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BOOKREVIEWS

VOM AUSWANDERUNGSLAND ZUM EINWANDERUNGSLAND?
DEUTSCHLAND 1880-1980. By Klaus J. Bade (Beiträge zur
Zeitgeschichte, vol. 12). Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1983. 133 pp., DM
12,80

Bade's thesis is that Germany, once a country supplying many emigrants, now has a large population of de facto immigrants. He asks West Germans to draw the logical conclusion from this situation and develop a policy toward these immigrants. As he indicates, West Germans have continued to look upon the millions of "guest workers" in their midst as sojourners who can and will return to their homelands in Southern and Eastern Europe and Turkey without disrupting their own lives or the economy. Bade seeks to demonstrate that even in a time of high unemployment these beliefs are myths. Most of the "guest workers" do not intend to return to their native lands; they are so well integrated into the economy that their exodus would cripple West German production and drastically reduce consumption.

Bade analyzes ably the postwar developments that led to the present situation. Starting in the 1950s, large numbers of foreign male workers were actively recruited. In 1973, in the face of the most serious economic recession in decades, the West German government halted further recruitment and encouraged the return of many of the foreigners. Although some left, most remained. Family members were brought to Germany, and the age and sex distribution of the foreign population in West Germany became increasingly similar to that of the rest of the population. The free movement of workers within the Common Market also added to the ranks of foreigners in West Germany. By now the number of resident foreigners has increased to some five million. Despite the roots they have put down, West Germany has little provision for these people to become citizens. Even their children and grandchildren born in West Germany remain "Germans with foreign passports" (121).

During the past ten years Bade's innovative research exploring the dynamics of continental migration (especially of Poles) to both agricultural and industrial areas has given us a new understanding of German history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Drawing on this research, part of his work consists of lucid sections on Germany's place in international migration since the late nineteenth century. Bade

demonstrates that, as German emigration waned, Germany became a labor-importing country on a large scale by the early twentieth century. He discusses cogently, if briefly, migration during the 1920s and the use of foreign labor during the Nazi period. In each instance he finds in the economic situation and in government policy reasons for the utilization and treatment of foreign labor, but he denies the existence of an underlying continuity in labor policy, especially where forced labor during the World Wars is concerned. He argues that before World War I the use of foreign labor in the eastern provinces enabled the survival of Junker estates that could no longer meet the challenge of the international market, as after World War II reliance on foreign workers helped to permit the postponement of the modernization of some German firms.

Despite frequent references to the functions of foreign workers in the labor market, Bade tends to play down the needs of a capitalist economy for a socially stratified working force. He implies that a cultural pattern has developed in Germany during the past hundred years whereby foreign workers have repeatedly been placed in a difficult legal and political situation without having the possibility of gaining immigrant status. This heritage prevents Germans from conceiving of today's "guest workers" as potential citizens or even permanent residents. Appealing to the consciences of his readers, he juxtaposes past and present: Germany lost about five million people to overseas emigration in the nineteenth century and now has almost five million foreigners in the country; in the nineteenth century Germany exported a social problem in the form of emigrants and today has, through its foreign workers, an imported social problem. In an understandable desire to resolve the current issue of the civil, social, and political status of foreign workers, Bade may depict the issue of their future as easier to resolve than his own economic analysis indicates.

But this book and the massive collection of wide-ranging essays that Bade recently edited, Auswanderer--Wanderarbeiter--Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (2 vols., Ostfildern, 1984), now constitute the best place to begin an informed discussion of the role of foreign workers and non-German ethnic groups in recent German history. Collections of material focused on the lives, hopes, and aspirations of Germany's immigrants, especially the Turks, the most numerous of them, would also be welcome. As yet we have little scholarly or other literature that views West Germany's immigrants from within their own world. For the moment

Werner Fassbinder's Fear Eats the Soul is probably as good a place as any to get a glimpse of them from within.

Walter Struve