

Population, Labour and Migration. in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany. Ed. KLAUS J. BADE, Berg Publishers Limited, Leamington Spa — Hamburg — New York 1987, 200 pp.

The book is the first volume in the German Historical Perspective series and deals with population issues in 19th- and 20th-century Germany, "describing, from a historical and empirical point of view the chief aspects of migration to and from Germany down to the present day" (p. XI). The next two volumes concern financial matters and nation-forming processes. The aim of the series — as its editors Gerhard A. Ritter, Werner Pöls and Anthony J. Nicholls say — is "to present the results of research by German historians and social scientists to readers in English-speaking countries... to help overcome the language barrier which experience has shown obstructs the rapid appreciation of German research" in these countries (p. IX). If this is the German reaction to the existing situation, what should our reaction be, considering that the Polish language is infinitely less familiar to the world than German. The individual volumes are connected with the West German guest professorship at St. Anthony's College at Oxford, an institutional professorship financed by various sponsors since 1965, the lectures and seminars being held within its framework.

Some of the authors represented in the first volume have already won repute in West German historiography (Reinhard R. Doerries, Christoph Klessmann, Dieter

Langewiesche, Peter Marschalck and the enterprising editor of the volume), while others are only now building up their scholarly standing. When introducing the reader to the issues discussed in the volume, K. J. Bade draws attention to the interdisciplinary reorientation which West German historiography has undergone since 1960. He outlines the historical perspective of questions concerning population, employment and migrations and speaks of the repercussions of various migratory movements since the 19th century, including those of resettlers and refugees at the end of World War II and in the early postwar years (p. 5); he praises their integration specifically into the life of the Federal Republic, when in fact the same process also occurred in the German Democratic Republic¹ (further on he writes of migration from the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic). In referring to C. Klessmann's contribution, Bade speaks of "the restrictive Prussian policy towards the Poles" (p. 12) as the main reason for the Poles' migration to the Ruhr, but I think that this reflects neither objective reality nor the ideas contained in Klessmann's text nor in his principal work *Polnische Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet 1870 - 1945* (1978). In the book under review Klessmann only writes that the Prussian *Polenpolitik* "greatly influenced the behaviour of Polish workers in the Ruhr and marks an important difference from relations with other minorities" (p. 101).

P. Marschalck, author of the synthesis *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1984) and other works, presents changes in two basic demographic factors, the death rate and the fertility rate, in the context of the growth of population in Germany since the turn of the 18th century. Speaking of the turn of the 19th century, Marschalck formulates an important conclusion, saying that the stabilisation of the industrial labour force as a result of migrations from the countryside and the continued social mobility of the migrants led to restriction in the number of children in this milieu. This exerted an influence on basic phenomena, not only on the natural increase of the population but also on migrations (pp. 30 - 31). The author gives Upper Silesia as an example — a very instructive example as far as the processes in question are concerned — and refers to an American dissertation unknown in this country, Michael R. Haines's *Economic-demographic Interrelations in Developing Agricultural Regions: A Case Study of Prussian Upper Silesia, 1840 - 1914* (University of Pennsylvania, 1971)². Marschalck's contribution is probably the most valuable part of the book under review.

Toni Pierenkemper analyses the labour market, labour force and living standards from the beginning of the 19th century, covering the transition from agriculture to industry. The outcome of the author's ambitious intention has been affected however by his limited research experience, by the gaps in his knowledge of some elements of the historico-economic process, and by an incomplete knowledge of the state of research. The effect is especially jarring when Pierenkemper speaks of recent times, and resorts to such generalities as, for instance, his assertion that after World War II the "reduction of territory meant a corresponding diminution in the labour force" (p. 45). He does not say that owing to the migra-

¹ See A. Brożek, J. Kokot, *Integracja przesiedleńców w Niemczech po II wojnie światowej* (*The Integration of Resettlers in Germany after World War II*), Wrocław 1966, passim.

