

KLAUS J. BADE, editor. *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter: Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. In two volumes. (Referate und Diskussionsbeiträge des Internationalen Wissenschaftlichen Symposiums "Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?" an der Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing, 1982.) Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae. 1984. Pp. xiv, 428; xiv, 429-822.

This work contains an impressive collection of more than forty essays, most of which pertain to Germany's place in international migration during the past 150 years. The essays derive from a scholarly conference, held in 1982 at the Protestant Academy for Political Education at Tutzing, that was designed to shed light on current policy toward the five to six million foreigners living in West Germany. With few exceptions these foreigners are "guest workers" and dependents who have arrived during the past twenty-five years from Southern and Southeastern Europe and Turkey. Most have resided in Germany for many years and have no definite plan to return to their native lands, but only a few thousand each year meet the stringent German requirements for citizenship. As several essays document with a wealth of detail, the presence of large numbers of non-German workers in Germany has a long history; by the late nineteenth century, Germany was already shifting from a major exporter to a major importer of labor.

Although the essays achieve their goal of contributing to a better understanding of current West German problems, we would be mistaken to judge the work simply by this standard. The diversity of the contributions and the quality of Klaus J. Bade's editing ensure that these studies can serve many purposes. Most of the essays are by scholars who have published substantial monographs in the fields they analyzed for the conference. Because most of the contributors are German, the collection affords us an opportunity to assess West German contributions to the history of migration within, to, and from Germany. After World War II these subjects were neglected, except by Americans interested in German immigration to the United States and by Germans describing the expulsion of Germans from Eastern and East-Central Europe during the 1940s. Only in the past decade have West German scholars reasserted the traditional German interest in the history of emigration.

Subjects explored in depth at the conference include the international migration of Germans, primarily to the United States, and the situation they found there (contributors include Bade, Hartmut Keil, Willi Paul Adams, Dirk Hoerder, and Kathleen Neils Conzen); the movement of job-seekers within Europe, especially the migration of Polish-speaking subjects of imperial Russia, Austria, and Germany to the Ruhr (contributors include Bade, Christoph

Klessmann, and Toni Pierenkemper); and the economic, social, and legal situation of foreign workers in West Germany since World War II.

Most of the essays offer clear, unobtrusive introductions to the literature and current research on their topics. A good example is an essay by Bade that conveniently pulls together the pioneering work he has done on the German labor market and continental migration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Another essay that presents findings from innovative research in primary sources is by the American historian Walter D. Kamphoefner, who scrutinizes the geographical distribution of Germans from different German states within the United States and applies the concept of chain migration suggestively. Criticizing Oscar Handlin's classic work on the uprooting of the European peasant, Kamphoefner argues that emigration served as a way of maintaining (or seeking to re-create) the rootedness of peasant life through the "transplantation" of German villages to another continent.

I was struck by the omission of several topics that would have supplied additional perspectives. The Pennsylvania German migration is excluded, as are German migration to Eastern and Southeastern Europe (which until the 1830s greatly exceeded that to the Americas), German migration to South America, and the migration of Eastern European Jews to Germany. A study of foreign workers in France is included, as is an especially lucid essay on migration from Italy by Peter Kammerer; there is, however, no essay on migrants to or from Britain. Apparently these topics are still neglected by West German scholars.

A recurrent theme is that West Germany has become a country with a large population of *de facto* immigrants. Two of the specific policy proposals advanced in the volume are at variance with the general tenor of the contributions. Dieter Mertens and Wolfgang Klauder, both civil servants concerned with the labor market, insist that West Germany's "guest workers" must be confronted with a clear-cut choice: to integrate themselves into German society and become citizens or to become true sojourners prepared to leave Germany. This passion to reduce the issue to an either-or solution is curious in the face of abundant evidence in these two volumes that migrants or immigrants seldom see the issue in this way and that economic and social forces rarely permit such stark alternatives.

The experiences of foreign labor in Germany during World War I and under the Nazis are slighted. Of the three essays devoted explicitly to these subjects, two are by East Germans, Lothar Elsner and Jochen Lehmann, who seek to demonstrate basic continuities in labor policies under capitalism before, during, and after the world wars.

Their views are weakly rebutted by West German Klaus Tenfelde in a brief section consisting of excerpts from exchanges at the conference. Few of the other essays have much to say about the distressing subject of coerced, or "slave," labor, even when obviously relevant. Klaus Manfrass refers to hostility toward foreigners in West Germany as a "new phenomenon" (p. 770), as if this hostility had no antecedents in earlier German history. One wonders how the conference greeted Knuth Dohse's suggestion that the West German law of 1965 governing foreigners is a stiffer version of Nazi police regulations of 1938 on the same subject.

The decision to omit most of the transcripts of discussions on the floor was probably wise. The volumes convey a good sense of the debate and controversy surrounding the problems of migration without confronting us with the long, dull, verbatim transcripts West German editors so often include these days in published conference proceedings. We can be grateful to Bade for assuming the formidable responsibility of making available the results of an important conference in a useful, literate, and very readable form.

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