck encouraged German nationalism to alleviate this problem of particularism. This had the positive effect of removing much of the particularism that existed between the previous sovereign states, but had a negative impact on ethnic minorities who lived within the German borders. Pflanze explained that

...German nationalism as a moral reinforcement for a Reich created by Prussian power politics frustrated the

political assimilation of the empire's ethnic minorities and thereby endangered the security of its frontiers. The only practical escape from this dilemma appeared to be their Germanization. Greater ethnic homogeneity, it seemed, was a precondition for the final consolidation of the German Reich (97-8,1990).

Germany, in 1871, had many foreigners living within its borders. The foreigners included Danish, French, Swedish, Polish, Russians and many other people of which there were well over four million¹. These people, at the time of unification, were permitted to obtain citizenship. German citizenship gave the non-ethnic German the right to vote, form parties and stand as representatives in parliament. Polish, French, and Danish people sat in the Lower House of the national and Prussian parliament (Hoffman,1986). This indicates that in the German nation-state's beginnings there was no suggestion of it being opposed to having non-ethnic Germans from being a part of the nation. This was to develop later.

Germanization and the encouragement for foreigners to learn German was introduced to ensure that foreigners would learn the language. In 1865 Bismarck learned that the elementary school administration in the eastern provinces of Prussia had failed to offer classes in German. The reason was partly due to the large Polish population living in the area, in the eastern province of Posen the Poles constituted 55 per cent of the population, and also

¹ The available figures for the number of foreigners in this time period are contradictory. They range from Ulrich Herbert's conservative estimate of 206,755 to James's estimate of over 5.5 million, Lutz Hoffman suggests that there were 4.3 million (25,1986;89,1989;66,1986). The reason for the contradiction is possibly due to the method of selecting who the foreigners were. It is likely that Herbert's statistics only includes the foreigners who retained their former citizenship after unification.

due to Polish clergymen who worked as school inspectors (Pflanze,107,1990). The encroachment of other linguistic groups on German was a real concern for Bismarck who noted in a cabinet meeting in November 1871 that:

From the Russian border to the Adriatic Sea we are confronted with Slavic propaganda..., and it is necessary openly to defend our national interests and our language against such hostile activities (Ibid.,108).

In order to enforce this, between 1872 and 1873, Germanization of the school was introduced in the eastern regions. There German was to be the language used in the elementary schools for all subjects except for religion. Religion in Silesia and Prussia could be taught in Polish and Lithuanian but this was only at the lower level of instruction, at higher levels German was obligatory (Ibid.;James,1989). In 1872 Bismarck explained that Germanization was not introduced for the purpose of removing Polish culture, but to defend German culture. Furthermore, the purpose was to introduce the "language of state" to ethnic minorities in order to make them "members of the state" and at the same time permit them to retain their mother tongue (Pflanze.,113). In 1877, Reich Constitutional Law stipulated that only German was to be spoken in the courts (James,1989).

Meanwhile, Bismarck's political system was experiencing difficulties as it was not designed to withstand demands for reform brought on by economic change. Between 1871 and 1873 the German economy prospered and there were tremendous developments in the

area of industrialization². The industrial working class grew at an alarming rate due to the growth in opportunities and the general population³. In 1873, however, Germany was hit with an economic depression and the depression revealed the weaknesses in Bismarck's political system.

In 1867, Bismarck had created an alliance with the upper middle class National Liberals, the industrialists. In the 1870's he decided to form a coalition between the Junkers and the industrialists permitting influential Liberals to join the Junkers in the Upper House. This arrangement gave Bismarck a parliamentary majority that he needed to stave off the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The SDP, established in 1875, had become the voice of the politically repressed working class and supporter of the free Trade Union movement, established in 1869.

Bismarck, perceiving the Social Democratic Party as a threat to his political system, employed his powers as Chancellor to have legislation passed to squash the movement. He had the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union outlawed by anti-socialist legislation in 1878 (Barraclough, 1962). He condemned the socialist

² Harold James notes that in 1846 Prussia had only mined 3,200,000 tons of hard coal, but by 1871 German coal production stood at 29,400,000 tons (76, 1989).

³ Between 1850 and 1870 the pre-1848 agricultural and artisan became industrial workers (Walker, 1964). Many of the agricultural workers moved from the east or the Elbe region to work in the more industrialized region of Rhineland-Westphalian. The population of Germany was growing at an exceptional rate, between 1850 to 1870 it grew from 35 to 41 million (Gall, 176, 1989). The growth continued into the period of 1873 to 1895, from 41.6 to 52 million (Herbert, 15, 1986).

party and its newspaper and imprisoned hundreds of its leading members⁴.

During this tumultuous time many people from eastern Europe had learned about Germany's industrial and agrarian development and prosperity. This attracted "border jumpers" illegal aliens who were welcomed by eastern Prussia's landowners and Silesian industrialists. This created two groups of Poles in the eastern section of Prussia: German-Poles who possessed citizenship and Polish-Russians who did not have citizenship⁵. Industrialization in the West which drew agricultural workers away from the East, had increased the demand for agricultural workers which were filled by illegal alien Polish-Russians. What angered the German people most was that these Polish-Russians worked for lower wages than the Germans undermining their pressure for higher wages. As early as 1872 Bismarck's government took action to expel political agitators, all Poles who did not possess any right to citizenship or Poles who had acquired citizenship in other German states, and improved controls on the borders, but these actions were not strongly enforced.

Another important group of people to be singled out were the Jews. When the stock exchange collapsed in 1873 rumours circulated

⁴ At the same time Bismarck attempted to reduce labour agitation by introducing social security schemes. In the period 1883 to 1889 insurance programs in the areas of sickness, accident, old age, etc., were made compulsory for workers (Barraclough, 426, 1962).

⁵ In the eighteenth century Austria, Prussia and Russia divided Poland into three parts. At the Viennese Conference in 1815 Prussia gave up its third to Russia (Hoffmann, 1986).

that it was due to Jewish manipulation of the stock exchange (James,1989). When the Russian pogroms began in 1881 thousands of Jews were forced to flee Russia or risk death. Through the assistance of relatives, friends and fellow Jews many of them crossed the Prussian border and settled. The Jews similar to the Poles worked more hours for less money than the Germans and achieved a measure of success. This and the numbers led the government to receive numerous complaints. German writer, Heinrich von Treitschke described Germany as being inundated with a "horde" of ambitious young Jews (Pflanze,vol.III,200,1990). Germany was struggling from the world economic depression which was to last until 1895, making the people sensitive to any added competition in the labour market. In 1881 Bismarck received a petition with 250,000 signatures that the immigration of "foreign Jews" be halted⁶. Bismarck as a result increased border controls and began to restrict the naturalization of foreigners.

In 1885, a count was taken of the aliens living in Prussia. It revealed that at least 32,306 illegal residents were living in Berlin and the four eastern provinces (Pflanze,202.1990). This information arrived just before Bismarck received a memorandum that the Polish population in Germany was growing faster, at 10.1 percent, than the German, at 4.1 percent (Ibid.,204). At this time Bismarck was deeply concerned with Germany's vulnerability to foreign inspired social and political unrest which was sweeping

⁶ Jews from western Europe were thought to be more civilized, than those from eastern Europe, having made a significant contribution to German culture (Pflanze,200,1990).

through Europe. He was also concerned with unstable foreign relations in Europe. The Ferry government in France fell in March 1885, a revolution took place in Eastern Rumelia in September 1885, there was the rise of the Boulanger in January 1886, and the Austro-Russian crisis in Bulgaria in August-November 1886 (Ibid.,198,1990). The number of illegal aliens entering Germany and the instability of foreign relations caused Bismarck to argue that:

The border jumpers of impeccable conduct, who appear to be a burden neither to the police nor to society, are often the most dangerous politically; they provide the revolutionary contacts between Russian Poles and (Poles) emigres in western Europe. But even the masses untouched by political agitation disturb our state organism by Polonizing the border provinces, whose Germanization is the state's task (Ibid.,202,1990).

On March 26, 1885 Bismarck ordered the four provincial governments to expel all people of Russian origin who had no permission to be in Germany, in July of that year the order was extended to all aliens including those of Austrian origin with or without permission (Ibid.). This resulted in the expulsion of approximately 44,000 people, including 32,000 Polish-Russians and 10,000 Jews from the four eastern Prussian provinces (Pflanze,203,1990; Herbert,18,1986; James,90,1989). Their lands were confiscated and plans were made to settle Germans on them. This created a major rift between the economic interests of landowners who required the Polish-Russians for agriculture and German nationalists who considered the Slavs to be inferior beings

led by political concerns⁷. This presented the first conflict between political and economic interests with regard to immigration and cost Bismarck a major setback in the Parliament.

The March law of 1886 was followed by a yet more severe law on foreigners. The 1876 Language of Government Act had permitted exceptions to German being used as the only language of public business. It approved this at five year intervals for a period of no more than 20 years. Thus, for ten years minority languages had been permitted to be used at the proceedings of school boards, communal assemblies in a number of regions: Polish in Posen and West Prussia, Lithuanian in a county in East Prussia, Danish in northern Schleswig-Holstein. All such areas appealed for the continuation of the exception. The response to this by the Cabinet was that they must be "assimilated into German life and into the Prussian organism of state" (Pflanze, 207, 1990). In addition, in September 1887 the teaching of the Polish language at the elementary school level was abolished. Pflanze argued that Bismarck feared that through Prussia's educational system they had produced Polish doctors and lawyers who encourage resistance against "Germanism and the Prussian government" (207, 199). This eliminated the tolerance of different ethnic minority groups living in Germany.

⁷ As a result, in the late 1880s, Landowners began to experience severe labour shortages and rising wage demands from labourers. Landowners began to demand that the Prussian government lift the ban on the migration of Polish workers who they could pay at a much cheaper rate than the Germans (Herbert, 1986).

Disenchantment with Bismarck's methods of forcing his will on the Parliament with no interest in the people who would be damaged by his approach were indicated in the elections of 1890. Out of a possible 7,261,600 possible votes cast, 4,658,900 went to opposition parties (Planze,362,1990). The Social Democrat vote had doubled to one and a half million, with the members of parliament increasing from twelve to thirty-five (Barracrough,427,1962). The Trades Union membership also grew from 50,000 to 278,000 in 1891 (Barracrough,427,1962). In addition, the right-wing coalition dropped from 220 to 135, while those in opposition rose from 141 to 207 (Barracrough,427,1962). The Centre Party increased from 98 to 106 (Pflanze,362,1990). Bismarck wanted to change the outcome of this election, but the new Kaiser William II foresaw the disturbance that such an act would have brought and instead dismissed Bismarck in 1890.

The stop which Bismarck placed on people illegally crossing Germany's borders and the heightened difficulty on foreigners acquiring German naturalization, for the protection of German culture and national interests, are significant beginnings to Germany's concept of immigration. There was another burgeoning element in German society, supported by German nationalists, which would harden the regulations on the newly developing concept of immigration. It was the development of the perception of German racial superiority.

In the late 1700's and into the 1800's British, French and German writers developed the notion that the white "Aryan" race was

superior to all other races. Space does not permit an in depth discussion on these writers (for more details see Appendix "A"). A brief examination, however, of the most influential writers, will reveal how German nationalists adapted the popular writings of racial theorists to claim that the German race was racially superior requiring racial purity.

Superiority of the Aryan race implied the responsibility of maintaining racial purity. Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) book, The Origin of Species, published in 1859, was used as proof for the importance of maintaining German racial purity. The book stated that "the successful animals were those who adapted themselves over untold generations to compete, in order to obtain their food and to defend themselves against rivals and the natural environment" (Tinker, 5, 1977). Furthermore, Darwin noted that cross breeding often resulted in sterility. Although Darwin never applied his theory to humans, many theorists did, the Germans adopted this approach to justify maintaining the purity of the race (Tinker, 1977).

George Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1936) a French librarian and lawyer, was a social Darwinist, believing that the world progresses through natural selection which results from the struggle for survival. Lapouge believed the racial enemy to the Aryan was the yellow race and Jews. Lapouge argued that it was through the mixing of the races that contamination and the physical degeneration of the race occurred. Lapouge's remedy was that racial mixing was to be prohibited and those people who engaged in

it, or were the products of it, were to be eliminated through euthanasia (Mosse,1969).

Germans looked back in history to substantiate that not only were they Aryan, but the progeny of a superior race of beings who maintained their racial purity. The book Tacitus's Germania (A.D.98) which was rediscovered in the sixteenth century was embraced in the 1800's as proof that "the ancient Germans kept themselves pure and did not mix with other tribes...These Germans were self-reliant, courageous, and loyal; they were incapable of lying or stealing" (Mosse,48.1969). It is obvious that these ancient Germans were ascribed the honourable characteristics that Gobineau (see Appendix "A") identified as representative of the superior Aryan race.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to determine why the Germans embraced the theories on racial superiority, but it is significant for understanding the historical decisions that were made with regard to immigration in the early years of the German nation.

In March 1890 a new Chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, took office, and opened the borders to Polish, Russian and Galizien workers. Permission, however, was constrained by the requirement to adhere to strict guidelines over a three year trial period. The national concern was to avoid a bombardment of Polish people into Germany. The guidelines specified that only single (men, women and children) Russian, Polish and Galizien seasonal workers would be permitted to work in the area of agriculture, from April 1 to November 15, after

which they would be sent out of the country. Furthermore, they were not to work in West Prussia's industries. This was done to prevent the mixing of Polish-Prussians working in industry from associating with Polish-Russians (Herbert,1986). The Prussian government feared that the mixing of the Poles could be socially dangerous and lead to ethnic unrest.

Caprivi was Chancellor of Germany from 1890 to 1894. His acceptance of Polish-Russian workers represented one of the many reversals of Bismarck's policies. Another reversal was his refusal to renew Bismarck's anti-socialist laws. This resulted in the further growth of the Social Democrat vote in the 1892 elections (Barracclough,1962). He also resigned the Prussian premiership which severed the connection between the National parliament and Prussia. Caprivi, in doing so, was planning to reduce Prussia to be equal with the other states (Barracclough,1962). This caused dissention in all the areas of German society which had a vested interest in Bismarck's policies. In 1894 Caprivi was finally dismissed after conflicts with the Prussian prime minister and was succeeded by Bernhard von Bülow who reversed many of Caprivi's decisions.

Once Caprivi was gone, the Junker-industrialist coalition government continued to maintain their control over the political system according to the dictates of the 1871 constitution. At the same time, the government took measures to repress the Social Democrats, who demanded that the political system be changed to a democracy. Barracclough argues that the industrialists knew that:

So long as "capitalist expansion" was maintained and economic prosperity grew, it was possible to placate the working-classes and to circumvent political demands by concessions to popular interests, in particular by concessions to the trades unions on questions of hours and wages (431,1962).

Despite concessions, however, the Social Democrat vote continued to grow; in 1903 they gained three million votes out of a possible nine million (Barraclough,431,1962).

Industrial expansion, however, depended on armaments programmes which expanded around the turn of the century, requiring an ever increasing number of workers. This led to the need for foreign workers. Therefore, between 1894 to 1914 Germany's policy on admitting foreigners was shaped by economic need, politically necessary for controlling the working classes and national concerns to protect Germans from the "inferior races."

In order to fulfil economic needs, particularly in the agricultural regions in the East, German agents and agriculturalists carried out a recruitment campaign to select foreigners to work in Germany. This contributed to a massive growth of foreign workers in Germany. Between 1871 and 1910 the foreign population in Germany rose from 206,000 (.5 per cent of the population) to 1,259,000 in 1910 (1.9 per cent of the population)⁸ (Herbert:24,1986).

The swelling numbers caused anti-Polish nationalists as well as the conservatives and liberals in the national parliament to become concerned about how to control the number of workers, their

⁸ Herbert warns that the figures may not be entirely accurate depending on the time period when the census was taken.

movement and the "over population of foreigners" (überfremdung) working in the East⁹. It was in this pre-World War I era that the national slogan "Germany for Germans" was coined. This expression was popular in many social circles. In 1910, at the sixth congress of the Association of German Employers¹⁰ in Breslau, the Leipzig Professor Stieda expressed his concerns about having too many foreign workers. He stated quite clearly "Germany is for Germans" and that Germany was running a risk by having so many foreign workers. The gravest danger that they faced, according to Professor Stieda, was to mix these foreign elements with the Germans, thereby damaging the purity of the superior German race (Herbert, 1986). Stieda's argument was obviously based on the belief in the racial superiority of the Germans.

These positions helped promote the racial hatred known as "Fremdfeindlichkeit" or hatred of foreigners. By the late 1890's these feelings were being directed toward all foreigners as well as the Polish people (Herbert, 1986). If a crime was committed by a foreigner it was quickly embraced as proof that foreigners were

⁹ The most vocal groups were 1) those in the patriotic circles who wished to see if not the deportation of the Poles at least strict controls over them, 2) the agriculture employers who wanted strong measures to stop the breaking of contracts, 3) and the Prussian state as well, who were most interested in preventing too many foreign labourers from entering and regulating those who entered. (Herbert:36-37)

¹⁰ It should be kept in mind that the Association of German Employers' and the German Employers' Association were closely connected to the Central Association of German Industrialists and the Federation of Industrialists. The final organization consisted of the chemical and middle class export-oriented industries and supported the policies of the National Liberals. (Gall:231)

"criminal elements, bad for the Nation and the race" (Herbert, 32, 1986). It only further convinced the Germans that they had to prevent foreigners from integrating into their society. "We have to hold such elements back from the social body, and eradicate them wherever they are" (Herbert, 32, 1986). These concerns resulted in an increase of measures to control seasonal workers.

In 1905 the "German Fieldworkers Central Office" was established as a private organization, under the indirect control of the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture's co-ordinating office. It was to bring under its control the applications of all foreign farm workers and their recruitment. When "forced legitimation" (Legitimationszwang) was introduced in 1908, the name of the office was changed to the "German Workers Central Office" (Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale).

Forced legitimation set the regulations for the registration and control of foreign workers both in the areas of agriculture and industry. This was the solution to years of disputes over how to accommodate seasonal Polish workers since the ban was lifted in 1890-1891.

It was a system that required all foreign workers to have papers indicating their right to work in Prussia which is clarified by Herbert's quote:

The nature of the inland-legitimation programme existed in that inland employed foreign workers must be in possession of German inland papers in the form of a legitimation card. It is provided under the name of the employer under national instructions for the staffing of workers and by legitimate changes of the employer the name of the employer had to be rewritten. If a worker's contract is broken the employer's name could not be

rewritten. Workers, who want to work without a proper legitimation card or are working and do not have a legitimation card after the conditional time for obtaining one, will be deported and ordered back... (Herbert, 38, 1986).

At the Central Office, the foreign worker paid for a colour coded work permit. The colour indicated his/her nationality and his/her employer's name (Herbert, 1986). If the worker broke the contract he risked being deported. Any foreigner who was caught by the police without a legitimation card was immediately branded as a contract breaker or as having illegally entered Germany. Herbert notes that this system is a throwback to the feudal period where the worker was completely dependent on his master (Herbert, 1986).

The system introduced by the Prussian state was so successful that it was adopted in the following years by the other German states, except for the south German states (Herbert, 1986).

The system encouraged two types of divisions to develop between the workers a) a hierarchial system and b) a split labour force. The hierarchy which developed was between those workers who were permitted to stay all year round and seasonal workers from Russia and Austria-Hungary who were sent home, due to the seasonal requirements which remained in effect until 1918 (Herbert, 1986). The split labour force began to develop because the menial, dirty and repetitive jobs were increasingly filled by foreigners which native Germans refused. At the German Workers Conference, in 1908, it was argued that it was only appropriate to have foreign workers

do the more menial work, and be paid less¹¹, as they were culturally inferior to the more culturally evolved German worker (Herbert, 50, 1986).

The industrialists saw the foreign workers as a potential buffer to workers' discontent. It was argued that during an economic boom foreign, unskilled labourers could be used to fill shortages, while in times of economic recession they could be the first to be dismissed. This would avoid the unrest that would arise if native German were dismissed, and because the foreign labourers were selected for unskilled labour they were easy to replace. German labourers on the other hand had a measure of skills which industrialists naturally wanted to avoid losing. The foreign workers were also used to control wages forming the bottom rung of the worst paid workers in Germany their existence stabilized for the industrialist the wage levels (Herbert, 67, 1986).

Confidence in the Workers' Central Office to control the foreigners in Germany led to increases in the number of foreigners working in industry, but still imposed limitations on Russian and Austrian Poles. In Prussia, between 1906 and 1914 the number of foreigners working in industry grew by 150,000 (Herbert, 54, 1986). In 1907 two-thirds of all workers were in industry and 50 per cent

¹¹ It should be noted, that due to the German workers' union's dislike of the use of foreigners to keep wages down they demanded that all workers, native and foreign, should be paid the same. By as early as 1891 some foreigners began to be paid the same or close to the same wages as the native workers. Thus, foreign workers could do the more menial tasks, which the German workers did not want to do and employers found difficult to fill with Germans and still not keep wages down (Herbert:30).

of the foreigners worked in the industrial sector, while the remainder worked in agriculture (Herbert:54,1986).

It was in this pre-World War I period that the original concept of using foreigners for rotation labour was developed. The idea was to hire people who had strong bonds to their home country to work in Germany for a set amount of time and then leave once their term was completed. This would avoid the problem of having them integrate into the German community and stay. The problem was that there was no means of knowing whether such a system would work. The Germans, however, did find that the foreign worker did not remain too long in Germany if the worker was subjected to: forced rotation; a menial job; limitations on the types of work and places to work; and exposed to extensive administrative control (Herbert,67,1986). Thus, the Germans were continually seeking ways to discourage immigration to their country which contrasts well with Canadian efforts to encourage it.

The extreme regulations imposed on foreign workers were not only the result of nationalist fears of foreigners integrating into German society, but that it also symbolized the impotence felt by the government to control their own workers. By 1912 the German government found it increasingly difficult to control the working classes and legitimate their control over German society. The German government made a series of foreign policy errors that culminated in the Morocco Crisis of 1905-1906 and the second Morocco crisis in 1911 (Ibid.). The German people demonstrated their lack of support in the 1912 election in which the Social

Democrats became the largest single party with 4,250,000 votes (Barracclough, 433, 1962).

In 1914, when Germany entered World War I the German working class's sentiments toward the war and their government was to slowly become evident and have an impact on Germany's need for foreign workers. The German government's policy on foreign labour (excluding their policy on prisoners of war) during the war went through three phases which reflects the changing national sentiments.

The first phase began days after the war was declared, when war sentiments were high. On November 7, 1914, the Germans announced that all foreign workers from enemy countries such as Russia would not be permitted to leave and were ordered to remain at their jobs¹². This affected approximately 300,000 Polish-Russian workers as part of the "enemy foreigners" policy of the German government (Herbert, 82, 1986). Thus, many of the agricultural workers remained in Germany. Industrial foreign workers were not as affected by the declaration. Prior to the war, unemployment amongst the foreign industrial workers was quite high and between 1913-1914 the number of foreign workers was already dropping¹³. This resulted in a great reduction in the number of

¹² The German government in the first weeks of the war decided that they would prevent all Polish-Russian people within fighting age to return to their home country while the rest were permitted to go back (Herbert, 1986).

¹³ Between 1913 to 1914 the number of Italian workers dropped by 65,000 and the number of Austrian workers dropped from 189,000 to 80,000, in 1914 to 1915 it dropped even further to 62,000 (Herbert, 87, 1986).

available industrial workers once the war broke out.

The second phase of the German policy on foreigners began in December 1915 when the German government began to permit Polish and Ruthenian (slavic) workers to work in industry. This decision was made months after the German government had been experiencing the development of anti-war sentiments. The working classes, early in 1915, began to realize that a victory for their government would be as devastating as a defeat because it would give legitimacy to their government (Barraclough, 1986). Their anti-war sentiments began to show in March 1915 when the Social Democrats refused to vote for the war credits. Furthermore, in June 1915, one thousand members of the Social Democratic party signed an open letter which denounced the war policy of the majority. At the same time Karl Liebknecht released his own leaflet entitled The Main Enemy Stands at Home. These sentiments no doubt manifested themselves in the labour productivity of the German workers as demonstrations against the war became more wide spread.

The second phase was characterized by forced recruitment practices in Poland, which was then occupied territory. The exact figure of those workers who were recruited is difficult to determine. The German Workers Central recruited 240,000 Polish-Russian workers to Germany, the total number of these workers by the end of the war stood at 500,000 to 600,000 (Herbert, 1986). The forced recruitment of labour from Poland led to the imposition of stronger controls which threatened to create an enclosed forced

system from which many of the Polish people fled¹⁴.

