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'Fortress Europe?'- Circular Letter is the organ of **Platform 'Fortress Europe?'** and of the **GENEVA GROUP - Violence and Asylum in Europe**. The 'Platform' is an informal international network concerned with European harmonisation in the fields of internal security, policing, justice, data protection, immigration and asylum and its effects on fundamental rights and liberties. It is associated with the European Civic Forum. The **GENEVA GROUP - Violence and Asylum in Europe** came into being in 1993 at a conference organised by the University of Geneva. The Group wishes to contribute to international multidisciplinary discussion on the right to asylum and its interaction with other developments in society. The objective of the Circular Letter is to offer a forum for mutual information, analysis and critical debate among experts and laypeople, scholars and practitioners. The Circular Letter is published 10 times a year. It offers a selection of news, comment and messages based essentially on the contributions of its readers.

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SWITZERLAND

NEW LAW ON "COMPULSORY MEASURES" AGAINST FOREIGNERS

On 18 March, the Swiss federal parliamentary assembly adopted new provisions of the foreigner law introducing "compulsory measures" against foreigners. The new articles allow for the detention of foreigners older than 15 for up to one year, even if they have not been found guilty of a crime. Furthermore, foreigners can be ordered to stay in or keep away from certain areas decreed by the authorities. Police may search any house on mere suspicion that a foreigner subject to an expulsion order might be hiding there. The new measures are unique in Europe.

Territorial bans

Police authorities of the Cantons (constituent states) can order any foreigner without a residence permit not to leave, or not to enter a designed particular area if he/she "disturbs or endangers public security and order". A ban remains in force even if a legal challenge to it has been mounted. Non-compliance may be punished with up to one year of imprisonment.

"Preparatory detention"

The law introduces a new form of detention, the so called "preparatory detention". It can be ordered by police authorities (!) in order to secure the execution of an expulsion procedure pending the preparation of a decision.

Preparatory detention can be ordered (for example) whenever the identity of a foreigner is uncertain due to his own behaviour, and when a foreigner fails to comply with a territorial ban, applies for asylum after a legally valid expulsion measure or is subject to criminal prosecution following serious threats against individuals.

Detention for expulsion

In order to secure the carrying-out of an expulsion measure following a first administrative decision, the cantonal authorities can

- keep a foreigner previously subjected to preparatory detention in custody;
- detain a person on the same grounds as the ones used to justify preparatory detention and, additionally, in presence of "concrete indications" that they intend to evade deportation.

This form of detention is limited to three months but can be prolonged by a maximum of six months upon approval of the judiciary. This implies that a foreigner first held in "preparatory detention" may be detained for up to a year without having been found guilty by a court and by mere decision of cantonal police authorities. Judicial control, if any, is provided for only after the event.

All measures above can be pronounced against foreigners older than 15 years.

Stephan Trechsel, a Professor of law and Swiss representative at the European Commission on Human Rights involved in drawing up the bill, involuntarily revealed the ambiguity of such legislation when asserting that even if someone had been deprived of their liberty under one of the above measures, this did not imply that they were in fact guilty of anything.

Bodily search and house search without a mandate by a judge

During an expulsion procedure a foreigner can be submitted to a bodily search and police can search any home or other premises without a mandate by a judge on the mere suspicion that a foreigner subject to an expulsion or deportation measure is hiding there.

According to the law, persons detained under the provisions above should, whenever possible, be held separately from convicted and remand prisoners.

Cantons that build detention centres for foreigners may have their costs reimbursed by the Swiss Confederation.

Referendum campaign against the new legislation

Against the background of a populist right-wing campaign against "asylum abuse" and "criminal foreigners" (see CL No. 19, p. 3) the "compulsory measures" were introduced under an accelerated legislative procedure and without significant opposition in parliament.

Ever since, however, opposition against the new law has been on the increase.

Critics of the law have formed a committee aiming at obtaining a popular referendum. In Switzerland any law adopted by parliament must be submitted to a referendum if at least 50,000 voters require so by signing a referendum list.

The "Committee against compulsory measures in foreigner law" hopes to gather the necessary signatures before 4 July, the date when the law will otherwise enter into effect.

The actual strong anti-foreigner sentiments among the Swiss population combined with a massive campaign on "internal security" by police authorities leave little hope for a popular vote against the new law. But for the initiators of the referendum campaign, manifesting opposition against a law they consider as unconstitutional and genuinely discriminatory is a matter of principle and political credibility and will pay off in the long term.

One of the prominent supporters of a referendum, the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Jean Pierre Hocké, does not mince his words: "The legislator has gone too far in order to placate the xenophobes. Yet by doing so, such people are only encouraged to demand more and more." The law creates the risk that different categories of foreigners will be created, Mr. Hocké asserts, and he warns against its

possible effect of a "general discrimination against foreigners".

In the view of Andreas Auer, professor of public law at the University of Geneva, "never before has a law as discriminatory and dangerous for human rights been adopted in Switzerland".

Supporters justified the law by pointing to the need to combat drug related crime and improve public security. But the Swiss section of Democratic Jurists points out that the law is unlikely to become an efficient instrument of crime control considering that even existing criminal law is not systematically enforced. Instead, the "compulsory measures" are likely to foster arbitrariness, the Democratic Jurists claim. The law, they say, threatens not only fundamental rights of foreign offenders, but of foreigners as a whole and even genuine Swiss citizens. Indeed, the law permits police to carry out random house searches under the pretext of hunting a foreigner eluding deportation. There is unanimity among the opponents of the law that the "compulsory measures" could soon prove to have a domino effect by paving the way for the gradual introduction of further special legislation to the prejudice of other sectors of the population.

Until now, support from political parties for the referendum campaign has been all but non-existent. However, bowing to growing protests in its own ranks, the Swiss Social Democratic Party recently reversed its decision not to support a referendum campaign it viewed as doomed to certain failure and formally joined the referendum committee.

Sources: Bundesgesetz über Zwangsmassnahmen im Ausländerrecht (Federal law on compulsory measures in foreigner law), 18 March 1994; *Die Wochenzeitung*, 18.3.94; *Tagesanzeiger*, 23.4.94; *SonntagsZeitung*, 1.5.94.

SWISS DEVELOPMENT AID IN COMBATTING CRIME AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION

Switzerland is to assist the Czech Republic in combatting crime. The Swiss Federal Minister of Justice and Police, Arnold Koller and the Czech Interior Minister, Jan Ruml, signed a common declaration on co-operation in this field during a visit of Mr. Koller in Prague, on 11 May.

