

Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Auswanderer – Wanderarbeiter – Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2 Vols (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1985), 494 pp.
Klaus J. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880-1980* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1983), 133 pp.
Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter* (Berlin and Bonn: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1986), 272 pp.

Contrary to current opinion the Federal Republic of Germany has become a country of immigration. Many foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiter*) or 'guest-workers' (*Gastarbeiter*), as they were re-named after their mass arrival during the economic boom period of the 1960s, have long made up their minds to stay on in Germany indefinitely. Their children, who cannot speak their parents' native language any better than they speak German, are in fact Germans while still holding a foreign passport. The 'guest-worker question' (*Gastarbeiterfrage*) is now an immigration issue and German politicians who for a long time preferred to ignore this fact are left with no choice but to address the issue.

For them and for the rest of us who would like to know more about the subject there are now a number of books which put the 'guest-worker question' into historical perspective. The most comprehensive and most detailed of these consists of nearly thirty essays, useful introductions to each section and an appendix with some major discussion statements, all deriving from a scholarly conference held in October 1982 at the Political Academy Tutzing. The organiser and editor, Klaus J. Bade, himself one of the foremost German experts in the field of migration studies, has managed to assemble an impressive group of historians, sociologists, economists and jurists as well as civil servants and other professionals who either work in the Federal Labour Office or are otherwise concerned with foreign labour in West Germany. Though most of the scholars participating in the conference came from the Federal Republic – thus allowing us to assess the present state of research there into the history of migration and foreign labour – there were also contributors from East Germany, the United States, Sweden, Italy and some other European countries.

Topics explored at the Tutzing conference included demographic developments in German society between 1850 and 1980 (P. Marschalck), in particular the 'demographic transition' from an agrarian to an industrial society (G. Hohorst), the role of the labour market in nineteenth and twentieth century Germany and social changes in employment structure (T. Pierenkemper, W. Kleber, A. Faust) and German emigration up to the First World War, primarily to the United States, and the problems of integration into American society (K. J. Bade, W. P. Adams, D. Kamphoefner, K. N. Conzen, H. Keil, D. Hoerder).

Between 1850 and 1914 nearly six million Germans left for overseas destinations. The strongest of the three waves of emigration during this period occurred between 1880 and 1893, when about 1.3 million Germans emigrated to the United States, mostly via the ports of Bremen and Hamburg. Overseas emigration as well as the later east-west migration within the Kaiserreich was primarily 'labour migration' and, as such, 'proletarian mass migration'. This also

applies to the continental immigration into Germany, especially from eastern and southern Europe, which reached its peak in the years before the First World War. While hundreds of thousands of rural migrants from the north-east moved to the industrial centres in western Germany (particularly in the Ruhr), foreign labourers from central Poland and Galicia crossed the border to take up those jobs formerly held by German agricultural workers. But while German governments and authorities took a relatively liberal attitude towards emigration, they imposed strict controls on foreign immigration into the Kaiserreich. Mandatory identification (*Legitimationszwang*) and special residence permits, which tied the foreign worker to a German employer, tended to curb permanent immigration in favour of a 'reserve army' of foreign workers responsive to the changing needs of industry and the seasonal demands of agriculture.

The chapter on foreigners and national minorities in Germany before 1945 benefits largely from Bade's own pioneering research into migrational changes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when German overseas emigration was largely replaced by continental immigration. Bade's essay on the bureaucratic control of the recruitment and supplying of foreign workers in Prussia and public discussion of the issue of itinerant workers (*Wanderarbeiterfrage*) is complemented by contributions on the migration of Polish-speaking subjects of Prussian-German nationality to the Ruhr (*Ruhrpolen*) and their ensuing struggle for social equality and cultural independence (C. Klessmann) and the labour migration (*Arbeitswanderung*) of Swedish technicians and engineers to Germany before the First World War as an example of transnational mobility and the transfer of technological skill and know-how (C. H. Riegler). The enforced employment (*Zwangsarbeitspolitik*) of more than two million foreign workers and prisoners of war between 1914 and 1918 (L. Elsner) and the slave labour of almost eight million *Fremdarbeiter* during the Second World War (J. Lehmann, A. Großmann) are presented in great detail and with an abundance of statistical evidence. But the arguments put forward by the two East German historians Elsner and Lehmann (the latter also covers the pre-war Nazi period) about the basic continuities of labour policies under capitalism from the Kaiserreich to the Federal Republic leave some serious questions unanswered. Their dominance in this field, however, points to the fact that for many years the history of forced labour and the fate of the *Fremdarbeiter* was shamefully neglected, at least as far as West German historians were concerned, and the question of continuity here never seriously discussed. The somewhat weak dismissal of their views by K. Tenfelde in the printed conference exchanges (and incidentally by Bade in his introduction to this section) confirms this negative assessment.