Industry also tried to recruit labourers from other countries, such as Belgium, but rather than having forced recruitment they "invited" the Belgians to work in Germany. This form of recruitment, however, failed¹⁵ and the German government began to deport Belgium workers to Germany to work in camps, regardless of consideration for human rights¹⁶. Neutral countries around the world protested Germany's actions: Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the Vatican and the United States. The majority of the Belgium workers remained in camps until the international pressure was so great that in February 1917 Germany stopped the entire initiative.

The third phase was characterized by the Germans taking a softer approach. The German government began to make efforts to improve conditions for their workers in the area of salaries for craftworkers, and family support was increased. At the same time, the Prussian internal ministry began to accept complaints about any mistreatment of workers. These changes were introduced immediately after the forced recruitment of Belgium workers was stopped and

¹⁴ Between October 1915 and November 1916, 11,233 Polish people left their workplace. In the following years as many as 24,390 Polish people left (Herbert, 92, 1986).

¹⁵ Belgians had heard about the mistreatment of foreign workers in Germany and avoided going to Germany.

¹⁶ Herbert noted that between November 26, 1916 and 10 February 1917 approximately 61,000 Belgium workers went to Germany. In addition, another 17,000 followed willingly. The forceful measures in actual fact led to disaster because there were many sick and handicapped amongst the numbers which resulted in 13,150 being sent back to Belgium (98, 1986).

German workers' demonstrations against the war effort grew. The German government's efforts had the positive effect of attracting foreign labourers without direct force¹⁷.

Herbert noted that, the softened approach toward Belgium workers was not extended to other foreign workers. Over the course of the war years, the German regulations to ensure the reliability of their Polish-Russian workers reached ever higher levels of unprecedented restrictions. In the Moers region, for example, to ensure that the foreign workers did not leave the towns where they were located, nor make a nuisance of themselves, some companies set up barracks for foreigners next to prisoner of war camps, and placed the worker under armed guards (Herbert,1986). To distinguish the foreign worker from others they wore an insignia on their coats and pants, making them easily identifiable to prevent them from leaving and limited their actions (Herbert,1986). It must be kept in mind that the extreme to which different areas went in controlling their foreign labourers varied.

It cannot be ignored that the increased control over the foreign workers occurred concurrently with the German governments loss of control over the German working classes. In April 1917 a massive strike took place in which two hundred thousand workers participated (Barracclough,438,1962). Their demands were those of

¹⁷ The Germans used a discreet form of coercion to attract Belgium workers by closing down the German branch companies in Belgium which adversely effected the Belgium economy. Between the time that forced deportation was stopped and the summer of 1918 nearly 100,000 new Belgium workers were in Germany and by the end of the war there were 130,000 Belgium workers (Herbert,1986).

the "Inter Group Committee" (consisting of SPD, Centre and the Progressive People's Party), which called for a parliamentary monarchy to be set up, and peace negotiated.

In 1917 the SPD split. Those who did not feel that the SPD was going far enough in their demands in the Inter Group Committee formed the 'Independent Social Democratic Party' (USPD) (Gall,1989). The remainder of the SPD became the Majority Social Democratic Party (MSPD).

In October 1918, MSPD succeeded in forming a parliamentary monarchy with Prince Max von Baden, and forced the Kaiser, Wilhelm II, to abdicate on November 9, 1918. On November 11, 1918 an armistice was finally reached.

This section has revealed how, through political interests of consolidating the German nation, Germany digressed from being a nation-state which accommodated the ethnic differences of minorities within their borders to one which became suspicious of all foreigners leading to strict regulations for foreigners. This was assisted by the growth of German nationalism supported by theories of racial superiority. Furthermore, the German state, designed by Bismarck, favoured an elite of industrialists and Junkers. They were forced to manipulate the political system in order to preserve their interest in the face of the growing discontent of its working class represented by the Social Democrats. World War I exposed the frailties of the political system which did not have the support of its people and brought its downfall. The embarrassment of the loss of the war and

dissatisfaction with a political system which ignored the interests of the people required a new political system. One which would represent the vast majority of them and fulfil their desire of proving themselves a superior nation of people.

Canada

Canada as a newly formed political entity was far behind Germany in terms of having a developed economic structure, railway system or population base which could further its development as a nation-state. These were aspects necessary to Canada's development as a country and would have to first emerge before it could take its position as a full fledged nation. The need for people would make immigration to Canada essential for its future. These factors and the heritage of wanting to maintain Canada with a predominantly British population were all aspects that influenced the development of Canada's concept of immigration.

The British North America (B.N.A.) Act, Canada's constitution, established it as a new nation. It was entitled "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof..." with its purpose being to foster the development of a new nationality." Instead of becoming a completely independent state in 1867, however, Canada was made a "Dominion" which was given the right to self-government through the approval of the Act by Britain. By becoming a Dominion, which no one in 1867 really

knew how to define, Canada maintained its connection with Britain¹⁸. Thus, Canada was still an "incomplete" nation-state, one that required consultation with Britain in matters concerning foreign affairs and did not include all of the British North American colonies in 1867.

The constitution clarified that Canada's nationalism was in theory "dualist", with British and French being the founding cultures and recognized that the country consists of a number of minority groups not only North American Indians, but French, the four English cultural groups from Britain and Germans¹⁹. This led F.R. Scott to say that "The Canadian nation could be a political concept, but not an ethnic one. National unity meant a union of diverse groups in a common political structure for common ends, not an assimilation or an amalgamation" (397,1942).

Scott's statement is an interesting point of contrast with Germany. In Germany, in the early years of the nation cultural minorities were tolerated and linguistic differences were accommodated but with political pressure they were exposed to increasing levels of assimilation as occurred under Bismarck. In Canada, the English ambition of assimilating the French was abandoned before confederation. What makes Scott's point so interesting, however, is that although assimilation of the French

¹⁸ Over time the word "Dominion" came to be associated with being a colony of Britain as the word colony was still applied to Canada until constitutional law in 1931 finally had the term cease to apply to Canada (Scott,396,1942).

¹⁹ The total population of Canada at the time of confederation was 3,300,000 (Careless,270,1991).

was stopped all immigrants entering Canada, as we will see, were chosen according to their ability to assimilate. Thus, all non-French and English ethnic immigrant minorities submitted themselves to the political domination of Canada's two cultural groups. In other words, Germany and Canada were initially quite similar in their approach to the assimilation of ethnic minorities. This changed when Canada relinquished its efforts and recognized the dual culture of Canada, while Germany enforced Germanization.

The new federal parliament was to have strong central control and be responsible for the "matters of common interest for the whole country" (Quebec and London Resolutions, no. 2). It was to have powers which the provinces were not eligible to have and were consistent with sovereign power. The reason for union itself and strong central government was explained by Accommodated McGee as on account of the internal and external factors:

Inside British North America were separate colonial tariffs, different currencies, mean provincial jealousies retarding commerce and industry, scattered military forces, huge unoccupied areas waiting to be organized, and political stalemate. Outside were two dominant facts; a United States rent by the doctrine of "States' rights," yet emerging to a new unity under the leadership of the North; and Great Britain no longer interested in economic or military protection for her colonies (Scott, 400, 1942).

The Crown, unlike in Germany, was completely controlled by law and the constitution²⁰. Thus, sovereignty was placed in the hands of the people. The Crown in Canada was represented by the

²⁰ This was due to changes in Britain where the king's title was no longer derived by divine right of kings, but by the Succession Act of 1701 which the British parliament could alter.

governor-general who until 1926 remained in charge of the colonial office²¹. The existence of the colonial office maintained Canada's colonial status vis a vis Britain, despite the fact that Canada had self-government. In addition, parliamentary government in Canada, was made the highest power in the country, incorporating elections and the franchise, the freedom of public discussion, of the right to govern by the consent of the governed. In other words as a political democracy.

The powers of the federal and provincial governments were outlined in the B.N.A. Act. The federal Dominion government of Canada was given authority over all national matters involving "peace, order and good government" except where an issue fell within the field of provincial authority. The powers assigned to the federal government were outlined in section 91 of the Act, while section 92 outlined the powers of the provincial governments. In addition, in section 95 of the Act, Canada's quality of being an immigrant receiving country was explained in that the federal and provincial governments' have concurrent powers over immigration which in 1867 were closely tied to agriculture and settlement²².

²¹ In 1926 the governor general became the representative of the Crown alone and not of the imperial government (Scott, 414, 1942).

²² Section 95 of the B.N.A. Act stated: "In each Province the Legislature may make Laws in relation to Agriculture in the Province, and to Immigration into the Province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make laws in relation to Agriculture in all or any of the Provinces, and to Immigration into all or any of the Provinces; and any Law of the Legislature of a Province relative to Agriculture or to Immigration shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada

When the first Immigration Act was passed in 1869 it further outlined that the purpose of immigration was for the "settlement and colonization of uncultivated lands" (Statutes of Canada, 32, 1869). The prerequisites for being an immigrant as indicated by the Act was that a person had to be healthy and of sound mind, unacceptable people were those who were "lunatic, idiotic, deaf or dumb, blind or infirm" (Ibid., 36, 1869). Race was initially not considered as a determinant of acceptance, but this is not to say that there were other inhibitors to accepting racially different people. Immigration offices were not placed in countries from which the colonies were not interested in receiving immigrants. Immigration agents were placed in the United Kingdom and one immigration office in Europe. In addition, any immigrant who embarked for Canada had to obtain sanction from Her Majesty's Government ascertained by a certificate from an immigration officer (Ibid., 33, 1869). What was not anticipated was that the lack of stipulation regarding race prevented the immediate possibility of excluding people from the Orient entering Canada as occurred in British Columbia.

Doctors played an important role in the immigration process. Every ship that anchored in a Canadian port had to have a Medical Superintendent go on board and inspect the health of the passengers checking the Bill of Health, Manifest, Log Book or other papers. The importance of doctors in the immigration process grew over time and will reappear in the next chapter.

(Department of Justice of Canada, 37, 1986).

In naturalizing people according to the Canadian government's amended Aliens and Naturalization Act

Every person who, being by birth and Alien (not of British birth), did, prior to the first day of January, 1868, take the oaths of residence allegiance required by the Naturalization Laws then in force in the one of the Provinces now forming the Dominion of Canada, in which he then resided, shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges of a natural-born British subject conferred upon naturalized persons by the Act of Parliament of Canada...(Statute of Canada,94,1871).

The oath of residence interestingly included swearing that the person taking the oath was "settled in a place of abode in the Dominion of Canada on the first day of July 1967,...(and had)...intent to settle therein...continuously" (Ibid.,95). Thus, the early laws of Canada legally established Canada as an immigrant settler society.

Canada expanded after 1873, when the Hudson's Bay Company transferred its lands, and British Columbia and Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) joined confederation, so that the land mass now belonging to Canada came under the control of the federal government. The next task was to fill the country in to ensure that it would endure as a nation.

Sir John A. Macdonald, the first prime minister of Canada, and leader of the Conservative Party, had great aspirations for Canada. Prior to confederation he stated that he perceived Canada as "standing on the very threshold of nations and when admitted we shall occupy no unimportant position among the nations of the world" (Scott,389,1942). To realize his wishes Macdonald's conservative government devoted itself to building Canada as a

nation through forming close contacts with wealthy businessmen and railway interests²³.

Macdonald's national policy for Canada consisted of three elements. One, a tariff on goods, in the form of protective customs duties on farm products and manufactured goods, to encourage the development of a national market. Two, the building of the Canadian Pacific railway that would link the entire country from coast to coast and promote internal trade. Three, settlement of the West to fill in the vast space of land between the more populated East and the far West in British Columbia. These three elements were to work together and unite the national and economic goals of developing Canada as a nation. Thus, Canada's economic union and railway system occurred far later in its development as a nation than Germany's which already before national unity had the economic union of the Zollverein, a railway system, and was well settled.

Similar to Germany, however, nationalist groups developed in Canada in the 1870s's. The nationalist group called "Canada First" organized with the intention of creating a new nationality that would be entirely Canadian that would unite the dominion and place Canada as first (Careless, 273, 1991). Most of their ideas were expressed in their writings such as those of William Foster and Charles Mair. It also produced the journal Nation which was published from 1874-1876, and another journal which replaced it

²³ The Macdonald government was briefly held back by the election of 1873 when Alexander Mackenzie became Prime Minister for five years, but Macdonald was returned to office in 1878.

called the Canadian Monthly (1872-1882) which was both a political and literary paper. The misfortune is that this movement evolved just as the world trade depression began in 1873 which according to Careless lasted until 1896. The result was that the nationalist movement lost its support as the depression discouraged nationalism and in its place encouraged sectionalism.

The national policy required people to see that it be successfully carried out, but the acquisition of immigrants to settle the land were difficult to obtain. Macdonald appointed Sir Alexander Galt to be the first Dominion High Commissioner in London to encourage British people to emigrate to Canada with the help of the British government (Creighton, 289-91, 1965). Galt, however, soon discovered that the British government had no intention of providing any assistance and despite efforts to advertise for immigrants the response was quite low. Galt noted that for the British "...there is an instinctive feeling that they are losing national power when they decrease in numbers, even when the emigrant goes to a British colony, and the genuine insular Britisher hates all emigration efforts" (Creighton, 331, 1991). This was similar to the Prussian attitude of not wanting to encourage emigration.

Even when Canada received immigrants many of them were attracted to the United States. Mr. Trow a Member of Parliament, noted that:

In 1872 , 89,186 immigrants arrived in Canada; in 1873, 99,109; in 1874, 80,022; in 1875, 44,458; and in 1876, 36,549. Of these there remained in Canada, in 1872, 36,578; in 1873, 50,050; in 1874, 39,393; in 1875,

27,382; and in 1876, 25,633. Thus, during these five years, 179,000 settled in Canada (Commons Debates, 1655-1656, 1877).

The assumption was that many of the people who did not stay were being attracted to the United States and were using Canada as a port of entry. Despite the problems Macdonald, instead of making access to Canada easier for people from other countries, preferred British immigrants over any other immigrants. This then, the depression, the lack of support from the British government, and the emigration of immigrants to the United States contributed to low population growth in Canada during the Macdonald era.

The Macdonald government was placed under pressure from all sides to bring his national policy to fruition. British Columbia, which had joined confederation on the grounds that the C.P.R. would be built became annoyed at the slow progress. The private Canadian company responsible for the building of the railway was continually hampered by the lack of funding while the Macdonald government was under pressure by the Liberals for spending money on a seemingly bad cause. Careless notes that: "it was then that a party follower reminded (Macdonald) that 'the day the Canadian Pacific busts, the Conservative Party busts the day after.'" (Careless, 280-1, 1991). To make matters worse there was a real shortage of labourers to help build the railway itself. In desperation the Macdonald government permitted the company building the C.P.R. to hire Chinese labourers.

The Chinese had been entering North America since gold was first discovered in California in 1848. When gold was discovered,

in 1858, in the Fraser Valley area which later became part of British Columbia many Chinese people went north. By 1858 British troops had already been settling the area and the entrance of the Chinese, who had already been experiencing hostility from the white people living in California, began to experience the same form of hostility from the British soldiers and lumberers. None-the-less the Chinese, who had little choice, remained and began to prove themselves to be efficient workers²⁴. They proved themselves to be hardworking and willing to work for much lower wages than the average white man that they began to threaten white workers. Thus, despite their usefulness the white population did everything possible to discourage the Chinese from remaining, such as: mistreating them, forcing them to live in poor housing conditions segregating them from the rest of the society, and paying them substandard wages (Lai,1988). In 1878 the Workingmen's Protective Association was formed in Victoria their purpose was "the mutual protection of the working class of British Columbia against the great influx of Chinese" with the intention of using "all legitimate means for the suppression of their immigration" (Avery and Neary,25,1977).

Chinese labour, however, appeared to be the solution to all of Macdonald's concerns over the construction of the railway. Here was an industrious group of people who could provide a cheap source

²⁴ China's economy in the eighteenth century collapsed causing high unemployment for an already over-populated country. Many Chinese people came to North America to enable them to make money to be sent back to their families at home (Hawkins,1991).

of labour. In 1880 Macdonald permitted contractors to begin hiring Chinese labourers for the construction of the railway. This, however, did not mean that he had any intention of having the Chinese immigrate permanently to Canada:

as he told the House of Commons in 1882, that he had no desire to see the Chinese remain in Canada when the railway was finished. After that, he said, he would be quite ready to a reasonable extent to prevent a permanent settlement in the country of Mongolian or Chinese emigrants (Driedger, 376, 1987).

The acceptance of Chinese labourers led to a tremendous increase of Chinese people entering Canada in a very short period of time. Between 1876 and 1880 only 2,326 Chinese people had arrived in Victoria, but once Macdonald permitted them to be hired for the C.P.R. their numbers rose to 13,245 between 1881 and 1883 (Bolaria and Li, 105, 1988).

Similar to the Prussians who discovered that without the introduction of foreign labourers their plans for the economic development of Germany would be severely hindered, Macdonald explained to the House of Commons in 1883:

It will be all very well to exclude Chinese labour, when we can replace it with white labour, but until that is done, it is better to have Chinese labour than no labour at all (Canada House of Commons Debates, 1883:905).

Macdonald came into further conflict over the building of the railway when the North West rebellion was launched in 1885 by the Métis people in Saskatchewan under the leadership of Louis Riel. The Métis had already been uprooted once from the Red River area in 1870 when the province of Manitoba was established. The construction of the railway threatened the entire way of life of

the Métis and the rebellion was an attempt by the Métis to defend themselves. The Macdonald government cared very little for these so called "primitive" people and was not prepared to permit them to interfere with their plans of nation building. The rebellion was crushed in a matter of days by the Canadian army through the use of the railway system, without which a resolution would have taken months²⁵. This event was used by the Conservative Party to convince the people of the value of the railway system.

The railway was completed construction in 1885. Immigration, however, which was supposed to have been encouraged by the construction of the railway, remained low and the numbers of those who did settle were not great enough to rationalize the money which had been spent on the railway except for connecting the B.C. to the rest of Canada.

In the same year, Macdonald, who in July 1884 had commissioned a Royal Commission to investigate the immigration of the Chinese, received their Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration: Report and Evidence. The report concluded that the Chinese were considered "racially undesirable" and suggested that a "head tax" should be placed on all Chinese immigrants coming to Canada (Li and Bolaria, 110, 1988). In 1885 he introduced the first in a series of "anti-Chinese bills" which came in the form of a

²⁵ In 1866 Britain withdrew its troops from Canada leaving the Canada with the responsibility of creating its own army. The Canadian army was used to crush the Red River Rebellion, in Manitoba, in 1870, also led by Louis Riel, which took months to resolve due to the lack of trains and difficult terrain that the troops had to cross.

head tax requiring each Chinese immigrant to pay a \$50.00 head tax (Bolaria and Li, 1988)²⁶.

Sectionalism began to grow worse in the late 1880's revealing a lack of support for Macdonald's nationalism. It was largely encouraged by the customs duties, the lack of immigrants to settle the West²⁷, and the construction of the railway becoming more of a burden than a benefit which made it appear that Macdonald's national policy had failed. Canada's population under Macdonald did not grow a great deal beyond the 1867 level of 3,300,000, by the time Macdonald died in 1891 there were only 4,800,000 people in Canada (Careless, 1991). After Macdonald died Wilfred Laurier succeeded him as leader of the Liberal Party, and continued the process of Canada's nation building employing the foundations laid out by Macdonald's government. He was to be much more fortunate for in his era the depression came to an end bringing with it years of prosperity for Canada.

The actual reason for Laurier's success with the national policy can be attributed to timing. When he took office a number of events favoured increased immigration which allowed Laurier's

²⁶ The head tax was later increased to \$100.00 in 1900 and \$500.00 in 1903 (Bolaria and Li, 1988).

²⁷ The Canadian population reached a standstill in its growth in 1890 when the numbers emigrating from Canada were approximately equal to the numbers immigrating to Canada (Careless, 1991). Duncan M. McDougall looked at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics series and found that between 1881-90 immigration totalled 903,000 while emigration was 1,108,000. He re-totalled the statistics using his own methodology and found that 448,000 immigrated and a total of 602,000 emigrated in the same time period (McDougall, 1961).

government to settle the West. The most important is the recovery of world trade. Careless explains that as industry recovered in Europe the need for new places to grow food to feed the factory populations grew. This increased the need for agricultural products from Canada. The West in the United States by this time had been filling up which caused people to turn to Canada to immigrate and settle. In addition, a botanist by the name of Charles Saunders made the discovery of Marquis wheat, in 1908, which is a certain type of wheat that grows in under one hundred days. This high yielding and quick maturing grain was the answer to the shorter growing season in the north and allowed acres of land to the north to be settled. The auspicious times would lead Laurier to comment: "The nineteenth century was the century of the United States, the twentieth century will be the century of Canada" (Careless, 301, 1991). This was to be supported by an expansionist approach to immigration and industrialization.

Immigration to the West, during Laurier's early years in office, was administered by the extremely efficient Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton (1896-1905). He is responsible for having organized the Immigration Branch in the Ministry of the Interior to which it had been transferred from Agriculture. A Superintendent of Immigration based in Ottawa was appointed by Sifton who had a corps of civil servants to work for him. They were made responsible for recruiting immigrants from the United States,

Britain, and Europe (Hawkins,5,1991)²⁸. In addition, a subdivision of the Immigration Branch was set up in Winnipeg to care for the settlement of immigrants in the West. Between 1896 and 1905 Sifton's offices actively advertised the sale of West Canadian land and numerous information pamphlets published on Canada.

The Dominion land policy which was developed under the Macdonald government made the acquisition of land easy. The land was surveyed in numbered squares consisting of 640 acres each. The odd-numbered sections were then sold at a moderate price to raise revenue while the even numbered sections could be acquired for free as homesteads under the condition that a quarter section of 160 acres be developed in a specific way (Careless,303,1991).

Sifton's publicity campaign was so effective that the sale of land caused the largest immigration that Canada ever experienced. Between 1896 and 1914 approximately two and half million people entered Canada (Hawkins,4,1991). Approximately half a million came from Europe, three-quarters of a million from the United States and close to a million from the British Isles (Hawkins,4,1991). This caused Canada's population to jump between 1901 and 1911 from five to seven millions, approximately one third of the original population (Careless,304,1991). Sifton and the immigration offices were forced to carry on a selective immigration process. Sifton

²⁸ A campaign to entice Americans to move to Canada was also conducted as in 1897 the Department of the Interior established nine agencies in the United States, which was later increased to 18 in 1904 and 21 in 1914.

years later would describe the type of immigration selection they pursued:

In Great Britain we confined our efforts very largely to the North of England and Scotland, and for the purpose of sifting the settlers we doubled the bonuses to the agents in the North of England and cut them down as much as possible in the South....Then came the continent where the great emigrating centre was Hamburg...We made an arrangement with the booking agencies in Hamburg, under which they winnowed out this flood of people, picked out the agriculturalists and peasants and sent them to Canada, sending nobody else. We paid, I think, \$5,000 per head for the farmer and \$2,000 per head for the other members of the family (Hawkins, 5, 1991).

Sifton's selection process was made more difficult by industrialization in Canada which was creating a demand for a different type of immigrant, not agriculturalists but unskilled workers, for mining and railway building. In 1903 the Canadian government undertook the building of more railways to support the growing East-West Trade. Two groups of railway builders, the Grand Trunk and Mackenzie and Mann's Canadian Northern, along with the government's eastern route of its own, the National Transcontinental, began construction. Immigrants, as Donald Avery noted, in his article "Canadian Immigration Policy and the "Foreign" Navy, 1896-1914," were to fulfil several needs:

They would serve as a source of labour in the construction of the roads; their crops would provide an additional revenue base; and ultimately their labour could be utilized in developing industries (Avery, 48, 1988).

This, however, created a problem, agricultural immigrants of the desirable ethnic type were not necessarily the type to remain in unskilled labour intensive work. Given the opportunity they were likely to leave their industrial work to settle their own

farms. Men from the British Isles, according to Avery were found to be unacceptable for labour on the railway, "largely because the Welsh workers were not prepared to tolerate the low wages or the camp conditions (50,1988). Businessmen still considered Chinese workers to be the best railway construction workers, but they came into conflict with Canadian nationalists who did not want to permit any more Chinese people or Orientals in general into Canada. This caused the industrialists to turn to immigrants from central and southern Europe. Already in 1904 there were 6,000 to 8,000 Italian labourers living in Montreal as "Alien Labour" which was not expected to settle in Canada (Ibid.,56,1988). They were, however, eligible for citizenship after three years domicile, as Canada extended civil rights to immigrant workers (Avery,55,1975). This also caused problems. In Canada, in 1907, southern Europeans were considered to be of "inferior stock" tending towards crime and immorality, while central Europeans were thought to be superior in a racial sense with higher cultural values (Ibid,54,1988).

