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KLAUS J. BADE. *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000. Pp. 510. DM 58.90.

NEXT TO MAD COW disease, migration ranks at the top on the list of problems common to the countries of the European Community. Migrants upset the established

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order as they seem unwilling to learn the language of the host country, produce large families, commit more crimes than the average European, and profit to a disproportionate extent from the social security benefits and medical services. No wonder most leading politicians in Europe promise their voters to limit migration only to highly qualified computer experts from India, to expel as many illegal immigrants as possible, and to allow only a small number of 'real' asylum seekers into 'fortress Europe'.

These politicians are proved wrong by Klaus J. Bade's survey of the many migration movements to, from, and within Europe. Bade is an active participant in the present-day discussions regarding immigration in his native Germany and he has worked hard to make his government recognize that Germany can profit from migration and urgently needs an immigration law. In order to prove that migration is not an aberration, but just another human activity, Bade begins his survey by explaining that migration has been a dominant feature of European society since the beginning of history, although the reasons for human movement have changed over time. In the Middle Ages, perhaps as much as half the population had to move from one place to another in order to survive. When the economy allowed its inhabitants to lead a more sedentary life, Europe started to produce large groups of uprooted religious and political refugees. The destinations of the migrants also changed. In addition to the millions migrating within Europe, after 1850 more than sixty million Europeans moved to other continents, notably to North America. Those who moved as well as those who stayed behind usually have profited immensely from emigration. Asians and Africans still have a long way to go before matching this achievement.

The book provides us with a unique spectrum of migration movements within, to, and from Europe. None of the existing surveys offers such broad scope. Bade pays equal attention to the overland migration to the East and to the well-known seaborne movement across the Atlantic. The book is divided in five sections, each dealing with a distinct period in the history of European migration. The first provides an overview of migration patterns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the basis of Europe's economy and society changed from agriculture to industry. In the second section, the classic story of the internal and external mass migrations of the nineteenth century is recounted, while the third section deals with the plight of those millions who were set in motion as refugees and forced labourers during and after the two world wars. Their numbers were enormous: the flight and expulsion of twelve million German speakers from eastern Europe compares with the Atlantic slave trade. The fourth section discusses migration after 1945 and, in the concluding section, Bade brings us up to date by surveying recent migration movements and by analysing the various government policies and national political debates on immigration.

According to Bade, most countries in western Europe now pursue a closed-door policy on the one hand, while on the other they stimulate migration by not

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giving sufficient development aid to the Third World in an attempt to reduce differences in income, the root cause of migration. He calls this contradictory combination of policies a 'historical scandal' (p. 452). Such a *cri de coeur* does not square with the analytical realism that characterizes the rest of the book. After fifty years of providing aid to the Third World, it is an illusion to believe that the differences in income between poor and rich countries can be remedied in the foreseeable future. No amount of aid can ever achieve that. We will have to accept the fact, then, that in Europe, as well as in the world at large, differences in income will remain and that migration is here to stay.

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