The talks between the two Ministers centered on co-operation over "internal stability", the fight against organised crime - in particular, money laundering.

After their meeting the two ministers were unanimous in asserting that illegal migration posed a threat to internal security in both countries. The Swiss minister emphasised that governments must always and immediately take clear position against expressions of xenophobia. On the other hand, the public must be convinced that the authorities do not minimise the problem and are in control of the situation, Mr. Koller added.

The two ministers further agreed on taking up talks aiming at a bilateral treaty on the return of rejected refugees in the spirit of the Budapest Conference goal of creating a European system of treaties in this field (see CL No.13, p.1; CL No.16, p.5).

Police co-operation between the two states has intensified after Mr. Koller's visit to the Czech Republic, a year ago. In April, Czech police officers attended a training course in Switzerland on organised crime. Similar courses on computer, drug related and economic crime are to take place within this year. Switzerland will also assist the Czech Republic in reorganising its criminal investigation forces. According to Mr. Koller, a Swiss pilot project in this field has already brought about "concrete positive results" in Hungary.

Arnold Koller also met the Czech Minister of Justice, Novak. Talks focused on money laundering. At a joint press conference Mr. Novak said that work of his ministry on a draft bill on the fight against money laundering was progressing and that the Czech Republic would be among the first countries in eastern Central Europe to adopt such legislation.

The Czech Minister pointed out that the draft bill contained a number of elements included in the extension of the Swiss provisions on money laundering and he emphasised the "positive role of know-how transfer" in drawing up the Czech bill. In his turn, Mr. Koller stressed that "effective international communication and co-operation were extremely important in particular in fighting against drug related and money laundering crime.

Sources: *Berner Zeitung*, 11.5.94; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 15/16.5.93.

GERMANY

INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AGAINST ORGANISED CRIME?

Eckart Werthebach, president of the *Verfassungsschutz*, Germany's internal intelligence service, has called on the major political parties to combat organised crime "more efficiently". His agency was willing and able to assist police and public prosecution whenever requested, Mr. Werthebach said at a conference of the Friedrich Ebert foundation in Berlin, on 15 April.

A situation report published the same day by the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation, BKA, also suggests that Mafia

syndicates are posing a growing threat to internal security. Mafia groups have further consolidated their organisational structures in 1993, according to the report, and are successfully trying to exercise control of the public administration. The BKA report mentions cases of Mafia influence on politics, justice and economic activity. The total damage caused by Mafia criminality in Germany amounts to 1.9 billion DM.

According to the president of the Verfassungsschutz, the fight against the Mafia requires comprehensive investigation of its structures, its direction and forms of communication - "a typical intelligence task". Unlike the intelligence services, the police are prohibited by law from carrying out such pro-active observation activities outside criminal investigation. This is why Werthebach advocates a "division of work" among police and intelligence services in combatting organised crime, thus allowing for the full use of the legal powers of both institutions.

Source: Die Welt, 16/17.4.94

SPAIN

THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR: A NEW WALL OF SHAME

Immigration is a recent phenomenon in Spain. Until 1974 Spanish emigrants outnumbered immigrants. At that time, Spain offered no work opportunities. But democratisation and the gradual integration into the European Community led to an era of economic expansion, and with most European states hardening their immigration policies, Spain soon became one of the last countries open to immigration and was soon considered a springboard for immigrants heading for Northern Europe. In recent years, however, the government has sought to "harmonise" its immigration policy with the other EU-member states. Ever since, illegal immigration has increased and the Strait of Gibraltar has become a regular scene of human tragedies.

Now Spain has become a country of immigration. The total number of foreigners amounts to 600,000, i.e. 1.5 per cent of the population. Between 10 and 15 per cent of immigrants come from Morocco. Until 1990, the Moroccan government, in an effort to prove its willingness to co-operate as a responsible partner with the European states in curbing immigration, tried to prevent its citizens from emigrating by rendering it difficult to obtain a passport. But in 1990, the rules were eased in an obvious attempt to shift the problem to the EC. By doing so, the Moroccan government used its emigrants both as a major source of national income and a means of exerting pressure in bargaining with the EC. In May 1991, Spain introduced a visa obligation for North African countries and thus became the southern "gate keeper" of the EC.

Ever since, illegal immigration has increased rapidly, in spite of an impressive policing structure set up by the government in order to stop the flow. The smuggling of immigrants to Spain has given rise to unscrupulous mafia activity. Illegal immigrants arrive in "pateras", small, boats (five metres long and two metres wide), often packed with 20 - 40 people. The fare is the equivalent to 10,000 French francs per person. Among the smugglers there are real professionals and swindlers. The professionals know the whole Spanish coast like the back of their hands. They are capable of evading radar surveillance by zigzagging and navigating behind large fishing boats, and usually safely disembark their passengers on a remote beach.

As the point where the Atlantic meets the Mediterranean, the Strait of Gibraltar is a dangerous zone for navigation. Strong currents and winds are frequent. The small, overloaded "pateras" often succumb to heavy seas.

Since 1988, around a thousand people have drowned. Many of them are black Africans who have never learned to swim. Some smugglers also "drop" their passengers before arriving at the coast, in order to reduce the risk of being discovered. On 7 February 1992, 300 persons arrived at the coast of Almeria in two boats.

Recently, however, as a result of ever more intense coast-guard activities, only few small boats still manage to leave Morocco.

Would-be immigrants therefore pay twice the fare in bribes (20,000 French francs) to sailors and port employees to make the passage as clandestine passengers on large merchant vessels or ferries. If discovered by the police in Algeria, they are sent back to Morocco, where they are detained. But many try again. After release from detention, nobody can stop them saving up for a new attempt. The "rule of silence" is still alive in Morocco.

In accordance with a treaty agreed between King Hassan II and the EC, any person trying to cross the Strait illegally can be punished. Pending trial, the accused are held in the former bull-fighting arena at Tanger. Among others, the Catholic bishop of the port city, a Spanish Franciscan, has denounced the conditions of detention in the arena. Detainees' lives were endangered because of permanent hunger and dehydration, the bishop said. Meanwhile Human Rights organisations have presented a report on the situation in the camp to the European parliament.

Legal emigration through application for a work permit in a foreign country at the Moroccan Office of Employment has become all but impossible. There is a waiting list of 3,000. The official at the entrance of the office demands 1,000 dirhams per person and the official making the documents issuing the document demands additional 1,000 dirhams.

