

author's discussion of Turkish politics is perceptive, as is his appreciation of İsmet İnönü, second only to Atatürk in his contribution to Turkish political development. His discussion of Turkish foreign policy is less satisfactory and entirely too sketchy. Moreover, there are some elementary errors, as when he dates the establishment of the State of Israel and American recognition thereof from March 14, 1947, not May 14, 1948. Chapter 20, devoted to «Landscape and Figures», seems disjointed, and might well have been put into the Appendix, with its summary data. There are very useful tables in the book, and many useful photographic illustrations and a sketch map. The bibliography — a page and a half — is entirely too short. One highly recommends this volume, which should be read along with Bernard Lewis' *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*.

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Suzanne Paine, *Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1974, pp. 227.

One hundred and fifty years ago, the English economist David Ricardo described foreign trade between nations as the surrogate for migration of the various work forces. The case of the Turkish emigres represents an inversion of Ricardo's axiom, for in *Exporting Workers*, Suzanne Paine demonstrates that the Turkish workers' earnings overseas have become a substitute for the sale of Turkish goods in foreign markets. The repatriated earnings amount to about 45 per cent of the value of Turkish import purchases and 5-7 per cent of the Turkish national income in the early 1970s.

The origins of the Turkish worker migration are the European labor supply shortages brought on by war casualties, low birth rates in the western European countries, the rapid economic growth associated with the formation of the European Economic Community (the EEC Common Market) in 1957, and the increasing shift toward a service economy in each host nation. The nine nation EEC group has imported 15 per cent of its labor force needs in recent years (before the restrictions on immigration in 1973) and western Germany, as the largest and most successful economy in the EEC group, has been the major importer of foreign workers from all nationalities. About 85 per cent of the Turkish migrant workers have located in Germany, where they have generally assumed the jobs most unattractive to the native population. A major drawback of the migration experience is the limited manpower utilization which Turkish workers experience. Surveys done among returned Turkish workers indicated a very limited upgrading of the labor skill levels, with perhaps only one-tenth of the migrants receiving significant skill training. This may be partly because of the low level jobs held and partly because of the low level of German literacy among the Turkish workers. It has been observed among immigrant workers to the United States before World War I that there was a strong relationship between skill and earnings and literacy in the language of the country of employment.¹ This finding is repeated in the Turkish migration to Germany. Ironically, the average skill level among the emigrants (especially in the early years

1. Robert Higgs, «Race, Skills and Earnings: American Immigrants in 1909», *Journal of Economic History* (June, 1971).

1963-1968) has been above the average for the Turkish labor force, as disproportionately large numbers of skilled and semi-skilled traveled to Germany.

In the period 1963-72, 820,000 Turks migrated on a temporary basis to western Europe; subsequently one-fifth of the emigrants have returned from their work contracts. The movement of Turkish workers is basically of a temporary character, in contrast with the more usual permanent nature of immigration. Migration has not served as a solution to domestic unemployment, which has continued to rise, and currently is at the official rate of 10-11 per cent of the 15.5 million labor force.

It had been hoped by Turkish development planners that overseas employment would provide a source of business capital and new management methods. However, much of the earnings have gone toward increased consumption (possibly in emulation of German standards) and little has been achieved in the way of setting up new businesses other than in the service-type areas. The lack of added purchases of producer goods, except for some farm equipment, means that Turkey must make do with its domestic technology.

The inflation potential of remitted overseas earnings appears to have been largely dampened. This may be because the Turkish lira was overvalued in terms of the German mark and workers therefore failed to remit the maximum possible out of their German earnings until they returned home. After the Turkish devaluation of 1970 there was a substantial increase in earnings remitted and it may not be too coincidental that the alteration of the German-Turkish exchange rates has been associated with an increasing rate of inflation in Turkey in the past five years.

As Dr. Paine correctly points out, savings rates out of overseas earnings, which have reached the extraordinary levels of one-third of disposable income, cannot be regarded as a proxy for domestic financial and economic efforts. In fact the overseas earnings increase the vulnerability of the labor exporting nation to any business downturn overseas and lull the planners into a dangerous complacency about the development process which could best be avoided by viewing the labor-export earnings as a supplement to domestic savings rather than a replacement. Readers may disagree somewhat with the pessimistic tone of the assessment of Turkish experience. Nonetheless, this is an exceptionally interesting and informative study on the workings of immigration forces.

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Francis W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): A Classic City-State*, London and New York, Seminar Press, 1972, pp. xxxi + 710, with photos, illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, index and bibliography.

This extensive, expensive volume by a University of London geographer is a substantial scholarly contribution as well as containing all of the scholarly apparatus it is possible to imagine. Besides the detailed footnotes for each chapter there are indices, appendices, a pronunciation guide, bibliographies, tables, illustrations and photos. The many maps, which represent one of the most significant parts of this monograph, show the spatial distribution of Dubrovnik's trade in various commodities from the 7th century to the end of the State's independence after conquest by Napoleon's troops in 1808. The author refers directly to the pertinent documents in Dubrovnik's extensive archives and also utilizes materials from the Venetian