What came to the forefront was that a distinction was made between acceptable immigrants and those immigrants that the government considered "undesirable." Immigrants from the British Isles, Germany, and other north European countries were welcomed, while those from slavic countries, south European, the Chinese and blacks from the United States were discouraged and blocked through administrative procedures. Sifton was accused of being too indiscriminate by permitting slavic people to enter Canada. When Sifton's successor Frank Oliver became Minister of the Interior the

selection of immigrants became more restrained. Oliver in referring to the West said:

...We did not go out to that country simply to produce wheat. We went to build up a nation, a civilization, a social system that we could enjoy, be proud of and transmit to our children; and we resent the idea of having the millstone of this Slav population hung around our necks in our efforts to build up, beautify and improve the country, and so improve the whole of Canada (Hawkins,8,1991).

Oliver's position toward immigrants, which was largely representative of the general population in Canada at the time, led to the introduction of two new immigration acts in 1906 and 1910 that increased the powers of the immigration officers to reject "undesirable immigrants." The most important of the two was the 1910 act in which section 38c described the people whom the governor-in-council could by proclamation or order:

Prohibit for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, or immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character (Hawkins,17,1991).

Freda Hawkins in her book Critical Years in Immigration attributed the restrictive practices of Canada to Canada's desire to create a nation in which the type of society and political system developed in the United Kingdom could be preserved. She also attributes it to the desire to establish, unchallenged, the primary role of the founding peoples of European origin, the French and the English. In addition, Hawkins states that: "It was widely believed that the homogeneous and unified character of the British people contributed in no small measure to Britain's success in

peace and war, and that the quality of homogeneity (British-French in Canada) should be fostered as a guarantee of harmony" . And only lightly does Hawkins touch on the issue of the "...automatic assumption of the superiority of the white nations over all others..." (23,1991) as a basis of selective immigration practices.

This requires a brief discussion regarding the further developments of racial superiority which occurred in Britain. The Aryan myth permitted the division of the white race into white classes of Teutonism (Germany), Anglo-Saxonism (England and the United States), and Celticism (France). Social Darwinists began to describe Anglo-Saxons as a distinct and pure race. For them the Anglo-Saxons were endowed with: language, religion, social habits which became associated with race, a "British race." Snyder describes that the Social Darwinists believed that Anglo-Saxons were obviously more intelligent than others (witness their success in imperialistic ventures), hence it was their task to give direction to other races" (Snyder,54,1962). This belief in the inferiority of other races led Robert Kipling to refer to the lesser races as "the white man's burden" in that the Anglo-Saxons have a responsibility to care for them. The Anglo-Saxons were to bring civilization to the backward races, but the backward races were to remain in their proper places. Hence the expression "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." This explanation of British perceptions toward foreigners at the turn of the century provides a sounder basis for explaining why the Canadian government, dominated by the English, and British

Columbia, largely populated by English settlers, were opposed to orientals and other races from entering Canada.

The expansion and settlement of land in the North-West Territories brought about the creation of two more provinces that were created from this land mass. The provinces were Saskatchewan and Alberta which became part of confederation in 1905. The North-West Territories were eventually cut even smaller by the extension of Ontario and Quebec into the area. When gold was discovered in the Klondike gold-fields on the Yukon River, between 1898-1903, gold miners rushed to this far north-west area which led to the creation of the Yukon Territory. Once the gold rush ended the population in this area declined once more.

This growth in the settlement of the West contributed to the development of East to West trade which carried their products by the railway system. Thus, the National Policy that was begun by Macdonald finally found success under the Liberal government creating a unified economic system that reduced sectional strife and encouraged nationalism to grow.

The Liberal Party which in its formation period depended on the farmers, while the Conservatives had the vote of business, banking and the railways, now obtained their support as well.

While the Liberals tried to work within the constraints of the imperial framework, nationalists in Canada began to demand that the bond to Britain be loosened and that Canada develop its own external affairs policies. When Laurier went to Britain to attend the 1897 Colonial Conference Laurier was asked whether Canada would

participate in an imperial federation or an imperial customs union. Laurier declined these proposals, but agreed to a proposal that colonial conferences take place regularly, every four years, under the title of "Imperial Conference." Thus, continuing the connection between Canada and Britain.

In 1911, Laurier lost in the elections largely due to his continued support of Canada's tie to Britain, to which the French were strongly opposed, and on account of the Liberal Party's support of a reciprocity agreement with the United States, while most of Canada was prospering without it. He was replaced by the conservative leader Robert Borden.

Borden's government continued the efforts of Laurier's government of developing Canada's industries and immigration. Industrial unskilled workers from southern Europe continued to enter Canada, according to immigration statistics the number of unskilled workers compared with total male immigrants increased from 31 per cent in 1907 to 43 per cent between 1913-1914; while by contrast agriculturalists decreased from 38 per cent in 1907 to 28 per cent in 1914 (Avery, 58, 1988). This, however, changed when the war broke out in 1914 and the number of immigrants dwindled.

One of the most important concerns regarding immigrants during the Borden era was that of the increase in socialist organizations created by immigrants. Finnish immigrants, for example, created the Finnish Social Democratic Party in 1908, by 1914 they had become a radical force with a great deal of influence in the Finnish community (Avery, 58, 1975). Polish, Lithuanians, Slovak and

Ukrainian workers were found to be strong supporters of labour protest and were influential in the creation of permanent unionism in the coal fields (Ibid.). Anglo-Canadian industrialists responded with hostility towards militant immigrant trade union and socialist supporters. Fears of socialists and those indoctrinated by Bolshevik ideas inspired by Russia were to have an impact on the concept of immigration in Canada to be discussed in the next chapter.

Canada's entrance into World War I, in August 1914, from a national standpoint was in a form its initiation into world affairs. Canada had always been protected through its connection with Britain, but now on account of the connection Canada was expected to enter the war. Canada sent its own Corps of troops which distinguished itself from the British troops along side of whom they were fighting.

The war had an impact on Canada both domestically and internationally. Canada became very important to the war effort at home as the need for farm products by the western allied powers soared. The wealth in Canada's mines for raw materials also made Canada important and led to the further development of Canada's industries. Prior to the war there were a number of railway shops and farm machinery plants, but there was not the heavy industry and large scale machine production that developed on account of the war. Canada had always shipped abroad her minerals such as - copper, lead, zinc, and nickel to industries in other countries, as a result Canada lacked "skilled" machinists. Thus the war brought

the growth of heavy industry and the need for people with machine skills for the production of munitions. Once the war came to an end the maintenance of these heavy industries would require more skilled manpower. But Canada during, and after the war as will be discussed in the following chapter, suffered from a manpower shortage. Canada's population had only reached 8 million and there was a need for people on the farms, in factories and in the army.

Meanwhile, internationally Canada was establishing itself as a nation. In 1917, an Imperial War Cabinet was organized in which the Dominion prime ministers or their representatives sat with the British war cabinet. This brought into question how to restructure the imperial structure so that the Dominions had more of a share of control. Thus Canada was finally given the opportunity to have an influence on empire policies. This fulfilled Ukrainian's view of Canadian nationalism: "that Canada should no longer have external policies made for her, but should enter into making them" (Careless, 340, 1991). The Imperial war conference supported this view and announced that the empire had become a Commonwealth of free and equal members who should regularly consult one another to set common policies for their relations with the outside world.

This chapter has demonstrated how the respective political systems of Germany and Canada developed their nation-states and the impact it had on their concepts of immigration. Their concerns for unifying their countries as nations and those elements that could undermine the cohesion of their nations, represented by ethnic

minorities, Poles and Jews in Germany and the Chinese and southern Europeans in Canada, led them to form concepts of immigration that would not cause the development of their nation-states to suffer. This was further compounded by the popular beliefs in Aryan and Anglo racial superiority that supported their claims to exclude all or specific foreigners. This position with regard to foreigners was to have more extreme consequences in the post-World War One era to be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

The Aftermath of World War I to the end of World War II

The post World War One era was a period of economic recovery and political readjustment in both Germany and Canada. During which the growth of suspicion of foreigners and their racial value would increase, while the industrial development of each country would create a need for more foreigners. This was to have an effect on the approach Germany and Canada would take with regard to recruiting foreigners, both as immigrants and foreign workers.

Germany:

The parliamentary monarchy introduced immediately after the war was short lived and replaced by the Weimar Republic. Its installation represented for the people the possibility that their interests would finally find expression within their government. Herbert noted that it was only due to the particular balance of political powers immediately after the war that permitted the introduction of regulations on foreign workers based on the interests of the general German population (1986). Once the political pendulum swung in favour of the right, however, the interests of the people were once more discarded in the second half of the Weimar Republic, which would be replaced by the dictatorship of Adolf Hitler.

Prince Max von Baden's attempt at a parliamentary monarchy with the MSPD leader Friedrich Ebert, confronted a series of

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

MicroD
DATA MANAGEMENT

THOMAS COUNTY PLANT & EQUIPMENT, 800 363-7534
TEL: 614-455-7047 FAX: 614-455-7047 T.J.A. SHREVE, JR.

revolts immediately after it was formed. The revolts led to the creation of workers' and soldiers' councils which took control of the political and military forces within Germany. The MSPD accepted control by the workers' and soldiers' councils which handed the functions of the government to the 'Council of People's Delegates' (Rat der Volksbeauftragten), led by Ebert, consisting of MSPD and USPD members (James, 1989). To control the functions of government Ebert decided to retain the civil service and army of the deposed Kaiser.

It was at this juncture that the Stinnes-Legien Agreement of November 15, 1918, was signed. It forced industry to give recognition to trade unions making them partners in the negotiation of wages and working conditions. This heightened power of the trade unions would give them greater influence in decisions regarding the hiring of foreign workers which will be discussed later in this chapter. By achieving this agreement the workers relinquished their interests in nationalizing industry and quite soon thereafter the workers' and soldiers' councils became less influential on the SPD (James, 1989).

In January 1919 the National Assembly elections took place in Weimar, due to civil unrest in Berlin¹. The results introduced a coalition government with the SPD as the strongest party, the Centre party and German Democratic Party (DDP). The parties

¹ The radical communist group, the Spartacist League, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, tried to bring about a Bolshevik revolution in Berlin in January 1919 for which they were murdered by members of the governments volunteer army (Freikorps) (Gall, 1989, James, 1989).

together had 76% of the votes and were the same parties that formed the Inter Group Committee in 1917 (Gall,258,1989). It came to be known as the Weimar Republic and Friedrich Ebert became its first president.

The new constitution of the Weimar Republic which was signed on August 11, 1919 fulfilled the old liberal demands for parliamentary democracy. The parliament became the central political institution, requiring that the Chancellor and his ministers be responsible to it. The President of the parliament became the supreme commander of the armed forces and could dissolve parliament. Article 48 of the constitution gave him the right to declare a state of emergency and to take on full authority (Gall,1989). The greatest weakness of the constitution was that it permitted "pure proportional representation." This would later allow the fragmentation of the parties, which were not required to have democratic constitutions. Meanwhile, the federal constitution and the supremacy of Prussia were retained (Gall,1989).

During the reorganization of the state the majority of the one million civilian foreign workers (zivil auslaender Arbeiter) and another one million prisoners of war, who had been employed by the war economy, were sent back to their respective countries (Herbert,114,1986). Despite this, approximately 174,000 foreign workers remained in Germany (Ibid,115). Many of these people remained in eastern Prussia where they were employed in agriculture, an area of the economy to which many of the returning German soldiers were not willing to work, but necessary to the well

being of Germany. This situation raised the issues of how to maintain a supply of foreign workers in circumstances of emergency, and how to conceptualize the migration of foreign workers to Germany according to German political interests to control the admission of foreigners (Ibid.,1986).

The German perception of foreigners, after World War I, remained xenophobic and was summarized by the Secretary of State for the Ministry of Labour, Friedrich Syrup. Syrup was aware of the national political and racist mentality of workers groups who during the war perceived foreigners as cultural and biological dangers to German society. He stated that the separation of foreign workers from German society could be achieved through specific legal measures - that the splitting of the labour market and limitations on the employment of foreigners at the lowest wages levels could be enforced through state pressures (Herbert,67,1986)².

The workers movement, during the war, discussed what should be done about foreigners in Germany. They formulated four demands that they hoped would be adopted once the war came to an end. The demands were the following:

1. Foreigners should only be employed when there are no Germans available to fill the position.
2. Foreigners are to only be paid according to wage rate requirements, to prevent their ability to keep wages

² "dass die Separation der auslaendischen Arbeiter von der deutschen Gesellschaft durch entsprechende gesetzliche Massnahmen perpetuiert werden konnte - dass also die Teilung des Arbeitsmarktes und die Beschraenkung der Auslaenderbeschaeftigung auf die untersten Lohngruppen durch staatslichen Druck erzwungen wurde" (Herbert,67,1986).

down.

3. The right for a foreigner to remain or be deported from Germany should not be decided arbitrarily by administrators, instead the decision should follow legal regulations and be verifiable.
4. The admission and rejection of foreigners should be decided equally by the business and trained workers representative (Herbert, 115, 1986).

In March 1920 the Imperial Working Group for Agriculture, Forestry Employers and Workers Union³ suggested to the national parliament the adoption of three of the four demands made by the members of the workers movement. One, two and four of the above demands were adopted and became the cornerstone of the regulations for Foreign employment within Germany (Herbert, 116). These regulations became law in the "Employment Agency Law" (Arbeitsnachweisgesetz) in 1922. Furthermore, in 1923, the Prussian minister of the interior passed the 'Deportation of Disruptive Foreigners' (Ausweisung laestiger Auslaender) decree which included regulations on deportation. The enforcement of the Employment Agency Law and the deportation decree were eventually placed in the hands of the Imperial Office for Employment and Unemployment Insurance⁴. The new regulations limited the stay and work period of "all" foreigners, not only Polish people, to a twelve month period, and for agricultural workers the seasonal work schedule was returned but extended to

³ Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft land- und forst- wirtschaftlicher Arbeitgeber- und Arbeitnehmergeeinigungen.

⁴ Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung (Herbert, 117, 1986).

December 15⁵. Thus, with the exception of southern Germany, forced legitimization was once again enforced for foreigners.

The decline of the Weimar Republic has been well documented and its significance to the development of the modern German concept of immigration is not great. It suffices to say that there were factors inherent in the Weimar Republic that ensured it would be unable to maintain a democracy.

Barraclough noted three factors which ensured its failure. There was the army which was not disbanded at the end of the war and was a strong supporter of the old order. Secondly, there was allied pressure. The allied powers feared that social and economic reforms would create chaos and possibly bring a Bolshevik revolution, such as the one in Russia, and were likely to use military force to ensure that it did not take place (Barraclough, 1962). Thirdly, the German leaders of the SPD were forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles⁶, as Germany would have otherwise been threatened with Allied occupation (Barraclough, 1962;

⁵ Agricultural workers who had been in Germany since 1913, and industrial workers who were in Germany since 1919 without leaving Germany were given "clearance certificates" (Befreiungsscheine) and work permits.

⁶ The Treaty of Versailles set down the Allied powers (Britain, France, and the United States) conditions for peace with Germany after World War I. The conditions included: losing Alsace-Lorraine, Silesia, the Saar and Schleswig which contributed in heavy economic losses; such as 75 per cent of Germany's iron ore deposits, and Article 231 which held Germany responsible for the war (the war guilt clause) (James, 1920, 1989).

James, 1989)⁷.

In explaining why the SPD took a middle of the road approach Barraclough says it was:

...partly to keep Allied confidence, partly to prove their ability to govern, on the maintenance of law and order. Because they feared that their removal would have disturbed the smooth running of the public services, they left the officials of the old imperial bureaucracy in office; because they feared that his dismissal would complicate demobilization and worsen relations with the victorious Entente, they retained Hindenburg, and with him the core of the old army (443, 1962).

The concessions that the SPD made to their fears served to severely weaken the republic making it vulnerable to the various powers which they had tried to usurp; the industrialists and the landowners. When Hindenburg was elected to the presidency in 1925, Barraclough says that "it revealed in a flash how far removed from power the democratic and progressive forces were in the mid-twenties" (448, 1962). The SPD continued to fall in power into the late twenties. When the depression came in 1929 the economic crisis made being politically influential in government unfavourable in order for a party to win votes⁸ (James, 1989). Therefore, the SPD, in 1930, when Heinrich Brüning, leader of the Catholic Centre Party, became the new Chancellor, gave up their position of political influence with the resignation of their ministers, in order to maintain the working class vote.

⁷ The Catholic Centre Party which initially rejected the Treaty of Versailles eventually consented; while the DDP refused to vote for the Treaty and left the cabinet (James, 1989).

⁸ This, however, was not true of the radical right wing party the NSDAP or the radical left the Communist party (James, 1989).

The government then began to be run by emergency decree, Article 48 of the constitution, which meant that the German people were to have no influence on the government. Through a series of political manoeuvring Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), otherwise known as the Nazis, grew as a political force. They were able to manipulate the weakening German government in their favour and obtain political power in 1933 despite the fact that they had never won a parliamentary majority⁹. This ushered in the dictatorship of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis.

Hitler had an Enabling law passed which freed him of constitutional obligations and parliamentary control (Gall,1989). After a short time, through the use of pressure tactics, the NSDAP managed to ban or have parties voluntarily dissolve themselves. This eventually made the NSDAP the sole state party. The Parliament merely became an institution used by Hitler to proclaim his policies. Thus, parliamentary democracy was destroyed. From that point on the NSDAP made the decisions for Germany's political, economic and socio-cultural interests. The police too were placed under the control of the NSDAP. The police became S.S. (Schutzstaffel) and by as early as February 1933 the first concentration camps for political prisoners was opened. And in 1934 the S.S. had full control over the German state (Gall,1989).

⁹ In the last democratic election, in 1932, until the end of World War II, the NSDAP won 11.7 million votes, while the working class parties of the SPD and Communists together achieved 13.1 million, the Middle class parties had 5.3 million and the Catholic Centre party had 4.2 million (Barracrough,1962).

Xenophobia and ethnocentrism became even more exaggerated in Hitler's Germany. Hitler cultivated the "...the idea of a national community defined against an external enemy, but also against internal 'non-German', elements" (James,139,1989). The external enemy was the allied powers who had weakened Germany through the Treaty of Versailles, while the internal enemy was predominantly the Jews and Bolsheviks (James,1989). The basis of distinction was by their biological inheritance, their blood as the following quote indicates.

A fellow German can only be someone who is of German blood, regardless of his religion. Thus, no Jew can be a fellow German" (Gall,331,1989).

Hitler's plan was to remove the elements of democracy, and eliminate the Jews, Bolsheviks and Marxists (Barraclough,1962; Gall,1989)¹⁰. Then step by step he planned to consolidate the German Reich's position in central Europe to form the "Great Germanic Reich of the German Nation" which was to have a position of world dominance (Gall,1989).

Hitler's national plan was directed at the conquest of land in the East and the germanization of these areas (Gall,1989). In Hitler's 1936 four year plan for the armed forces and the economy he stipulated that: "1. The German army must be ready for active duty in four years. 2. the German economy must be equipped for war in four years" (Gall,328,1989).

The need for workers to carry out Hitler's plans was to

¹⁰ During World War II approximately 6 million Jews were executed (James,154,1989).

require a very large workforce as industries began to manufacture armaments. This had a direct impact on the employment of foreign labourers the numbers of which had remained relatively low due to the strict restrictions discussed above. By 1928 there were only 236,000 foreign workers and in 1932 the number had only risen by another 108,000 (Herbert,118,1986). To increase the numbers Hitler formed agreements with other countries such as Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Holland to have their workers work in Germany. As a result the foreign population quickly grew and by 1939 there were approximately one million foreign workers (Herbert,122,1986,Reimann and Reimann,67,1979).

Germans grew concerned about the number of foreigners and their danger to society despite the fact that in 1938 a "Foreigner Policing Decree" (Auslaenderpolizei - Verordnung) was formed to check the authenticity of residence permits of foreigners in Germany (Herbert,1986).

Once the war broke out, the Nazis, who had studied the reports on the use of foreign workers during World War I, instituted a similar program. Thus, although the number of workers continued to grow¹¹ in the war years, the foreign workers were forced to work and live in camps¹² under strict regulations. (Ibid.,126,1986). The Polish workers, for example, had to wear an insignia (P) on

¹¹ By the end of 1940 as many as three million foreign workers had been recruited (Herbert,132,1986).

¹² If the foreign worker worked in agriculture they were made to live in dwellings separate from the Germans (Herbert,1986). In addition, it should be noted that the foreign workers were kept separate and distinguished from the prisoners of war.

their clothes and were not permitted to associate with a German outside of the work place. The Nazis upheld the regulations set in 1922 to pay foreign workers similar wages to foreigners as to Germans¹³, but 15 per cent was deducted from each pay cheque for social expenditures (Ibid.).

Once Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 the Germans began to realize that the war would go on for much longer than what they anticipated and brought more foreign workers into Germany. Herbert noted that amongst the vast numbers a hierarchy developed in the type of treatment workers received. The German workers, for obvious reasons were the best treated, followed by workers from the West, such as France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The next group included the Hungarians, Romanians, Slovenians, Greeks, Serbians and Croatians, followed by the Czechoslovakians and Bohemians. The lowest groups consisted of Polish, then people from the Soviet Union, such as the Ukraine, and then the Italian militia, after Mussolini had been deposed in 1943 (Herbert,1986). As the war drew on, after 1943, the need for Germans to fight created the need for yet more foreign workers. By the end of the war over seven million workers had been brought into Germany which does not include the number of prisoners of war (Herbert,143,1989).

Herbert notes that historians have pointed out that there is a direct connection, in the treatment of foreigners, between the

¹³ In January 1933 the Nazis had already removed the requirement that both business and workers' representatives would determine whether a foreign worker is hired. This responsibility was centralized by the employment office (Arbeitsaemtern) (Herbert,1986).

first united Germany under the Kaiser, the Weimar Republic, Hitler's Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany. The use of foreign labour was therefore a direct consequence of Germany's development and tradition as was Hitler himself. Louis L. Snyder noted that "Hitlerism was far from an isolated phenomena or a 'catastrophe' but a logical extension of motivations already existing in German national life" (Snyder, 307, 1969).

The defeat of Hitler's Germany and the atrocities committed against humanity were to raise in the years that followed the question -could it all happen again? -and how can it be avoided? These questions were to be resolved by the allied powers (the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union) which successfully defeated Germany in 1945 and established democratic government in West Germany. Despite this, as the next chapter will reveal, remnants of the old German concept of foreign workers have resurfaced in post World War II Germany.

Canada

Canada in the post-World War I era was a period of consolidating the developments that had begun in the pre-World War I era. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's goals for strengthening national unity and establishing more firmly Canada's position as a nation state would be achieved. This grounding of Canada would have the added effect of setting more rigid regulations on Canadian immigration, which as we will see was also based on theories of racial differences.

After World War I had come to an end, in 1918, arrangements were made for the creation of the 1919 Peace Treaty. Prime minister Borden of Canada ensured that Canada would have individual representation as a nation. This was done despite Britain's initial attempt of having all the Dominion representatives as part of the British Empire Delegation only. Instead, Canada along with the other Dominions was part of the British Delegation and was also represented separately and led to the right to individually sign the Peace Treaty. This indicated, as Careless noted, the double position of the Dominions as still being half colonies but also being half nations (341,1991). Furthermore, Borden ensured that the Canadian parliament would provide its official approval of the Treaty, before signing the it. In doing so he promoted the recognition of Canada's right to make its own decisions concerning war and peace. In addition, the right for Canada to make its own decision regarding foreign policy was furthered when Borden succeeded in obtaining a seat for Canada in the League of Nations, a new international organization which was to prevent another world war.

Despite these advancements Borden hoped to maintain the common imperial foreign policy involving regular meetings between the Dominions and Britain to create a common British Foreign policy. This idea was not successful and instead led to the creation of the Commonwealth and the realization of Canada as a nation state with its own foreign policies.

Immigration policy, under Borden, after the war, became more

restrictive. Section 38c of the 1910 Immigration Act was revised in the Immigration Act of 1919 to further clarify the racial ban on certain groups.

c) Prohibit or limit in number for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada or the landing at any specified port or ports of entry in Canada, or immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry (Hawkins, 17, 1991).

Although, no specific nationality or race is mentioned, this section of the Act allowed immigration officers, who were aware of the government's preferences, a free hand as to who to accept and reject. It provided the immigration officers with an assortment of grounds on which not to accept people from specific racial groups. The key word used in the above Act is "assimilation." The ability of a person to assimilate was determined by the immigration officer and its existence in the Act left room for all the prejudices toward different racial groups to be expressed. The actual designation of preferred and non-preferred immigrants was not far off.