After introducing the visa obligation, the Spanish government decided to legalise restricted immigration by establishing a quota determined each year by the government according to the state of the labour market. Last year, the quota was set at 24,000 permits, mostly for seasonal workers in the agricultural and domestic work sectors. The news of the new quota regulation provoked a run on Spanish consulates in Rabat, Tanger and Casablanca. Riot police were called in to disperse the crowds.

In 1991, the tense situation created by increasing illegal immigration and growing pressure from immigrant associations resulted in the Spanish government initiating a process of regularisation, between 10 June and 10 December. Applicants, however, had to present a work pre-contract as a pre-requisite for obtaining a residence and a work permit. Swindlers and unscrupulous entrepreneurs soon took advantage of this by selling pre-contracts for a sum equivalent to 5,000 French francs.

Thus, in contrast to Italy, where a similar form of amnesty was granted without any obligation other than presenting a passport, the Spanish requirement of a six month work precontract is causing anguish among many immigrants working as seasonal workers and for all kinds of more or less dubious businessmen.

In mid March, the Spanish media reported the death of 12 Moroccans who had tried to cross the Strait in a rubber dinghy. The two only survivors were immediately sent back to Morocco. This was the end of a tragic journey that had cost each traveller 5,000 French francs.

Many observers believe that illegal immigration is likely to continue, if not increase, because of common Moroccan and Spanish interests. In Spain, agriculture has expanded rapidly within the last ten years. Today, the same Spanish farmers who, not so long ago, experienced the hardships of immigration as grapepickers in France are subjecting North Africans to the same situation for the simple reason that the price of the native agricultural work force is high.

Diamantino Garcia, a co-founder of SOC, a union-based movement of landless agricultural labourers in Andalusia, and president of the Sevilla Human Rights Association, is worried about future trends. In Andalusia, unemployment is running at 34 per cent and Garcia fears that this might soon lead to serious tensions between unemployed Spaniards and clandestine immigrant workers.

Ascension Uriarte

Sources: *Immigración magrebí en España, el retorno de los moriscos*, Bernabé López, colecciones Mapfre, 1992; *Dormir al raso*, M. el Gheryb and P. Moreno Torregosa, ediciones Vosa; interview with Diamantino Garcia, SOC, Sevilla.

KOSOVO

KOSOVO-ALBANIANS IN SWITZERLAND: TEMPORARY HALT ON DEPORTATIONS

Several hundred rejected asylum seekers from Kosovo have been permitted to stay in Switzerland until further notice. The Federal Office for Refugees (BFF) is still in search of a new travel route to Kosovo. Negotiations with Hungary and Bulgaria are dragging on.

In October 1993, the Swiss authorities were forced to stop deportations of Kosovo-Albanians whose asylum application has been turned down, when the government of Macedonia refused to allow further deportations via Skopje airport (See CL No.20, p.8). The Macedonian about-turn had domestic reasons: The Macedonian government must take into account its strong Albanian minority.

Ever since, Switzerland, Germany, and other western European states have been looking for a new deportation route.

Switzerland has reached an agreement with Hungary, but the treaty has yet to be ratified by the newly elected Hungarian parliament. According to the speaker of the Swiss Federal Office for Refugees (BFF), Heinz Schöni, this is likely to take a long time. At the moment Switzerland is relying more on an agreement with Bulgaria, Mr. Schöni says. In the event of the opening of a Bulgarian route, the rejected Kosovo-Albanians would be transported by bus from Sofia to Kosovo. A speedy agreement is, however, not probable there either. Initially, the Swiss authorities had expected the Bulgarian route to be open by the beginning of this year. But meanwhile it seems uncertain whether an agreement will be reached before the end of 1994.

No change of policy

International observers are regularly reporting that the Serb controlled Kosovo region is on the brink of civil war. But Mr. Schöni insists that his Office does not share this view. The BFF is standing firm on its earlier assessment that, now as before, deportations to Kosovo are reasonable and that Switzerland has no intention of stopping deportations.

Meanwhile, the approx. 1500 rejected Kosovo--Albanian asylum seekers in Switzerland are awaiting an uncertain destiny.

Source: Tagwacht, 11.5.94.

SERBIA DENIES ENTRY TO KOSOVOALBANIAN RETURNEES FROM SWEDEN

For more than a month, the Serb authorities have readmitted none of the rejected Kosovo Albanian asylum seekers forcibly returned by Sweden, in spite of an earlier bilateral arrangement providing for the return of nationals who had previously been approved by the rump-Yugoslav (FRY) embassy in Stockholm.

In May, a total of 53 Kosovo-Albanian returnees were stopped at the border by Serb border guards although their identity documents had been checked and approved by the Stockholm embassy of the FRY.

The measure concerns Kosovo-Albanians whose application has been rejected by Sweden and who were forcibly returned by the Swedish police after refusing voluntary departure. A spokesman of the Swedish police said that the Serb authorities had given no reason for their abrupt change of policy.

The Swedish authorities decided to halt the deportation of Kosovo-Albanians until further notice.

Earlier, the Swedish-Serb arrangement had drawn strong criticism from humanitarian organisations in Sweden. There was concern that the Serb authorities would make use of the Swedish advance information on returnees for registering politically undesirable persons. "This is throwing people to the lions", Madeleine Seidlitz, a Stockholm based asylum lawyer said. "It is obvious that something is going very wrong when an embassy requires information on its own nationals with valid passports before allowing them to return home. Meanwhile the embassy of the FRY said that it would no longer check travel documents in advance and that control should take place upon entry as before. This does however not imply that returnees will be allowed to cross the border.

Source: Svenska Dagbladet, 1.6.94.

UNHCR CALLS FOR A STOP ON DEPORTATIONS TO KOSOVO

The situation of Kosovo-Albanians who have been returned to the FRY by various western European countries has drastically deteriorated, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) says. The Serb police are harassing returnees simply because they have sought asylum elsewhere. The UNHCR therefore calls on the international community to stop deportations to Kosovo.

Previously, the UNHCR advocated "generosity" in examining asylum applications of Kosovo Albanians but did not principally object to returns on condition that each particular case be carefully examined prior to deportation. At that time, the UNHCR considered that although harassment of Kosovo-Albanians returned to their home country occurred from time to time it was haphazard and did not exceed harassment suffered by the Albanian population in the FRY in general.

At present, however, the UNHCR is revising its policy. "I have changed my assessment because of information I have received about what is happening to asylum seekers who have been returned", Björn Wakman, the UNHCR's observer in Kosovo said to the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet*. "Returnees now are reporting that their stay in Sweden constituted a reason for visits and ill-treatment by the Serb police... I don't think they should be sent back and that is what I wrote in my reports".