² Cf. the author's review of the article by M. R. Haines, *Population and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe: Prussian Upper Silesia, 1840 - 1913* „Journal of Economic History”, 36, 1976, pp. 344 - 353, in: „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, Wrocław 1982, No. 1 - 2, pp. 114 - 115.

tions connected with the aftermath of the war the population of occupied Germany one year after its conclusion was already nearly 4 million higher than that in the same territory before the war. Another example is his information that in the 1960s the labour force in the Federal Republic increased by at least 3 million, from 23.5 million "to more than 26.5 million because of migration from the GDR and the former Eastern territories of Germany" (pp. 45-46). In fact the construction of the Berlin wall in 1961 put an end to migration from the GDR to West Berlin and the Federal Republic, and the total inflow of population from Poland to the Federal Republic from 1960 until 1970 amounted only to about 100,000.

In addition to the introduction Bade has also contributed two essays to the book, a total of 100 pages or more than a half of the book under review. The first text deals with the labour force and migration and the attitude of the state to these issues from the end of the 19th century until the economic depression at the end of the 1920s. This is a systematic exposition concerning problems at the turn of the century, and deals with such questions as overseas emigration, migration within the Reich, immigration into Germany (as far as the latter is concerned, the author implies on pp. 64-65 that immigration through the eastern frontier was not legally restricted to seasonal migration; he mentions this only on pp. 67 and 69), and the organizing of the labour market in the Reich before World War I (on p. 75 Bade uses the name *Preussische Feldarbeiterzentrale*, not found in usual sources, instead of the right term *Zentralstelle zur Beschaffung deutscher Ansiedler und Feldarbeiter*, and next he speaks of the *Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale*, which in fact was called *Deutsche Feldarbeiterzentralstelle* and existed not from 1912 but from 1907).

Dieter Langewiesche and Friedrich Lenger discuss the question of internal migration from the point of view of geographical and social mobility during a long period, from 1817 until 1972. I think that my remarks on Pierenkemper's text could also apply in their case: contrary to statistical sources the authors deny that there was an increase in migration during the inter-war period (pp. 91-92, 98) and say nothing of the growing geographical mobility of the population in the Reich after Hitler's ascension to power in 1933 and the commencement of the economic boom (this has been noted in another context by Bade, p. 142). Speaking of the difficulties of assimilating migratory workers into the organisational framework of the trade unions or political parties (p. 99), the authors apparently do not realise that foreign workers in this category (like the *Gastarbeiter*s today, of which more later) were deprived of political rights and were in constant danger of being deported from the Reich.

Taking Poles in the Ruhr as an example C. Klessmann considers the problem of long-distance migration as well as the segregation and integration of ethnic minorities in the Reich, with reference to his fundamental monograph³. He also takes into account more recent publications, including Richard C. Murphy's controversial book⁴, which has passed unnoticed in Poland, and an interesting study by Valentina-Maria Stefanski⁵.

³ Cf. the author's review in: „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, Wrocław 1981, No. 2, pp. 323-327; *idem*, „Polish Western Affairs, La Pologne et les Affaires Occidentales”, vol. 23, No. 1, Poznań 1982, pp. 141-146; „Polnische Weststudien”, Bd. 1, H. 1, Poznań 1982, pp. 169-174.

⁴ R. H. Murphy, *Gastarbeiter im Deutschen Reich, Polen in Bottrop 1891-1933*, Wuppertal 1982; *idem*, *Guestworkers in the German Reich: A Polish Community in Wilhelmian Germany*, New York-Boulder 1983; cf. the review by

Reinhard E. Doerries who writes of German overseas emigration from the beginning of the 19th century until the outbreak of World War I, formulates several interesting theses. He says that in view of poverty, political oppression and religious intolerance, it would be cynical to regard decision to emigrate as voluntary (p. 120). He suggests that a thorough study should be made to determine whether "the uprooting" takes place in the country of destination or whether the potential emigrant is not uprooted from his milieu already before his departure (ibid.). On the basis of Marschalok's reflections Doerries revises the theory that German emigration after 1848 (the "Forty-eighters") was a political emigration; according to Doerries this emigration resulted from deteriorating economic conditions before the Springtime of Nations, and especially from the disastrously bad harvests in 1846/47 (p. 122), but he ignores the fact that the cost of crossing oceans decreased considerably in the second half of the 19th century because of the technological revolution in maritime transport. Even though he has some reservations about the influence of the *Kulturkampf* on emigration from Germany (p. 129), Doerries seems to be overestimating the role of this non-economic factor on migration (a role which he effectively reassesses with regard to migration after 1848).

