#### We Are All Migrants

In 2015, Germany agreed to accept a million Syrian refugees. The country had become an epicenter of global migration and one of Europe's most diverse countries. But was this influx of migration new to Germany? In this highly readable volume, Jan Plamper charts the groups and waves of post-1945 mobility to Germany. We Are All Migrants is the first narrative history of multicultural Germany told through life-stories. It explores the experiences of the 12.5 million German expellees from Eastern Europe who arrived at the end of the Second World War; the 14 million "guest workers" from Italy and Turkey who turned West Germany into an economic powerhouse; the GDR's Vietnamese labor migrants; and the 2.3 million Germans and 230,000 Jews who came from the Soviet Union after 1987. Without minimizing racism, We Are All Migrants shows that immigration is a success story - and that Germany has been, and is, one of the most fascinating laboratories on our planet in which multiple ways of belonging, and ethnic, national, and supranational identities, are hotly debated and messily lived.

Jan Plamper is Professor of History at the University of Limerick. He specializes in migration history, the history of emotions and the senses, and Russian history. His other books include *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power* (2012) and *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (2015).

## CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-24229-5 — We Are All Migrants Jan Plamper Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

# We Are All Migrants

A History of Multicultural Germany

Jan Plamper University of Limerick





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009242295

DOI: 10.1017/9781009242264

Originally published as *Das neue Wir: Warum Migration dazugehört. Eine andere Geschichte der Deutschen* by Jan Plamper. Copyright © 2019 S. Fischer Verlag GmbH, Frankfurt am Main

First published in English by Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2023 as We Are All Migrants: A History of Multicultural Germany

English translation © S. Fischer Verlag GmbH, Frankfurt am Main 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-009-24229-5 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-24225-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Den Papierlosen / To the Sans Papiers

## CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-24229-5 — We Are All Migrants Jan Plamper Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

### Contents

Acknowledgments Introduction We Are All Migrants, Almost Everywhere, Almost Always – Especially the Germans	x 1 10
We Are All Migrants, Almost Everywhere, Almost	_
••••	10
	10
1945	31
Twelve-and-a-Half Million in Six Years	41
Labor Migration to West Germany	57
Labor Migration to East Germany	83
Asylum	106
1989	128
Germans There, Russians Here	138
Jewish Germaniya	161
Welcoming Culture	183
Conclusion	218
Appendix: Dates and Facts Notes Index	228 235 267
	1945Twelve-and-a-Half Million in Six YearsLabor Migration to West GermanyLabor Migration to East GermanyAsylum1989Germans There, Russians HereJewish GermaniyaWelcoming CultureConclusionAppendix: Dates and Facts Notes

### Figures

1.1	Nineteenth-century mass emigration: German migrants board	
	a steamer in Hamburg to travel to the United States. From the	
	Old to the New World, wood engraving by E. G. Specht, 1876. p	bage 12
1.2	An advertisement for Levi Strauss overalls, c. 1875.	20
2.1	Germans leave the Sudetenland.	47
3.1	Aziza A., Es ist Zeit: Oriental Hip Hop.	58
3.2	Labor migrant Heim in West Berlin, 1965.	62
3.3	Turkish Gastarbeiter family in Essen, 1978.	66
4.1	Mozambican Vertragsarbeiter at a meat factory in	
	Ludwigsfelde, c. 1982.	86
4.2	Ibraimo Alberto (right), c. 1986.	95
4.3	Vietnamese Vertragsarbeiter at light bulb factory Narva, Berlin	,
	1990.	96
	Hassan Ali Djan, 2016.	118
6.1	Volga Germans demonstrate in Bonn, West Germany, for the	2
	right of Soviet Volga German dissidents to emigrate, c.	
	1984–1985.	144
6.2	Volga German men wait in front of an office at a reception	
	camp in Unna, 1992.	149
	Dmitrij Belkin, 2022.	171
	Olga Grjasnowa, 2012.	176
8.1	Thilo Sarrazin at the book launch of Germany Abolishes Itself or	
	its release date, August 30, 2010.	192
8.2	Iranian refugees Arash Dosthossein (left) and Mohamed	
	Kalali (right) in Würzburg with sewn-up mouths, June 4,	
	2012.	203
	Refugee hunger strike in Berlin, October 31, 2012.	204
8.4	Angela Merkel's selfie with Syrian refugee Anas Modamani	
	at a branch of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in	
	Berlin-Spandau, September 10, 2015.	211
8.5	Welcoming culture: Syrian refugees arrive from Hungary via	
	Austria at Munich's Central Station, September 6, 2015.	212

viii

	List of Figures	ix
8.6	"Refugees Welcome," Frankfurt am Main Central Station,	
	September 5, 2015.	212

#### Acknowledgments

The present volume is my own translation from the German of my book Das neue Wir: Warum Migration dazugehört. Eine andere Geschichte der Deutschen, published in 2019.

This book would hardly have materialized without the help of a great number of individuals and institutions. I owe an enormous debt to Elliot Beck, Dmitrij Belkin, Lisa Carter, Lorraine Daston, Belinda Davis, Irina Flige, Liz Friend-Smith, Evgenia Gostrer, Steven Holt, Tanja Hommen, Frank Jansen, Uffa Jensen, Lorenz Kähler, Heike Kleffner, Andrea Korte-Böger, Irina Kremenetskaia, Dieter Langewiesche, Margarita Mamontova, Kate McIntosh, Martina Müller-Wallraf, Philipp Nielsen, Alexandra Oberländer, Jannis Panagiotidis, Glenn Penny, Harald Plamper, Lisa Plamper, Olga Plamper, Paul Plamper, Anna Schäffler, Aslı Sevindim, Nina Sillem, Barbara Wenner, and Frank Wolff. I am most grateful to Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald; Antifaschistisches Pressearchiv und Bildungszentrum (apabiz) Berlin; DOMiD - Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration in Deutschland; Ute Frevert's Center for the History of Emotions at Berlin's Max Planck Institute for Human Development; Historisches Archiv der Kreisstadt Siegburg; History Department, Goldsmiths, University of London; History Department, University of Limerick; Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena; Bettina Hitzer's and Paul Nolte's Kolloquium Vergleichs- und Verflechtungsgeschichte/Zeitgeschichte, Freie Universität Berlin; Memorial St. Petersburg; ReachOut Berlin; and Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. Finally, I wish to dedicate the book to the loving memory of Hedwig Plamper (July 25, 1989–April 6, 2018).