Source: Svenska Dagbladet, 2.6.94

ITALY

CRACKDOWN ON ITALIAN COMPUTER COMMUNICATIONS ACTIVISTS

State power throughout Europe readily embraces the new communications technology but tends to show mistrust against ordinary citizens seeking to use it themselves. In Germany the Interior Ministry is considering measures for more strict control of electronic mail communications (see CL No.20 , p.4). More recently, in Italy, the Finance police cracked down on system operators.

On 3 June, the Taranto Finance Police visited the Taras Communications bulletin board system (BBS), the main national Peacelink node and data-bank [A BBS is a computer system that allows messages to be posted for anybody who logs onto the system via the public telephone system with a computer and a modem. Nodes are local access points for a BBS, i.e. ways of logging on by dialling a local rather than a long distance telephone number].

Giovanni Pugliese and his wife were charged for the possession of "illegally copied software and electronic equipment suitable to falsification." Acting after a warrant issued

by the Prosecutor of Taranto, the police searched the apartment of Giovanni Pugliese and his wife for more than 5 hours (from 5 pm to 10.30 pm). Finance officials sealed off the PC on which the BBS run and seized 174 floppy disks - leaving behind the monitor and the only available modem. Because the Taranto node hosts most of the network archives and all the email (electronic mail) traffic, the entire national Peacelink net was down after the police raid.

Peacelink is an independent network completely dedicated to peace, human rights and ecology issues. The network is well-known even outside Italy and recently hosted a national conference on peace-related matters, becoming also an important communication link for people in the former Yugoslavia and the outside world.

Peacelink is operating more than 30 nodes throughout Italy and several Fidonet gateways [Fidonet is a multinational amateur network of bulletin boards, which allows messages to be transmitted globally from BBS to BBS]. Currently a project is underway to connect directly to a number of networks belonging to the Association for Progressive Communications (APC). APC was founded in the USA and is a world-wide electronic communications network sponsored mainly by NGOs in the fields of human rights, civil liberties, peace and environment.

"Taras Communications BBS has never had anything to do with software piracy and is well known for its activities related to humanitarian, peace, social issues," Giovanni Pugliese said. "Peacelink and its sister Fidonet Italia network had always pursued a very restrictive policy against any illegally copied software on their systems. Because Taras Communications BBS is the main National node of Peacelink network, its forced closure, hopefully very short, will result in a great damage for those hundreds of people - including journalists, activists, volunteers - that were widely relying upon its everyday services."

The first phase of the crackdown on email-networks in May targeted Fidonet Italia network in several cities in the northern and central regions of the country. While a still unknown number of BBSes (probably from 30 to 60) were searched and dozens were closed down, an official press-release of the Finance Police in Torino claimed a seizure "for a value of more than 4 billion of Italian lire (about US \$2,5 million), including 17 personal computers; 13,690 floppy disks of illegally copied software", dozens of modems and electronic devices. 14 people were charged with "conspiracy with unknown for the crime of software piracy" - but no arrests were made.

The new raid hit the online community at the exact moment when system operators, users, media and citizens were waiting for a relaxing and clarifier signal from investigators, including the first decisions about the seized hardware.

Right now, activists are coordinating a series of quick answers, including the foundation of a national association dedicated to the protection of civil rights for Electronic Citizens.

Bernardo Parrella

This article has been adapted from an account in volume 6-49 of the Computer Underground Digest. The author may be contacted by email as: berny@well.sf.ca.us or b.parrell@agora.stm.it

OPINION

Austria: The heart of a cosmopolitan Central European identity born anew or the walled off eastern frontier of 'Fortress Europe'? In the following contribution the writer Josef Haslinger describes Austria's search for a new role after the fall of the Iron Curtain. With the recent Austrian referendum vote in favour of EU membership the article has become even more topical.

Josef Haslinger was born in 1955 in Zwettl, Austria. He studied Philosophy, Theatrical Sciences and German Literature at the University of Vienna, was coeditor of a literary magazine and Writer-in-Residence and Visiting Professor at Oberlin College and Bowling Green State University, Ohio. In 1992 he was co-founder of the Austrian anti-racist movement SOS-Mitmensch. Haslinger has become known beyond Austria as an author of short stories, novellas and Essays.

THE LOST DREAM OF CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT SOSMITMENSCH IN AUSTRIA

According to UN statistics, 15 million of immigrants settled in Western Europe between 1980 and 1992. Most of them were encouraged to leave their native country by the governments of Western Europe. Many were refugees from Eastern Europe and many who managed to escape one of the Warsaw Pact states were hailed as political heroes. In the relationship between East and West, trafficking in human beings was an affair of basic humanitarian involvement. There was a great demand for dissidents. For example, it seemed that West Germany was trying step by step to buy up the entire population of Eastern Germany.

From time to time in Austria there was a sudden increase of refugees. In 1956, hundreds of thousands of Hungarians arrived, of whom 180,000 asked for political asylum. In 1968/69, 162,000 Czechs and Slovaks crossed the Austrian border.

Most of them left Austria for other western countries. Only 12,000 asked for asylum. In 1981 at least 100,000 Poles came to Austria. 29,000 asked for political asylum.

Until now the Austrian government has taken every occasion to congratulate itself for having been prepared to deal with these extraordinary situations and for its willingness to absorb and integrate large numbers of eastern European refugees. Even in the years of failed revolts and suppressed democratic experiments, when considerable numbers of people were seeking asylum in Austria, fifty per cent of them were eligible to be accepted as political refugees according to the Geneva Convention. The rest had to turn to the immigration authorities of other countries, but they did not have to fear being deported to their native lands.

Normally, however, refugees from east were rare. Some of them came in bizarre, selfconstructed planes, others glided along powerlines, others arrived in Warsaw Pact air force fighters. Some dug tunnels underneath the Iron Curtain, others crashed through the frontier barriers in heavy trucks, still others mailed themselves to the Golden West in special freight loads. All these refugees could be sure of getting asylum in Austria.

During this time, the acceptance rate for asylum seekers was as high as 70-80 per cent, sometimes even higher. But suddenly, the situation changed. In 1990, when more than 12,000 Rumanians were seeking asylum in Austria, the acceptance rate went down to 6.8 per cent, although in the past two decades there was no country in Eastern Europe where human life was valued less than in Rumania. To prevent more Rumanians from entering Austria, it was decreed that every Rumanian refugee had to present a cash sum worth 5,000 Austrian shillings at the Austrian border.