The next essay is again by Bade who this time compares past and present migrations in Germany. He begins by considering whether the inflow of seasonal workers before World War I gave the Reich the character of "a land of immigration"; his assumption is that Germany was only a "country of imported labour", in view of the fact that Germany was still a country of emigration (p. 137). It is worth drawing attention to two aspects of "continuity" in the German historical process, a question which is the subject of such an animated discussion in West German historiography. Bade is of the opinion that the National Socialist policy broke the continuity of Germany's policy towards foreign workers (pp. 137-138); he therefore formulates the thesis that there is no continuity between the "foreign worker question" in Nazi war-time policy and the "guest worker question" in the Federal Republic (p. 145). He is inclined to define the guest workers, especially the second generation of immigrants as "Germans with foreign passports" (p. 149), as "a foreign minority population, living largely in a true immigrant situation" (p. 158; on p. 147 he speaks of their alienation from modern industrial society). I think that in examining the question of "Germany as a country of immigration" and the role of foreigners in the demographic picture of the country it would be advisable to take into account the historical experience gained by Germany's western neighbour, France, in the immigration and integration of a number of nationalities and cultures (especially immigrants from the Maghreb countries).

In the last essay Hermann Korte presents a discussion which is being held by scholars not only in the Federal Republic on whether the *Gastarbeiter* question is in fact a question of immigration. It is interesting to examine the evolution of the principles governing these migrations from their origins (the securing of poorly-paid, i.e. seasonal workers for a number of years; the solving of certain social and economic problems in the countries sending the labour force; the migrants'

J. Kulczycki, in "East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est", vol. 13, No. 1, 1986, pp. 102-103, and, as far as Murphy's works are concerned, the author's review of *Glück auf, Kameraden! Die Bergarbeiterorganisationen in Deutschland*, published by H. Mommsen, U. Borsdorf, Köln 1979, in: „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, Wrocław 1985, No. 1, pp. 164-165.

⁶ V. M. Stefanski, *Zum Prozess der Emanzipation und Integration von Aussenseitern: Polnische Arbeitsimmigranten im Ruhrgebiet*, Dortmund 1984.

intention to gain an opportunity to improve their status after their return home) up to the current situation (the dilemma: repatriation or naturalisation). As a result of the 25-year migrations an unplanned phenomenon has emerged: working and staying in a foreign country for life (p. 164). The author has some interesting remarks on the identity-crisis of the second generation of migrants (in the context of the school problem and present and future demographic problems in the Federal Republic), on the housing problem (foreign workers live in worse conditions and pay higher rents than Germans, p. 175; in the Ruhr the *Gastarbeiters* are housed in flats which were occupied by Poles at the beginning of the century, p. 178; they are "administratively" pushed into a ghetto). Let us point out that the present-day immigrants from Poland are used as a point of reference in research on *Gastarbeiters* in the Federal Republic (p. 181). The author asserts that the attitude of West German society to the *Gastarbeiters* should not be examined in a national or racial context but should be seen as an attitude to fringe (including German) groups in that country (p. 181). From this point of view he analyses two variants of the policy towards this group: repatriation or consent to political representation.

The essays contain many diagrams. The book is equipped with a selective bibliography on the questions discussed (general matters, population, labour market, internal migration, Poles in the Ruhr, overseas emigration, foreign labour force, historical development, present-day issues). It would not be proper to question the stylistic aspect of this English-language venture by West German historiography, but it is perhaps permissible to have a few reservations. The term "Eastern Prussian Poles" (p. 68) refers to Poles living in the provinces of eastern Prussia but could be taken to imply that the Poles from East Prussia are referred to. Such subtle differences would be noticed in the Anglo-Saxon world only by an expert in the history of Germany, a reader with a good knowledge of the German language, but readers who know only English — the readers to whom the book is addressed — will not notice the difference.

Andrzej Brożek