One of the central chapters of these comprehensive volumes deals with the economic, social and legal aspects of the employment of foreign workers in the Federal Republic of Germany since December 1955, when Italy and Germany signed the first of many state agreements on the recruitment of foreign workers (*Anwerbevertrag*) despite the fact that unemployment at the time was still at a high of one million people. The building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the progressive economic boom of the early 1960s marked the beginning of the mass employment of *Gastarbeiter* from southern Europe, Turkey and even North Africa. Their numbers increased from 280,000 (1960) to 2.6 million in 1973,

when the Brandt government ordered the first halt to any further recruitment (*Anwerbestop*) from these countries. The latest figures show that due to increasing birth rates and family reunions, the number of *Gastarbeiter* in West Germany had risen to 4.6 million in 1982. The contributions by G. Schiller, F. Heckmann, K. Dohse, M. Wollenschläger, D. Mertens and W. Klauder illustrate the present debate in the Federal Republic about the economic and social conditions for the integration of *Gastarbeiter* and their families and offer a variety of useful and welcome proposals on improving their social, political and legal status. Despite differences of opinion about the choice *Gastarbeiter* face (the suggested alternative of either becoming German citizens or leaving Germany at some stage is historically unrealistic) all the contributors agree that the Federal Republic is now a country of immigration and must be prepared to act accordingly.

The last section of the conference aimed to present the processes of transnational migration in an international perspective. But the basis for comparison with the German case is too narrow to allow more than some general conclusions. The omission of Britain is particularly to be regretted. Nevertheless two essays on Italy (with reference to its neighbours), one considering it as a traditional country of emigration (P. Kammerer) and the other examining some striking parallels between current attitudes in France and Germany towards foreign workers (K. Manfrass) contain enough fascinating material and ideas to stimulate further international comparisons of migration processes.

The book finishes appropriately with an essay by the General Secretary of the German Raphael Society, V. Mohr, whose organization has been involved for more than a hundred years in practical work with migrants. Its concern nowadays ranges from Germans preparing for emigration to refugees who are applying for political asylum and, perhaps not surprisingly, to the increasing number of foreigners who are unable to make their home in the Federal Republic and continue to emigrate elsewhere. Has Germany become an international turntable for migrants?

Despite some regrettable omissions (such as the immigration of east European Jews before and after the First World War) this two-volume handbook has become a standard work in its own right. Since most of the essays were written by scholars who have already published substantial monographs in their respective fields, they should pave the way for further research into the history and politics of migration to and from Germany.

Klaus J. Bade's own contributions to the Tutzing conference and some of his earlier research articles form the basis of a short but very informative account of German migration processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, published before the conference volume. The title, 'From Emigration to Immigration: Germany 1880-1980', points to the underlying assumption that the *Gastarbeiter* are now *de facto* (if not *de jure*) the new immigrants. But unlike the social problems of the nineteenth century, which Germany had been able to export to some extent via overseas emigration, the new imported social question (*Soziale Frage*) might not be so easy to overcome. The sooner the general public

realizes that the *Gastarbeiterfrage* (and, one might add, the *Asylantenfrage* as well) is part of its own social fabric, the better it will be prepared to deal with the political and social consequences. Bade's well informed analysis can help us to understand the historical conditions for this development and thus may provide a guide for the present debate.

In one respect, however, I think Bade's otherwise very consistent interpretation goes astray. The enforcement of foreign labour during the Second World War was not a case *sui generis* – an exceptional historical situation ('historische Ausnahmesituation') as Bade calls it – but was based, at least partially, on the experiences of the *Zwangsarbeiterpolitik* of the First World War. Certainly the racist and inhuman treatment of the *Fremdarbeiter* by Nazi authorities contained new and barbaric elements for which there is no precedent in German history. But the bureaucratic planning and execution of these policies represent certain patterns of continuity which need to be defined and analysed.

This argument is certainly very much in line with the thesis of Ulrich Herbert's most recent book on the employment of foreign workers in Germany between 1880 and 1980 (incidentally, the same period that Bade has chosen). Herbert is well equipped to deal with such a broad and wide ranging topic as he has recently published a major study on the *Fremdarbeiter* during the Second World War, a well researched and balanced piece of historical scholarship (see my review of this book in *Bulletin*, Issue 23). Without subscribing to the ideological notion of a continuity characterized by capitalist exploitation as do East German historians, Herbert maintains that the parallels here are much stronger than was previously thought. As early as autumn 1937 the Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt (Economics and Armament Office) of the Wehrmacht began analyzing the *Zwangsarbeiterereinsatz* during the First World War and resolved to make good use of this experience in a future war. Six months later Goering ordered his offices to start preparing for the possible employment of prisoners of war in German agriculture, though he was still reluctant to include civilian workers. The annexation of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of Poland removed this reservation almost overnight. Herbert's book is well written and intelligently presented, and deserves to be widely read and discussed.

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