REVIEWS

Venturas: International "Migration Management" in the Early Cold War

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International "Migration Management" in the Early Cold War: The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, by Lina Venturas (Ed.), Corinth, Greece: University of the Peloponnese, 2015, ISBN 978-618-82200-0-3, 367 pages. E-book available at: http://mimio. uop.gr/site/?q=en/publications-collective-volume.

This book tells the early, and noteworthy, history of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and its roots in the U.S. Congress. During the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the 1951 Refugee Convention, the U.S. government, considering the refugee issue a temporary and European concern, restricted the scope of both the UNHCR and the convention. However, Congressman Francis E. Walter worried about the electoral successes of Communist parties in Western Europe. A visit to Germany had convinced him that "overpopulation" was a source of instability and that migration could be used as a tool to prevent the spread of Communism. Opposing the idea of migrants entering the U.S., he engaged in creating an institution that could deflect the pressure on the U.S. and "get refugees off to other countries," such as traditional immigration countries or those that needed skilled workers to help improve their economies. Then, a subcommittee of the House of Representatives successfully recommended to the U.S. government that it convene an international conference to create an international organization of Western European emigration and overseas immigration countries. This resulted in the establishment of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), which was renamed several times and is now IOM, an IO that deals with both migrants and refugees.

The book is well structured and coherent. The first part discusses the emergence of international regulation of migration during the interwar period and its continuation in the immediate post-Second World War era, also the beginning of the Cold War. The notion of "migration management" is used to examine the policies, practices, and discourses related to the steering and filtering of refugee and migration movements with the assistance of international institutions and the tailoring of emigration to the manpower needs of receiving countries, including the depoliticizing message of win-win situations. The book focuses on ICEM's initial years, aware that the study of the management of human mobility (an overarching term) is still scarce. The second part examines the establishment, development and functioning of ICEM during the 1950s, with chapters devoted to the design of the migration machinery, imbalances in decision-making processes, its financing and budget to fund migrants' travel, the transport business at the time, and the overall European overseas outflows. The third part explores ICEM's role in shaping the migration apparatus and its decisions in "receiving" countries, with chapters on Australia's racial exclusion and ethnic discrimination in an era of universal human rights, the guidance of the migration apparatus in peripheral states of the "free world," and the discourse on Latin America and the migration-development nexus. Finally, there is a

conclusion on the rationales for steering European outflows and the migration apparatus of peripheral states in the early Cold War and an epilogue on visible and invisible hands of migration management. These are interesting pieces for those interested in the control of human mobility, organizational growth, or the impact elsewhere of a "European" project that actually began in the U.S. Congress.

The two chapters on the emergence of the international regulation of migration are especially informative. They lay out the general discourse with regard to refugees and migrants, starting with the First World War, which proved a turning point when the essentially voluntary and economic nineteenth century movement of migrants changed to a movement of refugees, with people fleeing their homes for political and security reasons as members of groups identified for expulsion or oppression, who were confronted with severe national immigration restrictions through documentation requirements, quotas, and naturalization laws. By the end of the Second World War coordination of refugee relief and repatriation were among the primary concern of the victorious Allies, but they also embodied the nucleus of the Cold War with the issue of Eastern Europeans refusing to return to Soviet-controlled territories, in the face of repatriation agreements concluded earlier in Yalta and Potsdam. It is fascinating to read how the International Refugee Organization, which existed between 1946 and 1952, transformed into a "supranational employment agency," linking the resettlement of refugees to the manpower needs of receiving countries. While this can be seen as a reasonable technocratic solution, it was followed by a political process in U.S. domestic politics, resulting in the foundation of ICEM. Although the chapter describes the ICEM-related developments adequately, there is room for more research on developments in American domestic politics, particularly the links between U.S. immigration and refugee policies and the political assessment of developments in postwar Europe at the time, given the fact that the European labour surplus (Walter's "overpopulation") was absorbed in the 1950s through economic growth, rather than through emigration.

The other intriguing element for students of international organizations is that the expectation that ICEM would complete its work in about three to five years and then be dissolved did not come true. On the contrary, ICEM continued to exist, searching for new migration markets and also becoming involved in the ongoing global issue of refugee processes that American politicians, firmly represented on ICEM's Council, were unable to control, with ICEM transforming into a permanent organization and expanding the scope of its activities. These developments are dealt with in the book's second section, where individual chapters examine the organization's formal attributes, including the growth of bureaucratic politics, the discrepancies between institutional design and organizational practices, and the complex interplays between strategies and interests of various actors and the asymmetric power of individual states.

Interestingly, the detailed description of ICEM in the 1950s offers a case of why it is difficult to dissolve international organizations, once they are set up. The chapter on overall outflows shows how hard it was to accommodate the interests of both sending and receiving countries. For instance, most prospective emigrants from Europe preferred to settle in North America and Australia. Canada did not depend on the ICEM's services and excluded Southern Europeans, who were encouraged to settle in Latin America but did not follow this road.

The chapter on Latin America helps to understand the dialectic between Latin American developmentalist ideas on industrialization and planning then promoted by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, and the modern liberal values of the so-called modernization approach that remained central to ICEM. The chapter on Australia, which as a result of its remoteness was more dependent on inflows financially supported by ICEM, is revealing and shocking, because ICEM de facto allowed Australia to continue implementing immigration policies based on racial exclusion and ethnic discrimination. Because ICEM facilitated emigration from "overpopulated" European states, Australia managed to conceal its exclusion of Asians and Africans, while its "balanced intakes" policy supported its preference for Northern

European immigrants. The chapter explains how internal relations in ICEM contributed to these outcomes.

The concluding chapter (by Lina Venturas) and the epilogue (by Dimitria Groutsis) add to the empirical chapters. Venturas relates intriguing narratives on migration to power games between strong and weak states. Groutsis highlights key features of migration governance, such as state sovereignty and network governance, and the rise of a business-case approach to migration management.

The investigators of the three-year project (2012–15) that resulted in this volume carried out their research and writing during troubled years for Greece given the government debt crisis, and I can only admire the team's pertinacity in undertaking serious research and in producing this book. The research project's web site (http://mimio.uop.gr/site/?q=en) remains open to those interested in further research. Its section on resources shows that the project has earnestly collected materials relevant to this project and all book chapters profited from the combination of original sources and available literature. However, IOM headquarters in Geneva made its archives inaccessible to researchers through an exceptionally restrictive policy (arguing that all documents hold confidential data), whereas the office of the IOM in Athens gave full access to its archives. This is a highly recommended book that can be easily accessed electronically.