When Borden retired from office he permitted Arthur Meighen to take his place as prime minister, but in the first post-war elections in 1921 the Conservative Party was voted out of office. This has been attributed to the conscription crisis

(Careless,1991). The new prime minister became the Liberal leader William Lyon Mackenzie King, Laurier's successor and political admirer.

King's domestic political objective was to rebuild the sense of national unity which had been frayed due to the war years, and internationally to have Canada achieve full nationhood status (Careless,344,1991).

King's domestic policy was one of extreme moderation in which he did little to develop social reforms or create change. This is reflected in King's immigration policy, in that he retained the 1919 Act and merely added orders-in-council related to immigration which did not diverge very far from Borden's. The most important orders-in-council noted by Hawkins were P.C.182 and P.C.183 of January 1923, and P.C.695 of March 1931. P.C.182 defined who was excluded from entering Canada with particular emphasis on Asian people¹⁴. P.C.183 (1923) and P.C.695 (1931) were quite similar in defining who was permitted to enter Canada. The one difference is that the former permitted (white) farm labourers and domestic servants to enter Canada, while the latter removed this possibility.

The increased restrictions on immigration coincided with the Empire Settlement Act which was passed in the British Parliament after the 1921 Imperial Conference in London. The Act established that the British government was willing to work with

¹⁴ "Asian people" referred to almost everyone in the Eastern Hemisphere and outside of Europe (Hawkins,1991).

the Dominion governments, public authorities, or private organizations in the furthering of emigration and settlement schemes (Hawkins, 26, 1991). This Act would provide Canada with the type of citizens which Macdonald and his High Commissioner Galt in London had been asking a half a century earlier. Considering this Act it is not surprising that the order-in-council of 1923 made immigration more restrictive. But that was not the only reason that immigration policies in Canada grew to become more restrictive; the Canadian medical lobby group had a powerful influence on immigration policy.

In Zlata Godler's article "Doctors and the new immigrants" Godler argues that at the turn of the century "(the medical profession) actively lobbied for revision of the legislation so that its medical provisions would incorporate the findings of new medical research and standards of care regarding disease and public health care" (6, 1977). Godler states that doctors in Canada became an interest group in the interests of their class and that restrictions on immigration became their cause. As was discussed in chapter two doctors were employed for immigration purposes of establishing the health of immigrants as early as 1869.

Canadian doctors, Godler argues, were well aware of the scientific and quasi-scientific theories popular in their day such as eugenics, social Darwinism, and research into intelligence testing. Godler emphasized that "...the medical information which was used to modify Canadian immigration legislation was not exclusively Canadian in origin or application...(they

were)...influenced by major British, German and, increasingly, American medical developments" (Godler,9,1977). If this is true then it would be no exaggeration to believe that doctors in Canada may have been influenced by the writings of Sir Francis Galton. Galton is regarded as the founder of eugenics. Galton argued that heredity of characteristics is carried in the germ plasm located in reproductive cells (Mosse,73,1978). He believed that a country's national policy should be concerned about the "civic worth" of the progeny because eugenics would determine the quality of the race (Mosse,74,1978). The eugenics movement was very popular at the turn of the century in England and also spread to Germany where Galton's work was published in The Journal for Racial and Social Biology (Archiv für Rassen und Gesellschaftsbiologie). Galton's suggestion that degeneration of the race was an inheritable characteristic was supported by other writers such as Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909). Lombroso said that degeneration was most noticeable amongst criminals giving their common features as "a retreating forehead, low-lying eyes, an upturned nose, and obvious asymmetry of the face..." (Mosse,82,1978).

The influence that such writers had on Canadian doctors is suggested by some of their writings. In 1919 the Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery wrote in its editorial that "...Our profession should awaken to the paramount importance of seeing that our fair country is stocked with only the best; and should urge vehemently upon the powers that be the necessity of a thorough inspection of all new-comers" (Godler,13,1977). When the Canadian

National Committee for Mental Hygiene presented a seminar on "Work in Connection with Immigrants" in 1920, in respect to Manitoba it announced that:

It was discovered that the feeble-minded insane and psychopathic of that province were recruited out of all reasonable proportions from the immigrant class, and it was found that these individuals were playing a major role in such conditions as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, pauperism, certain phases of industrial unrest, and primary school inefficiency (Godler, 13, 1977).

In the same time period professor W.G. Smith from the University of Toronto wrote a series of articles to the Canadian Journal of Medical Hygiene. He argued that although Orientals were least represented in the areas of disease and mental illness they were unable to assimilate and therefore should be prohibited from entering Canada (Godler, 14, 1977).

In 1924 the American Immigration Act was introduced. Godler stated that due to findings quite similar to those presented in Canada's medical journals the Act began to impose limitations on immigrants originating from south and eastern Europe. The limit was set to a two per cent intake of total number of immigrants already in the United States from 1890. Godler noted that Barbara Miller Solomon summarized this Act as an indication that "the traditions of free immigration had given way to the verdict of science against the world's unknown millions" (Ibid).

The editorials in Canadian medical journals, shortly after the American Act had been passed began to lobby for legislation that would limit immigrants to those coming from Britain, the United States, Scandinavia and other North-West European countries.

The government obviously responded to this request. In 1927 the Canadian government placed Canadian doctors at ports of embarkation to enable the government to eliminate deportation. And when the government in 1928 was making efforts to encourage immigration to Canada the government stipulated from which countries they "preferred" to receive immigrants and from which they were "non-preferred." The preferred countries were Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and France in which Canada re-established recruitment agencies. From the non-preferred countries Canada was only willing to receive agricultural workers, domestics, and family-sponsored immigrants from Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. The south European countries were not mentioned. The preferences of Canada are strikingly similar to the preferences of the countries from which Germany was eager to have foreign labourers. This suggests once again the influence of the theories of racial superiority.

Although immigration was stopped, once the stock market crashed in October 1929, the Canadian government under R.B. Bennett's direction (1930-1935) introduced the last order-in-council P.C.695 in 1931, briefly mentioned above and outlined below, incorporating the preferential status of certain immigrants.

1. A British subject entering Canada directly from Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, the United States of America, New Zealand, Australia, or the Union of South Africa, who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured; provided that the only persons admissible under

the authority of this clause are British subjects by reason of birth or naturalization in Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, or the Union of South Africa.

2. A United States citizen entering Canada from the United States who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured.

3. The wife or unmarried child under 18 years of age of any legally admitted to be resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents.

4. An agriculturalist having sufficient means to farm in Canada (Hawkins, 20-21, 1991).

Canada's immigration policies became a non-issue until after the end of World War II. It must be said, however, that the restrictive policy was consistent with Mackenzie King's own position of wanting to unify the country through moderation.

Internationally, King's determination to have Canada demonstrate its own stand in foreign matters was demonstrated soon after he took office. In 1922 Britain was facing troubles with Turkey called the "Chanak crisis." The British decided to formulate its own stand in this matter prior to contacting the Dominions for support. King's response, when Canada's support was requested, was to not act. When later the Treaty of Lausanne was signed between Britain and Turkey King made it clear that as Canada was not party to creation of the agreement Canada was not bound to it (Careless, 347, 1991). Still later in 1923 Canada signed the Halibut Treaty with the United States without consulting Britain. When the Imperial Conference did take place in 1923 the right of Dominions to make their own treaties with foreign countries was affirmed. Thus Canada achieved its individual right to direct its own foreign relations and the imperial conferences for regular

consultation was abandoned.

The above change led to the need for the redefinition of the Commonwealth which was introduced in the Balfour Report in the next imperial conference which took place in 1926. The report declared that the members of the association, although united by their association with the Crown are considered "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another..." and "Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny" (Careless, 348, 1991). From that point on the Governor-General of a Dominion was to only represent the crown and not the British government. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 brought the Balfour Report into legal existence making the changes necessary to bring about equality between Britain and the Dominions. It removed the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 which had given British law precedence over colonial law in times of conflict. It gave the Dominions the ability to alter imperial laws and the control over their merchant shipping and full powers over their laws. Britain, however, reserved the right to pass laws for all the commonwealth which of course would only apply upon the Dominion's consent. The Judicial Committee of the imperial Privy Council was retained as a final court that would make certain decisions on legal cases, which also depended on the Dominion. And finally the British parliament still had the power to amend the Canadian constitution, but it would only be used upon Canada's request. This was an aspect of the Canadian constitution which was to haunt Canadian politics in the future. Despite this Canada's formation as a nation was for

the most part complete. With the passing of the 1931 Statute Canada now had equal status, albeit not as politically powerful a nation, with Britain.

It was during the King era that political power shifted noticeably away from the federal government and into the hands of the provinces. This went against the aspirations of the Fathers of Confederation who had wanted a strong federal government, but the King government was powerless to stop the shift. Because the B.N.A. Act established Canada by a law of the imperial parliament legal cases regarding federal and provincial powers could be directed to the Privy Council justices in London for a final decision. In 1896, it ruled that the Dominion government could only use its enumerated powers, while the reserve authority could only be used in times of national emergencies such as war. This weakened the federal state and as a result the federal government had one set of powers while the provinces had another. As a result, the federal government could only introduce social measures in accord with agreements with the provinces. This created an imbalance in government services to the provinces which varied between the richer and poorer provinces.

The great depression which began in October 1929 brought with it enormous difficulties. This led to the halt on immigration and in the 1930 elections King's Liberals were forced out of office to be taken over by R.B. Bennett's Conservative Party. The Party promised improvements which they were unable to deliver due to the international depression. In the next election in 1935 King and

the Liberals were returned to office. They returned at the proper time when world recovery began and the armament boom started. It was in preparation of World War II.

The threat that Hitler was posing to the peace and security in Europe forced Britain and France to declare war in 1939. The Canadian parliament voted in favour of war and as a result, Canada made its individual declaration of war 10 September 1939.

Canada became Britain's primary source of war production providing equipment, troops and food. Canada's army, navy and air force, as a result grew far beyond its pre-war levels¹⁵. The war further contributed to Canada's development as an industrial power at home. The mining and steel-making, tank, ship-building, machine and automobile manufacturers expanded making Canada fourth in importance as an industrial nation. Mining in Canada for iron grew all the larger as it was greatly needed for the war and the need for oil led to the successful drilling for oil in the prairies which led to the post-war oil boom. The war brought prosperity to the Maritimes and British Columbia and kept the factories in Quebec and Ontario working.

Canada's relations with Britain remained essentially the same, but the war effort had a tremendous impact on Canada's relations with the United States. There was the realization that an attack on one would be an equal threat to the other and led to the

¹⁵ Canada was able to send its own army formation of approximately half a million men; its navy grew from 5,000 men to twenty times that size during the war, making it the third largest in the world; and the airforce grew from 4,000 to 200,000 (Careless, 380, 1991).

creation in 1940 of the Ogdenberg Agreement between Canada and the United States. This established a Permanent Joint Defence Board for the protection of North America. In addition, the Hyde Park Agreement of 1941 was signed which was to bring the economies of Canada and the United States closer to each other. Once the United States entered the war Canada and the United States worked together in planning production on the basis of a continental understanding.

The Liberal government of Mackenzie King managed to succeed in internationally establishing Canada as a nation, while through careful control of immigration and the sensitive issue of conscription he evaded potentially volatile situations. As a result he was re-elected in 1945 and to continue his influence over post-World War II Canada.

This chapter has demonstrated that between the two World Wars Germany and Canada's concepts of immigration were affected by a deepening desire to control the movement and type of foreigners entering their countries. The undercurrent of reasoning for the controls was inspired to varying degrees by the belief in racial differentiation. The Canadian government's desire to be selective in its choice of immigrants, according to racial differences, cannot of course be compared with the atrocities that the Nazis committed against ethnic minorities. Nazism, however, provided the example to the world of the extreme to which racial prejudices could go in the treatment of those of different racial or foreign origins. In the aftermath of World War II, to be examined in the next chapter, members of German and Canadian society indicated the

need to set the perception of foreigners in their countries apart from the racist past. This required the need in both countries to establish more humane approaches in their concepts of immigration, while retaining the desire to control it.

Chapter Four

The Aftermath of World War II to 1989:

World War II's impact on Germany and Canada were extremely different from the standpoint that Canada began to develop a more positive identity as a nation, while Germany reached its absolute low. In terms of immigration, however, the two countries did not change a great deal until the 1960's. Until then Germany and Canada's policies on immigration were for the most part procedures based on national objectives, lacking any concise definite policies toward immigrants¹. The rapid economic changes brought on by the post World War II boom period created a dependence on immigrant or migrant workers within the two countries. The procedures then followed were largely based on historical experience, but economic necessity, the memory of Nazism, and the growing involvement in international institutions began to play a role in the concept of immigration in the two countries. The growing complexity of immigration that developed pressured the governments to define their policies. Germany, after years of making agreements with specific countries to accept foreign workers, presented their "Foreigner policy" in 1965. More than ten years later, after years of discussion and development, Canada's 1976 Immigration Act was passed which finally set a well defined policy on immigration.

¹ Tom Kent in his book An Experience of Liberal Opposition and Canadian Government stated that for a very long time in Canada "Politicians were () chary of defining immigration policy at all precisely" (407, 1988)

This chapter will discuss how national interests, from post World War II to 1989, served to change their concepts of immigration as expressed by the objectives of their national policies on foreigners and immigrants.

Germany:

Once the allied powers of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union had drawn up their divisions of Germany an East West divide developed within the country producing East and West Germany. East Germany will only receive scant attention in this section on Germany as its relevance to the position of the now Unified Germany, with regard to foreigners, is but minor.

West Germany's quick economic recovery led to the recruitment of foreign workers and the development of a foreigner policy. Although recruitment ended in 1973 the foreign population in Germany continued to grow. This created what has come to be known as the "foreigner problem" in Germany. Germany's constitution and its preamble specifically identify Germany as a "non-immigrant" receiving country. Standing behind the constitution German political parties have attempted to find other means of dealing with foreigners in Germany.

West Germany, after the war, was deeply influenced by the United States, Britain, and France to develop a strong democratic government; while East Germany, influenced by the Soviet Union adopted a communist political system. In 1949 these two sections officially became two separate German states; West Germany became

the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and East Germany became the German Democratic Republic (GDR). For the next forty years their respective political systems and the Berlin Wall, constructed in 1961, would be divided through the cold war between the East and West. During this time the decisions made by the two German governments with regard to migrant workers would reveal that within the two countries there remained remnants of the past. But their approach would be tempered by responsibilities to the international communities to which they belonged.

The FRG received enormous help from the United States through the European assistance package, "the Marshall Plan", and currency reform to ensure the rapid recovery of their free market economy. The GDR, however, was not so fortunate. The Soviet Union demanded huge reparations from the GDR, and rejected assistance for the GDR from the Marshall Plan. In addition, the GDR had the Soviet styled and extremely inefficient "command" planned economic system thrust upon them. Thus, the FRG recovered much faster economically from the devastation of World War II than the GDR. By 1949 the FRG had almost reached pre-war production levels (Gall, 1989).

The federal constitution, the Basic Law, contains a commitment to the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, federalism and the principle of Justice (Gall, 1989). To ensure that it could never again fall victim to an authoritarian leader, Article 20 of the Basic Law sums up the basic principles of the FRG:

In line with the constitutional principle, the rule of law, all state action must be based on the law; in line with the democratic principle, the use of state authority has to be legitimized by the people in elections; in line

with the social principle, the state is committed to equal opportunities and social justice; in line with the federalist principle, power is shared between the Federation and the Laender, or federal states (Gall, 368, 1989).

These four principles according to Article 79 cannot be amended, as are Articles 1 to 20, which explicitly point out that the state is obliged in carrying out its mandate to respect human dignity and human rights. These rights are reminiscent of the rights that the liberal tradition tried to have recognized in 1848. Furthermore, "the Basic Law makes the freedoms and inviolable rights guaranteed in Articles 1-17 binding on the legislature, the executive and the judiciary as directly enforceable law" (Gall, 369, 1989).

The Bundestag is the most important political decision-making body. Parliamentary representatives are elected through secret ballot elections by a direct vote, based on universal suffrage. The parties are required to adhere to democratic principles and must obtain five per cent of the popular vote in order to be represented in the parliament (Gall, 1989). The clause is particularly useful for the prevention of the type of fragmentation that occurred during the Weimar Republic. The three federal political parties in the FRG are the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and its Bavarian counterpart the Christian Social Union (CSU). The Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The "Green Party" was the fourth party for the period

1983-1990².

It should also be mentioned that political extremism did not end with World War II. The Communist Party existed in the FRG until it was banned by the Constitutional Court in 1956. The right wing Socialist Right Party, which obtained a reasonable amount of support in Northern Germany after the war was dissolved in 1952, particularly as it was damaging the reputation of the FRG abroad. Adenauer, the first FRG Chancellor, also had problems with his own ranks, when people complained that former National Socialists were being placed in high political office in the new government of the FRG³ (Gall, 1989).

The political power of the FRG was divided between the federal and Land (provincial) levels. In order to ensure that social policy addressed social needs a co-operative system between the federal, Laender and local authorities was arranged. After various compromises were worked out emphasis was placed on the federal government's right to provide a legislative framework in specified areas. One of the areas being the regulations regarding migrant workers and refugees entering the FRG.

The Federal President is elected by a Federal Convention. His powers have been considerably reduced: he can only be re-elected

² The Green Party cleared the five per cent requirement in the national elections March 6, 1983. In the 1987 elections they were once again able to meet the requirement, but in the 1990 election they were unable to maintain the five per cent (Gall, 1989).

³ In 1964, the neo-Nazis Party the NPD, obtained some surprising electoral success in Hesse and Bavaria and several other FRG laender (Gall, 1989)

once; he is no longer the supreme commander of the armed forces; he cannot declare a state of emergency based on his own discretion; he can neither appoint nor dismiss the Chancellor, only propose a candidate; and he does not have the power to dissolve parliament. (Gall, 371, 1989).

The FRG became a member of a number of international institutions that began after World War II. In 1954 they were accepted as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1957 they joined the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1963 the disagreements between the FRG and France were settled with the Elysee Treaty. In 1973 the two Germanies were permitted to accede to the United Nations⁴. In addition, the FRG obtained the status of a sovereign country on May 5, 1955.

The political system of the GDR will only receive a cursory discussion as the contribution it made to Germany's current concept of immigration is minimal compared to the FRG. As was mentioned earlier, the GDR became a communist state under Soviet occupation. It consisted of a central political body, the politbureau, which was run by the leading party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED). The SED, in 1946, was formed from a forced fusion, by the Soviet government, of prewar SPD members and Communist party (KPD) members (James, 1989). In theory it was a "multi-party" system, while in practice it was a one-party system. The party dominated not only the political, but also the social and economic life of the people.

⁴ Their accession took place only after the two German states signed the Basic Treaty which established their relations with each other as equals (Gall, 1989).

Children were sent to Soviet style schools and the command economy dictated that the economy operate on five and seven year plans set out by the State Planning Commission. The SED continued to control the GDR until 1989.

In the preamble of the FRG's Basic Law, all Germans are called upon "to achieve in free self-determination the unity and freedom of Germany" (Hailbonner, 72, 1989)⁵. The Highest court in the FRG interpreted this as binding on all German governments. Thus, German political unity has been made not just a constitutional objective, but for citizenship law a fact. The FRG's basic citizenship law is the law of 1913 which applies to the entire German Reich. This means that in so far as the citizenship law is interpreted the Reich still exists. It is due to this law that the FRG only recognizes one German citizenship for all of Germany, and does not recognize the two Germanies. The citizenship is based on German descent, article 116(1) of the Basic Law defines a German as someone who possesses a German citizenship or a German refugee or a German living in exile, such as an East German "Ostsiedler" or ethnic German "Aussiedler" living in another country or the spouse one of these or a descendant of someone who fulfils the German 1937 standards of the German Reich⁶. In other words, the descendants of

⁵ "...in freier Selbstbestimmung die Einheit und Freiheit Deutschlands vollendet. Damit gilt dieses Grundgesetz für das gesamte Deutsche Volk" (Grundgesetz (Basic Law), 11, 1990).

⁶ "...wer die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzt oder als Flüchtling oder Vertriebener deutscher Volkszugehörigkeit oder als dessen Ehegatte oder Abkömmling in dem Gebiete des Deutschen Reiches nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1937 Aufnahme gefunden hat" (Grundgesetz, 80, 1990).

of German citizens, whether they be East Germans or ethnic Germans living in other countries, are all eligible to be naturalized if they wish. This is based on the fact that the Basic Law refers to "Germans" not to "German citizens". Kay Hailbonner in her article on German citizenship and nationhood explained that Germany's approach to citizenship law is rooted in that: "The German idea of nationhood is basically not a political one but a cultural, linguistic, and ethnic one" (Hailbonner, 74, 1989). Hailbonner emphasizes that this approach does not support the naturalization of millions of foreigners, particularly not those who have their own social customs, culture and religion. This is significant for understanding why the FRG welcomes all Aussiedler and Ostsiedler and adopted the approach they took toward foreign workers below, which is reminiscent of the German past.

The Basic Law also created a law specifically for the FRG to accept refugees. Article 16(2) states that politically persecuted people are entitled to asylum⁷. Thus, any refugee claiming political persecution has been offered asylum in the FRG. The fact that it exists in the constitution means that the guarantee for protection does not rest with the Parliament or any one government, but with the High Court in the FRG. Foreign refugees and German refugees are therefore distinguished from each other in that according to Article 116 German refugees are automatically entitled to German citizenship, while foreign refugees in accordance with

⁷ "Politisch Verfolgte geniessen Asylrecht" (Grundgesetz, 19, 1990).

Article 16 are not.

In the years that followed World War II the majority of foreigners in Germany (7.7 million in 1944) returned to their own countries, the number that remained as refugees is calculated to be at 100,000 (Herbert,180,1986; Reimann and Reimann,63,1979). At the same time the FRG was overwhelmed with ethnic Germans and people fleeing the East block countries that were falling to communism. Approximately 10 to 12 million displaced Germans entered the FRG from Prussia, Silesia, the Baltic states, Danzig, the Sudetenland, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania. (Reimann and Reimann,63,1979). In addition, another three million Germans, between 1950 to 1961, entered the FRG from the GDR to escape communism. While many people went to Germany, however, Germany, between 1945 to 1955, also became one of the leading countries of emigration (Rose,20,1969).

In the 1950s the FRG was booming economically. There was an explosion of competition between small to medium-sized industries and the larger companies and numerous industrial centres developed. This growth required workers and although one million Germans were still out of work in 1954 the FRG government began to seek out migrant labour (Treibel,42,1990). Thus, once again the German government reasoned that foreign workers were necessary for the develop of the FRG as an industrial nation.

In 1955 the FRG signed its first bilateral agreement with the Italian government to recruit Italian workers to work in the FRG, primarily for agricultural labour. This agreement was followed by

similar agreements with Greece and Spain in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965 and Yugoslavia in 1968 (Reimann and Reimann, 1979). The office which carried out the recruitment was the national labour office of the FRG in Nuernberg. It had branch offices in all of the countries with which it signed agreements where work permits were issued and arrangements were made to transport workers.

The concern that the migrant labourers would have to be treated more humanely than in the past was expressed in the trade newspaper the Handelsblatt. It warned in September 1955 that those who carried out the selection of workers must use caution in the treatment of foreigners, to ensure that they do not give people grounds for associating them with the negative treatment perpetrated against foreign labourers during World War II (Herbert, 194, 1986). The paper also emphasized that: the situation today is completely new⁸ and that insults would not be tolerated (Herbert, 194, 1986). Even the use of the term "guestworker" (Gastarbeiter), in place of "foreign worker" or "alien worker" (Fremdarbeiter) which had a negative connotation until the end of World War I, has been associated with the German peoples' attempt to project a new attitude toward foreigners (Reimann and Reimann, 1979). The term also emphasized the temporary situation of the workers, that they were only expected to stay for a period of time and then return to their home country (Reimann and Reimann, 1979).

⁸ "Die heutige Lage ist vollig neu" (Herbert, 194, 1986).

In 1964 the FRG's labour minister Blank expressed the sentiments that having foreign labourers was an advantage to the FRG because they helped the expansion of industry, they stabilized prices, and assisted in the consumption of goods (Herbert, 1986). In addition, foreign labourers also raised the standard of living for the Germans. They improved conditions for the elderly because they are required to pay social insurance. And Germans students can study longer because they are not needed for the work force and because foreign labourers have to pay taxes which pays for free education in the FRG. In 1960 the FRG was also able to reduce the working hours from 44.4 hours to the 1967 level of 41.4 (Herbert, 1986).