What had happened? The reality that people were trying to escape had not become less dreadful, but our view of this reality had changed profoundly. The demise of the communist world had a profound impact on our ideology and on our political interests. To an alarming extent we lost our concern for the states from which, since 1990, increasing numbers of refugees were fleeing in order to seek haven from poverty, discrimination and persecution.

In 1983 I returned by train from Prague to Vienna. I shared the compartment with some elderly people from Eastern Germany, who, out of excitement, were unable to sit still. After running the gauntlet in the emigration offices of German Democratic Republic, retired persons were allowed to spend a few days in western countries, if they could present a personal invitation. Here, in the train, they were standing at the window, wondering if the Austria border guard would welcome them with our traditional greeting "Grüss Gott". Suddenly the door opened to reveal the Austrian immigration officer, who barked: Passport check! Nervously the old people began fishing in their bags, to which the officer remarked: "As soon as they reach freedom, they all get nervous."

Was that not the essence of the Western experience? People from the East got a lecture about their inferiority, the political and economical inferiority of their system, that is. But the lecturer's choice of words was not always appropriate. Meanwhile, the system has vanished, but the inferiority remains.

In 1984, during an East-West meeting of artists and intellectuals in Dubrovnik, a Hungarian philosopher fell into raptures about the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The only buildings in Hungary, he asserted, which are still worth something, are painted in the fading yellow of the Austrian Schönbrunn palace. Despite the division of Central Europe into two separate worlds, the yellow paint of Schönbrunn became something of a magic bond. The cultural unity of central Europe was preached at conferences from Berlin to Trieste. The restoration of a common European culture was thought to be an appropriate strategy for surmounting the actual split of the region, i.e. for overcoming communism. Such East-West meetings took place increasingly in private apartments in Budapest, even in Bratislava and Prague. At one of these meetings Egon Schwarz, a distinguished Professor of German Literature at Washington University in Saint Louis, Missouri, who in 1938 was expelled from Austria, said with his unerring sense of irony: "Central Europe does exist, except that it is reduced to a border."

But a dream does not recognise borders. Neither did the Hungarian writer and long-term PEN president György Konrad, who hastened from conference to conference to declare his Central European message: "A Central European claims the division of Europe to be an artificial construction. (...) To be a Central European means to regard diversity as a value. This could be a new world view. (...) The idea of central Europe means the flourishing variety of its constituent parts, the self-confidence of diversity." And in 1985, Konrad said: "What we need is a city that is capable of carrying out for central Europe the role of a simultaneous interpreter, the task of mediation and arbitration, the job of a moderator."

The Vice-Mayor of Vienna at the time, Erhard Busek, who is now the Vice-Chancellor of Austria, embraced Konrad's dream. He knew the name of the future capital of central Europe and he shouted it from the rooftops of the Central European dream factory: VIENNA. "It's exciting, he cheered, "to be a Viennese, it's exciting to become a citizen of the Central European metropolis."

Ursula Paterk, the Social-Democratic City Councillor for Cultural Affairs may have thought: We should not leave the idea of central Europe to the conservatives. Therefore, she felt obliged to promote the biggest conference yet on this subject. All of her comrades were not happy about that. Central Europe was never an idea of the Austria Social-Democrats. They had always been oriented toward Germany. After the Second World War it was inopportune to uphold this attitude because of the collective attitude to deny the complicity of Austria in the crimes of the Nazi regime and because of the neutrality the Austrians had achieved in the meantime. Today, the orientation toward Germany has reappeared in the guise of a passion for the European Community.

In February 1991 the French periodical *Autrement* surveyed the remains of the Central European dream. It found them in Budapest, Bratislava, and Prague. But Vienna had already sent a letter to Brussels requesting admission to the European Community. Neutrality, which was intended by

European intellectuals to be a goal for the entire Central European region, was no longer on the agenda. Only spoilsports were still talking about neutrality. The contribution of Vienna to Central Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain could symbolically be reduced to the proposal of a conservative politician, who suggested that Vienna supply Bratislava with surplus bananas.

In the face of the rotten state economies we encouraged people from the East to be inventive in taking initiatives toward private business. In the late eighties, when the Iron Curtain became permeable, there suddenly was the chance to realise our advice and to make modest amounts of private capital. A strip of the Prater park in Vienna was about to be transformed in a Central European bazaar. But the police quickly got this development under control. In a changed world Austrian xenophobia recalled one of its most significant historical battle-lines: hatred of the Slavonian people. The dream of Central Europe had foundered on Austrian history.

After the decline of communism, we did not offer anything substantial to the Central European states, including Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we did not want to become involved in their political affairs and were fully occupied with fleeing from them. In 1989 we cheered them on; now we prefer to leave them to their misfortunes. Where is our flourishing trade with Eastern Europe? We have rerouted it to Western Europe.

Nowadays soldiers of the Austrian army are patrolling the eastern borders of our country in order to reinforce the usual customs officers and the newly installed border gendarmerie. Whoever crosses the border illegally will be sent back, no matter what may have caused their flight. Yes, it is exciting to be a Viennese, it is exciting to be a citizen of the metropolis of Central Europe. The reality of Central Europe has again been reduced to a borderline. And its capital is Vienna - where nameless Central Europeans sit in prison, waiting for deportation to their native countries.

For a brief moment, at the beginning of the eighties, today's situation was already foreseeable. When Polish refugees began flocking to Austria, the acceptance rate for asylum seekers sank from 72 per cent in 1980 to 46 per cent in 1981. After rigorous border controls were put in place and Poles were required to obtain a visa, the rate rose again to 85 per cent. For a moment we could picture what would happen in Austria if the western world were to win the Cold War.

The Iron Curtain shielded Austria from the Central European world. And if holes appeared we did our best to plug them through bureaucratic harassment. All in all, for the Austrian Social Democratic government being a Central European meant nothing more than the reasonable obligation to cut a small door in the Iron Curtain for diplomatic traffic.

When the Iron Curtain unexpectedly fell, you could witness the same scene through out the northern and eastern parts of Austria. For several months, Vienna and other cities were crowded with Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians. Along the transit routes, in the middle of fields and meadows, refrigerators and hi-fi sets were displayed for sale. The new customers were able to gape at the wares of affluent society but were too poor to buy them. On weekends, the roads to Hungary and Czechoslovakia were hopelessly jammed, not only by foul-smelling vehicles with two-stroke engines, but also by the latest western models fitted with catalytic converters. When they came backed they were crammed full with pigs, calves, sausages, cigarettes and alcohol. Taking advantage of the significantly lower prices for many goods - food stuffs, for example - the Austrians caused a serious shortage of supplies in the southern parts of Czechoslovakia.

