

Prof. Dr. Michael Göring

## **Bucerius Lecture David Miliband**

**University of California**

**Berkeley, 17<sup>th</sup> October 2018**

Dear former Secretary of State Mr. Miliband, dear Professor Allmendinger,  
dear participants of this year's Bucerius Young Scholars Forum,  
dear colleagues,  
ladies and gentlemen,

A very warm welcome to all of you and especially to our keynote speaker David Miliband, former Foreign Secretary in Great Britain and since 2013 president and CEO of the International Rescue Committee in New York, who will talk to us on "What is in a category? – Telling Political Refugees and Working Migrants Apart".

And another special welcome to Professor Jutta Allmendinger, president of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin and right now resident fellow at the former residence of Thomas Mann in Pacific Palisades.

My name is Michael Göring, I am the CEO and chairman of the board of the Hamburg based ZEIT-Stiftung, a public benefit foundation established by the late Gerd Bucerius, the publisher of DIE ZEIT and founder of our foundation.

Migration is a huge topic in Germany right now and has been the most important issue in public discourse at least since 2015 ("Wir schaffen das"). Many people in Germany believe that the great decline of the two "Volksparteien" CDU and SPD in Germany is the result of the migration crisis in 2015 and that Chancellor Merkel is to blame for that decline. Migration in Germany, however, is not at all a phenomenon of this decade.

On the contrary: Shortly after World War II about 12 million Germans whose families had lived in East Prussia, Silesia, in Danzig, in Romania, Böhmen, Mähren often for centuries fled to Germany where they were integrated rather quickly, thanks to the demands of the Wirtschaftswunder! In the 1960s the first wave of immigrant workers (“Gastarbeiter”) arrived in Germany from Italy, Spain, Portugal, later from Yugoslavia and in the 1970s from Turkey. In 1973 a census in West Germany showed, that 2.6 million guest workers already lived permanently in the Federal Republic. Germany had become an immigrant nation, but German politics shied away from acknowledging that fact. They kept to the notion of “guest workers”, who would one day return to their native countries. This assumption was wrong.

In the 1990s a new group of people arrived, refugees from the former Soviet Union who claimed that they had German roots in their families – and not too few Germans believed that the only traceable German root these people had was that they once owned a German shepherd dog. But again: integration of the Russland Deutsche in the 1990s went quite well, 4.5 million ethnic German migrants (“Aussiedler”) were registered in Germany at the end of the 90s. They were integrated (but changed the Jewish communities in Germany considerably).

Above these migrants a big number of asylum seekers from South Eastern Balkan countries such as Bosnia, Kosovo and Serbia asked for asylum in Germany. Altogether, in 2014 we counted a number of 16 million residents in Germany (=20%) who have migrated into Germany since the first migration workers in the 1960s. In 2015 > 1 million asylum seekers came to Germany, in 2016 300.000 asylum seekers, in 2017 < 300.000 asylum seekers.

But looking at migration as a German citizen allows me to go a bit further into history:

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Eighty years ago, in 1938 our founder, Gerd Bucerius, who was married to a Jewish woman, decided to have her live in Britain and his wife survived the war in a London hotel as an emigré.

And again, 80 years ago, in November 1938, British civil society, Quakers, Jewish groups, Methodists, decided to start a rescue campaign, the famous “Kindertransporte” which saved 10,000 Jewish kids from Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Hamburg, Frankfurt. 10,000 Jewish children were rescued between November 1938 and September 1939 and survived the Shoa in Great Britain. A wonderful deed of British Civil Society which I could go on and on telling you about as I have just published in September a novel the protagonist of which is a German Jewish youth who survived in Cornwall as one of the first Kindertransporte kids. I did quite a bit of research for this novel and became much involved with all questions of migration, identity, the question of finding home. So, migration goes much further than just into numbers in statistics. And above my personal interest as a writer: migration and integration play an important role in the ZEIT-Stiftung, not only on the political level, but also on a very practical side. Right now, the foundation takes care of about 400 children in Hamburg between 9 and 18 who have a migration background, most of them have very recently entered the country. We provide tutors for them and help them getting on at school and in their neighborhoods.

Mr. Miliband: You see your topic is close to our foundation work in Germany and close to my heart. I am very much looking forward to your speech! But first I am supposed to shortly introduce you: It is really a great pleasure and a great honor to announce David Miliband as our speaker this morning.

Educated at Oxford and at MIT David Miliband joined politics in Great Britain very early and started a remarkable career as a very young man. He became policy adviser to Tony Blair in 1994, was elected to Parliament in 2001 and became Environment Secretary in 2006, just after

having turned 40. Only a year later, David Miliband was appointed Foreign Secretary and just two years later quite many people in Britain and elsewhere thought he would challenge Gordon Brown as Prime Minister. But it remained a challenge. Another two years later, in 2010, Labour lost the election and two brothers, David Miliband and his younger brother Ed contested for the job as leader of the Party. The situation was fit for a novel or a movie: two highly intelligent brothers fighting for the same job – and in the end Ed Miliband won by a very very small margin and David Miliband resigned and joined the International Rescue Committee as its CEO in New York.

Before I give the floor to you, Mr. Miliband, let me also mention how very honored we are that Professor Allmendinger will continue with asking you questions and leading you into a discussion. Jutta Allmendinger is one of Germany's most prestigious sociologists. For almost ten years she has been heading the Berlin Social Science Center as its president, she teaches sociology at the Humboldt University and is senior fellow at the Harvard Center for European Studies. Next to great positions in many advisory boards I must not forget to mention that Jutta Allmendinger has recently been appointed Co-Editor of "DIE ZEIT". Right now, Professor Allmendinger lives as resident fellow at Pacific Palisades in the Thomas Mann House and is much envied for that privilege. Thank you, Jutta, for joining us here. David Miliband, the floor is yours.