The advantages of having foreign labourers did not, however, make them any more welcome. Restrictions, similar to those of the past, were once again placed on foreign workers. In the initial phases of introducing foreign workers, the employer and the national labour office determined which applicants, how many, and for what length of time they would be recruited. The plan was to hire single, unskilled workers, men or women, and to have them work on a rotation basis by bringing in new workers once the contracts of other foreign workers in Germany had expired. All the workers were required to have visas which were issued to them by the branch office after they had passed a health examination and had their legal status checked. The visa was also valid as a work permit for a stipulated length of time. Once the worker arrived in the FRG they had to obtain a residence permit.

The rotation system of workers was described by the sociologist Annette Treibel as a modernized version of seasonal labour to which she compared Polish farm workers in Germany in the 1880s (Treibel, 44, 1990). In addition, it was discovered that rotation labourers were not very practical. As the technology in German industry grew to become more complex, companies were less and less interested in relinquishing workers who they had trained, only to be replaced by new workers who had to be trained as well (Treibel, 1990).

The first "Foreigners Law" (Auslaendergesetz) was introduced in April 1965. It outlined the conditions under which foreigners are "permitted" to reside and work in the FRG. It provides the German authorities with wide discretionary powers and withholds the legal right of foreigners to reside in the FRG. Hartmut Esser and Hermann Korte described it as an:

...act, backed up by the regulations on work permits, intended to make immigrant labour in the FRG a manoeuvrable resource, easily controlled and regulated, for the solving of economic problems (primarily that of manpower shortages) (Esser and Korte, 170, 1985).

The law stipulates that a foreign worker must have an entry visa issued by a German embassy in their own country; generally it is issued if the person had a contract with a German employer, was not sick and did not have a criminal record. The residence permit is obtained at the foreigner registration office (Auslaenderbehörde), and until 1979 could be restricted to certain areas, and is granted

for one year with the possibility of renewal⁹. The worker is required to obtain a work permit at the local Labour Office (Arbeitsamt) which is issued according to the needs of the labour market. The work permits also could be so restrictive that it limited a person to a specific business and occupation. The work permit could be valid anywhere from a month to two years. When a foreign worker had worked on a regular permit the next work permit could be extended for three to five years or even an "open-ended" work permit (Reimann and Reimann, 67, 1979). This allowed the growth of a population of foreign workers who began to stay and settle in the FRG and would produce second and third generation foreigners living there. In 1986 almost 60 percent of the foreign population had already resided in Germany for more than ten years and 70 percent of the approximately one million foreign children under the age of 16 were born in Germany (Hailbonner, 71, 1989). The above conditions are still valid today in the current foreigner law. Ironically the introduction of this law was to ensure that both Germans and foreigners would recognize that the foreign workers would only be in the FRG on a temporary basis¹⁰.

⁹ The residence permit until 1979 restricted foreigners from moving into already "saturated" regions where the foreign population exceeded 12 percent (O'Brien, 72, 1990).

¹⁰ German citizenship, although very difficult to obtain, can be applied for after the person has lived in Germany for eight years and has fully integrated himself. The degree of success of non-Germans is difficult to determine. According to the FRG's Statistical Yearbook, in 1988, 46,783 people obtained German citizenship (60, 1990). The numbers, however, predominantly consist of ethnic Germans "Aussiedler" returning to the FRG and only a handful of actual foreigners (Hailbonner, 68, 1989).

A hierarchy of foreign workers began to develop between workers from EEC countries and those from non-EEC countries. The FRG as a member of the EEC is obliged to recognize the terms of the European Treaty on Domicile which was established on December 13, 1955. According to Regulation 1612/68 of the EEC Council on Freedom of Labour Mobility which came into existence on October 15, 1968, workers from member countries have the right to enter the FRG without an entry visa (Reimann and Reimann, 1979). The EEC worker is required to obtain a residence permit which must be valid for at least five years and must be renewed as long as he/she is employed in the FRG¹¹. The EEC worker is not required to have a work permit and cannot be expelled from the FRG if he loses his job, which can happen to the non-EEC workers. The EEC worker, however, similar to the non-EEC worker can be expelled if he makes a nuisance of himself and threatens public affairs.

In November 1973 the oil embargo and the world economic crisis put an end to the recruitment of foreign labour. The intention was to prevent ever increasing unemployment. In 1973 the number of foreign workers began to decrease. In 1973 the number of foreign workers in Germany was at 2.6 million and by 1978 it was at 1.87 million, a reduction of approximately 700,000 workers (Esser and Korte, 1973, 1985).

One would have perhaps anticipated a continued decrease in the

¹¹ The residence permit is required by everyone who lives in Germany and is not exclusively for foreigners, everyone must register their address at the "Einwohner Meldungsamt" the residence registration office.

foreigner population had the FRG been able to manage their foreign labour population in isolation. Instead, international concern for the protection of human rights, which was sparked by the atrocities perpetrated by the Germans during World War II, contributed to the creation of the United Nations (U.N.) and a host of international organizations for the protection of human rights. One of the concerns has been the reunification of workers with their families. In 1973 the International Institute of Humanitarian Law (San Remo Institute) passed a resolution on the 'Reuniting of Dispersed Families' (Perruchoud, 509, 1989). In addition, the U.N.'s International Organization for Labour (ILO) has passed numerous conventions for the protection of labourers. The most important here is Article 13 of the 1975 Convention (143) which stipulates that:

Sending and receiving countries (of migrant workers) are called upon to take all necessary measures - legislative, bilateral or multilateral - to bring about the reunification of migrant workers' families as rapidly as possible (Goodwin-Gill et.al., 561, 1985).

The Germans, marked by their past, and the desire to be a member of the U.N., which they became in 1973, has made them obliged to uphold some of the humanitarian practices advanced by the U.N.¹². The acceptance of "family reunification" by the FRG meant that although there was a decrease in the foreign population in 1973, from 4 million to 3.9 million, between 1976-77, the

¹² The FRG (according to the May 20, 1991 list) still has not signed the U.N.'s "States Parties to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" (United Nations document).

numbers began to rise again. In 1981 there were 4.6 million foreigners in the FRG (Esser and Korte, 173, 1985).

Already in the late 1960s concerns were growing about the ever increasing foreigner population and there was growing talk about the hatred of foreigners "Auslaenderfeindlichkeit". When recruitment stopped and the population continued to increase into the late 1970s Germans began to be more vocal in their complaints about foreigners. Their complaints are seemingly different from the original reasons to keep foreigners out of Germany such as: that Germany is geographically too small to accept foreigners, that foreigners are generally less skilled than Germans and the rise in crime that accompanies foreigners (Esser and Korte, 1986). The German government attempted to find different approaches to dealing with foreigners. In 1979 the federal government considered integrating the foreign population. To implement this they set up an office called the "Auslaenderbeauftragte", under Heinz Kühn a member of the SPD. Kühn used his office to criticize the government's use of the Foreigner policy "Auslaenderpolitik" for their own labour market policy. Kuhn demanded the development of a consistent integration policy, which had no nuances of "temporary integration" or "return migration" and no purely economic-utilitarian goals attached. He had no interest in having recruitment opened, but demanded legal security and no more segregating policies for the foreigners already in the FRG (Esser and Korte, 183, 1985). Kühn's demands were not supported by the government, but the recruitment stop was reaffirmed. In 1980 Kühn

was sent to work in the European Parliament (Bernd Geiss et al., 8, 1986). Kühn was replaced by Liselotte Funcke. Since then the Auslaenderbeauftragte has been used by the government as a voice for their approach toward foreigners and integration programs have been minimal¹³. Most programs for integration are operated through churches which are in contact with the Auslaenderbeauftragten office. The office makes suggestions to the government for improvements in foreigner relations, but they have not repeated the demands made by Kühn.

When Chancellor Helmut Kohl's CDU government took power in 1982 it stated that one of its primary concerns was the policy on foreigners (Meier-Braun, 236, 1990). In 1983-1984 the CDU government, responding to social complaints about foreigners, announced a policy of sending foreigners back to their country of origin. In 1983 the parliament passed the "law supporting the assistance to foreigners to return" (Gesetz zur Foerderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft von Auslaender) which was a temporary law with a set life span of half a year (Treibel, 48, 1990). The sociologist Annette Treibel says it was primarily directed at Turkish people

¹³ The Auslaenderbeauftragten office listed a number of obstacles to integration. They are: foreigners must always live with the uncertainty as to whether their work and residence permit will be extended; they receive mixed signals from the government on the one hand they are expected to integrate while on the other they are looked upon as temporary non-immigrating people; the lack of willingness on the part of many Germans to accept foreigners; there is a tendency for Germans to accuse foreigners for economic difficulties such as high unemployment; the difficulties of different ethnic groups being able to get to know one another due to ghetto situation produced by foreigners being restricted to certain living quarters (Das Amt der Auslaenderbeschäftigung, 11-12, 1986).

who have long been considered incapable of integrating with the German people (Treibel,48,1990). The program assisted foreigners by giving them financial payments of 10,500 DM (Deutsch Mark) or more (Reimann and Reimann,26,1987). Between 1983 and 1984 the FRG government spent approximately 160 million DM, 90 per cent of it was spent on Turkish people, to assist them to return to their country of origin (Reimann and Reimann,27,1987). By the time the program came to an end in 1984 over 300,000 foreigners had been sent out of the FRG (Treibel,48,1990).

Despite their efforts the foreign population in the FRG has continued to grow. In 1987 the foreign population in the FRG was at 4.2 million, in 1988 it rose to 4.5 million or 7.3 per cent of the total German population of 62 million (FRG Statistical Yearbook,43-59,1990). This was primarily due to the natural increase of the foreign population, the continuation of family reunification and the acceptance of temporary workers and refugees seeking political asylum.

The GDR had nothing comparable to the FRG in the way of a foreigner policy, says the sociologist Karl-Heinz Meier-Braun. They, however, did have foreign labourers who came from other communist countries. These foreign workers went to the GDR on work contracts for four to five years to work in textile industry, they tended to be unskilled single workers placed in menial occupations (Meier-Braun,1990;Schubarth,1991). They lived in ghetto areas separate from the rest of the German population. Once their contract was complete they would be sent home on a system very

similar to the rotation system used by the FRG in the early phases of guestworker recruitment (Schubarth, 48, 1991). In 1989 there were approximately 90,000 foreign workers in the GDR (Meier-Braun, 237, 1990).

In November 1989 the Berlin Wall began to collapse by the force of the East German people protesting against the communist system. It was not long thereafter that the GDR government collapsed and efforts began to be made for the unification of Germany and a new era in Germany as a nation.

Canada:

After World War II Canada's strength as an industrial nation grew and its pre-World War II concept of immigration progressively changed. The Canadian government, immediately after the war, still maintained that immigration was a means of populating Canada with immigrants of "preferred" origin. But the unpopularity of racial discrimination, now associated with Hitler's Germany, and Canada's involvement with international institutions made it increasingly difficult to maintain a policy of racial selectivity. This and the continued need for a growing population that could provide skilled labourers shifted the emphasis for selecting immigrants away from racial standards toward people with skills needed for Canada's growing economy. This constituted a need for a revision in Canada's concept of immigration which materialized in the objectives that formed the basis of the new immigration policy set out in the Immigration Act of 1976. This Act with few

modifications remains active today.

Canada's position as a nation after the war was far stronger than when it entered the war in 1939. Sectionalism had declined during the war and continued to decline until the 1960s¹⁴. The last British colony, Newfoundland, to enter confederation was received on April 1, 1949. This completed the objectives of the Fathers of Confederation to bring all of the British North American colonies into a unified nation. In addition, Canada's economy in the late 1940's entered a boom phase which also prevented sectionalism.

Constitutional changes occurred as well after the war. Canadian citizenship was established in 1947, replacing the original status of "British Subject." In 1949 the appeals to the Privy Council were abolished and it was enacted that the federal government could amend their own constitution in areas directly related to federal powers. Meanwhile, in areas concerning the provincial powers amendments still had to go through the Imperial parliament.

The end of the war also marked the beginning of Canada as an

¹⁴ The federal government was able to prevent sectionalism from growing in the immediate post-war period because peace was not officially declared for quite sometime after the war ended which meant that the wartime measure was still in effect. Sectionalism, however, did begin to grow once again in the 1960's as incongruent economic prosperity developed in the 1950's. Large amounts of oil discovered in Alberta led to that province's prosperity, while the Atlantic provinces suffered from underdevelopment. In addition, toward the end of the 1950's Saskatchewan and Manitoba were suffering from grain surpluses.

international player. Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States as an allied power during the war caused these countries to grow much closer. Additionally, Canada during the war developed closer relations with the other allied powers of the Soviet Union and China.

John Careless notes that Canada's new position of providing assistance placed it in a new role in the world. Canada obviously was not a "great power" but at the same time Canada was not a "small power", due to its industrial growth during the war. By deduction then Canada became a middle power.

Canada was able to make its position as a middle power known during the San Francisco Conference of 1945 which eventually led to the creation of the United Nations (U.N.), the League of Nations' replacement for keeping the peace and protecting human rights. When given the opportunity the Canadian delegation led by Prime Minister King and the leaders of the opposition encouraged the recognition of Canada as a middle power and treatment which warranted such a standing. As a result Canada became a leading member in a number of the U.N.'s international organizations.

Canada became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which was responsible for restoring and rebuilding the countries destroyed by the war. Canada's role in it became important due to its surplus of food supplies and industrial goods needed for rehabilitation. Canada also became a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, the World Food Board, and the International Civil Aviation Authority (the headquarters of

which is located in Montreal). The one area of the U.N. which Canada was not able to become a permanent member of was the Security Council. This organization has five permanent members: Great Britain, the United States, France, the Soviet Union and China. Canada was, however, able to be elected for a two-year period to one of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council and has done so.

In addition, to the U.N., Canada's connection to the United States and Britain grew still closer. Due to Canada's geographical location being closest to the Soviet Union by air across the arctic region Canada was suddenly placed in a precarious position as the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union emerged in the late 1940's. This concern led to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.) including Canada, the United States and other West European countries and as a result closer relations with the United States which had been growing since the Ogdensburg agreement in 1940. Canada's ties to the United States were continually growing as the two countries grew more integrated economically which led to the growth of U.S. branch plants across Canada and firms which were sold to the U.S.

The closer connection to the United States was balanced out by Canada's relations with Britain through membership to the Commonwealth of Nations. Canada assisted Britain's financial recovery through providing loans and agreements. This was also done out of Canada's own interests because Britain was an important trading partner to Canada. In the Commonwealth Conference at

Columbo in 1950 Canada made plans with other members of the Commonwealth to bring development projects to Asia to ensure that they did not fall to communism. This led to the construction of the "Canada Dam" in Pakistan; the atomic energy plant in India; and the sharing of technical knowledge to improve Ceylon's fisheries. Canada's support for black national movements in Africa that were creating self-governing states led Canada to denounce the Union of South Africa's use of apartheid to keep the black population segregated and subjected. South Africa withdrew in 1961 as a member of the Commonwealth largely due to such pressure which not only came from Canada but other African and Asian countries.

These changes to Canada as a nation coincided with and effected Canada's evolving concept of immigration as expressed through the purpose of Canadian immigration policy. Prime Minister King outlined its purpose in an address to the House of Commons on May 1, 1947.

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy (King, 2644, 1947).

This address contained all of the elements which would continue to be important to immigration over the years, such as: demography, economic concerns and humanitarian, but also contained the one element which would later be removed the racial overtones.

King later in his speech clarified that this policy included a short and long term plan. The short term plan being to resettle

the relatives, displaced persons and refugees of European origin, while the long term plan was to populate Canada. The post World War II immigrants, according to King, were to come from the same four broad categories outlined in order in council P.C. 695 of March 21, 1931.

1. British subjects from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia or the Union of South Africa, who possessed sufficient means to maintain themselves until employment was secured.
2. United States citizens, similarly possessed of means of maintenance.
3. Wives, unmarried children under 18, or fiancées of men resident in Canada.
4. Agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm in Canada (Ibid).

In addition, King extended the admissibility of relatives to a wider group than from the categories mentioned above, which began the category of "family reunification", and including admissibility to people "suitable for employment in the primary industries." The latter group was admitted due to the acknowledged "acute shortage" of manpower after the war. The people to fill this group were to be selected from the refugee camps in Europe by the immigration branch working in conjunction with the Department of Labour. These people were to be chosen according to whether a person could be readily employed and absorbed in an industry or occupation and likely to become "good citizens." The goal of doing so was to improve the Canadian standard of living; to help to develop Canadian resources, enlarge her domestic market and reduce her dependence on the export of primary products.

King reserved the right for Canada to make such selections by stating that "Canada is not obliged, as a result of membership in

the United Nations or under the constitution of the international refugee organization, to accept any specific number of refugees or displaced persons." Furthermore, he added: "I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada"(2645-6,1947).

In regard to Asian immigration to Canada, King, speaking on behalf of Canadians, asserted that they did not wish to make a fundamental alteration in the character of their population, through mass immigration from the Orient (Ibid). Thus, although the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, which prevented Chinese people from entering Canada, was repealed in 1947, along with order in Council P.C. 1378, which prevented Chinese people from being naturalized, King had no interest in permitting more Asiatic people to enter Canada.

In King's speech he also made it clear that he intended to expand and strengthen the role of immigration in government by; establishing a federal department of its own (the Department of Citizenship and Immigration); a new immigration act; and its staff was increased both in Canada and abroad.

In considering the contents of King's speech it would appear that little had changed in Canada's concept of immigration since before the war with regard to racial selectivity. There was, however, an increased concern to have people immigrate to Canada who could work in industry and contribute to the economy. There

were others in parliament, however, who were less inclined to forget that World War II had been fought on the grounds that racism had been taken to the extreme by Hitler, and were therefore less likely to tolerate it in Canada. The day after King's address was read a Minister of Parliament E.B. McKay stood up in the House of Commons and noted:

...it appears that much has yet to be done to remove all discriminatory tendencies in the administration of our immigration laws...There should not be any preferred races if Canada is to escape the charge of having discriminatory legislation...Indeed there is no superior race...(Germans) believed themselves fitted by their racial characteristics to rule the world. Let us have done with superior races and preferred nations. A continuance of such a policy gives rise only to hatreds and contributes to war psychology (McKay, 2732, 1947).

Although McKay's speech did nothing to change Canadian immigration policy his voice was a representation of a growing minority who wished to erase racism from Canada's immigration policy.

After Mackenzie King's self-appointed successor Louis St. Laurent in November 1948 took office he announced several new bills to the House of Commons one of which was to create the Department of Citizenship and Immigration which began operations January 1950. It was succeeded by a new Immigration Act which was passed in 1952. It became effective in June 1953 and although succeeding immigration regulations were to override it in some respects it remained as a tool for the control and enforcement of immigration practices until 1976. What was most disturbing about this immigration act was that it retained much of the pre-world war II stance on selective immigration and racial prejudice. The Act gave

the Minister and his officials wide powers over the selection, admission, and deportation of immigrants; providing the governor-in-council the right to refuse the admission of people based on the nationality, geographical area of origin, peculiar customs, habits and lifestyles, and the suspicion that the person could not assimilate easily into society or the climate (Hawkins,38,1991).

The selective approach of the 1952 Immigration Act became more distressing as the supply of immigrants from Europe were decreasing and if Canada was to increase its population it would have to revise its concept of immigration. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Gregg, on March 8, 1951, in a statement to the standing committee on immigration and labour, noted that the number of displaced persons was just about exhausted and that they were anticipating severe labour shortages. He urged the committee to find other sources for supply elsewhere (Chrestohl,2127,1951). In addition, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce noted that in order to achieve a population level to satisfy the needs of growing agricultural and industrial developments Canada needed to take more "ambitious and energetic (steps) to satisfy the widespread demand for action" (Ibid,2127-8).

While the 1952 Immigration Bill was waiting to be passed Alistair Stewart, a Member of Parliament, expressed his concerns that the Bill's reference to "race" represented a "hangover" of previous policies no longer appropriate:

Experience has shown that it is a word which has very little scientific validity...Unfortunately a reference to race is used all too often in the Hitlerian sense; and as it is used in the bill I hope it is used in the sense

that there is a Caucasian, a Mongol or a Negroid race.
I doubt if that is so (3079,1952).

Regardless of concerns such as these it took sometime before racial discrimination was completely removed from immigration policy. Instead, amending regulations worked to broaden Canada's acceptance of other nationalities such as order in council 1953-859 which defined the circumstances under which people from different countries, not only Europe (countries such as Israel, Lebanon, Egypt and Turkey) could enter Canada (Timlin,161,1958). Mabel Timlin noted that in 1953 skilled workers represented the largest group of immigrants to Canada at 53 per cent(a) of the total 144,692(b) immigrants who entered in that year (150a,156b,1958). Timlin suggests that the acceptance of a high number of professionals was not due to policy at the political level, but due to shortages in supply in Canada (Ibid,156). This is not entirely true. In 1947 King already mentioned the importance of accepting to Canada people who could be "readily" absorbed into industries and occupations. Timlin is correct, however, in that it was not a policy of immigration to hire professionals as the importance of skilled labour was only developing.

In June 1957 St. Laurent's government was replaced by Diefenbaker's Conservative Party, which promised a revamping of Canada's immigration laws, but nothing came of the promise (Pickersgill,98-9,1957). Instead, more immigration regulations were introduced through the work of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Ellen Fairclough, and her Deputy Minister Dr. George

Davidson. Together, in 1962, they introduced immigration regulations for the purpose of eliminating all discrimination based on "race, colour, creed, or country of origin" (Badanai, 312, 1962). Instead, immigrants were to be selected as based on being "personally suitable and...have the required ground and training to become worthwhile citizens" (Granatstein, 4-5, 1986). This radical departure retained but one privilege for European immigrants over most non-Europeans which was their right to sponsor a greater variety of relatives. When new immigration regulations were introduced in 1967 this one exception was also removed¹⁵. Hawkins noted that the change did not occur as a result of popular demand, but due to the recognition given by senior officials, such as Dr. Davidson: "that Canada could not operate effectively within the United Nations, or in the multiracial Commonwealth, with the millstone of a racially discriminatory immigration policy round her neck" (Hawkins, 39, 1991).

Not everyone was convinced, however, that discrimination had been completely removed. Hubert Badanai, a Minister of Parliament, noted in the House of Commons in 1962, after the regulation had gone into effect, that although racial discrimination had been removed:

Unless the applicant can qualify under the regulations, which spell out certain skills, and unless he or she is a doctor, nurse, medical laboratory technician, dietician, teacher, accountant, qualified social worker, priest, minister or a lawyer he or she need not apply...I

¹⁵ Thus, the 1962 Regulations permanently removed the "white Canada" policy which had been in existence since Canada developed.

do not think immigration should be restricted to people of particular trades or professions (House of Commons Debates, 312, 1962).

In other words the immigration policy merely shifted its discrimination. If it had to take people from different nationalities to fulfil economic need to maintain Canada's position as an industrial power and standard of living it was only prepared to take the best.

It was argued that because Canada was losing large numbers of Canada's educated people through emigration, commonly known then as the "brain drain", Canada would have to import people trained in specific professions¹⁶. By importing such professionals Canada would not have to spend money on upgrading the education of the Canadian people or could upgrade it more slowly, as emigration only frustrated the effort of educating people (Dale, 173, 1966). The benefits of this approach was noted in Parliament in 1964:

There were over 100,000 professional people who entered Canada since the war. Of these, 20,000 were engineers...The cost of educating these...would be over \$120 million, to say nothing of the cost of raising them until they were ready to enter university...There were 6,000 doctors entering Canada since 1945...The cost of training these 6,000 doctors would be approximately \$84 million in Canada. This is a gift (Bolaria, 136, 1984).

It was obvious then that the Canadian government, by having professionals immigrate to Canada, could save the government a great deal of money. Is it justified then to say that Canada was suffering from a brain drain?

¹⁶ Peter C. Newman noted that during the Diefenbaker years immigration declined going from 282,164 in 1957 to 74,586 in 1962 and in 1961 Canada actually saw more people emigrate from Canada than immigrate to it (100, 1964).

H.G. Johnson challenged the above argument in his 1965 article, "The Economics of the "Brain Drain": the Canadian Case" examined Canada's position with regard to the "Brain Drain" stating that:

Those who assert that there is a major problem generally base their argument on the gross outflow of Canadian professional people to the United States, ignoring both the reverse flow of Americans and returning Canadians, and the substantial net inflow from other overseas countries. It is clear from general observation that the latter net inflow has exceeded the former net outflow and also that immigration has played an important part in meeting the growing demand for professional people (308,1965).