In Budweis and elsewhere one could observe how hordes of Austrians showed the locals how the master race behaves by lighting their cigarettes with Czech crown notes. Recalling unpleasant encounters with the same Austrian neighbours 50 years earlier, some Czechs had no wish to conceal their disappointment with the new world order. It did not exactly accord with their expectations of a free central Europe.

On the other hand, it had suddenly become possible to actualise what was once stressed as the foundation of central Europe: a common cultural background. But in reality interest in the culture of Central Europe was shamefully slight. At the very beginning, in 1989, Eastern European artists were invited to present their works in Vienna, but soon we had fulfilled our duty and got back to business as usual. If there is a lack of fresh blood in the theatre, in music and art, we look to Germany and the U.S.A., then to Great Britain and France.

In a very short time, the euphoria about the event of the century turned into a more and more clearly recognisable yearning for the old Iron Curtain. In the midst of social change, one is not prepared for problems as they arise. Resourceful fellows from the East tried to compensate for their lack of money with skilful shoplifting. In two or three business streets of Vienna it was advisable to hold on tight to your handbag or your purse. But in the popular press reports about such matters were no longer inspired by the endeavour to find new solutions for new problems, but by the more or less outspoken wish to reestablish the old status quo. And exactly the same politicians who most loudly condemned a system that did not allow people to leave their country now became the loudest in demanding that the eastern borders be closed. In the first place I have to mention the head of the so-called Liberal Party, which is in fact a national party, Jörg Haider. Haider spurred on the change in mood and turned the results into personal political success.

One example may illustrate this turn of mood. After 1945, many roads on the Czecho-slovakian border that had once connected Austrian villages with the neighbouring villages of Czechoslovakia now ended at a fortified frontier. Amid the first euphoria, many of these roads were reconstructed and new crossing points were installed. The small community of Angern, for example, is separated only by the March river from Záhorská Ves in Slovakia. Before rebuilding the old bridge, a temporary crossing was constructed by the Austrian army. But one day some bicycles were stolen in Angern. Immediately a protest against the new bridge arose that became louder and louder. Soon the mayor saw no other solution than to submit the issue to a plebiscite. Two-thirds of the citizens voted against the bridge.

Something similar occurred in Vienna. The city was planning to stage a world fair together with Budapest. They had already spent a lot of money preparing for it. But the

citizens of Vienna voted against the project.

When I went to America in 1990, depressed about the new Austrian racism, most of my friends were against Austria's joining the European Community. When I came back in 1991, most of my friends favoured it. And the government was set to ratify the European Trade Agreements without any serious public discussion, let alone a plebiscite. An officially sponsored report that deemed the matter unconstitutional was dismissed. The new political orientation was put into effect as if this was the most natural step for a neutral state.

But there was a small problem. What to do with all these Central Europeans still flocking into our country looking for work and shelter? It was hardly appropriate to lower the Iron Curtain again. The Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, Josef Cap, implored: Laws not rabble-rousing! It was a marvellous idea. Thus, the government began to formulate laws on foreigners that, in fact, were publicly dictated by Jörg Haider. So there it was again, the Iron Curtain. This time around, those on its western side find it quite tolerable and their grim smiles express a honest predisposition to law and order.

In terms of the new law on foreigners, the citizens of such remote places as the Shetland Islands, Reykjavik or Hammerfest are not foreigners in Austria, yet people who live just 50 kilometres east of Vienna are. One could also put it this way: According to statistics on European wealth, which show the prosperity of nations based on gross national product (GNP) per capita, foreigners are people of nations below twentieth place, beginning with the Czech Republic in place 21. People from the 20 richest nations enjoy the privileged status of EEA citizens.

This development during recent years did not occur without public reaction. First of all I must mention the anti-racist movement SOSMitmensch (SOS-Fellow Human Being). On a cold November evening in 1992, ten people met in the villa of the artist André Heller. Among them were two prominent politicians, Peter Pilz, the spokesman of the Green Party, and Rudolf Scholten, the Social-Democratic Minister for Cultural Affairs. Also Peter Huebner, a popular journalist, Daniel Charim, a well-known lawyer, Ostbahn Kurti, the most popular Austria rock singer, Helmut Schüller, the director of Caritas (Catholic charities), and I participated in this meeting. We all were unhappy with the political situation and out raged at the new racist tones we were hearing throughout the country. We felt as though Austria's critical voices were being choked as in a stranglehold. We spent hours in discussion, trying to find a common idea for a large anti-racist movement. Eventually we found it.

At that time, a new asylum law had been in force for half a year, and a special law on foreigners was about to be passed in the parliament. Furthermore, Jörg Haider had announced a "foreigner petition". The text had not yet been released, but it was already clear that it would be a petition against foreigners in Austria. A popular daily came out against the integration of foreigners in Austrian school classes.

More and more, we were hearing about the criminal activities of members of extreme right parties. There were desecrations of Jewish cemeteries, swastika daubings, and even physical attacks against foreigners. In 1992, three arson attacks against quarters inhabited by foreigners were committed, fortunately without serious injuries. And day by day there were the pictures from Germany, from Rostock and Hoyerswerda, where people were cheering the neo-Nazi excesses. In 1992 alone, 338 arson crimes against facilities for foreigners were committed in Germany. We feared that the Austrian neo-Nazi movement could be encouraged by the German activists.

A part of the Austrian press constantly charged that the asylum law was being abused by so-called economic refugees for the purpose of illegal immigration. Once they are here, it was claimed, we will never get rid of them. The new asylum law was a political reaction to these charges. Instead of examining more carefully the facts of persecution in the refugees' home countries, a formula was invented that allowed us to send the overwhelming majority of refugees back to the country they had come from. Who ever passes through a safe country before reaching the Austrian border, and even if it is only the transit hall of an airport, will be sent back to that country by the Austrian immigration officials. All neighbouring states, even Croatia, were regarded as safe countries. Therefore, only people coming directly by plane from their native country to Austria had the chance for a fair asylum hearing. From one day to the next, applications for asylum in Austria declined to one-fifth of the number before the law went into effect.

The Slovenians, Hungarians, Slovaks and Czechs were expected to take all the refugees from East European and Asian states who did not have enough money to buy an airplane ticket. Surely everyone, including the Austrian government, knew that they were not able to meet this demand. But this was in 1992. At that time no one was still speaking of Central Europe. The Social-Democratic Minister for Internal Affairs, Franz Löschnak, praised the new asylum law as an exemplary step for the whole of Western Europe. And indeed, it was.

