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Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Ed. by Klaus J. Bade. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1992. Pp. 542. DM 68.00. ISBN 3-406-35961-2.

This volume, published in reaction to the controversy over foreigners in the newly reunited Germany, speaks to the long-standing issue of German identity through the study of migration. Klaus Bade, Germany's foremost historian of migration, put together the essays to demonstrate that Germany has always been a fluid society from which people have migrated and to which, more or less successfully, immigrants have contributed. Including thirty-nine essays by thirty-four scholars, the volume spans an enormous, almost unwieldy range of topics: from Volker Press's sketch of German migration to Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages to an article by Johannes Voigt on German settlers in Australia to one by Ulrich Herbert on forced labor in World War II and a brief, interesting essay by Claus Leggewie on German anxiety about foreigners. Among its other strengths, the volume testifies to the cosmopolitanism of German scholars today: almost all the contributors are German, but they use sources in Russian, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, French, and English.

In his introduction, Bade argues that the study of migration and migrants can demonstrate that German identity and its opposite—"foreignness"—have shifted and evolved over time. While history cannot provide clear answers to present dilemmas, it can, he believes, contribute to the refashioning of German identity. Despite the vast coverage, the volume does succeed to a certain degree in suggesting a rethinking of Germans' place in modern history. Moreover, this work will still be useful for scholars of both German history and migration in general, whether or not they accept Bade's perspective. German historians often overlook emigration and immigration in their teaching except for glances at the nineteenth-century *Auswanderung* to the United States and the contemporary guestworkers. They can now use the first half of this volume, which is devoted to migration from Germany, to obtain a sense of the sheer range of German-origin communities across the globe: from Volga Germans who migrated from Russia to the American Midwest to ex-soldiers in nineteenth-century Indonesia who had formed one of the largest contingents in the Dutch colonial army in Java. At the same time, migration researchers can compare the differences between the very small groups of East-European Germans who maintained their identity for centuries and the millions of German-Americans whose sense of being a distinctive community virtually disappeared within decades.

Despite the diversity of subjects covered in the volume, one can see in many of the essays Bade's argument that German identity has always been extremely fluid. As Holm Sundhausen and Günter Schodl point out, many of the original founders of the *Volksdeutsche* communities in East Europe were Flemish, Swiss, Alsatian, and Bohemian, that is, not precisely "German" in the modern sense. They were often known as "Saxons" or "Swabians" and sometimes allied with other minorities—Greeks, Hungarians, and Jews. Since it has been extensively covered elsewhere, the migration to the United States is only briefly treated. This allows for interesting essays on, for example, Germans in Canada, whom Udo Sautter points out form the largest group in the country after the British and French.

Two generalizations about German identity particularly emerge from the vast range of German communities outside Germany. The supranational Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg Empire created and then prolonged a sense of Germanness which flourished outside German statehood. Through particularist *Heimaten* and privileged elites united only by language, German culture offered a simultaneously parochial and cosmopolitan identity in which even German "guestworkers" in Paris and Russian German nobles could share. Secondly, the ultranationalist pressures set off by World War I and the Nazis transformed German-language communities everywhere from Australia to Rumania, forcing assimilation or a defensiveness which provoked persecution and flight. As Walther Bernecker and Thomas Fischer point out, the sole exception to this transformation may be Latin America, not coincidentally the destination of many fleeing Nazis.

Migration into and through Germany, with which the second half of the volume deals, demonstrates as well that German identity really only hardened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Over the centuries, Gypsies, Huguenots, Italians, Poles, and Jews from many countries migrated to Germany, yet the German identity which nineteenth-century nationalists propagated suppressed this history or treated immigrants as exceptions. (As Anton Schindling points out, the Italians left descendants with such famous names as Brentano and Canaris.) Germans underwent a much larger case of historical amnesia after World War I. They forgot about the enormous immigration into the Second Reich which made Germany second only to the United States as a labor-importing country. How selective this creation of a homogeneous German identity was can be seen, Inge Blank says, in the fact that, while East European Jews made up a tiny part of this migration, their presence assumed huge proportions in public opinion. Similarly, as Wolfgang Benz and Johannes-Dieter Steinert show, vast numbers of "Germans" after 1945 had been born outside the Federal Republic and probably over

a million chose to leave it. Benz handles the sensitive issue of the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe about as judiciously as present research allows: Germans were horribly mistreated in many cases, but the death toll—which he estimates at between 100,000 to 250,000—was probably not as high as some have suggested.

With this ambiguous history, contemporary Germany, Bade argues, presents another paradox: "A situation where there is immigration without being a country of immigration" (*Einwanderungssituation ohne Einwanderungsland*). In other words, even though one out of every fourteen people living in Germany is non-German, in a legal sense at least, the society as a whole has not admitted this. Bade proposes new institutions, like the British and French counterparts of the U.S. Civil Rights and Equal Opportunity Commissions, as initial reforms. Since, as Wolfgang Klauder argues, Germany in the next century will need new workers to offset population decline, the ultimate solution, according to Micha Brumlik and Claus Leggewie in one of the book's culminating essays, is for Germany to embrace "*Multikulturalismus.*" Multiculturalism in the German case, they and Bade argue, would mean recreating a sense of "Civil Society" (they use the English term) which is above ethnicity and within which a variety of groups can live. Given Germany's troubled past and the difficulties which other societies have had with the same issue, the prospect is daunting. Nonetheless, this is a challenging book for historians and social scientists, both as a panorama of migration and nationalism and as a study of a pressing contemporary issue.

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