This led Johnson to conclude that the "brain drain in Canada is a "fiction" and that "Canada has provided the drains rather than the brains for the rest of the world..." (309,1965).

If the brain drain argument was as weak as Johnson says it was then what other purpose did the specification of professions have? V. Satzewich argued that racial discrimination was the actual reason for the selection according to profession. Satzewich, in his article "Rethinking Post-1945 Migration to Canada: Towards a Political Economy of Labour Migration," discusses the fact that since 1945 Canada has carried out a program of settling unskilled immigrant labourers from preferred countries and contracting work to unskilled migrant labourers from less preferred countries (Satzewich,1990). Satzewich fails to emphasize that unskilled immigrants from preferred countries stopped with the 1962 regulations. Instead, he describes in some detail how unskilled migrant workers from countries, once not even considered for entrance into Canada, are permitted to come to Canada to work as

unskilled labourers in farming and domestic services for a temporary period. Satzewich uses a quote from the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in 1966 to support his claim of racial discrimination which reads as follows:

By admitting West Indian workers on a seasonal basis, it might be possible to reduce greatly the pressure on Canada to accept unskilled workers from the West Indies. Moreover, seasonal farm workers would not have the privilege of sponsoring innumerable close relatives (to come and settle in the country) (335,1990).

Satzewich notes that the Canadian government, since the 1962 regulations were enforced, had been trying to find a means of preventing black people from entering Canada. He fails to note that the Canadian government had a real concern over too much unskilled labour. His argument would have been stronger had he shown statistically how many skilled blacks, who had applied for immigration to Canada, were actually rejected after 1962.

Although a case can be made for racial discrimination many writers on the race issue in immigration ignore the national aspirations of Canada as a country with regard to immigration. This thesis has demonstrated that the Canadian government fought hard to have Canada ranked as one of the leading industrialized nations in the world. In the Diefenbaker years this status was threatened by economic decline and the possibility of a reduction in Canada's standard of living brought on by having too many unskilled workers. The fear being that a reduction in the standard of living would bring about the further emigration of professionals who could acquire a higher standard of living in another country. In 1965 Lester Pearson's Liberal government expressed concern over

the growing number of unskilled workers in Canada and its potential to jeopardize Canada's position (Hawkins,36,1991). John Dales noted that in order for Canada to remain economically competitive Canada had to replace it's "extensive growth" policy, characterized by settlement of the West, regardless of skills, with technological advancements "...by improved utilization of both natural resources and human resources" (173,1966). Thus, Canada was compelled to limit the number of unskilled workers entering Canada, fostering instead the growth of skilled workers who could fulfil Canada's national goals of remaining a competitive industrialized nation.

The importance of immigration to Canada's economy was expressed in the White Paper on Immigration written for the purpose of making suggestions to Canada's immigration policy.

Immigration policy must be consistent with national economic policy in general and with national manpower and social policies in particular, and it must be related to the conditions of national and international life in 1966 and the years ahead, rather than to past events (Manpower and Immigration,7,1966).

It is easy to surmise from the above statement that the concept of immigration and how to handle it was in a transition period, indefinite about what future policy would look like but with a number of ideas and a certainty that it had to be changed from the past.

The realization that change had to occur did not bring immediate results. Instead, more regulations were created with the introduction of the 1967 regulations. These regulations contained a selection procedure that facilitated the selection of potential

immigrants called the "point system"¹⁷. It withdrew all racial barriers in the selection of immigrants and instead emphasized the need for skilled labour in Canada.

The 1967 Immigration Regulations contained one large loophole, "Section 34". It permitted visitors to Canada to apply for landed immigrant status "after" they had arrived in Canada (Hawkins, 45, 1991). In addition, in 1967, the Appeal Board Act was passed which allowed anyone who had been ordered to leave Canada to appeal to the Board. This encouraged numerous people from the United States, Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Caribbean and other places to enter Canada as visitors and later apply for landed immigrant status. When someone was rejected they could automatically apply to the Appeal Board. By 1970 the situation had already grown out of hand. As many as 45,000 visitors to Canada had applied for landed immigrant status and between January and August 1972 approximately 4,600 new applications were received each month (Ibid., p.46). This resulted in a tremendous backlog of cases for the Immigration Appeal Board and the revocation of section 34

¹⁷ The original point system created contained nine points. When the 1976 Immigration Act was passed it was revised and was described by Freda Hawkins as follows:

Numerical weights are attached to a set of 10 factors which attempt to assess the qualifications of an applicant for landed immigrant status in the broad areas of education, training and experience, occupation and intended destination, age, knowledge of English/or French, personal suitability, and the presence or otherwise of relatives (Hawkins, 77, 1991).

on November 3, 1972¹⁸.

It was obvious that a real change had to be made in Canada's immigration policy, not just to the regulations. Bob Andras, a Liberal Minister of Parliament, took control of the department of Manpower and Immigration in 1972. Arriving in the middle of the chaos created by section 34, Andras soon discovered that the Manpower and Immigration department was in dire need of a new policy, one that could better control the number of immigrants entering Canada.

In 1973, Andras initiated a thorough review of immigration policies and practices that resulted in The Green Paper, a series of eight volumes the most important of which being volume one entitled "Green Paper on Immigration and population policy." This volume discusses Canada's population problems, labour market needs, national as well as international responsibilities, federal-provincial relations regarding immigration, immigration law and suggestions for a new immigration act. It was created by a small group in the Department of Manpower and Immigration with the purpose of serving as the foundation for discussion on the creation of a new immigration act. Andras, taking advantage of the then current issue of population growth concerns, wrote an accompanying explanation to it in which he emphasized the importance of

¹⁸ In order to deal with the numerous people caught in Canada when section 34 was revoked, and those who had been in Canada without legal status, the federal government set up the Adjustment of Status Program of 1973. It was a temporary program that led to 39,000 people receiving landed immigrant status, 60 per cent of whom had been illegally in Canada and 40 per cent who had some legal status (Hawkins, 48, 1991).

immigration policy to Canada's population¹⁹:

...what finally is at stake is no less than the future of Canada's population - its size, rate of growth, distribution and composition - and the basic principles that should govern our decisions to augment the nation's human resources through the admission of migrants from abroad (Hawkins, 54, 1991).

In saying this Andras argued in favour of a new immigration policy which could assist the development of Canada's population.

Although there were considerable weaknesses in the "Green Paper" due to its lack of depth in discussing the intricacies of immigration it succeeded in bringing about discussion for a new immigration policy. It was soon superseded by the "Report of Parliament of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Immigration Policy." In its formulation the objective of the Special Joint Committee was to hold a national debate on immigration, but Hawkins noted that this plan was undermined by:

Minister and Cabinet (who) did not trust the average Canadian to respond in a positive way on this issue, and thought this would create more trouble than it was worth. As a result of this view, they did not want to commit the funds to organize extensive public participation, and made only a minimal effort to mobilize the media on behalf of a truly national debate (Hawkins, 63, 1991).

For the above reason only a select number of Canadians contributed to the final Report of the Special Joint Committee. Despite this

¹⁹ In 1972 the Canadian government was requested by the U.N. to prepare a report on Canada's population growth and its effects on economic and social development for the World Population Conference in Bucharest in August 1974. The responsibility for the document was in the hands of an Inter-Departmental Committee on Population convened by External Affairs (Hawkins, 44, 1991).

the Committee was able to make 65 recommendations to the federal government on the creation of a new immigration policy of which 60 were accepted (Ibid,60). The recommendations largely followed a line of reasoning that Canada's immigration policy should be constructed in Canada's national interests. This view created a rift amongst some of the Committee members, most notably David Donaldson, a Member of Parliament from P.E.I. He represented a minority of the Committee members who strongly advocated that, due to Canada's wealth, immigration should be for compassionate purposes implying that Canada's national interests should be set aside.

The majority decision to support a policy which would respond to Canada's national interests as opposed to compassionate purposes indicates an important quality about Canada's immigration policy in relation to Germany's approach. Rather than viewing Canada's immigration policy as a complete contrast to Germany it would perhaps be more accurate to view these two countries as on a scale, where national interests "dictates" the extent to which immigrants or migrants are accepted.

This is particularly significant because the recommendations of the Special Joint Committee later became the basis for the new immigration Act which was introduced in 1976. The objectives of the Immigration Act of 1976 are made clear in "Part I" section 3 of the Act in which it states that:

It is hereby declared that Canadian immigration policy and the rules and regulations made under this Act shall be designed and administered in such a manner as to promote the domestic and international interests of

Canada... (Morocco and Goslett, 14, 1990)

The objectives of the immigration Act include: support for Canada's demographic development, its size and rate of growth as well as geographical distribution; to ensure that people who apply for either permanent or temporary admission are selected by standards which do not discriminate against the person or is inconsistent with the "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms"; to support family reunification of close relatives; to strengthen Canada socially and culturally; and to uphold Canada's international obligations with regard to refugees, displaced persons and persecuted people. These objectives point to the Canadian government's attempt to integrate fully foreigners into Canadian society on a permanent basis without regard to ethnic origin or differences. This contrasts strongly with the case of Germany where the integration of foreigners is frustrated by a number of factors mentioned by the Auslaenderbeauftragten. It is undeniable then that the Act was created for the national interests of Canada in favour of immigration.

The Act established three classes of immigrants: family class; refugees which includes U.N.H.C.R.'s convention refugees and specially designated classes of refugees; other immigrants determined on the basis of the point system, consisting of independent applicants and more distantly related sponsored relatives. In 1985 another class of immigrants were added to the list, these are business investment immigrants. People who are able to make a large investment to Canada's economy.

In addition, in 1973 Canada established the Employment Authorization Program (EAP) which grants temporary work permits to workers whose skills are in demand. Under this system domestic workers and farmer labourers could work in Canada. Originally the worker was tied to a specified amount of time at a specific job in order to be able to remain in Canada. In January 1985 this restriction on the place of employment was lifted, workers are now not required to obtain job specific employment authorizations.

Singh Bolaria, concerned about the racial discrimination hidden in Canada's immigration policy against unskilled workers, in his article "Migrants, Immigrants and the Canadian Labour Force," noted that: "More and more third world domestic workers come to Canada under the (EAP) work-permit program (and t)hey cannot change their status from migrant workers to landed immigrants" (138,1984). Satzewich noted that the points designated to such occupations are so low on the point system scale that domestic servants are not able to acquire landed immigrant status. He uses Lloyd T. Wong's article "Canada's Guestworkers:" to substantiate that these restrictions on unskilled workers "...is based on a western European guest worker model of migration control" (Satzewich,341,1990). Wong's article, however, has some serious flaws in it which prevent Canada's EAP system from being compared with the European guest worker system, as Monica Boyd clarified in her article "Temporary Workers in Canada: A Multifaceted Program." Boyd found that "Overall, the Employment Authorization Program is not overwhelmingly a program of labour recruitment, and in this

sense it remains distinct from the European experience" (939,1986). Boyd also found that approximately one third of the EAP's authorizations are for white collar workers which contrasts with the temporary unskilled workers in Europe. In examining the regulations of the EAP more closely Boyd found evidence that "suggests a considerable social and humanitarian basis to employment authorizations from () Third World areas" (946,1986). Boyd concluded that the EAP was to provide a certain amount of flexibility to Canada's immigration flows to respond to short term economic interests and pressures (947,1986).

Freda Hawkins noted that the relationship of immigration to population growth was down played during the 1970's by the Liberal government, but the connection could not be denied (Hawkins,63,1991). One of the important facts published in the Green Paper under the title of "Immigration and Language Imbalance" by Professor Henripin, revealed that because many immigrants to Canada prefer English, French, in particular outside Quebec, had been losing ground since 1950 (Hawkins,65,1991). In addition, in Professor Kalbach's article entitled "The Effect of Immigration on Population" Kalbach noted that Canada's birth rate was declining and the population continues to decrease due to emigration (Ibid). It is not surprising then that when Andras went on tour to speak to provincial ministers on the subject of population objectives, Quebec was one of the few provinces which showed significant interest in participating in discussions on their demographic objectives. Andras's concern for provincial participation became

translated into law. According to the 1976 Immigration Act the Minister of Manpower and Immigration must consult the provinces on annual immigration levels before announcing the set immigration level for the forthcoming year in Parliament.

Canada's concept of immigration changed very little in the succeeding years after the 1976 Immigration Act was passed and implemented. For a period of approximately five years independent applicants from 1982 to 1987 independent applicants were not permitted to enter Canada due to the 1982 recession. The primary change that has occurred is in terms of emphasis. While economic concerns of providing Canada with skilled labour dominated Canada's interests in immigration during the post World War II era, demographics concerns grew in importance in the 1980's. This has been for good reason.

In a 1987 government publication Demography and Immigration in Canada the importance of immigration to Canada's demographic development was set in very clear terms:

New demographic conditions have led to the current re-awakening of the demographic-immigration linkage. These include: the continuation, for 15 years of below-replacement fertility (now 1.66); emigration remaining significant (now estimated at 50,000 a year); and, ...Current projections suggest that with no change in these conditions, population decline could begin in Canada shortly after the turn of the century (Employment and Immigration, 22, 1987).

Demographic concerns in conjunction with the continued fulfilment of family reunification and economic concerns have dominated the role of immigration in Canada into the late 1980's. The province of Quebec has had one of the lowest birth rates in the western

world. As part of their goal to establish themselves as a "distinct society", within Canada, Quebec demanded and succeeded in obtaining special arrangements with the federal government to choose their own immigrants. Through a Joint Committee on Immigration, Quebec can select foreign nationals for permanent or temporary settlement within Quebec.

How Canada has approached the problem of deepening demographic concerns and the importance of immigration in resolving this issue will be addressed in chapter five.

This chapter has demonstrated how the national and international concerns have dominated the development of Germany and Canada's concept of immigration in the post World War II era. The two countries emerged from the war with the pressure of having to relinquish historical traits of racial discrimination from their concepts of immigration. At the same time they have been confronted with economic needs, requiring immigrants or migrants, to establish and maintain their positions as industrial powers and international obligations to assist refugees. This has resulted in new foreigner and immigration policies, but moulded from the old aspirations of nation building represented by modern national interests.

Chapter Five

The Current Concepts of Immigration in Germany and Canada:

The German and Canadian concepts of immigration today reflect a balance of their adjustments to the changing political, social and economic demands of their time, while retaining the political ideological position from which their concepts of immigration first originated. This has been done in order to protect and maintain their national interests which will be discussed below.

Germany:

The Federal Republic of Germany experienced the beginning of a monumental change in its geo-political structure in November 1989 symbolized by the destruction of the Berlin wall. It ushered in a new era in Germany's politics, united and sovereign, but as Theo Sommer noted in his article "Germany: United, But Not a World Power"

No one wants to go back to the old nation-state. We all want to move ahead: to Europe...We say 'Deutschland' again - but we say so quite diffidently, and we don't add 'über alles' (41,1991).

In terms of domestic politics regarding foreigners the German government has not changed and prefers to hold to a middle line of non-change. This is in the face of opposing forces outside the federal government of pro-immigrationists and anti-foreigner radicals expressing their discontent. The German government defends its position by standing behind its constitution which permits them to maintain the "foreigner policy" and avoid the creation of an immigration policy that would recognize the many

foreigners within its borders.

On October 3, 1990 the former five laender of the German Democratic Republic were officially declared the new laender of the Federal Republic of Germany. The unification introduced a new era to German politics and with specific regard to the treatment of foreigners meant that the policies of the former West Germany would apply to the new laender as well. The number of foreigners living in the newly united Germany, as of October 1990, stood at 5,037,000 consisting of 6.4 per cent of the united German population (previously in West Germany foreigners constituted 7.7 per cent of the total population) (Meier-Braun, 232, 1990).

The political ideological position of the German government with regard to immigration has not changed¹. This was revealed in interviews, where the primary question was -why can Germany not become an immigrant receiving country? and political pamphlets given by the representatives of the three major parties in the federal government in Germany.

The CDU, Germany's current party in power, secretary for the spokesperson on issues relating to foreigners in Germany in response to the question above sent one of their political pamphlets, published in 1989, which delineates the CDU position on foreigners. It was dictated by Wolfgang Schaeuble who is the CDU federal minister of internal affairs (Bundesinnenminister). In it,

¹ This is despite the fact that people such as Karl-Heinz Meier-Braun (1990), Hermann Esser (1988), and Annette Treibel (1990) perceive the changes to the geo-political structure of Germany as an opportune time for Germany to become an immigrant receiving country.

Schaeuble maintains that Germany is friendly to foreigners, but despite this it is the German state's priority to protect the interests of ethnic Germans and provide a state "solely" for Germans². He argues further that because Germany is not a very large country and it already is very populated whatever space is available should be kept available for ethnic Germans returning to Germany, particularly from Eastern Europe³. Schaeuble nationalistically claimed that citizenship to Germany belongs to the Germans⁴ for who would look after the German people if not those in their "Fatherland"⁵. He also argued that in order to have good relations between the German people and the foreigners living in Germany efforts must be made to integrate them and there must not be anymore recruitment of foreigners. Furthermore, the permission of foreigners to reside in Germany must remain limited⁶.

² "Wir haben die Verpflichtung, offenzubleiben für alle Deutschen, faehig zur Aufnahme zu bleiben für die Deutschen, die zu uns kommen,..." (Schaeuble, 2, 1989).

³ In 1989, 377,055 ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) entered the FRG compared to the 52,071 in 1980, from predominantly East European countries. In addition, 343,854 Germans from the GDR entered the FRG in 1989 compared to 12,763 in 1980 (Statistics Office FRG, 9.1990).

⁴ Anyone who claims that they are of ethnic German origin and has proof is instantly eligible to obtain German citizenship in accordance with the German constitution.

⁵ "...für die Deutschen die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ist zustaendig). Wer, meine Freunde, soll denn den Deutschen helfen, wenn nicht wir im freien Teil unseres Vaterlandes?" (Schaeuble, 3, 1989).

⁶ "Wenn wir unserer Verantwortung für die Bewahrung eines friedlichen und freundlichen Miteinanders von Deutschen und Auslaendern gerecht werden wollen, dann muss es beim Anwerbstopp bleiben, und dann muss der Zuzug weiterer Auslaender in die

Thus, the CDU, which with its coalition partner the FDP Liberal party, was once again voted into office in the 1990 election, maintains the historically developed political ideological position of Germany with regard to foreigners. But regardless as to whom would have emerged as the victorious party it appears that little would have changed with regard to foreigners.

The CDU's coalition partner the FDP maintains a similar position as the CDU toward foreigners. The spokesperson for the FDP's position on foreigners, Klaus Diederichs, stated that Germany is simply not an immigrant receiving country. He pointed out that many people in Europe want to move to Germany, but Germany is not prepared or willing to accept them. The spread of racism with the growth of the neo-nazis, right wing extremist, and their daily attacks on foreigners is another reason. Similar to the CDU, the FDP's approach toward migrant workers is that they are opposed to permitting anymore recruitment of workers and to improve relations with the foreigners living in Germany through integrating them. Suggestions on how to improve relations were detailed in their pamphlet listing: the protection of the rights of foreigners; making the acquisition of citizenship for long time residents easier; improving their access to education; giving them social and cultural equality; and working with them politically (FDP,8,1989)⁷.

Bundesrepublik Deutschland begrenzt bleiben (Schaeuble,5,1989).

⁷ The point regarding making the acquisition of citizenship for long time residents would appear to contradict Diederichs' statement. This, however, is not true since a person who has proven themselves to be well integrated in Germany after eight to ten years can obtain citizenship if they wish. The process through

The opposition party to the CDU-FDP coalition is the SPD whose spokesperson on foreigner issues, Bruchard Reichhard, indicated a similar position to the CDU and FDP. He pointed out that Germany cannot become an immigrant receiving country because for one Germany does not need immigrants. After the wall came down, says Reichhard, it became ever more difficult for people to find a place to live and it has driven up the rent. Another problem cited by Reichhard was that the German people do not accept foreigners very well. He also stated that with the progress of the European Community members toward integration the SPD consider the future approach to immigration to be a European issue not to be dealt with by one country⁸.

It is interesting to note that while the three federal parties are united in their approach to immigration in Germany the Green Party, which was formerly represented at the federal level from 1982 until the 1990 election, have members who support the adoption of an immigration policy in Germany⁹. Frankfurt's city council

which they have to prove proficiency in German, knowledge of Germany and the requirement to give up one's own culture to do so can discourage people (Treibel, 1990).

⁸ Die Europaeische Gemeinschaft muss sich fragen, ob sie unter den künftigen Bedingungen des Binnenmarktes und angesichts seiner aussenwirtschaftlichen Abhaengigkeiten zu einer Festung gegenüber aussereuropaeischen Zuwanderern werden will (SPD,4,1991).

⁹ R.E.M. Irving and W.E. Paterson described the reason for the demise of the federal Green party as being clear:

The great majority of the Green electorate consistently favoured a Red/Green coalition. The decision of the Green/Alternatives to bring their coalition with the SPD to an end in Berlin in November 1990 was extremely unpopular with Green supporters in West Germany. The weakness of the SPD rendered a Red/Green coalition

member and "Green" party politician, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, since 1989 has argued in favour of having Germany recognized as a multicultural society and has in fact become a country of immigration¹⁰. Cohn-Bendit argues that Germany must develop an immigration policy as he cites the fact that in Frankfurt there is a need for workers which can no longer be filled by the German population alone, hundreds of nurses, kindergarten workers and managers are needed (Spiegel,35,1991)¹¹. He also implies that for the birth-rate of Germany and its standard of living the number of people being permitted into Germany is too small¹². Furthermore he argued in favour of annual quotas to be set for admitting

unimaginable. This, combined with a much more pronounced left (ecological) SPD profile, encouraged some Green supporters to vote SPD...The failure of the West German Greens to surmount the 5% barrier and their failure to reinsure themselves by a merger with the East German Greens plunged them into a crisis, and recriminations have abounded (369-370,1991)

Here Irving and Paterson are referring to both the West German "Green" party that favoured a coalition with the SPD and the East German "Green" party which did not favour a coalition with the SPD. Thus, the two Green parties during the 1990 elections did not project a united party.

¹⁰ "Deutschland ist ein Einwanderungsland" (Spiegel,35,no.35,1991).

¹¹ "Die Stadt Frankfurt hat einen Bedarf an Arbeitskraeften, der nicht mehr gedeckt wird durch die deutsche Bevoelkerung...Allein in Frankfurt suchen wir Hunderte als Pflegepersonal für Krankenhaeuser, Kindergaerten und Krippen" (Spiegel,35,N..35,1991).

¹² "Auf Dauer ist das Boot zu leer-bei der Geburtenentwicklung und dem Lebensstandard, den wir haben" (Spiegel,35,No.35,1991).

immigrants and refugees not only to Germany but to all of Europe¹³. Cohen-Bendit is supported by Konrad Weiss, a member of the East German Green party "Bundnis 90/Die Grünen" who argued in favour of Germany developing its own immigration policy. Unlike Cohen-Bendit, however, Weiss does not favour immigration to further assist the labour market but says that Germany should take in the poorest of nations and assist and train them (Spiegel, 59, No. 38, 1991).

Cohen-Bendit's argument that there is a need for Germany to develop its own immigration policy on account of the declining birth-rate in Germany and the desire to preserve the present standard of living was probably more applicable in the 1980's than today. In the 1980's it became increasingly obvious that the German population was reproducing at below required replacement levels. In a 1988 federal publication on the development of the German population (Bevoelkerungsentwicklung) calculations indicated that the net reproduction figure for Germany in 1986 was at .63 and that Germany's population was expected to decline (H.W. Jürgens, 10, 1988). Projections for the future German population was that by the year 2000 the 1987 population of 61.2 million would have fallen to 60.9 million and by the year 2030 would be at 49.6 million (Ibid, 21, 1988).