When I asked more sophisticated members of the Social-Democratic Party, why the devil are you going along with such inhuman policies, they themselves called it regrettable, but they were forced to do it, they claimed, otherwise Jörg Haider would become Federal Chancellor of Austria. His foreigner petition, they said, is nothing other than the attempt to bring down the Austrian government. These critics were spreading frightening figures about the level of public sympathy for the petition.

What was completely lacking in the Austrian government in those days was a courageous defence of liberal policies in tune with open borders in Central Europe. In our citizens movement SOS-Mitmensch we never spoke about Central Europe. But we all agreed that we had to defend a civilised cosmopolitan spirit that was disappearing. We also agreed that this spirit was to embrace the peoples of Eastern Europe.

On the principal question of what kinds of political changes must take place, there was full agreement at our November meeting. It should be possible to neutralise the

xenophobia created by Haider's petition and thereby defeat the government's argument that the nation required anti-foreigner laws. Through a grassroots movement we wanted to provide evidence for our basic convictions, our opposing point of view. We wanted to stand up confidently for another Austria and we wanted to invite as many Austrian personalities as possible to join us. We were really speaking about introducing a new fashion. The anti-racist cosmopolitan spirit was to become fashionable for the majority of Austrians. We were inspired by the utopian idea of creating a non-partisan civic forum that would even involve members of the government, but nevertheless would be able to criticize governmental policy towards foreigners. We should have known that this is impossible in a country where directives of the political parties matter more to the deputies than their own consciences.

From the very beginning our movement was surprisingly successful. People of all professions and organisations across a remarkably wide spectrum supported us. All over the country local SOS-Mitmensch groups were founded. But we had a serious problem. For a long time we were unable to agree on a common manifesto. Whatever we discussed was reported to the headquarters of the political parties and was published in magazines. In particular, Social Democratic politicians in our movement came under enormous pressure from their party. Day by day they arrived with new suggestions for modifying the manifesto in order to make it tamer. They wanted to stress the opposition to Jörg Haider and to take the sting out of the criticism of the Austrian government. There were times when I was convinced that our citizens' initiative failed because it was too successful. After nights of discussion we managed to agree on a manifesto that expressed strong opposition to Haider's foreigner petition and at the same time included passages that also addressed the new governmental laws.

In December 1992 it was already predictable that our first big event, the so-called Lichtermeer (sea of Lights) which we set for the 23rd of January, could become the greatest demonstration of recent decades. The hour of the party officials had arrived, and they took the bull by the horns. It was so paradoxical that we could not believe it when one December morning both the Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, Josef Cap, and the Interior Minister, Franz Löschnak, declared their support for SOS-Mitmensch. The very person responsible for the new laws on foreigners now claimed to support a movement opposing these laws. We sent the minister a declaration headlined: "Urgent request from new SOS-Mitmensch activist Franz Löschnak." Essentially the declaration included the demand that the restrictive asylum law be liberalised so that every refugee who reaches the Austrian border receive the opportunity of a fair asylum procedure. Two weeks later we had an appointment with the minister. He was not at all ready to change anything. But publicly he continued supporting SOS-Mitmensch.

At this time I had a private conversation with Joseph Cap, the Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party. He gave me to understand that they did not want to change the strict political course against foreigners until Haider's petition was over and done with. But should the SOS-Mitmensch demonstration against Haider prove successful, there would be a basis for new negotiations. Was this not exactly what we wanted? To change people's mood and thus nurture more liberal policies?

I again grew confident. I could not believe Löschnak's harsh refusal to compromise. I felt that it was merely a political tactic in order to thwart Haider's petition. After all, who would sign it if its demands were already in practice? Later it turned out that on this point I was completely wrong.

The Lichtermeer became the biggest demonstration in Austria since the end of World War II. Haider's petition was utterly defeated. His party experience was utterly defeated. His party experienced serious difficulties when five deputies withdrew to found a new party named Liberal Forum. But the spirit of Haider's petition still guides Austrian politics. We did not stand a chance of turning the tide of events. The SOS-Mitmensch movement had set off a chain reaction that culminated in a national political happening. But the real success was gained by those who urged: Laws not rabble-rousing!

After the Lichtermeer we tried to reap the harvest. But there was no harvest. We were cheated. We had seen the Lichtermeer as a kind of public mandate to realise the aims of our manifesto. But the political powers slammed the door in our face. We went from minister to minister in order to discuss the matter. They were friendly, congratulated us on our success, listened attentively to our requests - and did nothing. Even a long, and so it seemed to me, constructive conversation with our Federal Chancellor, Franz Vranitzky, had no consequences. On the contrary, in June a very restrictive law was enacted regulating the residence of foreigners in Austria. It even allows the immigration authorities to expel people who have been legally in Austria for ten years or longer. Only when they were about to deport babies and spouses was there a public outcry that stopped the extreme enforcement of this law.

The debate over amending the law goes on. At the moment, the conservatives are showing more liberal attitudes than the Social Democrats. SOS-Mitmensch is involved in this debate. The movement still exists and is still struggling for better conditions for foreigners in Austria. But after the Lichtermeer demonstration the politically prominent figures as well as others disappeared.

I can not really judge the effect of SOS-Mitmensch on the present political climate in Austria. However, many people are now standing up against xenophobia and working for the equitable and peaceful coexistence of all people living in Austria, from wherever they may come. Whether these many can constitute a majority is still unclear. But if they prevail, at the moment this would be the most effective contribution Austria could make to the political, economic, and cultural revival of Central Europe.

Josef Haslinger

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EVENTS

Fifth Congress of the European Civic Forum, 1-8 August 1994, Forcalquier, France

As every year since 1990, the European Civic Forum is organising its annual congress in the beautiful hills near the small town of Forcalquier in the Provence region. For five years, the Congress of the ECF has been a "meeting -place for the new conscientious objectors in common search for solutions to the crisis of our societies".

This year's congress will focus on a critical analysis of three items at the centre of official political and media debate: Employment, exclusion, humanitarian action. Particular attention will be given to the situation in the EU, Italy, Yugoslavia and Algeria.