The above projections, however, were made prior to the

¹³ "Die Bundesrepublik, am besten ganz Europa, müsste sich zur Einwanderungsregion erklären. Eine Einwanderungsbehörde bestimmt dann, welchen Bedarf es in der Bundesrepublik-oder in Europa-gibt. Die Zahl sollte zusammen mit den Arbeitsämtern festgelegt werden" (Spiegel, 35, no. 35, 1991).

political changes in 1989. In 1990, according to Mr. Leitner at the German federal statistics office in Wiesbaden, the total West German population came to 62.7 million and including East Germany came to 79.1 million. Mr. Leitner pointed out that the German population was expected to continue to grow as thousands of ethnic Germans arrived from Eastern Europe. In 1989 a total of 377,055 ethnic Germans came to Germany, in 1990 another 397,073 came and by August 1991 another 130,830 had arrived (German Federal Statistics Office). The German government was confronted with an overwhelming number of ethnic Germans within a very short period of time. It should also be considered what Karl A. Otto noted in his book Westward-Homewards? (Westwaerts-Heimwaerts? 1990), that according to the German Red Cross there was a total of 3.2 million ethnic Germans living in eastern and south-eastern European countries. The German Economic Institute (Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (IW)) calculated that one can expect 2 to 3.5 million ethnic Germans to immigrate to Germany by the year 2000 (Otto, 1990). In addition to the above, the number of refugee applicants has continued to climb throughout the 1980's and into the 1990's. In 1988 there were 103,076 refugee applicants, the number grew to 121,318 in 1989 and to 193,063 in 1990 (German Federal Statistics Office). These people have been added to the already 4,845,882 foreigners already living in Germany by 1989 (Ibid.). The numbers are expected to taper off in the forthcoming years after which the actual impact that these people have had on Germany's population growth will be easier to determine. Their

impact on Germany's labour market is also difficult at present to determine (Butler Dietz, 117, 1990). They will, however, doubtlessly have some effect in reducing any current need in Germany for foreign labour.

One aspect of immigration that is a common feature expressed by all the parties was support for integrating the foreigners who have already lived in Germany for years. One is led to wonder, however, how serious these opinions actually are. On July 15, 1991 Mrs. Funcke the Federal Government's appointee for the "Auslaenderbeauftragten" which was created to encourage integration resigned from her position. She gave two reasons for her resignation: a) her office was understaffed consisting of four executives and without any administrative officials; b) the federal government and political parties did not provide any support for her office. She was quoted as having said: "All those working for peaceful coexistence in our society feel let down by the people who are officially responsible" (A. Aksoeyek, 63, 1991). Furthermore, she commented that the growing xenophobia, expressed most strongly by the neo-nazis, was a danger signal. The only resolution being to introduce laws that would guarantee immigrants legal and social equality, i.e. by way of an "anti-discrimination law" and a law providing foreigners with the right to settle (Ibid.).

Bernhard Schmidt, Liselotte Funcke's co-worker in the "Auslaenderbeauftragten" office was asked to share some of his thoughts on the situation of foreigners in Germany. Schmidt pointed out that since German unification in October 1990 the cases

of attacks by neo-nazis groups had risen and that these incidents occurred mostly in the east where the contact between foreigners and Germans had previously been restricted. The spread of the neo-nazis and other anti-foreigner groups led Schmidt to conclude that very little has changed in the mentality of Germans toward foreigners.

In attempting to understand the development of right wing radicalism and its attacks on foreigners Der Spiegel published an interview with an expert, Wilhelm Heitmeyer, on right wing radicalism. In Heitmeyer's opinion the reason that federal officials have taken little action with regard to right wing extremists is that these people have not been able to organize themselves into a strong enough party to achieve the five percent necessary to challenge the federal parties (Spiegel, 32, no. 41, 1991). He believes that this poses a great risk because there have already been incidence where right wing extremists have achieved a measure of political power (Ibid.). Der Spiegel's interviewer noted that surveys have revealed that there is very little difference of opinion in the general population between East and West Germans' in their perceptions of foreigners¹⁴. Heitmeyer agreed with this

¹⁴ The results of a national survey were published in a special issue of the magazine Der Spiegel in January 1991, which compared East and West Germans. The responses to questions concerning foreigners in Germany revealed that both East and West Germans are very similar in their perceptions of foreigners (Schubarth, 47, 1991). They both gave positive estimations of value to French, Austrian, Russians, United States Americans, and Jews, while negative values were given for Polish, Turkish and Gypsies (mostly from Slavic countries) (Schubarth, 47, 1991). This indicates that the hierarchies that developed during World War II have not changed a great deal. The survey also revealed that younger

perception noting that the deep feelings of powerlessness brought on by developments in the economy in the East and West has made the individual feel insignificant. When the ability for the individual to identify him/herself to society has been so weakened the person no longer has a feeling of self worth and all that is left is the consciousness that one is German (Spiegel,33,1991). Heitmeyer's conclusion is quite similar to Funcke's in that he says Germany needs to change its concept of immigration. Recently the federal government has set aside 20 million German Marks to counter the attacks on foreigners, but this does not represent any change and is not likely to bring it about (Ibid.).

It has to be kept in mind that while there are daily reports of neo-Nazis attacking foreigners in Germany, and a seeming rise in racism there is an awareness that this form of treatment is wrong. In November 1991 when 400 neo-Nazis paraded through the eastern German town of Halle, 100,000 German demonstrators marched against racism in different parts of Germany (Financial Times,6,1991). Reports on the attacks of neo-Nazis on refugee residences has led whole German communities to mobilize and organize round the clock watch teams to ensure that foreigners are protected (Schnibben,57,1991). These counter responses to neo-Nazis indicates that some Germans have changed to an extent in the perception of foreigners. One of the strongest reasons perhaps is that a hatred of foreigners is no longer a government supported

Germans, school age, tended to have a more negative perspective on foreigners, particularly those who are more distinguishable from the Germans (Ibid.).

position. In addition, the German people, living in a democracy, are finally able to express their will rather than having it repressed and directed by an authoritarian state.

Another concern regarding Germany's concept of immigration is the fact that by the beginning of 1993 the "Single European Act" (SEA), which provides an article to harmonize the external policies of the member states of the E.C., is to come into effect. The fear is that those from third countries seeking entry to EC countries will find the way barred as immigration policies are set according to the strictest policy. There is already a common immigration policy called the "Schengen Accord" which has been agreed to by France, Germany and the Benelux countries in 1985. According to this agreement an "undesirable alien" is someone who originates from the above five countries and has been refused entry from any one of them. Thus, if someone has been refused asylum or entry by one country they are refused by all of them. Furthermore, a computerized information exchange network referred to as the Schengen Information System is being set up to assist the policing of immigration across territories. It is not surprising that the expression "Fortress Europe" has become popular in the last few years.

This creates an extreme impression of how immigration is to be handled by the European Community and raises the question -where is the power of the nation-state with regard to immigration within this structure and does it exist? The appendix to the Single European Act reserves rights to the nation-states for being able to

effect their own immigration policies. The appendix states:

Nothing in these provisions shall affect the right of Member States to take measures as they consider necessary for controlling immigration from third countries,...(Matheson,58,1991).

Although the freedom of movement for workers from the European Community is assured those from non-member countries do not share in the same luxury. Instead it is left to member countries to decide on their own the movement of a non-member. The Act is not expected to bring about the large wave of migrant workers that existed in the 1960's and early 1970's (Buttler and Dietz,1990;ILO Information pamphlet,25,4,1989). The effect it is expected to have, according to the International Labour Organization, is to further reduce the demand for unskilled manual or service workers; more highly qualified people, i.e. doctors, will move around in larger numbers; individual movements as opposed to mass movement will predominate where the highly qualified will outnumber the unskilled; legal migration is likely to encourage more illegal entrants particularly from the Third World; EC workers will find it easier to find work within the community than non-EC nationals (ILO,25,4,1989).

It has become obvious to some well respected academics that the direction of the European Community will lead Germans to interact more with foreigners rather than fewer. Heiner Geissler a CDU member of the German parliament wrote that the European community's economy will need foreigners as workers, consumers and tax payers largely because of the declining birth rate (Geissler,23,no.41,1991). He stated that Europe requires an

immigration policy similar to the type which exists in North America. Furthermore, Geissler went on to say that the danger to German society and its future is the German anti-immigration way of thinking. Since the question no longer is "whether" they want to live with foreigners but "how." He concluded by saying that in order to face the future the German people must prepare itself to be a "multicultural society"¹⁵.

It evident from the above that the German nation state may very well be sitting at the cross roads of making a major change in its approach to immigration. Although the parties continue to support the historically developed approach to immigration, there are many pressures within Germany both in favour and opposed to change. It is important to note, however, that the opinion in favour of change toward a German immigration policy and acceptance as a multicultural society is an "educated" opinion, representing a minority of the German population. The German population, as was indicated by the Poll conducted by Der Spiegel on how Germans assess foreigners indicates that in general they are still quite unreceptive toward foreigners. The most extreme form of anti-foreigner behaviour has been expressed by the right wing radicals which have grown in number since the wall came down. And, in November 1991 it was reported that in the previous six months there had been as many as 600 attacks on foreigners in Germany (Koring,1,1991). Participation in the European Community will

¹⁵ "Wenn wir es gut meinen mit unserer Zukunft, muss sich unser Volk auf eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft vorbereiten" (Geissler,23,41,1991).

expose Germans to more foreigners and the experience will prepare them "perhaps" to accept people of diverse ethnic backgrounds. It is most probable that when change does arrive it will be a decision determined by the best interests of the nation state and the ability of the people to tolerate the change.

Canada:

Canada currently faces the same falling birth rates as Germany does today, although Canada's fertility rate is some what better, none-the-less it is a very real problem. This, however, is where the similarity between the two countries end. While Germany has come to be recognized as an international economic powerhouse and achieved national unity, Canada is in the middle of constitutional debates and is straining to maintain national unity. The potential for Quebec to separate is now greater than what it has ever been. In Newfoundland seal hunters and fishermen, whose interests they feel have not been properly protected by the federal government, are threatening to take matters into their own hands. The Indian bands in Canada are demanding that their rights for self-government be recognized, and other portions of Canada have been expressing their own sectionalist interests. The above problems and the economic decline that Canada has been experiencing due to the recession in the last two years places Canada at a very precarious stage in its national history.

Immigration, as an important component to Canada's prosperity, has acquired the responsibility of answering to Canada's

demographic and economic concerns. The approach that the Canadian government has adopted in handling these concerns through immigration are discussed below.

In the 1980's Canada began to experience increasing demographic concerns. By having a population operating at below-replacement levels, the fertility rate being at 1.66 in 1987, the options as to how to increase Canada's population seemed limited. Immigration appeared to be the only viable means of increasing Canada's population. In 1987 the paper developed by the Immigration Policy Development Immigration Group entitled "Demography and Immigration in Canada: Challenge and opportunity" made several suggestions for possible demographic objectives for the federal government:

- To tie the annual population growth rate to:
- long-range targets for total population (20 years)
- labour force requirements
- housing supply
- ethnic and social assimilation (appendix,i,1987).

It also suggested the adaptation of government policies to the changing "age structure and dependency ratios"; to provide demographic statistics and public information to clientele; to permit as many people to come to Canada within Canada's capacity to accept them; and to ensure that there is justification in permitting the immigration of those entering Canada through: humanitarian concerns such as refugees; immediate family reunification; international relations and population policies of other countries (Ibid,ii).

In more recent years these suggestions have entered the

mainstream of Canada's immigration policy as demographic concerns continued to loom, but it has not overshadowed the importance of immigration to the economy. The Minister of Employment and Immigration annually tables before Parliament the quota of people expected to be permitted to immigrate to Canada in the forthcoming year. In October 1990, the Minister, Barbara McDougall, not only introduced the annual quota, but introduced Canada's first long term plan with regard to immigration. A plan for the next five years was announced indicating that immigration levels would rise from the 1990 level of 200,000 to 220,000 in 1991, and to 250,000 annually for the remaining period of the plan to 1995 (Employment and Immigration, 1990).

In her speech McDougall explained that the five year plan has been introduced "to ensure that immigration to Canada continues to play an important role in our government's social and economic policies" (Ibid,1). It was also constructed in this manner to permit the better planning and management of immigration in order to better accommodate the people who wish to come to Canada. In addition, McDougall introduced a new Federal Integration Strategy that is to provide \$200 million in extra funding for language training programs, as she emphasized that it was the responsibility of the government to provide policies and programs which ease the process of integration (Ibid,3).

The 1987 suggestions for demographic objectives made an even further impact on certain areas of Canada's immigration policy. In 1990 McDougall announced that Canada's "retirees" program would be

discontinued reducing the number of elderly people entering Canada. Furthermore, children of immigrants to Canada would no longer include "adult" children, but would be confined to "dependent" children. The area through which the adult children could enter would be as "assisted relatives." The greatest difference being that "assisted relatives" have to enter by way of the point system where skills are an important determinant of entry into Canada.

The humanitarian area of Canada's immigration policy has also been effected due to demographic concerns. When the new minister of Employment and Immigration, Bernard Valcourt, tabled the 1992 Immigration Plan he announced that stronger efforts would be made to reduce the number of people abusing the immigration system (Minister of Employment and Immigration, 1991). A day after Valcourt's announcement, reports in the press announced that Valcourt's stricter enforcement of the Immigration Act, since he entered office in that year, had already led to a rise in the number of "removals" of immigrants or refugees who have committed crimes (up by 170 per cent -to 5,000 from approximately 1,500 in 1990) (Bryden, 3, 1991). It was further reported that the number of refugees, who had entered Canada in 1991, was far below the expected levels.

In his speech before Parliament Valcourt emphasized that he wanted to foster having people immigrate to Canada whose "employment skills (can) contribute to Canada's prosperity." This was consistent with the original five year plan introduced by McDougall. According to it "in the later years of the plan the

number and overall proportion of skilled workers will increase" (Annual Report, 3, 1990). Therefore, in his speech Valcourt explained that while the number of people entering Canada through the "family class" would shrink the numbers of skilled workers being permitted to enter Canada would increase¹⁶. The introduction of Valcourt's enforced measures and plans led the New Democrat immigration critic Dan Heap to summarize Valcourt's efforts as a program of "Humane Deterrence" one that would project the message that Canada did not want immigrants or refugees (Bryden, 3, 1991).

This represents an interesting dichotomy in Canada's approach to immigration. Heap's criticism argues that if Canada is an immigrant receiving country and wishes to welcome immigrants why make plans and policies that will send out the opposite message? It appears that the answer is in the fact that Canada's approach to immigration has always been tied to concerns for Canada's national development. Since Canada's demographic composition and economy are the primary current concerns immigration has been structured to address these problems. In addition, Valcourt justified stricter measures by identifying the importance of immigration to Canada's survival:

Canadians have built a way of life that is admired around the world. Immigration has helped us to build that way of life. And it will help us to build a prosperous nation - a renewed, united nation - in the years ahead

¹⁶ In 1992 there would be 100,000 people admitted under the family class, in 1993 the number would be reduced to 95,000, and in 1994 and 1995 it would be further reduced to 85,000 for each year. Meanwhile, 41,500 skilled independent workers would enter in 1992, increased to 47,500 in 1993, 62,000 in 1994 and 1995 (Annual Report, 4, 1991).

(Minister of Employment and Immigration, 3, 1991).

Valcourt's emphasis on skilled workers can not be considered misplaced. Canada's need for skilled workers has been obvious since the end of World War II, but their heightened current need arises from international competition. Canada entered into a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States in 1989, one that has led to the loss of numerous American branch plant businesses that entered Canada due to tariffs that were set against American goods during the Macdonald era. One of the points of discussion for Free Trade was that it would introduce more opportunities for Canadian businesses to compete with other businesses across the border. To compete requires skilled labour and immigration is one of its best sources. Gerald Larose, President of the Confederation of National Trade Unions commented in his speech at the Symposium on Immigrant Settlement and Integration that:

Immigration means education, professional training, work experience, arranged employment and skills in one of the official languages (39, 1990).

Larose was speaking prior to McDougall's announcement in 1990 and emphasized the need to increase immigration levels.

To add to Canada's economic concerns the United States, Canada and Mexico are currently negotiating the possibility of a Free Trade agreement between the three countries. This will mean even greater competition for Canada. And Canada is already poorly positioned to trade with the European Community as Harvey Enchin noted in his article "Canada unprepared for EC unity: report." Enchin quoting Edward Neufeld, the Royal Bank's executive vice-

president of economic and corporate affairs, learned that:

A single, united European market will dramatically improve the competitiveness of the European Community economies and will mean more competition for Canadian businesses, not only in European and other international markets, but at home too (Enchin,B1,1992).

It is not surprising then that Canada's approach to immigration has adopted the new approach of planning for the future and increasing the number of skilled workers. It has little choice as the report of the Royal Bank observed that "Canadian companies will have to embrace new technology to remain efficient and market their products aggressively" (Ibid.,B20).

Unlike the European Community which has drawn up agreements regarding immigration the Free Trade Agreement will have no effect on Canada's immigration policy as was noted by Brian Grant from the Free Trade Unit for Immigration¹⁷.

In effect then, Canada's current approach to immigration is consistent with its past role in supporting Canada's national interests. Thus, the current approach reflects Canada's concern for demographic growth and economic competitiveness which depend on immigration for Canada's survival. Jacques Vasseur, the 1990 Chairman of the Employment and Immigration Advisory Council noted:

Our future as a nation in the community of nations is going to be significantly influenced in the years to come by immigration (Vasseur,2,1990).

¹⁷ Thus the labour mobility that is now in operation in the EC is not guaranteed by the FTA. What it does permit according to Regulation 19-1V is that certain persons such as army personnel, foreign new reporters and business visitors are exempt from employment authorization.

Canada's readiness to permit greater immigration for the sake of demographic concerns and skilled labour, supported by an Integration Strategy, contrasts strongly with Germany's continued discouragement of immigration and its failure to support integration. They both demonstrate an attempt to respond to the current political, economic and social demands within the confines of approaches that have evolved from their own historical and ideological perspectives on immigration.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated how Germany and Canada developed their unique and very different concepts of immigration, during their pursuit to develop themselves as industrialized nation-states. To achieve their goals required immigrant and migrant labour. The approaches they took to the people who entered their boundaries were dictated by the historically evolved conditions under which the nation-states formed.

In chapter one the foundation of the nation-state was set by the people who occupied the geographical spaces later to become Germany and Canada. The idea of union evolved from the perception that it could protect the interests of the people who shared their common concerns. Although this was the fundamental basis for union the cohesive interests which united the people were quite different in Germany and Canada.

Germany's union came as a result of pressure from the ethnic nationalist movement, which resulted from the political oppression of the German people at the hands of foreign powers and their absolute state sovereigns. The struggle against political oppression, for union and democracy, bound the German people together. When union finally did come "from above" they willingly embraced it without realizing that they had not yet defeated political oppression and failed to establish democracy.

Canada's immigrant settler society was provided with democratic order from the time that the Loyalists arrived in Canada. Union came about, not from political struggle, but from a loss of economic and military support from Britain, the end of reciprocity with the United States, and the threat of annexation by the United States. This provided the people of the British North American colonies with the same concerns and reasons for uniting. There were, however, few other reasons to unite the people as a nation.

Germany and Canada were in very different positions as nations when they achieved union. Germany had many of the basic ingredients necessary for a nation that Canada did not have. Germany had a large German ethnic population, economic union had been achieved through the Zollverein, and on account of economic union the transportation systems of the railways, canals and roads were already well established. Canada lacked all of these ingredients consisting of a patchwork of immigrant settler colonies which had no economic cohesion and limited transportation systems. Macdonald, in his national policy, had to introduce these necessary ingredients in order to begin to establish Canada as a nation.

This situation placed Canada and Germany at very different levels of development as nations. Both nations, however, were desirous to "catch up" and rank with the leading world powers of the day such as Britain, France and the United States. This was only possible through industrial development which required manpower.

Canada being a settler society already had a well established perception that immigrants would have to be recruited to settle and develop Canada's potential. Canada, however, was interested primarily in specific types of immigrants, those from the British Isles and Northern Europe who could settle the land. Businesses, on the other hand, particularly those in railway construction, required a different type of immigrant, those who were willing to perform hard labour at an inexpensive rate. This was resolved by permitting Chinese labourers and southern Europeans into Canada, but created the new problem of introducing "undesirable" immigrants to Canada. This brought with it the need for stricter controls regarding the types of immigrants entering Canada supported by the popular belief in racial differences.

Germany did not immediately recognize the need for foreign labour. The first German government under Bismarck originally had few difficulties in accepting people from different ethnic minorities. The only requirement was that everyone was to be Germanized to create a cohesive nation. It was Bismarck's concern that the Poles were culturally dominating Eastern Prussia and fears of political agitation supported by foreigners led him to close the borders and expel all Poles, Austrians and Jews who did not possess German citizenship. This created severe labour shortages for the large landowners in Eastern Prussia which had been dependent on cheap foreign labour to replace the loss of labourers who were moving to the rapidly developing industrialized Western part of Prussia. After Bismarck was replaced the large landowners were

able to obtain cheap foreign labour through the permission of the Caprivi government which permitted Polish-Russian and Galizien migrant seasonal workers to enter Germany. Permission for these people to enter was only under strict guidelines and they were not considered eligible to become German citizens in which beliefs in racial differences also played a role.

Thus, began within the two newly formed nation-states their very different approaches to foreigners entering their countries. While both countries required foreign labour to fulfil their needs in developing them as nations, their perceived need for people led them to develop different controls. Canada had a relatively small population for its geographical size which called for the need for immigrants to settle, but the Canadian government wanted a certain type of immigrant. Hence the distinction evolved between immigrants who the Canadian government wanted to have settle and those who were considered undesirable. Germany already had an established German population with integrated ethnic minorities, it was the economic sector which required people. As a result, the entrance of foreigners was limited to the needs of the economy. The perception of the need for foreigners and the types who would be accepted set the basis for Germany and Canada's concepts of immigration, determining the controls they would set on foreigners entering their countries.

By the end of the first decade in the 1900's both Canada and Germany had allowed numerous foreigners to cross their borders, according to their own selective conditions. This was an

expansionist age for both Germany and Canada in which an actual concept of immigration was superseded by concerns for economic growth. The first world war provided both countries with an opportunity to demonstrate their levels of development. Germany expressed its military power with an economy fuelled by foreign workers. Meanwhile, Canada provided assistance to Britain through its ability to transform its raw material resources into ammunition, equipment and food produced by its largely immigrant population.

In the aftermath of World War I the racial beliefs in Germany and Canada's respective beliefs in German-Aryan and Anglo-Saxon superiority over other races became more influential in their approaches to foreigners and concepts of immigration. Thus, their concepts of immigration became more rigid which manifested itself in their stricter controls over foreign labour and immigration. While Canada defined more clearly which people were considered desirable immigrants and those considered undesirable, Germany severely limited the entrance of migrant labourers. Canada's economy, being badly hit by the 1929 depression reduced its intake of immigrants, while the advancement of Nazism after 1932 led to a dramatic increase in migrant labourers for the further development of Germany's industry and Hitler's plans for war. Hitler's ultimate goal for World War II was to create living space or "Lebensraum" for the supposed superior Aryan race, while systematically destroying the Jews and using other ethnic groups to pursue his goals. This demonstrated the extreme to which racial

theories could progress. After World War II the unequal treatment of people of different racial origin became unpopular being stigmatized by nazism and led to the desire of both Germany and Canada to distance themselves from being identified as racially prejudiced. In addition, the creation of the United Nations did a great deal to make people aware of the need to protect human rights. This had an effect on both Germany and Canada's approaches to migrant labourers and immigrants.

Canada's participation in the U.N. and the Commonwealth made it increasingly difficult to justify the determination of immigrants according to racial origin. However, Canada continued to need immigrants to settle for the continuation of its development as a nation and its economy, thus Canada developed a new basis by which to determine the permission of foreigners to immigrate. Years after the war, immigrant determination by race was replaced by skilled labour requirements, family reunification, humanitarian responsibility and the fulfilling of demographic necessity as was outlined in Canada's 1976 Immigration policy.

In Germany too the scar of Nazism and the desire to dissociate themselves from their past led to the more humane treatment of foreigners. The German government has accepted many refugees into its borders since World War II, and in the 1950s was experiencing a labour shortage which led to temporary labour recruitment for the economy, but not to settle. Although a democratic government was introduced after World War II creating the Federal Republic of Germany its new constitution retained vestiges of Germany's past

laws. Germany's citizenship law which first appeared in 1913, and its definition of a German according to article 116 would distinguish Germans from other people, providing the basis for maintaining Germany as a country disinterested in the settlement of foreigners. Providing foreigners only with the right to remain in Germany in so far as economic need would permit which led to the development of the "Foreigner Policy."

Thus, the old elements of Germany and Canada's concepts of immigration still emerged in the post-World War II era. The concepts being determined by the state's need to preserve and protect the interests of the people who constitute their nations. Canada's need for people to settle and contribute to its population and economy, in contrast with Germany's need for people only emerging from economic necessity and not for the continuance of the nation's population as a whole. What evolved then with the introduction of the Canadian Immigration and the German foreigner policies were modernized versions of old approaches toward immigration.