The congress will also discuss current action and projects of the ECF such as the campaign in support of war resisters from former Yugoslavia, the independent ex-Yugoslav press agency AIM, and the creation of an East West Centre on rural development in Brandenburg (Germany). For further information please contact: Forum Civique Europeen, B.P. 42, F-04300 Forcalquier, Tel: +33/92 731815, Fax: +33/92 731818

Permanent Tribunal of Peoples (PTP) on the Right of Asylum in Europe, Berlin, 8-12 December 1994

The PTP is a tribunal of opinion made up of about 60 independent personalities, academics, writers, artists, and politicians, from all parts of the world. The PTP was founded in the wake of the Russell Tribunal II on Latin America that was held under the presidency of Lelio Basso and of the first Russell Tribunal on war crimes committed during the Vietnam war. The latest sessions of the PTP were dedicated to the conquest of America and international law (Padova Venise, Octobre 1992), and to Tibet (Strasbourg, November 1992). At present, sessions are taking place on the Bhopal catastrophe.

The Berlin tribunal on the right of asylum will be preceded by a session on the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Madrid (September 1994).

The Berlin session has been convened upon initiative of a large number of NGOs concerned for the erosion of the right of asylum.

The session programme includes the following points: presentation of the act of accusation; overview of the situation of the right of asylum in Europe; reports and witness evidence relating to the principle problems facing asylum seekers in Europe (The countries held for particular examination are Germany, Spain, France and Switzerland); analysis of the causes of flight linked to the situation in countries of origin of refugees (economic degradation, violation of fundamental rights); examination of the causes at the root of the ever more restrictive asylum policy of European states (This implies reflection about democracy and the current erosion of the welfare state); presentation of the defence.

Any person or organisation interested in participating at or contributing to the session, or wishing to support the initiative of the tribunal is kindly requested to contact: Sekretariat des Basso-Tribunals zum Asylrecht in Europa, c/o Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle für ausser europäische Flüchtlinge e.V., Oranienstr.159, D10969 Berlin; Tel: +49/30 6149404, Fax: +49/30 615 4534.

DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Council of Europe: Report on the activities of the Office of the UNHCR from 1990 to 1993, Rapporteur: Mr. Brito, ADOC 7079, 21.4.94.

In a summary the report notes the "unique and vital role" of the Office of the UNHCR in giving international protection and assistance to millions of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world. The report describes the work of the UNHCR over the years 1990 to 1993 and calls on governments to increase their political and financial support for UNHCR activities, to scrupulously observe the rules of international refugee law, to be more flexible in granting temporary protection to those in need, to provide adequate training for those required to deal with them, and to support the work of non-governmental organisations.

Le nouveau guide de la nationalité française, ISBN 2-7071-2340-4, Editions la Découverte / Guides GISTI, Paris, May 94, 206 p., in French.

In recent years the question of citizenship has been at the centre of polemic debate in France. The vote of an amendment of the Code de la Nationalité (Law on citizenship) in July 1992 once again revealed the political and ideological sensitivity of the subject in France. The debate also showed that the rules governing the access to French citizenship are little known by the general public. This book, an entirely new and up-dated version of GISTI's previous Guide de la Nationalité, has a double objective:

- Offer clear and intelligible information on a subject that should not remain a matter of debate among experts only;

- Allow persons directly concerned to have an accurate assessment of their own situation with regard to French citizenship and to inform them on the basic requirements for obtaining and losing it.

GISTI is a Paris based group of information and support to immigrant workers formed by jurists and social workers.
Order at: GISTI, 30, rue des Petites Ecuries, F-75010 Paris, Tel: +33/1 42470760.

Entrée et séjour des étrangers - La nouvelle loi Pasqua, GISTI, Paris, April 94, brochure, 88 p., in French.

This brochure offers a comprehensive analysis of the regulations pertaining to the entry, stay and the removal of foreigners as established by the "Pasqua law" from 24 August 1993, additional legislation from 30 December 1993 and the ordinance from 2 November 1945. Other elements of the Pasqua law such as the right of asylum and marriage will be addressed in particular brochures to be published shortly.

Order at: GISTI (See note above).

Strangers and Citizens, edited by Sarah Spencer, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), London.

Strangers and Citizens shows that British immigration policy, devised in the 1960s, has failed to adapt to current migration and economic conditions. It is now working against British interests by neglecting the needs of the labour market for selective immigration, erecting barriers to entrepreneurs, income-generating students and tourists, disregarding international human rights obligations and damaging race relations.

Written by a multi-disciplinary team of specialists in geography, economics, law and social policy, the report covers: tackling the causes of refugee flows and the treatment of asylum seekers; projections of future migration; the economic impact of immigration; the unfairness and discrimination in existing immigration controls; the implications of immigration for race relations; illegal immigrants; citizenship policy; and a new approach to policy making in Europe. In more than 50 conclusions and recommendations the report proposes a more informed, rational, and principled approach to immigration and concerted government action to change public attitudes to immigrants and refugees.

Order at: IPPR, 30-32 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7RA, UK, Tel: +44/71 3799400. Price: £14.95 (+ postage outside the UK).

La Lettre de la Citoyenneté, Newsletter (6 issues per year) published by ASECA, Amiens, France.

The May-June issue contains articles on the French public's attitudes relating to voting rights for non EU-foreigners and summary information on EU-member state nationals' right to vote as foreigners in another EU-member state.

Contact: ASECA, 74, BP 2709, F-80000 Amiens.

From Asylum to Containment, by Andrew Shacknove, lecturer in Law, University of Oxford. Paper published in the *International Journal of refugee law* Vol.5 No 4, Oxford University Press.

The author suggests that the exceptional status of refugees within the context of immigration control is now in doubt, as States attempt to force asylum seekers into the mould of routine patterns of immigration, pre-empt their arrival, or contain them within their countries or regions of origin. This trend reflects a fundamental questioning of whether asylum any longer serves the narrow and immediate interests of states.

In essence, Shacknove asserts that refugee policy in the post-Cold War era will involve a diminished commitment to asylum by affluent States, in favour of a preference for the containment of forced migrants in countries and regions of origin. The author, however, also shows some optimism when predicting that "governments will continue to offer asylum because of insufficient public support or administrative capacity for the creation of "fortress" societies."

Fri Rörlighet av personer: Invandrings- och asylpolitik (Free movement of persons: Immigration and asylum policies), Situation report, February 1994, published by the Swedish Immigration Board SIV (Statens Invandrarverk), in Swedish.

The report is intended as a handbook for the staff of SIV but contains an updated overview on the development of immigration and asylum policy within the European Union that is of great use for anyone working in the field in Scandinavia.

Order at: SIV, Informationsenheten, Box 6113, S-

600 66 Norrköping.

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