Why is there this continuity between the past practices of immigration and the present? The answer is that while practices have changed in terms of human rights since the end of World War II with regard to immigration the nation state and its people have not changed a great deal. The aspirations of Canada and Germany as nations remains to be to maintain their positions as first world nations. Thus, it is of national interest to select the types of foreigners permitted to enter the country. The concept of

immigration in the nation state, with the exception of refugees, is derived from the nation's interest for self preservation of its status and standard of living. This is perceived as threatened if too many people from the poorer nations of the world enter them. Hence limitations are set in accord with the interests of the state for the sake of the preservation of the nation.

The differences in Germany and Canada's concepts of immigration can therefore be viewed as the result of the continuance of approaches that were moulded from their developments as nation-states. The conditions by which a foreigner is accepted into these two countries is determined by the state's interests in the preservation of the nation. That is why both Germany and Canada today clearly state within their respective foreigner and immigration policies that permission to enter their borders is a privilege decided by the national authorities and not the "right" of the foreigner (Foreigner Rights (Auslaenderrecht¹), and Canada Immigration Act).

In future comparisons of immigration between nations it is recommended that the country's unique concerns which effect immigration, for the period under examination, be seriously taken into consideration. It is also to be noted that although economic

¹ The regulated laws of the general "Foreigner Rights" decides from fundamental decision, that Germany has the right to limit the number of foreigners who desire to stay within its borders. "Die gesetzliche Regelung des allgemeinen Auslaenderrechts geht von der weiterhin grundsatzlichen Entscheidung aus, dass die Bundesrepublik Deutschland nicht unbegrenzt allen zugewanderungswilligen Auslaendern einen dauernden Aufenthalt ermoeeglichen kann." (Der Bundesminister des Innern, 4, 1991).

agreements are rampant internationally it would be wrong to conclude that the approaches of countries toward immigration will also become generalized. Immigration is a national issue, the approach to it is based on national concerns.

3 of/de 3

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

Micro-D

1000 COUNTY ROAD 5, BURNING WOOD, WV 26031 USA
TEL: 812-435-7867 FAX: 812-435-7867 TOLL: 800-526-0888

Appendix A

The following is an expansion of the British, French and German theorists who supported beliefs in variations in racial development.

The British Orientalist Sir William Jones (1746-1794) in 1788 established the foundations of modern comparative philology with his observation that similarities between the Greek, Sanskrit, Latin, Persian, Celtic and German languages were suggestive of a common ancestral tongue. He believed that there was evidence that the Gothic and Celtic had the same origin with Sanskrit. This allowed Thomas Young (1773-1829) who was the first to decipher the Rosetta Stone to coin the term "Indo-European" as the common root of the different languages. Linguistic paleontologists (paleontology the study of fossils) then began to identify language with race. Indo-European became not only a language group but a race of people otherwise known as "Aryan."

Franz Bopp (1791-1867) a German linguistic found that the great Indo-European linguistic family included seven branches: Greek, Italian, Teutonic, Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Albanian. Bopp named this group the Indo-Germanic which served to exclude the French and the English.

Through the writings of nationalists already discussed, such as Fichte and Herder, the idea of a superior language and racial group emerged amongst Anglo-German philologists.

Friedrich Müller (1823-1900) is attributed with having

popularized the word "Aryan." Müller argued that the terms Indo-European and Indo-Germanic should be replaced by Aryan, as the people who invaded India referred to themselves as "Arya." The fact that an Aryan language existed suggested that an Aryan race must have also existed and was the ancestor of Germans, Celts, Romans, Slavs, Greeks, Persians and Hindus.

The French theorist Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) categorized the world's races, as his predecessors did, into three groups: yellow, black and white¹. The white race for Gobineau contained the noble virtues of love of freedom, honour, and spirituality. These traits made it innately superior because the other two races, according to Gobineau, lacked these characteristics (Mosse, 53, 1978). Gobineau believed that the French nobility stemmed from the Frankish conquerors of the Gauls, that the Franks were ancient "Aryans" who were aristocrats from primeval Prussia, a "race of masters" who gave life to the Roman Empire (Tinker, 5, 1977).

In explaining why Aryan civilizations had declined, Gobineau said that it was due to mixing with inferior races which leads to degeneracy (Mosse, 1978; Tinker, 1977). The degeneration occurred in the Aryan race because, according to Gobineau, Europe was originally populated by a yellow race the "Finns." When the Aryans came they eventually started to mix with the lower race. Gobineau believed that the fate of the Aryan race was to be degenerated

¹ Gobineau rejected J.F. Blumenbach's five varieties of races and other writers' suggestions that more races existed because for Gobineau they contained "notorious hybrids" (Snyder, 47-8, 1962).

through intermixing, although it still had the potential to be stopped (Mosse, 1978; Tinker, 1977).

The effect that Gobineau's writings had on the Germans was enormous. Although he was no advocate of Germanism or anti-semitism his ideas were easily adopted by German nationalists.

In the early 1870's nationalists who wished to see a change in the political system argued that the Germany under Bismarck's rule was a betrayal of the German nation. This, for them, required a redefining of "nationality" (James, 91, 1989). These nationalists were anti-Liberal and anti-materialist, they considered the Liberals to be traitors because of their alliance with Bismarck's government. Three of the most important anti-Liberal intellectuals were Richard Wagner, Heinrich Treitschke, and Friedrich Nietzsche. Gobineau became of particular importance to Wagner's group and for that reason the other two will not be further discussed.

Richard Wagner, in the late 1870's, was having financial difficulties in having a theatre build in his town of Bayreuth. When his request for financial support from the central government was rejected his hatred of the Empire's materialism consolidated itself with his hatred of Bismarck. Wagner's attack on the empire and money focused his attention on anti-semitism (James, 1989). German nationalism, already in its early stages was anti-Semitic (Snyder, 1969)². Wagner, upon reading Gobineau's work, supported

² Friedrich Rühes, a history professor at the University of Berlin, in 1815, called for the exclusion of all Jews from all civil rights and suggested that the Jew should wear an insignia as

his writings as justification for his own hatred of Jews. Wagner's Bayreuth circle published Gobineau's work "Essay on the Inequality of Races." This led to the development of Gobineau followers (The Gobineau Society) organized by a member of Wagner's group Ludwig Scheemann (James, 1989). This society influenced the important right wing political movement the "Pan-German League." Gobineau's essay, as a result, came to be hailed by the members of the Bayreuth circle and the Pan-Germans as proof of German racial superiority.

a mark of recognition. In addition, in 1847 and 1859 attempts to emancipate the Jews was stopped by conservatives. In 1869 Bismarck decided to admit Jews to state service. When the stock exchange crashed in 1873 they were accused of having contrived it which flared anti-semitic sentiments and led to the publication of numerous anti-semitic works (Snyder, 1969).

Bibliography: Canada and Germany

Canada

Books, Articles and Government Documents:

- Avery, Donald "Continental European immigrant workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat" in Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 12(1), 1975, pp. 53-64.
- Avery, Donald and Neary Peter "Laurier, Borden and a White British Columbia" in Journal of Canadian Studies. 12(4), 1977, pp. 24-34.
- Avery, Donald "Canadian Immigration Policy and the "Foreign" Navvy, 1896-1914" in M.S. Cross and G.S. Kealey (ed.) The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896-1929, Readings in Canadian Social History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Publishers) Vol. 4, 1988.
- Bolaria, B. Singh "Migrants, Immigrants, and the Canadian Labour Force" in J. A. Fry (ed.) Contradictions in Canadian Society: Readings in Introductory Sociology. (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons) 1984, pp. 130-139.
- Bolaria, B. Singh and Li, Peter S. Racial Oppression in Canada. (Toronto: Garamond Press) 1988.
- Bovenkerk, Frank, Miles, Robert and Verbunt, Gilles "Comparative Studies of Migration and Exclusion on the Grounds of "Race" and Ethnic Background in Western Europe: A Critical Appraisal" in International Migration Review. Vol. 25 (2) 1991, pp. 375- 391.
- Boyd, Monica Temporary Workers in Canada: A Multifaceted Program. in International Migration Review: Special Issue Temporary Workers Program. Vol. 20, Winter 1986, pp. 929-950.
- Careless, J.M.S. Canada: A Story of Challenge. (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd.) 1991.
- Cowan, Helen I. British Immigration before Confederation. (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association Booklets No. 22) 1978.
- Currey, C.H. British Colonial Policy 1783-1915. (London: Oxford University Press) 1916.

Dales, John "Protection, immigration and canadian nationalism" in Peter Russell (ed.) Nationalism in Canada. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co.) 1966, pp. 164-177.

Department of Justice A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts: 1867 to 1987. pp. 37.

Employment and Immigration Advisory Council Symposium on Immigrant Settlement and Integration: Symposium Report. Toront, May 28-29, 1990.

Employment and Immigration Advisory Council Immigration: A Policy for Growth. August 1985.

Employment and Immigration Canada Demography and Immigration in Canada: Challenge and Opportunity. November, 1987.

Employment and Immigration Canada Demographic Considerations in determining future levels of Immigration to Canada. September 1988.

Employment and Immigration Canada Annual Report to Parliament: Immigration Plan for 1991-1995. October 1990.

Employment and Immigration Canada Backgrounders to the Annual Report to Parliament: Immigration Plan for 1991-1995. October 1990.

Employment and Immigration Canada Canada-Quebec Accord: Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens. February 1991.

Employment and Immigration Canada Annual Report to Parliament: Immigration Plan for 1991-1995: Year Two. November 1991.

Employment and Immigration Policy Branch Immigration to Canada: Issues for discussion.

Francis, E.K. Interethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory. (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co.) 1976.

Gates, Paul W. "Official Encouragement to Immigration by the Province of Canada" in Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 25, No. 1, 1934, pp. 24-38.

Godler, Zlata "Doctors and the New Immigrants" in Canadian Ethnic Studies. 1977 9(1):6-17.

Granatstein, J.L. Canada 1957-1967: The Years of uncertainty and Innovations. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart) 1986, pp. 2-7.

- Hawkins, Freda Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared. (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press) 1991.
- Heisler, Martin O. "Transnational Migration as a Small Window on the Diminished Autonomy of the Modern State" in The Annals of the American Academy. 485, May 1986, pp.153-166.
- Islam, Nasir "Canada's Immigration Policy: Compassion, Economic Necessity, or Lifeboat Ethics?" in How Ottawa Spends: 1989-90: The Buck Stops Where? Katherine A. Graham (Ottawa, Carleton University Press) 1989.
- Johnson, Harry G. "The Economics of the "Brain Drain": The Canadian Case" in Minerva. Vol. 3, 1965, pp. 299-311.
- Kent, Tom A Public Purpose: An Experience of Liberal Opposition and Canadian Government. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press) 1988.
- Kritz, Mary M. "International Migration Policies: Conceptual Problems" in International Migration Review. Vol. 21 (4) 1987, 947-964.
- Mackenzie, Norman and Laing, Lionel H. Canada and the Law of Nations. (Toronto: Ryerson Press) 1938, pp. 194-198.
- Manpower and Immigration White Paper on Immigration. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer) October 1966.
- Manpower and Immigration Green Paper on Immigration: Immigration Policy Perspectives. Vol. 1, Ottawa, 1974.
- McDougall, D. J. "Lord John Russell and the Canadian Crisis 1837-1841" in Canadian Historical Review. 22:4 (1941), pp. 369-388.
- McDougall, Barbara "Minister tables five-year immigration plan" Minister of Employment and Immigration, October 25, 1990.
- Morocco, F.N. and Gosett, H.M. Annotated Immigration Act of Canada. (Toronto: Carswell Press) 1990.
- Newman, Peter C. Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.) 1964, pp. 98-101.
- Ormsby, William "The Problem of Canadian Union 1822-1828" in Canadian Historical Review. 39:4, 1958, pp. 278-282.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques The Social Contract. translated by Maurice Cranston (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.) 1968.

- Samuel, T.J. and Jansson, Mikael Canada's Immigration level and the economic and demographich environment, 1967-1987. (Policy and Program Development Immigration) March 1988.
- Satzewich, V. "Rethinking Post-1945 Migration to Canada: Towards a Political Economy of Labour Migration" in International Migration Review. Vol. 28, No. 3, Sept. 1990, pp. 327-345.
- Schuyler, Robert L. "The Rise of Anti-Imperialism in England" in Political Science Quarterly. 37:3, 1922, pp. 440-471.
- Scott, Frank R. Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. Vol. 8:3 (1942), pp. 386-415.
- Slowe, Peter "Nationhood and statehood in Canada" in Michael Chrisholm and David M. Smith ed. Shared Space Divided Space: Essays on conflict and Territorial Organization. 1989, pp.67-83.
- Stacey, C.P. "Britain's Withdrawal from North America" in Canadian Historical Review. 36:3 (1955), pp. 185-198.
- Statutes of Canada "An Act respecting Immigration and Immigrants" in Statutes of Canada. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer) 1869, pp. 32-45.
- Statutes of Canada "An Act to amend the Act 31st Victoria, chapter 66, respecting Aliens and Naturalization" in Statutes of Canada. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer) 1871, pp. 94- 95.
- Statutes of Canada "An Act to amend the Immigration Act of 1869" in Statutes of Canada. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer) 1872, pp. 114-124.
- Timlin, Mabel F. "Canada" in Brinley Thomas (ed.) Economics of International Migration. (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd.) 1958, pp. 146-162.
- Valcourt, Bernard "Minister Valcourt tables 1992 immigration plan" Minister of Employment and Immigration, November 1, 1991.
- Wong, Lloyd T. "Canada's Guestworkers: Some Comparisons of Temporary Workers in Europe and North America" in International Migration Review. Vol. 18, No. 1, spring 1984, pp. 85-97.

Parliament (Commons Debates)

- Badanai, Hubert, October 9, 1962, pp. 311-312.
Crestohl, L.D., April 17, 1951, pp. 2125-2131.

Glen, May 5, 1947, pp. 2783.
 Gordon, March 29, 1883, pp. 328.
 McKay, E.B., May 2, 1947, pp. 2732.
 King, W.L. Mackenzie May 1, 1947, pp. 2644-2647.
 Pickersgill October 17, 1947, pp. 97-98.
 Stewart, Alistair June 10, 1952, pp. 3078-3079.
 Trow, April 20, 1877, pp. 1655-1656.
 Tuppe, Dr., November 25, 1867, pp. 221.

Newspaper Articles

Bryden, Joan "Crackdown: Enforcement rules get tougher" in The Ottawa Citizen. November 2, 1991, p. 3.
 Enchin, Harvey "Canada unprepared for EC unity: report" in The Globe and Mail. February 19, 1992, pp. B1 and B20.
 Anonymous, "Charges of treachery, racism aired in Bonn" in The Globe and Mail. October 19, 1991, p. A8.
 Koring, Paul "Storm cloud builds in Europe" in The Globe and Mail. November 21, 1991, pp. A1 and A8.

Interviews

Mr. Brian Grant, Research Specialist for the Free Trade Unit for Immigration Canada. Ottawa February 28, 1991. Telephone No. 953-7720.

Germany

Books, Articles and Government Documents

Aksoeyek, Dr. Ataman "Federal Republic of Germany: Thirty years of Turkish Immigration" in The Courier: Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Community. No. 129, Sept.-Oct. 1991, pp. 60-63
 Barraclough, G. "The Empire and the People in Modern Germany" in The Origins of Modern Germany. (London:Compton Printing Works) 1962.
 Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der auslaendischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehoerigen Das Amt der Auslaenderbeauftragten. November 1986.

Butler, Friedrich and Dietz, Frido "Die Auslaender auf dem Arbeitsmarkt" in Charlotte Hoehn and Detlev B. Rein (editors) Auslaender in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Published by the Federal Institute for Population Studies (Wiesbaden: Harald Boldt Publishers) 1990, pp. 99-119.

Cohn-Bendit, Daniel "Das Boot ist zu leer" in Der Spiegel. No. 35, August 26, 1991.

Cromm, Jürgen "Bevoelkerungsentwicklung in Deutschland" in Informationen zur politischen Bildung: Bevoelkerungsentwicklung. No. 220, Third Quarter 1988, pp. 14-22.

Eley, Geoff "Some Thoughts on the Nationalist Pressure Groups in Imperial Germany" in Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (ed.) Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914. (Oxford: The Macmillan Press Ltd.) 1981, pp.40-67.

Ergang, Robert Reinhold Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism. (New York: Columbia University Press) 1931.

Esser, Hartmut and Korte, Hermann "Federal Republic of Germany" in Tomas Hammar (ed.) European Immigration Policy. (New York: Cambridge University Press) 1985, pp.165-205.

Federal Statistical Office Statistical Compass 1990: Federal Republic of Germany. (Stuttgart: Metzler-Poeschel Verlag), 1991.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb Reden an die deutsche Nation. English Language Translation (New York: Harper and Row Inc.) 1968.

Financial Times Monday November 11, 1991, p.6.

Free Democratic Party (FDP) Liberales Positionen zur Aussiedler-, Asyl- und Auslaenderpolitik. (Sankt Augustin: Liberal Verlag) 1989.

Gall, Lothar Fragen und die deutsche Geschichte: Ideen, Kraefte, Entscheidungen Von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart. (Bonn: German Bundestag Publications) 1989.

Geiss, B., Reichow, H., Schmidt, B., and Dr.Winkler-Poehler, B., Das Amt der Auslaenderbeauftragten. (Bonn) 1986.

Geissler, Heiner "Kein Grund zur Angst" in Der Spiegel. No. 41, October 7, 1991, p. 23.

- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S., Jenny, R.K., and Perruchoud, R. "Basic Humanitarian Principles Applicable to Non-Nationals" in International Migration Review. Vol.19, No.3, Fall 1985, pp.556-569.
- Hailbronner, Kay "Citizenship and Nationhood in Germany" in William Rogers Brubaker (ed.) Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America. (New York: University Press of America) 1989, pp.67-79.
- Heckmann, Friedrich "Temporary Labour Migration or Immigration? "Guest Workers" in the Federal Republic of Germany" in Rosemarie Rogers (ed.) Guests Come to Stay: The effect of European labour migration on sending countries. (London: Westview Press) 1985, pp.69-83.
- Hein, Christoph "Wir haben Angst zu verarmen" in Der Spiegel. No. 50, December 9, 1991, pp. 75-81.
- Heitmeyer, Wilhelm "Tief in den Alltag eingesickert" Der Spiegel. No. 41, October 7, 1991, pp.32-33.
- Herbert, Ulrich Geschichte der Auslaenderbeschaeftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter. (Berlin, Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Publishers) 1986.
- Hoffmann, Lutz Beiraete - Wahlrecht - Bürgerrecht: zur politische Particizpation der nicht deutsche Einwohner in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (Frankfurt (Main): Dgyeli) 1986.
- International Labour Organization "What Prospects for Migrant After 1992" in Migration Today. No. 42, 1990, pp. 10-11.
- Irving, R.E.M. and Paterson, W.E. "The 1990 German General Election" in Parliamentary Affairs: A Journal of Comparative Politics. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) Vol. 44, No. 3, July 1991, pp. 353-372.
- James, Harold A German Identity 1770-1990. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson) 1989.
- Joachimsen, Paul Vom Deutschen Volk zum Deutschen Staat. (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1967.
- Jürgens, Hans W. "Bevoelkerung und Statistik" in Informationen zur politischen Bildung: Bevoelkerungsentwicklung. No. 220, Third Quarter 1988, pp. 1-13.

- Korte, Hermann "Labour Migration and the Employment of Foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany Since 1950" in Rosemarie Rogers (ed.) Guests Come to Stay: The effects of European Labour migration on sending countries. (London: Westview Press) 1985, pp.29-49.
- Lenders, Marc "European Commission" in Migration Today. No. 42, 1990, pp. 4-5.
- Mamney, Ulrich "35 Jahre Auslaender in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - die demographische Entwicklung" in Charlotte Hoehn and Detlev B. Rein (editors) Auslaender in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Published by the Federal Institute for Population Studies (Wiesbaden: Harald Boldt Publishers) 1990, pp. 55-82.
- Marschalck, Peter Deutsche Ueberseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevoelkerung. (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag) 1973.
- Matheson, James H.E. "The immigration issue in the Community" in The Courier: Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Community. No. 129, Sept.-Oct. 1991, pp. 56-60.
- Meier-Braun, Karl-Heinz "Ausländer und anderer Zuwanderer: Nach der Vereinigung Deutschlands ist eine Einwanderungspolitik notwendig" in Der Bürger im Staat: Soziale Brennpunkte. 40, 4, December 1990, pp.232-239.
- Ministry of Internal Affairs Das neue Auslaenderrecht der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. March 1991.
- Moodley, Ronnie "Migrant Workers Organize Against Fortress Europe" in Migration Today. No. 42, 1990, pp. 6-7
- Mosse, George L. Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism. (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc.) 1978.
- O'Brien, Peter "The Civil Rights of West Germany's Migrants" in German Politics and Society. (Mindade Gunzberg Centre for European Studies: Harvard University) Spring 1990, Issue No. 19, pp. 66-89.
- Otto, Karl A. Westwaerts - Heimwaerts? (Bielefeld: AJZ Verlag) 1990.
- Papademetriou, Demtrios G. "International Migration in North America and Western Europe" in Reginald Appleyard International Migraton Today. Vol. 1 (Belgium: UNESCO) 1988, pp.311-375.

- Perruchoud, R. "Family Reunification" in International Migration Review. Vol.27, No.4, December 1989, pp.509-522.
- Quaritsch, Helmut Recht auf Asyl: Studien zu einem missdeuteten Grundrecht. (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt) 1985.
- Reimann, Horst and Helga Reimann "Federal Republic of Germany" in Ronald E. Krane (ed.) International Labor Migration in Europe. (New York: Praeger Publishers) 1979, pp.63-87
- Reimann, H. and Reimann, H. Gastarbeiter. (Munich: Westdeutscher Press (Verlag)) 1987.
- Rose, Arnold M. Migrants in Europe. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) 1969.
- Schaeuble, Wolfgang Wir wollen ein gutes Miteinander von Deutschen und Auslaendern. (Bremen: Bundesparteitag der CDU) 1939.
- Schneider, Robin "Asylum and Xenophobia in West Germany" in Robin Cohen and Danièle Joly (ed.) Reluctant Hosts: Europe and its refugees. (Vermont: Aveburg Gower Pub. Co. Ltd.) 1989, pp.162-9.
- Schnibben, Cordt "Wenn wir gehen, hauen die ab" in Der Spiegel. Nr. 42, 14 October 1991, pp.48-57.
- Schubarth, Wilfried "Fremde als Sündenboecke" in Der Spiegel (Special Report): Das Profil der Deutschen Was sie vereint, was sie Trennt. No.1, 1991, pp.47-49.
- Snyder, Louis L. German Nationalism: The Tragedy of a People. (Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press) 1969.
- Social Democratic Party (SPD) Materialien Hilfe statt Abwehr. (Bonn:Courir-Druck GmbH) 1991.
- Sommer, Theo "Germany: United but not a World Power" in European Affairs. Vol. 5, February/March 1991, pp. 38-41.
- Statistischer Bundesamt Statistisches Jahrbuch 1990 für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (Wiesbaden: Metzler- Poeschel Verlag) 1990.
- Statistical Office of the FRG Statistical Compass 1990: Federal Republic of Germany. (Wiesbaden: Metzler-Poeschel Verlag) 1990.
- Treibel, Annette Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung und Gastarbeiter. (Weinheim und München: Juventa Verlag) 1990.

Tinker, Hugh Race, Conflict and the International Order. (New York: Macmillan Press Ltd.) 1977.

Valentin, Veit The German People: Their history and civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.) 1949.

Walker, Mack Germany and the Emigration: 1816-1885. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press) 1964.

Weiss, Konrad "Quoten sind eine bittere Sache" in Der Spiegel. Nr. 38, September 16, 1991, pp. 59-63.

Newspaper Articles

Anonymous, "Charges of treachery, racism aired in Bonn" in The Globe and Mail. October 19, 1991, p. A8.

Koring, Paul "Storm cloud builds in Europe" in The Globe and Mail. November 21, 1991, pp. A1 and A8.

Interviews

Reichhart, Bruchard "Foreigner Specialist" for the federal branch of the SPD. Bonn, 25 August 1991. Telephone interview, Germany (0228) 532200.

Diederichs, Klaus "Foreigner Specialist" for the federal branch of the FDP. Bonn, 25 August 1991. Telephone interview, (0228) 5418.

Mr. Leitner, Specialist on the Statistics on Foreigners in the office of the German Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden, August 1991. Telephone number (0611) 752026.

Schmidt, Bernhard Manager of the Interministerial Labour Staffing Representative of the Federal Government for Questions on Foreigners. Personal Interview, March 22, 1991. 80 Lengsdorfer Hauptstrasse, 5300 Bonn 1, telephone (0228) 5272307.

United Nations Department of Public Information States Parties to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. May 20, 1991.

END

23.1 2.92

FIN